

POST WW II - G I BILLS 1946

*Vietnam
9/11/01 maps*

Contents

1. July 1, 1949 - Letter of Appointment
as Research Fellow - U. of Delaware
2. Summer Research Appointment - U. of Delaware
July 1, 1951 - Aug. 30, 1951 (working on publication)
3. Masters Degree Thesis - U. of Delaware
June 1950 - Degree awarded Sept 21, 1950
4. Publication of Masters Thesis Research
Mary A. Russell & Francis J. Michelin
in Cancer Research
Vol. 11, No. 9, pp 687-93, September 1951
(See item two Research Appointment)
5. Letters & Photos re studies at U. of D - 1951-55
6. Jan. 17, 1955 Progress report letter to
Ralph Erickson
1st graduate advisor 1951-52 Dr. Conway Zirkle
Left on sabbatical 1952/53
2nd Advisor - Dr. Ralph Erickson 1952-1954
Left on sabbatical
3rd Advisor to thesis completion 5/1955 degree
Dr. David Goddard
7. Job seeking Correspondence March 1955
Dr. Philip White Bar Harbor Maine
V. Arkansas - Dr. Delbert Swartz
8. To: Mary Webster letter May 26, 1955
re job goals &

An excellent
Pearl Harbor
Dec. 7, 1941

PEARL

After half a century,
on the U.S. Pacific
Here's a look at
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FORCE

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PEARL HARBOR

aircraft
Ships inside
and outside
the harbor
responded
attack with
anti-aircraft

Destroyer Ward
Outside the harbor this
ship turns figure-eight to
avoid attack

9. May 23, 1955 Letter of Agreement
Wilkes - Dr. Farley
10. May 26
Letter to U. of T. Placement Office
re job future May 26, 1955
11. U. of T. Commencement, June 15, 1955
12. April 1957 Publication
Ralph O. Erickson & Francis Michelin
in American Journal of Botany
13. Publication of Thesis
"The Plastochron Index in Developmental
Studies of *Xanthium italicum* Moretti"
Francis J. Michelin
American Journal of Botany
Vol 45, No 7, 525-533 July 1958
14. Publications (student)
a) Cohen, Dzurj, Michelin & Proszewski
Nov. 1957
b) Cohen, Michelin, Weiner & Stein
Sept. 1958
15. NSF Grant Application July 30, 1956
16. National Science Foundation Invitation
Nov. 1, 1961
Bowen Dees, Eugene Farley (concurrent)
17. Science facilities - 1957, 1964, 1970, 2012

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An excellent review of
Pearl Harbor attack
Dec. 7, 1941

USA TODAY • FRIDAY, DECEMBER 6, 1991 • 7A

PEARL HARBOR

After half a century, the memories of Japan's sneak attack on the U.S. Pacific fleet still burn in the minds of many. Here's a look at what happened and at some of those remembrances



Survivor: Russ McCurdy in 1991 and in 1941.

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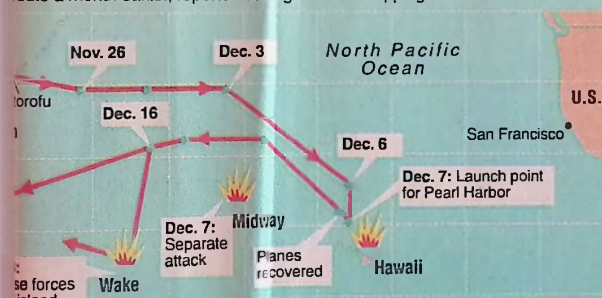
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FORCE

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HOT

Antares
Depth charges destroy sub
Ward
Midget sub

WARNING SIGNALS

7:02 a.m.: Unusually large blip appears on radar at Opana mobile radar site (range: more than 130 miles). Operators check to see if equipment is faulty. Report is dismissed as a squadron of U.S. bombers.

Six early warning mobile units were stationed on Oahu

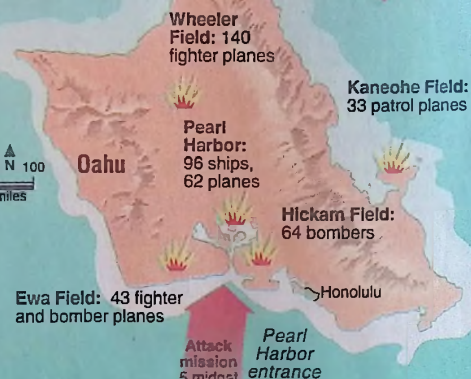
STRIKE ON OAHU

U.S. ground defense: Machine guns, rifles, anti-aircraft guns on ships

Opana mobile radar site

7:40 a.m.
First wave
183 planes

8:40 a.m.
Second wave
167 planes



PEARL HARBOR

Anti-aircraft fire
Ships inside and outside the harbor responded to the attack with heavy anti-aircraft fire

Destroyer Ward
Outside the harbor, this ship turns figure-8s to evade enemy aircraft

A6M2 Zero

The fast, agile Zero, which destroyed aircraft at Oahu airfields, gave Japan air superiority for the first six months of the war in the Pacific. Heavily armed with two 20mm cannons and two 7.7mm machine guns and boasting a top speed of 330 mph, it wasn't matched by Allies until 1943.

Size comparison

F-14 Tomcat

Zero

USA TODAY Special

4-PAGE PULLOUT

REMEMBRANCE

SOME NOTED FIGURES' RECOLLECTIONS OF DEC. 7, 1941

Where they were when bombs fell

FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT: The president was at the White House when Navy Secretary Frank Knox called with the news. "It was just the kind of unexpected thing the Japanese would do," said Roosevelt, whom some contend knew the attack was coming. "At the time they were discussing peace ... they were plotting to overthrow it. If the report is true, it would take matters entirely out of my hands."

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HITLER

ADOLF HITLER: After his usual late dinner, the German dictator gathered his minions at his headquarters in East Prussia to discuss the collection of winter clothing for German troops freezing outside Moscow and Leningrad. Just before midnight, an aide burst in to report an American radio broadcast picked up in Germany. Hitler leaped to his feet. "The turning point!" he shouted. "Now it is impossible for us to lose the war."

GEN. DOUGLAS MACARTHUR: Told of the Pearl Harbor attack, the U.S. commander of the Philippines asked his aide, Jean, to bring his Bible. Then, in the predawn darkness, he sat on the edge of bed and read from Scriptures.

LARRE BOOTH LUCE: The playwright was hosting a lunch or 22 at the Greenwich, Conn., estate she shared with husband Henry Luce, founder of Time magazine. A butler brought a message on a tray. Glancing at it over her dessert, she tapped a glass with her spoon for attention. "All isolationists and appeasers, please listen," she said. "The Japanese have bombed Pearl Harbor."

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BARBARA BUSH: The future first lady was at boarding school in Charleston, S.C. "We all felt scared for our brothers and friends. Charleston was a Navy city, and suddenly the streets filled with young Navy personnel. It was a different world from that day on."

VALTER CRONKITE: The former CBS news anchor was a young journalist for United Press in Kansas City, Mo. "I was washing my car ... I'd just gotten to the car ... when a neighbor ran out and said the Japanese had attacked Pearl Harbor."

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BUSH USA TODAY

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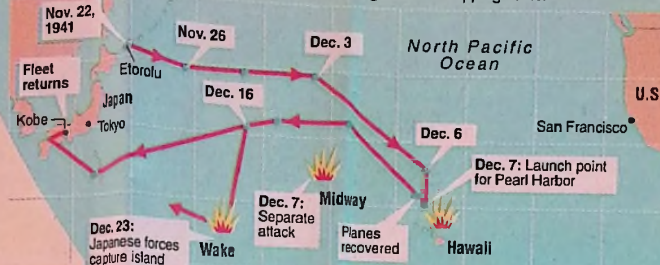
'A date which will live in infamy'

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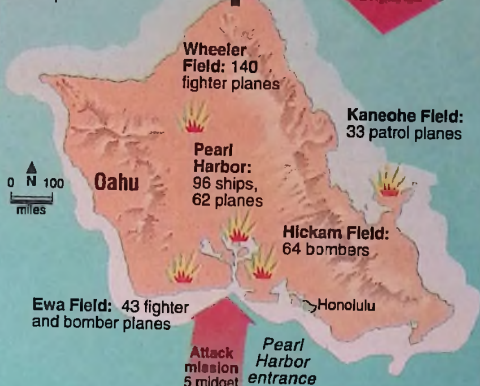
THE STRIKE FORCE

The Japanese used a northern route to attack on Pearl Harbor and other U.S. targets. A merchant ship, sent along the route a month earlier, reported seeing no other shipping traffic.



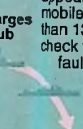
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U.S. ground defense: Machine guns, rifles, anti-aircraft guns on ships



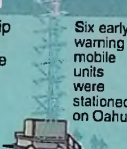
THE FIRST SHOT

6:30 a.m.: Supply ship Antares tells destroyer Ward it saw a midget sub. Ward investigates, fires deck guns and and sub sinks. Also drops depth charges.



WARNING SIGNALS

7:02 a.m.: Unusually large blip appears on radar at Opana mobile radar site (range: more than 130 miles). Operators check to see if equipment is faulty. Report is dismissed as a squadron of U.S. bombers.



ATTACK ON PEARL HARBOR



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GEORGE BUSH: A student at Phillips Academy in Andover, Mass., the future president decided after hearing about the bombing to become a Navy pilot. He enlisted the next year when he turned 18 and flew missions in the Pacific; on one his plane was shot down.

A black and white portrait of an elderly woman with short, wavy, light-colored hair. She is wearing a dark, high-collared garment and a large, ornate earring. The portrait is framed by a simple black border.

WALTER CRONKITE: The former CBS news anchor was a young journalist for United Press in Kansas City, Mo. "I was washing my car. ... I'd just gotten to the hood ... when a neighbor ran out and said the Japanese had attacked Pearl Harbor."

RON HEWITT: The producer of CBS's *60 Minutes*, then 19, was in the woods by his house in New Rochelle, N.Y., shooting at tin cans. "As we came out of the woods a guy at a gas station said, 'You guys better start learning how to use that rifle. The Japanese just bombed Pearl Harbor.' The guy I was with went into the Marine Corps and died in the South Pacific. I was a war correspondent and double as the Merchant Marines editor for *Stars and Stripes*."



DR. RUTH WESTHEIMER: The talk-show host and sex therapist was 12, living in a Swiss orphanage. "My parents were still in Frankfurt (Germany) before they were sent to Auschwitz. . . . I thought, 'That's terrible, but thank God. Now the Americans will enter the war. And one, two, three the war will end and I will be reunited with my family.' It did not work out that way. They did not come back. They all perished in the camps."

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1941

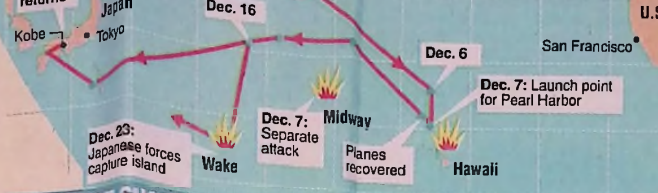
Fleet returns

Etorofu

Nov. 26

Dec. 3

North Pacific Ocean



6:30 a.m.: Supply ship Antares tells destroyer Ward it saw a midget sub. Ward investigates, fires deck guns and sub sinks. Also drops depth charges.

10:2 a.m.: Unusually large blip appears on radar at Opana mobile radar site (range: more than 130 miles). Operators check to see if equipment is faulty. Report is dismissed as a squadron of U.S. bombers.

Destroyed or damaged ships

Ford Island

Pearl City

Anti-aircraft fire
Ships inside
and outside
the harbor
responded to the
attack with heavy
anti-aircraft fire

The fast, agile Zero, which destroyed aircraft at Oahu airfields, gave Japan air superiority for the first six months of the war in the Pacific. Heavily armed with two 20mm cannons and two 7.7mm machine guns and boasting a top speed of 330 mph, it wasn't matched by Allies until 1943.

Size comparison

F-14 Tomcat

Zero

The wounded
Injured sailors and Marines are transported by small boats or swim from sinking ships to Ford Island. Many arrive burned and covered with oil. Attack casualties are treated at Ford Island's dispensary and the Navy Hospital, as well as on the hospital ship Solace.

Destroyer Zane
Sights first Japanese subs
in harbor.

Destroyer Monaghan
Destroys a Japanese midget sub in harbor after sighting a periscope near the cruiser Raleigh.



**Battleship
Oklahoma**
Capsizes after taking nine
torpedoes

crucial targets go unscathed
when Japanese decide not
to launch third wave

ombs cause ship
explode,

Destroyer Helm
first ship to clear harbor, it
had gotten under way in
early morning and was
early clear by 7 a.m.

pedo attack
pedo dives to 33 feet,
n rises to a depth of
20 feet.

Zeroes:
14,100 feet

Vals:
11,000 feet

Kates:
9,200-9,800

This plane, which could also be used as a fighter, could carry one 551-lb. and two 132-lb. bombs. Waves were launched in three waves, sinking three de-

Armor-piercing bombs
49 of these modified 16-inch battleship's shells were dropped from Kate bomb. Eight hit targets.

on the Arizona.

Cruisers: 3

1990

Destroyers: 3

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THE AFTERMATH

the attack on Pearl Harbor would galvanize a nation and change its course as no other event in history. The United States would become a superpower, a technological hothouse, and a society would be forever changed by expanded rights of women as men marched off to war. It was the catalytic event of the century.

Source: *The Attack on Pearl Harbor: An Illustrated History*, December 7, 1941, *The Day the Japanese*. An illustration from a 1941 book.

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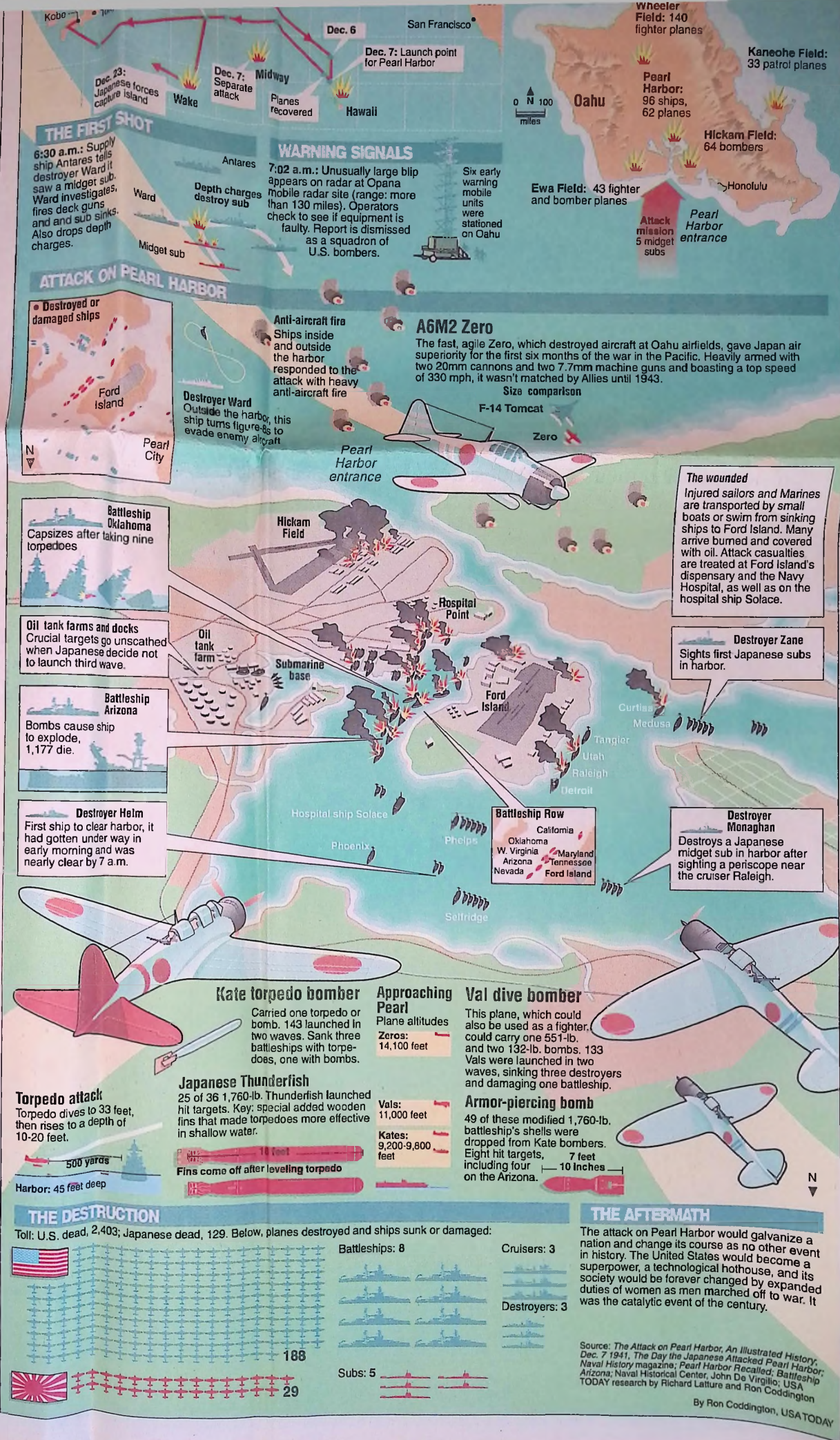
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Source: Long Day's Journey Into War by Stanley Weintraub; Lisa Faye Kaplan of Gannett News Service



Almanac

Time of Pearl Harbor attack: 7:53 a.m., Hawaii time, Dec. 7, 1941

Length of attack: One hour, 45 minutes

Length of President Roosevelt's "a date which will live in infamy" speech: 6 minutes

At the Japanese commander radioed back after attack: "Tora! Tora! Tora!" ("Tiger! Tiger! Tiger!")

Top-10 song, week of Dec. 7, 1941: *I Don't Want to Set the World on Fire*, The Mills Brothers

USS Arizona crew killed: 1,177

Total U.S. service members and civilians killed: 2,403

U.S. service members and civilians wounded: 1,178

Japanese sailors and pilots killed: 129

Greatest victim: Eunice Wilson, an infant whose home was destroyed by a stray shell

Oldest victim: Paul Ludicke, 69, a civilian

Date war began in Europe: Sept. 1, 1939

U.S. declared war on Japan: Dec. 8, 1941, 4:10 p.m. EST

U.S. declared war on Germany and Italy: Dec. 11, 1941, 3:05 and 3:06 p.m. EST, respectively

Duration of direct U.S. involvement in war: 1,365 days

Americans wounded in war: 671,278

Americans killed in war: 405,399

Estimated killed worldwide during war: 22 million

World War II veterans who became president: 8

Medals of Honor presented: 433

Imports from Japan, 1941: \$78 million

Imports from Japan, 1990: \$89.7 billion

Best-selling car in USA, 1941: Chevrolet Special Deluxe Town Sedan

Best-selling car in USA, 1991: Honda Accord

Japanese-Americans, 1940: 285,115

Japanese-Americans, 1990: 847,562

Americans interned during war: 120,000

Americans in the U.S. military during war: 14,000

U.S. population, 1941: 133.4 million

U.S. population, 1991: 252.6 million

Women working before war: 25%

Women working after war: 36%

U.S. women working today: 57%

Japanese-Americans face prejudice

By Haya El Nasser
USA TODAY

LOS ANGELES — One day each year, Kimi Maru relives the guilt of an attack she never witnessed.

Pearl Harbor day is "the day I would dread going to school," said Maru, born 15 years after the bombing. "It's something I've faced my whole life — the blaming of Japanese-Americans for Pearl Harbor."

Said Guy Aoki, of the National Coalition for Redress and Reparations: "Every Dec. 7, we kind of cringe."

The 50th anniversary of the attack is especially tough: "The potential to be the worst Dec. 7 of all for Japanese-Americans," is how Aoki termed it.

Three years ago, Aoki's group finally succeeded in getting the U.S. government to officially apologize for the wartime internment of 120,000 Japanese-Americans — two thirds of them U.S. citizens. The 60,000 camp survivors are getting \$20,000 each.

But now the anniversary is renewing fears of retaliation and racism here, home to 130,000 Japanese-Americans — the largest concentration in the USA.

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By Robert Hanashiro, USA TODAY

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"I couldn't stand the prejudice that was going on and the memories," he said. So after the war, he went to Tokyo.

He came back two years later to rejoin his family. But it hasn't been altogether a happy ending: he said he still is

victim of suspicion and prejudice. This year, because of all the attention on Pearl Harbor, Japanese-Americans are publicizing the contributions they made during World War II.

Among them: the achievements of the all-Nisei (second-generation Japanese-American) 522nd Field Artillery Battalion, which helped liberate Dachau, a Nazi concentration camp.

In Little Tokyo, Los Angeles' Japanese-American cultural center, Tagami and other veterans are trying to raise \$2.5 million to build a memorial to the 14,000-plus Japanese-Americans who fought in the war. Tagami is donating most of his \$20,000 reparation check to the monument and to the construction of a Japanese-American museum.

"We can't let the public ever forget that something like this has happened," said Tagami, who seldom talks about his war experiences with his four children. "One of these days, I'm going to have to sit down and tell them the pain and tragedy. They may not want to hear it but they need to hear it."

Many families are donating their reparation money to community causes. Others, like Harold and Florence Morimizu, are taking their five children and one grandchild to Japan.

"My parents had never been to Japan until the early 1980s, and most of my family has never been there," said Dale Gorman, the Morimizu's 34-year-old daughter. "We think of ourselves as Americans, and we think of them as the enemy. It's hard to think that we're looked at as the enemy."

Conspiracy theories: Who knew what when?

By Juan J. Walte
USA TODAY

No sooner was World War II over and won than the talk began that President Roosevelt had known the attack on Pearl Harbor was coming — and did nothing to prevent it.

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PEARL HARBOR: 50TH ANNIVERSARY

Almanac

Time of Pearl Harbor attack: 7:53 a.m., Hawaii time, Dec. 7, 1941

Length of attack: One hour, 45 minutes

Length of President Roosevelt's "a date which will live in infamy" speech: 6 minutes

What the Japanese commander radioed back after attack: "Tora! Tora! Tora!" ("Tiger! Tiger! Tiger!")

A top-10 song, week of Dec. 7, 1941: *I Don't Want to Set the World on Fire*, The Mills Brothers

USS Arizona crew killed: 1,177

Total U.S. service members and civilians killed: 2,403

U.S. service members and civilians wounded: 1,178

Japanese sailors and pilots killed: 129

Youngest victim: Eunice Wilson, an infant whose home was destroyed by a stray shell

Oldest victim: Paul Ludicke, 69, a civilian

Date war began in Europe: Sept. 1, 1939

Date U.S. declared war on Japan: Dec. 8, 1941, 4:10 p.m. EST

Date U.S. declared war on Germany and Italy: Dec. 11, 1941, 3:05 and 3:06 p.m. EST, respectively

Duration of direct U.S. involvement in war: 1,365 days

Americans wounded in war: 671,278

Americans killed in war: 405,399

Estimated killed worldwide during war: 22 million

World War II veterans who became president: 8

Medals of Honor presented: 433

Imports from Japan, 1941: \$78 million

Imports from Japan, 1990: \$89.7 billion

Best-selling car in USA, 1941: Chevrolet Special Deluxe Town Sedan

Best-selling car in USA, 1991: Honda Accord

Japanese-Americans, 1940: 285,115

Japanese-Americans, 1990: 847,562

Japanese-Americans interned during war: 120,000

Japanese-Americans in the U.S. military during war: 14,000

U.S. population, 1941: 133.4 million

U.S. population, 1991: 252.6 million

U.S. women working before war: 25%

U.S. women working after war: 36%

U.S. women working today: 57%

Japanese-Americans face prejudice

By Haya El Nasser
USA TODAY

LOS ANGELES — One day each year, Kimi Maru relives the guilt of an attack she never witnessed.

Pearl Harbor day is "the day I would dread going to school," said Maru, born 15 years after the bombing. "It's something I've faced my whole life — the blaming of Japanese-Americans for Pearl Harbor."

Said Guy Aoki, of the National Coalition for Redress and Reparations: "Every Dec. 7, we kind of cringe."

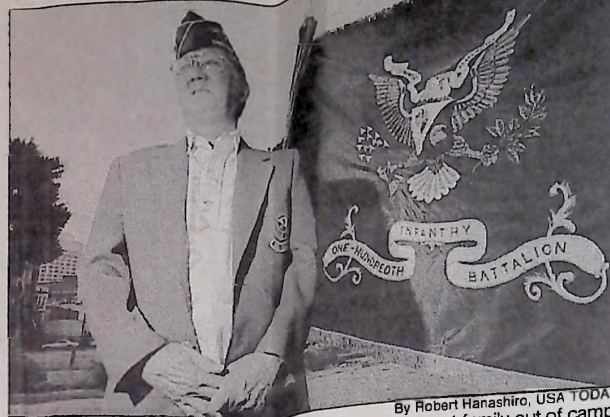
The 50th anniversary of the attack is especially tough: "The potential to be the worst Dec. 7 of all for Japanese-Americans," is how Aoki termed it.

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victim of suspicion. This year, because of the anniversary of Pearl Harbor, are publicizing the attack during World War II.

Among them: the all-Nisei (second-generation Japanese-American) 5888 Central Postal Directory Battalion, which was sent to France during World War II.

In Little Tokyo, and other veterans' groups are taking \$2.5 million to build a new Japanese American National Museum. Most of his \$20,000 went to the monument and the Japanese-American National Museum.

"We can't let the attack something like that said Tagami, who said his war experiences were a tragedy. They made him have to sit down and and tragedy. They made it but they need to be

Many families are taking money to come to the U.S. Others, like Harold Arima, are taking their one grandchild to Japan. "My parents had never until the early 1980s, family has never been Gorman, the Morimi daughter. "We think Americans, and we think enemy. It's hard to look at as the enemy

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2.2 Million
 Members



800,000
 Members

Robert E. Wallace
 Commander-In-Chief VFW

Mary Sears
 National President of the Ladies Auxiliary

For information about membership and services of... Veterans of Foreign Wars, Call: 816-756-3390 OR The Ladies' Auxiliary 816-561-8655

AT THE DAY THE BOMBS FELL

n the evening of Dec.
atty Kadick, 20, and
new husband, Mi-
danced to big band
ic at the Royal Ha-
an Hotel on Waikiki
h. The next morn-
Misha Kadick, 25,
my artillery officer,
called to his unit
Betty was evacuat-
an Army barracks.
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shaking and the
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on three nails in
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my new dress. I
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We were mov-
the barracks
strafers came
n. I ran into the
bed a mattress
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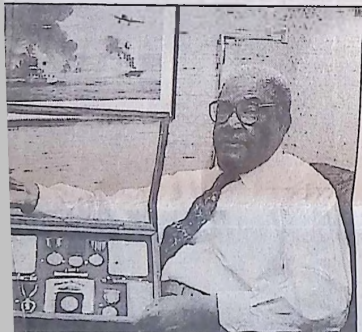
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When the shaking stopped, the huge foremast leaned in a pitiful crumble, the ship a confusion of blazing fire and billowing smoke. Within minutes, the battleship sank to the bottom, entombing some 1,000 men, including Adm. Kidd.

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1: 'Knew we were in trouble'

not at by our own forces'

g, 22, a Navy radioman/gunner, was on one of the ships that took off from the USS Enterprise at 6:15 p.m. on Oct. 24. It was the last ship to leave the fleet as it headed to Pearl Harbor. The ship was carrying 50 miles out at sea. We could see the gunpowder ships at Pearl Harbor. We were diving on the ships at Pearl Harbor. We saw our own forces as we tried to land. . . . Four of our own forces were shot down, one by our own forces. The rest were shot down. It was devastating."



President to speak at Arizona Memorial

Quay —
Original
mooring
quay for the
ship still
stands.

Presidential visit
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strater came down our side lawn and the bullets just danced. ... I had a sinking feeling when (Misha) left. ... Finally, a colonel came by and gave me a little pistol. ... I put on a lovely two-piece dress my mother had sent me. I decided if the Japs were going to get me, I was going to have on my new dress. I wore it for the next 10 days. ... We were moving into the barracks when the strafers came over again. I ran into the door, grabbed a mattress and threw it over (two) children. Twenty minutes later the buses came to take us to Honolulu."

The Kadicks wouldn't celebrate a wedding anniversary together until their fifth in 1946. During the war, Betty Kadick, now 70, worked for the Women's Air Raid Defense organization, which tracked enemy movements. Misha Kadick, 75, is a retired colonel. The couple lives in Washington, D.C.



By William D. Clare



HOLT: Shows medals he earned in war

Steward: 'Knew we were in trouble'

Ben Holt joined the Navy to escape segregation in the South, only to find it on the USS Nevada. Although a recruiter promised him a clerk's job, like other blacks Holt was relegated to steward, tending to officers. Then 21, he was relaxing in his quarters when the attack began.

"There was a great reverberation. ... I decided to go top-side. There were the Japanese dive bombers and torpedo planes with the rising sun painted on. I knew we were in trouble. ... I saw a white sailor sitting there, his left foot blown off. He said, 'Give me my foot.' So I gave it to him in his hand and he said, 'Put it on! Put it on!' But I couldn't."

"The last time I saw him he was making the sign of the cross. ... A bomb exploded and the flash fire found my hand, arm, elbow, shoulder, lips, chin, blowing me ... 15 feet. My neck fractured. If I hadn't had a helmet on I would've been dead."

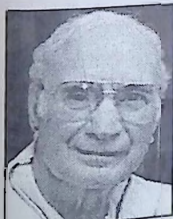
As the Nevada made its aborted run out of the harbor, Holt jumped and swam to Ford Island. He was picked up and nursed by Hawaiians. Listed as missing, he made headlines as Nashville's first casualty. He later earned two doctorates using the GI Bill and now, at 71, is retired as academic director of New York City high schools.

Pilot: 'Shot at by our own forces'

Jack Learning, 22, a Navy radioman/gunner, was on one of 18 planes that took off from the USS Enterprise at 6:15 a.m., flying in front of the fleet as it headed to Pearl Harbor.

"We smelled the gunpowder 50 miles out at sea. We could see the Japanese diving on the ships at Pearl Harbor. We were shot at by our own forces as we tried to land. ... Four of my shipmates were shot down, one by our own forces and three by (Japanese) Zeros. It was devastating."

Learning later was shot down over the Pacific and spent 3½ years as a POW. He's now 72, retired, and lives in Wildwood, N.J.



By William D. Clare, AP
SICILIANO: Today, and below, in 1942



Hospital doctor: 'It was carnage'

Capt. Thomas Siciliano, 29, was driving to Tripler General Hospital in Honolulu when the news came over the radio. The first casualties were brought in just as the young physician arrived. He was to work non-stop for three days.

"The first few hours were chaos. Bloodied bodies, gaping abdominal and chest wounds ... The operating rooms were filled (and) many of the less wounded were taken care of in the hallways. ... All those battered young men, some without arms and legs, some dying without arms ... I was angry because this was unprovoked. I kept thinking these boys didn't have a chance ... It was carnage."

Siciliano, 79, still practices medicine in Clifton, N.J.

As McCurdy's nery communication served as Rear Adm. Kidd's orderly, clambered up the tripod ladder of the mainmast, "machine-gun paint" were bouncing off the bomb. Clinging tight, he saw the crash through the deck. He hid behind the mast leg as all the debris from the decks flew by. Unscathed, McCurdy and nearly a dozen other Marines stepped onto the searchlight platform where a lieutenant lay mortally wounded. There was no help for him so I continued to my station — the broadside gun-directing booth 95 feet above the water.

There, "we had a view of everything. We could see the bombers and the torpedo planes coming in. When they were dropping the torpedoes ... some came within 25 feet of our tower."

"You could almost reach out and touch them. One (pilot) slipped the plane's canopy back and I could see his face. "There was no expression."

IN 1942: McCurdy went on to serve in the Pacific.

McCurdy watched as the Japanese strafers swooped over Hickam Field. He saw the Oklahoma slowly roll over, its men walking across the hull of the "wounded whale." He watched the Nevada break from its berth. But he was not

to be a spectator for long.

A bomb pierced the Arizona's forward magazines, setting off tons of gunpowder.

There were ... little explosions and then an enormous one — a million pounds of explosives and fuel oil.

"It just blew the ship wide open. The front of the ship reared up and then it settled down. The mainmast quivered and started shaking."

The Marines were thrown in "a human ball, holding onto each other ... like somebody shaking a dice box and we being the dice."

When the shaking stopped, the huge foremast leaned in a pitiful crumble, the ship a confusion of blazing fire and billowing smoke. Within minutes, the battleship sank to the bottom, entombing some 1,000 men, including Adm. Kidd.

McCurdy's commander ordered his men down to the quarterdeck, deciding there

was nothing left for them to do.

As a favorable wind kept the forward inferno away, McCurdy and the other Marines climbed down, singeing their hands on the burning, sticky shelled rope rails.

"After we got down, I saw the men coming out of the ship: burning, some without arms or legs, charred black with their clothes burned off. They were delirious, a lot of them in shock. It was an awful sight."

"They looked like they were cooked in their own blood."

Among them was a sergeant McCurdy knew. "I only recognized him through his voice and build he was burned so bad." The man died in minutes.

Soon the Marines abandoned ship and began swimming through the burning oil and debris to Ford Island.

"The bombers would come over (and) it looked like every bomb was going to hit us. One went off 50 feet from us in the

trigger happy ... and every else started firing. You never seen such a dome of tracer was like daylight."

Four U.S. planes were shot down by Americans that night. Three pilots died. "From time I saw my lieutenant killed we operated on instinct."

Most of the 1,177 who died on the Arizona are still entombed in its sunken compartments, the vast majority them sailors.

Of the 87 Marines on board that day, only 15 survived.

Pvt. Russ McCurdy was one of them.

After Pearl Harbor McCurdy served in the Pacific, spending the last day in Okinawa watching another "dome of tracers" mark Japan's surrender. He retired as a lieutenant colonel in 1965 and later worked in an appliance store. He now lives in Huntington Ind., with his wife, Pearl, and has two children and six grandchildren. The entire family is in Pearl Harbor for the 50th anniversary of the attack

'I made my target the Arizona'

By Gwenda Iyechad
USA TODAY

TOKYO — As Lt. Zenji Abe flew his Val dive bomber toward Pearl Harbor on Dec. 7, 1941, he felt something horribly uncomfortable happening to the back of his neck.

"It was my hair rising," the 75-year-old man said recently, from his suburban Tokyo apartment overlooking Mount Fuji.

He heard the words "Tora! Tora! Tora!" (Tiger! Tiger! Tiger!) over his radio — the code indicating that the first-wave attack had caught U.S. forces unaware — and he looked for a target for his 550-pound bomb.

"I was concentrating on what target I should select," he said. "I made my target the Arizona. I didn't know that it was the Arizona until later, and that it had already been hit."

Like others then, Abe believed the attack was necessary to give Japan a few months' head start in solidifying its hold on Asian oil supplies.

Today he believes that strategy was wrong.

"At that time, the French already had surrendered to the Germans. England was also in a very, very dangerous situation. However, President Roosevelt couldn't persuade the American people's minds toward battle," he said.

"If Japan had not hit any American territory and instead had gone for the oil in Dutch Indies, I think Roosevelt wouldn't have decided to go to war."

And, he said, Japan had not weighed the ultimate consequences: "If we had not attacked Pearl Harbor, no atomic bomb would have followed. ... But back then, I was only

25 years old. I was obeying orders."

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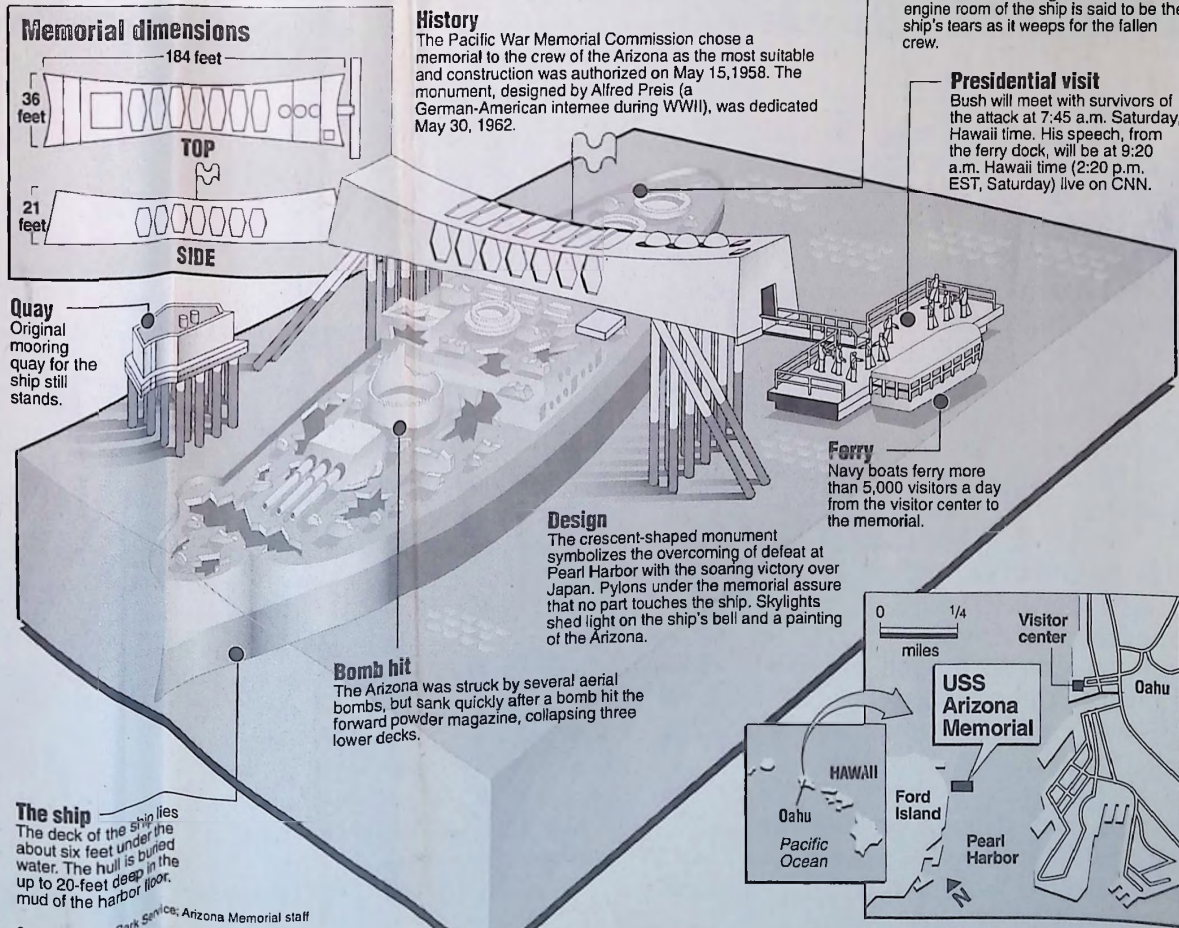
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ABE: Japanese pilot was only 'obeying orders' when he helped bomb Pearl Harbor.

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Presidential visit

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Ferry
Navy boats ferry more than 5,000 visitors a day from the visitor center to the memorial.

Design

The crescent-shaped monument symbolizes the overcoming of defeat at Pearl Harbor with the soaring victory over Japan. Pylons under the memorial assure that no part touches the ship. Skylights shed light on the ship's bell and a painting of the Arizona.

Bomb hit

The Arizona was struck by several aerial bombs, but sank quickly after a bomb hit the forward powder magazine, collapsing three lower decks.

The ship

The deck of the ship lies about six feet under the water. The hull is buried in the up to 20-foot deep floor of mud of the harbor floor.

Source: National Park Service; Arizona Memorial staff

By Marty Baumann, USA TODAY

PEARL HARBOR: 50TH ANNIVERSARY

SURVIVORS Marine escaped Arizona's inferno

A LOOK AT THE DAY THE BOMBS FELL

In an instant, newlyweds are torn apart by battle

On the evening of Dec. 6, Betty Kadick, 20, and her new husband, Misha, danced to big band music at the Royal Hawaiian Hotel on Waikiki Beach. The next morning, Misha Kadick, 25, an Army artillery officer, was called to his unit and Betty was evacuated to an Army barracks.

"We awakened to the house shaking and the explosions. . . I had some gorgeous serving plates on three nails in the pantry. On the way (out) I took them down and stacked them so they wouldn't break. It was sort of a silly thing. . . Right then a Japanese strafe came down our side lawn and the bullets just danced. . . I had a sinking feeling when (Misha) left. . . Finally, a colonel came by and gave me a little pistol. . . I put on a lovely two-piece dress my mother had sent me. I decided if the Japs were going to get me, I was going to have on my new dress. I wore it for the next 10 days. . . We were moving into the barracks when the strafers came over again. I ran into the door, grabbed a mattress and threw it over (two) children. Twenty minutes later the buses came to take us to Honolulu."

The Kadicks wouldn't celebrate a wedding anniversary until their fifth in 1946. During the war, Betty Kadick, now 70, worked for the Women's Air Raid Defense organization, which tracked enemy movements. Misha Kadick, 75, is a retired colonel. The couple lives in Washington, D.C.



By H. Darr Belser, USA TODAY
LOVE LASTS: Above, Misha and Betty Kadick now. Below, the couple in 1941.



By Andrea Stone
USA TODAY

On the morning of Dec. 7, Pvt. Russ McCurdy's thoughts turned to Sunday dinner. The bushy-browed Marine had a coveted invitation to a civilian family's home and was shaving in his T-shirt and trousers as he prepared to go ashore from the USS Arizona. Then, he felt it.

A bump. Bombs were dropping on nearby Ford Island, the ship enacting jarring row, anchored along battleship row. McCurdy headed to his battle station high atop the mainmast, station high atop the mainmast. "On my way, I saw people sticking their heads out the portholes. You could sense the fear and alarm. One of them hollered 'Jap attack!'"

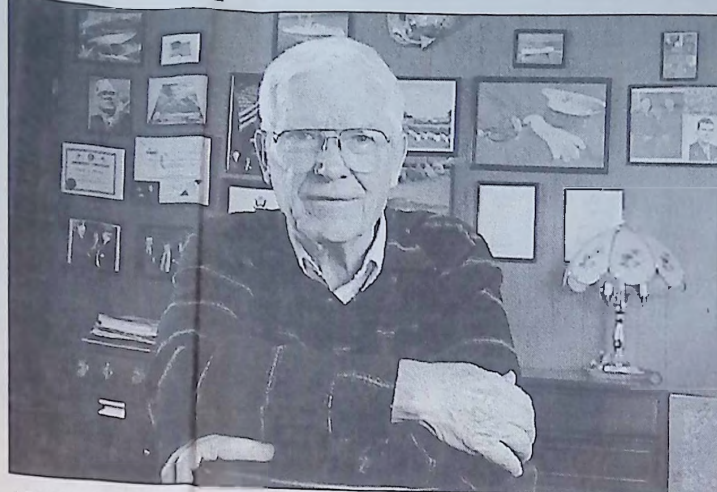
Air raid sirens went off. A call to general quarters sounded. But everyone was already moving in the chaos that had broken the sun-drenched, early morning calm.

As McCurdy, then 24, a gunnery communicator who served as Rear Adm. Isaac Kidd's orderly, clambered up the tripod ladder of the mainmast, "machine-gun bullets were bouncing off the paint." Clinging tight, he saw a bomb crash through the deck. He hid behind the mast leg "as all the debris from the decks flew by."

Unscathed, McCurdy and nearly a dozen other Marines stepped onto the searchlight platform where a lieutenant lay mortally wounded. "There was no help for him so I continued to my station" — the broadside gun-directing booth 95 feet above the water.

There, "we had a view of everything. We could see the bombers and the torpedo planes coming in. When they were dropping the torpedoes . . . some came within 25 feet of our tower."

"You could almost reach out and touch them. One (pilot)



By Michael Conroy, AP
ARIZONA SURVIVOR: Russ McCurdy was one of 15 Marines, out of 87 on ship, to survive. 'Machine-gun bullets were bouncing off the paint' as he scrambled to get to his post.



IN 1942: McCurdy went on to serve in the Pacific.

slipped the plane's canopy back and I could see his face.

"There was no expression." McCurdy watched as the Japanese strafers swooped over Hickam Field. He saw the Oklahoma slowly roll over, its men walking across the hull of the "wounded whale." He watched the Nevada break from its berth. But he was not

to be a spectator for long.

A bomb pierced the Arizona's forward magazines, setting off tons of gunpowder.

"There were . . . little explosions and then an enormous one — a million pounds of explosives and fuel oil."

"It just blew the ship wide open. The front of the ship reared up and then it settled down. The mainmast quivered and started shaking."

The Marines were thrown in "a human ball, holding onto each other . . . like somebody shaking a dice box and we being the dice."

When the shaking stopped, the huge foremast leaned in a pitiful crumble, the ship a confusion of blazing fire and billowing smoke. Within minutes, the battleship sank to the bottom, entombing some 1,000 men, including Adm. Kidd.

McCurdy's commander ordered his men down to the quarterdeck, deciding there

was nothing left for them to do. As a favorable wind kept the forward inferno away, McCurdy and the other Marines climbed down, singeing their hands on the burning, sticky shackled rope rails.

"After we got down, I saw the men coming out of the ship: burning, some without arms or legs, charred black with their clothes burned off. They were delirious, a lot of them in shock. It was an awful sight."

"They looked like they were cooked in their own blood."

Among them was a sergeant McCurdy knew. "I only recognized him through his voice and build he was burned so bad." The man died in minutes.

Soon the Marines abandoned ship and began swimming through the burning oil and debris to Ford Island.

"The bombers would come over (and) it looked like every bomb was going to hit us. One went off 50 feet from us in the

water. The shock waves near took the skin off our bones."

McCurdy, a burly race-brower who did sit-ups with Kidd, almost gave out. He reeled on a pipeline before finally crawling onto the beach.

"We all looked awful, swimming in that black tarry oil, was in your eyes and ears a hair. Took weeks to get rid of."

McCurdy made his way an officer's house at Ford Island. When no one answered, he walked in. "I saw oatmeal cooking on the stove remember taking the oatmeal off and turning the stove off."

Then he hopped a truck Ford Island Air Field.

That night, McCurdy manned a machine-gun on the roof of the Ford Island armor. Misty rain fell on the blacked out air field. Despite severe warnings that a group of planes from the USS Enterprise were expected to land, "someone triggered happy . . . and everyone else started firing. You never seen such a dome of tracers. It was like daylight."

Four U.S. planes were shot down by Americans that night. Three pilots died. "From that time I saw my lieutenant killed we operated on instinct."

Most of the 1,177 who died on the Arizona are still entombed in its sunken compartments, the vast majority of them sailors.

Of the 87 Marines on board that day, only 15 survived.

Pvt. Russ McCurdy was one of them.

After Pearl Harbor McCurdy served in the Pacific spending the last day in Okinawa watching another "dome of tracers" mark Japan's surrender. He retired as a lieutenant colonel in 1965 and later worked in an appliance store. He now lives in Huntington Ind., with his wife, Pearl, and has two children and six grandchildren. The entire family is in Pearl Harbor for the 50th anniversary of the attack.

'I made my target the Arizona'

By Gwenda Iyechad
USA TODAY

TOKYO — As Lt. Zenji Abe flew his Val dive bomber toward Pearl Harbor on Dec. 7, 1941, he felt something horribly uncomfortable happening to the back of his neck.

"It was my hair rising," the 75-year-old man said recently, from his suburban Tokyo apartment overlooking Mount Fuji.

He heard the words "Tora! Tora! Tora!" (Tiger! Tiger! Tiger!) over his radio — the code indicating that the first-wave attack had caught U.S. forces unaware — and he looked for a target for his 550-pound bomb.

"I was concentrating on what target I should select," he said. "I made my target the Arizona. I didn't know that it was the Arizona until later, and that it had already been hit."

Like others then, Abe believed the attack was necessary to give Japan a few months' head start in solidifying its hold on Asian oil supplies.

Today he believes that strategy was wrong.

"At that time, the French already had surrendered to the Germans. England was also in a very, very dangerous situation. However, President Roosevelt couldn't persuade the American people's minds toward battle," he said.

"If Japan had not hit any American territory and instead had gone for the oil in Dutch Indies, I think Roosevelt wouldn't have decided to go to war."

And, he said, Japan had not weighed the ultimate consequences: "If we had not attacked Pearl Harbor, no atomic bomb would have followed. . . . But back then, I was only

25 years old. I was obeying orders."

This week, he will return to the USS Arizona Memorial, where he has come before to throw leis into the oily waters where so many died.

"When I look at the memorial, I deeply feel regret," Abe said.

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ABE: Japanese pilot was only 'obeying orders' when he helped bomb Pearl Harbor.



HOLT: Shows medals he earned in war

Steward: 'Knew we were in trouble'

Ben Holt joined the Navy to escape segregation in the South, only to find it on the USS Nevada. Although a recruiter promised him a clerk's job, like other blacks Holt was relegated to steward, tending to officers. Then 21, he was relaxing in his quarters when the attack began.

"There was a great reverberation. . . I decided to go topside. There were the Japanese dive bombers and torpedo planes with the rising sun painted on. I knew we were in trouble. . . I saw a white sailor sitting there, his left foot blown off. He said, 'Give me my foot.' So I gave it to him in his hand and he said, 'Put it on! Put it on!' But I couldn't."

"The last time I saw him he was making the sign of the cross. . . A bomb exploded and the flash fire found my hand, arm, elbow, shoulder, hips, chin, blowing me . . . 15 feet. My neck fractured. If I hadn't had a helmet on I would've been dead."

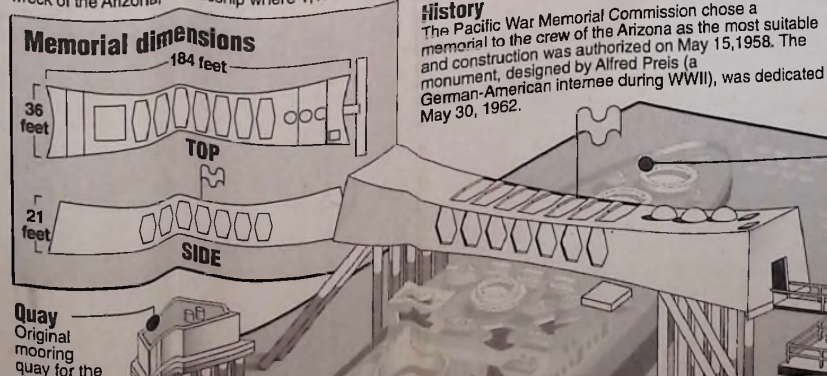
As the Nevada made its aborted run out of the harbor, Holt jumped and swam to Ford Island. He was picked up and nursed by Hawaiians. Listed as missing, he made headlines as Nashville's first casualty. He later earned two doctorates using the GI Bill and now, at 71, is retired as academic director of New York City high schools.

Pilot: 'Shot at by our own forces'

Jack Leaming, 22, a Navy radioman/gunner, was on one of 18 planes that took off from the USS Enterprise at 6:15 a.m., flying in front of the fleet as it headed to Pearl Harbor. "We smelled the gunpowder 50 miles out at sea. We could see the Japanese diving on the ships at Pearl Harbor. We got shot by our own forces as we tried to land. . . . Four

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The truth about the National Guard will blow you away.

We live next door to you.

We work with you. We teach your children. Cure your ailments. Build your homes. Pilot and maintain commercial airlines. Even repair your automobiles.

We're from all walks of life. And while we're really no different from you, something very important sets us apart.

We're America's citizen soldiers. Dedicated to coming to your aid at a moment's notice. To protect your home.

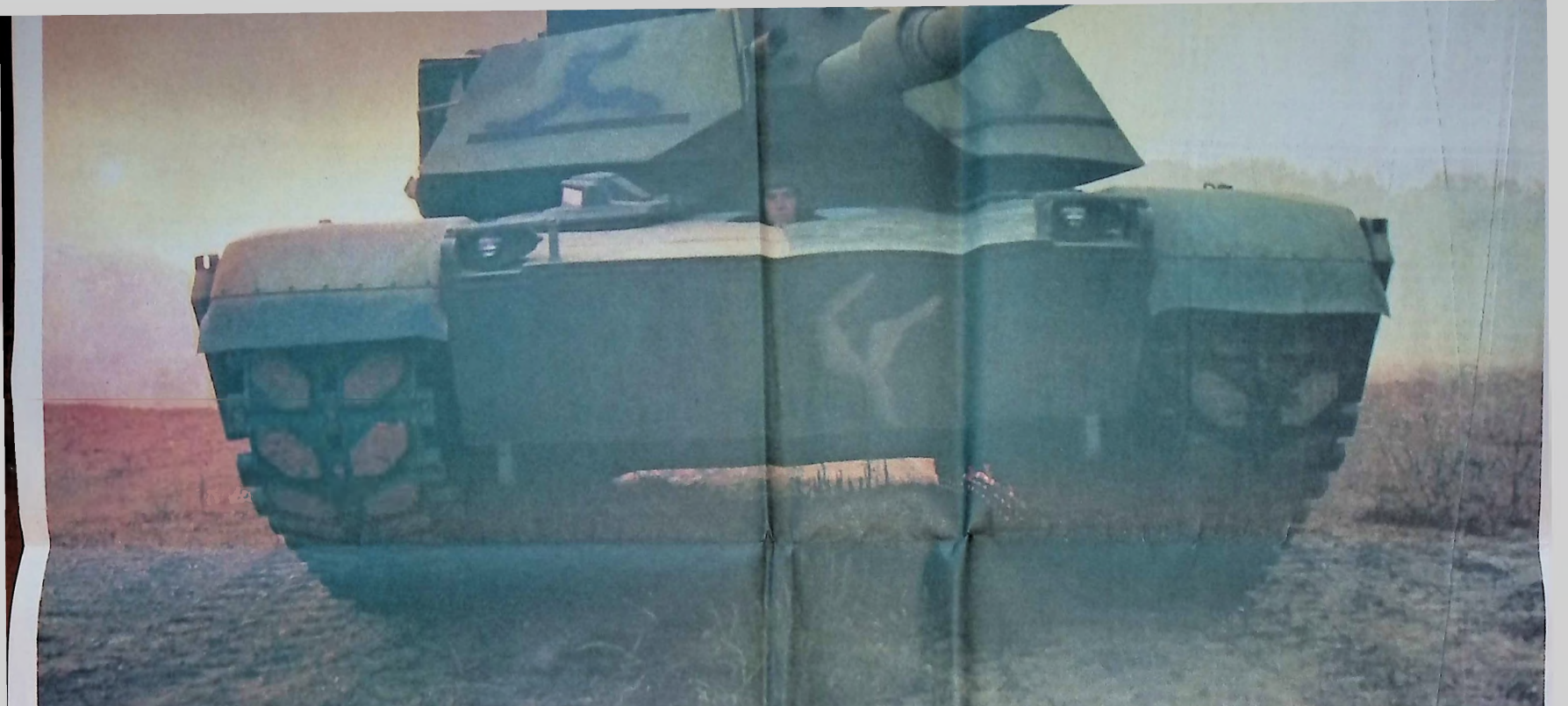
technology and equipment. From water purification and state of the art artillery units in Desert Storm to engineering and medical units helping our international neighbors in developing countries.

And the Air National Guard? Today, we're a major contributor in all Air Force missions. From frontline fighter aircraft, medical evacuation and engineering units, to tactical and strategic airlift and aerial refueling aircraft. Airborne in the first hours of

killed or wounded overseas during World War II. Almost the same number were called to action during the Korean War. In Vietnam, Guardsmen received over 1,700 medals for bravery.

And today, the Guard continues to defend American values and interests in Desert Storm. Alongside the Active Forces and coalition members, the Guard is there. The untiring dedication of the citizen soldier lives on.

Unlike other branches of the Armed



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Most Americans are unaware of just how many ways they depend on us.

On the frontline in Operation Desert Storm. On the frontline in the War on Drugs. On the frontline in local and state emergencies. On the frontline in nation-building efforts around the world. The Guard is there, defending the National interest, protecting our citizens and adding value to our states and nation.

The truth is that almost half the Army's combat units belong to the Army National Guard—defense that couldn't be in better hands. You'll find us using the latest

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We face other enemies, too. Fighting them right on the frontlines. Together with the U.S. Border Patrol and U.S. Customs Service, we help to keep millions of dollars worth of illegal drugs from ever reaching our communities and destroying the hearts and minds of our children.

The National Guard is older than our nation itself. The Guard was formed over 350 years ago to protect and defend the colonies.

Close to 186,000 Guardsmen were

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Unlike other branches of the Armed Forces, the National Guard's charge is twofold. Times of disaster, strife and need find the National Guard always ready to lend a hand—whether it's halfway around the world or right in our own backyard.

The National Guard is the finest men and women of your hometown. We're skilled. Capable. Intelligent. We're Americans at their best.

And that's the truth.



Americans At Their Best.

THE NATIONAL GUARD

INSIDE



Survivor: Russ McCurdy in 1991 and in 1941.

- Talking to survivors of the attack, 9A
- Cover story, 1A
- Today's debate, 12A
- Athletes and Pearl Harbor, 2C, 3C

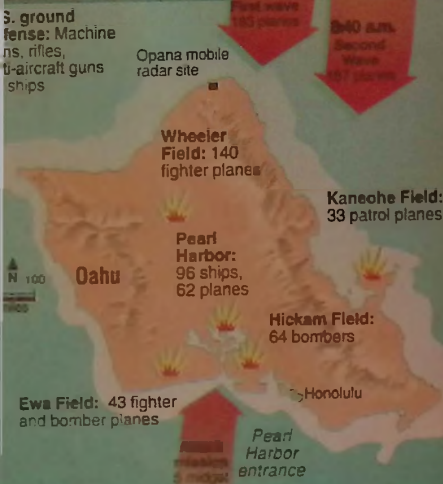
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STRIKE ON OAHU



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and two 7.7mm machine guns and boasting a top speed
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MONDAY, FEBRUARY 20, 2012

George Will THE WASHINGTON POST

'Ike' was special, even if nation doesn't realize it

Two coming developments, one dismal and one excellent, pertain to America's memory of a great man. One of several oversight panels soon will consider a proposed memorial to Dwight Eisenhower.

The proposal is an exhibitionistic triumph of theory over function — more a monument to its creator, Frank Gehry, practitioner of architectural flamboyance, than to the most underrated president. Fortunately, on Tuesday comes Jean Edward Smith's biography, "Eisenhower in War and Peace," which demonstrates why the man's achievements merit a memorial better than the proposed one.



Filling 4 acres across Independence Avenue from the National Mall, the memorial will have a colonnade of huge limestone-clad columns from which will hang 80-foot stainless-steel mesh "tapes-

tries" depicting images evocative of Eisenhower's Kansas youth. And almost as an afterthought, there will be a statue of Eisenhower — as a boy.

Philip Kennicott, The Washington Post's cultural critic, says the statue suggests Eisenhower "both innocent of and yet pregnant with whatever failings history ultimately attributes to his career." Failings? A memorial is not an exhaustive assessment, it is a celebration of a preponderance of greatness.

Kennicott praises Gehry's project because it allows visitors "space to form their own assessment of Eisenhower's legacy." But memorials are not seminars, they are reminders — that a person esteemed by the nation lived and is worth learning more about.

Kennicott says Gehry's project acknowledges that "few great men are absolutely great, without flaws and failings." Good grief. If Ike, with all his defects, was not great, cancel the memorial.

Kennicott celebrates the "relatively small representation of Eisenhower" because "there were other Eisenhowers right behind him, other men who could have done what he did, who would have risen to the occasion if they had been tapped." How sweetly democratic: Greatness can be tapped hither and yon. But if greatness is so abundant and assured, it is hardly greatness, so cancel all memorials.

So far, the best remembrance of Eisenhower is Smith's biography of one of three Americans (with Washington and Grant) who were world figures before becoming president.

Eisenhower entered the White House having dealt with such demanding military men as John Pershing, Douglas MacArthur and George Marshall, then FDR, Churchill, Stalin (Eisenhower was the only foreigner ever to stand alongside Stalin atop Lenin's tomb), de Gaulle and others in the excruciatingly complex task of conducting coalition warfare with the largest multinational force ever assembled.

Intellectuals and journalists, who are often the last to learn things, regarded Eisenhower as amiable and mediocre. He was neither. He was cold (see Smith on Eisenhower's dismissal of his wartime companion Kay Summersby). He was steely (a three-to-four pack a day smoker, he quit when "I simply gave myself an order").

He was brutal (he used financial pressure to bring Britain to heel during the 1956 Suez crisis). He was subtle (he assisted de Gaulle's seizure of power in France in 1944, contrary to FDR's fervent wishes). He was audacious (he evaded Churchill by dealing directly with Stalin).

After Eisenhower quickly liquidated a stale-mated war in Korea, no American died in combat during his presidency. Twice, concerning the French besieged at Dien Bien Phu in Vietnam and during the Formosa Strait crisis, he resisted — a president with less military confidence might not have — his most senior advisers advocating the use of nuclear weapons.

Smith is most mind-opening regarding Eisenhower on race. In February 1953 — 15 months before Brown v. Board of Education — he vowed to use every power of his office to end segregation in the District of Columbia and the armed forces — two-thirds of Army units were still segregated five years after President Truman's integration order. By October 1954, no more segregated units existed.

In 1957, he sent the 101st Airborne to integrate Little Rock's Central High School. In 1958, he told the Red Cross to ignore a Louisiana law requiring that blood from black and white donors be segregated. This was in character: In 1942, when Australia desperately sought U.S. troops but said a law prohibited blacks from entering the country, Gen. Eisenhower said, "All right. No troops." Australia quickly saw the light.

Smith, biographer of Lucius Clay, John Marshall, Grant and FDR, writes: "[Eisenhower] was buried in a government-issue, eighty-dollar pine coffin, wearing his famous Ike jacket with no medals or decorations other than his insignia of rank." His memory should not be buried beneath a grandiose memorial that contributes only to the worsening clutter on and around the Mall.

George Will may be reached at georgewill@washpost.com.



Ticktock: The inventor John Harrison

BOOKS

Clockmaker to the Stars

How a singular genius solved the longitude fix

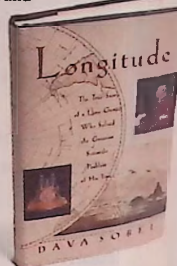
NO NOVELIST COULD IMPROVE ON the elements of Dava Sobel's *Longitude* (184 pages. Walker. \$19). To set the story in motion, there is an insoluble scientific problem that indirectly causes the death of thousands. Then comes a gang of arrogant scientists led by a villainous astronomer named—no kidding—the Rev. Nevil Maskelyne. Stir in shipwrecks and assorted charlatans and quacks. To top it off, the hero is a lone genius, a humble watchmaker no less, who saves the day and walks off with £20,000 (this story being set in the 17th century, that was a lot of money). But the most fantastic aspect of this story is that it's all true. The tale of how John Harrison invented the chronometer—the device that gave sailors the ability to determine their longitude—is one of the best chapters in . . . astronomy? naval history? watchmaking? This crackerjack saga doesn't get told often because it needs a writer fluent in both history and science—and a working knowledge of clockworks doesn't hurt. In Sobel, a former science reporter for The New York Times, Harrison's tale has found a narrator equipped to do it justice.

The problem of longitude was not *what* it was—the astronomer and cartographer Ptolemy was plotting longitudinal lines on his maps as early as A.D. 150. The dilemma lay in how to measure it. Galileo had a go at the problem and flunked. So did Sir Isaac Newton. Recounting the solutions put forth by lesser minds, including firing cannons and flares from a chain of ships stretched across the ocean, Sobel adds a magnificent chapter to the history of human silliness. But the problem was real enough, and in 1714, when Parliament offered £20,000 for a workable method of reckoning longitude, it wasn't just disinterestedly supporting scientific inquiry. The age of exploration had inspired European ships to sail ever farther across the globe, and without a means to compute longitude, it was like sailing blindfolded. In 1707 a British fleet sailing home in a fog had miscalculated its position and foundered off the coast of England. Four out of five ships sank and 2,000 men drowned.

By the beginning of the 17th century, scientists had figured out that if you knew the time on board your ship, the time back home and the distance you'd traveled, you could plot your longitude. But that required a clock that precisely kept the time back home. And no such clock existed. Besides, England's leading astronomers argued, they all but had the problem licked by measuring the relative distance between the sun, the moon and the stars and compiling pages and pages of charts to ascertain longitude. It was a method only Rube Goldberg could love. Nevertheless, it was the solution of choice among sophisticated scientists.

When Harrison—a mere watchmaker—appeared with his first chronometer, he went up against some of the most influential scientists of his day, including Maskelyne, the royal astronomer. It took the determined Harrison four decades, four prototypes and three sea trials to prove his case and claim his prize.

Sobel walks her readers through the intricacies of navigation, astronomy and horology, but while she deluges us with details, subplots and asides, she never lets us lose sight of Harrison, who, in her words, "wrested the world's whereabouts from the stars, and locked the secret in a pocket watch." In *Longitude*, a book as intricate and elegant as one of his own magnificent timepieces, this singular man gets the monument he deserves. MALCOLM JONES JR.



Review week Nov. (?) 1995

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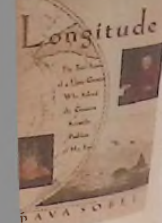
HITLER'S WAR AGAINST THE WORLD BY JOHN KEEGAN

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HITLER'S WAR AGAINST THE WORLD BY JOHN KEEGAN

50 YEARS LATER

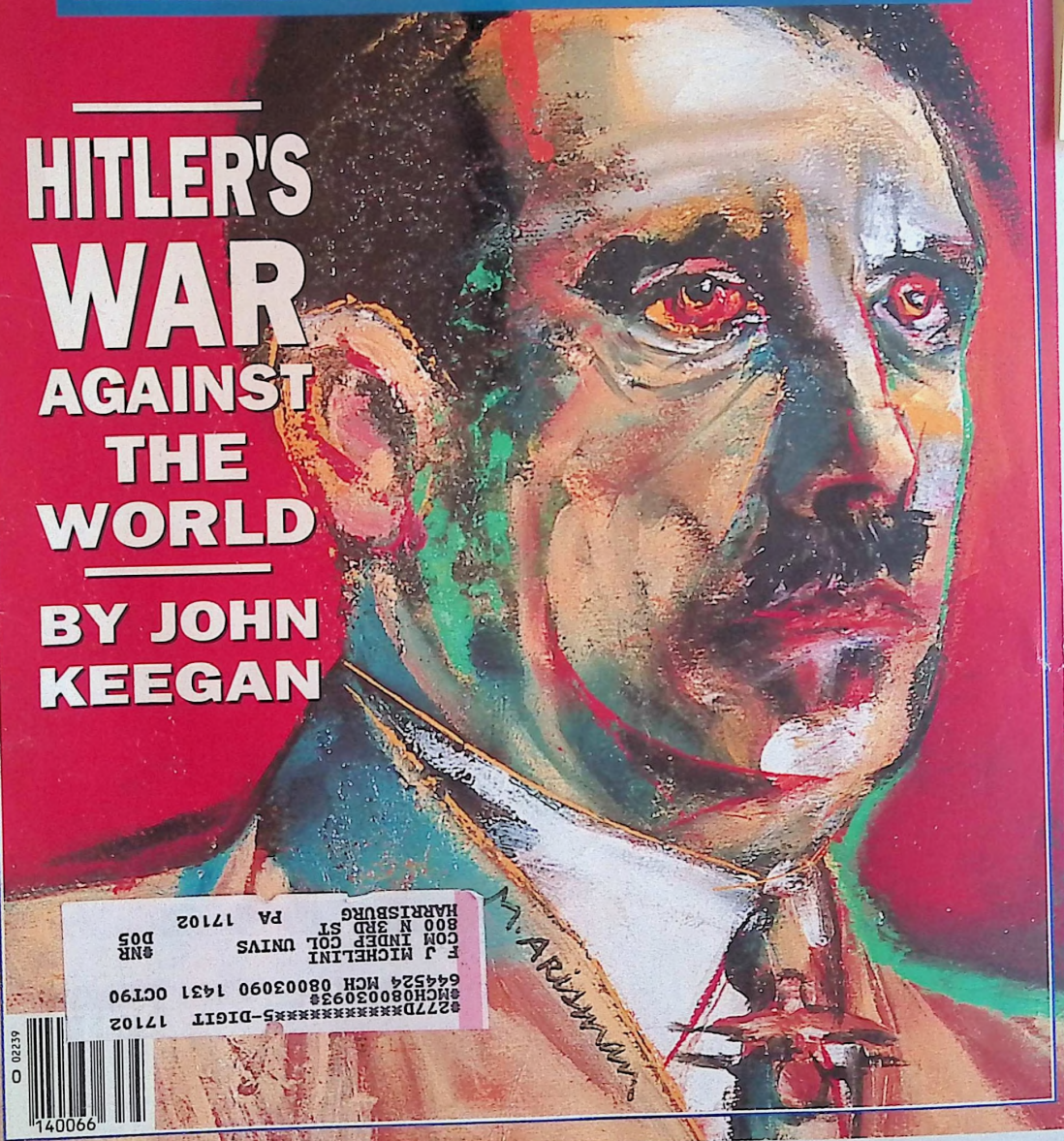
WORLD WAR II

SPECIAL DOUBLE ISSUE

U.S. News & WORLD REPORT

AUGUST 28—SEPTEMBER 4, 1989

\$1.95



SPECIAL REPORT



THE STRUGGLE

Nearly five years into the war, the Nazis finally were retreating on both the Eastern and Western fronts. Here, American troops come ashore at Normandy in the wake of the D-Day invasion

WORLD AT WAR

Fifty years ago this September, World War II began. Millions struggled in it and millions died in it, but in many ways it was the war of just one man. Hitler made it, he fought it, he determined its barbaric character, and his will continuously enlarged and sustained it from the beginning almost to the very end. The pages that follow examine history's greatest conflict, the man who started it and the world that exists a half-century later.

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■ Who Was Hitler?	38
■ Hitler's View of Europe	46
■ The World the War Created	68
■ Germany and the Soviet Union	68

**WORLD
AT WAR
50 YEARS**

HITLER'S GRAB

BY JOHN KEEGAN

This year is the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of World War II. The war was the largest event in history. It killed 50 million human beings, wounded in body or mind tens of millions more, laid waste the heartland of Western civilization and spread death and destruction across six of the world's seven continents and all of its oceans.

It was a war that sent Brazilians of African descent to fight Germans in Italy, Australians to attack Frenchmen in Lebanon, Americans from the oil towns of Texas to bomb the oil fields of Romania, Gurkhas from the mountain kingdom of Nepal to battle Japanese soldiers in the malarial plains of Burma, Cossacks wearing German uniforms to defend the beaches of Normandy against French Canadians, Spaniards to perish from exposure in the snowbound wastes of the Russian steppe, German submarines to torpedo Norwegian seamen in the Indian Ocean.

It is a war vividly remembered by those who fought it, never to be forgotten by the families of those who perished in it. It is also a war that generations too young to recall it continue to find of deep and compelling interest. They know that the world they inhabit was changed and shaped by World War II. But how the war was fought and, to an even greater degree, why it was fought are questions that tantalize and mystify.

The price of resistance

For Russians of the postwar generation, the war is an event that left 1 in 3 without a father, that requires every bride to this day to place her wedding bouquet on the local war memorial, that on the anniversary of victory in Europe each year on May 9, fills every park and public place with veterans who come to celebrate their own, their comrades' and their country's survival. For the British, the war is a national epic, when for nearly two years they sustained the struggle against Nazi tyranny singlehanded while their cities burned under German bomber attack, which left them as a people unbowed but gravely bloodied. For the French, the war is remembered as a national humiliation, undoing every effort they had made, at terrible blood sacrifice, to redeem the soil of France from German occupation in 1914. For the little peoples of Europe, the Poles, the Czechoslovaks, the Yugoslavs, the Greeks, the war was a cataclysm that caused the deaths of hundreds of thousands of their citizens, awoke rancors that divide them politically to this day and consigned many of them to alien and undemocratic rule. The small democracies of Western Europe—Holland, Belgium, Denmark, Norway—paid a terrible price for their weakness and neutrality at the war's onset, measured in the cost of economic exactions and the deportation of brave resisters to forced labor and the concentration camps.

Contributing Editor John Keegan was for many years Senior Lecturer at Sandhurst, Britain's leading military academy. His books on military history include *Six Armies in Normandy*, *The Face of Battle* and *The Price of Admiralty: The Evolution of Naval Warfare*. His forthcoming volume on World War II will be published next January.

The Japanese count the cost of their opportunistic participation in the hatred and suspicion they won for themselves among their Pacific neighbors and in the punishment they suffered as the first victims of nuclear bombardment. The Germans, the war's instigators, paid the heaviest price of all. Divided, deprived of their capital city and of much of their historic territory, denied for decades the respect and trust of their fellow Europeans, doomed to mourn several million war dead and perhaps as many victims again of the forced repatriations of the war's aftermath, they have the strongest reason of all to ask why the war was fought and what could have prompted Germans of the previous generation to reckon on the risks of war making worth the price.

Americans alone can look back on the war as an experi-



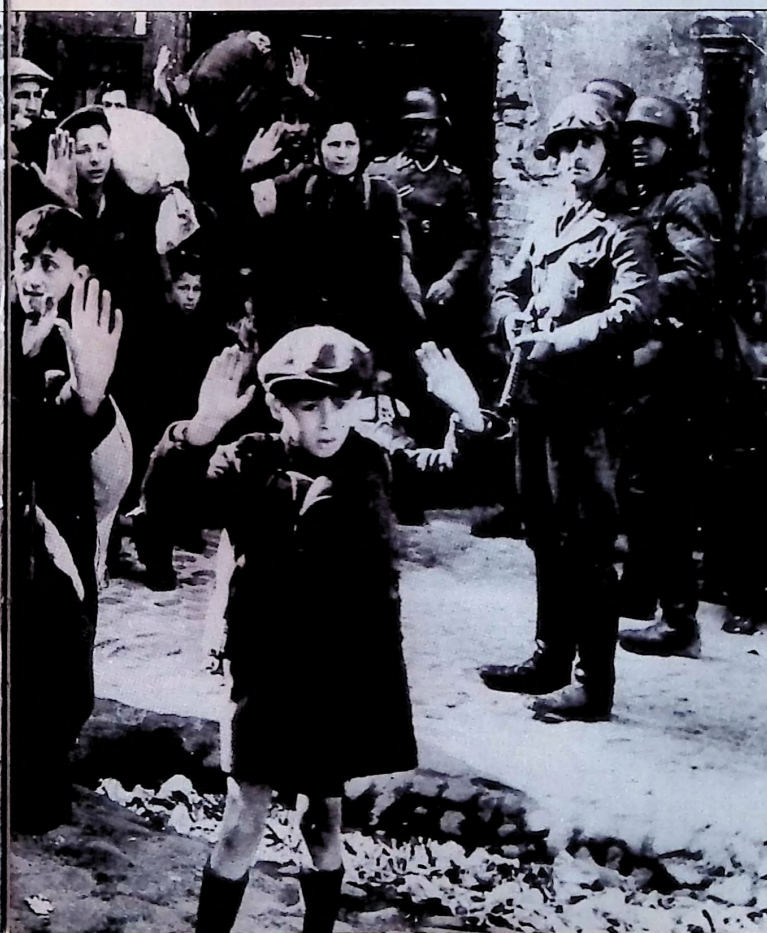
FOR WORLD POWER

SPECIAL REPORT

ence justified by its outcome. At a cost of 400,000 battle deaths, one twentieth of those suffered by their Soviet allies, they emerged not merely as victors but as the greatest international power the world has ever known, managing an economy equal in industrial output to that of the rest of the war-ravaged world put together and deploying a level of military force—thanks to their monopoly of the nuclear weapon—against which no other state could stand.

Yet what sort of war was it and why was it fought? How, in fact, did it come to break out in the first place? We are not satisfied to be told that World War II represented "a crisis of the international system." We want to know who made it so. In every account of the war's antecedents, of course, one name predominates. It is that of Adolf Hitler.

Hitler was the man who bestrode the politics of prewar Europe. Hitler was the schemer whose aggression against Poland in September, 1939, precipitated the outbreak of the Second World War. Hitler was the commander who carried the war to every corner of the European continent and its dependencies where the Western campaigns were fought. Hitler was the monster who gave it its genocidal character, who "scientifically exterminated" 6 million Jews in the death camps of the German empire. Hitler was the enemy against whom the Allies mustered the magnitude of their forces to win victory. Hitler was the figure whose suicide signaled to the Allies that victory had been won. But who was Hitler? And where did he find the will to wage this most astonishing of all wars?



GENOCIDE

THE HORRORS OF HITLER'S NEW ORDER

At first, the Nazis beat Jews, jeered them and looted their shops. Then came Hitler's laws, banning Jews from public employment, from professions, from universities, soon even from German citizenship. As the Nazis conquered more and more of Europe, Jews were forced into ghettos—as in this photo from Warsaw—and into slave-labor camps and finally into gas chambers. There, the Nazi bureaucracy had a code name for what went on—“The Final Solution of the Jewish Question.” By war's end, nearly 6 million Jews—2 of every 3 in Europe—had perished

WORLD AT WAR

HISTORY'S DEADLIEST WAR

Some perished in combat, some in bombed-out homes, some in death camps. In all, 50 million people died in World War II.

TOTAL DEATHS (Civilian deaths/military deaths)	
ALLIES	Belgium 200,000 (90,000/110,000)
	Netherlands 206,000 (200,000/6,000)
	U.S. 408,000 (0/408,000)
	Britain 450,000 (100,000/350,000)
	France 650,000 (450,000/200,000)
	Yugoslavia 1.4 million (1 million/400,000)
	China 2.2 million (850,000/1.35 million)
	Poland 6.6 million (6 million/600,000)
AXIS	Soviet Union 15 million (7.5 million/7.5 million)
	Italy 220,000 (70,000/150,000)
	Japan 2 million (500,000/1.5 million)
	Germany 6.2 million (1.47 million/4.75 million)
	*Czechoslovakia 280,000 (250,000/30,000)
	*Austria 405,000 (125,000/280,000)
	*Romania 640,000 (300,000/340,000)
	*Hungary 850,000 (450,000/400,000)

USNS&WR—Basic data: World Military and Social Expenditures, 1987-88

THE ROAD TO V-E DAY

THE 'WHAT IF'S' OF BATTLE

The start of World War II was not what Hitler had in mind when he attacked Poland. He expected a conflict that could be contained within a manageable space. He also believed he could determine who his enemies would be. To his thinking, the U.S. was not one of them. Hitler not only started the greatest of wars, he continuously enlarged it. His will produced Germany's early victories; his miscalculations led to its devastation. Where his strategies backfired—

Battle of Britain Even after Churchill became Prime Minister in 1940, Hitler nursed hopes of an understanding with Britain. His goal: Let the British keep the Empire while he ruled the Continent. When he got no response, he reluctantly prepared an invasion. If the German Army was to cross the Channel, Britain's Navy would have to be sunk or disabled. But the Luftwaffe, the only instrument that could achieve that result, would first have to defeat the Royal Air Force. The RAF, however, had a secret advantage—radar. Britain had built an early-warning chain that gave RAF pilots a half-hour's notice of German planes taking off from France. That edge was decisive, and the Battle of Britain became Hitler's first defeat.



FINAL DEFEAT

The day the Soviet flag rose over the Reichstag—April 30, 1945—Hitler shot himself in a nearby bunker

been vanquished in 3,000 years." In his euphoria, he declared war on America—an unnecessary and fatal move. Had he stuck to the legalities of the Tokyo alliance, he could have let Japan take on the U.S. alone. Roosevelt might have had months of difficulty in persuading Congress to declare war on Germany. As it was, FDR initiated a strategy of defeating Hitler first. Again, as in World War I, America's entry sealed Germany's fate.

Invasion of Russia Hitler saw war with Stalin as inevitable. Better therefore to strike first. His surprise attack in June of 1941 produced the greatest encirclement victories ever; at Minsk, Smolensk and Kiev the Germans captured 3 million Soviets. But Hitler made a catastrophic mistake: To take Leningrad and Kiev quickly, he shifted tanks from his Central Army Group to groups in the north and south. For six weeks, the central group—the one aimed at Moscow—stalled, giving Stalin time to bring in new tanks as well as his Siberian Army. When the Germans finally reached the outskirts of Moscow, on December 5, they were too exhausted to advance. The next day, the Soviets counter-attacked. The Nazis would never see Moscow again.

America's entry Japan never told Hitler it was about to attack Pearl Harbor. Yet when he heard the news, he exulted. "Now it is impossible for us to lose the war," he cried. "We now have an ally who has never

WORLD AT WAR

WHO WAS HITLER?

Hitler by origin was a nobody, the orphan of a minor customs official, a failed art student, a dropout, a drifter. He was not even, though German-speaking, a German. Born in 1889 at Braunau in the Austrian part of Franz Josef's Austro-Hungarian Empire, he spent his childhood at Linz and an aimless youth in Vienna. Failure took him to Vienna and failure kept him there, from 1906 to 1913. He had failed at school because he failed to apply himself to the academic subjects that would have gained him a leaving certificate, the passport to a career in bureaucratic Austria. He failed in Vienna because he lacked the aptitude for the artistic career he had decided was his métier.

The trial sketches that he produced to secure an entry to Vienna's Academy of Fine Arts were judged too wooden to give any promise of improvement through training. When Hitler transferred his application to the school of architecture, he found that his lack of a school leaving certificate barred him from entry. This refusal planted in him a fierce resentment of experts, professionals and men with paper qualifications that was to dominate his outlook throughout his life. It was not, however, to deter him in his belief that he was an "artist," gifted with a higher understanding than that of ordinary mortals. He had already lost his religious faith and had begun to feel that hatred for the Roman Catholic Church that he would express again and again in his private conversations and writings. Now, he began to transfer his deepest feelings to ideology, through which he could indulge his "artistic" dreaming and imagine a role for himself as thinker and leader.

Vienna hatreds

The ideology that gripped Hitler in his Vienna years was that of Pan-Germanism, the belief that all the Germans of Europe should form one nation. Hitler detested the Hapsburg Empire, of which he was a subject, because its rulers, Germans though they were, had accorded political equality to the empire's non-Germans—Poles, Serbs, Croats, Hungarians, Italians, Slovenes and Czechs—whom the German Austrians had once dominated. Hitler conceived a particular hatred for



THE SCOURGE

No man in history brought about more suffering than Hitler. This is how the Führer looked as a piece of British propaganda after an artist retouched a German postage stamp

the Czechs, commercially and intellectually the most successful of the empire's minorities. When he came to inquire why the non-Germans had displaced the Germans from dominance, however, he identified none of the minorities as the villains of the piece but another people altogether—the Jews.

The Hapsburg Empire was not European Jewry's main homeland. That lay in Russia. But Jews were an important minority and in Vienna formed 10 percent of the population. Most were recent immigrants to the city, and poor. It was their poverty that cast Hitler among them, for his determination to lead an "artistic" life meant that he, too, lived without security or fixed abode. By refusing to settle into regular work, and because he eked out a living painting postcards and tepid watercolors, he was reduced to wearing secondhand clothes, acquired from Jewish rag dealers, and sleeping in night shelters while outside poor Jews walked the streets.

He was repelled by their appearance. "One day . . . I suddenly encountered a phenomenon in the long caftan and wearing black sidelocks. My first thought was: Is this a Jew? They certainly did not have this appearance in Linz. I watched the man stealthily and cautiously, but the longer I gazed at this strange countenance and examined it section by section, the more the question shaped itself in my brain: Is this a German? I turned to books for help in removing my doubts. For the first time in my life I bought myself some anti-Semitic pamphlets for a few pence."

There was no shortage of anti-Semitic literature in prewar Vienna, for it was the center of European anti-Semitism. Poor Jews aroused the radical and social contempt of the Viennese. Rich Jews provoked their resentment. Vienna was the center of Jewish success. The great Jewish financiers, the Rothschilds, Warburgs and Bleichroeders, operated elsewhere. But the cultural, literary and philosophical life of Vienna, after Paris, then the principal intellectual center of Europe, was dominated by Jews, who remained Jewish in Austrian eyes even if, like Gustav Mahler, some had converted to Catholicism. The Jews were an unsettling influence, challenging established ideas and proposing new and disturbing philosophies. Prewar 1914 Vienna was the city of Freud, of Trotsky,

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WORLD AT WAR

of Wittgenstein. Hitler came to hate them all, even if he did not know their names. "Was there any shady undertaking, any form of foulness, especially in cultural life, in which at least one Jew did not participate?" he was to demand a decade later in his political autobiography, *Mein Kampf*. "On putting the probing knife carefully to that kind of abscess, one immediately discovered, like a maggot in a putrescent body, a little Jew who was often blinded by the sudden light."

Sexual ghosts

The roots of Hitler's hatred of the Jews defy analysis even to this day. It has been suggested that they were sexual. Certainly Hitler's anti-Semitic rhetoric was often crudely sexual in style—"the black-haired Jewish youth lies in wait for hours on end, satanically glaring and spying on the unsuspecting girl whom he plans to seduce, adulterating her blood and removing her from the bosom of her own people"—while his own sexual habits

above his disadvantages to enter and eventually dominate the politics of the German world.

One reason Hitler sought obscurity in Vienna was a determination to avoid service in the Hapsburg Army, which, as a subject of the draft, he was obliged to undertake for two years when he became 20, in 1909. The Army was the visible symbol of the Hapsburg state and the glue that held the patchwork of the Austro-Hungarian Empire together. That was what Hitler hated about it. "My inner aversion to the Hapsburg state," he wrote of his last Vienna years, "was increasing daily. This motley of Czechs, Poles, Hungarians, Ruthenians, Serbs and Croats, and always that bacillus which is the solvent of human society, the Jew, here and there and everywhere—the whole spectacle was repugnant to me." In a Hapsburg regiment, Hitler would have been thrown cheek by jowl with all the non-Germans he despised. In the soup kitchens and night shelters where he spent his days and nights, he was semi-invisible,

drawing attention to himself only when he embarked on one of his raucous tirades against the objects of his hatred. Eventually, nevertheless, the recruiting authorities got on his trail, and in 1913 he fled Austria for Germany, where he found lodging with a tailor's family in Munich. Timorously—a petit-bourgeois respect for authority always conflicted in Hitler's breast with resentment of it—he later crept back to Linz to argue his way out of his military obligation. From the first moment of his settlement in Munich, however, he "came to love that city more than any other place known to me. A German city! I said to myself. How different from Vienna."

"Pure Germans"

Hitler's surge of identification with Germany proper, the nation of 70 million ruled by the Hohenzollerns from Berlin, was genuine enough. He was to have the opportunity to



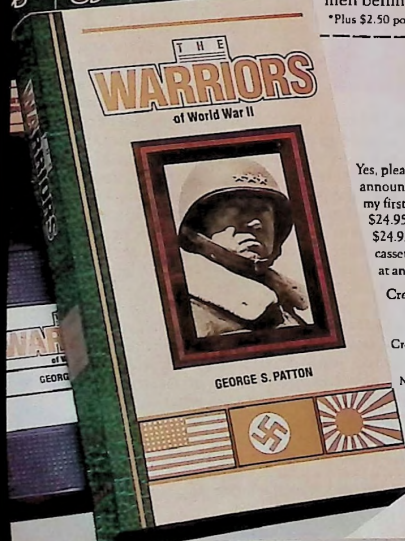
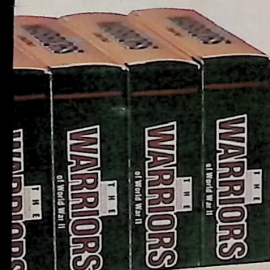
THE CORPORAL Hitler, left, was a brave and able soldier in World War I. Half-blinded by a gas attack, he spent months in a hospital after the war, tormented by Germany's defeat. "My hate grew against the men who had brought about this crime," he recalled. He decided then to enter politics

were secretive and semi-incestuous. It has equally been suggested that his anti-Semitism was directly personal—that he nurtured a grievance against the Jewish doctor who had unsuccessfully treated his dying and beloved mother with the gas iodoform—and that his subsequent injury by mustard gas in World War I led him to lay a connection between the two experiences, which at some inarticulate level he used to justify his use of gas as a means of exterminating his Jewish victims during World War II. Such suggestions partake of the Freudianism he despised. If Hitler had a personal reason for resenting the Jews, it most probably lay in their success in entering the world of the professions and the intellect, which his own laziness and intellectual anarchism closed against him.

Hitler had gone to Vienna resolved "to become something," but the drifter's life he had embraced there might have condemned him to extinguishing obscurity had it not been for World War I. The war rescued him from self-destruction. It also created the conditions in which a fervent Pan-German nationalist, with an "artist's" belief in his ideological mission, could rise

demonstrate how genuine only a year after arriving in Munich. In June, 1914, a Serbian nationalist murdered the heir to the Hapsburg throne in Sarajevo. Six weeks later, Europe was at war and Adolf Hitler, 25 years old, secured permission as a foreign volunteer to enter a regiment of the German Army and train for the front. The years in Vienna had filled him with the hatreds and rancors that formed the negative and destructive side of his *Weltanschauung*, or world outlook. His life as a soldier was to reinforce his positive emotions—his yearning for brotherhood with others of the "pure German race," and for acceptance by contemporaries in the class he had always aspired to but never managed to join—the well educated, the professional, the "artistic." The 16th Bavarian Reserve Regiment was formed by just such young Germans. The German draft laws exempted high-school and university students from service until their education was complete. At the outbreak of war, however, the exempt were incorporated into new regiments for emergency training. Thus Hitler found himself thrown among the sort of young men whose society he craved

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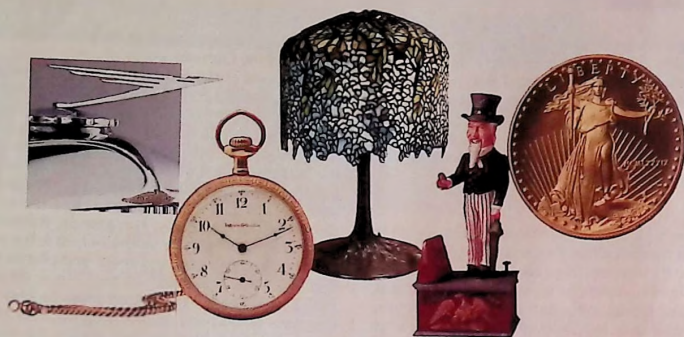
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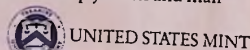
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SPECIAL REPORT

but had failed to win by academic effort. Now he sought to win their good opinion by succeeding as a soldier.

Hitler made an excellent and brave soldier. Later, when his enemies sought to denounce him by any means, it was implied that he had fabricated his military record, even invented his medals. This is understandable. Hitler's wickedness, cruelty, contempt for human decencies, systematic perversion of truth drove those he hurt to paint him black all over. Hitler was black in almost every crevice of his being. He reckoned "struggle" the highest of human activities, despised the weak and thought it a duty to trample the unsuccessful even lower down the pyramid of human evolution. Marxism, with its cult of "the masses," he abominated; its philosophy of class warfare he thought a recipe for the victory of the mediocre over the elite. He was deeply influenced by Marxism nonetheless, since he did indeed see life as a field of warfare—but one on which a minority of the racially pure must be led to triumph over their mongrel inferiors.

To be a German, he believed, was to be a warrior; and it was the role of the warrior, as he saw it, not merely to fight but to win.

Runner in the trenches

Hitler went off to the front determined to win. In its first battle in Flanders, however, his regiment, and all the others formed of university and high-school students, were massacred in two weeks of fighting in October, 1914. Hitler survived; but the graves of his fallen comrades fill a cemetery at Langemark, Belgium, which contains nearly as many dead as the United States lost in the Vietnam War. Those terrible two weeks marked Hitler for life. At a stroke he had been deprived of the comradeship of that flower of "young Germany" he had made his racial ideal; he had also been spared to serve as a "loner" among the replacements who filled his regiment after the battle that became known as the *Kindermord bei Ypern*—"the slaughter of the innocents at Ypres."

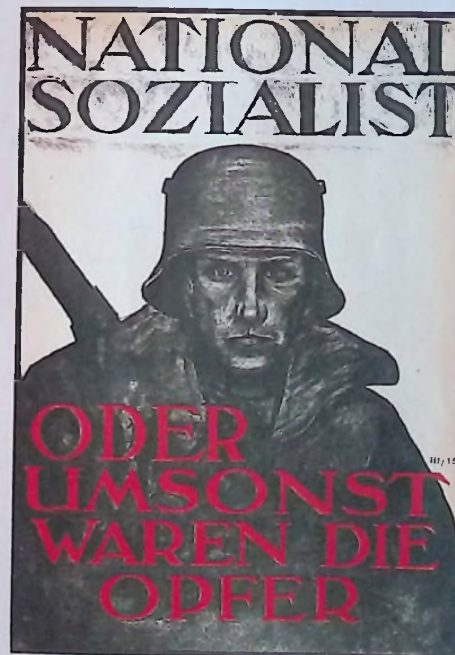
It was as a loner that the replacements of the regiment remembered him in the four years of trench warfare that followed. Hitler became a message runner; a dangerous job and an individual's one. Across shell-swept ground he carried dispatches between the front line and regimental headquarters—where he won the high opinion of the regiment's officers. He also won medals, in 1914 the Iron Cross Second

Class, in 1918 the Iron Cross First Class, a rare decoration for a soldier who never achieved a rank higher than corporal. Though he was extremely proud of his Iron Cross, he could never in later life refute the accusations of those who said he wore it undeservedly, because the citation had been written by a Jewish officer, a Lieutenant Gutmann. He deserved it nonetheless, for he had taken part in 12 battles, served in 25 tours of the trenches and been wounded 3 times. When he was finally evacuated after being gassed in October, 1918, he was one of the few of the 3,000 men of the original regiment who had gone into action in 1914. In four years, the unit suffered 3,754 killed, or over 100 percent of its nominal strength.

The Germany to which the wounded Hitler returned was on the verge of defeat and in the grip of starvation. The Allied blockade had cut off food imports at their source. Faced with defeat and fearful of revolution at home, the German high command accepted the offer of a negotiated peace based on

Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points, which offered a fair deal to the vanquished as well as to the victors. After the armistice was signed on Nov. 11, 1918, however, the French and British insisted on conditions that went beyond the Fourteen Points. They included major territorial concessions to minority and new states, including the Poles and Czechoslovaks that Hitler so much despised; sweeping measures of disarmament were also demanded. The Rhineland was to be occupied, Germany deprived of an air force and almost all its Navy, while its magnificent Army was to be reduced to the strength of 100,000 men. When the German republican government, which had succeeded the overthrown Kaiser in November, 1918, demanded time to negotiate, the Allies sustained the blockade, bringing killing hunger to German women and children. On June 28, 1919, the German delegates to the peace conference, unable to hold out any longer, signed what Hitler would ever after call the "criminal" treaty in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles.

Hitler had by then recovered from his gas injury and was working as an "instruction officer," indoctrinating soldiers of the 100,000-man Army against the left-wing politics that were threatening the stability of the infant German republic. Though it had narrowly escaped revolution, Germany in 1919 was riven by political violence. The Communist Party was strong and was locked in a struggle



THE BLOODY SHIRT The image is that of a German soldier in World War I. The message: Without a Nazi regime, "the sacrifices were in vain." Hitler was the first leader anywhere to consider propaganda worthy of an entire government department. Joseph Goebbels's Ministry for Popular Enlightenment and Propaganda controlled the press and radio and all other means of expression—film, art and literature

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WORLD AT WAR

for control of Germany with a network of armed nationalist units, the Freikorps, behind which stood a constellation of right-wing parties, large and small. One of the tiniest was the German Workers Party in Munich, soon to take the title of the National Socialist (Nazi) German Workers Party. Hitler's military employers suggested that he should join in and use it in the right's political struggle against the left.

Moving the masses

Hitler became "Party Member No. 7" and was soon devoting his energies full time to Nazi activities. He had discovered that he had an extraordinary talent: He was a political orator of genius. In January, 1932, when he stood on the brink of seizing power in Germany, he would look back to "the time when with six other men I founded [the Nazi Party], when I spoke before eleven, twelve, thirteen, fourteen, twenty, thirty, fifty persons. When I recall how after a year I had won sixty-four members for the movement, I must confess that that which has today been created, when a stream of millions is flowing into our movement, represents something unique in



As he rose to power, Hitler was a frequent target of Marxist scorn. Communist artist John Heartfield, among the first to put together photomontages, fashioned this portrait of Hitler as a Prussian officer



THE RUTHLESS

"Haven't you ever seen a crowd collecting to watch a street brawl?" Hitler once asked a friend. "The man in the street respects nothing more than strength and ruthlessness—women, too, for that matter. The masses need something

that will give them a thrill of horror." From such thinking sprang Hitler's storm troopers, a legion of brown-shirted terrorists who delighted in tormenting rivals like these Communists lined up against a Berlin wall in the spring of 1933, shortly after Hitler became Chancellor



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SPECIAL REPORT

"Have no fear; he's a vegetarian" was the caption of this John Heartfield photomontage. Such art vanished soon after Hitler took over. He banned not only the Communist Party but also any criticism



German history. The middle-class parties have had seventy years to work in. Where is the organization which in seventy years has achieved what we have achieved in barely twelve?" The answer to Hitler's rhetorical question is that no German middle-class party, perhaps no party in any country, had ever been led by a speaker with the power to inspire his audiences that Hitler possessed.

Hitler would have been pleased to hear his most authoritative biographer, Prof. Alan Bullock, describe him as "the greatest demagogue in history." Hitler himself said, "To be a leader means to be able to move masses." To do so, he polished his technique. A mirror, before which he rehearsed his gestures, was important to him, as later were pictures by the party's photographer, Heinrich Hoffmann. He also experimented with the acoustics of the various Munich halls, varying the timbre of his voice to suit each, and carefully stage-managed the time of his appearances, delaying to arouse expectancy "but not long enough to arouse hostility." He was one of the first political leaders to recognize the importance of semiotics, the science of symbols. He took enormous trouble

**DER ARBEITER
IM REICH DES HAKENKREUZES!**

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SOZIALDEMOKRATEN!**

THE OPPOSITION Desperate warnings dominated the anti-Nazi messages printed in Germany's fading days as a democracy. The Social Democrats tried to show what



would happen to workers in the land of the swastika. The poster with the Nazi fist smashing the forum of democratic government had an urgent command: "Wake up! And vote for the National Bloc!"

WORLD AT WAR



EUROPE, AS HITLER SAW IT

The problem with *Mein Kampf* was that too many people read it in Germany and too few even looked at it anywhere else. In the Third Reich, no gift for a wedding or graduation was more proper than the turgid, shapeless political treatise that made Hitler his nation's richest author. To German readers, *Mein Kampf* promised a bigger, stronger Reich in place of the shriveled and humiliated country that lay in the ruins of World War I. To its handful of foreign readers, the book was a crude warning of the barbaric price Hitler expected mankind to pay for his Deutschland to become "lord of the earth."

The Europe existing in Hitler's mind when he wrote *Mein Kampf* in the 1920s was populated by adversaries and potential victims. The soil of Europe, he declared, "exists for the people which possesses the force to take it." To gain world mastery, he wrote, Germany initially must destroy France, the Continent's "first military power" and "the inexorable mortal enemy of the German people." Then, Germany could "gaze toward the land in the East"—Russia—ruled by "common bloodstained criminals... the scum of humanity." Their Marxist revolution, he said, was "an attempt by the Jews... to achieve world domination."

His "most ardent and heartfelt wish" was the union of his native Austria with Germany. Vienna suffered many ills, he said, including a "conglomeration of races" and "scoundrels of the press." In other writings, he dismissed Poland as a land of serfs and Belgium as a lap dog of the French and British. Not everyone was deemed a foe. The anti-Marxism of Italy's Mussolini, Hitler wrote, placed him "among the great men of this earth." Italy would make a good ally, he added, as might Britain. He admired the British for building an empire "with the sword" and felt London would prefer a strong Germany to a strong France.

How did Hitler view himself? He gave a clue when he told how Russia would be conquered: "The new Reich must again set itself on the march along the road of the Teutonic Knights of old, to obtain by the German sword sod for the German plow and daily bread for the nation." ■

Illustration by Milton Glaser for USN&WR



THE LEADER

Hitler favored propaganda in black-and-white terms with only a few simple themes. Thus, this carefully posed poster from 1938 carried one word: "Yes!" Another poster with the same photograph read: "One people, one Germany, one Führer!"

with the design of the swastika, the mysterious Eastern "good luck" insignia that became the badge of the Nazis, and he also picked the items that clothed and identified his semimilitary entourage of brown-shirted storm troopers—khaki and the Sam Browne belt from the victorious British, the ski cap from the elite Tyrolean mountain riflemen, riding boots from the officer class, legionary banners from ancient Rome.

Ultimately, however, it was neither the tricks nor the costume of the stage that galvanized Hitler's audiences but the magic of his voice and the message it carried. "His words go like an arrow to their target," said Otto Strasser, one of his early Nazi associates. "He touches each private wound on the raw, liberating the unconscious, exposing its innermost aspirations, telling it what it most wants to hear."

What the Germans of Hitler's working and lower-middle-class audiences wanted was a message of revenge. They were the survivors or the bereaved of a population decimated by a war that had brought it nothing but accusations of guilt and the loss of territory, military sovereignty and national pride. It was a message Hitler was eager to deliver. His passion for revenge was consummate. On Sept. 18, 1922, he told his Munich audience, "We want to call to account the November Criminals of 1918 [as he always described those who signed the armistice]. It cannot be that 2 million [in reality nearly 4 million] Germans should have fallen in vain and that afterwards one should sit down as friends at the same table with traitors. No, we do not demand pardon, we demand—vengeance! The dishonoring of the nation must cease. For betrayers of the Fatherland and informers, the gallows is the proper place."

The putsch that failed

By 1923, the Nazis were a sizable group among the many right-wing nationalist parties that were denouncing the moderate Berlin government and berating it for its timidity toward Britain and France. The victors, particularly the French, were insisting on the fulfillment of the Versailles Treaty clauses that imposed on Germany the obligation to pay reparations for the costs of the war. In January, 1923, the French, to enforce payment, occupied the Rhineland, Germany's economic heart. The occupation brought Germany's industrial life almost to a halt. The mark, which had stood at four to the dollar in 1914, fell to 160,000 in July, 1923, and in November to 130 trillion. Workmen's wages bought nothing, the savings of the middle class were wiped out. The country stood on the brink of collapse—or revolution. Hitler believed revolution was the answer. His contacts with the Army had convinced him that the generals would follow a strong lead. Erich Ludendorff, the retired general who had commanded on the Western Front in 1916-18, agreed to join him in what would be called the "Beer Hall Putsch." When Hitler marched at the head of his storm troopers to seize the government buildings in Munich on Nov. 9, 1923, however, the cordons of soldiers opposing him gave way but the police stood fast. They fired. Hitler, injured hitting the dirt, fled and was arrested days later. The putsch collapsed.

At the trial that followed, Hitler made a dramatic appearance, which established him as a national figure and a leading spokesman of the nationalist right. He was condemned nonetheless and sentenced to serve five years in Landsberg prison. Though he eventually spent only about nine months there, the sentence was long enough for him to complete his political autobiography, *Mein Kampf*, which is the principal key to his philosophy and the most important outline of his political method. The philosophy is the same as that he had ranted about in his speeches to beer-hall audiences: The Red menace, the Jewish menace, the treachery of the November criminals, the purity of German blood and the need to preserve it, the

destiny of the Germans to rule the inferior peoples and their right to possess "living space" (Lebensraum) in their "natural" area of expansion in Eastern Europe and Russia.

The outline of his political methods is much more original, above all in what it has to say about propaganda. Hitler was the first political leader to admit to—and to glory in—the use of falsehood to capture and hold a following. "The receptive power of the masses are very restricted, and their understanding is feeble," he wrote. "On the other hand, they quickly forget. Such being the case, all effective propaganda must be confined to a few bare necessities and then must be expressed in a few stereotyped formulas . . . Only constant repetition will finally succeed in imprinting an idea on the memory of a crowd."

It does not matter, the future *Führer* believed, if the idea is true or false, only that it serve the politician's purpose. A false idea—that, for example, the Jews had deliberately brought about Germany's defeat in World War I—may actually serve him best of all. But the lie must be told often and with bravado. It must be "a big lie." "The masses," he went on in *Mein Kampf*, "more readily fall victim to the big lie than the small lie, since they themselves often tell small lies . . . It would never come into their heads to fabricate colossal untruths and they would not believe that others have the impudence to distort the truth so infamously."

When Hitler emerged from prison in December, 1924, he was resolved to win power for the Nazi Party not by revolt—which he saw the state would crush—but by propaganda and political action. He decided to lead the party to a majority in parliament, much as he despised parliamentary institutions ever since he had watched the Austrian parliament debating before World War I. From 1925 to 1930, conditions in Germany did not favor him. The economy had revived, the Allies had made the payment of reparations easier, the "Red menace" had receded as prosperity returned. But in 1931 the effects of the world slump, which had begun with the American stock-market crash of 1929, hit Germany violently. Banks collapsed, businesses ceased trading, men were thrown out of work in the millions—a million and a half in 1931 and an additional 2 million in 1932, when unemployment stood at 6 million in a working population of 20 million.

The scent of revolution—Red revolution—was in the air again. The Communist Party had its own political militia, the Red Front, to match Hitler's storm troopers, and it was as violent as the Nazis, if not more so. Of the 86 people killed in street fighting in Prussia, the largest province of Germany, in July, 1932, 30 were Communists and 38 Nazis. These were serious battles. Horst Wessel, the storm-trooper martyr whose name was to give the Nazis their marching song, was killed by the Communists in a skirmish involving illegal firearms.

The currency of power

The specter of Red revolution worked to increase the Nazi vote in the succession of elections held between September, 1930, and July, 1932, as one weak government after another fell. In the last the Nazis secured 37 percent of the votes cast. More important to the Nazis, however, was the mood of the generals. Hitler, ever since the failure of the Beer Hall Putsch, had resolved not to oppose the Army in the streets. Now the Army began to swing to his side. Field Marshal Paul von Hindenburg, Germany's World War I hero, was President. Franz von Papen, the Chancellor, was a representative of the officer class. Kurt von Schleicher, head of the Army's political department, had become the chief power broker in the country. The elections of November, 1932, when the Nazis suffered a small fall in votes as the troubled electorate swung between the "big lies" of the left and right, convinced the Army it must throw its weight behind Hitler to save Germany from the Reds. In January, 1933, as the



THE ENEMY

Just as Hitler's picture was on nearly every German street corner, so was that of "the Red Terror," an ever threatening theme of Nazi propaganda. This poster's message: "Only one man can save us from the monster of Bolshevism—Adolf Hitler"

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SPECIAL REPORT

leader of the largest (though not the majority) party in parliament, he was offered the Chancellorship by Schleicher and became head of the German government.

Hitler now revealed his possession of another talent—the capacity to turn partial power into absolute power. New elections, a new Constitution and a Nazification of society were his instruments. New elections, held in March, did not quite bring him a majority, though he harped heavily on the dangers of voting for any but Nazi candidates. His plurality, however, was large enough to get parliament to pass on March 23 an Enabling Act, which allowed him to make laws simply by signing his name. Once the Enabling Act was in place, he proceeded to Nazification, called *Gleichschaltung*, or "coordination." That meant that every organ of German life—schools, universities, the professions, trade associations, the judicature, even the Lutheran Church—was taken under the control of Nazi appointees.

Only the Army was spared. It was still the strongest force in Germany and cherished its status of *überparteilichkeit*—"being above party." Hitler desired its good will so greatly that in June, 1934, he decided to suppress his own storm troopers, who had done so much to foster the street violence that had frightened the right-wing electorate into giving the Nazis votes. But many respectable Germans had now become frightened of the storm troopers' brutish ways and their demands that the "socialist" promise of National Socialism, including expensive benefits for the working man, now be implemented. The Army, too, was frightened by the storm troopers' commands to be admitted as full members. It did not want to be swamped within a people's army of brownshirts a million strong.

Hitler responded with a ruthlessness that was fearsome. On the night of June 30, 1934—thereafter "the Night of the Long Knives"—he sent his personal bodyguard of SS men, under their sinister leader, Heinrich Himmler, to arrest the leaders

HOW ONE WAR ENDED AND ANOTHER STARTED



ROOTS AT VERSAILLES

Germany signed the Treaty of Versailles with 19 minutes left in a sign-or-be-invaded ultimatum—one reason Hitler called the pact the "Diktat von Versailles." Even Winston Churchill urged its revision, seeing in it the roots of war. The treaty reduced Germany's borders, gave away its colonies, disarmed it and made it pay reparations for "causing all the loss and damage" of World War I.



A WEAKER REICH

Versailles redrew the map of Europe, and Germany provided many of the new parts. Poland, which did not exist at the start of World War I, was created, partly out of what had been Germany's Prussia. Alsace-Lorraine went to France and other territory to Belgium. The League of Nations took charge of such German-peopled places as the Saar, Danzig and Memel.

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Governor Kean President's "Points of Light"

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are working together to solve our nation's problems

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New Jersey Governor Thomas Kean, head of President Bush's "Points of Light Initiative" Foundation Advisory Committee, standing among New Jersey grade school students (Bridgeview Courier-News)

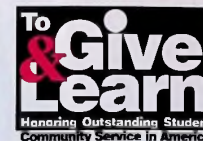
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of the storm troopers and put them to death. He took advantage of the staging of this "Blood Purge" to settle old scores with Nazi Party enemies and with non-Nazis who had opposed him in the *Kampfzeit*—the "years of struggle." An onlooker described him choosing the victims with Himmler and Hermann Goering at Tempelhof Airport in Berlin: "From one of his pockets Himmler took a long, tattered list. Hitler read it through, while Goering and Himmler whispered incessantly in his ear. We could see Hitler's finger moving slowly down the sheet of paper. Now and then it paused for a moment at one of the names. At such times the two conspirators whispered even more excitedly. Suddenly Hitler tossed his head. There was so much violent emotion, so much anger in the gesture, that everyone noticed it." By the end of June 30, more than 2,000 of Hitler's enemies were dead.

The Blood Purge cowed German opposition to Hitler, even though at the last election he had allowed to be held under

the pre-Nazi rules, in March, 1933, he had failed, if by a narrow margin, to win an outright majority of votes. A stroke of luck, in the aftermath of the Blood Purge, confirmed his constitutional authority over all Germans, opponents and supporters alike. On Aug. 2, 1934, Hindenburg, the aged President, died and Hitler at once assumed the headship of state. A plebiscite confirmed him in the office of *Führer* (Leader) and the Army was ordered to swear an unconditional oath of loyalty to his person.

Hitler was now ready to turn from imposing his power over the Germans to extending it into Europe. As soon as he had come to power he had introduced economic measures—similar to those that Roosevelt was imposing under the New Deal in the United States—designed to revive the economy and reduce unemployment. Had Hitler been dedicated merely to curing the German economy, his rule, however undemocratic, would not have been a danger to his neighbors. But he, of course, was concerned with economic recovery only as a means to make Germany great again. Out of the expanded state revenues that his industrial effort produced, he was ready by 1935 to break the Versailles Treaty and rearm. On March 17, he staged a magnificent ceremony in the Berlin Opera House where, with the last Field Marshal of the Imperial German Army at his side, he announced that the 100,000-man Army would at once be quintupled, and then outside held a review of the troops, including a detachment of the illegal but re-created air force—the Luftwaffe—to proclaim his military intentions to the world.

The ostrich effect

A rearmed Germany was the specter that France, Britain and the United States had agreed at Versailles must never re-emerge. How had they come to fail in their purpose? In a sense, the United States had not failed. It had merely withdrawn from the politics of Europe. American intervention had been decisive in winning World War I for the Allies. Though the American armies had arrived in France only in 1917, and had fought only one major battle, their appearance had disheartened Germany's war-weary soldiers and driven the German leaders to recognize that they must make peace on almost any terms.

The United States, by adhering to its traditional avoidance of "entangling alliances" and adopting "isolationism" after 1919, had left Britain and France to deal with Germany alone. Austria, torn by Communist revolution, had abandoned the civilized world. The European democracies, forced to oversee the peace of the Continent on their own, allowed themselves to trust Germany to abide by the Versailles Treaty in perpetuity.

Once Hitler demonstrated that he was not prepared to do so, and that he could lead the Germans with him in overturning it, France and Britain were out-trumped. They hoped at first that the



A BIGGER REICH

Emotions ran high when Nazi troops seized Czechoslovakia's Sudetenland in Hitler's quest for "one Deutschland" for all the German-speaking peoples of Europe. The 3 million Sudetenlanders of German descent formed one of several minorities in neighboring Czechoslovakia, a nation created by the peace treaties of 1918. After Hitler came to power, a small but noisy Nazi movement developed in the Sudetenland. The Führer soon was vowing that his Reich would "protect those German peoples who live along its frontiers and cannot, by their own efforts, secure their political and spiritual freedom." When he grabbed the Sudetenland, and then Czechoslovakia, Central Europe's most prosperous democracy perished.



League of Nations, the international peacekeeping organization set up at Woodrow Wilson's behest in 1919, would preserve international order. But the League, which commanded no peacekeeping force—and from which Hitler removed Germany in October, 1933—failed throughout the 1930s to achieve the ends for which it was created. In 1931, it had failed to prevent Japan from occupying Chinese Manchuria. In 1936, it failed to prevent Benito Mussolini's Italy—Hitler's fellow racist power—from conquering Ethiopia. In 1937, it failed to deter Italy and Germany from assisting the military revolt led by Franco against the republican government in Spain. In the same year, it failed to curtail Japan's extension of its aggression from Manchuria into the heartland of China.

Britain and France had therefore to look to their own military resources to keep Hitler in check. They were inadequate. France, which had lost nearly 2 million dead in World

War I, had put its trust in deterring Germany from waging a future war in Europe by the construction of an enormous fortification on the Franco-German frontier, the Maginot Line, begun in 1931. It had also constructed an alliance system on Germany's eastern frontier with the states that the Versailles Treaty system had brought into being in 1919—Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. The British, whose main strategic effort remained as always a novel one, hoped to constrain Hitler by supporting France in those alliances.

Sizing up Stalin

By the beginning of 1939, it was clear that hopes of "appeasement" were failing. Hitler, who had an unerring instinct for the weakness of his opponents, had already sent German troops, in defiance of the Versailles Treaty, into the demilitarized Rhineland in 1936. Early in 1938, he had engineered a political crisis in Austria that allowed him to send troops there

AMERICA'S DECADE ON THE SIDELINES

A WAR FOR OTHERS TO FIGHT

In March of 1933, when Franklin Roosevelt first became President, Hitler was starting only his second month as Chancellor of Germany. Yet his brown-shirted storm troopers already were beating Jews, and his secret police would soon turn an old gunpowder factory at Dachau into a concentration camp. Hitler and his Nazis were gangsters, the President observed from afar, and ultimately someone would have to restrain them.

But those were FDR's private words, and they remained private for years. Even though he admired the big-stick diplomacy of his cousin Theodore Roosevelt, he knew that America wanted to spend the 1930s on the world's sidelines, as it did in the isolationist '20s. For the United States, the main crisis was the one at home, the Great Depression, which generated a decade not only of despair but also of cynicism. Americans had gone off to fight for liberty and democracy in another global war less than 20 years earlier, and who



THE ISOLATIONIST Air hero Lindbergh saw a Germany that couldn't lose. Hitler gave him a medal. Roosevelt rebuked him as a defeatist and an appeaser

now could say that the world was better off?

As the '30s wore on, reports of aggression from across the seas—the Japanese in Manchuria, the Italians in Ethiopia, the Nazis in Europe—prompted Congress to insulate the country with neutrality laws forbidding trade with any side in a conflict.

Roosevelt called in 1937 for a quarantine of aggressor nations, but a poll that year showed only 1 American in 20 willing to go to war.

By 1940, the war-or-peace issue was dividing the nation. The America First Committee paraded against U.S. involvement, and its most famous backer, Charles Lindbergh,

asserted that Britain should sue for peace. Another aviator, Laura Ingalls, pelted the White House with peace leaflets. Interventionist groups countered with rallies in hundreds of towns. One pro-war handbill carried a photo of Hitler and the message WANTED DEAD OR ALIVE.

Once Hitler conquered Paris and began bombing London, the U.S. public woke up to the Nazi threat. For the first time, polls showed most Americans behind FDR's policy of helping the Allies in every way short of war. He gave Britain 50 destroyers in exchange for naval bases in Bermuda, Newfoundland and the Caribbean. The first peacetime draft cranked up. All pretense of neutrality vanished with FDR's Lend-Lease Act, enabling the U.S.—"the arsenal of democracy"—to pump billions of dollars' worth of arms to Britain and, later, to the Soviet Union.

Years went by before the world learned of what may have been Roosevelt's most momentous move. That occurred a half-century ago this fall, after Albert Einstein, a German refugee, wrote FDR about the possibility of developing a new bomb of incredible power. Within months, the Manhattan Project was under way, finally ending at Hiroshima.



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WORLD AT WAR

also and then integrate that country into his greater Germany.

There were other areas in the east where German communities lived—in the Baltic States, in historic Poland, in Yugoslavia, inside Russia itself. Hitler dreamed of stretching out Germany's frontiers to embrace those also, and to open up new areas of colonization for the German people. "When we speak of new territory in Europe today," he had written in *Mein Kampf*, "we must principally think of Russia and the border states subject to her. . . . This colossal empire in the east is ripe for dissolution."

Since the end of the Civil War of 1919-20, Russia had turned in on itself. Having failed under Lenin to spread the Bolshevik Revolution abroad, the Communist Party, under Stalin, had set out to "build Socialism in one Country." This meant industrialization and collectivism of peasant agriculture, the first requiring harsh economic sacrifice, the second the brutal use of force. Stalin, equal in brutality to Hitler—

believed, with reason, that the Russians were unlikely to oppose him. The Western democracies distrusted the Kremlin almost as strongly as he abominated it, while the Red Army was temporarily in disarray. France and Britain, though they had begun to rearm since 1936, had no heart for a fight and lacked his cunning in the game of diplomatic warfare. He believed he could get what he wanted without provoking France and Britain to war. If war came, however, bringing the chance for military vengeance he had always believed was Germany's due, then so be it.

His belief in the feebleness of the democracies' will to preserve the European order established at Versailles had been reinforced by their behavior over Czechoslovakia. In May, 1938, immediately after he had annexed Austria to greater Germany, he instructed the Nazi leader in the Sudetenland, the German-speaking border area of Czechoslovakia, to protest against the treatment of Sudetenlanders to the Czechoslovakian government. He then threatened to mobilize the German Army against the Czechs and, by September, had panicked the British and the French, who were Czechoslovakia's ally, into dealing with him over the Czechoslovaks' heads. Neville Chamberlain, the British Prime Minister and a man who dreaded war, took it on himself to offer Hitler the Sudetenland if he agreed not to attack. When Hitler, sensing the strength of his hand, demanded that he be given the Sudetenland at once—not after an international commission had adjudicated new frontiers as Chamberlain had stipulated—Chamberlain and the French Prime Minister met him at Munich and agreed to his demands.

Hide no more

This "Munich crisis" marked the nadir of the democracies' timidity. It had been brought upon them because they dared not mobilize their armed forces against the growing strength of the German Army and Air Force and because the Poles and Romanians refused to contemplate allowing passage across their territory into Czechoslovakia of the Red Army, the only force that was strong enough to oppose the German Army on the spot. Hitler guessed as much—and also guessed that the democracies feared the intrusion of the Red Army into Central Europe almost as much as they



THE SCARE

Fear of Marxism was not limited to Hitler's Germany. People in nearly every democracy in Europe were frightened, as was the American public. This fascist poster shows civil war under way in Spain and a revolution intact in Russia and issues this warning: "Frenchmen, beware! Communism has already set fire to two ends of Europe"

who admired his fellow dictator's ruthlessness—caused the deaths of a million peasants in his collectivization program. Then he turned force against those in the party and the Red Army he believed desired his downfall—first the "Old Bolsheviks," then the generals. By the end of 1938, he had killed a hundred times as many "comrades" as Hitler had killed brownshirts in 1934 and was as unshakably the master of his country as the *Führer* was of Germany.

Triumph of the will

Hitler outstripped Stalin in power, however, to this degree. While Stalin—because he had devastated his Army and still feared internal enemies—dared not risk foreign-policy adventures, Hitler was determined to put Germany's re-established military power at the service of his geopolitical vision. He

feared him.

If Munich was the lowest point of the democracies' opposition to Hitler, it was also a sticking point. Though he did not recognize the signs—and because of his dedication to vengeance might not have cared if he had—Britain and France were now resolved to fight if necessary. Hitler had left them no choice. By his espousal of Franco's successful cause in Spain and his alliance with his fellow racist dictator, Mussolini in Italy, he had deprived France of security on its southern borders. By his emasculation of Czechoslovakia at Munich and his patronage of the right-wing regimes in Hungary and Romania, he had effectively dismantled the alliance system set up by France in Eastern Europe after World War I, designed to present Germany with a military threat on two fronts—the traditional German strategic dilemma—from the



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SPECIAL REPORT



THE BULLY

When London's David Low penciled this cartoon in early 1938, Britain and France were doing nothing to keep Germany from absorbing Austria. Two days later, the figure with the basket—Anthony Eden—agreed with Low's point. He resigned as Foreign Secretary, saying Britain had let Hitler conclude "that we yield to constant pressure"

THE STRATEGY THAT DID NOT WORK

'PEACE IN OUR TIME'

Appeasement has become a dirty word in international politics. Today, it is synonymous with diplomatic cowardice, the sacrificing of principles to buy off an aggressor. Yet, when the British and French governments described it as their policy toward Hitler and Mussolini, they used it to signify that they were seeking to preserve the peace. That, after all, was how the dictionary defined *appease*: To calm, to quiet, to bring about a state of peace and contentment. In its day, appeasement was widely viewed as the only sane way to deal with aggressors.

Britain and France in the '30s were pacifist nations. Still fresh was the memory of 10 million corpses in the trenches of World War I. The appeasers assumed that everyone, including the vengeful Hitler, abhorred war. For years, Britain didn't even have a Defense Minister. As Germany feverishly rearmed, Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin only reluctantly decided to put someone



THE APPEASER A proud Chamberlain and the meaningless piece of paper that Hitler signed at Munich

in charge of Britain's puny military. A worried few suggested that the job go to Winston Churchill, a lonely but vocal critic of the *Führer's*. Baldwin instead chose a committed pacifist. "If I pick Winston," he explained, "Hitler will be cross."

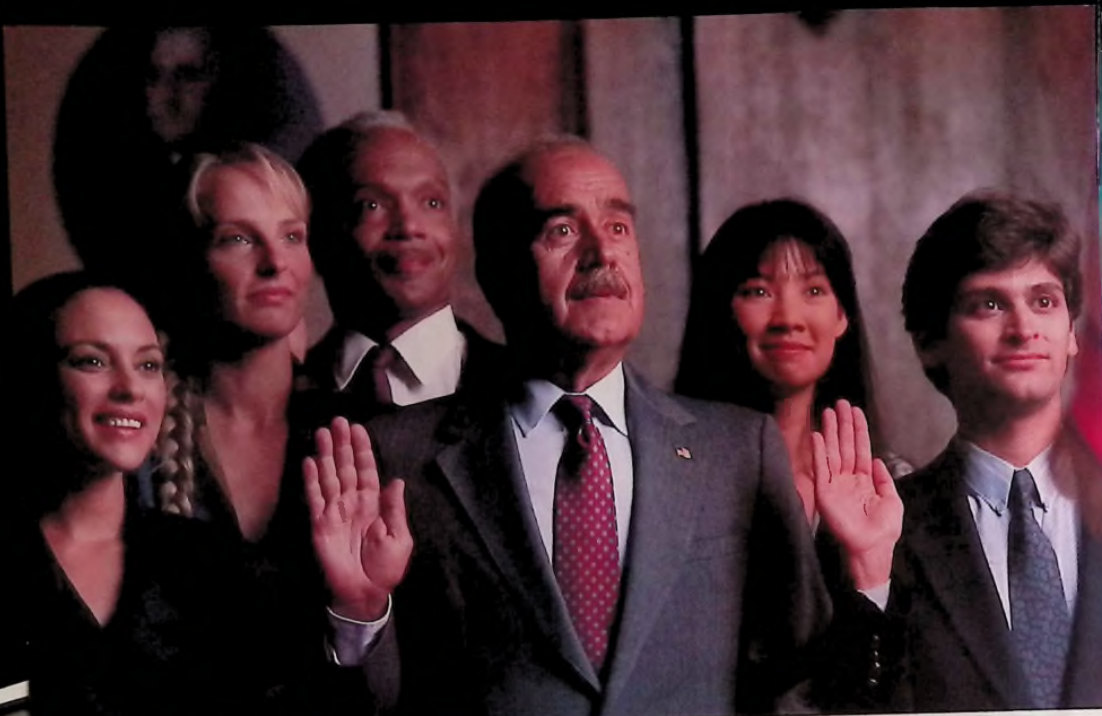
Neville Chamberlain, Baldwin's successor, looked for new ways to placate the *Führer*. At one point, he advanced the idea of "colonial

appeasement," a plan to give Hitler colonies in Africa in hopes that he would quit his drive for European soil. First, the Prime Minister offered colonies that Germany had lost in World War I. Hitler wasn't interested. Then came offers of places the Reich had never held, including the Belgian Congo (now Zaire) and Portugal's Angola. *Nein* again. Hitler wanted his *Lebensraum*—living space—in Europe.

Britain and France repeatedly ignored or abetted Hitler as he broke treaties and grabbed territory. An Anglo-French stand early on could have revealed the dictator as history's No. 1 bluff artist. If France, with its 350,000-man Army, had moved against his tiny force in the Rhineland, Hitler later confided, the Nazis would have fled "with our tails between our legs."

Appeasement's final offering came at Munich, when Chamberlain himself flew to Germany and gave Hitler clear passage into Czechoslovakia. The Prime Minister returned home with his omnipresent umbrella in one hand and a scrap of paper in the other. The paper, he said, was Hitler's agreement to allow "peace in our time."

A year and a half later, amid war, Churchill became Prime Minister. All that he had to offer was reserved for his countrymen: "Blood, toil, tears and sweat."



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SPECIAL REPORT

east as well as the west. And by his initiation of a program of U-boat building in 1936, to which the British Admiralty had unwisely assented before it had second thoughts, he ensured the hostility of the Royal Navy and so of the British people, for whom the Royal Navy was the ultimate sheet anchor.

Destination Warsaw

When, therefore, in March, 1939, he opened a diplomatic offensive against Poland, the last state in Eastern Europe that contained a sizable German minority, he was, whether he recognized it or not, playing with fire. So strong was the fire he had kindled that France and Britain considered joining the Soviet Union in an anti-Hitler alliance. The Poles stymied that gambit by again refusing to allow the Red Army onto their territory. The two democracies then unilaterally extended a guarantee of military protection to Belgium, Holland and Switzerland and, on March 31, to Poland. When Mussolini, Hitler's ally, invaded Albania on April 7, they gave the same guarantee to Greece and Romania.

The democracies had dealt their hand, and it confronted Hitler with the certainty of war but no certainty of victory, while Russia remained an unknown quantity, whichever way he turned. Then the hand suddenly fell his way. Stalin's new Foreign Minister, Molotov, disclosed in May that the Soviet Union might be prepared to come off the fence on Germany's side, if offered sufficient inducement. Suspicious at first, Hitler responded positively in July. He indicated, through his



THE DEAL

"Wonder how long the honeymoon will last?" the cartoon asked. Within 22 months, Hitler invaded Stalin's Russia

CHRONOLOGY OF AGGRESSION

The title of Nazi Germany's national anthem summed up Hitler's No. 1 goal—"Deutschland über Alles"—and the Führer wasted little effort as he tried to establish the Reich as master over all. His timetable in the 1930s—

■ MARCH 16, 1936 REARMAMENT

Germany repudiates the Versailles Peace Treaty, which set strict limits on German arms. One day after Goering announces the existence of the Luftwaffe, Hitler decrees a law that establishes a military draft and an Army with 500,000 men. Britain and France complain but do nothing.

■ MARCH 7, 1936 RHINELAND

German soldiers goose-step across the Rhine and occupy the Rhineland, an industrial area of Germany that had been demilitarized as a buffer zone to protect France and Belgium. Hitler then declares, "We have no territorial demands to make in Europe." France is obligated by the Locarno Pact to force the outnumbered Germans back. But the French, fearing a long war, only mumble.

■ MARCH 12, 1938 AUSTRIA

Ignoring treaties, Germany annexes Austria as Nazi troops march triumphantly into the country that was Hitler's homeland. Arrests soon begin throughout Austria, more than 70,000 in Vienna alone. Again, no action from Britain or France.

■ SEPT. 12, 1938 SUDETENLAND

Hitler demands that Czechoslovakia place its 3.5 million Sudeten Germans under German rule. The Czechs are willing to fight but need help. After Hitler promises that this is "the last territorial claim I have to make in Europe," Britain's Chamberlain and France's Daladier meet with him in Munich and tell him he can have what he wants. In early October, he occupies the Sudetenland.

■ OCT. 24, 1938 DANZIG

Germany advises Poland that it wants a strip of Polish land so the Reich can connect with Danzig and East Prussia. Poland says no. German pressure continues for months.

■ MARCH 15, 1939 CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Hitler declares that "Czechoslovakia has ceased to exist" and now is part of the Reich. His troops pour across the Czechoslovak frontier, and he triumphantly enters Prague. A week later, Germany annexes Memel, part of the Baltic state of Lithuania. By month's end, Chamberlain declares that Britain and France will back Poland if it is attacked by the Germans.

■ SEPT. 1, 1939 POLAND

Germany invades Poland. Two days later, after Hitler ignores an ultimatum to withdraw, Britain and France declare war.

WORLD AT WAR

Foreign Minister, Joachim von Ribbentrop, that the Soviet Union might win itself territory in the east if it signed the right sort of treaty. As the Soviets had never forgiven Poland for defeating them in the Russo-Polish War of 1919-20, and for fixing its eastern boundary well inside what Moscow regarded as historic Russian territory, the indication was tempting. In mid-August, Ribbentrop went to Moscow and on August 23 signed a nonaggression treaty (see related story, page 68) that probably committed both signatories to hold aloof from warlike treaties with third parties. Secretly, the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact carved up Eastern Europe. In the event of general war, it gave the Baltic States—Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia—and the eastern half of Poland to Russia, the western half to Germany. On receiving news of the signing of the treaty, Hitler exulted, "Now I have the world in my pocket!"

This boast would fail only if France and Britain moved to attack him at the sign of his first hostile step. While he began mobilizing against Poland in the last week of August, howev-



of Polish aggression and that his SS, who had stage-managed the Blood Purge, should fabricate it. On the night of Aug. 31, 1939, some concentration-camp inmates were put into Polish uniforms and killed. The corpses were displayed on the Polish-German frontier as evidence to the world press that the Poles had initiated an attack. Next morning Hitler's armored columns crossed the frontier in hundreds, driving on Warsaw. Hitler broadcast that he was responding to an unprovoked offensive. Britain and France, which had still not mobilized, demanded that he withdraw. He ignored their ultimatum. It expired at 11 o'clock on the morning of September 3, when the defeat of the Polish Army was already well advanced. World War II had begun.



THE INVASION On World War II's first day, German soldiers tore away the turnpike gates at the Polish border. Sixteen days later, Soviet troops invaded from the

east. One month into the war, all of Poland belonged to either Hitler or Stalin. The Soviets got more than half the land, but the Germans controlled most of the people and industries

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END OF THE REICH

Five years and eight months elapsed between the day Hitler sent his tanks into Poland and the moment he and Eva Braun, his bride of 40 hours, committed suicide in his underground bunker in Berlin. The Third Reich he said would last 1,000 years survived him by one week. Three months later, on Aug. 14, 1945, Japan capitulated, and World War II was over.

From the conflict emerged a divided Continent. On one side of the iron curtain was the Communist bloc, dominated by the

Soviet Union; on the other was the free world, led by America and its democratic ideals. Nuclear weapons suffused the rivalry with a special danger. Only now is that cold war being fundamentally re-examined.



THE VICTORS Five days before Hitler died, American GI's and Soviet soldiers met at the Elbe River, cutting Germany in

two. Soon, the Soviets had puppet governments in place in half of Germany, all of Poland and much of the rest of Eastern Europe. In March,

1946—barely 10 months after Americans and Russians shook hands at the Elbe—Winston Churchill introduced a term that would define

global politics for four decades. "From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic," he said, "an iron curtain has descended across the Continent"

AFTERMATH OF WAR

THE WORLD WAR CREATED

It was the work of a moment for a handful of German soldiers to snap the frail barrier at the frontier with Poland on Sept. 1, 1939, but the convulsions of that moment are still reverberating. Six years of global conflict was only the beginning. Only now, in the fifth decade since, do we seem to be emerging from the postwar era and entering a new one.

The beginning of the postwar era was a vindication of Tocqueville's prophecy 150 years ago that sooner or later America and Russia would become the two main powers of the world. Today, the end of this era is marked by the preeminence of America, a waning of the strength of Russia and the re-emergence of the old great powers. America was probably the strongest nation at the end of World War I, but it was the dynamic economic expansion of America from 1941, and the exhaustion of the other warring powers, that catapulted us into a position of dominance even greater than Britain's in the 19th century. America was not merely the arsenal of democracy; it was the heart of democracy. Economically, it dominated, as no one had before, the world's production, science and technology. It supported the rebuilding of both its democratic allies and its former foes after World War II. Politically, it was the unquestioned leader of the free world. Militarily and technologically, its potential was unmatched by any combination of enemies. American mass culture was embraced even by its opponents.

BY MORTIMER B. ZUCKERMAN
Editor-in-Chief

Psychologically, America felt invincible. Fifteen years after the war, it could say in the words of John F. Kennedy that it would "support any friend, oppose any

foe." The principal foe, of course, was the Soviet Union, whose dominance lay in Eastern and Central Europe, in the continuation of the buildup of its military power even after the defeat of Germany and in its ruthless readiness to impose its will in the heart of Europe, the fulfillment of an age-old Russian dream.

The smiling handshakes of the Soviet and U.S. troops who fought their way to the Elbe River suggested, for a moment, that the world might live under a cordial dual hegemony. Within two years the idea was manifestly ludicrous. Wherever the Red Army marched, Stalinist Communism followed.

But America, which had returned to its isolationist ways in 1918, did not desert Europe this time. As Eastern Europe was absorbed into the Soviet empire, Western Europe under U.S. leadership forged a new antitotalitarian military and political alliance. It worked. The failed Communist uprising in Greece, the unsuccessful Berlin blockade and the Korean War in 1950 marked the end of the first cycle of Soviet postwar expansion.

The phenomenal and terrifying growth of nuclear military power did not abate. Nuclear weapons rapidly grew bigger, faster and more accurate. The logic of the arms race was paradoxical—not to fight war, but to deter war. But in a nuclear stalemate, both superpowers slowly suffered from a

PERSPECTIVE: SEWERYN BIALER ON THE SOVIET-NAZI PACT

THE DEAL THAT STILL LIVES IN INFAMY

Instead of celebrating its decisive role in the defeat of Nazi Germany, today's Kremlin leaders are embarrassed and even worried about the role their country played in the start of World War II. Fifty years ago, the Third Reich and the Soviet Union were not enemies, but allies, and Joseph Stalin's heirs are only now reaping the bitter harvest of two years of secret Nazi-Soviet cooperation.

On Aug. 23, 1939, in Stalin's presence, Hitler's Foreign Minister, Joachim von Ribbentrop, and the Soviet Peoples' Commissar of Foreign Affairs, Vyacheslav Molotov, signed a mutual nonaggression pact. On the scale of evil consequences, the pact outweighs even the shameful British and French decision to appease Hitler: Not only did it pave the way for the German invasions of Poland, the Low Countries and France, it also contained a secret protocol carving Central Europe into German and Soviet spheres of influence. Last month, in the fifth year of Mikhail Gorbachev's era of *glasnost*, a high Communist Party offi-

cial finally admitted for the first time that the secret protocol existed. Now the cynical deal has come back to haunt Communist leaders struggling to preserve their tarnished legitimacy in Poland, in the Baltic States and in parts of the Soviet heartland itself, in the Ukraine, Moldavia and Byelorussia.

Soviet justification of the pact with Hitler ultimately rests on the proposition that the only alternatives, joining the Allies or remaining neutral, would have guaranteed a Nazi attack on the Soviet Union. Yet every bit of available evidence makes it clear beyond a reasonable doubt that Germany was not prepared and did not intend in 1939 to attack the Soviet Union. To the contrary, Germany was afraid of a Western-Soviet coalition, and Hitler needed the pact much more than Stalin did.

Ruthless secrets. There is evidence, in fact, that Stalin was motivated at least as much by greed as by fear. In his 1939 negotiations with the French and British, the Soviet dictator demanded that the Allies accept Soviet control over

Eastern Europe. The democracies were not about to underwrite Soviet expansion into their neighboring states. What Stalin could not get from the Western Allies he got from Hitler, and more.

In the secret protocol, Germany and the Soviet Union divided Poland into two roughly equal parts, and when the Nazis attacked Poland on September 1, Stalin watched to see whether Britain and France would declare war on Germany. When they did, the Soviet Union moved to launch its own invasion of Poland on September 4. Stalin thought that he had several weeks to plan his attacks. But the German blitzkrieg progressed so quickly that on September 17, he ordered about 40 ill-prepared divisions of the Red Army to cross the Polish border to keep German forces from occupying the entire country. Even so, the Germans were able to penetrate deeply into eastern Polish provinces that were supposed to be Stalin's prizes. But Hitler honored his secret treaty obligations, and German troops withdrew to the agreed demarcation line

SPECIAL REPORT



The curtain falls. Hungary removes fence on Austrian border

decline in their relative political and economic dominance.

In the case of the United States, it was a slow process and a deliberate consequence not only of the arms race, but also of rebuilding the Western powers and Japan. It did not weaken the alliance. However, the Soviet Union and most of its client states were simply exhausted by competing in an arms race their sclerotic command economies, ravaged by the war and the Stalinist terror, simply could not support. They entered a phase of not just relative but absolute decline.

The postwar era also saw the decline and collapse of the traditional colonial empires. What followed was a competition between Communism and capitalism, and between Soviets and Americans, to fill the vacuum the old European powers had left. The Third World became the principal theater for U.S.-Soviet competition. The cost of competing for influence in so many unstable, poverty-stricken and often insignificant nations frequently went far beyond the point of diminishing returns, especially for the Soviets, who could ill-afford the cost.

The postwar period ushered in a type of international conflict not seen since the Crusades. The cold war was not just a battle for survival between two states; it was a conflict of ideologies that recognized no borders and achieved the zealotry of religious wars. It openly and deliberately tested the potential and performance of opposing economic and political systems, both of which proclaimed their universality. In the past, any conflict of such intensity would assuredly have ended in a world war. But because nuclear weapons promised Armageddon, the cold war remained a conflict of wills rather than of weapons—not the hot wars of tanks and artillery, but the cold wars of politics, propaganda, subversion and espionage.

Today, as Soviet aggressiveness abroad appears to be declin-

when the Soviet troops belatedly arrived.

After the partition of Poland, Molotov crowed that "the bastard of the Versailles Treaty [Poland] has once and for all ceased to exist." Stalin sent a congratulatory cable to Hitler expressing hopes that the Nazi-Soviet cooperation "cemented with blood" would remain strong. The only blood Stalin could have had in mind was that of the Poles who were being killed by the Nazis and the Soviets.

Gestapo handshakes. Many of those not slaughtered in the hopeless defense of their homeland suffered an even crueler fate. When a German diplomat named Hans von Herwarth landed at the Moscow airport with Ribbentrop for the signing of the Nazi-Soviet pact, a friend from the German Embassy in Moscow grabbed his arm and said, "Look how the Gestapo officers are shaking hands with their counterparts in the NKVD (Stalin's secret police), and how they are all smiling at each other. They are obviously delighted to be able to collaborate at last. But watch out! This will be disastrous, especially when they start exchanging files."

The Nazi and Soviet secret police did start exchanging files. There is evidence that after the pact was reached, Stalin and his secret-police chief, Lavrenti Be-

ria, decided to give the Gestapo some German Communists or Jews who either worked in the Comintern, the worldwide Communist apparatus, in Moscow or had fled their country after Hitler came to power. Some Germans who had been arrested by Beria during the great purge of 1936-38 as "fascist spies" went directly from Soviet to Nazi concentration camps.

Hundreds of thousands on both sides of the demarcation line, particularly the politically active and the intelligentsia, were killed, sent to camps or exiled as Hitler's SS and Gestapo joined forces with Stalin's NKVD to liquidate the Polish resistance. In the Baltic States, Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, the Germans insisted on evacuating almost anybody who claimed to be German. Hundreds of thousands of those who remained became the victims of Stalin's terror.

That was not the only help Stalin gave Hitler. After Aug. 23, 1939, he ordered Communist parties around the world to support the Soviet-Nazi pact. Commu-

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nist parties in the Allied countries were directed to sabotage the war efforts; in the United States the Communists did a 180-degree turn overnight and joined the German-American Bund and the America Firsters in opposing American entry into the war and aid to Britain.

Hitler's agreement with Stalin also left the Nazis free to concentrate virtually all their forces against the Western Allies, leaving only nine second-rank divisions to guard the new German-Soviet border that stretched more than 1,000 miles from the Baltic Sea to the Carpathian Mountains.

After the pact, Soviet-German trade also increased dramatically. Soviet oil, grain and mineral resources were indispensable to the buildup of the German war machine. Just hours before German troops crashed across the Soviet border on June 22, 1941, a train loaded with Soviet supplies for the Reich crossed into Germany.

Khrushchev has reported that in 1939 Stalin had told him: "I know what Hitler is up to. He thinks he has outsmarted me, but actually it is I who have outsmarted him." Stalin was wrong. But so was Hitler, and 50 years later, their ignoble attempt to divide and conquer still haunts Europe. ■



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AFTERMATH OF WAR

ing, smaller states see a diminishing logic in their own participation in the cold war. America's allies now see little danger from the Soviet Union and are uninterested in the global vision of the United States. On the Soviet side, the captive nations and regimes of Eastern Europe are groping for ways to escape Soviet domination. Virtually no week goes by without some sensational news of yet another rejection of the Communist system. A new era is opening with the prospect of a counterrevolution as momentous at the end of the 20th century as the Russian Revolution was at the beginning. The collapse of Communism does not make Soviet nuclear weapons less dangerous, but the economic, political and cultural collapse of Communism makes the specter of Soviet expansion less real.

For the first time, it is possible to envision an end to the arbitrary division of Europe, which for five decades has confined the populations of a half-dozen states in the largest prison in the world. It is not an external threat by America and its allies

widespread as its ambitions once were great. At one time, there were 40 million members of various Communist parties in nations outside the Eastern bloc. Today, international Communism is dead, especially in Europe, where Communist parties have minimal influence. The universal theory of Marxism has been revealed by time as a piece of 19th-century materialism, inspiring perhaps when presented as the salvation of peasants and workers in an era of robber barons, famine, depression and exploitation, but utterly irrelevant to the needs and aspirations of the 20th century. Seven decades after the triumph of the Bolshevik Revolution, and more than four years after the ascendance of Mikhail Gorbachev, the world headquarters of Marxist-Leninism still cannot provide decent food, adequate housing, acceptable clothing or health care or entertainment for its people. No wonder a leading member of an Eastern European Communist Party sued the party to recover 20 years of past dues because he claimed that the party's failure to perform on its promises was tantamount to a breach of contract.

The Soviet model barely worked for the first Industrial Revolution of smokestack industries of the late 19th century and early 20th century. It can barely begin parts of the second Industrial Revolution, the postwar consumer revolution involving the mass distribution of high-quality consumer durables, improved diet, good housing and medical care. India, China, Indonesia, even Bangladesh, can feed themselves; the Soviet Union cannot. The Communist consumer cannot be sure of getting even such basic needs as sugar, salt, matchsticks, razors, toilet paper, sanitary napkins, toothpaste, disposable syringes for hospitals, or soap for its miners. Consumption as a percentage of Soviet GNP is less than 30 percent, a lower percentage than Germany's during World War II. The Soviets remain incapable of manufacturing anything, except armaments, that can compete in the world markets. As for the burgeoning third Industrial Revolution of the late 20th century, the information revolution of communications, high technology and computers, the Soviet system is a nonstarter. The Russians gave up their God and their Czar for material benefits and now have no God, no Czar and no material benefits.

Above all, Communism is now bankrupt as an ideology. As George Kennan puts it, "It is incapable of commanding that ultimate fund of human idealism on which the revolution, like the churches of all ages, was once able to draw. The deepest confidence, the most intimate hopes, the finest ideals: these are no longer the Kremlin's to command." The fact that the system is able to function only through rampant corruption and black marketeering has produced such deep cynicism that one of the darkest fears of the West has vanished: The fear that a generation born and educated in a Communist system would

grow up and support its values. For it is the youth, especially the educated, who are the most alienated. Who could not be repulsed by the continuous revelations of the shocking brutality, criminality and wanton slaughter by the murderous tyrant Stalin, and of the vast corruption and sloth of Brezhnev? How could the Communist Party not decline when so many of its leaders were revealed as murderers, thieves and thugs?

All the thousands of free-world intellectuals who were certain that Communism owned the future are dead or quiet. In the contest between state power and freedom for the individual, the individual has won. In the contest of pragmatic rivalries between centralized economies and free markets, Adam Smith has defeated Karl Marx. In the cultural contest between Soviet egalitarianism and America's mass culture, America has won. Our music, TV, movies, style and fashion are emulated throughout the world, lubricated by Coca-Cola and fueled by Big Macs. There is no clearer indication of the failure of Communism than that millions seek to leave the Soviet Union to live elsewhere, while tens of millions seek to come to America to live.

Pope or Luther?

The consequences for the Soviet Union are imponderable. As the recent elections for the new Congress of People's Deputies illustrated, the people have lost even minimal respect for their leadership. Legitimacy has been lost, and everyone knows it, and everyone knows everyone knows. This invisible revolution in hearts and minds constitutes a dilemma for Mikhail Gorbachev. He must dismantle the very system that has placed him in power: He is faced with the problem of being the Pope and Martin Luther at the same time. He has achieved a great deal in one difficult sphere, namely a change in the ossified political culture. But it is not clear whether he can survive the decentralization of power and the crisis of faith that *perestroika* and *glasnost* have spawned.

America, too, must find a way to respond to the historic opportunity of the end of the postwar era. It must preserve the Atlantic Alliance and yet, in today's headier moments, remember that Moscow remains committed to an accumulation of military power. The Red Army still has more divisions in East Germany than there are in the entire U.S. Army, more divisions in Czechoslovakia than there are U.S. divisions in all Europe. Despite promises of a new defensive military doctrine, all these Soviet divisions are still equipped for offense. But with budget and trade deficits and deferred civilian programs from education to highways, no President can anticipate that America will continue to spend 40 to 50 percent of its military budget on NATO. No U.S. President is likely to incur the political costs of reducing consumer spending in the U.S. to continue paying the lion's

share of the cost of defending Western Europe from a Soviet bear that claims to have lost his appetite. Political support at home is also diminishing as World War II, and its lessons on the costs of appeasement and unreadiness, recede into history. The perception that the new European Community has the resources to pay more for its defense and will also be a major economic competitor of the U.S. only compounds the problem. Many believe that the Soviet Union has largely abandoned its side of the global tug of war and left the U.S. with a limp rope. It is tempting for a President to believe that perhaps now we can concentrate on economic competition, with Japan as well as Europe, emphasizing trade wars rather than Star Wars, and draw up a new security policy in which the burdens of a multipolar world are shared by reinvigorated friends. Yet we, not Europe or Japan, are still the global superpower. Only we have both the arsenal and the economic power to lead.

The reality is that though we can glimpse the shape of a new era, we do not have it within our grasp. The tanks can return to Tiananmen Square. Gorbachev may fail, or fall, or both. What is happening in the Communist world is brand new, and no one knows for certain where it may lead. If Gorbachev fails will the Soviets revert to the truncheon and the gun? There remains a residual fear that the Soviet efforts at reform are reversible or that even if the reform succeeds it will make the Soviet Union a more efficient opponent at a time when the alliance is not held together by the glue of fear.

During the postwar period, the only strategy for the U.S. was tenacity. Surveying history and our hopes today, our strategy should be one of tenacious flexibility—tenacious in maintaining cohesive defenses and the ability to deter war, flexible in response to opportunity. Major conventional-arms agreements, properly constructed and monitored, would reduce the military threat. Ultimately, freedom is the key to the success of America, and to the future. Democratic and open societies have seldom if ever gone to war with one another. For good reasons. Elect-

ed legislatures tend to be more concerned with questions of domestic welfare than with foreign and military policy.

About 30 years ago, Khrushchev once asserted that Communism would bury capitalism. Ironically, we are now witnessing Communism bury Communism. Nowhere is this better symbolized than in the proposal of some Soviet intellectuals that the embalmed body of Lenin be removed from its tomb in Red Square and buried in the earth. There will be less reason to worry that Gorbachev's domestic reforms are reversible when a modern democracy and full freedom have emerged for the people of the Soviet Union. Then, the burial of the Communist threat will be complete.



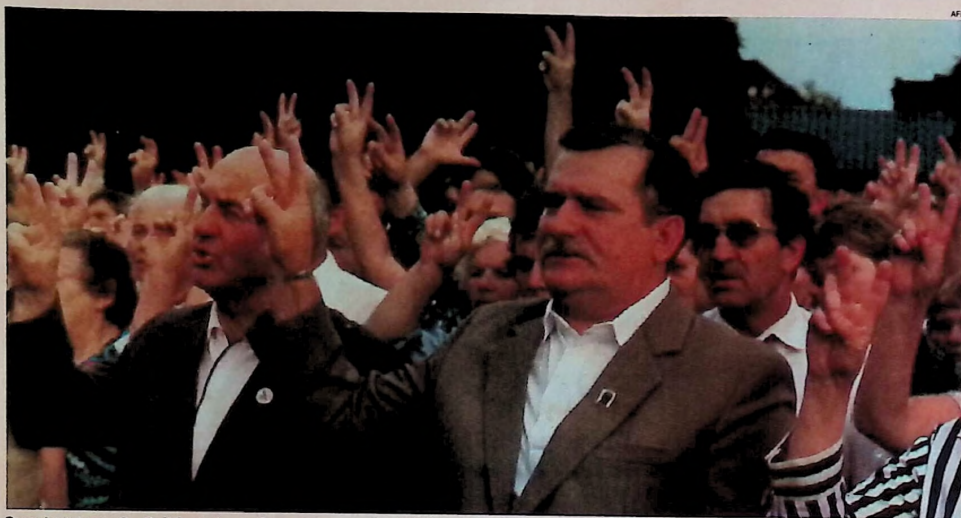
A DIVIDED EUROPE

From World War II's rubble arose two occupied Germanys, two occupied Austrias and an Eastern Europe dominated by Moscow. Austria united as an independent nation 10 years later, but no end is in sight for Germany's east-west division



A NEW CHALLENGE

The task facing West Germany's Helmut Kohl and America's George Bush is to preserve a united alliance amid diminishing fears of Soviet aggression. In this decade, West German sentiment has shifted toward neutrality



Sweet victory. On Solidarity's ninth anniversary, Lech Walesa grapples with new power and old realities

After the party's over

Poland tests whether Communism and democracy can coexist

In Poland, the revolution has just begun. By winning the right to set up the first non-Communist government in the East bloc in 41 years, Solidarity and Lech Walesa have taken the lead in a frontal assault on Communist power by opposition groups and reformers from Siberia to Budapest. But the breathtaking pace of change in Poland has created new political instability in an already volatile region. How well an untried, inexperienced coalition government in Warsaw copes with angry workers and a collapsing economy will help determine where the limits of Moscow's tolerance lie and thus what chance the rest of the bloc has to break the grip of one-party rule.

Frayed nerves already are evident in the neighborhood, though not, so far, in Moscow. Czechoslovak authorities accused Poland's Solidarity-led parliament of "trying to cause unrest and destabilize social development" by condemning the 1968 Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia. They also have criticized meetings between Solidarity members of parliament and Czechoslovak dissidents.

Prague is especially nettled because it is particularly vulnerable to the reform virus. One State Department official, not-

ing increased links between Czechoslovak and Polish dissidents, predicts political upheaval within 18 months. The large number of young, midlevel party members who chafe under the hard-line leadership of Milos Jakes may accelerate the process. As events unfold in Poland, these members will feel increasingly driven to declare their reform credentials now instead of waiting for the deluge.

The pace of change also may pick up in Hungary, where reformers already have taken control of the Communist Party. Janusz Bugajski of the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington says Hungarian opposition leaders will likely take a tougher line in talks over the allocation of seats in a new parliament. The Polish fever could force a final split within the Hungarian Communist Party between reformers and hard-liners.

A new world. Even relatively prosperous East Germany is feeling the winds of change. Already this year, 1,600 emboldened East Germans have defected to the West by slipping across the now lax Hungarian border into Austria. As many as 10 percent of East Germany's 16 million citizens have applied to emigrate, exerting steady pressure for reform on the authorities. With the Polish opposition about to take power next door, that pressure will

increase. Milan Svec, who was a senior Czechoslovak diplomat in Washington when he defected in 1985, says Solidarity's successes "make it much more tempting for everybody in Eastern Europe to demand more—it's a new world."

The key, of course, is Moscow. If the Kremlin sticks by its public hands-off policy toward Poland, it will undermine hard-liners throughout the bloc. "They can just say loudmouth things," says Svec, referring to the Czechoslovak leadership. "They will be lonelier than ever." Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev is gambling that he can gain more stability in Eastern Europe by loosening his grip than by tightening it. So far, his bet is paying off. Mindful of Soviet worries, Solidarity reserved the Defense and Interior ministries, which control the military and the police, for the Communists in the new coalition government. Walesa also made it clear Poland would remain in the Warsaw Pact. "No matter who rules here must recognize this reality," he said.

Even so, turmoil in Eastern Europe could spill into the Soviet Union's own restless republics, especially the Baltic States of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. Huge nationalist demonstrations are expected this week as the three mark the 50th anniversary of the secret Nazi-Soviet

pact that forcibly ceded the area to the Soviet Union (page 68), and tensions between the local population and resentful Russian immigrants are skyrocketing. Gorbachev, however, may try to turn the Polish case to his advantage by arguing that the Baltics, too, could win by seeking pragmatic solutions to their demands for more autonomy. To counter this week's rising nationalist fervor, Kremlin leaders already have sweetened their overtures to the republics by calling for a truly federal system that would radically decentralize political and economic power.

Limited choices. But Gorbachev's gambit is risky. Unlike the Poles, Hungarian opposition activists reject any pledge to set aside sensitive ministries for the Communists. That is only one small step from a pullout from the Warsaw Pact, which would force Gorbachev to choose between a showdown with hard-liners in Moscow and sending tanks to crush *glasnost* in Budapest again. The former course could cost the Soviet leader his job, or at least some of the unchallenged power he now enjoys. The latter would cost him his carefully cultivated image as a reformer, both at home and abroad, and probably his chances of attracting Western investment in *perestroika*.

Perhaps by design, the Soviets' arm's-length attitude puts heavy pressure on Solidarity to solve Poland's deepening economic crisis. But to rescue the collapsing economy and reverse more than 40 years of Communist control, a Solidarity-led government will have to sacrifice some of its own constituents, closing bankrupt factories and putting thousands of Poles out of work. Moving too quickly could touch off dangerous strikes by workers already angry over rising food prices. Moreover, Solidarity must reassure Western businessmen who fear greater instability under an untested Solidarity government than under the unimaginative but predictable Communist apparatchiks.

Still, Western governments will be under heavy pressure to support Poland's unprecedented experiment in democracy. "If they want change, they're going to have to help pay for it," said Georges Mink of France's prestigious Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique. Representative Lee Hamilton (D-Ind.), the senior Democrat on the House Foreign Affairs Committee, says Congress is now more likely to be "generous with aid," probably beyond the \$100 million already sought by President Bush. If so, then Solidarity will have won at least the first skirmish in its long battle for credibility, East and West.

by Douglas Stanglin with Bruce B. Auster in Washington, Jeff Trimble in Moscow and Richard Z. Chesnoff in Paris



A nose for trouble. People's Deputy Guliy (left) inspects the salmon catch

Where *perestroika* makes strange bedfellows

Fighting to save Sakhalin from the Soviet disease

Eight time zones east of the Kremlin, remote Sakhalin Island is a rich land beggared by great waste and torn by impatient cries for great changes. Two of the island's four new people's deputies—a conservative who rose through the old, discredited system and a young firebrand committed to tearing it down—are symbolic of the ferment. For now, they are both reluctant allies of Mikhail Gorbachev and *perestroika*, bound by the knowledge that if he fails, so do they all.

People's Deputy Vitaly Guliy peers over the gunwale of the rowboat at a small economic disaster in the making. Thousands of salmon churn in the nets, shimmering in the bottle-green water of the Sea of Okhotsk. "We've been waiting three days for the processing ship," fumes fisherman Evgeny Fadeyev. "There are 80 tons of fish here, and in three more days they will be dead, useless."

Eying the salmon, their

bellies swollen with red caviar, Guliy shakes his head. "The directors told me everything was going fine with the catch, but I wanted to see for myself," he says. "Look what I find. A mess." He promises to "throw a scare into them" to get things moving.

Over at the Kotovsky collective's fish-processing plant, they would love to be busy, but because of a shortage of cans they are limping along at just 60 percent of capacity. And, *perestroika* notwithstanding, the fishery directors cannot deal directly with the Sakhalin-based can manufacturer. Instead, they must appeal to their deputies to intercede with the can factory's Moscow masters 4,200 miles away.

At the Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk mine, halfway across the island, People's Deputy Anatoly Kapustin faces a circle of coal miners angry that official promises made to settle a widespread strike this summer have not been kept. "The union isn't defending our rights," sputters one. "It's run by fools." Kapustin, one of those "fools," is tired after a 2-



hour crawl through the mine. "I know times are hard, but remember what Winston Churchill said about the Russians: We are a people who create impossible problems for ourselves, then solve them."

Three months into their five-year terms in the new Congress of People's Deputies, Guliy and Kapustin are on the cutting edge of Mikhail Gorbachev's reform campaign. Both are Communists and defenders of the cause of *perestroika*. But they are curious bedfellows and, in the small world of politics on this North

camp, not parliament, in Joseph Stalin's day. As a youngster, he was expelled from the Communist youth organization, Komsomol, for not toeing the party line. Later, as a full-fledged Communist, he was reprimanded for divorcing his wife. It took an angry public outburst over official corruption to lift him from obscurity.

That 1988 eruption, known locally as "the May events," brought Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk to a standstill. "Put a shovel in the bureaucrats' hands," demanded one banner. Within a week, troubleshooters ar-

the upstart Guliy for deputy of the southern district.

Kapustin took a different road to Moscow. Now 50, he spent 14 years in the coal mines and has worked as an official of the state-sanctioned miners' union for the past seven years. Both the union and Kapustin have undergone drastic changes under Gorbachev, cut loose from strict supervision by the Communist Party. With his graduate degree from a party training school, Kapustin is the kind of career bureaucrat reformers like Guliy love to skewer.

Kapustin won one of 750 safe seats in the Congress that were reserved for organizations ranging from the Communist Party to the national stamp-collectors club. He was chosen by union members, not by the general public. These special deputies generally vote the conservative line in parliament, and their very presence angers the radicals. Kapustin concedes that the law likely will be changed before the next elections to open all seats to popular voting.

Remote battlefield. But Kapustin denies that he is a reform chameleon, insisting that he is a changed man. "I toed the line and did what I was told," he says of the past. "If I didn't carry out orders, I would have lost party backing. Now, if I get a stupid order from party organs, I argue." His willingness to change wins generally favorable reviews from the rank and file. "He is all right," says miner Vitaly Topalov. "Even Gorbachev was an apparatchik."

Kapustin's and Guliy's battle for *perestroika* is waged on a very remote front. The Russian writer Anton Chekhov visited Sakhalin in 1890 and described a miserable czarist prison outpost at the end of the world—a place of stark natural beauty

populated by mosquitoes, bears, half-starved convicts, homesick soldiers and prostitutes. Sakhalin still retains shadows of its wild past. Bears occasionally wander into the outskirts of Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk, an unruly frontier town of 170,000 that is the island's capital. And islanders complain that Sakhalin remains a colony of the mainland, getting little in return for its rich exports of oil, fish, timber, paper and minerals. Although Sakhalin exports huge quantities of natural gas, islanders have no gas in their homes.

The island displays many of the jar-



A tough audience. Sakhalin coal miners listen to their man, Anatoly Kapustin

Pacific island of 700,000, there is little love lost between them. Guliy is a life-long rabble-rouser who typifies a generation that has come in from the cold under Gorbachev. Kapustin is the consummate insider, a party apparatchik with a nose for the prevailing winds.

Guliy believes radical reformer Boris Yeltsin should head the Communist Party to "bring order" to an organization adrift, freeing Gorbachev as President to run the country. Kapustin, on the other hand, says he admires Politburo conservative Yegor Ligachev—a man Yeltsin and the red-hots condemn as a saboteur of reform. Guliy idolizes onetime dissident Andrei Sakharov; Kapustin says Sakharov talks too much and believes most of what the prickly outcast turned people's deputy says is "slandrous."

The cautious Kapustin warns, "We need sober analysis and sensible decisions." Rubbish, counters Guliy. "People are thinking for themselves now, not doing what they are told."

The rail-thin, mustachioed Guliy, a 37-year-old crusading journalist at the local party daily *Soviet Sakhalin*, would have been a prime candidate for the prison



Taking heat. Kapustin gets an earful of complaints

rived from Moscow, cleaned out a hold-over party boss from Leonid Brezhnev's time and stopped construction on palatial office buildings the party elite were building for themselves. "It was a revelation for people here, that they could take power and say what they really thought," says Sergei Mikhailov, a factory director and organizer of "the May events."

Moscow installed Viktor Bondarchuk, a veteran apparatchik, as new party boss. But that wasn't enough to placate angry islanders. In the March election, Bondarchuk was soundly trounced by

'There is little question that real change is afoot'

America's top military man gets a taste of *glasnost*



Earlier this summer, Adm. William J. Crowe, Jr., chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, made an unprecedented official visit to the Soviet Union. *U.S. News* asked Crowe, who steps down as chairman next month, to reflect on the visit. Excerpts from his remarks:

■ **On how the visit came about.** In the summer of '88, Marshal Sergei Akhromeyev, then chief of the Soviet general staff, visited the United States at my



Meeting of the minds? Crowe and Akhromeyev

invitation. We agreed that, in view of the courageous efforts of our respective political leaders to reduce tensions, our two militaries should explore ways to support them. At that time, the marshal invited me to visit the Soviet Union this year. (Akhromeyev is now a special military adviser to Mikhail Gorbachev; his successor, Gen. Mikhail Moiseyev, was Crowe's host.)

■ **On a career Navy officer boarding a Soviet *Kirov*-class cruiser.** Conflicting emotions flooded my mind. The *Kirov* is the most powerful surface unit in their naval inventory. For 40 years, I've watched the Soviet Navy expand its global reach and confront our own ships in every ocean. But hearing our national anthem played on the quarterdeck of a Russian man-of-war brought home, as no other gesture could, the changing times.

■ **On Soviet vs. American military hardware.** Bad weather disallowed an aerial demonstration by the Soviet Air Force in Kubinka. But we were shown some of the more sophisticated aircraft in their inventory. Climbing into the cockpit of a Black-

jack bomber, the Soviet equivalent of our B-1, reinforced my appreciation for the qualitative comparability of our weapons systems. We had looks at other equipment as well—the T-72 tank, a Victor III nuclear attack submarine, the MiG-29 jet fighter, the Hind Mi-24 helicopter and many others. It left me with the clear impression that, like us, they know how to build and maintain good equipment.

■ **On putative cuts in Soviet defense spending.** There is a great deal of talk at all ranks about decreasing funds—not necessarily dissatisfaction with the system but the kind of grumbling I hear in our own tight fiscal climate. The release of 100,000 officers in so short a period of time is a real problem in an economic structure that is inflexible and claims to have full employment. It's also not clear how smoothly defense industries can be converted to production of consumer goods.

■ **On Gorbachev's *perestroika* and *glasnost*.** There is little question in my mind that real change is afoot. You hear it, see it, smell it everywhere. A common voice rings through—from the top people down through mayors and leaders of civic groups. They are all seemingly committed to fundamental economic and political reforms. Politically, they are beginning to adopt certain classic aspects of pluralism common to democratic systems. But it is still early in the game, and they are wading in uncharted waters. If genuine pluralism is to be ultimately achieved, it will require a massive reshaping of attitudes throughout the society.

■ **On the evolving superpower relationship.** We're entering a period of uneasy transition, which hopefully will lead to a new era in superpower relations. We should be deliberately exploiting some bridge-building opportunities but not closing out our options until the situation clarifies. It's curious. Many in the West seem to think they can predict where the U.S.S.R. is going when the Soviets themselves don't know for sure. But we need to move deliberately. We must avoid making great leaps based only on hope and faith.

ring contrasts that are a trademark of the Soviet reality of want amid plenty. Miles of the most popular beaches were temporarily closed to swimmers this summer because of unsafe levels of cadmium in the waters of the Aniva Gulf. Thanks to coal-fired power plants and the island's paper mills, Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk is one of a polluted nation's 68 most-polluted cities. This summer, huge forest fires, most of them started by carelessness, inflicted heavy losses on Sakhalin's logging industry.

Limited access. Sakhalin's physical isolation is exaggerated by its status as a closed border zone. Nonresident Soviet citizens may visit only with permission, and, until last year, foreigners could not visit at all. To most Westerners, Sakhalin is memorable only as the last point of land that Korean Air Lines Flight 007 crossed in 1983 before it was shot down by Soviet fighters. Long shared by Japan and Russia, Sakhalin has been entirely in Soviet hands only since the last days of World War II, when Red Army troops drove the Japanese off the southern half.

Just how much Guliy and Kapustin can do to remedy Sakhalin's problems is open to question. With the new parliamentary system just finding its legs, deputies can make a lot of noise, but they have little real power. Only members of the Supreme Soviet, the 542-member sitting parliament, receive official help with staff and local travel needs, and neither Guliy nor Kapustin was chosen to serve in that body this first year, so they are left to fend for themselves. Guliy has hired a part-time secretary out of his own pocket to help handle letters and phone calls from constituents. He tours the district in a friend's beat-up station wagon, bouncing over dirt roads to visit remote fishing outposts.

People's deputies are expected to work at their regular jobs and do democracy's business on their own time. For Guliy and Kapustin, that means voter meetings several nights a week that usually run 3 or 4 hours. Occasionally, however, a hint of the deputies' growing clout comes through. A traffic cop with a radar gun who pulled the station wagon over for speeding looked at Guliy's deputy card and skipped the ticket.

Armed with the home folks' complaints, the deputies will return to Moscow this autumn, probably in October, for another session of the Congress. Against all odds, People's Deputy Kapustin is cautiously optimistic. "You Americans are in your third century of democracy, while it still is new for us. It will take some time to get the process working smoothly."

by Jeff Trimble on Sakhalin Island

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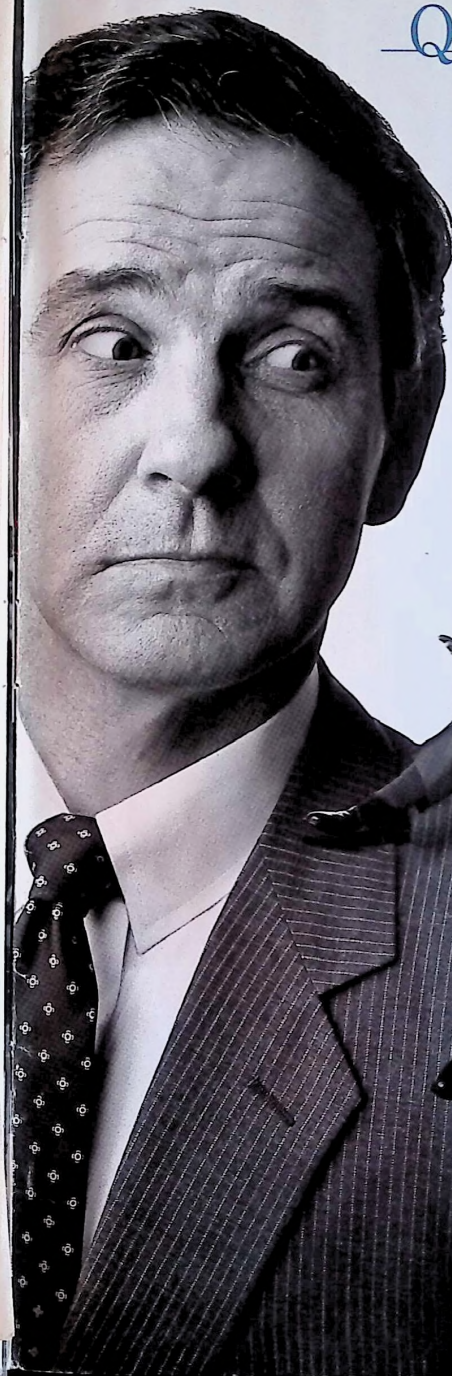


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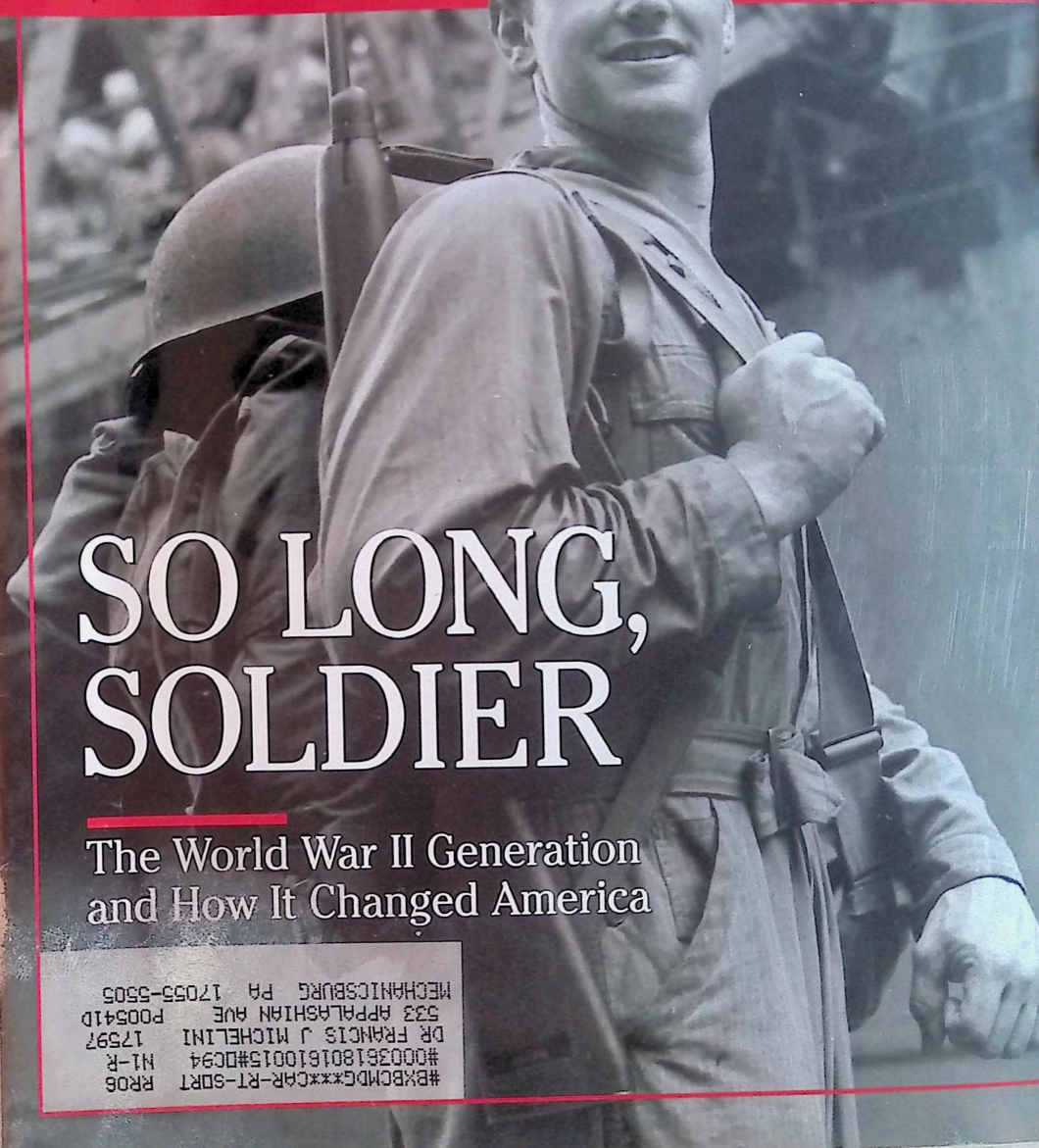
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At the war's end: A sailor waits for news of Japan's surrender, 1945

■ Goodbye, PT-109: How the WWII Generation Changed America

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Greeted by children in Mogadishu

■ George Bush's Farewell Tour

President Bush's farewell trip took him to Somalia, to visit with soldiers he had sent into action, and then to Moscow, to sign the last superpower arms-control deal of the cold-war era. The tour was part bittersweet nostalgia, part attempt to firm up a foreign-policy agenda that would be hard for Bill Clinton to abandon. **National Affairs: Page 16**

■ A Killer Returns

Not long ago the world seemed poised for victory in its struggle against malaria. But today, the disease is on the rise worldwide, killing up to 2 million people per year (far more than AIDS). And as the numbers rise, spurred by people moving into malarial areas, new strains are evolving that scientists fear will be untreatable. **Lifestyle: Page 56**



Malaria-carrying Anopheles mosquito

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So Long, SOLDIER

JONATHAN ALTER

When John F. Kennedy came to office in 1961, full of talk about "passing the torch," he described his generation thus: "Born in this century, tempered by war, disciplined by a hard and bitter peace." Thirty-two years later—the rough span of a generation—Kennedy would have been 75 years old. His fellow World War II veterans, symbolized by George Bush, are marching quietly offstage, making way, as they know they must, for their kids: born after the war, tempered by the 1960s, disciplined by nothing more than the knowledge of a hard future.

But before they go, before they motor off into the best-cushioned retirement in history, a pause, please, to look back at some of what the World War II generation wrought for the rest of us. Certainly the veterans themselves are already doing so; as the years pass, they tend to remember more and more about the war, its enormity like some time-release capsule in their minds. And if the immediate postwar decades were not always "The Best Years of Our Lives," they became among the most momentous in the entire life of the nation. Only the generation that founded the republic and the one that fought the Civil War can claim to have shaped the destiny of the country more than the men and women born in the first third of the 20th century. This month's transfer of power from Bush to Bill Clinton turns the page. The new chapter is an explosion of discombobulating color; the old was in stark black and white, with good and evil so much easier to discern. Or at least it looked that way, from under the apple tree.

Kennedy and Bush, combat veterans whose presidencies were separated by 30 years, are bookends. These fellow naval veterans might have disliked one another; generational identity only takes you so far. But the farewell speech that Bush gave last month at Texas A&M struck a Kennedyesque tone on America's role in the world. While Bush may be viewed by history as a reactive president, it was on his watch that the great struggle of his generation—the struggle against totalitarianism—seemed to be won.

So why doesn't it feel like victory? After all, under the World War II generation, America dominated the world as perhaps no other nation ever has. Having survived the Depression, it beat fascism, built the biggest economy ever, ended America's feelings of artistic inferiority toward Europe, conquered polio, grappled with the issue of race for the first time in 100 years, put men on the moon. Most conspicuous of all, it played world policeman, arming itself to contain and eventually help undermine communism. "No



New chapter: Governor Clinton in 1979

UPI



Marching offstage: Bush as a navy pilot in the 1940s



'Tempered by war': Kennedy as a PT-boat commander

other generation this century has felt (or been) so Promethean, so godlike in its collective world-bending power," write William Strauss and Neil Howe in their book "Generations."

But ultimately the world could not be bent like some piece of 1950s plastic. The descendant of Superman, that generation's favorite cartoon character, turned out to be . . . Bart Simpson. Arrogance and hypocrisy bred alienation and rebellion. Orthodoxies of both the left and right calcified. Racial and economic justice stalled. Major movements for environmentalism and women's rights were deferred to the generations that followed.

As it turned out, the men and women who saved America also nearly bankrupted it. First were the entitlements: they'd won the war, right? They were *entitled* to the fruits, and in the case of the GI Bill, generosity paid dividends many times over. But in recent years, health and retirement benefits have grown to the point where the long-living World War II generation consumes a huge share of the economic pie, burdening their children with debt.

And then there were the trillions spent on arms—far more than necessary (especially in the 1980s), though it was hard to know that when the buildup began. The newsreel playing over and over in the minds of policymakers was the image of Chamberlain capitulating to Hitler at Munich. This was the mental baggage that eventually led to Vietnam. The ends of fighting communism were seen to justify all sorts of unsavory means. Now, with the benefit of hindsight, it's clear that the ends were nobler than the left admitted; communism was just as inhuman as it was cracked up to be. And the means were meaner than the right admitted; laws were broken and lives ruined in the name of narrow-minded patriotism.

To see how the balance has shifted, compare two dramas about military court-martial. In Herman Wouk's "The Caine Mutiny," a character named Greenwald helps convict Captain Queeg but ends up ashamed of it. "Queeg deserved better at my hands. I owe him a favor, don't you see? He stopped Hermann Goring from washing his fat behind with my mother." Greenwald's logic—that you "can't stop a Nazi with a law book"—prevails with the audience. It is exactly that of Colonel Jessep, played by Jack Nicholson in the current hit, "A Few Good Men." *He's* the one on the front lines at Guantanamo, facing off against the Communists. But the hero today is Tom Cruise, the Yuppie attorney. The rule of law triumphs over "national security" and military discipline.

Post-cold-war, this makes sense. Yet something connected to the success of a nation has been lost, or at least misplaced. Citizens of other countries have often respected the nobler values of the World War II veterans—shared sacrifice, hard work, old-fashioned pluck—better than have their own heirs. That's one reason our competitors have caught up. The challenge, before the World War II generation dies off, is to transmit those values within the United States, to make the odds they overcame in winning the war and preserving the peace a source of some inspiration.

Recall that wartime song: "There'll be bluebirds over the white cliffs of Dover / tomorrow . . . when the world is free." The world is, in most places, free—freer than ever, thanks in part to this historic generation. But the bluebirds are barely in sight. The soldiers can't bring them back; now it's up to their children. ■

After the War: The Victories at Home

JAMES A. MICHENER

The two determinative events for my generation—I am 86—were fiery crucibles which revealed and strengthened character. We graduated into the teeth of the Great Depression, and even those few of us who landed jobs were aware that many of our colleagues found none. Assailed by doubt and despair, we discarded sentimental ideas about an ever-improving world and hardened our responses to the crumbling scene about us. Many observers considered us a lost generation and feared we might collapse if summoned to some crucial battlefield on which the fate of our nation might depend.

Precisely such a test faced us in 1941 when our country became involved in World War II. We sprang to arms, urged on by the draft, and were moved to all corners of the earth to engage Nazi Germany and Imperial Japan, two enemies threatening to destroy us and the other democracies. Death became common, but our crusade never turned back, not in the freezing North Atlantic where our ships went down by the score on their vital run to Murmansk to succor the Russians, nor in the jungles of New Guinea, nor the hellish landing beaches in Italy, nor in the deadly valleys of Guadalcanal. Moral dedication and incredible bravery assured victory that could justly be claimed to have saved the free world.

An extraordinary aspect of this cruel, grinding effort was that it was a total national one. Not once in the years 1941-1945 did I hear a single American inveigh against the war. For personal reasons this startled me. I was a Quaker and therefore exempt from military service. But I had been teaching history in a Colorado college and had been predicting to students that war with Hitler was inevitable and that war with Japan too might very well follow. Deciding that I could not avoid military service when I'd been warning my young men that they must prepare themselves for soldiering, I put aside my exemption and joined the Navy.

In 1944, while the war was still raging and I was on a lonely island in the distant South Pacific, the Navy informed us that a remarkable law had just been passed by Congress to reward those of us who were fighting. Its official title, the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944, was rarely used because a popular simplification took over: the G.I. Bill. It said our nation, out of gratitude for the sacrifices being made by our men and women in arms, promised a free education, or assistance in finding a place in society when peace came, to every veteran. "A free college degree!" shouted the man

who brought us the news. I myself judged the law one of the two or three finest Congress has ever passed since our Constitution took effect. As an act which represented the soul of democracy, I rank it with the curiously similar two-part law passed in 1862 during the middle of the Civil War, when victory for the North was by no means assured. On May 20, Congress passed the Homestead Act, which gave free farm acreage to any citizen who would move west, build a home and tame the wilderness. On July 7 followed the Land-Grant Act, which offered each state—present or future—



The G.I. Bill represented the soul of democracy: Celebrating VJ Day in New York City

BETTMANN ARCHIVE

huge tracts of free land to support a state university, where fees would be waived or kept to a minimum. In these days when it's popular to deride Congress, we should remember that twice in the middle of devastating wars, our government had the foresight to pass farseeing legislation which would ensure the subsequent peace. Subtract the consequences of these wartime laws and the United States would today be a much poorer nation.

As a junior officer who saw thousands of military personnel in those years when I prowled the South Pacific, I saw the powerful effect this offer of free college had on various types of men. My friend Joe told me: "I've always wanted to be a doctor," and became one. Another was tired of working for others and wanted a business education so that he could start his own small factory, and would get both. Another told me, "When I get home I want to get into politics and help clean up some of these stupid laws we live by," and he and scores of others were elected to office all the way from sheriff to senator. Several, to my surprise, said: "I want to take flying lessons. Come the next war, I don't want to march." I decided to take my chances at being a writer.

I believe what we were saying was: "When we get back home, we're going to be better citizens than we were when we left." Our aims were high and the government supported us in them. The consequences were phenomenal. When demobilization started in early 1945, so many men and women who had served flocked to the established colleges and universities that provisional facilities had to be quadrupled as fast as the builders could put them up. These temporary eyecores still stand on many campuses, rusting Quonset huts or weathering pine buildings, remembrances of the crusade.

The number of young men and women whose careers were saved or protected by the G.I. Bill is awesome: full college degrees, 2,200,000; lesser degrees or certifications, 3,500,000; on-site training, 1,400,000; on-farm training, 700,000. Most of the veterans got first-class assistance in entering the job marketplace and, once settled, they helped revolutionize American business. They were able, confident, goal-directed and willing to work, and I take immense pride in the fact that my generation, after suffering years of hardship and deprivation, stormed back and, in a sense, fought just as bravely to build a new America.

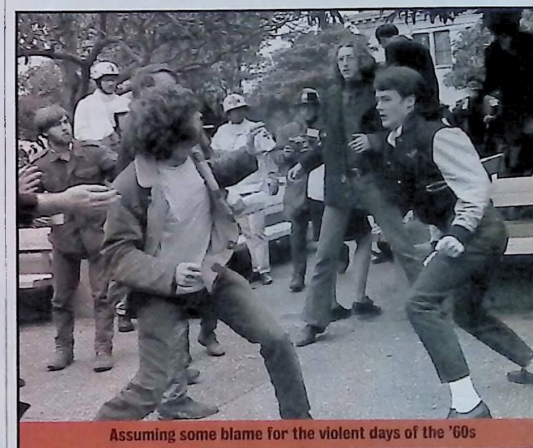
Because they had lived overseas, they were not afraid to return to Europe and Asia as representatives of American business, and they supported the creation of a United Nations. They brought to the college professorships they earned both vigor and imagination. In business they would try anything, with amazing results in new products and ways of distributing them. Most heartening, they supported our government when Congress, acting upon the leadership of President Roosevelt and General George Marshall, invented a master plan for sharing America's multiplying riches with the destroyed and distressed nations in Europe, an act of economic leadership which has not been equaled since.

To sum up my generation, we survived a depression, fought and won a world conflict and helped establish a new world order. In peace, our enthusiasm and energy enabled our country to become the richest and most powerful of nations. And we pioneered social innovations like accepting African-Americans to full membership in the armed services, opening opportunities for women, and laws which gave the less fortunate segments of our population better breaks. We helped to build a new kind of America. And because we had been separated from our families for protracted periods, we rushed to produce an enormous crop of babies who would form a new generation to replace us.

Since I have not been reticent in praising the accomplishments of my generation, I must in fairness admit that we failed conspicuously in meeting one vital obligation. We did a wretched job in raising the children we produced, for we did not prepare them to

assume the responsibilities of citizenship. We threw them into the world as an undisciplined gang, and our nation suffered.

Starting about 1960, the flood of children born after the end of World War II and properly labeled the Baby Boom began behaving in mysterious ways. Their parents, especially their fathers who had undergone both privation and psychic shocks, were excessively lenient and indulgent with their offspring on the theory: "I want my child to have it a lot better than I did when I was growing up in



Assuming some blame for the violent days of the '60s

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the Depression." Inspired by Dr. Spock's persuasive teachings, these parents failed to teach their children self-discipline. Ego-centered behavior became not only acceptable, but also recommended. The young people were encouraged by a revolutionary book by a Yale professor, Charles Reich's "The Greening of America," which became the testament of the new order. It taught that basic structures of American life were to be held in question, which meant that our society would change radically in many directions. The book had a powerful impact on the leaders of the youth revolt.

That revolt ended not with the killings at Kent State in 1970 but later that year when radical students at the University of Wisconsin in Madison detonated a homemade bomb, destroying a building dedicated to research, scattering the results of investigations and killing a professor working in his study. The affair was so shocking, so outside normal behavior at a university, that the entire nation seemed to cry in protest: "No more! We are not going down that path. Stop it!" Campus-wide agitations did halt. National Guardsmen stopped invading student rallies with loaded rifles. And political leaders quit posturing as protectors of law and order. The nation calmed down. Dr. Spock, subjected to serious criticisms for some of his teachings, offered limited *mea culpas*. No more was heard of Professor Reich and his Greening of America, and Dr. Timothy Leary's preachings about the wonders of psychedelic drugs were discredited. The violent days were over.

We are all survivors. Our generation of political geniuses in the 1760-1791 period fabricated a pattern for government which has proved itself capable of withstanding great storms and stresses. During my lifetime, it has served remarkably well, and I am content to see a new generation take the helm to protect it and help it meet the new challenges.

James A. Michener is the author of *Tales of the South Pacific*, *The Drifters* and many other works.

The Enduring Metaphors of Auschwitz and Hiroshima

WILLIAM STYRON

Toward the end of World War II, in the winter of 1945, two momentous events took place simultaneously at distant parts of the earth. It can be safely assumed that none of the participants in either of these grim dramas had the remotest knowledge of the others' existence. In southern Poland, the army of the Soviet Union had finished evacuating the German concentration camp of Auschwitz. In the Pacific Ocean, 800 miles south of Japan, three United States Marine divisions were commencing the invasion stage of one of the bloodiest campaigns ever fought, the battle for the island of Iwo Jima, which would be of critical importance as a waystation for the fight carrying the first atomic bomb.

It might be said that the war in Europe and the Pacific conflict took place on different planets. Most servicemen engaged in the war against the Japanese gave little thought to remote campaigns like the ones in Italy and France. It was a global struggle too vast to comprehend while it was happening. But when it was over and somewhat more comprehensible, we could see that the war left us with, if nothing else, two prodigious and enduring metaphors for human suffering: Auschwitz and Hiroshima. History has carved no sterner monuments to its own propensity for unfathomable evil.

Hiroshima had a profound direct effect on my life; Auschwitz's would come much later. In the summer of 1945 I was a young Marine officer slated to lead my rifle platoon in the invasion of Japan. Most of us were spunky but scared, and we had much to be scared about. The carnage had reached a surreal intensity. Already on Iwo Jima and Okinawa, 17,000 Americans had lost their lives, including many of our friends. It had been predicted that the invasion would produce over half a million American casualties, while perhaps as many as three times that number of Japanese would be killed or wounded, including countless civilians.

Herman Melville wrote, "All wars are boyish, and are fought by boys." I cannot say, from this distance in time, what is more firmly lodged in my memory—the desperate fatalism and sadness that pervaded, beneath our nervous bravado, the days and nights of us young boys, or the joy we felt when we heard of the bomb, of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and of the thrilling turnaround of our destiny. It was a war we all believed in and I'd wanted to test my manhood; part of me mourned that I never got near the combat zone. But Hiroshima removed from my shoulders an almost tactile burden of insecurity and dread. Later I often used the word ecstatic to describe my reaction. I used it again only a few years ago in, of all places, Tokyo, when a TV interviewer asked me to express my views about Hiroshima and related matters.

Afterward I had the feeling I'd misspoken badly. But later at a party a Japanese man of my vintage approached me, murmuring a little surreptitiously that he'd seen me on television and wanted to tell me something he'd never told anyone before. He said he'd also been a young infantry officer, the leader of a heavy mortar unit training on Kyushu to repel our invasion, when word came of the bomb and the end of the war. We might have blown each other up, he added, and when I asked him how he'd taken the news he said, "I was ecstatic, like you."

After VJ Day, there was a space of a year or so when it was truly possible to conceive of a world without war. Progenitors of the baby boom, most veterans were diligently amorous. It may be that the gloom descended soon after Winston Churchill's Iron Curtain speech. For me the sense of the future closing down permanently

came only six years later, when as a Marine reserve I was called up for duty in the Korean War. Back in infantry training, I had the nightmarish perception of war as a savage continuum, not a whole some if often lethal adventure men embarked upon, as in World War II, to strike down the forces of evil, but a perpetual way of life in which small oases of peacetime provided intermittent relief. In Asia there was an explosion waiting to happen; America stood ready to light the fuse the French had laid down, and in the next decade the sequel of Vietnam came as no surprise.

In that same decade of the 1960s I became engrossed in the issue of racial conflict in America—especially as it was reflected in the history of slavery—and found myself pondering the extent to

which race and racial domination played a part in the recent wars. The stunning late-19th-century insight of W.E.B. Du Bois—that the chief problem of the coming century would be that of race—had swiftly become a self-fulfilling prophecy. Du Bois was speaking of his own African-American people but his prophecy would embrace the globe. If in the First World War nationalistic ambitions largely fueled the conflict, World War II was the incubator of a poisonous and worldwide racism. A poster I recall from the Pacific war was of a bucktoothed and bespectacled rat, with repulsively coiled tail and Japanese army cap; the legend read **KNOW YOUR ENEMY**.

All Americans fighting in the Pacific were racists. Marines were indoctrinated to regard Japanese soldiers as dangerously rabid animals. The paucity of enemy prisoners taken by our troops was due in part to the Japanese creed of fighting to the last breath, but it was also because of our own policy of extermination, often with an intriguing new weapon, the flamethrower, which roasted our adversaries in their bunkers and burrows. The enemy repaid our racism in kind and generally surpassed us; few people were treated more barbarically than those starving prisoners, many of them European and American but also Asian, who existed amid squalor and privation in the Japanese camps.

When in the mid-1970s I decided to write about another racism—the Nazi racism of total domination—I realized that in dealing with the German mind of that period I had to confront certain exquisite paradoxes. Anglo-Saxons, for example, however bitterly abhorred, did not belong among the despised *untersmenschen* and were granted a certain provisional respect. A loony relativism at the heart of Hitler's racial policy is demonstrated by the treatment of various POWs. The captured British and American soldiers and airmen were usually confined in a prison where conditions were basically civilized and in fact so comparatively congenial that the farcical image conveyed in "Hogan's Heroes" or "Stalag 17" is not too far off the mark. It was a reputed Nordic identification that prevented all but a small percentage of these prisoners from dying.

In contrast there is the appalling saga of the Soviet prisoners of war, who were, after the Jews, the numerically largest group of victims and whose partial annihilation—over 3 million, or nearly 60 percent of all Soviet POWs—is commentary enough on the Nazis' view of the humanity of the Russians and other Slavs. Which brings me to Auschwitz. I was always struck by the fact that the first executed victims of Auschwitz were not Jews but 600 Soviet POWs. Although the Holocaust was uniquely Jewish, its uniqueness becomes more striking when we can see that it also was ecumenical, but in ways that can only emphasize the peculiar nature of Jewish suffering.

I have been criticized in some quarters for "de-Judaizing" and "universalizing" the Holocaust by creating, in my novel "Sophie's Choice," a heroine who was a Gentile victim of Auschwitz. Such was not my intention; it was rather to show the malign effect of anti-Semitism and its relentless power—power of such breadth, at least in the Nazis' hands, as to be capable of destroying people beyond the focus of its immediate oppression. At Auschwitz, as in the Inferno, Jews occupied the center of hell but the surrounding concentric rings embraced a multitude of other victims. It would be wrong for them to be forgotten. For years, all of them were largely forgotten, beyond the borders of Jewish remembrance. It wasn't until the late 1970s that the word "Holocaust" fully entered the language; before then, the horror of the camps had a less discernible shape.

As for that other dreadful monolith, Hiroshima, it might be said that the sacrifice of its victims represented an object lesson and perhaps a priceless warning, preventing the future use of the weapon that achieved such destruction. If so, the many deaths and the suffering—the same that assured my probable survival and that of my Tokyo comrade in arms, along with legions of others—may be justified, if we who have lived so long afterward are fit to justify such a fathomless event. Certainly the bomb did nothing to eliminate war and aggression, and I am still amazed at the memory of myself, a boy optimist returned home after Hiroshima, firmly convinced—for one brief and intoxicating moment—that the future held out the hope of illimitable peace. Nearly 50 years after that moment the fratricidal horrors and ethnic atrocities that the world has endured, and still endures, remain at the quivering edge of tolerance and are past comprehension. Yet we go on, the earth turns. If you do what I do, you write—as the canny Isak Dinesen said you must do—without hope and without despair.

William Styron's most recent book is *Darkness Visible*.



The horror of the camps weighed down the conscience of a



generation: Survivors at Dachau cheer American liberators, 1945

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Making a Mess of the American Empire

GORE VIDAL



Those who went off to fight for their country were not eager, but fatalistic: Taking the beach at Iwo Jima, 1945

ARCHIVE PHOTOS

Duke Ellington on the jukebox: "Missed the Saturday dance, heard they crowded the floor, duh duh duh... I can almost carry a tune but I can't remember the words to any song, including the inspired lyrics of our national anthem. But this song, and those notes, have been sounding in my head for over half a century, ever since I heard them at a dance hall near the army camp where I was stationed.

Just out of Exeter, I had enlisted in the army at 17. That was a year after George Bush, just out of Andover, enlisted in the navy. Most important, my best friend from a Washington, D.C., school enlisted in the Marine Corps. He had been "safe" at Duke: he had a contract to be a professional baseball player when the war was over. But he thought that he should go fight too. He became a scout and observer for the Third Marine Division in the Pacific. He saw action at Guam. He was assigned to "Operation Detachment" and shipped out to Iwo Jima, where the Japanese were entrenched in tunnels beneath that bleak island's surface.

On February 19, 1945, the Marines landed on Iwo Jima, after a long, fairly futile aerial bombardment. The Japanese were out of reach belowground. On D-Day plus nine, elements of the Third Division landed on the already crowded island, eight square miles of volcanic ash and sulfur. Like the skull of some prehistoric brontosaurus, Mount Suribachi looms over the five-and-a-half-mile-long island. Lately, I have been watching closely each frame of an old newsreel that now seems so long ago that it might as well be a

series of Brady stills from Antietam except for the fact that it is still as immediate to me as yesterday, even though I was not there but on another Pacific island, far to the north in the Bering Sea. It took a month to win the island. Twenty thousand Japanese were killed; 6,821 Americans troops, mostly marines, were killed. On D-Day plus 10, 1 March, 1945, at 4:15 a.m., Pvt. James Trimble was killed instantly by a grenade. He was 19 years old. Bush and I survived.

It is somehow fitting that our generation—the war generation, as we think, perhaps too proudly, of ourselves—should be officially as well as actuarially at an end with the replacement of George Bush by a man who could be his—our—son. I say fitting because our generation, which won in battle the American Empire, is somehow nicely epitomized by the career of Bush, who served with energetic mindlessness the empire, always managing, whenever confronted with a fork in the road of our imperial destiny, to take, as did his predecessors, the wrong turning.

Elsewhere, I have noted that the American Golden Age lasted only five years; from war's end, 1945 to 1950, the Korean War's start. During this interval the arts flourished and those of us who had missed our youth tried to catch up. Meanwhile, back at the White House, unknown to us, the managers of the new world empire were hard at work replacing the republic for which we had fought with a secret national security state, pledged to an eternal war with communism in general and the Soviet Union in particular. It is true that Harry Truman and our other managers feared that if we did not remain on a wartime footing we might drift back

into the Great Depression that had not ended until the Japanese attacked us at Pearl Harbor, and everyone went to war or work. It is part of the national myth that the attack was unprovoked. Actually, we had been spoiling for a war with Japan since the beginning of the century. Was the Pacific—indeed Asia—to be theirs or ours? Initially, the Japanese preferred to conquer mainland Asia. But when it looked as if we might deny them access to Southeast Asian oil, they attacked. Had they not, we would never have gone to war, in the Pacific or in Europe.

I was born eight years after the end of the first world war. As I was growing up, it was well-remembered that we had got nothing out of that war in Europe except an attack on the Bill of Rights at home and, of course, the noble experiment, Prohibition. Young people often ask me, with wonder, why so many of us enlisted in 1943. I tell them that as we had been attacked at Pearl Harbor, we were obliged to defend our country. But I should note that where, in 1917, millions of boys were eager to go fight the Hun, we were not eager. We were fatalistic. In the three years that I spent in the army, I heard no soldier express a patriotic sentiment, rather the reverse when we saw the likes of Errol Flynn on the screen winning freedom's war, or even worse, John Wayne, known to us by his real name, Marion, the archetypal draft-dodging actor who, to rub it in, impersonated a Flying Tiger in the movies.

Although we were not enthusiastic warriors, there was a true hatred of the enemy. We were convinced that the "Japs" were subhuman; and our atrocities against them pretty much matched theirs against us. I was in the Pacific Theater of Operations where the war was not only imperial but racial: the white race was fighting the yellow race, and the crown would go to us as we were the earth's supreme race, or so we had been taught. One of the ugliest aspects of that war was the racial stereotyping on both sides. In Europe we were respectful—even fearful—of the Germans. Since blacks and women were pretty much segregated in our military forces, World War II was, for us, literally, the white man's burden.

So while the Golden Age had its moment in the sun up on deck, down in the engine room the management was inventing the "Defense" Department and the National Security Council with its secret, unconstitutional decrees, and the equally unconstitutional CIA, modeled, Allen Dulles remarked blithely, on the Soviet's NKVD. We were then, without public debate, committed to a never-ending war, even though the management knew that the enemy was no match for us, economically or militarily. But, through relentless CIA "disinformation," they managed to convince us that what was weak was strong, and that the Russians were definitely coming. "Build backyard shelters against the coming atomic war!" A generation was well and truly traumatized.

The Korean War put an end to our title as invincible heavyweight military champion of the world. We might have maintained our mystique by avoiding this eccentric war (we did call it a "police action"), but by then we had so exaggerated the power of the Soviet Union in tandem with China that we could do nothing but reel from one pointless military confrontation to another.

Unfortunately, Kennedy was less cynically practical than those who had presided over what Dean Acheson called "the creation" of the empire. Kennedy actually believed—or pretended to believe—their rhetoric. He liked the phrase "this twilight time." He believed in the domino theory. He believed in "bearing any burden." He invaded Cuba, and failed. He turned his attention to Asia, to "contain China" by interfering in a Vietnamese civil war where a majority had already voted for the communist Ho Chi Minh, who, quoting Jefferson when he came to power, asked Eisenhower to make Vietnam an American protectorate. But, as I explained in his memoirs, this wasn't possible: they were Communists.

In June 1961 Kennedy began the fastest buildup militarily since Pearl Harbor; he also rearmed Germany, setting off alarm bells in

the Soviet Union. They spoke of denying us land access to our section of Berlin. Kennedy responded with a warlike speech, invoking "the Berlin crisis" as a world crisis. In response, Khrushchev built the wall. It was as if we were, somehow, willing a war to turn sad twilight to incandescent nuclear high noon.

The missile crisis in Cuba was the next move, with us as the provocateurs, contrary to the ongoing propaganda to the contrary. Then, with the Vietnam War, we not only took the wrong road, we went straight around the bend, fighting the longest war in our history in a region where we had no strategic interest unless we were to openly declare what the management, then and now, does truly believe: the United States is the master of the earth and anyone who defies us will be napalmed or blockaded or covertly overthrown. We are beyond law, which is not unusual for an empire; unfortunately, we are also beyond common sense.

The only subject, other than the deficit, that should have been discussed in the late election was the military budget. Neither Bush nor Clinton came anywhere close. Eventually, we shall be unable to borrow enough money to preen ourselves in ever weaker countries, but until then, thanks to the many suicidal moves made by that imperial generation forged in the second world war, our country is now not so much divided as in pieces.

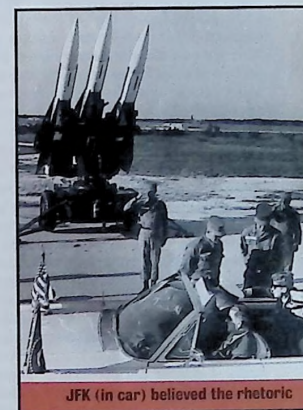
The latest managerial wit has been to encourage—by deploring—something called "political correctness," this decade's Silly Putty or Hula Hoop. Could anything be better calculated to divert everyone from what the management is up to in recently appropriating, say, \$3.8 billion for SDI than to pit sex against sex, race against race, religion against religion? With everyone in arms against everyone else, no one will have the time to take arms against the ruinously expensive empire that Mr. Clinton and the unattractively named baby boomers have inherited. I wish them luck.

There are those who sentimentalize the second world war. I don't. Contrary to my old friend Studs Terkel, there can be no "good war." We set out to stop Germany and Japan from becoming hemispheric powers. Now, of course, they are economic world powers while we, with our \$4 trillion of debt, look to be joining Argentina and Brazil on the outer edge. All in all, the famed good, great war that gave us the empire that we then proceeded to make a mess of was hardly worth the death of one Pvt. James Trimble USMCR, much less the death of millions of others.

I have just listened to the original Duke Ellington record. Here are those lyrics that I always forget.

"Missed the Saturday dance, heard they crowded the floor, couldn't bear it without you, don't get around much anymore." All in all, it's a good thing for the world that with Bush's departure we don't get around much anymore. Somalia-Bosnia is the last of our hurrahs, produced by CNN and, so far, sponsorless. Maybe now, without us, Clinton's generation will make it to the Saturday dance that we missed. And let's hope that the floor won't prove to be too crowded with rivals in trade if not in love, death.

Gore Vidal's *United States: Essays 1952-1992* will be published this spring by Random House.



UPI-BETTMANN

How McCarthy Gave Anti-Communism a Bad Name

DIANA TRILLING

From the '40s onward, after a brief period as a communist sympathizer, I was engaged as a writer in what is called "cultural politics," that area of the intellectual life in which issues of national policy, especially in foreign affairs, are most intimately associated with culture. Today we celebrate the collapse of Soviet communism as not only the victory for democracy which we hope it will be, but as if it were specifically an American victory, brought about by the unified will of the American people. But the fact is that this country has been much divided on the issue of communism. I know this because I was myself that villainous creature, an anti-communist. This was often an isolating experience.

One of the towering lies of history in this century has been the belief, largely promulgated by our best-educated classes—writers, university teachers, journalists—that within the former Soviet Union there was to be found a fairer distribution of the decencies of life and a corrective to our own faulty society. While the evidence mounted of Stalin's murderous regime, and of the cruelties and injustices of the more moderate dictatorships which followed upon it, the refusal to speak in opposition to Soviet totalitarianism and to the Soviet Union's betrayal of the socialist ideal continued to be viewed as a chief proof of political tolerance and enlightenment.

Although anti-communism was certainly not a popular position in the intellectual world of the '30s and '40s, it was not thought to be discreditable—it was still a permissible position. It was Joseph McCarthy who took anti-communism out of the realm of respectable discourse and created for people of liberal impulse an automatic association between any voiced opposition to communism and reaction. Before McCarthy, it was not assumed of anti-communism that it was necessarily the companion of political conservatism; it was still a liberal option. All avowed socialists were anti-communists. With few exceptions, all our anti-communist friends were liberals. Lionel (Trilling, Diana Trilling's husband, a Columbia professor and noted literary critic) and I would have been generally described as liberal anti-communists—the phrase had about it no hint of paradox.

Prior to McCarthy's appearance on the national scene, it was widely recognized among intellectuals that there were two kinds of liberals, anti-communist liberals and fellow-traveling liberals. Throughout the '40s I was fiction critic for *The Nation*. There was a sharp political division between the tenor of the editorial pages of that magazine, always favorable to the Soviet Union, and the "back of the book," as the literary and arts section was always referred to. While the back of the book was well known to be anti-communist, it was never accused of speaking for the Right. Compared with fellow-



In the sphere of propaganda, he was a great gift to Stalin: During 1954 hearings, with chief

traveling liberals, anti-communist liberals were few in number and they certainly had far less power in the culture. But they did not exclude themselves, nor were they excluded, from the intellectual mainstream of the country.

All of this was changed by McCarthy. In the sphere of propaganda, he was a great gift to Stalin, indeed, the greatest gift our country could have made to the Soviet Union. He robbed anti-communism of its base in liberalism and brought upon it the opprobrium which properly attached to his own mode of operation. In the wake of McCarthy, all anti-communism, liberal no less than illiberal, became vulnerable to the demeaning charge of McCarthyism. I recall the surprise with which I heard the theologian Reinhold Niebuhr, a man of moderate political opinion, speak of George Meany, head of the AFL-CIO, as a "Neanderthal man" because of his intransigence in dealing with communists in the trade unions. It was the '50s: McCarthy had not only deformed our political thinking, he had polluted our political rhetoric.

McCarthyism had a lasting effect in polarizing the intellectuals of this country and in entrenching anti-anti-communism as the position of choice among people of political good will. As recently as 1990, one of our popular novelists, a star of PEN, the international writer's organization, could declare that anti-communism was the worst evil

of our century. He was not announcing a preference for communism as a system of government. What he was undoubtedly saying was that it was anti-communism that had drawn us into the war in Vietnam; too, that it was as a consequence of the cold war that America had spent on armaments money it might better have spent on social programs. Such charges are not to be lightly dismissed. But they fail to take into account the large question of what would have happened to our country and to this novelist himself had the Soviet Union triumphed in the West.

There has been a curious abstractness in the liberal condemnation of anti-communism, as if there were no connection between the reality of Soviet totalitarianism even during Stalin's regime and the opposition which it engendered among some of us. Even while liberalism declares its commitment to democracy, it treats anti-communism as an aberrancy, not unrelated to other manifestations of our national folly and misconduct. The persistence of this contradiction was underscored in the celebration of Vaclav Havel on his visit to America a few years ago. Ignoring the fact that Havel had spent long years in jail because of his "evil" occupation as an anti-communist, many anti-anti-communists joined in greeting him as the representative of a new and better dispensation in Czechoslovakia. Did they suppose that he had been jailed for selling dirty postcards?

I am reminded of a symposium which was held by *Commentary* magazine in the early '60s. The subject being debated was a slogan then much in vogue among people of the Left: "Better Red Than Dead." Arguing the affirmative, one of the speakers promised us that although he would surely surrender the United States to the Soviet Union rather than go to war against communism, he would not let the matter rest there. With schoolboy

ardor, he assured us that were there to be a communist dictatorship in America, he and his friends would at once join a guerrilla band.

In the '50s I occasionally wrote a column for *The New Leader*. There and elsewhere, I described my double position on McCarthy. I was against both communism and McCarthyism. They were enemies of each other but I was the enemy of both. Why, I asked, did it appear to be so difficult to hold two opposing views in one's mind at the same time?

For the intellectuals I knew, the great terminating event of the '40s was the Hiss-Chambers case. Whittaker Chambers, a contemporary of Lionel's at Columbia and later an editor at *Time*, confessed to having spied for Russia and accused Alger Hiss of having been similarly engaged in Soviet espionage. Hiss was one of the architects of the United Nations and a former official in our State Department. For us as for most of our friends, the case produced a shock of recognition. We knew about espionage. We banded such words as "drop," "control," "microfilm." Most of us had learned about communism from having been fellow-travelers or sympathizers. Far from finding it hard to credit Chambers's accusation of Hiss, his charge reminded us that there but for the grace of God might go any one of us.

For years the Hiss case represented, in small, for this country what the Dreyfus case had represented for France. It dramatically

divided our most politically conscious population and still divides it even now when non-communist Russia has officially announced that there are no records in Military Intelligence to indicate that either Hiss or Chambers was ever a spy. We can suppose that scholars of Soviet espionage will seek a more convincing case for the innocence of the two men than merely this limited statement.

It was in the spring of 1933, only a few days before Lionel and I made our permanent break with the radical movement, that Whittaker Chambers came to see me. He had come to ask me to help him with his spying operation. Although he and Lionel had known each other in college, it was I, not Lionel, whom he came to see. In fact, he had been watching for Lionel to leave the house and, he told me, instead of taking the elevator to our fifth-floor apartment, he had walked up the back stairs so as not to be seen. I suppose that anyone who seeks a communist Utopia is pursuing an illusion. Chambers carried the quest further than most of us. Everyone in our political vicinity "knew" that Chambers was a Soviet agent—years later, during the trials, a former colleague of his at *Time* would write of him that his espionage was the best advertised secret of the day.

He promptly stated his business to me: he wanted me to receive mail for him; I was to be his drop. As I look back on his visit today from the distance of more than half a century, a passage of time in which we have witnessed not only the apotheosis but also the dissolution of Soviet power, what most impresses me about Chambers's request is the emotion with which I received it. From the start of our conversation, I knew that I was not going to do what he asked of me. Yet I was enormously flattered that he thought me capable of his treasonable assignment and I was ashamed to refuse him. I had reason enough to think of myself as a preternaturally fearful person but here was this man of the world, this man of two worlds, who believed me to be enough courageous to assist him in his spying. I felt greatly complimented. Plainly, my pleasure had little to do with my politics. In the next days I stopped being the fellow-traveler I had been for the better part of a year. I had done with the adventure of communism.

As I now recollect this visit and the risk to which it invited me, I recall a perhaps even more dangerous risk which I narrowly skirted as a child. I was 11 or 12 years old and living with my family on Ocean Parkway in Brooklyn. On a spring evening when my parents supposed that I was visiting a friend next door, she and I and another girl our age had gone out on the Parkway to pick up boys. It was after dark and the Parkway was largely deserted. Several cars went by without noticing us until finally a car stopped and three men approached us. They were grown men, not boys, and they stood for a moment studying us before they offered to take one of us for a ride. "Which one?" my friend asked boldly. The speaker pointed at me. "The little one in the middle." It was a long block to my house but I was not conscious of running until, breathless and trembling, I was inside my front door. Then, too, I was flattered that of the three of us it was I whom the men had chosen. But the point is, of course, that I did not surrender to the flattery. My upbringing was stronger than the seduction.

The seductions of the former Soviet Union have been gravely entrapping of us in the democracies but we have paid a big price for conspiring in the lie that communism represented. Despite the collapse of the Soviet Union, our most-conscious social egalitarians steadily grow in self-confidence and even—shall I say it?—in moral smugness. It is as if anti-anti-communism has given them a permanent certification of moral rectitude. This is a measurable self-deception and like all refusals of truth, it is bound to impair our perception of political and social actuality.

Diana Trilling adapted this essay from her memoir, *The Beginning of the Journey: The Life and Marriage of Lionel and Diana Trilling*, to be published by Harcourt Brace Jovanovich in November 1993.

When the Best and the Brightest Were Young

DAVID HALBERSTAM

She sits bestride the world like a Colossus," wrote the British historian Robert Payne after visiting America in 1948 and 1949. "No other power at any time in the world's history has possessed so varied or so great an influence on other nations. . . . Half the wealth of the world, more than half the productivity, nearly two thirds of the world's machines are concentrated in American hands; the rest of the world lies in the shadow of American industry. . . ."

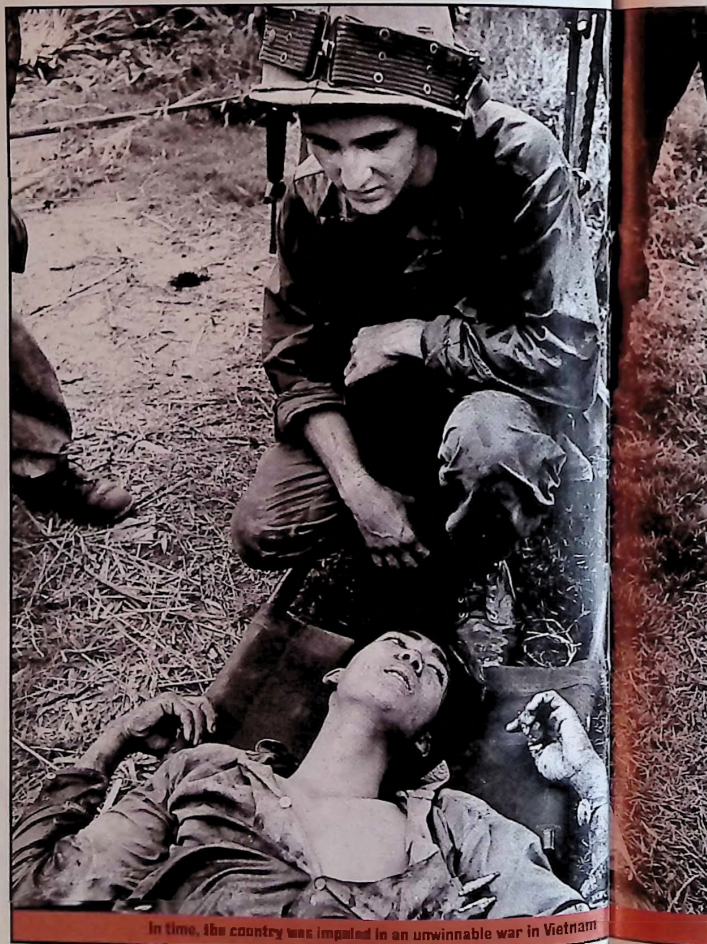
It was the generation that caught and rode the great wave of power in the postwar years as America became a Colossus: its members had been children during the Depression, had answered the call of duty during World War II, and many had come to their manhood during the war. Those who had survived the war were unusually confident of purpose, for they had just fought with the forces of democracy against the forces of darkness. They returned home to a level of prosperity that exceeded even their own most optimistic war-time dreams. America had become, as if overnight, rich and optimistic in a world that was poor and despairing. Not only had the nations of Europe inflicted suicidal war on each other twice within 20 years, but America in the postwar years had become the first great nation of what the Japanese intellectual Naohiro Amaya called the oil culture. It was an age so bountiful that ordinary workers had become for the first time consumers, and now lived as only a relatively small middle class had lived in the past.

That same revolution in mass production was taking place in other aspects of life: William Levitt had learned how to mass-produce houses much as Henry Ford had mass-produced cars. All of this energized the society. There had been political democracy in the past; now with the coming of the New Deal there was a greater sense of economic democracy. Suddenly ordinary young Americans, confident of the future, were living far better than their parents, becoming homeowners and soon owning as well in the process two and three cars.

Rarely had any nation attained such broad-based prosperity in such a short time. Yet it was a nation still caught in political shadows, some of them genuine, from the bitter problem of dealing with a divided Europe and a threatening Soviet Union, and some of them of our own making, as the leaders of one political party were scapegoated by the leaders of the other party for losing to the communist countries that were never ours to begin with. The coming of genuine internationalism to a country as big as America was easier said than done: not only were the architects of the postwar peace determined that the United States replace a diminished Great Britain in the postwar world order, but there was a certain technological inevitability to their vision: the events of Pearl Harbor and the existence of nuclear warheads on intercontinental missiles had ended any real possibility of postwar isolationism. Even so, there was much unresolved in American domestic politics. A large part of the country remained

determinedly isolationist. Now, somewhat reluctantly and uneasily, it accepted a kind of bastardized compromise for internationalism: out of that compromise came an uneasy hybrid, composed of some parts of true internationalism and even larger parts of relentless anti-communism. Thus the politics of the nation were curiously anxious and uncertain.

John Kennedy represented the generation's first political mani-



In time, the country was impaled in an unwinnable war in Vietnam

PHILIP JONES GRIFFITHS—MAGNUM

festation. He had been elected in 1960 at the high-water mark of the postwar American abundance: the American economy seemed to be at the zenith of its dynamism after 15 years of unparalleled prosperity. The rest of the world had not yet begun to catch up economically, America was still virtually a monopoly company. Kennedy's election represented stunning generational change. He was 27 years younger than his predecessor, and the even more striking youth of his wife and his small children served to underscore the change taking place. More, it was not just Eisenhower whom he was replacing. Kennedy's youth and freshness seemed to stand in contrast to the other men who had for so long dominated the world scene, Churchill, de Gaulle, Adenauer, men who had come to their maturity during the first world war as Kennedy had come to his during the second war.

Kennedy was young, modern, cool and attractive, always in a rush, it seemed, a senator at 35, a ghost of a presence in the Senate—it bored him being one of 96—before he was out running for the presidency. He had campaigned briskly in the New Hampshire primaries without an overcoat (it was a clandestine operation of sorts, for he wore thermal underwear), the better to show off his youth and his vigor. The nation that summer and fall came to know him through the new magic of television. He had campaigned for the presidency with the expressed idea of running the country as a superpower, wanting to get it, as he said, moving again, as if somehow America had, during the administration of Dwight Eisenhower, become old and dowdy and ground to a halt.

The man he had replaced was the last president born in the 19th century, a victor in the war that had turned America into a superpower. President in this age of affluence and modernity, his boyhood had begun in a starkly different time, in a small Midwestern town that had no sidewalks, no electric lights and no radios. Symbolically, Dwight Eisenhower had turned over power to his successor at the beginning of the jet age, but it was only a year earlier, at the age of 69, that he had taken his own first ride in a jet. If Kennedy came from an America that was a superpower and where people now spoke of "fast-track careers," then Eisenhower, though self-evidently one of the most talented men in the United States Army, had remained in grade as a major for 16 years without promotion in the long arid time between two wars. Yet he had his own optimism about this country and it came from watching America in his lifetime turn away from being a sleepy isolationist nation and become stronger, wealthier and more internationalist.

Kennedy came to power in America the affluent, one with ever-increasing amounts of disposable income; Eisenhower grew up in Abilene at a time when the keepers of the town's handful of shops ran them, Ike later noted, in the certitude that their customers came in to buy only what they needed and nothing more. Later in his life, with a little money in his pocket for the first time, Dwight Eisenhower became in the new wonderland of American shopping centers a consumer of legendary proportion, buying not just what he needed, but what he might one day need. In his 60s, he became the proverbial kid in the candy store.

The young president himself had run on the theme of getting America moving again and ending a missile gap, though in retrospect America seems to have been running reasonably well, the economy was uncon-

scionably healthy and dramatic change in civil rights was beginning to take place, even if the president himself did not warmly sanction it. Kennedy's promise to end the missile gap was easy to keep since there was none. If the Democrats in the past had been accused of being soft on communism, then Kennedy had been tougher on the subject of Castro's Cuba than his opponent, Richard Nixon. Not surprisingly, the Kennedy people (if not the president himself) were disdainful, unnecessarily so, about Eisenhower and his people. They regarded them as being old fogeys. The Kennedy game (other than touch football) was tennis, which was the activist game of the new meritocracy, while the Eisenhower game was golf, which was a game of older men who lacked the vigor of this new generation (the young president worked hard to conceal the fact that he was in fact an excellent golfer).

Rarely had members of a new administration borne such dazzling credentials and been so young. In this new modern age where the pace of life was ever quicker, careers were made more quickly. The men who had come to power with Kennedy, unlike their predecessors in the American foreign-policy establishment, served significantly shorter apprenticeships. Most of Kennedy's people were quick and bright and verbal. Their confidence and self-esteem, based on the success of America during the war, its affluence after the war, the ability of their candidate to defeat an opponent in a time of peace and prosperity and finally, the meteoric quality of their own careers, bordered on arrogance. The glitter of their resumes was more dazzling than their experience in the field. Told of how brilliant they all were by Lyndon Johnson, each, it appeared, more dazzling than the next, Sam Rayburn had remarked to his protégé, "Well Lyndon, you may be right and they may be every bit as intelligent as you say, but I'd feel a whole lot better about them if just one of them had run for sheriff once."

They liked to think of themselves as hard-nosed realists and most assuredly their candidate had matched the Republican adversary in anti-communist rhetoric during the campaign. Unfortunately the rhetoric of both sides was excessive and had little in common with the reality of the world; typically the rhetoric exceeded the limits of American power. Neither party had the strength or the will to cap the dynamic of the all-purpose anti-communism of the domestic political debate; what had taken place in American politics was a kind of McCarthyism without McCarthy. The excessive rhetoric on Cuba got Kennedy in trouble almost immediately. Nor were the young president and his talented team ever able to talk candidly about China. Given the political climate of the day, they were not even able to exploit the major divisions taking place between the Russians and the Chinese, though they were obvious from 1960 on: monolith we said the communist world was, monolith therefore it had to be. In time, our rhetoric impaled us in an unwinnable war in Vietnam, and with that the chance of a generation to lead was effectively destroyed.

If that generation had come to power unusually optimistic about the future, then the succeeding years were hard. The assassinations of John and Robert Kennedy and Martin King, the war in Vietnam, and the agony of Watergate wore it down. The optimism of the early civil-rights movement was lost among the cruel social realities of dealing with race in the inner cities. In time, power remained within the generation but passed from the liberals to the conservatives. The rest of the world began to catch up in terms of productivity. The Japanese began to make better cars. That generation that had once seemed so young came to seem old and now passes from power, handing the torch to a new generation led by a young man who was born in August 1946, not only after the second world war, but a year after the Hiroshima bomb.

David Halberstam's new book, *The Fifties*, a social, political, cultural portrait of that decade, will be published by Villard in June.

Unfinished Business: The Toll of Psychic Violence

KENNETH B. CLARK

The changes brought by the civil-rights movement since World War II have been extraordinary but shamefully inadequate. As someone who has spent all of his adult life conducting research on the damaging effects of racism and racial segregation on American children, I now find myself embarrassed. I'm embarrassed that even in my own field—education—the roots and symptoms of racism continue. Conflicts among some black and white students in school have grown worse, not better, in recent years. The whole idea of educational "progress" has been turned on its head.

When Martin Luther King preached nonviolence, many of his listeners thought he meant ending just physical violence. But he also meant *psychological* violence. This part of the civil-rights lesson has not been fully learned in the postwar period. Despite the best efforts of many educators and social scientists, our system of education has never really absorbed the concept.

Consider the standards for college admissions. For the past half century, we have determined advancement by the grades of students in reading, writing, math and other subjects, and by their performance on standardized tests. Ignorance in any of these areas can hold them back. By contrast, social sensitivity—an awareness of the needs of others—is rarely seen as part of the curriculum. Throughout the system, these social values are generally viewed as subjective interference with more objective indications of being well educated. Ignorance of decency and respect has rarely caused anyone to be flunked or kept out of college.

The history I witnessed seemed to offer something more. Before the *Brown vs. Board of Education* decision of 1954, 17 states and the

District of Columbia had laws on the books requiring racially segregated schools. Most other states segregated schools by custom. When the lawyers of the NAACP brought this form of psychological violence before the United States Supreme Court, they won a receptive hearing. The court decided unanimously that to separate children in school "solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone." The court then quoted the Kansas federal court: "Segregation of white and colored children in public schools has a detrimental effect upon the colored children."

And the decision went further. Significantly, the Appendix to the Appellants' Brief, which was prepared by me and other social scientists and submitted to the court by the NAACP lawyers, contained a section on the impact of racism and segregation on children of the majority group. The brief stated that, "Those children who learn the prejudice of our society are also being taught to gain personal status in an unrealistic and nonadaptive way. The culture permits and at times encourages them to direct their feelings of hostility and aggression against whole groups of people perceived as weaker than themselves. Confusion, conflict, moral cynicism and disrespect for authority may arise." That statement described a specific form of psychological violence.

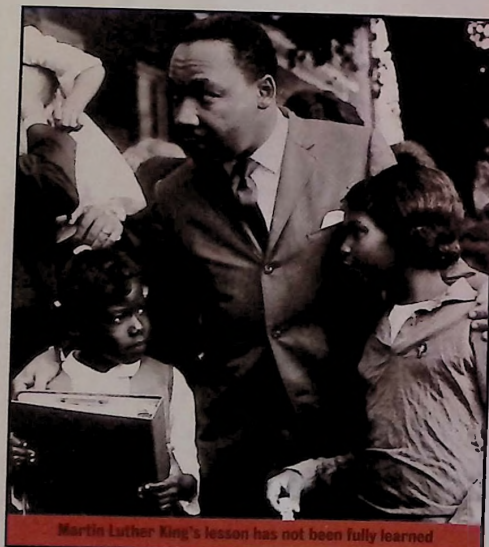
Unfortunately, in the years since then we have not significantly modified the structure, function or substance of American education. Beyond the failures to desegregate, we have not yet developed a technique by which reading, writing, mathematics and the arts are seen as skills for fostering cooperation and for identifying with others. We have not yet made education a process whereby students are taught to respect the inalienable dignity of other human beings.

How can today's teachers learn from their predecessors' failings and work toward completing the unfinished business of one of history's great social movements? In order for education to be an instrument of nonviolence:

- Children must be helped to understand the genuine meaning of democracy from the earliest grades.
- Children must be helped to understand that one cannot keep others down without staying down with them.
- Children must be helped to understand social values, not just by word, but by their conduct, such as responding positively to the needs of their classmates.
- Children must be helped to understand the importance of empathy and respect. Those who are capable of meeting high academic standards can assist others who are not so fortunate. Students often learn basic academic skills more readily from their peers. Social sensitivity can be internalized as a genuine component of being educated. This is nonviolence in its truest sense.

By encouraging and rewarding empathetic behavior in all of our children—both minority and majority youth—we will be protecting them from ignorance and cruelty. We will be helping them to understand the commonality of being human. We will be educating them.

Clark, now retired, was the Distinguished Professor of Psychology at the City University of New York.



Martin Luther King's lesson has not been fully learned

BOB FITCH—BLACK STAR

Memo to the 1993 Crowd: Believe in Yourselves

ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER JR.

How reminiscent it all is!—reminiscent of 1933, of 1961—a momentous reversal in direction for the nation, an army of bright young reformers bursting to go to Washington and serve the republic, eager, after a decade of passivity and neglect, to roll up their sleeves (as the young Rex Tugwell put it 60 years ago) and make America over. As a venerable fellow who vividly recalls the excitements of 1933 and who personally partook of the excitements of 1961, let me offer a few thoughts to the 1993 crowd, in case anyone out there is interested.

I add that codicil because a salient characteristic of each reform generation is vigorous self-confidence to the point of cockiness. That was true in 1933. The young New Dealers, Judge Learned Hand observed, "are so conceited, so insensitive, so arrogant." (But the conservatives, he added, "are intellectually so moribund . . . so stupid and emit such dreary, hollow sounds.") And it was just as true of my own generation when we descended on Washington in 1961. We had grown up in the Great Depression; we had fought in World War II. We had survived large troubles, and we believed we could handle anything.

Do not lose that wonderful confidence in yourselves, in your own experience, instinct and outlook. Above all, don't be intimidated by the icons of the past. Franklin Roosevelt had supreme self-assurance, but it took him a while to liberate himself from the laissez-faire orthodoxies that had plunged the nation into depression and thereafter denied it the means of extrication. John Kennedy promised new frontiers, but one of his first decisions was to keep on Allen Dulles and J. Edgar Hoover as heads of the CIA and the FBI. After the Bay of Pigs, JFK lamented the difficulty of dealing with "legendary figures." Both FDR and JFK learned painfully that iconoclasm is better than idolatry.

You will hear a great deal about reassuring the "money markets." Obviously no sensible administration would go out of its way to upset Wall Street and its environs, at home and abroad. But our economic and social troubles are in large part the result of naive faith in the readiness of business to control its own propensities toward greed and fraud. (Witness the savings and loan debacle.) If the money markets had had their way, there would have been no New Deal, no SEC, no TVA, no WPA, no CCC, no Social Security, no unemployment insurance. As the money markets fought the reforms of FDR and JFK, so they will fight the reforms of Bill Clinton. Don't go out of your way to appease them. You don't call on Typhoid Mary to stop a typhoid epidemic. The best remedy for wails from the money markets is a reinvigorated economy.

A president is president of all the people. But this does not mean that he can please all the people all the time. "To govern," as Pierre

Mendes-France used to say, "is to choose." Do not be afraid of doing things that those whose power is thereby threatened will criticize as "divisive." In retrospect even Republicans concede that Franklin Roosevelt was a great president, but he was bitterly denounced—hated—in his own day. "They love him most," it was said of Grover Cleveland, "for the enemies he has made." Do not be afraid of earning that same encomium.

Believe in yourselves. Do not bow to the icons of the past or to the moguls of the present. But do not overestimate your capacity to remold history. The pent-up intellectual and administrative energy that reform generations brought to Washington in 1933 and 1961 generated an excessive and sometimes misguided activism. The besetting illusion of the New Deal and the New Frontier was that every problem had a solution.

Few problems can be finally solved. Many, however, can be usefully mitigated when the time is ripe. Timing is all; FDR used to exasperate his more ardent subordinates by insisting on waiting for the crucial moment to strike. The "when-in-doubt-do-something" approach may cause more trouble than benefit in an intractable world. And, while you must believe in yourselves and your own perceptions, never forget that you are custodians—and, I trust, executors—of a great tradition. Your generation comes to power in response to the well-defined rhythm of American politics, the alternation, as Emerson said, between the party of Memory and the party of Hope. In your hands now lies the 20th-century legacy of Wilson, FDR and Truman, of JFK and LBJ. New problems demand new remedies, but the spirit of concern for those Andrew Jackson called "the humble members of society—the farmers, mechanics, and laborers" abides. Historically this is what the Democratic Party, at its best, has been all about. Never forget this.

In foreign policy the legacy calls for the building of an international order based on collective action among nations to secure peace, prevent aggression, defend human rights and promote economic abundance. And in domestic policy you could do worse than to complete at long last the Economic Bill of Rights that Roosevelt set forth half a century ago: the right of every American to do a job, to decent housing and food and clothing and education and medical care, to protection from the fears of old age, sickness, accident and unemployment, to freedom from unfair competition and domination by monopolies. What could be a more fitting conclusion of the 20th century for Americans than the fulfillment of FDR's Economic Bill of Rights at home and his Four Freedoms abroad? Do it in your own style and your own way—but do it!

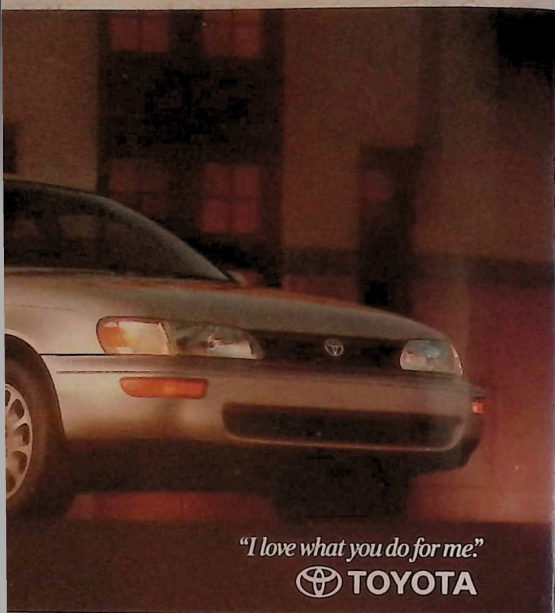
Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr. is Albert Schweitzer Professor in the Humanities at the City University of New York and author of *The Cycles of American History*.



Kennedy learned that iconoclasm is better than idolatry

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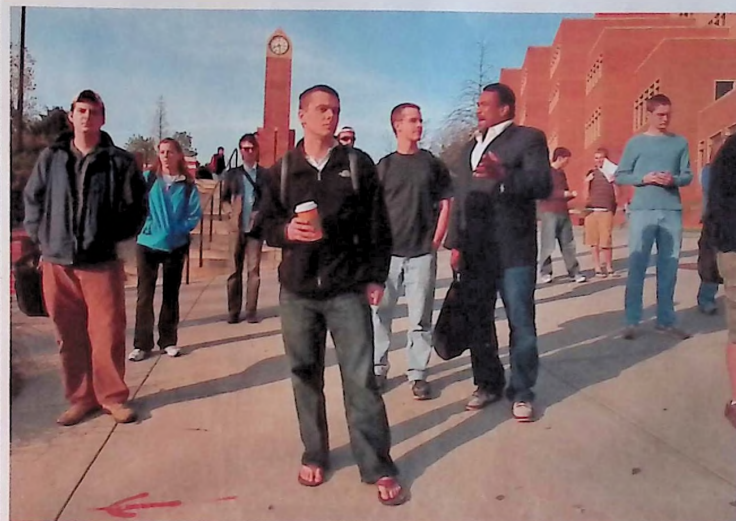
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Briefing

A Brief History Of: The GI Bill



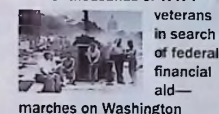
FEW GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS HAVE DELIVERED ON AMERICA'S promise as a land of opportunity as explicitly as the GI Bill. When it was signed in June 1944, the Servicemen's Readjustment Act (the policy's official name) offered a college scholarship to all those who had served in uniform, whether or not they had fought on the front lines. In the decades since, benefits have fallen far behind the cost of university tuitions, prompting Senators Jim Webb and Chuck Hagel to draft a new GI Bill that would offer soldiers full tuition at any state school.

As generous as that sounds, the 1944 bill—among the most significant pieces of legislation ever passed by the U.S. Congress—included much more. Its education benefits threw open the doors of elite academies to the masses: in 1947, veterans made up almost half the nation's college students. It also offered low-interest, no-money-down mortgages, backed by the U.S. government, that allowed millions of families to purchase their first homes. The move helped spark the postwar baby boom and the suburbanization of America in the 1950s: it effectively created the American middle class.

By 1956, when the initial program ended, close to half the nation's 16 million veterans had either gone to college or received job training. A generation flourished. The current situation presents far more difficult choices. With the U.S. military stretched thin, President George W. Bush and Senator John McCain—a veteran's veteran if ever there was one—oppose the latest version of the GI Bill over fears that its educational opportunities will reduce the number of soldiers re-enlisting for further tours of duty. But supporters of the new bill point out that duty runs both ways. As Webb puts it, "This is about taking care of the people who have taken care of us."

Fighting for an education
Student and former Army Corporal Matt Hilerio enlisted to take advantage of the GI Bill

SUPPORTING THE TROOPS
1932 The Bonus Army—tens of thousands of WW I



1944 In an attempt to prevent a repeat of the 1932 march,



1984 Gillespie V. (Sonny) Montgomery, a Mississippi Congressman, updates the bill to reflect the needs of a peacetime military

2008 The new \$51 billion GI Bill passes Congress as part of a larger \$165 billion military-spending measure. President Bush threatens a veto

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Oct Nov Dec
1945

George W. Bush's press secretary is candid, angry and full of disappointment. Previously presumed to be among the most faithful of the President's aides—having served for nearly three tumultuous years—McClellan is blunt in his assessment of Bush's legacy. "History appears poised to confirm . . . that the decision to invade Iraq was a serious strategic blunder," he writes. Much blame is placed on the dominance of the "permanent campaign" mentality among members of the Administration, whereby they prioritized maintaining public support over actually achieving substantive results. Consequently, the President became out of touch (during Hurricane Katrina) and unable to admit any errors (such as the war in Iraq). It's telling that, as McClellan writes, the Secret Service code name for the press secretary was Matrix, for it appears that much of McClellan's job—like that of the villains in the sci-fi movie of the same name—was to continually maintain the illusion of a fictional reality rather than face the ugly facts on the ground.

READ
SKIM
TOSS

HISTORY: FROM TOP, MARY KNOX MEMILL—GETTY; CORBIS (2)

HISTORY

The War We Forgot

World War I has no national monument. No iconic images. And only one soldier is still alive.

By TONY DOKOUPIL

OF THE 2 MILLION AMERICAN soldiers sent to the trenches during World War I, only Frank Woodruff Buckles is still alive. The retired Army corporal, who turned 107 this month, is all that prevents the first world war from slipping into the secondhand past. Harry Landis, the only other known WWI veteran, died at 108 last week in Tampa, Fla. We're about to "lose a living touchstone of history," says Bob Patrick, director of the Library of Congress's Veterans History

In America, the first world war remains a largely forgotten conflict. It has no national monument on the Washington Mall, no blockbuster film, no iconic image equivalent to soldiers raising the flag on Iwo Jima. There wasn't even a reliable list of living veterans until a writer, researching a book about the war's place in the shadows, tallied one for himself in 2004. "Nobody—not the Department of Veterans Affairs, or the Veterans of Foreign Wars or the American Legion—knew how many there were," says Richard Rubin, author of the forthcoming book "The Last of the Doughboys." As far as he could

reels with staged scenes. Frank Buckles has only three photos of himself in uniform, and all of them are portraits.

Rebooting the memory of WWI matters for reasons other than nostalgia. Historians see the conflict as the original canvas on which many aspects of today's Iraq War were drawn. "Most of the problems we're grappling with in the Middle East are legacies of the great military binge of 1914-1918," says Niall Ferguson, a revisionist British historian and author of several studies of war. He adds that the British also faced an insurgency when they invaded Baghdad and declared themselves liberators in 1917. "The American case in Iraq is one of historical ignorance," he says. In recent years, Buckles has also become a reluctant spokesperson for his generation—its impact and its memory. "Might as well be me," he told NEWSWEEK, adding that an official service honoring all U.S. veterans when he dies would be the "right thing to do."



Project. Yet the United States has no firm or official plans to mark the passing of its last WWI veteran. "Frankly, we're trying to keep the focus on the living," says Phil Budahan, director of media relations for the Department of Veterans Affairs. Britain plans to hold an elaborate ceremony at Westminster Abbey when the last of its three remaining WWI veterans die. Canada and France, which each have one remaining veteran, have also announced plans to hold a state funeral. In fact, America's plans are more akin to those of its wartime enemy, Germany, whose last veteran died last month at 107 without official fanfare.

Read Soldier's Home, our blog about veterans, at xtra.newsweek.com

tell, "that chapter of history was closed."

So why the seeming lack of interest? The physical distance from the front lines is one reason. The war's naively grand promise—"to make the world safe for democracy"—also left people cold. But it might ultimately come down to records: WWI was the last war fought without modern methods of bearing witness. There are virtually no film reels, few battle photographs, only a smattering of reliable frontline news reports, and much of what exists was either produced under suffocating censorship or made as propaganda. "It's all fake. Nobody filmed a single battle," says Jay Winter, a professor of history at Yale University, whose Emmy-winning television documentary "The Great War and the Shaping of the 20th Century" supplemented news-

READY TO SERVE: Buckles, now 107, in a photo taken when he enlisted in the Army in 1917

For now, the primarily privately funded World War One Museum in Kansas City, Mo., is the only national institution with plans to commemorate the end of the Doughboy generation. "We just don't know what that means yet," says Denise Rendina, a spokeswoman for the museum. The VA says that all plans must come from Congress, while the White House Commission on Remembrance, the agency officially tasked with honoring "America's fallen," says it will invite Buckles to join a national flag-raising tour that began in December. There's just one problem: the touring flag is from a World War II memorial.

BETTMANN-CORBIS (LEFT), BY CRISS FAMILY—AP



HONOR. R EX

STAPLES

reels with staged scenes. Frank Buckles has only three photos of himself in uniform, and all of them are portraits.

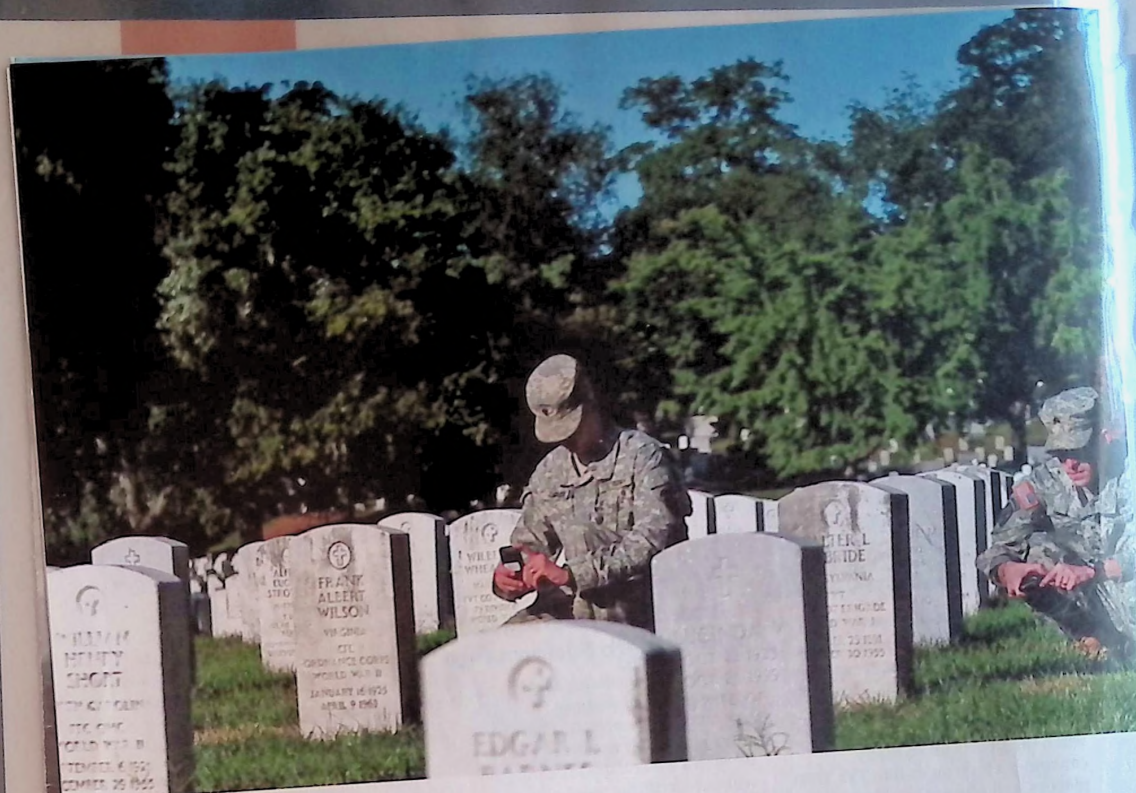
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ENTHUSIAST—CORBIS (LEFT); BUCKLES FAMILY—AP



HONOR. REMEMBER. EXPLORE.

New leadership, higher standards and military technology are helping to restore the reputation of America's most hallowed cemetery.

BY PHILIP M. CALLAGHAN

Arlington



Soldiers of Delta Company, 3rd Infantry – the “Old Guard” – photograph headstones at Arlington National Cemetery in a massive effort to check burial locations against records. Photo by J.D. Leopold



PHELPS. No one knows much about him. He had family in Massachusetts. He gave his life fighting for the Union in the Civil War. Beyond that, Arlington National Cemetery has nothing else about him.

Graves such as his are the inspiration behind the cemetery's new motto: “Honor. Remember. Explore.”

Since 1864, Arlington has been dedicated to the first two words. Now, the cemetery is going a step further, inviting exploration of the historic military cemetery even if a personal visit is not possible.

Arlington National Cemetery has launched ANC Explorer, an online tool and mobile app that allows users to visit the nation's most famous cemetery from their computers or mobile devices. Front-and-back images of every headstone, monument, memorial and plaque on Arlington's 624 acres are

contained within the app. Name, rank, branch of service, birth and death dates, and other information can also be found. The digital offering is a two-way street. Those who use the new online tools can help the cemetery learn more about those who are laid to rest there.

“We're going to have more than 300,000 people looking at our website to help us find more,” says Kathryn Condon, ANC's executive director.

“Wouldn't we like to find out more about who Phelps is? What we really want to do is open up to the American public, to help us find the true history of each and every headstone that's here.”

A NEW CLIMATE. Condon and ANC's superintendent, Patrick Hallinan, started their jobs amid a scandal. Highly publicized revelations about the misidentification of remains, antiquated record-keeping and mismanagement at the cemetery's highest levels prompted an investigation by the Army's inspector general in August 2009. Three months later, Secretary of the Army John McHugh ordered a second investigation.

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ROTC RETURNS

Cadets make a comeback on Ivy League campuses

The Vietnam War in context

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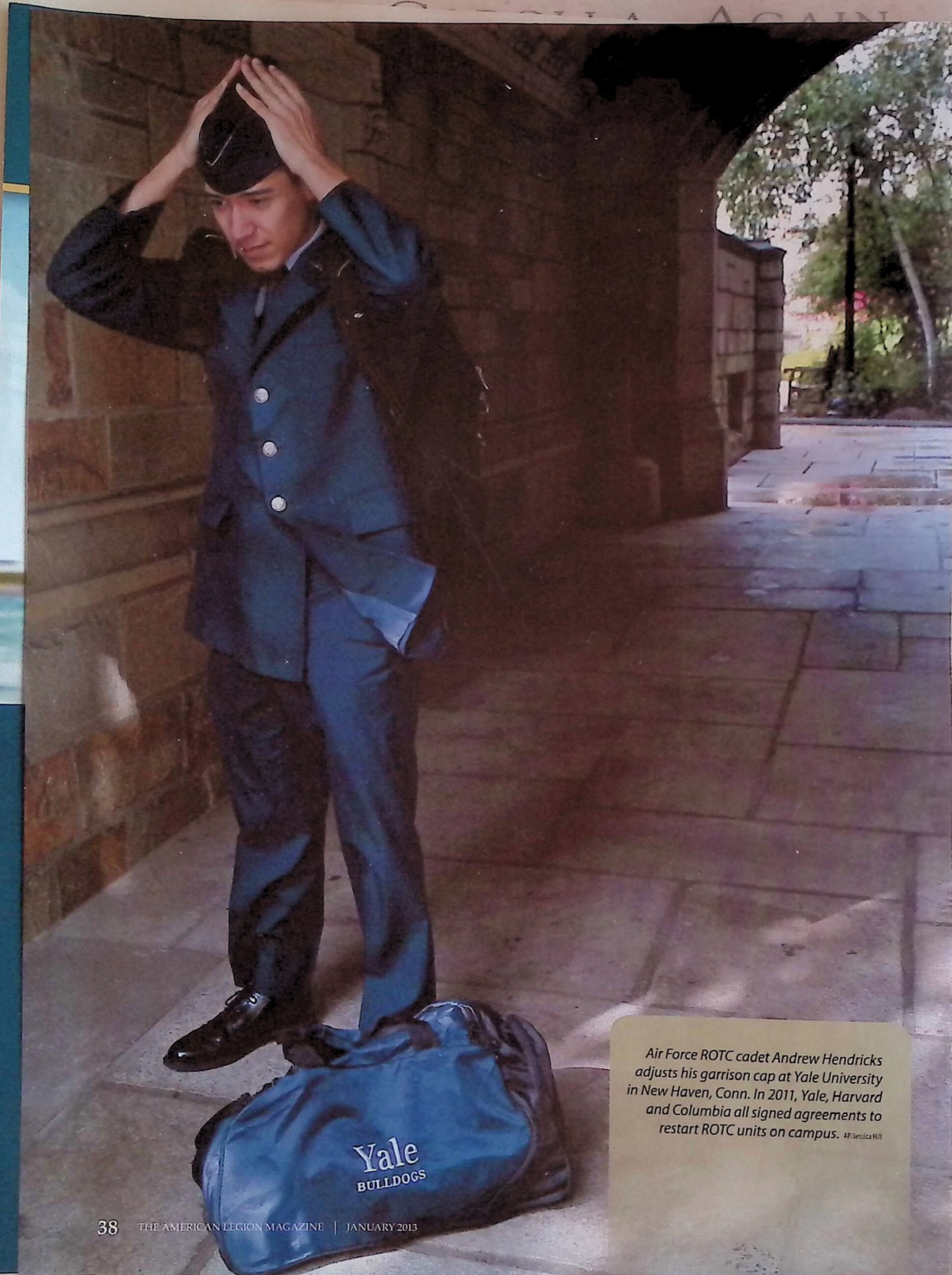


National Cemetery in a massive

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Air Force ROTC cadet Andrew Hendricks adjusts his garrison cap at Yale University in New Haven, Conn. In 2011, Yale, Harvard and Columbia all signed agreements to restart ROTC units on campus. AP/Jessica Hill



World War II's 'Silent Army' Part 'SILENT REVOLU

By David M. Gosoroski

As the ultimate citizen-soldiers, WW II veterans became the engineers of massive infrastructure and the architects of postwar America.

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hen he died in July 1997, Jimmy Stewart was hailed as more than just a movie star. His military record was widely publicized. For a generation of Americans he was the quintessential WWII citizen-soldier and American hero.

An 8th Air Force pilot who flew 35 combat missions over Europe and recipient of the Distinguished Flying Cross, he once remarked, "My service in the military has made me a better citizen."

To many Americans, he symbolizes the best qualities of the 16 million Americans (then 9% of the U.S. population) who answered the call to serve during the war.

Today, they number less than 6.7 million. But as a group, they have had an impact on American society, politics and economic growth far out of proportion to their numbers in the nation.

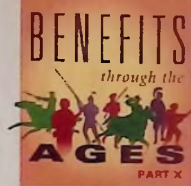
'For Our Fair Our Nation'

The Selective Service Act required eligible males aged 18 to 21, plus six months. Though the great majority of WW II (66%), some attended college but were officially drafted because of the manpower needs of the ground forces.

Those who were employed before the war were guaranteed re-employment rights by section 8 of the War Relocation Act.

The typical WW II soldier was 28—older than in most wars—and had finished more than a year of high school.

High school dropouts completed only elementary school (28% of all American forces completed only elementary school.) Some 14% of the war had attended college and had four-year degrees.



World War II's 'Silent Army' Produced 'SILENT REVOLUTION'

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Today, they number less than 6.7 million. But as a group, they have had an impact on American society, politics and economic growth far out of proportion to their numbers in the nation.

'For Our Families, Our Nation'

The Selective Service Act of 1940 conscripted eligible males ages 18-37 "for the duration and six"—the end of the war plus six months. Though draftees comprised the great majority of all forces in WWII (66%), some attempted to volunteer but were officially conscripted because of the manpower needs of the Army ground forces.

Those who were employed were guaranteed re-employment rights upon discharge by section 8 of the act.

The typical WWII soldier was single and 28—older than in most other American wars—and had finished the sophomore year of high school.

High school dropouts accounted for 28% of all American forces while 33% had completed only elementary school. (The demands of the Depression were overwhelming.) Some 14% of those in uniform had attended college, but only 3% had four-year degrees.

Support for the war was universal. Motivation for serving was best summed up by writer Jeremiah O'Leary: "The fire already was burning in most of our hearts. We all knew why. We did it because the American democracy, with all its wends and flows, was worthy of preserving."

"We fought Japan because we were attacked and we fought Germany because she declared war on us. We fought, of course, for each other, but we also fought for our families, our nation."

'Living the Life of a Savage'

Some 73% of GIs served overseas, with a distinct minority at the "tip of the spear" in Europe, North Africa, the Pacific and Southeast Asia. The ratio of support to combat troops was 10-to-1.

Women sent abroad numbered 17,000, while blacks made up 4% of troops overseas. Those who, through no fault of their own, remained stateside were derisively called "USO Rangers."

All told, American forces suffered

Air Force ROTC cadet Andrew Hendricks adjusts his garrison cap at Yale University in New Haven, Conn. In 2011, Yale, Harvard and Columbia all signed agreements to restart ROTC units on campus. AP/WIDEWORLD

Note: April 9, 2007 (the opposite page)

First cousin, Quentin Santini, closest to me in age, was drafted into infantry. No current details of his unit but he saw active combat in Europe. His best buddy was killed instantly beside him in combat.

Quentin returned from the war, finished college at St. Bonaventure in N.Y. state, but never recovered from war trauma. Spent time in mental hospitals, best care money could provide (he was Uncle Godfrey's son, Pres. of Seven Santini Bros.), but could not be helped. Committed suicide in 1950's.

U.S. Army



War College



Above: GIs returned home to find a different nation than they had known only a few years before. Benefits were in place to make their transition smooth. Below: Amputees receive physical exercise at Lawson General Hospital in Atlanta, Ga. Reconditioning programs were designed to help those who lost limbs return to civilian life. Approximately 15,000 of the disabled servicemen from WWII were amputees.



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Audie Murphy, America's best-known WWII hero, paid a severe price for his courage in battle. He suffered seven years of insomnia in the latter part of his life.

293,131 killed in action, 115,185 non-combat deaths and 670,846 wounded. These were only the physical casualties.

Battle fatigue, also called combat neurosis and combat exhaustion, affected some 1,393,000 men. Of all WWII Army ground combat troops, 37.5% were discharged for psychiatric reasons, found Richard Gabriel in *No More Heroes: Madness & Psychiatry in War*. This was often sarcastically referred to by GIs as "nervous in the service" or being "fright-burned."

According to Dixon Wecter in *When Johnny Comes Marching Home* (1944), the most difficult of all rebuilding tasks was often restoration of nerves and minds shattered in battle.

After Guadalcanal, Marine Pfc. John J. Conroy wrote to his father on Christmas Eve 1942: "I have been shell-shocked and bomb-shocked. My memory is very dim regarding my civilian days. Of course I'm not insane. But I've been living the life of a savage and haven't quite got used to a world of laws and new responsibilities.

"The medics here optimistically say I'll pay for it the rest of my life. My bayonet and shrapnel cuts are all healed up, however. Most of us will be fairly well in six months, but none of us will be completely cured for years."



Mustering Out

Actual planning for demobilization had begun as early as 1942. In mid-1943, the Armed Forces Committee on Post-War Education for Service Personnel was

formed. Within a month of victory, 100,000 GIs were mustered out every 30 days by a point system based primarily on months in service and overseas. By September 1945, 25,000 men were being discharged daily.

At the end of 1946, only 3 million men were still in uniform out of 12 million at war's end. By 1948, the Army had gone from a high of 8 million soldiers to 545,000. Nevertheless, demobilization didn't proceed fast enough for either servicemen or anxious wives left behind.

A War Department manpower conference had seriously considered holding personnel in the service. But disgruntlement overseas and frustration at home led to demonstrations and threats of retaliation at the polls, prompting a state-side rotation speedup.

Mustering-out pay, favored by 88% of the public, became law on Feb. 3, 1944, effectively derailing payment of a bonus. Additionally, the *Armed Forces Leave Act of 1946* provided for terminal leave pay, with bonds as a bonus substitute. Cash redemption became an option in 1947. By

1955, terminal-leave pay, mustering-out pay and readjustment allowances alone amounted to \$10.2 billion.



A Sucker for the Sacrifice?

GIs experienced anxiety over returning home. Wecter noted: "Whatever the cost to him personally of this war, in time and happiness and wholeness of body or mind, he wants to know it has all been to some purpose—it has to make sense."

One soldier expressed as much in a letter to Eleanor Roosevelt: "There is one great fear in the heart of every serviceman and it is not that he will be killed or maimed, but that when he is finally allowed to go home and piece together what he can of his life, that he will be made to feel that he has been a sucker for the sacrifice he has made."

That fear "is linked with his feeling about friends who have paid much more than just an installment or two of sweat and pain," wrote Wecter.

The President's wife had warned that

veterans might become a "dangerous pressure group in our midst." That sentiment was echoed by Professor Willard Waller of Columbia University in *The Veteran Comes Home*.

Waller cautioned: "The veteran who comes home is our gravest social problem, and certainly the major social problem of the next few years. Unless and until he can be *renaturalized* into his native land, the veteran is a threat to society."

Though solidly behind the war effort, many civilians also saw returning GIs as competition to their newfound economic security. Average worker income had doubled since 1939 to \$3,000 annually.

Four days before becoming President, Harry Truman made one thing clear: "America will never again permit the callous indifference, the economic and political ineptitude of the late twenties and early thirties to return to political power. No depression will be allowed to grow, like a Frankenstein monster, ultimately threatening our entire social structure."

Some religious leaders feared a loss of

Continued on page 36

AN ORGANIZATION OF THEIR OWN

Many returning WWII vets preferred to preserve their distinctive identity within the veterans movement. As a result, several new groups emerged in the 1940s.

American Veterans Committee

The American Veterans Committee (AVC) was founded by Charles G. Bolte and Gilbert Harrison, graduates of Dartmouth and UCLA, respectively. They had served in both American and British forces in WWII—Bolte in the British and American armies and Harrison in the RAF and U.S. Army Air Forces.

AVC's members were predominantly college-educated and were pre-war pacifists and isolationists. It was not militantly anti-communist, nor did it overtly display patriotism.

Its motto, "Citizens First, Veterans Second" was reflected in the membership belief that traditional veterans values were archaic, and that a new organization of strictly WWII veterans was needed to represent their views.

AVC did not campaign for benefits per se, but believed, as Bolte wrote, that "veterans should be restored to the status in life they would have held if they had not gone to war."

Prominent members included Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, Douglas Fairbanks, Jr., Henry Cabot Lodge, Bill Mauldin, Audie Murphy, Ronald Reagan and Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr. Merchant mariners and war correspondents

also were admitted. VA recognition was granted in September 1946. Membership peaked at 75,000 in 1946, with 25% concentrated in New York and Los Angeles.

Communists took over the New York City chapter, but were expelled in 1948. This event forced AVC to violate its official stand on civil rights, including freedom of assembly, and caused an overall loss of liberal support.

AMVETS

American Veterans of WWII (AMVETS) was founded by nine groups in Kansas City, Mo., on Dec. 9, 1944. A congressional charter was granted three years later in 1947.

AMVETS was led during the 1950s by Harold Russell, the WWII Navy veteran and double amputee who achieved fame portraying himself in the film "The Best Years of Our Lives." During his tenure, membership reached 125,000 in 1954.

AMVETS maintained a middle-of-the-road position on most veterans issues, distancing itself from both the American Legion and the VFW. In its early years, it pushed for compensation only for disabled veterans. It also backed subsidized housing and opposed an immediate bonus.

Ironically, in contradiction to its origins, AMVETS charter was amended in 1950 to admit Korean War veterans and again in 1966 to attract Vietnam War vets. Today, the group is open to all active-duty veterans.

Paralyzed Veterans of America

The Paralyzed Veterans of America (PVA) originated in the Bronx, N.Y., VA hospital in the summer of 1946. The Eastern Paralyzed Veterans Association formed three chapters in April 1947. They merged in September 1948 with other chapters to officially become the PVA, with 1,200 members.

That same year, P.L. 702 (the Paraplegic Housing Bill) was passed. It was a major legislative victory for the organization. PVA remains a vibrant element of the veterans movement, often working with the VFW.

VFW

World War II transformed the composition of the VFW dramatically. In 1944 alone, it gained 350,000 new members, 70% of whom were WWII veterans. VFW's ranks swelled from 250,000 in 1940 to 1.6 million in early 1947. By mid-1946, more than 80% of members were already WWII veterans.

From the outset, VFW recruited active-duty personnel. VFW's support of the GI Bill, terminal leave pay, stateside furloughs for overseas troops, a bonus, distribution of VFW's magazine as well as service ribbons overseas all caught the attention of GIs. But perhaps the most popular appeal was the VFW's aura of being an exclusive organization.

It had phenomenal growth because, as one writer put it, "The VFW would give them equal service and a warmer welcome."

'Silent Revolution'

Continued from page 34

old-fashioned virtue. War's end "will surely bring a slump of morals and morale," predicted J. Gordon Chamberlin in his 1945 book *The Church and Demobilization*. "The grass may cover war's scars on earth; but the spirits of men, once blighted by war, will pass on that blight."

Such fear-mongering proved groundless. Far more serious concerns required attention.



'Unwanted Battalion'

Public Law 16, the *Disabled Veterans Rehabilitation Act of 1943*, established vocational rehabilitation for WWII veterans. Participants eventually numbered some 621,000.

Among them were 14,648 veterans who lost one or more limbs, dubbed the "Unwanted Battalion." Prosthetics could be tormenting. For instance, an artificial arm weighed 10 pounds. False limbs were not only uncomfortable, but clumsy, expensive and in short supply.

By fall 1946, 86,000 WWII vets were still hospitalized. Virtually all these men were there as a direct result of the war. That would soon change.

When the Korean War ended, only about 35,000 actual war-wounded vets were among the 175,000 veterans occupying VA beds on any given day. The majority of WWII and Korean War veterans opposed free non-service connected VA care in 1953, according to a Gallup poll.

Psychiatric casualties were another concern altogether. Of the nearly one million men diagnosed as psychoneurotics, a 1951 National Research Council/VA study found only 8% were severely disabled. Some 85% were working, 77% married and 55% drawing no VA disability compensation.

But four years later, in 1955, a National Academy of Sciences study concluded one-third of WWII vets suffered some emotional disorders—hardly a surprising consequence of war.

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By 1994, 210,000 cases of PTSD had been reported among WWII vets. The most publicized case from WWII was that of Medal of Honor recipient Audie Murphy, the war's best-known hero.

Murphy, who died at age 47 in a plane crash, described how he could not sleep without a weapon by his side. He suffered from seven years of insomnia. "The last two or three years of it I was sleepwalking," he told an interviewer. "There are only two of us left from that outfit, and we're both half dead."

Murphy, like the vast majority of fellow veterans, persevered—despite obstacles—to have a profound impact on postwar economic and social developments. WWII vets would be repressed in the professional and managerial ranks, for example, out of all proportion to numbers in the general populace.



'Most Important Event of the 20th Century'

Caring for veterans served the broader aim of promoting social welfare. Emergence of the middle class as the dominant force in American life began with pas-

1955, terminal-leave pay, mustering-out pay and readjustment allowances alone amounted to \$10.2 billion.

A Sucker for the Sacrifice?

GIs experienced anxiety over returning home. Wecter noted: "Whatever the cost to him personally of this war, in time and happiness and wholeness of body or mind, he wants to know it has all been to some purpose—it has to make sense."

One soldier expressed as much in a letter to Eleanor Roosevelt: "There is one great fear in the heart of every serviceman and it is not that he will be killed or maimed, but that when he is finally allowed to go home and piece together what he can of his life, that he will be made to feel that he has been a sucker for the sacrifice he has made."

That fear "is linked with his feeling about friends who have paid much more than just an installment or two of sweat and pain," wrote Wecter.

The President's wife had warned that

veterans might become a "dangerous pressure group in our midst." That sentiment was echoed by Professor Willard Waller of Columbia University in *The Veteran Comes Home*.

Waller cautioned: "The veteran who comes home is our gravest social problem, and certainly the major social problem of the next few years. Unless and until he can be *renaturalized* into his native land, the veteran is a threat to society."

Though solidly behind the war effort, many civilians also saw returning GIs as competition to their newfound economic security. Average worker income had doubled since 1939 to \$3,000 annually.

Four days before becoming President, Harry Truman made one thing clear: "America will never again permit the callous indifference, the economic and political ineptitude of the late twenties and early thirties to return to political power. No depression will be allowed to grow, like a Frankenstein monster, ultimately threatening our entire social structure."

Some religious leaders feared a loss of

Continued on page 36

AN ORGANIZATION OF THEIR OWN

also were admitted. VA recognition was granted in September 1946. Membership peaked at 75,000 in 1946, with 25% concentrated in New York and Los Angeles.

Communists took over the New York City chapter, but were expelled in 1948. This event forced AVC to violate its official stand on civil rights, including freedom of assembly, and caused an overall loss of liberal support.

AMVETS

American Veterans of WWII (AMVETS) was founded by nine groups in Kansas City, Mo., on Dec. 9, 1944. A congressional charter was granted three years later in 1947.

AMVETS was led during the 1950s by Harold Russell, the WWII Navy veteran and double amputee who achieved fame portraying himself in the film *The Best Years of Our Lives*. During his tenure, membership reached 25,000 in 1954.

AMVETS maintained a middle-of-the-road position on most veterans issues, distancing itself from both the American Legion and the VFW. In its early years, it pushed for competition only for disabled veterans. It also backed subsidized housing and opposed an immediate bonus.

Ironically, in contradiction to its origins, AMVETS charter was amended in 1950 to admit Korean War veterans and again in 1966 to attract Vietnam War vets. Today, the group is open to all active-duty veterans.

Paralyzed Veterans of America

The Paralyzed Veterans of America (PVA) originated in the Bronx, N.Y., VA hospital in the summer of 1946. The Eastern Paralyzed Veterans Association formed three chapters in April 1947. They merged in September 1948 with other chapters to officially become the PVA, with 1,200 members.

That same year, P.L. 702 (the Paraplegic Housing Bill) was passed. It was a major legislative victory for the organization. PVA remains a vibrant element of the veterans movement, often working with the VFW.

VFW

World War II transformed the composition of the VFW dramatically. In 1944 alone, it gained 350,000 new members, 70% of whom were WWII veterans. VFW's ranks swelled from 250,000 in 1940 to 1.6 million in early 1947. By mid-1946, more than 80% of members were already WWII veterans.

From the outset, VFW recruited active-duty personnel. VFW's support of the GI Bill, terminal leave pay, stateside furloughs for overseas troops, a bonus, distribution of VFW's magazine as well as service ribbons overseas all caught the attention of GIs. But perhaps the most popular appeal was the VFW's aura of being an exclusive organization.

It had phenomenal growth because, as one writer put it, "The VFW would give them equal service and a warmer welcome."

'Silent Revolution'

Continued from page 34

old-fashioned virtue. War's end "will surely bring a slump of morals and morale," predicted J. Gordon Chamberlin in his 1945 book *The Church and Demobilization*. "The grass may cover war's scars on earth; but the spirits of men, once blighted by war, will pass on that blight."

Such fear-mongering proved groundless. Far more serious concerns required attention.

'Unwanted Battalion'

Public Law 16, the *Disabled Veterans Rehabilitation Act of 1943*, established vocational rehabilitation for WWII veterans. Participants eventually numbered some 621,000.

Among them were 14,648 veterans who lost one or more limbs, dubbed the "Unwanted Battalion." Prosthetics could be tormenting. For instance, an artificial arm weighed 10 pounds. False limbs were not only uncomfortable, but clumsy, expensive and in short supply.

By fall 1946, 86,000 WWII vets were still hospitalized. Virtually all these men were there as a direct result of the war. That would soon change.

When the Korean War ended, only about 35,000 actual war-wounded vets were among the 175,000 veterans occupying VA beds on any given day. The majority of WWII and Korean War veterans opposed free non-service connected VA care in 1953, according to a Gallup poll.

Psychiatric casualties were another concern altogether. Of the nearly one million men diagnosed as psychoneurotics, a 1951 National Research Council/VA study found only 8% were severely disabled. Some 85% were working, 77% married and 55% drawing no VA disability compensation.

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'Most Important Event of the 20th Century'

Caring for veterans served the broader aim of promoting social welfare. Emergence of the middle class as the dominant force in American life began with passage

of the *Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944*, more commonly known as the GI Bill of Rights.

According to Michael Bennett in *When Dreams Came True*, it represented a re-emergence of the Jeffersonian ideal of Americans as "yeomen"—"educated citizens and independent property owners, neither rich nor poor, neither powerful nor wealthy, but self-sustaining."

The Bill signified the first time in American history that "veterans were treated generously and wisely, rather than callously and foolishly," added Bennett.

Although opposition to the Bill existed, according to Keith W. Olson in *The GI Bill, the Veterans and the Colleges*, it was rooted "not in any defects of the bill or its objectives, but in fear that by carelessness disabled veterans might suffer, as they had in the past."

When the American Legion and VFW reached a funding compromise of \$500 million for VA hospitalization, it paved the way for passage in 1944.

VFW past Commander-in-Chief Paul G. Wolman said: "I think that, in uniting these two great organizations, we have made history here."

In *Post-Capitalist Society*, Peter Drucker wrote: "The GI Bill of Rights—and the enthusiastic response to it on the part of America's veterans—signaled the shift to the knowledge society. Future historians may consider it the most important event of the 20th century."

Educational provisions included a maximum tuition of \$500 per year provided the veteran was accepted by the college of his choice. Veterans flocked to the "best colleges and universities," and became their top students.

But the campuses were totally unprepared for the massive influx. University of Chicago President Robert M. Hutchins expressed the fears of many in academia: "Colleges and universities will find themselves converted into educational hobo jungles. And veterans unable to get work and equally unable to resist putting pressure on the colleges and universities will find themselves educational hoboes." Quite the contrary occurred, of course.

In 1947, veterans accounted for 49.2%

Continued on page 38

WORLD WAR II VETERANS YOU MIGHT KNOW

Listed below are WWII veterans who served overseas and later became household names. Some gained fame even before the war. Undoubtedly, many names have been omitted. Feel free to let us know who you feel qualifies.

SOURCE: World War II: 4,139 Strange and Fascinating Facts by Don McCombs and Fred L. Worth (N.Y.: Wings Books, 1996)

LEGEND

A = Army CG = Coast Guard
M = Marine Corps N = Navy
AAF = Army Air Forces
PTO = Pacific Theater of Operations
(includes China-Burma-India)
ETO = European Theater of Operations
(includes North Africa & Atlantic Coast)
OSS = Office of Strategic Services

Actors, Directors, Producers

Albert, Eddie N, PTO
Altman, Robert AAF, PTO
Arness, James A, ETO
Autry, Gene AAF, PTO
Bogart, Humphrey N, ??
Boone, Richard N, PTO
Borgnine, Ernest N, ETO
Brady, Pat A, ETO
Brand, Neville A, ETO
Brooks, Mel A, ETO
Burr, Raymond N, PTO
Carney, Art A, ETO
Curtis, Tony N, PTO
Douglas, Kirk N, PTO
Elsen, Buddy CG, PTO
Fairbanks, Jr., Douglas N, ETO
Fonda, Henry N, PTO
Ford, Glenn M, ETO
Ford, John N, PTO
Friendly, Fred AAF, ??
Fuller, Sam A, ETO
Gable, Clark AAF, ETO
Hayden, Sterling OSS, ETO
Heflin, Van A, ??
Heston, Charlton AAF, PTO
Howard, John N, ETO
Huston, John A, PTO & ETO
Kennedy, George A, ETO
Knight, Ted ??
Lancaster, Burt A, ETO
Lear, Norman AAF, ETO
Lemmon, Jack N, PTO
Marvin, Lee M, PTO
Matthau, Walter AAF, ETO
Mature, Victor CG, ETO
Meredith, Burgess AAF
Montgomery, George A, ETO
Montgomery, Robert N, ETO
Morris, Wayne N, PTO
Murphy, Audie A, ETO
Newman, Paul N, PTO
O'Brien, George ??
Parks, Bert A, PTO
Power, Tyrone M, PTO
Preston, Robert AAF, ETO
Randall, Tony A, ??
Robards, Jason N, PTO

Romero, Cesar N, PTO
Rooney, Mickey A, ETO
Savalas, Aristotle "Telly" A, ??
Serling, Rod A, PTO
Stack, Robert N, ??
Steiger, Rod N, PTO
Stewart, Jimmy AAF, ETO
Susskind, David N, PTO
Sutton, Frank A, ETO
Warden, Jack A, ETO
Whitmore, James M, PTO
Wyler, William AAF, ETO
Zimbalist, Jr., Efrem A, ETO

Astronauts/Test Pilots

Glenn, John M, PTO
Shepard, Alan N, PTO
Slayton, Donald "Deke" AAF, ETO & PTO
Yeager, Chuck AAF, ETO

Authors

Axelrod, George A, ETO
Buchwald, Art M, PTO
Eisenhower, John S.D. A, ETO
Haley, Alex CG, PTO
L'Amour, Louis A, ETO
Mailer, Norman A, PTO
Manchester, William M, PTO
Michener, James A. N, PTO
Morison, Samuel E. N, PTO
Uris, Leon M, PTO
Vidal, Gore A, PTO
Vonnegut, Jr., Kurt AAF, ETO
Wheeler, Richard M, PTO
Wilder, Thornton AAF, ??
Wouk, Herman N, PTO

Entertainers (Comedians, Singers, etc.)

Bennett, Tony A, ETO
Ford, "Tennessee" Ernie AAF, ??
Mancini, Henry AAF, ETO
McMahon, Ed M, PTO
Parr, Jack A, PTO
Rickles, Don N, PTO
Rowan, Dan AAF, ??
Sales, Soupy N, PTO
Winters, Jonathan M, ??

Government Servants

Bundy, William A, ETO
Colby, William E. OSS, ETO
Dulles, Allen W. OSS, ETO
Helms, Richard OSS, ETO
Kissinger, Henry A. A, ETO
Mitchell, John N, ??
Richardson, Elliot A, ETO
Vance, Cyrus N, PTO
White, Byron R. N, PTO

Journalists

Alsop, Stewart British A, ETO
Garroway, Dave N, ??
Kennedy, Douglas N, ETO
Mauldin, William "Bill" A, ETO
Rudd, Hughes A, ??
Salinger, Pierre N, PTO
Wallace, Mike N, PTO

Politicians

Agnew, Spiro T. A, ETO
Baker, Howard N, PTO
Bentsen, Lloyd A, ETO
Brooke, Edward A, ETO
Bush, George N, PTO
Connally, John N, ETO
Dole, Robert J. A, ETO
Douglas, Paul H. M, PTO
Ford, Gerald N, PTO
Foss, Joe M, PTO
Goldwater, Barry AAF, PTO
Hatfield, Mark N, PTO
Inouye, Daniel A, ETO
Johnson, Lyndon B. N, PTO
Kennedy, John F. N, PTO
Koch, Ed A, ETO
Lodge, Henry C. A, ETO
Long, Russell N, ETO
McCarthy, Joseph M, PTO
McGovern, George AAF, ETO
Nixon, Richard M. N, PTO
Shriver, R. Sargent N, PTO
Teague, Olin E. A, ETO
Thurmond, J. Strom A, ETO & PTO
Wallace, George C. AAF, PTO

Sports Players (Professional)

Bauer, Hank M, PTO
Berg, Moe OSS, ETO
Berra, Lawrence "Yogi" N, ETO
Brissie, Lou ??
Dempsey, Jack CG, PTO
Feller, Robert N, PTO
Gowdy, Hank ??
Greenberg, Hank AAF, PTO
Harmon, Tom AAF, PTO
Hodges, Gil M, PTO
Houk, Ralph A, ETO
Kavanaugh, Ken AAF, ETO
Landry, Tom AAF, ETO
LuJack, Johnny N, ETO
Lummus, Jack ?? PTO (KIA)
Marciano, Rocky A, ETO
Mulloy, Gardner N, ETO
Murtaugh, Daniel A, ETO
Paddock, Charles M, PTO (Killed)
Ross, Barney M, PTO
Spahn, Warren A, ETO
Truan, Fritz A, PTO (Killed)
Wilhelm, Hoyt A, ETO

'Silent Revolution'

Continued from page 36

of total college enrollment. By 1955, 7.8 million veterans—50.6% of all WWII veterans in civilian life—had used GI Bill education and training benefits.

In a November 1947 issue of *The New York Times*, education editor Benjamin Fine wrote of this "most astonishing fact in American higher education. GIs are hogging the honor rolls and the deans' lists; they are walking away with the top marks in all their courses. Far from being an educational problem, the veteran has become an asset to higher education."

By the July 25, 1956, cutoff date, 2,232,000 WWII veterans had enrolled in college using the GI Bill. They had infused \$14.5 billion in federal monies into American institutions of higher learning.

In *Days of Sadness, Years of Triumph*, Geoffrey Perrett noted the GI Bill's recipients had the "assertive, self-respecting attitudes of people whose claims are based on having earned, not simply deserved, what they received."

This was without "the sullen, self-destrorying agonies of welfare clients...It was a very middle-class program, all the more effective for the disguise it wore...They and their children are the bedrock of America's modern middle class."

'52-20 Club'

Unemployment compensation provisions of the GI Bill authorized payment of \$20 weekly for up to 52 weeks. Known as the "52-20 Club," it was used by almost nine million veterans from 1944-1949.

The Bill also superimposed the Veterans Placement Service Board on the Veterans Employment Service. Within a year after the war's end, 70% of non-disabled veterans had found employment. Two years after Armistice Day was re-named Veterans Day (Nov. 11, 1954), 5% of WWII veterans still were unemployed since their discharge.

Despite opposition from the *Washington Post* and major unions, ex-GIs also got a boost from the *Veterans Preference Act of 1944*. Adopted by Congress as a national policy, by 1954 almost half of all federal civilian employees were veterans.

Housing was another critical issue after WWII. So the *Veterans Emergency Housing Act of 1946* required expedited new home construction on a large scale. This act proved to be the catalyst that spurred the growth of suburbia.

William J. Levitt capitalized on the housing shortage by pioneering affordable suburban tract home development

on Long Island. By 1954, 1.5 million veterans had utilized the \$33 billion to pay for the purchase of those new homes.

VA mortgages took the form of home buying for both the veteran and the family. Purchases could be made down, but were backed by the federal government and credit of the federal government.

In addition to federal offered bonuses, Illinois (the most generous) granted a maximum of \$882.50 a year. Families of deceased veterans received \$900.

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Within a decade of the need for certain veterans was being challenged by President's Commission on the Bradley Commission recommendations, 36 of which were proved by VFW.

But the VFW opposed the commission's major idea of a national system of benefits for connected veterans and their families.

Notes - April 9, 2007

In the summer of 1946 after discharge I signed up for 52-20 club. It required application for a job and after only a few checks I got a job at Kelling Nut in Passaic. Worked all summer, took classes, and went back to Seton Hall as full-time student in Sept. of 1946. Used G.I. bill in alternate years.

U.S. Army



War College

while working at Food Fair 1st nights, 2nd nights, all day Saturdays saved earnings to help pay tuition in non-G.I. bill years.

11 VETERANS YOU MIGHT KNOW

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Interesting Facts by Don McCombs and Fred L. Worth (N.Y.: Wings Books, 1996)

Journalists	
Cesar	N, PTO
Mickey	A, ETO
Aristotle "Telly"	A, ??
Rod	A, PTO
Robert	N, ??
Rod	N, PTO
Jimmy	AAF, ETO
David	N, PTO
Frank	A, ETO
Jack	A, ETO
James	M, PTO
William	AAF, ETO
Frank, Jr.	A, ETO

Astronauts/Test Pilots	
John	M, PTO
Alan	N, PTO
Donald "Deke"	AAF, ETO & PTO
Chuck	AAF, ETO

Authors	
George	A, ETO
Wald, Art	M, PTO
Howe, John S.D.	A, ETO
Alex	CG, PTO
Louis	A, ETO
Norman	A, PTO
Chester, William	M, PTO
James A.	N, PTO
Samuel E.	N, PTO
Leon	M, PTO
Gore	A, PTO
Regut, Jr., Kurt	AAF, ETO
Richard	M, PTO
Thornton	AAF, ??
Herman	N, PTO

Sports Players (Professional)	
Bauer, Hank	M, PTO
Berg, Moe	OSS, ETO
Berra, Lawrence "Yogi"	N, ETO
Brissie, Lou	??
Dempsey, Jack	CG, PTO
Feller, Robert	N, PTO
Gowdy, Hank	??
Greenberg, Hank	AAF, PTO
Harmon, Tom	AAF, PTO
Hodges, Gil	M, PTO
Houk, Ralph	A, ETO
Kavanaugh, Ken	AAF, ETO
Landry, Tom	AAF, ETO
LuJack, Johnny	N, ETO
Lummas, Jack	?? PTO (KIA)
Marciano, Rocky	A, ETO
Mulloy, Gardner	N, ETO
Murtaugh, Daniel	A, ETO
Paddock, Charles	M, PTO (Killed)
Ross, Barney	M, PTO
Spahn, Warren	A, ETO
Truan, Fritz	A, PTO (Killed)
Wilhelm, Hoyt	A, ETO

Government Servants	
William	A, ETO
William E.	OSS, ETO
Allen W.	OSS, ETO
Richard	OSS, ETO
Henry A.	A, ETO
John	N, ??
Elliot	A, ETO
Cyrus	N, PTO
Byron R.	N, PTO

'Silent Revolution'

Continued from page 36

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VA mortgages took the fear out of home buying for both buyer and lender. Purchases could be made with no money down, but were backed by the full faith and credit of the federal government.

In addition to federal assistance, states offered bonuses. Illinois' provisions (the most generous) granted \$15 monthly for a maximum of \$882.50 for overseas service. Families of deceased veterans received \$900.

By the end of 1949, 19 states had authorized bonus payments of \$2.6 billion to 7.8 million living WWII veterans and survivors of those deceased. In comparison, 20 states granted bonuses after WWI.

Within a decade of the war's end, the need for certain veterans compensation was being challenged. In 1956, the President's Commission on Veterans Pensions (the Bradley Commission) made 70 recommendations, 36 of which were approved by VFW.

But the VFW opposed two of the commission's major ideas: gradual termination of benefits for non-service connected veterans and elimination of

Continued on page 40

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U.S. Army



War College



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Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Telephone () _____ Serial Number _____

Date of Service: Mo. _____ Yr. _____ to Mo. _____ Yr. _____

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'Silent Revolution'

Continued from page 38

compensation for those with 10% and 20% disabilities.

The commission concluded: "The ordinary or non-service-connected needs which veterans have in common with all citizens should be met wherever possible through the general welfare programs under which veterans are covered along with other people."

Direct Political Action

Fantasies of disenchanted veterans overthrowing the government were popular in academia during WWII. Waller claimed: "The veteran is, and always has been, a problematic element in society, an unfortunate, misused and pitiable man, and, like others whom society has mistreated, a threat to existing institutions."

So when veterans in Athens, Tenn., in August 1946 cleaned up political corruption with their own direct action methods, it caused quite a stir in some circles.

After the local political boss hired gunmen to enforce his corrupt regime, the vets answered in kind with bullets and dynamite. Some 450 VFW members in

nearby Blount County offered a hand, too. In the end, all five veteran-candidates were elected to office.

The *New York Times* editorialized: "Today it appears that this political coalition of WWII veterans for direct action in community affairs, regarded as likely to develop nationally in the postwar period, was purely a local phenomenon in which veteran participation was incidental."

Postwar history has shown veterans to be a potent political force in both parties. In the late '40s, two-fifths of all voting-age males were war veterans and one-third were WWII veterans. Half of the 80th Congress (1947) was made up of veterans.

Living Legacy

Fifty years later, America is only now coming to grips with how to permanently remember World War II vets. The proposed World War II Memorial is ironic in light of how Americans viewed such reminders immediately after the war.

Wrote historian Geoffrey Perrett in 1973: "Preparing for the postwar world also required that some thought be given to erecting suitable memorials in memory of those who had fought for the country.

After the last war, cities and towns everywhere had put up architectural horrors in stone, concrete and marble and dedicated them to the dead.

"There was a strong aversion in most communities now to setting up useless, costly eyesores and calling them tributes. Instead, this postwar era would bring thousands of useful civic facilities, such as memorial parks, memorial auditoriums, memorial hospitals, memorial stadiums. They would be called the 'Veterans this' and the 'Veterans that,' but in their use they honored not just the veterans, but the entire nation in wartime."

While the sort of memorial most proper is debatable, the contributions of WWII vets to society are beyond debate.

"They were a silent army making a silent revolution, building the foundations of a new and better American society," wrote Bennett.

In the article, "The Veterans Make Their Choice," which appeared in the September 1946 issue of *Harper's*, Sam Staviskey wrote. "In the latent strength of the WWII veteran, whose full voice is yet to be heard, lies the hope of national security and world peace."

Next Month: Korean War veterans

MY TURN

THE LAST 'GOOD WAR'

What do we owe the veterans of WWII: preserve their memory against the tide of

BY ROBERT DOLE

PERHAPS BECAUSE ITS CAUSES WERE SO JUST AND ITS victory so complete, few of us today recall the unfinished business of World War II. Like so many others, I paid a high price in that war, but it was minimal compared with the ultimate price paid by the more than 400,000 Americans who never came home. Like so many other veterans of that conflict, I did not question the reason for my sacrifice. But America has yet to recognize the men and women who gave so much to make final victory possible. Now is the time to honor them with a national monument to preserve their memory for future generations. So pivotal a time in our history deserves nothing less.

World War II has been called "The Good War." But there is nothing good about war for those who have known the horror of battle. Only causes can be good. And in this war, millions of servicemen like myself found a cause to justify the greatest losses.

At 20 years old, I had never traveled much beyond my parents' home in Russell, Kans. I marched off to war knowing we were fighting against aggression in Europe and Asia. In time I came to learn we were fighting against evil. Brave young Americans like the ones in my company fought until the last town was liberated. We fought until the last prison camp was emptied of its gaunt survivors and the last death camp was opened to reveal unimaginable crimes.

Although I did not fully understand it, I was fighting for another cause as well—to establish a new place for America in the world. On remote, foreign battlefields, our nation renewed its confidence and found its mission. It was a mission unique in human history and uniquely American in its idealism: to influence without conquest and to hold democratic ideals in sacred trust while many people waited in captivity.

We stayed true to that mission long after the war ended. As Winston Churchill stated, America stood at the "summit of the world." And yet we asked for no reparations or tribute. Rather we helped our enemies rebuild and we defended them against ideology's lingering threat until this very decade. Today the freedom America championed is the standard of civilization. At the close of history's most brutal century, America's values have triumphed—not through force but through example.

That American idealism and abundance inspired a generation of survivors and their children. It transcended old hatreds and divisions and illuminated the universal aspirations of people regardless of nationality. At home in Russell, we marveled at what Americans from so many different backgrounds can accomplish when we stand together in a just and common cause.

Today, the evidence of war is gone. The meadow in Italy where I fought is all but unrecognizable. If one visits other battlefields now you'll likely find tranquil farmland, quiet villages and sandy



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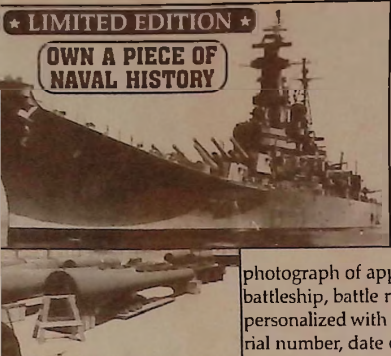
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ount County offered a hand, end, all five veteran-candidates d to office.

York Times editorialized: "To-ars that this political coalition veterans for direct action in y affairs, regarded as likely to tionally in the postwar period, a local phenomenon in which ticipation was incidental."

history has shown veterans to political force in both parties. 40s, two-fifths of all voting-age war veterans and one-third I veterans. Half of the 80th 947) was made up of veterans.



Living Legacy

later, America is only now rips with how to permanently World War II vets. The prod War II Memorial is ironic in v Americans viewed such re- immediately after the war.

storian Geoffrey Perrett in aring for the postwar world d that some thought be given itable memorials in memory o had fought for the country.

After the last war, cities and towns every- where had put up architectural horrors in stone, concrete and marble and dedicated them to the dead.

"There was a strong aversion in most communities now to setting up useless, costly eyesores and calling them tributes. Instead, this postwar era would bring thousands of useful civic facilities, such as memorial parks, memorial auditoriums, memorial hospitals, memorial stadiums. They would be called the 'Veterans this' and the 'Veterans that,' but in their use they honored not just the veterans, but the entire nation in wartime."

While the sort of memorial most proper is debatable, the contributions of WWII vets to society are beyond debate.

"They were a silent army making a si- lent revolution, building the foundations of a new and better American society," wrote Bennett.

In the article, "The Veterans Make Their Choice," which appeared in the September 1946 issue of *Harper's*, Sam Staviskey wrote. "In the latent strength of the WWII veteran, whose full voice is yet to be heard, lies the hope of national security and world peace." *

Next Month: Korean War veterans

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shores where war is a distant memory. In cities such as London and Berlin, Tokyo and Moscow, there are still a few scars of war. But in each nation touched by that conflict, you'll see the monuments erected to pay tribute to the memory of fallen countrymen. All these countries have their solemn memorials so that courageous sons and daughters, fathers and mothers will live on as glorious ancestors and coming generations will not forget the wrenching experience of war and risk its repetition. And all have marked the war with national memorials except the United States.

Why the oversight? One reason is that as Americans we do not dwell upon our past. Our symbols serve contemporary purposes. Our national monuments are not cold mausoleums; they are dynamic. The power of our memorials comes from the people who act out their hopes and ideals every day in these grand settings. Flowers placed at the base of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial speak more eloquently of America's bitter struggles and unfulfilled promises than engraved stones by themselves.

Yet no such setting serves as backdrop for World War II's unrealized ideals. Where is the forum for future generations to rally against imperialism and genocide? Where is the platform for America's children to speak out for freedom, democracy and human decency? These issues remain unresolved, and a review of history teaches us that the forces of evil are never fully vanquished. We need a reminder that just men and women can prevail.

Two years ago President Clinton dedicated the site of the National World War II Memorial on the Mall in Washington, D.C., between the memorials that stand witness to the formation of this country's guiding principles: the Washington Monument, representing the American Revolution, which created our nation, and the Lincoln Memorial, representing the Civil War, which preserved our nation. These historic watersheds taught us that democracy can endure only if we are committed to its defense.

World War II is one of those rare events of history that look even larger from a distance. For those of us who served, we did not see the big picture; we saw the small struggles. We did not hear the call of history; we heard the voices of friends. Voices that still haunt and comfort the memory of the war's veterans. Those voices were confident and they were fearful and all too frequently they ended in a moment, in a place far from home. Like all veterans of that time I can hear these voices as if it were yesterday, frozen in time by the intensity of the experience we shared.

But it was not yesterday; it was half a century ago. And in another 50 years, on another Veterans Day anniversary, there will be no one left who heard those voices. It is important that we remember the voices and deeds of those young men and women who liberated whole continents from tyranny and who willingly died for a future they would never see.

In World War II the spirit of America, in home-front factories and on distant battlefields, saved the world. It is a spirit our soldiers, sailors, airmen and marines carried to victory, and sometimes carried into eternity. We owe them a debt. We repay it with a pledge: to preserve their memory against the tide of time.

SENATOR DOLE serves as the volunteer national chairman of the World War II Memorial Campaign.

membership

World War II Campaign Medals are Qualifiers for VFW Eligibility

Though it may appear straightforward, VFW eligibility can be confusing. In order to clear up some uncertainties, VFW magazine offers this absolute truth:

Any member of the U.S. armed forces who received the European-African-Middle Eastern Campaign Medal or the Asiatic-Pacific Campaign Medal is eligible for VFW membership.

But the American Defense Service Medal and the American Campaign Medal can cause debate. One reason may be their names, which can conjure up images of being stationed stateside. However, in order to be VFW-eligible, a veteran who received either of the two medals must have served outside the continental United States, which included Alaska and Hawaii at that time.

To verify this with the American Defense Service Medal, recruiters must look for certain clasps attached to it.

The Army awarded a "Foreign Service" clasp. The Navy and Marine Corps awarded "Fleet" and "Base" clasps. Coast Guardsmen received a "Sea" clasp.

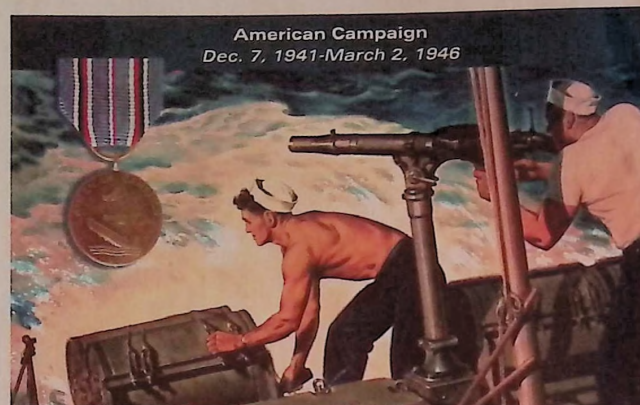
Members of the Navy, Marine Corps or Coast Guard who served on the 179 vessels or with three naval air groups that operated in actual or potential belligerent contact with Axis forces in the Atlantic during the specified time frame also are eligible to wear a bronze "A" on the ribbon.

For veterans to be VFW-eligible based on receipt of the American Campaign Medal, they must have served 30 consecutive or 60 non-consecutive days outside the continental limits of the United States but within the American Theater of Operations. Naval personnel received one star for each operation—such as escort, anti-submarine or armed guard duty—they participated in. Recruiters can verify this information on DD-214s.

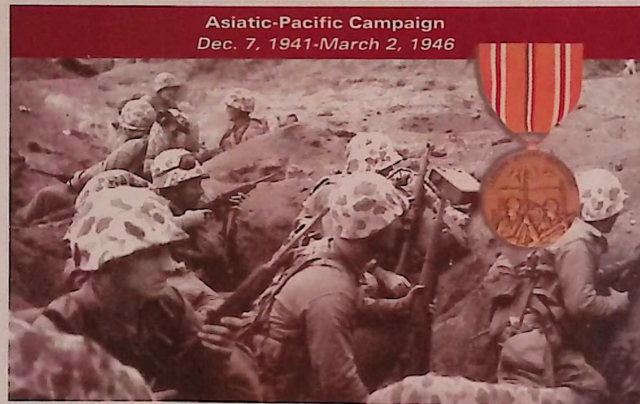


American Defense Service Medal
Sept. 8, 1939-Dec. 7, 1941

Shown here with "Fleet" clasp.



American Campaign
Dec. 7, 1941-March 2, 1946



Asiatic-Pacific Campaign
Dec. 7, 1941-March 2, 1946



European-African-Middle Eastern Campaign
Dec. 7, 1941-Nov. 8, 1945



Original Rosies Mollie Mellon, Virginia Basler and Vivian Litchard, left to right, share a laugh during breakfast at the Bomber Restaurant in Ypsilanti, Mich.

Remember the Rosies

The working women of World War II did their part and more.

BY AUDREY T. HINGLEY

Like many original Rosie the Riveters, Frances Carter is humble when asked about the role they played on the homefront during World War II.

"A Rosie was an ordinary woman doing extraordinary work in an extraordinary time," says Carter, 94, who founded the American Rosie the Riveter Association (ARRA) in 1998. "We were doing it to get the war over (with) and get the boys home."

Carter worked as a B-29 aircraft factory riveter in Birmingham, Ala., in 1943 and 1944, and became a professor at Samford University in Homewood, Ala. She founded ARRA after she and other real-life Rosies shared their experiences during a "Rosie Day" event at the Little White House in Warm Springs, Ga., where President Franklin Roosevelt often vacationed. Carter and her late husband, John—a former Army paratrooper—began traveling the country to educate

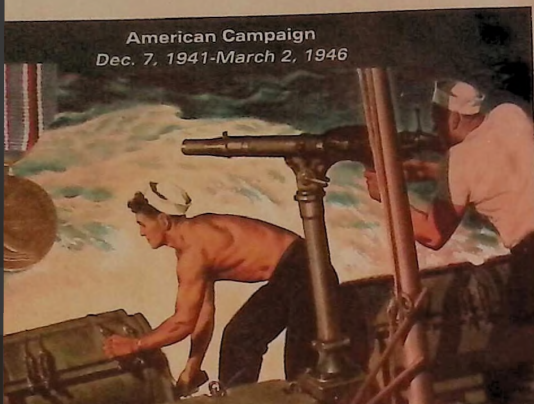
people about the Rosies' legacy, in 17 states. Carter's daughter, Nancy, joined her for presentations.

The war caused a seismic shift in the workforce, with an estimated 6 million women leaving home for jobs—and ushering in opportunities now taken for granted. Many were employed by defense industries, building aircraft, warships and munitions vacated by men or did war-related work. Another 350,000 women served in the military and at home.

Civilian women who stepped into the workforce were linked to a 1940s "Rosie the Riveter" poster to recruit female workers. The bandana-clad Rosie is a composite of many women, including Rosa Bonavita, who set a speed record building

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Asiatic-Pacific Campaign
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European-African-Middle Eastern Campaign
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Original Rosies Mallie Mellon, Virginia Basler and Vivian Litchard, left to right, share a laugh during breakfast at the Bomber Restaurant in Ypsilanti, Mich.

Photo by Sandra Hays

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people about the Rosies' legacy, giving 600 speeches in 17 states. Carter's daughter, Nell Brown, now joins her for presentations.

The war caused a seismic shift in America's workforce, with an estimated 6 million women leaving home for jobs – and ushering in employment opportunities now taken for granted. More than half were employed by defense industries, manufacturing aircraft, warships and munitions; the rest filled jobs vacated by men or did war-related volunteer work. Another 350,000 women served in uniform abroad and at home.

Civilian women who stepped up became indelibly linked to a 1940s "Rosie the Riveter" advertising poster to recruit female workers. Some historians say the bandana-clad Rosie is a composite of several women, including Rosa Bonavita, a New York worker who set a speed record building bombers and was the



To celebrate Rosie the Riveter Day, a group of Rosies gathered at the Bomber Restaurant last spring, including, left to right, Lorraine Osborne, Helen Jedeke, Marge Walters, Clare Douty, Mallie Mellon, Virginia Basler and Vivian Litchard. Photo by Judi Han

subject of a newspaper article; Rosalind P. Walker, a riveter who inspired the pop song "Rosie the Riveter"; Geraldine Doyle, whose photo was incorporated into a "We Can Do It" poster; Mary Doyle Keefe, a part-time riveter who was Norman Rockwell's "Rosie" model; and Rose Will Monroe, who worked at the Willow Run Bomber Plant and starred in a Walter Pidgeon film promoting the sale of war bonds.

Thanks to that movie, Monroe is the woman most people identify as the original Rosie, says Kevin Walsh, executive director of the Yankee Air Museum in Belleville, Mich.

"She and an entire class of women stepped into American factories during World War II and began making precision components for the military," he says. The quality of their work was "equal or superior to that of men. This 'unexpected excellence' shattered traditional beliefs about women handling power tools and operating heavy equipment."

Lorraine Osborne of Whittaker, Mich., was 17 when she joined a team of 40,000 workers at Willow Run in Ypsilanti, about 35 miles from Detroit. The massive plant had a mile-long assembly line and was the world's largest factory at the time, producing one B-24 bomber every hour.

"They were hiring and sent buses to parts of Kentucky to haul 'em up here to work," recalls Osborne, 91, who moved north with her family. "They didn't give you much training ... we worked hard. We had to wear brown or dark blue slacks. If

you couldn't afford them, you could get overalls for free. We had earplugs, but nothing for eyes, no protection, in the beginning."

Osborne suffered an injury when a small piece of aluminum lodged in one eye. Until it healed, she sold war bonds. When she attempted to sell some to a male co-worker, he cussed her out, saying he was from Germany "and making money to send back to Germany to buy war materials." After Osborne reported the remarks to supervisors, the FBI came and hauled him out, she says.

After Osborne's eye healed, she wore glasses ("not safety goggles, but glasses that were like eyeglasses") and returned to the riveting line. She worked two and a half years before meeting the man she'd marry.

Vivian Litchard, 93, of Ypsilanti, worked in Willow Run's sewing department from 1942 to 1945. She explained how three parts of the plane – rudder, elevator and ailerons – were hand-covered with material: "They had this big cutting machine that followed the pattern and cut out shapes, which went to sewing machines and were later put on a frame and fastened on with screws. It was sent to the paint department and sprayed with a substance that made it feel like a drum. We'd get some of those parts back from overseas with the covering gone and we had to replace it. Later they had soldiers come in to learn how to recover so they could do it (overseas)."

Litchard also recalls the time her "handsome, charming boss" asked her on a date.

"I was 18 at the time," she says. "My dad said, 'Is he married?' I said, 'Of course not. Why would he ask me out?' We talked a little more, and Dad told me to think it over. The next day I told (the boss) I couldn't go out with him. Six months later, he brought his wife into the department."

Carter recalls male workers in the Birmingham factory playing jokes on them, and not all were friendly. "We broke the glass ceiling," she says. "It changed me in that it broadened my outlook on life. I decided women could do almost anything."

As for Osborne, she never thought twice about doing what might have been seen as a man's job. "We just wanted to win the war," she says.

Osborne went on to work at a Ford Motor Company generator plant for 32 years. She and her husband Paul, had three children; after his death 44 years ago, she never remarried. She has six grandchildren and 12 great-grandchildren.

Litchard's husband, Lyle, served in the Army and became an engineer. She has a large family, too: three children, six grandchildren and eight great-grandchildren. After the war, she worked for a company that took over the bomber plant before she quit to devote her time to family.

After her husband's death in 1995, Litchard visited Europe with a seniors group. "Going to Normandy made (the war) more real to me," she recalls. "I was standing on top of the cliffs looking out to the water and saw three soldiers walking ashore. I knew they weren't there, but I saw them. I am so glad I went."

ARRA currently has more than 1,000 members, a dwindling number of Rosies who volunteered between 1941 and 1945 (female descendants of a Rosie or Rosies, or descendants or spouses of Rosies).

Jane Vass is one of the Yankee Air Museum's original volunteers for the "Save the Bomber Plant" campaign, which successfully saved a 144,000-square-foot portion of the Willow Run home for the museum.

"That generation tugs at my heart. They were hard-working, tough, and still hard-working. I believe that's the reason my family survived (the war). It's important to keep their story alive."

Carter, Osborne and Litchard were at the attention the original Rosies gave to the Talons Out in Washington, D.C., where they were inducted into the National Cemetery and posed for a photo in front of the U.S. Capitol.

"It was exciting and gratifying to be up to us and thanked us," Litchard says. "I did have a few autographs. I did have a few."

Carter pauses when asked how she feels about being remembered, then says, "I feel with dignity."

Audrey T. Hingley is a freelance writer in Virginia.

LEARN MORE ABOUT THE ROSIES

■ **American Rosie the Riveter Association** Read stories of the original Rosies and more. rosietheriveter.net

■ **Rosie the Riveter WWII Home Front National Park** The Richmond, Calif., area was home to four shipyards that produced 747 ships, more than any other complex in the country. The park tells the story of homefront efforts, including that of Rosie the Riveter. nps.gov/rori

■ **Rosie the Riveter Trust** This group supports the programs and resources of the Rosie the Riveter WWII Home Front National Park. www.rosietheriveter.org

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at the Bomber Restaurant last spring, including, left to right, Lorraine Ellison, Virginia Basler and Vivian Litchard. Photo by Judy Kline

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"That generation tugs at my heart," she says. "They are inspirational, tough, and to this day, at their ages, still hard-working. I believe those planes are the reason my family survived (the Holocaust). It's important to keep their story alive."

Carter, Osborne and Litchard say they are amazed at the attention the original Rosies are receiving. Last year, Osborne and Litchard joined approximately 30 other Rosies for a Talons Out Honor Flight trip to Washington, D.C., where they visited Arlington National Cemetery and posed for photos in front of the U.S. Capitol.

"It was exciting and gratifying when people came up to us and thanked us," Litchard says. "A few asked for autographs. I did have a few tears in my eyes."

Carter pauses when asked how she'd like the Rosies to be remembered, then says, "Rosies served well, with dignity." ❧

Audrey T. Hingley is a freelance writer living in Virginia.

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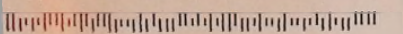
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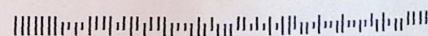
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PERILOUS NIGHT**

Old Glory in Vietnam

THE INCUBATION OF ISIS

The Legionnaire Who
Changed the World

FOR GOD AND COUNTRY SINCE 1919



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THE LEGIONNAIRE

WHO CHANGED THE WORLD



Harry Colmery was tailor-made to assemble the original GI Bill.

BY JEFF STOFFER

A 1937 magazine profile of American Legion National Commander Harry W. Colmery contained a prophetic observation: "In the preparation of law cases, his associates say, he is at his best in arranging complicated masses of detail and dovetailing them to fit into a sequence that has, on occasion, flabbergasted opposing counsel by the thoroughness by which it was assembled."

Six years after the article appeared in *The American Legion Monthly*, that particular Colmery characteristic was employed in a way that would improve the lives of millions for generations to come, and change the course of U.S. history.

Colmery was called upon to assemble a collection of legislative priorities into one moral imperative – a GI Bill of Rights – that would strike at the heart of a nation still awaiting the outcome of World War II, at a time when communities across the map were filling fast with men and women who had come home from military service wounded, sick, destitute and psychologically reeling from the effects of their sacrifices.

Congress and the White House were fully aware that the U.S. government was unprepared to handle the delayed costs of war. By the end of 1943, no fewer than 640 separate bills had been introduced to address the needs and problems faced by veterans who had already come home, and of GIs soon to be discharged, at a rate of about 75,000 per month. After all they had done and were doing to free the world from Axis tyranny, little in the way of tangible opportunity awaited them upon their return to civilian lives.

"Even a convict who is discharged from prison is given some money and a suit of clothes," American Legion National Commander Warren

Atherton said in 1943. "The veteran, when he is discharged from a hospital or separation center, is given neither."

The lack of readjustment services, effective health care or career opportunities for returning veterans soared to the top of the agenda of the nation's largest veterans service organization that year.

After he was selected by Atherton to serve on a special American Legion committee to help solve the problem, Colmery was asked to put "all the complicated masses of detail" together into one succinct bill and help convince a nation still deep at war on opposite ends of the planet that it needed to invest in its veterans. It would be a tough, controversial and complicated proposition.

Harry Colmery was perfectly suited to take it on.

He had grown up in North Braddock, Pa., the son of a grocery store owner. Smart and athletic, he finished a four-year high school program in two years, excelling in math and English. He was valedictorian of his graduating class and a star athlete who went on to Oberlin College in Ohio, where he started as a shortstop on the varsity baseball team. There, Colmery earned the nickname "Hans" for his play's resemblance to one of the greatest shortstops ever, Honus "Hans" Wagner of the Pittsburgh Pirates.

While home from college in the summers, Colmery worked at a variety of jobs before he was accepted to law school at the University of Pittsburgh.

After finishing his law degree, Colmery joined a friend in northern Utah, where he was first admitted to the bar and began what became a long and illustrious legal career; he would ultimately argue cases before the Supreme Court and was later selected to represent Robert F. Stroud, the renowned "Birdman of Alcatraz," in a 1959 motion to vacate a court judgment.

Colmery's legal career, however, was interrupted soon after it began.

In late 1917, the United States was at war, and Colmery enlisted in the Army Air Service. He was commissioned as a second lieutenant and served as an instructor of infantry drill regulations at Kelly Field in Texas. Two months later, he was promoted to first lieutenant and trained to become a pursuit pilot. A company and squadron commander, he logged more than 500 hours in the air but was never deployed to a combat theater. His experience training pilots in less-than-safe warplanes instilled in Colmery a lifelong passion to fight for adequate peacetime defense readiness, an intractable plank in The American Legion's

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Harry W. Colmery, 1890-1979

Bachelor of Arts, Oberlin College, 1913
Bachelor of Law, University of Pittsburgh, 1916
U.S. Army, 1917-1919

Officers Reserve Corps, U.S. Air Service, 1919-1929

American Legion Topeka Post 1 commander, 1928

American Legion Department of Kansas commander, 1929

American Legion National Commander, 1936-1937

French Legion of Honor, 1936

Order of Crown of Italy, 1936

Distinguished Service Medal, National Guard of Honor

Chairman, Civilian Aid Committee, U.S. Air Service, 1942

Civilian Aide to the Secretary of the Army, 1955-1957

Kansas Supreme Court Nominating Committee, 1959-1965

Philippines Legion of Honor, 1961

American Bar Foundation Fellow

American Legion Distinguished Service Medal, 1975

Kansas Bar Association Distinguished Service Award, 1976

Topeka Bar Association President's Good Citizen Award, 1976

The Colmery-O'Neil VA Hospital in Topeka is co-named in his honor.

In addition to offices he held and awards he received, Colmery was a Topeka Chamber of Commerce president and director, Kansas Chamber of Commerce director, Boy Scouts of America board member, Salvation Army board member, YMCA board member, and president of the American Legion Endowment Fund Corp. He was also active in the Presbyterian Church, Kiwanis Club, Masons, Military Order of the World Wars, Scabbard & Blade, Army-Navy Club of Manila, Scottish Rite, Knights Templar, Kansas Livestock Association, High Twelve Club, National Geographic Society, National Travel Club, and numerous business and law associations.



Kansas Historical Society

platform of values. After the war and his discharge from active duty, Colmery served another decade as a reserve officer, finishing as a captain.

In late 1919, he moved to Topeka, Kan., where his unique mix of intelligence, patriotism, affability, legal skills and commitment to service soon made him a prominent member of the community, in particular The American Legion.

He readily assumed American Legion leadership roles not only at his local post and state department, but at the national level as well. He managed the campaign of Ralph T. O'Neill, also of Topeka, to serve as national commander of The American Legion in 1930 and 1931. As chairman of the Legion's National Legislative Committee, Colmery pushed Congress to provide loans to

World War I veterans against their long-awaited adjusted compensation – or bonuses – as the country sank deeper into the Great Depression. He also marshaled the Rogers Act of 1931, which funded hospital construction and medical services for veterans whose health-care needs were not service-connected, a proposition of more than \$20 million in federal investment, not even two

'His first question was, was I hungry?'

On May 4, 1983, American Legion Past National Commander Perry Brown of Texas shared with the National Executive Committee what Harry Colmery had meant to him. Brown was 90 at the time.

I was a member of the First American Army in the AEF. Late in the afternoon of Sept. 12, 1918, as our unit approached its objective, I saw an enemy artillery battery about 500 yards to our immediate front, a part of the enemy rear guard.

They could see me, and I noticed a soldier moving his artillery piece into position. But I had had artillery training and knew one of the no-nos of artillery: "Never waste an artillery shell on a single soldier." He was still moving that weapon into position. He must have forgotten his training. Then I remembered my training. When in a crisis, find a big hole, jump in and keep your head down. I picked my hole and was ready to jump when the enemy artilleryman pulled the lanyard. The shell exploded. The world blew up in my face.

I came home in May 1919. After getting my discharge, I started looking for an Army hospital. One of my wounds was still giving me trouble. I was told I should see and talk to my congressman, so with little money I thumbed a ride to Washington, D.C., only to find my congressman away. I was told that all military hospitals were under the direction of the War Risk Insurance Department. What a place to be. The VA was started in 1930, 10 years after that. There was a Veterans Bureau organized in 1920. They told me that they were awaiting money from Congress to build hospitals. This is the situation I faced as a veteran from World War I.

I found a band of veterans wandering. I joined them. There were about 100 looking for answers. Speakers took over the podium. These speakers, some in uniform, were each saying to the crowd, "Have patience." They said that Congress was holding hearings "and would act in the near future."

At the conclusion of one group of speeches, a young man took the podium. He had a pleasing voice. He must have had friends in the audience, as they applauded him when he took the podium. He was very matter of fact, telling us that it took time to get the government in motion – that it would take several years to

purchase property, to prepare plans and specifications, to construct the hospitals, to furnish and to staff them.

He spoke as if he knew what was going on. I was impressed and decided to meet him if possible. As the crowd began to disperse, he drew away, and I approached him. I introduced myself. He said his name was Colmery, and for me to call him Harry. His first question was, was I hungry? After living for the past week on corn flakes and coffee, I must have looked hungry. He said to follow him across the street to a long building. It was filled with tables full of food, meats of all kinds, breads, condiments and cakes furnished by the government.

After I had had my fill, he said, "There is a bed here if you need one." What I had fallen into was food and a bed in Washington, D.C., with 2 million veterans in town and around town. After some more conversation, Harry said, "Stick around." I was so impressed that I spent the evening with him. This was 1920.

Harry commented that it would take the next 20 years to fill the needs of World War I vets. He said that it would be a gradual process. Here were 4 million veterans without any leadership. Leaders would have to come from their own ranks. He had received his law degree, had been admitted to the bar, and had trained himself in all matters relative to the legislative process. I was ready to vote for him.

Harry had a vision and capacity.

I am reminded of the words of a great president. In the midst of the battle between the states, Abe Lincoln said, "With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphan."

Perhaps, with heavenly dispensation, I wonder if the old gentleman didn't come back for a few moments and guide Harry's hand as he penned the GI Bill.



Memorial park, national recognition

The Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 is largely considered the most impactful legislation passed in 20th-century America. Intended to simply give veterans a chance to restart their lives after wartime service, the act – better known as the GI Bill – had results that were immense, global and enduring.

Harry Colmery's assembly of 10 provisions to help underserved veterans revolutionized higher education, made home ownership feasible for the majority of families, streamlined VA health-care services and led to an all-volunteer military, to name just a few benefits.

years after the stock market had crashed. Like the Servicemen's Readjustment Act he would later assemble and promote to enactment, the loans and hospital construction measures faced long odds at a time of near bankruptcy for the United States. But, due to Colmery's determination, they passed.

In Topeka, Colmery was credited for reinvigorating a financially troubled chamber of commerce when he served as its president in the late 1920s. He had similar success as commander for the Department of Kansas. Along the way, he was involved in numerous civic, church, fraternal and community leadership activities.

Colmery's family – wife Mina and children Sarah, Harry and Mary – were supportive of his active life of service and accepted his travel obligations and time away from home as sacrifices necessary for the good of the nation.

In 1936, Colmery was elected national commander of The American Legion, which he saw as the conscience of a nation whose past, present and future all depend on the values of those who had served in uniform.

"The burden of war falls on the citizen soldier, who has gone forth, overnight, to become the armored hope of humanity," Colmery said as he was working night and day in 1943 and 1944 to draft what would become known as the greatest social legislation passed in the United States.

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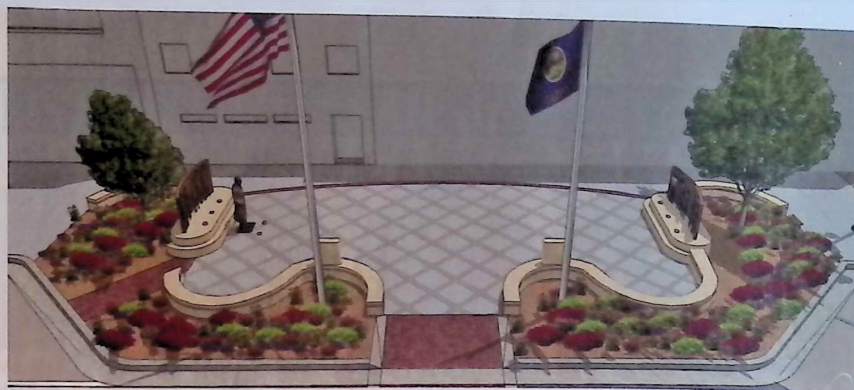
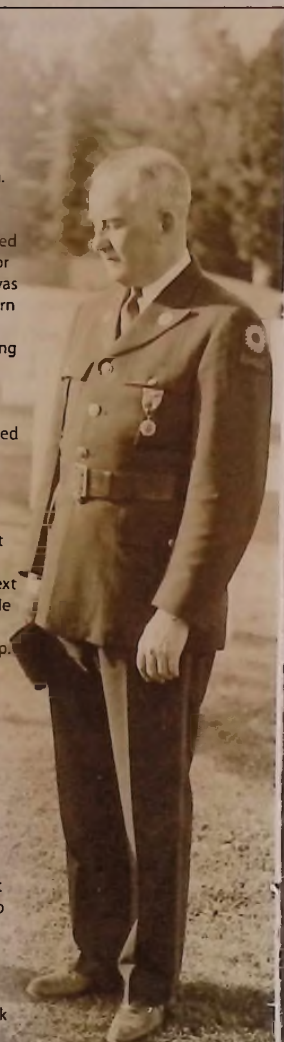
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Memorial park, national recognition to keep legacy alive

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Harry Colmery's assembly of 10 provisions to help underserved veterans revolutionized higher education, made home ownership feasible for the majority of families, streamlined VA health-care services and led to an all-volunteer military, to name just a few benefits.

In honor of Colmery and his legacy, The American Legion Department of Kansas is leading a campaign to raise funds to build a memorial park and erect a statue one block from the State Capitol building in Topeka. The American Legion 100th Anniversary Observance Committee also continues to pursue national congressional or presidential recognition of Colmery, the Legionnaire who changed the world.

Learn more about the Harry Colmery Memorial Park Fund by visiting www.ksamlegion.org or by contacting the Department of Kansas.

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And when critics of the GI Bill later suggested that a year of unemployment benefits would turn veterans into slackers, he simply said, "The American Legion has not lost faith in the veterans."

David Camelton, a Hearst Newspapers correspondent who covered the GI Bill from inception to signing, later wrote of Colmery's conviction in assembling, writing and promoting the bill: "The American Legion spoke, in a voice of cold, calculated fury that shook America."

The voice did not come from one. It came from many, a voice unified and amplified by Harry Colmery.

Of all the classes he aced, baseball games he played, cases he won, years he spent in uniform and successes he had in business, nothing would matter more to Colmery's legacy than the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944, The American Legion's crown jewel of 20th-century achievements.

"He was a verifiable legend in our time," American Legion Past National Commander James F. O'Neil said in 1979. "His name will live forever in the history of The American Legion, the nation and the world." ☞

Jeff Stoffer is editor of The American Legion Magazine.

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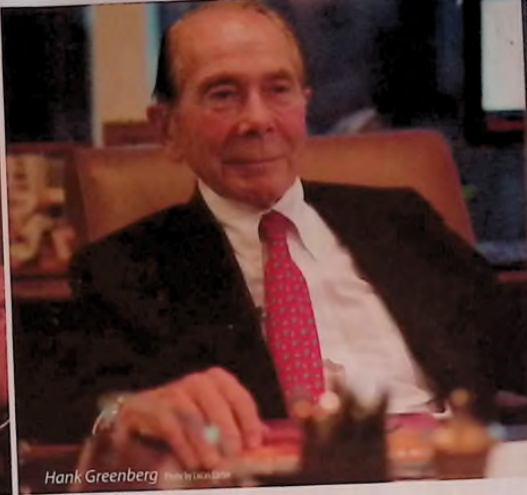
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STAPLES

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Henry Kissinger Photo by Lucas Carter



Hank Greenberg Photo by Lucas Carter

If not for the GI Bill

Henry Kissinger and Hank Greenberg reflect on the benefit that changed America.

BY JEFF STOFFER

Their Park Avenue offices are separated by just a few blocks. Each grew up in a modest household. Both served in the U.S. Army during World War II, European theater. One enlisted; the other was drafted. Each received the Bronze Star. Maurice "Hank" Greenberg, after further service in the Korean War, led history's largest insurance and financial corporation, American International Group. Henry Kissinger, now an international consultant and best-selling author, famously guided the U.S. State Department through the dusk of Vietnam and into the long, slow thaw of the Cold War. They are friends. They go to work every day envisioning a bright future for America and the world. And they have something more in common: both agree that if not for the GI Bill, drafted by The American Legion, the world would be a very different place.

The *American Legion Magazine* recently spoke with Kissinger, whose family fled Nazi Germany in 1938, and Greenberg, now chairman and CEO of C.V. Starr & Co., Inc., a global financial services firm, in their Manhattan offices.

Describe your entry into U.S. military service and early impression of it.

Kissinger: I worked in a shaving-brush factory, and I went to city college at night, which was

substantially free. I came to the United States and lived largely in a refugee environment. When I was drafted into the Army, after many different movements, I wound up in the 84th Infantry Division as a rifleman. The 84th Infantry Division came from northern Illinois and southern Wisconsin. So, I was surrounded there by what I would consider to be fundamental Americans and readily learned day-to-day living with Americans.

Greenberg: I played football in high school, and getting gasoline to travel from one town to another to compete was cut off. So football season ended very early. The war was on. I couldn't wait to join. I was 17. I hitchhiked to Newburgh, N.Y., and walked into the enlistment office late in the afternoon, and they said, "Where are you going to stay tonight?" I said, "I don't know yet."

They gave me a ticket to New York City to some hotel they had arranged. They said, "Your mother has to sign your enlistment papers." So I went outside, and I signed it.

How did the Army influence you early?

Greenberg: When the war ended, I was a tech sergeant. I was 19-and-a-half years old. That's five stripes – one below master sergeant. Pretty young. I could have gotten a field commission about three months before the war ended. I was in Patton's

Army, XX Corps, and if you got a field commission you had to leave the platoon you were with and go elsewhere. I didn't want to leave the platoon I'd been with for months, so I refused that.

Kissinger: In the military, you are who you are. It doesn't matter what you were before, or after. In my life, one of the interesting things was that I had – and still have, obviously – an accent. Some think it's a trademark. But I was very self-conscious about it. When I entered the Army, nobody ever asked me about my accent in the three-and-a-half years I served. It wasn't until I got back to Harvard that people started reminding me that I was foreign-born. So, the Army was a great Americanizing experience for me.

How did the GI Bill help you?

Kissinger: Before the war, I could never have dreamt of going to one of the elite schools because I had to work. I was admitted to Harvard and got most of my higher education there, and it was the GI Bill that made that possible.

Greenberg: I was interviewed by West Point after the war and told them I hadn't finished high school. They said they had a prep school I could go to first. I wasn't sure I wanted to start that low down after fighting through a war and being a tech sergeant. I took a commission in the reserves and came back, (but) I had to finish high school first, which was the hardest thing in my life at that time – going back to high school. I went to school in New York City, the Rhodes School. I got a room in New York on West 20th Street for \$5 a week, way over toward the river. I didn't know anybody in New York City. It was a very lonely time. It took a lot of discipline not to go back to the Army right then. I was very tempted to go back but decided to finish, and I did. And I went to college. The GI Bill paid for my high school, undergraduate and law school.

What was college like for veterans at that time?

Kissinger: When I came to Harvard, I was ignorant of the procedures, so I applied in April of the year I wanted to go to Harvard, and you had to apply over a year ahead. They accepted me, but then it turned out they didn't have enough rooms. For the first three weeks, I had to sleep in beds in the gymnasium. I was 24 when I arrived at Harvard, and the (typical) freshmen were 17 or 18. Most of my friends in college were veterans, because of the age difference.

Greenberg: All the universities were jammed with vets. I got into the University of Miami. I knew some guys from my high school who were (there) so I went. I started taking business school courses, and I found that boring. I went into pre-law and then took my first year of law school there. Since I wasn't going to practice down there, I transferred up to New York Law School and graduated. Then the Korean War broke out, and I was recalled almost right away.

GI BILL continued on page 28

Legion's GI Bill Exhibit

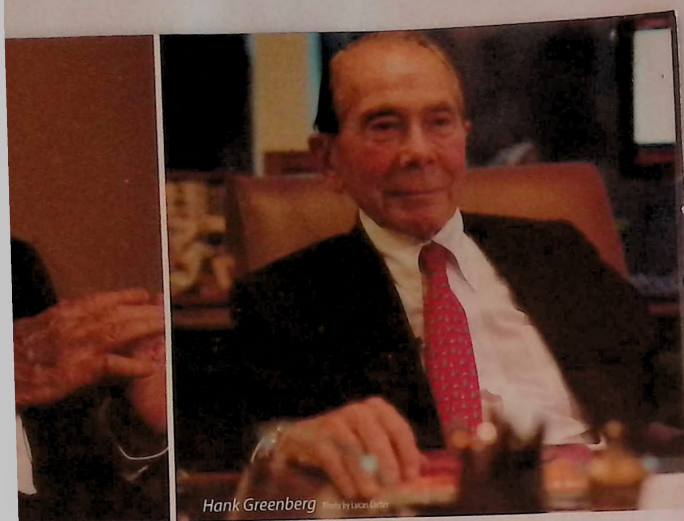
The National American Legion Museum in New Orleans presents "An American Legion GI Bill," an exhibit.

In addition to the actual Service, also displayed is the historic legislation used by President Truman to announce the GI Bill, and the American Legion's role in its implementation.

To open the exhibit, the American Legion Committee Chair scheduled at the reception, panel discussion will begin at 5 p.m. on June 10. Scheduled speakers include former U.S. Sen. J. Bennett Johnston, architect and chairman of the American Legion Education Committee, and CEO Jared Lyor, assistant director of Education, and a VA representative.

Video presentations within the display include former U.S. Secretary of State, international business, USAA chairman and, Lester Lyles, America's Missouri Adjutant General, and descendants of Harry Truman, who assembled what would become the White House.

Those interested in the reception, forum and exhibit are invited to call 1-877-813-3329, or visit www.nationallegion.org.



Hank Greenberg Photo by Lucas Carter

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How did the GI Bill help you?

Kissinger: Before the war, I could never have dreamt of going to one of the elite schools because I had to work. I was admitted to Harvard and got most of my higher education there, and it was the GI Bill that made that possible.

Greenberg: I was interviewed by West Point after the war and told them I hadn't finished high school. They said they had a prep school I could go to first. I wasn't sure I wanted to start that low down after fighting through a war and being a tech sergeant. I took a commission in the reserves and came back, (but) I had to finish high school first, which was the hardest thing in my life at that time – going back to high school. I went to school in New York City, the Rhodes School. I got a room in New York on West 20th Street for \$5 a week, way over toward the river. I didn't know anybody in New York City. It was a very lonely time. It took a lot of discipline not to go back to the Army right then. I was very tempted to go back but decided to finish, and I did. And I went to college. The GI Bill paid for my high school, undergraduate and law school.

What was college like for veterans at that time?

Kissinger: When I came to Harvard, I was ignorant of the procedures, so I applied in April of the year I wanted to go to Harvard, and you had to apply over a year ahead. They accepted me, but then it turned out they didn't have enough rooms. For the first three weeks, I had to sleep in beds in the gymnasium. I was 24 when I arrived at Harvard, and the (typical) freshmen were 17 or 18. Most of my friends in college were veterans, because of the age difference.

Greenberg: All the universities were jammed with vets. I got into the University of Miami. I knew some guys from my high school who were (there) so I went. I started taking business school courses, and I found that boring. I went into pre-law and then took my first year of law school there. Since I wasn't going to practice down there, I transferred up to New York Law School and graduated. Then the Korean War broke out, and I was recalled almost right away.

GI BILL continued on page 28



Legion's 'Salute to the GI Bill' exhibit opening at National WWII Museum

The National World War II Museum in New Orleans presents "The Greatest Legislation: An American Legion Centennial Salute to the GI Bill," an exhibit opening June 20.

In addition to illustrated panels and videos, also displayed will be original signed pages of the actual Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 on loan from the National Archives, a pen used by President Franklin D. Roosevelt to sign the historic legislation, and Roosevelt's original speech announcing its passage into law after months of tireless effort and lobbying by The American Legion.

To open the exhibit, an admission-free reception, panel discussion and forum led by American Legion 100th Anniversary Honorary Committee Chairman Ted Roosevelt IV is scheduled at the museum on June 20. Activities begin at 5 p.m. and continue until 7:30 p.m.

Scheduled speakers include author and former U.S. Sen. James Webb of Virginia, architect and champion of the Post-9/11 GI Bill; American Legion Executive Director Verna Jones; Student Veterans of America President and CEO Jared Lyon; John Kamin, the Legion's assistant director of Veterans Employment & Education; and a VA representative.

Video presentations on the GI Bill's influence within the display include interviews with former U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, international business leader Hank Greenberg, USAA chairman and retired Air Force Gen. Lester Lyles, American Legion Department of Missouri Adjutant Lowry Finley-Jackson, and descendants of Harry W. Colmery, the American Legion past national commander who assembled what would become the GI Bill in longhand in the winter of 1943-1944.

Those interested in attending the free reception, forum and opening can reserve online at www.nationalww2museum.org or call 1-877-813-3329, ext. 412.



Members of the American Legion GI Bill team poses in front of the Legion's Washington, D.C., office in 1944. In the front row, left to right, are Lyon W. Brandon, Past National Commander Roane Waring, U.S. Rep. John Gibson of Georgia, Past National Commander Harry W. Colmery, Pat Kelly and Frank Riley. In the back row, left to right, are National Legislative Director Francis Sullivan, Past National Commander John Stelle, Dave Camelon of Hearst News Service, Sam Rorex, Publicity Director Jack Cejnar and National Rehabilitation Director T.O. Kraabel.

Warren Atherton and 'the power of a team'

When Warren Atherton of Stockton, Calif., was elected national commander of The American Legion in 1943, hundreds of propositions had been made to help newly discharged veterans of World War II, many disabled, who were returning home at a clip of about 75,000 per month. Few of those proposals became law or even policy.

The U.S. government was not prepared for such a surge of veterans in need. VA health care was in its infancy. The disability claims process was bogged down. Education and career opportunities were almost nil for those who came home changed by wartime experience, many of whom had suspended their educations and careers to serve in uniform.

On the eve of his election to lead the nation's largest veterans organization, Atherton announced that home and business loans for returning veterans, along with education aid, would be the principle objectives of his term. He quickly appointed a special committee of top Legionnaires with former Illinois Lt. Gov. John Stelle, a future American Legion national commander, as chairman. The committee's tasks were to prepare a clear omnibus bill and campaign for its adoption. Eight months later, the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 – the GI Bill of Rights – was signed into law, and the country was on its way to over a half-century of prosperity and growth.

American Legion Past National Commander Harry W. Colmery often gets credit as the author of the original GI Bill because he distilled in longhand the multiple initiatives into one 10-plank platform, working night and day in his room at the Mayflower Hotel in Washington, D.C., in the winter of 1943 and 1944. Atherton and Colmery both, however, would correct any attribution of credit to one person. The bill, and its effects, proved bigger than any individual.

Many members of Congress worked closely with the Legion to bring the measure to life. Sen. Ernest McFarland of Arizona, who was actively involved with many veterans organizations, drummed up support for it on Capitol Hill. U.S. Rep. Edith Nourse Rogers of Massachusetts helped write and co-sponsor the legislation and has been called the "mother of the GI Bill" for her contributions. She was among the veterans who stood behind President Roosevelt when he signed the landmark act on June 22, 1944.

Atherton applied his military and business background to assemble a team that would not just talk about the problem, but solve it.

An Army captain in France during World War I, he returned home to California and married Ann Holt, daughter of Benjamin Holt, founder of Caterpillar, Inc. Atherton began a law practice there and was later widely respected as a Stockton city judge and president of the Chamber of Commerce. Atherton also later worked as general counsel for the California Department of Veterans Affairs and as a consultant to the U.S. secretary of war.

The University of the Pacific Library in Stockton houses the Holt-Atherton Department of Special Collections, where many correspondences pertaining to the GI Bill – and The American Legion's efforts to make it a reality – can be found. The papers also contain clippings, scrapbooks, photographs and memorabilia that amplify his continuous effort to keep the GI Bill remembered as a team achievement.

Atherton was often asked to record the efforts of exceptional Legionnaires who contributed to its passage. "The American Legion's fight to adopt was an all-time demonstration of the power of a team fighting every inch of the way to reach their goal," he wrote of the GI Bill's birth. "The nationwide support of

every post and every unit of the Auxiliary was outstanding. The support of the American people was enthusiastic. The cooperation of Congress was all that representatives of American citizenry could give."

The special committee included Stelle, who served as chairman; Past National Commander Colmery of Topeka, Kan.; W. Bea Waldrip, a prominent banker and member of The American Legion's Rehabilitation Commission; Robert Sisson, chairman of the Rehabilitation Commission; National Legislative Commission Chairman Maurice Devine; Robert M. McCurdy of California, who later became Pasadena's city manager; Sam Rorex, federal district attorney for Arkansas; and others.

"These men were ... the ball carriers," Atherton said. "They took advantage of openings made by the line. They followed the determined blockers who knocked out opposition. They were the ground gainers who finally carried our ball over the line."

American Legion department commanders, service officers and state committees also worked tirelessly on the campaign at the local level. They called upon their congressional delegations, in Washington and at home, and worked with the media to fuel overwhelming public demand for speedy enactment of the bill.

The press, particularly newspapers published by William Randolph Hearst, largely supported the Legion's efforts to help veterans of World War II. Once passed and put into service, the measure ultimately produced millions of college graduates, including scientists, engineers, doctors and educators who Atherton would later describe as the "backbone of our national security." The incentive of free college tuition ultimately became so attractive that the United States could go more than 40 years, and continuing, without a draft.

Successor bills were passed for veterans of the Korean War, the Cold War, the Vietnam War, the Gulf War and, in 2009, those who had served in the war on terrorism. By the time the Post-9/11 GI Bill was passed and enacted, the most common argument was that none of the successor bills matched the 1944 original.

As the significance of the first GI Bill grew more obvious in the mid-1960s, and most of its creators were still alive to discuss it, many requests came to record the story of its passage, including a 1966 resolution from the Department of California to the Legion's National Internal Affairs Commission, for an official history of the battle to get it passed. Also at that time, an Indiana University student, the Rev. Lyle P. Murphy, had worked with the American Legion National Headquarters Library to prepare a seminar paper titled "The Enactment of the G.I. Bill of Rights." It was obtained and distributed throughout the organization.

In a letter dated Sept. 8, 1966, to American Legion Department of California Commander Ed Sharkley, regarding a resolution to specifically commend Stelle and Atherton on the GI Bill, Atherton wrote, "I agree with Harry Colmery that the whole matter should be initiated on an impartial basis not emphasizing the contribution of any individual."

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National Commander Warren Atherton (1943-1944)



Poses in front of the Legion's Washington, D.C., office in 1944. In the front row, National Commander Roane Waring, U.S. Rep. John Gibson of Georgia, Past National Commander Frank Riley. In the back row, left to right, are National Legislative Director Francis Stelle, Dave Camelon of Hearst News Service, Sam Rorex, Publicity Director Jack Cejnar and a woman.

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In 1968, American Legion National Librarian Thomas V. Hull

gathered the congressional documents, hearing transcripts, and other records to put the story together and show that the GI Bill was not about individuals but a massive testament to the power of mutual helpfulness, as stated in the Preamble to The American Legion Constitution. At the same time, University of Maryland history professor Keith W. Olson was in the Legion library researching for a study titled "The G.I. Bill of Rights and Its Relationship to Higher Education."

The Mayflower Hotel suite in Washington is recognized as the place where Colmery assembled the bill, but Atherton later added that "at all times during the campaign, the National Headquarters of the American Legion at 1608 K St. N.W., Washington, D.C., remained the headquarters of the judge advocate, the GI Bill Committee, and myself as national commander, when appearing before Congress."

Atherton also explained that decisions of the committee, after his approval, were advanced for review to acting National Judge Advocate Francis Sullivan, with directions to prepare legislation for submission to Congress. Sullivan later reported that he had prepared it with the assistance of a congressional bill writer, and delivered it to Stelle, the special committee chairman. In January 1944, the measure was introduced in the Senate by Bennett Champ Clark of Missouri and in the House of Representatives with numerous co-signers.

"About halfway through the campaign, and after some hearings, there were requests for changes and amendments by members of both houses and our committee," Atherton wrote.

"The entire bill was rewritten by congressional bill writers, including the changes, most or all of which were concurred by the GI Bill committee."

Atherton requested that when Colmery received The American Legion's Distinguished Service Medal in 1975, for his lifetime of service, that he might have the privilege of seconding the motion and take the opportunity to name a few of the other leaders on the GI Bill Committee.

"John (Stelle) in particular, spent most of five months in Washington at his own expense working for the bill. Sen. Clark, the then-senators from Illinois, Les Arends and Mrs. Rogers, Lawrence Smith ... and Eleanor Smith, president of the Auxiliary, should be included."

Atherton said Colmery could surely name others whose contributions were essential, but the list would be endless. "However, with your help," Atherton wrote to Colmery, "I think we can agree upon a few of the very outstanding persons both in and out of the Legion, without whose assistance the GI Bill, as we know it, might have failed."

Colmery made it clear in his letter to Atherton that "uppermost was to give credit to others." A picture taken at the Mayflower Hotel quotes Colmery in the caption saying, "This was not the work of one man, but more properly what a dedicated group accomplished under the leadership of Warren Atherton."

Both past national commanders used the spotlight cast upon themselves over the GI Bill to deliver a greater message about The American Legion, on the power of teamwork.

— Michael Hjelmstad



National Commander Warren Atherton (1943-1944)



WATCH VIDEO ONLINE

Hank Greenberg, Henry Kissinger and others describe the impact of the GI Bill on their lives, and on the world.

www.legion.org/legiontv

How did World War II veterans defy concerns that they wouldn't integrate well?

Kissinger: Veteran students at Harvard were outstanding. They were more disciplined. They had learned how to focus. They had more or less discovered who they were. Most freshmen, or many freshmen, were on a journey of self-discovery. That was natural for combat veterans.

Greenberg: Military experience rounded them out, made them different from what they were before. The discipline. The leadership skills. You have also been through a war. Life-or-death experiences every day. So your outlook is much different. You mature very quickly, or you don't.

Did it occur to you then that the GI Bill would have such a profound effect?

Greenberg: I thought it would change *me*. I didn't think of the whole country then. I wasn't mature enough, in that way. It had tremendous influence, and I recognize that now.

Kissinger: I am afraid we took it for granted. Now, I realize the enormous impact that the GI Bill had. In those days, we sort of thought it was a benefit we were entitled to. But it was a very creative and original development. Later, I could appreciate The American Legion, not just for the GI Bill, but for keeping the spirit of comradeship alive and for the commitment to American defense, which is such an important characteristic.

Do you think the GI Bill's grass-roots origin contributed to its effectiveness?

Kissinger: It certainly was an important factor in its long-term success, that it was done by people who wanted to make up, to some extent, for the years of service that veterans had given their country. They were focused directly on their immediate necessities.

Greenberg: The number of men and women under arms during World War II was enormous. You couldn't just push them aside. And there was a feeling back home, I think, that we owed something to the people who fought that war. People back home were working in manufacturing, working at building aircraft, tanks ... you name it. The whole country was at war – some in the active war, some on the homefront. The whole country mobilized to thank those who did what they had to do.

What made the GI Bill so effective?

Kissinger: The success of the first GI Bill, judging by my own life, was that it was so uncomplicated. You did not have to submit a lot of bureaucratic material. You were not judged by various achievements. You were entitled to it, as a veteran. If you slunked out, that was your problem. But it's one of the most – maybe *the* most – unbureaucratic benefits with which I am familiar ... the automaticity with which you could form your life, from being in the service to starting your education.

Greenberg: A lot depends on the individual. You have access to education and the benefits you're entitled to, whether it's health care or whatever it may be, even pointing you in the right direction for a job with some help from the government. But a lot of it you have to do yourself. You can't become a slave to government assistance. You are trained to be self-reliant. You have educational benefits, but you have to use them. You can't sit back and say, "What else am I entitled to?" You're trained. Take advantage of it.

What did the GI Bill do for America?

Greenberg: It put us on a growth course. It took a bunch of young men and women and helped them get an education. They were all motivated. They were proud of their country. They were proud of what they had done. They sparked growth that never would have happened. The country as a whole benefited. Yes, we had to rebuild parts of the world afterwards, which created great opportunities. We knew how to manufacture. We knew how to train people. I wouldn't have had the same responsibilities at 19 years old in normal civilian life. At 19, I was 25 mentally.

Kissinger: The big challenge for America at the end of the war was to reintegrate the millions who had interrupted their lives to serve their country and, secondly, to attest American policy to a world in which we could no longer be isolated. So, the GI Bill performed two functions, at least. One, it enabled returning veterans to define a trajectory for themselves, supported by their country. And secondly, it enabled the country – on the basis of this reservoir of people who had been educated both in the war and then in the GI Bill – to perform a responsible international role.

What might have become of each of you, professionally, if not for the GI Bill?

Greenberg: Hard to say. I'd have done something. I might have played professional football.

Kissinger: If not for the GI Bill, I might have become a partner in an accounting firm, which is what I was studying before I was drafted.

What might have become of the United States if not for the GI Bill?

Kissinger: America without the GI Bill might have become a very divided country. Millions of people would have had to find an occupation and an education, above all, on their own. And the consciousness that the country was taking care of us was such an important element. In my case, I know that when I left the service, I could go to college and never have to think five minutes about how I was going to pay for it.

The war involved America in the world. But the fact that our people could educate themselves about the necessities of great power existence was an important element. Before the war, we were essentially an isolationist country. After the war, we became more and more involved in world affairs as we developed an educated citizenry that shaped that relationship.

Greenberg: There is no question what (the GI Bill) did to transition from the war to civilian life and to the economy as a whole. It changed America, really, over a period of a few years. You had this influx of people ... coming back, going to school, getting married, raising families. It made the transition possible. It made the growth of the economy

Levittown and the birth



Truck supervisor Bernard Levey and his family proudly pose in front of their new home in Levittown, N.Y., in 1950. Getty Images

At the peak of construction 36 homes were started and finished one day. In all, between 1947 and 1950, 17,447 houses arose from the Lehigh Acres pastureland, later renamed Levittown, N.Y., to accommodate the surge of World War II veterans seeking their GI Bill benefits to restart their lives. The average age of a Levittown buyer at the time was 23.

"Within 48 hours, you could lay a cement slab to a house you could move into," says Paul Manton, president of the Levittown Historical Society, which operates a museum to honor America's prototypical subdivision inside the Levittown Memorial Education Center. In 1950, a *Time* magazine cover story put it this way: "For Sale: a new way of life."

The first homes, which sold for \$10,000 each, came with Bendix washing machines.

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possible. It provided fuel for the economy. And it worked better than anybody thought it would work.

Why hasn't it been copied? We should. What about the vets coming home today? Why shouldn't they have that benefit? Who deserves it more? I think we owe the current group of veterans more than they are getting.

Clearly, many Americans – men and women who served in the military forces during World War II – were eligible for the GI Bill to further their education in one way or another. Like all students, you had to meet certain standards and maintain them, but it opened the door and was an opportunity for millions who otherwise would never have thought of pursuing higher education. Following their education, new economic opportunities presented themselves – better jobs with a brighter future than they would have had to look forward to. It also prepared them to start businesses of their own following their college education, and it was easier for them to raise money to start a new business. It made a generation of Americans more confident in themselves to achieve economic success and changed the economic growth of the United States. Better-educated Americans became a catalyst for economic growth in the country that would never have taken place. ☺

Jeff Stoffer is editor of The American Legion Magazine

Levittown and the birth of suburbia



Truck supervisor Bernard Levey and his family proudly pose in front of their new home in Levittown, N.Y., in 1950. Getty Images

At the peak of construction in 1948, 36 homes were started and finished in one day. In all, between 1947 and 1951, 17,447 houses arose from the Island Trees pastureland, later renamed Levittown, N.Y., to accommodate the surge of World War II veterans using their GI Bill benefits to restart their lives. The average age of a Levittown home buyer at the time was 23.

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The first homes, which sold for \$7,900 each, came with Bendix washing

machines and General Electric refrigerators and ranges. The 1950 models had built-in Admiral televisions. "It was about transition, from radio to TV, from traditional culture to pop culture," Manton says.

Brothers Alfred and William Levitt, a Navy Seabee during World War II, masterminded the project. They had landed a contract to build row houses for shipbuilders in Norfolk, Va., and employed assembly-line mass-production processes to meet the Navy's needs. They would later develop subdivisions in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland and Puerto Rico to meet massive postwar housing demand.

The Levittown Historical Society Museum is open Wednesday afternoons and Friday evenings, free of admission.

GI Bill remains a work in progress today

Historians David Whitman and Suzanne Mettler have studied the GI Bill and the way in which it has been used – and, in some instances, abused – since its passage in 1944. Some issues in the administration of benefits have proven cyclical over the decades, they explained at a roundtable discussion recently hosted by The American Legion's Veterans Employment & Education Division in Washington.

"Many lawmakers make a big mistake in thinking that today's veterans' issues are something new under the sun," Whitman said. "To a surprising degree, policymakers struggle today with many of the same issues in designing educational benefits for veterans that Congress and (VA) struggled with after World War II."

Mettler said the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 transformed postwar America by providing multiple opportunities for veterans. They in turn emerged as civic and political leaders in communities nationwide. Those opportunities and effects, however, have occasionally given rise to abuse.

"Through the GI Bill, American society recognizes the immense sacrifices that those in the armed forces make on behalf of the nation, and aims to provide veterans with assistance in readjusting to civilian life," Mettler said. "So that the law's purpose can be realized, lawmakers need to ensure that veterans and taxpayers are not taken advantage of by those who find business opportunities in the federal dollars provided by the GI Bill."

Whitman said two patterns stand out. First, there are the myths, or perhaps misconceptions, about the GI Bill. Second is the cyclical nature of controversies over education benefits for servicemembers.

"Ever since the first GI Bill, a pattern has repeated itself," Mettler said. "The federal government makes new funds available for education, and actors in the proprietary sector find ways to take advantage of them, and problems of fraud and abuse ensue. Eventually scandals emerge, and the media exposes them. In time, lawmakers come together across the aisle to create reforms so that such problems are alleviated or scaled back. Then the cycle repeats itself."

The original GI Bill, according to Whitman, sent millions of

former GIs to college, but what is less known is that many more World War II veterans used their benefits to attend private trade schools, some of which were ineffective.

"Proprietary schools, or for-profit trade schools, opened at an astonishing rate in response to the new government provision of tuition payments for GIs," Whitman said. "In one 18-month stint after the war, four proprietary schools a day opened in the United States. Unfortunately, many of the new trade schools used deceptive advertising, made misleading promises to GIs about future careers and job placement, and engaged in a variety of fraudulent practices that bilked the government out of taxpayer dollars and wasted veterans' educational benefits."

As was the case for the original GI Bill, the post-9/11 version has produced its own investigations of predatory practices by schools that did not put purpose ahead of profit.

"Most recently, the Post-9/11 GI Bill was a marvelous legislative accomplishment, but its implementation has been partially marred by schools in the proprietary sector," Mettler said. "The issue is not genuinely ideological. The question is simply: who will stand up first and foremost for veterans? The American public, across party lines, supports aid to veterans. Lawmakers would do well to find common ground on this issue and to seek reform."

"Currently, one in four students using the Post-9/11 GI Bill attends proprietary schools, many of which have poor records in serving students," Mettler added. "If these problems are not addressed, they may eventually endanger the entire law. The Legion's voice needs to be heard, both in Washington, D.C., and throughout the country, with members communicating their concerns to their senators and representatives. The record of the proprietary sector ... should be of utmost concern."

The GI Bill and its versions over the decades have always been a work in progress, ever in need of adjustments and oversight, which The American Legion has consistently provided.

"The Legion has played an important role in the development of every GI Bill," Whitman said. "That's a testament to the Legion's recognition that education is the most surefire way for veterans to better their lives and advance their careers."

— Johnathon Clinkscales

The American Legion works continuously to improve and protect the GI Bill.

Today, the Legion's Veterans Employment & Education Commission, National Security Commission and service officers, for example, are working to strengthen:

■ **Protections for students whose colleges close.** For-profit school closures, such as ITT Technical Institute and Westech College in California, cost credits and GI Bill benefits for veterans. The American Legion supports H.R. 1216, the Protecting Veterans From School Closures Act of 2017.

■ **GI Bill funding for business startups.** The American Legion supports, by resolution, expansion of GI Bill benefits to provide startup capital for veteran-owned businesses. The 1944 GI Bill helped fund hundreds of thousands of farms and businesses, and post-9/11 veterans are statistically proving to be successful entrepreneurs when given the opportunity.

■ **Discharge review.** The American Legion provides staff experts to assist those who dispute the definitions of their discharges or wish to correct military records. Discharge review was introduced in the 1944 GI Bill, and American Legion representation has long been provided, under the National Security Commission's leadership.

'Nation-building at home' and 'America first' are nice catchphrases but a great power can't neglect foreign policy.

BY ALAN W. DOWD

As world war gave way to cold war, Americans came to the realization that "security was something that had to be worked at, to be managed," historian Derek Leebeart writes in "The Fifty-Year Wound." "Americans could not turn their backs on the world."

So Cold War-era presidents forged a broad consensus about America's place and purpose in the world: to build a liberal international order in which the United States could flourish, to engage the world and lead the West, to guard the frontiers of freedom and contain the Soviet empire.

But a quarter-century after the collapse of the Soviet Union – and after 16 years of waging war on terrorism – that consensus has frayed. According to Pew polling, 57 percent of Americans want the United States to deal with its own problems and "let other countries get along the best they can on their own" – up from 30 percent in 2002.

Many political leaders seem to share the public's view that it's time for the United States to take a much-deserved break. The Obama administration, for instance, employed phrases such as "leading from behind" and "nation-building here at home" to explain its stand-off foreign policy, which included withdrawal from Iraq, drawdowns in Afghanistan, "time-limited" operations in Libya, unenforced "red lines" in Syria and steep defense cuts.

The 2016 presidential election revealed that the nation-building-at-home caucus represents a sizable swath of the political spectrum. In a surprising echo of President Barack Obama, President Donald Trump declared that "we have to build our own nation" and embraced the historically fraught "America First" label. He even described "trying to topple various people" – we can infer he was talking about Saddam Hussein – as "a tremendous disservice ... to humanity."

Obama's rationale for disengagement was based on an optimistic belief that the trajectory of history leads inevitably to a better world. That's what he meant when he talked about the "arc of history" or consigned a regime to "the wrong side of history." It's a quintessentially American view. As the

Brookings Institution's Robert Kagan wrote in "The Return of American Exceptionalism," "Americans, Europeans and the rest of the world's great powers have tended to believe in a direction, progressively upward."

Perhaps that's why Obama believed in the U.S. stabilization of Iraq, Russia's dismemberment of Ukraine, or sequestration of the Syrian civil war. No worries, a half of the nation-building-at-home view is to believe history is on the side of the United States happens to be. But believe the world is a mess and better, regardless of what America does.

GREAT POWER, GREAT RESPONSIBILITY these conclusions held true. If the United States could take a vacation from its only our security didn't need to be. But it does. History teaches that interests doesn't happen with international stability is one of the things that when liberal powers fail to maintain international order the "arc of history" toward darkness – or chaos.

For a great power like the United States, security and foreign policy cannot be automated or outsourced. Problems that must be confronted by the century-plus-thrust power-projecting nation.

The Spanish Empire posed a problem, and its brutal treatment of the United States. Humanitarian reasons, America's problem created by Spain's colonialism. It faced the problem of administering the Philippines and possessions from Puerto Rico.

As U.S. interests grew, President Roosevelt recognized that the United States was a hub for operations in the Pacific. The base in Hawaii solved that problem.

progress today

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So Cold War-era presidents forged a broad consensus about America's place and purpose in the world: to build a liberal international order in which the United States could flourish, to engage the world and lead the West, to guard the frontiers of freedom and contain the Soviet empire.

But a quarter-century after the collapse of the Soviet Union – and after 16 years of waging war on terrorism – that consensus has frayed. According to Pew polling, 57 percent of Americans want the United States to deal with its own problems and "let other countries get along the best they can on their own" – up from 30 percent in 2002.

Many political leaders seem to share the public's view that it's time for the United States to take a much-deserved break. The Obama administration, for instance, employed phrases such as "leading from behind" and "nation-building here at home" to explain its stand-off foreign policy, which included withdrawal from Iraq, drawdowns in Afghanistan, "time-limited" operations in Libya, unenforced "red lines" in Syria and steep defense cuts.

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Brookings Institution's Robert Kagan observes, "Americans, Europeans and other children of the Enlightenment tend to believe history has a direction, progressively upward."

Perhaps that's why Obama seemed unconcerned about the U.S. stabilization force withdrawing from Iraq, Russia dismembering a sovereign Ukraine, or sequestration shrinking America's reach and role. No worries, as people say. Obama's half of the nation-building-at-home caucus seems to believe history is on the side of progress, regardless of how engaged or disengaged the United States happens to be. Trump's half seems to believe the world is a mess and won't get any better, regardless of what America does or doesn't do.

GREAT POWER, GREAT PROBLEMS If only these conclusions held true. If only the United States could take a vacation from foreign policy. If only our security didn't need to be "worked at." But it does. History teaches that securing U.S. interests doesn't happen without effort, that international stability is one of those interests, and that when liberal powers fail to promote a liberal international order the "arc of history" bends toward darkness – or chaos.

For a great power like the United States, national security and foreign policy are not programs that can be automated or outsourced. Rather, they are problems that must be constantly managed. Consider the century-plus that America has been a power-projecting nation.

The Spanish Empire posed a national-security problem, and its brutal treatment of Cuba sparked outrage in the United States. So, for strategic and humanitarian reasons, America went to war with Spain. No sooner had Washington solved the problem created by Spain's crumbling empire than it faced the problem of administering Cuba, pacifying the Philippines and defending far-flung possessions from Puerto Rico to the Pacific.

As U.S. interests grew, President Theodore Roosevelt recognized that the United States needed a hub for operations in the Pacific Ocean. A naval base in Hawaii solved that problem; by the end of

By withdrawing from Iraq, erasing his "red line" in Syria and resisting calls for no-fly zones to weaken Bashar Assad, Obama aimed to address the political problem of America's world-weariness. But pulling back from the Middle East triggered a cascade of problems: the rise of ISIS, an unchecked civil war that has claimed 470,000 lives and spawned 4 million refugees, the expansion of Russia's influence and, ironically, Assad's use of WMDs.

PROBLEMS AND ALTERNATIVES The purpose of this recap is not to suggest that all of those solutions were wrong. Many of them made sense at the time they were applied. Nor is it to succumb to fatalism and suggest that bad things happen no matter what course Washington takes. Indeed, after absorbing these causes and effects, it's tempting to conclude that it's better for America to stay out of the world's problems altogether. But the past hundred years counsel otherwise – that disengagement allows those problems to worsen and ultimately threaten U.S. interests.

Think about Jefferson abandoning a policy of appeasement and instead waging war on piracy half a world away, and Lincoln transforming the

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For seven-plus decades, the United States has prevented great-power wars in Europe since 1745 and 1945. Not only in Europe, but also in the Persian Gulf since 1950. Today, those walls are concrete and they help keep Europe safe from who fear Beijing's rise. Keeping the Pacific, v

This isn't charity without a phrase. In forging an open trade, open sea lanes, trans-Atlantic incubator of world prosperity, planting a flag in Europe and Asia, making the Pacific, building a new world, we are in the national interest of a RAND study: "A study of U.S. overseas security." U.S. bilateral trade in 1970 was by as much as \$577 billion. The annual decline in U.S. trade would be \$490 billion.

In short, it's difficult to see the States can prosper in the world solely on "nation-building." The waving the "America

Alan W. Dowd is a senior research fellow at the Heritage Foundation's Institute Center for American Studies.

formidable economic-military rival in Beijing – and perhaps Cold War 2.0.

■ Arming the mujahedeen addressed the problem of Soviet expansion into Southwest Asia, but it turned Afghanistan into a vacuum that was ultimately filled by the Taliban.

■ The collapse of the Soviet Union and its global empire – a towering bipartisan foreign-policy achievement – led to numerous foreign-policy problems: loose nukes, unstable borders, reawakened ethnic rivalries and wars, the re-emergence of tribalism, the rise of terrorism.

The problem of foreign policy continued after the Cold War. NATO expansion calmed Eastern Europe's anxieties but heightened Moscow's.

Desert Storm prevented Iraq from controlling much of the world's oil. But U.S. troops would have to stay behind to protect Saudi Arabia from Iraq. That decision would lead Osama bin Laden to wage a global guerrilla war against America – a war plotted from a safe haven provided by the Taliban.

By invading Iraq, President George W. Bush aimed to prevent Saddam from using his WMDs, remove a recurrent threat to U.S. interests and plant democracy in the Middle East. But the invasion revealed only the skeleton of a WMD program, had the effect of removing the lid that kept Iraq's sectarian cauldron from boiling over, allowed Iran to expand its influence and led to America's bloodiest war since Vietnam.

By withdrawing from Iraq, erasing his "red line" in Syria and resisting calls for no-fly zones to weaken Bashar Assad, Obama aimed to address the political problem of America's world-weariness. But pulling back from the Middle East triggered a cascade of problems: the rise of ISIS, an unchecked civil war that has claimed 470,000 lives and spawned 4 million refugees, the expansion of Russia's influence and, ironically, Assad's use of WMDs.

PROBLEMS AND ALTERNATIVES The purpose of this recap is not to suggest that all of those solutions were wrong. Many of them made sense at the time they were applied. Nor is it to succumb to fatalism and suggest that bad things happen no matter what course Washington takes. Indeed, after absorbing these causes and effects, it's tempting to conclude that it's better for America to stay out of the world's problems altogether. But the past hundred years counsel otherwise – that disengagement allows those problems to worsen and ultimately threaten U.S. interests.

Rather, the purpose here is to underscore that foreign policy and national security have to be "worked at." The American people cannot take a vacation from the world like they did during the interwar years, outsource national security like certain European countries, or treat foreign policy like some set-it-and-forget-it machine that requires minimal maintenance.

For America, foreign policy and national security are like tending a vast farmland: they require constant attention. The work is hard and ongoing. Solving one problem often leads to another. And even when the farmer does what needs to be done, when it needs to be done, where it needs to be done, problems can still crop up – unexpected and unpredictable problems, which is why constant attention is so important. It's the best way to prevent manageable problems from mushrooming into unmanageable crises.

Put another way, ever since 1941, America has conducted a forward-leaning foreign policy – and maintained a military with global reach and global presence – not to look for problems, but to address problems before they explode.

Offering an alternative to the nation-building-at-home caucus doesn't mean trying to make the world "safe for democracy," as Wilson declared in 1917, or "ending tyranny in our world," as Bush declared in 2005. It means having the resources to ensure that America's democracy can deter the world's tyrannies (sequestration erased those resources). It means maintaining hard-earned gains by remaining engaged (Obama's withdrawal from Iraq jeopardized those gains, as does Trump's suggestion that he would come to the defense of NATO members under attack – an ironclad requirement of the North Atlantic Treaty – only if they had "fulfilled their obligations to us"). It means reminding ourselves that the United States is a force for good in the world (the political rhetoric sometimes suggests otherwise). It means leading the alliance system America built (Obama's stand-off approach to Libya fell short, as does Trump's pronouncement that NATO is obsolete).

The defense that Trump and Obama are merely reflecting the world-weariness of an inward-looking electorate may be accurate. However, leadership – especially on matters of national security – is often about persuading the American people to follow a path they would rather not take.

Think about Jefferson abandoning a policy of appeasement and instead waging war on piracy half a world away, and Lincoln transforming the

Civil War from a struggle merely to preserve the Union into a struggle to abolish slavery. Consider FDR dragging America back onto the world stage, Truman arguing for open-ended engagement and global containment of Moscow, Reagan reviving the nation's flagging commitment to what Truman began, the elder Bush building support for Desert Shield/Desert Storm, Clinton wading into the Balkans, and the younger Bush defending the surge.

NO RETIREMENT If the American people want the benefits of a liberal international order that sustains the American way of life, they need to sustain the international order. It doesn't run on autopilot or grow by magic. It depends on the United States projecting power into the global commons, deterring aggressive states, enforcing international norms of behavior and serving as civilization's last line of defense. As Anders Fogh Rasmussen, former secretary-general of NATO puts it, "Superpowers don't get to retire."

For seven-plus decades, U.S. engagement has prevented great-power wars – the norm between 1745 and 1945. Not coincidentally, U.S. forces have been in Europe since 1944, Japan since 1945, the Persian Gulf since 1948, South Korea since 1950. Today, those who remember Moscow's concrete walls and iron curtains want America's help keeping Europe whole and free. And those who fear Beijing's rise want America's help keeping the Pacific, well, pacific.

This isn't charity work or a "bad deal," to borrow a phrase. In fact, it's the very opposite. Forging an open trading system connected by open sea lanes, transforming Europe from an incubator of world wars into a partnership of prosperity, planting and nurturing democracies in Europe and Asia, maintaining a stable Asia-Pacific, building a network of alliances – all these are in the national interest. Consider the findings of a RAND study: "A 50 percent retrenchment in U.S. overseas security commitments could reduce U.S. bilateral trade in goods and services annually by as much as \$577 billion ... The resulting annual decline in U.S. gross domestic product would be \$490 billion."

In short, it's difficult to see how the United States can prosper in the 21st century by focusing solely on "nation-building here at home," or by waving the "America First" banner. ☞

Alan W. Dowd is a senior fellow with the Sagamore Institute Center for American Purpose.

WWII: Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 (P.L. 78-346).



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By Frec

Since the original *GI Bill of Rights*, Congress has passed several public laws to meet the education needs of vets. The \$500 a year (\$6,389 in 2011) for a WWII veteran would pay for tuition, books and other expenses. But the original bill was written for that era of veterans. With each war, Congress enacted new GI bills that can be directly linked to the political climate of the times, according to Glenn C. Altschuler and Stuart M. Blumin, authors of *The G.I. Bill: A New Deal For Veterans* (2009). Altschuler believes the reduced Korean War era bill made it more difficult to retain the original benefits. "That was a retreat from a full commitment to higher education," he says.

"After that, it would be politically impossible to do it. ... Korea veterans got the political clout that the GI bill of the 1940s had. For Vietnam, the GI bill was greatly divided. America was the GI bill of the less-than-favorable war. There was not a GI bill to ease Vietnam veterans back into civilian life. Unfortunately, the GI bill of the 1970s had a tendency to be a fighter with the political war itself, said Keith Wilson, director of the Education Service Benefits Administration. "It took us a long time to get that," Wilson says. "No

WWII: Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 (P.L. 78-346).



Korean War: Veterans Readjustment Assistance Act of 1952 (P.L. 550).



GI Bills

Offered Varying Benefits

World War II and Iraq/Afghanistan War education benefits differed greatly from Korea and Vietnam.

By Fred Minnick

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"After that, it would be virtually politically impossible to restore those benefits. ... Korea veterans just did not have the political clout the WWII vets had."

For Vietnam, politicians watched a greatly divided America as they debated the GI bill of the time, resulting in a less-than-favorable GI bill in 1966.

"There was not a moral commitment to ease Vietnam veterans' transition back into civilian life," Altschuler says.

Unfortunately, the public in the 1960s and 1970s had a tendency to connect the fighter with the policies involving the war itself, said Keith Wilson, director of the Education Service at the Veterans Benefits Administration.

"It took us a long time to overcome that," Wilson says. "Now, there is a lot of

support for veterans. People seem to have learned to separate their feelings about the policies toward a conflict and the individuals fighting the conflict. This is definitely a step in the right direction."

The result of this pro-servicemember society is the *Post-9/11 Veterans Educational Assistance Act*, the only one equal to the original bill. VFW helped make that possible, playing a major role in recognizing the shortcomings of the existing education benefits. Wilson said VFW "has done a very good job of working with Congress and the VA on identifying things that can be improved."

VFW was, in fact, instrumental in passing all the GI Bills.

Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944

The *Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944* (P.L. 78-346) was signed into law June 22, 1944. Among its many benefits, which included the VA Home Loan, the first GI Bill easily provided enough money to pay for school.

VA gave veterans who served 90 days or more after Sept. 16, 1940, up to \$75 a month in allowance for a single veteran

Vietnam War: Veterans Readjustment Act of 1966 (P.L. 89-358).



and a maximum of \$500 a year for tuition, books, fees and other training.

WWII veterans received a year of full-time training as well as a period equal to their time in service up to four years. Stipends were so generous that in 1947, veterans represented 49% of total college enrollment.

Veterans Readjustment Assistance Act of 1952

Signed into law by President Harry Truman on July 16, 1952, the Korean War GI Bill (P.L. 550) cut eligibility from 48 months to 36. After congressional hearings determined some institutions were committing fraud with WWII GI Bill payments, schools no longer received direct checks from the government. After the Korean War GI Bill, veterans were expected to make their own tuition payment arrangements.

Veterans also earned 1.5 months of education allowance per month of service. Thus, only full allowances were paid to those who served for at least two years. A single vet received \$110 a month (equal to \$933 a month in 2011), from which he paid his tuition, books, supplies and on-campus housing.

The bill also reduced the unemployed veterans allowance from maximum payments of 52 to 26 weeks, while self-employed allowances were eliminated completely.

Non-dishonorably discharged Korean War-era veterans qualified after 90 days of active service from June 27, 1950, to Feb. 1, 1955.

Afghanistan/Iraq: Post-9/11 Veterans Educational Assistance Act of 2008 (P.L. 110-252).



GI Bill Participation by War

	Participants (millions)	Rate	Cost* (billions)	Expiration Date
WWII	7.1 ¹	50.5%	\$14.5	July 25, 1956
Korea	2.4 ²	43.4%	\$4.5	Jan. 31, 1965
Post-Korea	1.4	45.8%	**	Dec. 31, 1989
Vietnam	6.8 ³	66.1%	\$42.0	Dec. 31, 1989

* For education/training only.

** Included under Vietnam era.

¹ 2.23 million at colleges. ² 1.21 million at colleges. ³ 4.3 million at colleges.

Source: "VA Educational Programs"

Veterans Readjustment Benefits Act of 1966

President Lyndon B. Johnson, who had favored a so-called "hotspot" bill, reluctantly signed the law (P.L. 89-358) on March 4. It was made retroactive to include post-Korean War veterans who

VFW was in fact instrumental in the passing of all the GI Bills.

served between 1955 and 1964. This was an important step in making the GI Bill an overall veteran bill versus a specific war bill. The Vietnam-era bill also was the first time active-duty personnel were eligible for benefits.

But a veteran had to have served more than 180 continuous days, twice the amount of the Korean War-era GI Bill. One month of benefits was given for each month served. Veterans who did not finish high school were able to receive full benefits without losing college eligibility.

A single veteran without children received up to \$100 a month in 1966 (\$694 in 2011), which would not have covered tuition, books and living costs. Allowances increased nine times beginning in 1967 in various increments, eventually reaching \$376 by 1984 (\$794 in 2011). The maximum number of months was extended to 45 and the delimiting period extended 10 years in some cases in 1976 under P.L. 94-502.

Veterans Education Assistance Program

The Post-Vietnam Veterans Educational Assistance Program (VEAP) was enacted by Congress as part of the Veterans Education and Employment Act of 1976 to attract recruits to the all-volunteer Army. VEAP provided education and training opportunities to veterans who served beginning in 1977 and before July 1, 1985.

Benefits were transferrable to their

Continued on page 28

GI Bills

Continued from page 25

spouses and children in some cases. Like today's 401(k), VEAP required service members to contribute a portion of their paychecks. The government matched every \$1 with \$2 and contributed a maximum of \$5,400.

Montgomery GI Bill

The Montgomery GI Bill, named after Rep. G.V. Montgomery—a Mississippi Democrat and WWII vet—replaced

VEAP in 1984 a national bill to give

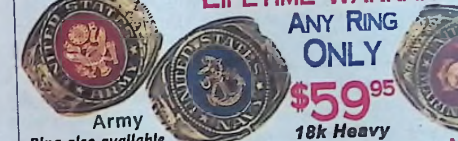
Eligible recipients after June 30, 1984, a month for 12 months their minimum. Another option was to contribute \$600 to receive a \$11,287 in 2011. Contributions must be on active duty. Veterans of the

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Afghanistan/Iraq: Post-9/11 Veterans Educational Assistance Act of 2008 (P.L. 110-252)



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Participants (millions)	Rate	Cost* (billions)	Expiration Date
7.1 ¹	50.5%	\$14.5	July 25, 1956
2.4 ²	43.4%	\$4.5	Jan. 31, 1965
1.4	45.8%	**	Dec. 31, 1989
6.8 ³	66.1%	\$42.0	Dec. 31, 1989

*Including only Vietnam era. ²1.21 million at colleges. ³4.3 million at colleges. Source: "VA Educational Programs"

adjustment of 1966

Johnson, who had "spot" bill, reluctant (P.L. 89-358) on the retroactive to War veterans who

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and 1964. This was making the GI Bill versus a specific era bill also was y personnel were

have served more days, twice the War-era GI Bill. as given for each who did not fine to receive full college eligibility.

A single veteran without children received up to \$100 a month in 1966 (\$694 in 2011), which would not have covered tuition, books and living costs. Allowances increased nine times beginning in 1967 in various increments, eventually reaching \$376 by 1984 (\$794 in 2011). The maximum number of months was extended to 45 and the delimiting period extended 10 years in some cases in 1976 under P.L. 94-502.

Veterans Education Assistance Program

The Post-Vietnam Veterans Educational Assistance Program (VEAP) was enacted by Congress as part of the Veterans Education and Employment Act of 1976 to attract recruits to the all-volunteer Army. VEAP provided education and training opportunities to veterans who served beginning in 1977 and before July 1, 1985.

Benefits were transferrable to their

Continued on page 28

GI Bills

Continued from page 25

spouses and children in some cases. Like today's 401(k), VEAP required service members to contribute a portion of their paychecks. The government matched every \$1 with \$2 and contributed a maximum of \$5,400.

Montgomery GI Bill

The *Montgomery GI Bill*, named after Rep. G.V. Montgomery—a Mississippi Democrat and WWII vet—replaced

VEAP in 1984 and was the first educational bill to give reservists benefits.

Eligible recipients entered active duty after June 30, 1985, and received \$100 a month for 12 months while completing their minimum service obligations. Another option allowed service members to contribute up to an additional \$600 to receive an added \$5,400 (equal to \$11,287 in 2011) in benefits, but the contributions must have been made while on active duty.

Veterans of the 1991 Persian Gulf War

fell under this bill. Included in the *Persian Gulf War Veterans Assistance Act of 1991* was an increase in the monthly education rates in the *Montgomery GI Bill*. The last change allowed vets 15 years after separation or retirement to use it.

Post-9/11 Veterans Educational Assistance Act

June 30, 2008, went down in the history of the veterans movement as a red-letter date. *Newsweek* colorfully called the *Post-9/11 GI Bill* "one of the most dramatic bumps in troop benefits to come along in decades." "Bump" maybe an understatement. A White House statement said, "This legislation will build upon the GI Bill's historic legacy of ensuring brighter futures for service members and their families."

The House of Representatives passed the bill (H.R. 5740) by a vote of 416 to 12. It had 302 co-sponsors and was introduced by Rep. Harry Mitchell (D-Ariz.) and Rep. Ginny Brown-Waite (R-Fla.). Crafted and sponsored by Sen. Jim Webb (D-Va.) in the Senate, S. 22 passed by a margin of 92 to 6. It had 58 co-sponsors.

For 10 years—well before the start of the Afghanistan and Iraq wars—an improved *Montgomery GI Bill* was a priority goal for VFW. Grass-roots lobbying and testifying before more than 40 congressional committee hearings prepped the groundwork for this landmark law.

It was, as *The Washington Post* editorialized, the "justice of the cause" and the "justifiable outrage at how a generation of veterans was being shortchanged" that led to the enactment by Congress of this far-reaching and forward-looking initiative.

When the definitive history of the American veterans movement is written, the "GI Bill for the 21st Century" will rate among its most illustrious achievements.

Since it went into effect on Aug. 1, 2009, 521,000 vets of the Afghanistan and Iraq wars' eras had used it by mid-June 2011. As of January 2011, \$8 billion in GI Bill benefit payments had been issued.

(For the latest changes to the *Post-9/11 GI Bill*, see *Issues Up Front*.)

FRED MINNICK is an Iraq War veteran and freelance writer based in Kentucky. E-mail magazine@vfw.org

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issues up front

Changes in GI Bill Payments Take Effect This Semester

A law enacted in January 2011 gives veterans more options to use their Post-9/11 GI Bill benefits, but it also cuts some payments. Here's what to expect in the months ahead. **By Tim Dyhouse**

Starting this month, Post-9/11 GI Bill benefits will be available to a larger pool of veterans and their dependents. That's the good news. The bad news is that to pay for it, some student-veterans will see their benefits reduced.

The Post-9/11 GI Bill's new rules were set with enactment of the Post-9/11 Veterans Educational Improvements Act of 2010 in January 2011. The Congressional Budget Office estimated earlier this year that the net effect of the changes will save the government some \$734 million over 10 years.

VFW likes most of the changes, such as allowing GI Bill payments to be used for on-the-job training or apprenticeships. But the organization also believes that some veterans who have already started school through the program could face economic hardships brought on by some of the cuts.

"This shift in policy caught thousands of veterans in the middle of their programs," said Jerry Manar, deputy director of VFW's National Veterans Service. "We support legislation that would essentially 'grandfather' these students in their programs and pay increased fees through 2014."

More Options to Use Benefits

VFW is pleased that, effective Aug. 1, 2011, the Post-9/11 GI Bill now pays the entire tuition for veterans attending in-state, public universities, including graduate school. The new version simplifies the process for vets and their designated transferees by eliminating the previous state-by-state cap on tuition and fees.

But for those attending private or foreign schools, the new rules cap annual payments at \$17,500, for a total three-year benefit of \$52,500. Private schools participating in the Yellow Ribbon Program can make up the difference.

"The cap on tuition and fees at private schools, and in some cases public schools for veterans taking classes at a college or university outside their state of residence, means that many student-veterans will have to take out loans to pay the difference between what the government pays and what the school charges," Manar said.

Also effective Aug. 1, 2011, vets now can use their benefits to pay for college entrance exams, like the ACT and SAT; tests to get into graduate schools, like the GRE; and those to enter law and medical schools, such as the LSAT and MCAT.

The law also corrected an oversight in the original bill. National Guard and Reserve troops who have been activated since 9/11 under the Active Guard and Reserve program or for domestic emergencies can begin receiving benefits as of Oct. 1, 2011. To qualify, they must serve on active duty for at least 90 days for partial benefits and at least 36 months for the full benefit.

Also beginning Oct. 1, 2011, veterans can use their educational benefits at non-degree-granting institutions, such as apprenticeship programs, vocational or technical schools and correspondence courses.

Disabled Vets Can Choose Programs

In order to offer the more generous provisions in the latest version of the Post-9/11 GI Bill, some benefits were reduced. The most notable area is housing allowances.

As of Aug. 1, 2011, the bill no longer pays housing allowances during school break periods. To offset this, the break periods no longer count toward the total time "in school" so the housing allowances will be available to an individual student-veteran for a longer period of time.

"By eliminating payments during

breaks, Congress saved a lot of money," Manar said. "However, those savings have caused increased hardship to veterans and their families as they struggle to pay bills, feed their families and go to school at the same time."

Beginning Oct. 1, 2011, housing allowances will be prorated based on the number of credit hours pursued each term. Also effective that date, students attending online classes full-time will be eligible to receive a monthly housing allowance of up to \$673.50.

"This is an acknowledgment of the changing ways learning takes place," Manar said.

Service-connected disabled vets actually will see an upgrade in their housing allowances. Those who are eligible for the Post-9/11 GI Bill but choose to pursue training through VA's Vocational Rehabilitation and Employment program can receive up to \$780 monthly.

Manar reports that nearly 521,000 veterans have used Post-9/11 GI Bill benefits since Aug. 1, 2009, and says VFW will continue to improve the program by working with Congress.

"If the legislation passes, it would allow veterans to finish their classes without incurring substantial new debt," he said.

E-mail tdyhouse@vfw.org

Need More Help?

For more information about the Post-9/11 GI Bill program, access VA's website: www.gibill.va.gov.

VFW service officers can help you secure your Post 9/11 GI Bill benefits. Find your nearest service officer at www.vfw.org. Click the "Assistance" tab at the top and then "National Veterans Service" in the drop-down menu.

Forgetting the lessons of the

History quiz:

Question: What is the origin of the modern American middle class?

Question: What was the driving force in the creation of the American suburbs?

Question: What does this group have in common: "14 Nobel Prize winners, three Supreme Court justices, three presidents, a dozen senators, two dozen Pulitzer Prize winners, 238,000 teachers, 91,000 scientists, 67,000 doctors, 450,000 engineers, 240,000 accountants, 17,000 journalists, 22,000 dentists — along with a million lawyers, nurses, businessmen, artists, actors, writers, pilots and others?"

RUSS MINICK

Answer: The G.I. Bill.

The Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944, better known as the G.I. Bill, is a case study in what happens when we look at programs as investments that pay dividends instead of some sort of wasteful spending, when opportunity is created where it did not exist before. The question today is, why have we forgotten that?

It is an unlikely and fascinating story, well told in the recent book, "Over Here: How the G.I. Bill Transformed the American Dream," by Edward Humes (Harcourt). That's where you'll find the list of overachievers in the third question above.

Few expected the bill to have the impact it did — and it might never have gotten off the ground if some proponents had guessed what was coming.

The bill offered a number of benefits. The two most important were grants for education and training, and guaranteed loans for the purchase of homes, farms or businesses.

The first had college presidents across the country aghast. Universities of pre-war America were elite institutions and shuddered at the notion of coarsened former warriors overrunning their pristine

campuses. No less august a presence than the legendary Robert Maynard Hutchins, president of Chicago University, warned the G.I. Bill would flood the campuses with "educational hobos."

In fact, the returning veterans blew the doors off younger, non-veteran students, outperforming them by every statistical measure. (Hutchins, to his credit, recanted his slander when the grades starting coming in.)

Some 16 million men and women served in uniform in World War II. Congressmen and others involved in the bill's passage expected that perhaps as many as 400,000 would take advantage of the education benefits. Instead, nearly 8 million did so, about 2.3 million attending college and the others opting for a range of training and vocational programs — all paid for by the government.

Thus the "greatest generation" didn't simply save the world from tyranny — though we owe them eternal thanks for that — but they also fueled the extraordinary economic engine that propelled the United States to superpower status.

The home-loan guarantees changed the way Americans live forever. Prior to the G.I. Bill, few families owned their own homes. Buying a house usually

required coming up with a down payment of as much as 50 percent, out of reach for most. Homes were built a few at a time by small builders. With mortgages guaranteed, down payments could be set far lower. The modern development industry was born when it became possible — desirable, in fact, given the

flood of men returning from war and starting to build large numbers all at once, in fashion. The suburbs were born.

That wasn't enough, as we pay now with traffic congestion. But at the time, it was a revolutionary idea.

In the end, the return to the treasury many times better educated men and women earned better wages, millions of new businesses, and a consumption that created entire

tries. It is difficult to imagine the United States now without the G.I. Bill. But the lesson — that fueling the economy for as many people as possible pays enormous dividends — is largely forgotten.

We argue over spending for healthcare and education, ignoring the investments that will pay off in the future. That's the real cost to us.

Russ Minick is Bee's deputy editor. He can be reached at rminick@fresnobee.com.

Forgetting the lessons of the G.I. Bill

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flood of men returning from war and starting families — to build large numbers of homes all at once, in assembly-line fashion. The suburbs were born.

That wasn't entirely a blessing, as we pay now for sprawl with traffic congestion and bad air. But at the time it was revolutionary.

In the end, the money spent on the G.I. Bill benefits was returned to the government treasury many times over, as better educated veterans earned better wages, started millions of new businesses and sparked consumer demand that created entire new industries.

It is difficult to imagine the United States now without the G.I. Bill. But the lesson it taught us — that fueling opportunity for as many people as possible pays enormous dividends for us all — is largely lost.

We argue over pennies in spending for health care, education and economic opportunity, ignoring the riches such investments will produce for the future. That shortsightedness costs us dearly.

Russ Minick is The Fresno Bee's deputy editorial page editor. He can be reached at rminick@fresnobee.com.

Effect This Semester

their Post-9/11 GI Bill benefits, but it also cuts

By Tim Dyhouse

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SEASON'S GREETING



THE RETURN OF ROTC

BY DOUG WISSING

The Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC) has a proud legacy within the U.S. military and on college campuses, where hundreds of thousands of cadets have trained since the program began in 1916.

Today, 70,000 ROTC cadets train on 300 host campuses and at several hundred cross-enrolled schools with ROTC programs. Nearly 40 percent of all officers commissioned passed through ROTC programs. But the story of ROTC on college campuses has many chapters — some triumphant, some tumultuous.

The latest was opened May 26, 2011, when Secretary of the Navy Ray Mabus joined Yale President Richard Levin to re-establish a host Navy ROTC (NROTC) unit at the university after a 40-year hiatus that began in the turbulent Vietnam War era. In many ways, the Yale ceremony symbolized ROTC's enduring value to America.

Mabus praised Yale's alumni, who gallantly served in every U.S. war. He recalled that Yale formed a Navy air corps in 1917, the first university to do so, and in 1926 was one of the first six to establish a Navy ROTC unit.

"Navy blue has always been a part of Yale's heritage," he told the crowd. "Yale has always valued the ROTC program as a vital part of its tradition. That when our country needs the best and brightest, we can turn to the ROTC program for the only wind-up life that many of our graduates will ever get."

Further, ROTC is a vital part of the country's defense. ROTC cadets are the best serve our country. ROTC is a vital part of the nation's defense. ROTC is a vital part of the nation's defense.

Military ROTC is a college program that prepares students for a career in the military. ROTC is a vital part of the nation's defense. ROTC is a vital part of the nation's defense.

THE RETURN OF

ROTC

Ivy League campuses welcome back military units after a decades-long hiatus.

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"Navy blue and Yale blue have always been close together," he told the crowd.

Mabus also spoke of ROTC's value on campus, pointing out that when only 1 percent of Americans wear the uniform, "interaction with officer candidates in NROTC may be the only window into military life that many people at Yale will ever get."

Further, ROTC is important to the country, he said. "To best serve our nation, the military has to be reflective of the nation it serves, and it does not serve our country well if any part of the society does not share in the honor of its defense."

Military instruction on college campuses goes back to the American Revolution. When Yale students heard about the battles of Lexington and Concord in 1775, a company of student volunteers began drilling on the Connecticut campus. Yale student-soldiers were among the first to engage British troops when they landed in nearby West Haven on July 4, 1779.

In 1818, a former West Point superintendent, Capt. Alden Partridge, established the

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In 1914, an influential group of pro-British American leaders were convinced that the United States would eventually enter the world war and formed the Preparedness Movement. They

I insert a page Re Wilkes ROTC unit

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In 1818, a former West Point superintendent, Capt. Alden Partridge, established the

American Literary, Scientific, and Military Academy in Norwich, Vt. – known today as Norwich University – which formalized the idea of military instruction on civilian campuses. The concept spread to other institutions, including Virginia Military Institute and The Citadel. Founder Thomas Jefferson required that all University of Virginia students have military instruction, and by 1840 Indiana University and the University of Tennessee added compulsory military training.

The concept expanded dramatically when President Abraham Lincoln signed the Morrill Act in 1862. Championed by Vermont legislator Justin Morrill, the act granted each state 30,000 acres of public land to establish institutions of scientific learning, with the provision that these land-grant colleges include military tactics courses in their curricula. By the end of the 19th century, 105 colleges and universities across the country offered military training.

In 1914, an influential group of pro-British American leaders were convinced that the United States would eventually enter the world war and formed the Preparedness Movement. They

lobbied for a national service program to train 18-year-old men in military tactics before assigning them to reserve units. Preparedness supporter and former President Theodore Roosevelt decried the "professional pacifists, poltroons and college sissies" who argued against the program.

The Plattsburg Movement, a volunteer nonenlistment training program organized by private citizens in Plattsburgh, N.Y., grew out of the Preparedness Movement. During the summers of 1915 and 1916, the Plattsburg Movement trained 20,000 professors, artists, lawyers, doctors, bankers, businessmen, clerks, diplomats, farmers and policemen to be potential Army officers – part of the 40,000 college alumni who eventually learned to march and shoot at Preparedness camps.

Harvard University graduate Gen. Leonard Wood was a leading proponent of the Preparedness Movement. After an illustrious career fighting Geronimo's band and helping organize the Rough Riders in Cuba, Wood became Army chief of staff in 1910. In speech after speech, Wood insisted that failure to prepare for war was "brutal ... cowardly ... sinister." During his service as chief of staff, Wood implemented several programs, including proto-ROTC units at civilian

colleges. Students and administrators at private and land-grant colleges alike clamored for officer training, with students at East Coast schools that included Harvard, Yale, Princeton and Dartmouth College successfully petitioning for military units.

The National Defense Act of 1916 codified many of the Preparedness Movement's ideas, merging the National Guard, Army Reserve and regular Army into the Army of the United States. Officers came from colleges and universities, where they received military training under the aegis of a new institution: ROTC.

The system quickly took root, beginning in the Ivy League, a hotbed of the Preparedness Movement. Yale's ROTC program began in the fall of 1916 with a field artillery unit. When the United States did enter World War I, there were already 90,000 ROTC-trained officers in the reserve pool, with many seeing active duty in 1917 and 1918. By the end of 1919, more than 130 institutions had ROTC units. More than 57,000 students were in Army ROTC (AROTC) programs in 1922.

In 1926, the beginning of NROTC programs at Harvard, Yale, Northwestern, Georgia Tech, Washington and California expanded the pool of

officer candidates. But in the small-army isolationist period between the wars, most active-duty commissions went to service academy graduates. Even future Air Force Chief of Staff Curtis LeMay couldn't get an active-duty commission when he completed ROTC training at Ohio State in 1928, because there weren't any vacancies. However, ROTC continued to produce the majority of reserve officers during those years – 80 percent in 1940, for instance, when 220 colleges and universities had programs.

Within six months of World War II breaking out, more than 56,000 AROTC officers reported for active duty, and more than 100,000 ROTC officers had served by the war's end. ROTC-trained officers made a crucial difference in the early days of the war, when the U.S. military struggled with rapid mobilization. Gen. George Marshall wrote, "Just what we would have done in the first phases of our mobilization without (ROTC graduates) I do not know ... the cessation of hostilities on the European front would have been curtailed accordingly."

In 1945, as strategists parsed the need for increased numbers of well-educated U.S. military officers to handle global Cold War challenges, Congress passed the ROTC

Vitalization Act, which institutionalized campus ROTC units. By 1955, there were programs on 313 campuses in all 50 states, the District of Columbia and Puerto Rico. Welcomed by administrators, faculty and students who valued ROTC's instruction of civic duty, discipline and morality, the units were at public and private universities and colleges, including all of the Ivy League, Georgetown, Johns Hopkins and Stanford.

During the Korean War, the percentage of graduating cadets assigned to active duty skyrocketed. Through the 1950s, about 80 percent of graduating ROTC cadets became active-duty officers. But in the 1960s, the military and university communities began to count the costs, particularly of compulsory ROTC training still prevalent at land-grant universities.

The military saw soaring costs for a proportionally small harvest of career military officers – 20 students for every officer produced, according to one Air Force study. Burdened with increasingly demanding curricula, college administrators and students began to chafe at compulsory military training. Between 1961 and 1965, 60 Army and 59 Air Force ROTC units switched from compulsory to voluntary. As anticipated, rosters

plummeted. But officer shortfall was less than expected, called for change.

In 1964, Congress updated ROTC to prepare the primary source of duty officers: a percent of Army percent of Air Force address academic concerns, the ROTC was revamped to line with university scholarship programs instituted, stipends increased and the pool of cadets was expanded. As it turned out, controversial delinquent campus drill, the many a harassed student and the military training veteran officer. D

When op Vietnam on cam 1968, ROTC faced challenge. For the university community ROTC units as out than the prestige organizations the seen as since 1916 the congressional remain visible on the military require maintain distance antiwar protests, t officers were in a t

NOTABLE ROTC ALUMNI



"Without ROTC, I wouldn't have had a military career. ROTC gave me my start in life, really. It's done that for thousands."

Gen. Colin Powell, former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and U.S. secretary of state. Powell is a 1958 graduate of the City College of New York's ROTC program, at the time the nation's second largest unit.



Kirk Douglas
Actor
Notre Dame
ROTC, 1944



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colleges. Students and administrators at private and land-grant colleges alike clamored for officer training, with students at East Coast schools that included Harvard, Yale, Princeton and Dartmouth College successfully petitioning for military units.

The National Defense Act of 1916 codified many of the Preparedness Movement's ideas, merging the National Guard, Army Reserve and regular Army into the Army of the United States. Officers came from colleges and universities, where they received military training under the aegis of a new institution: ROTC.

The system quickly took root, beginning in the Ivy League, a hotbed of the Preparedness Movement. Yale's ROTC program began in the fall of 1916 with a field artillery unit. When the United States did enter World War I, there were already 90,000 ROTC-trained officers in the reserve pool, with many seeing active duty in 1917 and 1918. By the end of 1919, more than 130 institutions had ROTC units. More than 57,000 students were in Army ROTC (AROTC) programs in 1922.

In 1926, the beginning of ROTC programs at Harvard, Yale, Northwestern, Georgia Tech, Washington and California expanded the pool of

officer candidates. But in the small-army isolationist period between the wars, most active-duty commissions went to service academy graduates. Even future Air Force Chief of Staff Curtis LeMay couldn't get an active-duty commission when he completed ROTC training at Ohio State in 1928, because there weren't any vacancies. However, ROTC continued to produce the majority of reserve officers during those years – 80 percent in 1940, for instance, when 220 colleges and universities had programs.

Within six months of World War II breaking out, more than 56,000 AROTC officers reported for active duty, and more than 100,000 ROTC officers had served by the war's end. ROTC-trained officers made a crucial difference in the early days of the war, when the U.S. military struggled with rapid mobilization. Gen. George Marshall wrote, "Just what we would have done in the first phases of our mobilization without (ROTC graduates) I do not know ... the cessation of hostilities on the European front would have been curtailed accordingly."

In 1945, as strategists parsed the need for increased numbers of well-educated U.S. military officers to handle global Cold War challenges, Congress passed the ROTC

Vitalization Act, which institutionalized campus ROTC units. By 1955, there were programs on 313 campuses in all 50 states, the District of Columbia and Puerto Rico. Welcomed by administrators, faculty and students who valued ROTC's instruction of civic duty, discipline and morality, the units were at public and private universities and colleges, including all of the Ivy League, Georgetown, Johns Hopkins and Stanford.

During the Korean War, the percentage of graduating cadets assigned to active duty skyrocketed. Through the 1950s, about 80 percent of graduating ROTC cadets became active-duty officers. But in the 1960s, the military and university communities began to count the costs, particularly of compulsory ROTC training still prevalent at land-grant universities.

The military saw soaring costs for a proportionally small harvest of career military officers – 20 students for every officer produced, according to one Air Force study. Burdened with increasingly demanding curricula, college administrators and students began to chafe at compulsory military training. Between 1961 and 1965, 60 Army and 59 Air Force ROTC units switched from compulsory to voluntary. As anticipated, rosters

plummeted. But when the officer shortfall was greater than expected, the military called for changes in ROTC.

In 1964, Congress passed an updated ROTC Vitalization Act to prepare the program to be the primary source of active-duty officers: a projected 75 percent of Army officers and 50 percent of Air Force officers. To address academic and military concerns, the ROTC curricula was revamped to be more in line with university education, a scholarship program was instituted, stipends were increased and the potential pool of cadets was broadened. As it turned out, the bill's most controversial debate related to campus drill, the anathema of many a harassed college student and the keystone of military training to many a veteran officer. Drill stayed.

When opposition to the Vietnam War flared on campuses in 1968, ROTC faced a new challenge. For the first time, university communities viewed ROTC units as outliers rather than the prestigious campus organizations they had been seen as since 1916. Between the congressional mandate to remain visible on campus, and the military requirement to maintain distance from antiwar protests, the ROTC officers were in a tough spot

during the late 1960s. One Michigan State military science professor claimed it was like being in "an embassy on foreign soil."

ROTC enrollment dropped 25 percent from 1968 to 1969, when the draft lottery further hit ROTC. But even during that 1960s nadir, most university students were in favor of military training on campus – more than 75 percent at many schools. The bigger challenge came from university faculty councils demanding that ROTC courses adhere to the same academic criteria as the rest of the university or lose college credit. That issue changed the role of ROTC on U.S. campuses far more than anti-military students. Faced with ROTC's demotion to an extracurricular activity, the military began to close units in the Northeast, particularly at the Ivy League schools that had graduated tens of thousands of officers.

As the United States instituted a zero-draft military in 1973, ROTC continued to provide high-quality officers trained in a relatively economical university setting. In 1969, it cost on average \$4,320 to produce an ROTC officer, compared to \$8,320 in officer candidate school and \$47,136 in the service academies. Universities were also prepared to provide officers with the cultural training needed for the

Without ROTC, I wouldn't have had a military career. ROTC gave me my start in life, really. I've done that for thousands."

Colin Powell, former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and U.S. secretary of state. Powell is a 1958 graduate of the City College of New York's ROTC program, the nation's second largest unit.



Kirk Douglas
Actor
Notre Dame ROTC, 1944



Samuel Alito
Supreme Court justice
Princeton ROTC, 1976



Gen. Carl E. Mundy Jr.
Marine Corps commandant
Auburn University ROTC, 1957

"hearts-and-minds" work that asymmetrical wars like Vietnam demanded.

With ROTC enrollments dropping overall through the 1970s, the military focused on the less expensive and more welcoming campuses of the South and the West, where senior officers thought the service branches could get more officer bang for the buck. ROTC expert Cheryl Miller, who heads the Program on American Citizenship at the American Enterprise Institute, says of high-cost Northeastern institutions, "The military doesn't think about them as elite schools. They think of them as expensive schools."

Through the 1970s and 1980s, the numbers of female and black ROTC cadets increased rapidly, producing a more diverse officer corps. And in 1993, Congress passed the law commonly referred to as "don't ask, don't tell" (DADT), which allowed lesbians, gays and bisexuals to serve in the military so long as they did not reveal their sexual orientation. The bill also prohibited discrimination against closeted servicemembers or applicants.

From the law's signing on Dec. 21, 1993, until its repeal on Sept. 20, 2011, DADT complicated ROTC, particularly in the Northeast, where universities cited the discrimination issue as justification for not hosting ROTC units.

"Harvard's left-wing fringe just went up into orbit over 'don't ask, don't tell,'" says retired Navy Capt. Paul E. Mawn, chairman of Advocates for Harvard ROTC. But the Solomon Amendment, which prohibited universities from banning ROTC or risk losing federal funding, tempered the anti-ROTC movement. In most cases, ROTC never completely left campuses; student cadets could join units at neighboring schools. For example, Harvard students went to the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) for training, and Yale students to the University of Connecticut.

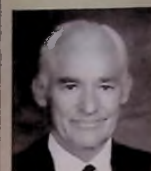
Nonetheless, for decades after the Vietnam War, there was scarce support for ROTC in the top universities, where military service had been a tradition.

Former President George H.W. Bush, a Yale graduate, attributed the transition to "cultural arrogance." In 1956, 400 out of 750 Princeton graduates went into the service. By 2004, only nine Princeton graduates entered the military – and Princeton led the Ivy League. Stanford had 1,100 cadets in ROTC in 1956. In 2006, there were 29. The military was "just not on the radar of most undergraduates," Mawn says.

When Yale ROTC graduate Flagg Youngblood went to the university in the 1990s, he was told to not wear his uniform to class. "The antiwar animus was still pretty strong on campus," he says, adding that that sentiment changed after 9/11.

In 2010, Secretary of Defense Robert Gates spoke about the volunteer armed services and called for change: "This tiny sliver of America has achieved extraordinary things in the most trying circumstances. It is the most professional, the best educated, the most capable force this country has ever sent into battle." Challenging ROTC to broaden its base, he warned of the risk of developing a cadre of military leaders that politically, culturally and geographically have less and less in common with the people they have sworn to defend.

The next year, when President Barack Obama announced the repeal of the ban on gays serving openly in the military, he said, "I call on all of our college campuses to open their doors to our military recruiters and the ROTC. It is time to leave behind the divisive battles of the past. It is time to move forward as one nation." But times had already changed. The Ivy League was eager to welcome ROTC host units back, as the presidents of Harvard, Yale and Columbia had previously announced the restarts of their programs. The NROTC program announced for Rutgers University is the first in New Jersey since 1972.



Sam Walton
Founder of
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Missouri ROTC,
1940



James Earl Jones
Actor
University of
Michigan ROTC,
1955



Alan Bean
Astronaut
University of
Texas NROTC,
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Kevin Greene
NFL linebacker
Auburn University
ROTC, 1984



ROTC officially returned to Yale last fall. Annapolis graduate and helicopter pilot Lt. Molly Crabbe is the first NROTC officer assigned there in 40 years. "We have boots on the ground at Yale," she says.

To get things started, she's been commuting about 100 miles from her College of the Holy Cross office.

"I put on my Yale hat and go down there and try to get the program going," she says. "The reception at Yale has been spectacular."

Marine Capt. Chris Reinke serves with Crabbe at Yale, and echoes her assessment: "I walk around Yale in my Charlies and people say, 'Thanks for being here,'" he says.

Yale student James Campbell is one of those who appreciates it. He's already participating in an ROTC unit. "I'll be happy to have more company," he says with a laugh. A typical over-committed Yale student, Campbell says ROTC provides something that was missing in his college experience – and that he'll somehow fit it into his schedule. "There's not much going on at Yale at 5 a.m.," he says.

The opening of units is paralleling a decline in military recruitment is dropping. "Nationally, the number of recruits is going down – rapidly," Reinke, citing the report and the DoD budget. University AFROTC Center Lt. Col. Jason Turner of the Air Force chief of staff's warning of "fiscal austerity."

"With less resources, we buy fewer shiny toys and things that go boom, and we have less officers – 'for strength,' we call it," Turner says. He's seeing a healthy interest in ROTC, but the reduced numbers of officers are sobering for students. "Cadets are more realistic. Their options in the military are narrowing."

Through thick and thin, history has proven ROTC an essential element in the nation's defense – and a temporary needs guarantee for the future. The program is critical for the military.

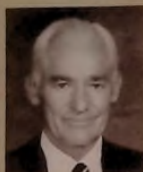
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Students and ROTC midshipmen Evan Roth, left, Colin Dickinson and Catherine Philbin walk past Dunster House on the campus of Harvard University in Cambridge, Mass. ROTC programs are coming back to some Ivy League universities four decades after Vietnam War protesters cheered their departure. AP photo

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The opening of new ROTC units is paradoxically coming at a time of declining military budgets and reduced officer needs. Cadet recruitment is dropping.

"Nationally, the numbers are going down – rapidly," says Reinke, citing the recession and the DoD budget. Indiana University AFROTC Commander Lt. Col. Jason Turner speaks of the Air Force chief of staff's warning of "fiscal austerity."

"With less resources, you buy fewer shiny toys and things that go boom, and you have less officers – 'force strength,' we call it," Turner says. He's seeing a healthy interest in ROTC, but the reduced numbers of officers are sobering for students.

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Through thick and thin, history has proven ROTC to be an essential element in the nation's defense – and contemporary needs guarantee its future. The program is crucial for the military.

"It's a source of officers, first," says retired Gen. Colin Powell, the first ROTC graduate

to be named chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. "It leavens the force – you get young people from all over the country. Without ROTC, I don't know how we'd do it."

ROTC also brings military personnel and ideals to sometimes insular universities. As Youngblood says, "It's a visible reminder that academics need military willing to serve at the forward edge of freedom."

Finally, ROTC continues to imbue generations of citizen-soldiers with the cultural and technical education vital for America's global defense. Both the military and the academy benefit from the understanding and communication that only comes from proximity.

As Gates has said, "If America's best and brightest young people will not step forward, who then can we count on to protect and sustain the greatness of this country in the 21st century?"

Doug Wissing has written for National Geographic Traveler, ForbesLife and Gray's Sporting Journal. He is a frequent contributor to The American Legion Magazine.



AIR TRADE: Orin Remsnyder with Steerman biplane the museum will donate to Indonesia in return for P-61 fighter

Planes on display in air, not on land

You don't have to go to movies such as *Empire of the Sun* with its screaming fighters to see and hear World War II airplanes in the air.

The lion's share of the USA's more than 300 annual air shows put World War II planes in the air because they draw crowds, says Rick Nadeau of the International Council of Air Shows in Jackson, Mich.

Getting those planes in the air is a labor of love for people such as three men from the Mid Atlantic Air Museum in Reading, Pa., now working in Indonesia to return a rare World War II P-61 "Black Widow" fighter to the USA's sky.

Orin Remsnyder, the museum's executive vice president and a World War II pilot, says most aviation museums "put ropes around airplanes and the public can't touch them."

Museums with WW II airplanes

Displays open year-round, seven days a week except major holidays:

Chino, Calif., Planes of Fame Museum
Dayton, Ohio, U.S. Air Force Museum
Hartgen, Texas, Confederate Air Force Museum
Kalamazoo, Mich., Aviation History Museum
Oshkosh, Wis., Experimental Aircraft Museum
Pensacola, Fla., Naval Aviation Museum
Reading, Pa., Mid Atlantic Air Museum
San Diego, Aerospace Museum
Seattle, Museum of Flight
Washington, National Air and Space Museum

1 — Planes displayed and flown

Of the 706 P-61s built, only four are left. To see a P-61 you have to visit the Air Force Museum near Dayton, Ohio, or travel to a Beijing, China, museum. The Smithsonian Institution has one at Silver Hill, Md. — there's no room for it in the National Air and Space Museum.

The Reading museum's P-61 crashed into the side of Mount Cyclops on Indonesia's portion of New Guinea on Jan. 10, 1945. Six museum volunteers dismantled the plane earlier this month. Three are waiting to crate the parts when a helicopter lifts them off the mountain next week.

Once back in Reading, additional volunteers will work two to three years to get the plane flying again — at an estimated cost of \$230,000.

"It's a symbol of a war the whole county supported," says Lopez of the effort and money. "We attract more people to lectures on World War II than any other subject."

Getting the P-61 back to the USA's sky has been a dream of Eugene "Pappy" Strine of Middleburg, Pa., for a decade. Strine, the Mid Atlantic Museum's founder, says since he first saw the wreck in 1984, "I've thought about it every day. It's a magnet; it draws you."

In addition to restoring the plane, the museum wants to complete the historical record by finding two of the four on board when it crashed: Ruth Hillman and Floyd J. Lovay.

Little is known about Hillman and Lovay, even whether they're still alive, Remsnyder says. Hillman is believed to be from the Buffalo, N.Y., area. "There are rumors she was in Army intelligence; spoke five languages," he says.

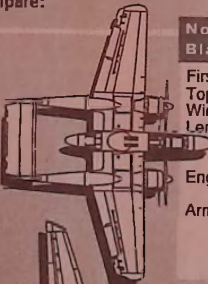
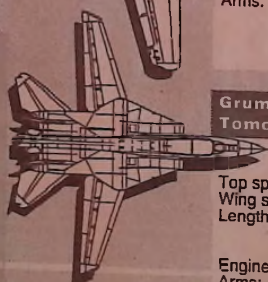
Lovay and Hillman were along for what was supposed to be a proficiency flight for pilot Logan Southfield, who died in 1969. Radar operator Ben Goldstein, who survived the crash, lives in Corona Del Mar, Calif.

A World War II poster in the museum's lounge in Reading shows bombs being loaded into a B-17 and reminds war workers: "Every bomb load counts, make 'em right." Gene Strine's son, Russ, says the museum's volunteers will restore the P-61 based on that dictum. "We want it to look like the day it took off on its last flight."

— Jack Williams

Lost fighter was pioneer

The P-61 was the first U.S. "all weather" warplane to team a pilot and a radar operator. That concept led to modern fighters such as today's F-14. How they compare:

	Northrop P-61 Black Widow
	First flight: 1942 Top speed: 369 mph Wing span: 66 feet Length: 49 feet, 7 in. Engines: 2 turbosupercharged props Arms: four 20mm guns, four 1,600 lb. bombs
	Grumman F-14 Tomcat
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Source: USA TODAY research

By John Sherlock, USA TODAY



SOLE PROT



TOP: Bellaire Elementary School third-grader Anthony Jackson presents the first pieces of the school's American flag to Carlisle Barracks Military Police prepare for a retirement ceremony

Students learn how to di

BY DAN MILLER
Of Our Carlisle Bureau

CARLISLE • Flames shot from a pit behind Bellaire Elementary School as the first pieces of the school's American flag made contact with a bed of hot charcoal.

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their shirts, blocking the wispy smoke wafting in the breeze.

The proper disposal of an American flag is a solemn affair, the learned yesterday as Army military police from Carlisle Barracks retired about 50 flags that were collected over the course of the year.

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SOLEMN PROTOCOL



TOP: Bellaire Elementary School third-grader Anthony Jackson presents a flag to be retired by burning. ABOVE: Carlisle Barracks Military Police prepare for a retirement ceremony held for this flag and dozens of others.

PHOTOS BY DAN GLEITER, The Patriot-News

Students learn how to dispose of flags

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As part of the ongoing training, Bellaire third-graders today will be-

gin raising and lowering the flag at the school every morning that school is in session and weather permits.

A flag donated by Carlisle VFW Post 477, will replace Bellaire's old flag, which was the first one burned in yesterday's ceremony.

The other flags burned were col-

Please see FLAG on Page B3

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USA TODAY research

By John Sherlock, USA TODAY

FLAG: Students learn how to dispose of used banners

Continued from Page B1

lected by the Carlisle Barracks Fire Department.

Disposing of old flags is one of the department's duties, said Lt. Col. Robert Suskie, barracks provost marshal. Some of the flags are turned in by the VFW.

Adhering to flag disposal protocol, Sgt. 1st Class Thomas Gray prepared the school flag for burning by cutting off each of the 13 stripes one by one. At the podium, Sgt. Mark Brummitt presented a history lesson on each of the stripes, which represent the 13 original colonies.

By law, the American flag must be destroyed a dignified way, preferably by burning, Brummitt said.

Suskie suggested people contact the VFW to learn about proper disposal of an American flag.

Midway through the ceremony, the students lined up along a picnic table draped with white cloth and picked up other flags that had been brought to the school for



Military Policeman Sgt. 1st Class Thomas Gray follows the protocol to retire a flag by burning it in a pit outside Bellaire Elementary School.

DAN GLEITER, The Patriot-News

burning. Each pupil carried a flag over to Gray, who placed it on the fire.

As the last flag burned, the white-gloved soldiers stood at attention and saluted while "Taps" played from a speaker.

Bellaire Principal Patrick Byrne said he hoped to give some of the flags to other Carlisle district elementary schools so they can have their own disposal ceremony.

Third-graders are assigned flag pole duties so they can play a role in caring for the school and to prepare for more responsibilities, Byrne

said.

The MPs raise the flag at Carlisle Barracks each day at 6:30 a.m. Third-grader Hasan Alic and two other pupils on his team won't have to do it that early, but the pressure is on them because they'll be the first.

Hasan said he knows how to fold and unfold the flag, thanks to the MPs.

"The easiest way to know how to do it is by making a paper football," Hasan said.

DAN MILLER: 249-2006 or danmiller@patriot-news.com



Verizon Message Center

From: LouPiant@aol.com
To: loupiant@aol.com
Subject: Re: When WW III Started - in 1979

Interesting progression of events...can't imagine that we're destined the same.

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ASA



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Thursday, Sep 25 at 10:37 AM

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STAPLES

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AMERICA NEEDS TO WAKE UP!

That's what we think we heard on the 11th of September 2001 (When more than 3,000 Americans were killed) and maybe it was, but I think it should have been 'Get Out of Bed!' In fact, the alarm clock has been buzzing since 1979 and we have continued to hit the snooze button and roll over for a few more minutes of peaceful sleep since then.

It was a cool fall day in November 1979 in a country going through a religious and political upheaval when a group of Iranian students attacked and seized the American Embassy in Tehran. This seizure was an outright attack on American soil; it was an attack that held the world's most powerful country hostage and paralyzed a Presidency the attack on this sovereign U. S. Embassy set the stage for events to follow for the next 25 years.

America was still reeling from the aftermath of the Vietnam experience and had a serious threat from the Soviet Union when then, President Carter, had to do something. He chose to conduct a clandestine raid in the desert. The ill-fated mission ended in ruin, but stood as a symbol of America's inability to deal with terrorism.

America's military had been decimated and downsized since the end of the Vietnam War. A poorly trained, poorly equipped and poorly organized military was called on to execute a complex mission that was doomed from the start.

Shortly after the Tehran experience, Americans began to be kidnapped and killed throughout the Middle East. America could do little to protect her citizens living and working abroad. The attacks against US soil continued.

In April of 1983 a large vehicle packed with high explosives was driven into the US Embassy compound in Beirut. When it exploded, it kills 63 people. The alarm went off again and America hit the Snooze Button once more.

Then just six short months later in 1983 a large truck heavily laden down with over 2500 pounds of TNT smashed through the main gate of the US Marine Corps headquarters in Beirut and 241 US servicemen are killed. America mourns her dead and hit the Snooze Button once more.

Two months later in December 1983, another truck loaded with explosives is driven into the US Embassy in Kuwait, and America continues her slumber.

The following year, in September 1984,

another van was driven into the gate of the US Embassy in Beirut and America slept.

Soon the terrorism spreads to Europe. In April 1985 a bomb explodes in a restaurant frequented by US soldiers in Madrid.

Then in August 1985 a Volkswagen loaded with explosives is driven into the main gate of the US Air Force Base at Rhein-Main, 22 are killed and the snooze alarm is buzzing louder and louder as US interests are continually attacked.

Fifty-nine days later in 1985 a cruise ship, the Achille Lauro is hijacked and we watched as an American in a wheelchair is singled out of the passenger list and executed.

The terrorists then shift their tactics to bombing civilian airliners when they bomb TWA Flight 840 in April of 1986 that killed 4. And the most tragic bombing, Pan Am Flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland in 1988, killing 259.

The wake up alarm is getting louder and louder.

The terrorists decide to bring the fight to America. In January 1993, two CIA agents are shot and killed as they enter CIA headquarters in Langley, Virginia.

America's military had been decimated and down sized since the end of the Vietnam War. A poorly trained, poorly equipped and poorly organized military was called on to execute a complex mission that was doomed from the start.

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The following month, February 1993, a group of terrorists are arrested after a rented van packed with explosives is driven into the underground parking garage of the World Trade Center in New York City . Six people are killed and over 1000 are injured. Still this is a crime and not an act of war? The Snooze alarm is depressed again.

Then in November 1995 a car bomb explodes at a US military complex in Riyadh Saudi Arabia killing seven service men and women.

A few months later in June of 1996, another truck bomb explodes only 35 yards from the US military compound in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia . It destroys the Khobar Towers , a US Air Force barracks, killing 19 and injuring over 500. The terrorists are getting braver and smarter as they see that America does not respond decisively.

They move to coordinate their attacks in a simultaneous attack on two US embassies in Kenya and Tanzania. These attacks were planned with precision. They kill 224. America responds with cruise missile attacks and goes back to sleep.

The USS Cole was docked in the port of Aden, Yemen for refueling on 12

October 2000 , when a small craft pulled along side the ship and exploded killing 17 US Navy Sailors. Attacking a US War Ship is an act of war, but we sent the FBI to investigate the crime and went back to sleep.

And of course you know the events of 11 September 2001. Most Americans think this was the first attack against US soil or in America . How wrong they are. America has been under a constant attack since 1979 and we chose to hit the snooze alarm and roll over and go back to sleep.

In the news lately we have seen lots of finger pointing from every high official in government over what they knew and what they didn't know. But if you've read the papers and paid a little attention I think you can see exactly what they knew. You don't have to be in the FBI or CIA or on the National Security Council to see the pattern that has been developing since 1979.

I think we have been in a war for the past 25 years and it will continue until we as a people decide enough is enough. America needs to 'Get out of Bed' and act decisively now. America has been changed forever. We have to be ready to pay the price and make the sacrifice to ensure our way of life continues. We cannot afford to keep

hitting the snooze button again and again and roll over and go back to sleep.

After the attack on Pearl Harbor , Admiral Yamamoto said '... it seems all we have done is awakened a sleeping giant.' This is the message we need to disseminate to terrorists around the world.

This is not a political thing to be hashed over in an election year, this is an AMERICAN thing. This is about our Freedom and the Freedom of our children in years to come.

If you believe in this please forward it to as many people as you can especially to the young people and all those who dozed off in history class and who seem so quick to protest such a necessary military action. Vote for folks that understand this situation and won't pretend everything's OK.

If you don't believe it, just delete it and go back to sleep.

In GOD we trust. . . .

This email is free from viruses and malware

why we went VIE

interpretation evolves at
america's most controver

BY MICHAEL LIND

In the decades after the departure of combat troops from Vietnam in March 1975, Americans have had to agree on how to characterize the long, ultimately unsuccessful U.S. military involvement in Indochina. To some, the Vietnam War was a crime – an attempt by the United States to suppress a heroic Vietnamese national liberation movement that had driven French colonialism out of the country. To others, the Vietnam War was a just war needlessly lost by timid policy makers and a biased media. For many who study the Vietnam War as a tragic mistake, the blame is placed about by U.S. leaders who exaggerated the threat of communism and underestimated the strength of the nationalism.

Another interpretation, a fourth one, has emerged, now that the Vietnam War is being studied dispassionately by scholars with greater, though not unlimited, access to all sides.

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why we went to war in VIETNAM

interpretation evolves about
america's most controversial war.

BY MICHAEL LIND

In the decades after the departure of the last U.S. combat troops from Vietnam in March 1973 and the fall of Saigon to communist North Vietnamese forces in April 1975, Americans have been unable to agree on how to characterize the long, costly and ultimately unsuccessful U.S. military involvement in Indochina. To some, the Vietnam War was a crime – an attempt by the United States to suppress a heroic Vietnamese national liberation movement that had driven French colonialism out of its country. To others, the Vietnam War was a forfeit, a just war needlessly lost by timid policymakers and a biased media. For many who study foreign affairs, the Vietnam War was a tragic mistake brought about by U.S. leaders who exaggerated the influence of communism and underestimated the power of nationalism.

Another interpretation, a fourth one, has recently emerged, now that the Vietnam War is history and can be studied dispassionately by scholars with greater, though not unlimited, access to records on all sides.



**VIETNAM
WAR**
50th Anniversary

Combat helicopters of the 1st Air Cavalry Division fly over a radio telephone operator and his commander during Operation Pershing, a search-and-destroy mission on the Bong Son Plain and An Lao Valley in South Vietnam on Jan. 3, 1967. Photo by Patrick Chouteau/Getty Images

the first americans killed in vietnam

Lt. Col. Peter Dewey, Sept. 26, 1945

Dewey led a seven-man Office of Strategic Services (OSS) team to search for missing U.S. pilots and to gather information on the situation in Vietnam after Japan's surrender. In his last report, he wrote: "Cochinchina (South Vietnam) is burning; the French and British are finish here, and we ought to clear out of Southeast Asia." Dewey was gunned down on the way to the Saigon airport by Viet Minh (precursor to the Viet Cong) soldiers, who apparently mistook him for a French officer. His body was never recovered.



James B. McGovern Jr. (pictured) and Wallace Buford, May 6, 1954



Known as "Earthquake McGoon" for a character in the "Li'l Abner" comic strip, McGovern was a former World War II ace who volunteered as a transport pilot for the Civil

Air Transport (CAT) secretly run by the CIA. He and his co-pilot Wallace Buford, were attempting to resupply a besieged French garrison at Dien Bien Phu when ground fire from the Viet Minh crippled their C-119. The plane crashed into a hillside in Laos, killing both men and a French crew chief. McGovern's remains were recovered from an unmarked grave in Laos in 2002 and identified in 2006. He is buried in Arlington National Cemetery.

Tech. Sgt. Richard B. Fitzgibbon Jr., June 8, 1956

Serving in Vietnam as a member of the Military Assistance Advisory Group (MAAG), Fitzgibbon was murdered by another U.S. airman. His son, Marine Lance Cpl. Richard B. Fitzgibbon III, was killed in action in Quang Tin, South Vietnam, on Sept. 7, 1965. They are one of two confirmed father-son pairs to die in the war.

Capt. Harry G. Cramer Jr., Oct. 21, 1957

A wounded combat veteran of the Korean War, Cramer led a team of Green Berets in training South Vietnamese soldiers. He was killed in an explosion near Nha Trang that the Army labeled a training accident. Cramer's comrades claimed that his death was caused by Viet Cong mortar rounds.



Maj. Dale R. Buis and Master Sgt. Chester M. Ovnand, July 8, 1959

Six guerrillas struck the MAAG compound in Bien Hoa north of Saigon, shooting Buis and Ovnand as they watched a movie on a home projector.

Spc. 4 James T. Davis, Dec. 22, 1961



Assigned to the 3rd Radio Research Unit at Tan Son Nhut Air Base, Davis was killed in a Viet Cong ambush near the old French garrison of Cau Xang. President Lyndon Johnson later called Davis "the first American to fall in the defense of our freedom in Vietnam," though historians clarify that he was the first battlefield fatality.

VIETNAM WAR 50th Anniversary

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historians clarify that he was the first battlefield fatality.

The emerging scholarly synthesis interprets the war in the global context of the Cold War that lasted from the aftermath of World War II to the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991. In this view, Vietnam was neither a crime, a forfeit nor a tragic mistake. It was a proxy conflict in the Cold War.

The Cold War was the third world war of the 20th century – itself part of what some have called the Long War or the Seventy-Five Years' War of 1914-1989. Unlike the first two world wars, the Cold War began and ended without direct military conflict between the opposing sides, thanks to the deterrent provided by conventional forces as well as nuclear weapons. Instead, it was fought indirectly through economic embargoes, arms races, propaganda and proxy wars in peripheral nations like Vietnam.

The greatest prizes in the Cold War were the industrial economies of the advanced European and East Asian nations, most of all Germany and Japan. With the industrial might of demilitarized Japan and the prosperous western half of a divided Germany, the United States could hope to carry out its patient policy of containment of a communist bloc that was highly militarized but economically outmatched, until the Soviets sued for peace or underwent internal reform. The Soviet Union could prevail in the Cold War only if it divided the United States from its industrialized allies – not by sponsoring communist takeovers within their borders but by intimidating them into appeasement after convincing them that the United States lacked the resolve or the ability to defend its interests.

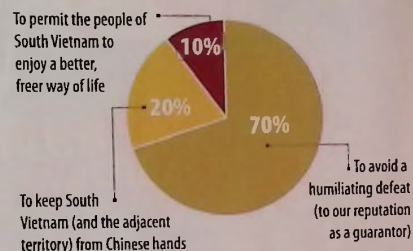
For this reason, most crises of the Cold War, from the Berlin Airlift and the Cuban Missile Crisis to the Korean and Vietnam wars, occurred when the United States responded to aggressive probing by communist bloc nations with dramatic displays of American resolve. The majority of these tests of American credibility took place in four countries divided between communist and non-communist regimes after World War II: Germany, China, Korea and Vietnam.

of the 1st Air Cavalry Division fly
the operator and his commander
Pershing, a search-and-destroy
g Son Plain and An Lao Valley in
on Jan. 3, 1967. Photo by Patrick Davidson/Gallery Images

aware

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In an internal Johnson administration memo of March 1965, Assistant Secretary of Defense John McNaughton emphasized credibility as the most important of several U.S. objectives in Vietnam:



In a speech the following month, President Johnson stressed America's reputation as a guarantor: "Around the globe, from Berlin to Thailand, are people whose well-being rests, in part, on the belief that they can count on us if they are attacked. To leave Vietnam to its fate would shake the confidence of all these people in the value of America's commitment, the value of America's word."

Full-scale war was avoided despite repeated crises involving divided Berlin and Taiwan, where the remnant of China's Nationalist government took refuge after the 1949 victory of Mao Zedong's communists in China. The Cold War soon turned hot in divided Korea and Vietnam.

What Americans call the Vietnam War was the second of three wars in Indochina during the Cold War, in which the United States, the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China intervened in shifting patterns of enmity and alliance. None of these would have occurred in the form that they did if Mao's communists had not come to power in China in 1949. Although the regimes in Moscow and Beijing were enemies of one another by the end of the Cold War, in the conflict's early years the triumph of the Chinese communists created a powerful Sino-Soviet bloc that opposed the United States and its allies around China's periphery: Korea, Taiwan and Vietnam. Direct Chinese military intervention in the Korean War ensured a bloody stalemate rather than reunification of the peninsula under a non-communist regime. At the same time, indirect Chinese and Soviet support in the First Indochina War (1946-1954) helped Ho Chi Minh's communists drive the French from their former colony.

Only a few years after the Geneva Accords in 1954 established the 17th parallel as the boundary between Vietnam's communist north and non-communist south, the Hanoi regime resumed war by means of infiltration and southern insurgents. After the conquest of the south in 1975, Communist Party historian Nguyen Khac Vien admitted, "The Provisional Revolutionary Government was always simply a group emanating from the DRV (Democratic Republic of Vietnam). If we had pretended otherwise for such a long period, it was only because during the war we were not obliged to unveil our cards."

The assassination in 1960 of South Vietnam's dictator, Ngo Dinh Diem, created anarchy that led to rising U.S. involvement - starting with advisers under President Kennedy, then turning to bombing and ultimately large-scale ground forces under Johnson. In 1964, the Johnson administration won congressional passage of the Southeast Asia Resolution after the Gulf of Tonkin incident, using as a pretext for U.S. military intervention the confrontation in which North Vietnam fired on the USS *Maddox*. The number of American forces peaked in 1968, when more than half a million U.S. troops were waging war in South Vietnam, as well as bombing North Vietnam and taking part in incursions into Laos and Cambodia. At great cost in American and Vietnamese lives, the attrition strategy of Gen. William Westmoreland succeeded in preventing the Saigon regime from being overthrown by insurgents. The Tet Offensive of January 1968, perceived in the United States as a setback for American war aims, was in fact a devastating military setback for the north. Thereafter, North Vietnam's only hope was to conquer South Vietnam by means of conventional military campaigns, which the United States successfully thwarted.

In the United States, public opinion grew opposed to the costs in blood and treasure of the controversial war. President Richard Nixon sought to achieve "peace with honor" by combining a policy of "Vietnamization," or South Vietnamese self-reliance, with a policy of détente with the Soviet Union and China, in the hope that the communist powers would pressure the north into ending the war. His strategy failed. Following the Paris Peace Accords of 1973, U.S. combat forces were removed, and the south, deprived by Congress of military aid, was invaded by the north. In 1975, upon uniting Vietnam under their rule in 1975, the victorious heirs of Ho Chi Minh



imposed Marxist-Leninist totalitarianism on the south and helped their allies win power in Laos. The Third Indochina War soon followed. Mao's heirs in China viewed communist Vietnam as a Soviet satellite on their border, and in early 1979 China invaded Vietnam in a brief war, following the 1978 Vietnamese invasion and occupation of Cambodia, during which Vietnamese communists ousted the Chinese-backed regime of the murderous Pol Pot.

Of the three great powers that intervened in Indochina after the ouster of France in the 1950s, the Soviet Union gained the most. By backing Hanoi, Moscow simultaneously obtained an ally on China's border and reasserted its leadership of international Marxism-Leninism. The former U.S. base at Cam Ranh Bay became the largest Soviet military installation outside Eastern Europe. In "The Soviet Union and the Vietnam War" (1996), Russian historian Ilya Gaiduk wrote, "Inspired by its gains and by the decline of U.S. prestige resulting from Vietnam and domestic upheaval, the Soviet leadership adopted a more aggressive and rigid foreign policy, particularly in the Third World."

But in December 1979, only months after China was humiliated in its brief war with Moscow's Vietnamese ally, the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan. That decade-long conflict proved to be Moscow's Vietnam.

Just as the Soviets and Chinese had armed and equipped Vietnamese opponents of U.S. forces in Vietnam, the United States and China - now allies against Moscow - armed and equipped the insurgents who fought the Soviet occupiers of Afghanistan. The Soviet war in Afghanistan was the third major proxy war in the Cold War.

In 1989, the year in which the Berlin Wall fell and the Cold War effectively ended, the Soviet Union withdrew from Afghanistan, as the United States had withdrawn its troops from Indochina a decade and a half earlier.

The United States lost the proxy war in Indochina but prevailed on a global level in the

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Marines of Company E, 2nd Battalion, 9th Marines, evacuate a wounded comrade while under heavy fire in the demilitarized zone during Operation Hickory III on July 29, 1967. *Associated Press/Wide World Photos

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Cold War. The USSR not only lost the Cold War but ceased to exist in 1991. The discredited secular creed of Marxism-Leninism has survived in only a few dictatorships, including China, North Korea and Vietnam.

As the narrative of the 20th century is interpreted, historians are regarding the Vietnam War in a global context that spans decades and concludes with the fall of the Soviet Union. No matter their differences of perspective, they will define the Vietnam War as the Cold War in Indochina.

The interventions of the United States, the Soviet Union and China turned civil wars in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia into proxy wars. This provides an answer to those who claim that the United States, by its intervention, mistakenly turned a pure civil war in Vietnam into part of the Cold War. The United States shared its belief that Indochina was a major theater in the global Cold War with the Soviet Union and China. As Lien-Hang T. Nguyen writes in "Hanoi's War: An International History of the War for Peace in Vietnam": "While Moscow hoped to see Soviet technology defeat American arms in Vietnam, Beijing wanted to showcase the power of Mao's military strategy on the Vietnamese battlefield."

There is no evidence that Ho Chi Minh or his successors ever envisioned the kind of neutrality that Yugoslavia's communist dictator Josip Broz Tito pursued during the Cold War. On the contrary, the North Vietnamese communists identified themselves with the main communist bloc of nations, sought to maintain the support of the Soviets and the Chinese alike, and by the end of the Cold War had turned their country into the Soviet Union's major Asian ally.

Was South Vietnam too marginal an interest to justify a U.S. war in the 1960s and 1970s? To this day, the United States garrisons South Korea and provides arms to Taiwan. If you consider that in today's world, the United States could go to war if China attacks Taiwan and almost certainly would go to war if North Korea attacks South Korea, the use of U.S. military force to defend South Vietnam against North Vietnam at the height of the Cold War seems less puzzling. Indeed, a U.S.

decision in the 1960s not to try to avert a communist takeover of South Vietnam would need explanation.

Viewing the Indochina wars as Cold War proxy wars, along with the conflicts of that era in Korea and Afghanistan, answers one set of critics: the realists. It also provides an answer to other critics who claim that the United States should have been more aggressive toward North Vietnam. In 1978, Adm. William Sharp wrote, "Why were we not permitted to win? In my view, it was partly because political and diplomatic circles in Washington were disproportionately concerned with the possibility of Chinese and Soviet intervention."

The late Col. Harry Summers Jr. argued that the United States allowed itself "to be bluffed by China throughout most of the war."

Undermining this critique is the fact that China and the Soviet Union played a much greater role in the Vietnam War than Americans realized at the time. Fifty percent of all Soviet foreign aid went to North Vietnam between 1965 and 1968. Soviet anti-aircraft teams in North Vietnam brought down dozens of U.S. planes. According to former Soviet colonel Alexei Vinogradov, "The Americans knew only too well that Vietnamese planes of Soviet design were often flown by Soviet pilots."

China's indirect role in Vietnam was even more massive and critical. It is now known that in a secret meeting between Ho Chi Minh and Mao in the summer of 1965, China agreed to enter the war directly if the United States invaded North Vietnam. As it was, China's indirect involvement in Vietnam was its greatest military effort after the Korean War. According to Beijing, between 1965 and 1973, there were 320,000 Chinese troops assigned to North Vietnam, with a maximum of 170,000 – roughly a third of the maximum number of U.S. forces – in the south at their peak. On Sept. 23, 1968, Mao asked North Vietnamese premier Pham Van Dong, "Why have the Americans not made a fuss about the fact that more than 100,000 Chinese troops help you building railways, roads and airports although they know about it?"

Historian Chen Jian concludes that "without the support, the history, even the outcome of the Vietnam War, might have been different."

Nobody can ever prove that the People's Liberation Army would have fought U.S. troops directly if the United States had invaded North Vietnam. But the depth of China's involvement in the war suggests that U.S. policymakers were being prudent, not pusillanimous, when they worried that China would send troops to fight directly in

Vietnam as it had done in Korea. Reviewing the evidence, historian Qiang Zhai concludes, "If the actions recommended by (Col. Harry) Summers had been taken by Washington in Vietnam, there would have been a real danger of a Sino-American war with dire consequences for the world. In retrospect, it appears that Johnson had drawn the correct lesson from the Korean War and had been prudent in his approach to the Vietnam conflict."

From today's perspective, the Vietnam War looks less like a senseless blunder on the part of the United States than like a replay of the Korean War in a different region with a different outcome. Elsewhere in Asia, including the Philippines, Malaya and Indonesia, communist insurgencies were defeated by local governments, sometimes with the help of British or French advisers and combat troops. It may be that those insurgencies failed, while communist regimes survived in part of Korea and unified Vietnam, because of one factor: the absence of a land border with post-1949 communist China, which provided material support, manpower and deterrence of a U.S. escalation that might risk wider war with China.

Ever since the fall of Saigon, Americans have sought to draw lessons from Vietnam, but some have been short-lived. In the late 20th century, U.S. policymakers and military strategists, hoping to put the memory of Vietnam behind them, focused on swift, high-tech warfare against technologically advanced adversaries – only to painfully relearn forgotten lessons in Iraq and Afghanistan about counterinsurgency and nation-building.

In the aftermath of Vietnam, the United States sought to put Asian conflicts behind it. But the recently announced "pivot" away from the Middle East toward Asia is widely viewed as an American strategy of containing China, with which the United States fought bloody proxy wars in Vietnam and Korea in living memory. In a Sino-American conflict in the 21st century, Vietnam might even be an American ally.

As a historical event, the Vietnam War is an unchanging part of the past. As a symbol, it will continue to evolve, reflecting the values and priorities of later generations. In discussing and debating the nation's most controversial war, Americans would do well to remember the words of the poet T.S. Eliot: "There is no such thing as a Lost Cause, because there is no such thing as a Gained Cause." ☐

Michael Lind is the author of "Vietnam: The Necessary War."

HOLIDAY MOVIE PREVIEW

WHEN THE HERO DIES AT THE END

Inspired by heroism and tragedy, Bradley Cooper offers a riveting portrayal of a Navy SEAL in *American Sniper*
By ISAAC GUZMÁN

READ THE OPENING CHAPTERS OF CHRIS Kyle's memoir *American Sniper* and the unvarnished experience of a Navy SEAL might leave you speechless. He never acclimates to the "stench" of Iraq, considers enemies "savages" and wishes he had shot more than the 160 insurgents he's credited with killing during four tours of duty—because he would have saved more American lives. Kyle thinks in black and white, and he is proud that his love of country and family is equalled by the hate he feels for the enemy. If it hadn't been for his wife and two children, Kyle would have gone back for more action, because protecting SEALs, Marines and soldiers was fun—even, he writes, "the time of my life."

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But Bradley Cooper and the filmmakers behind *American Sniper*, out Dec. 25, channeled Kyle's provocative stance into a larger truth. In the finest role of his

career, Cooper plays Kyle as a man torn between duty, family and a sense of unending war that is killing him with bullets, RPGs or IEDs—plenty do their best to find him with the grinding, dehumanizing of being death's constant companion. His portrayal is all the more poignant

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—Bradley Cooper

Photograph by Bjarne Jonasson for TIME

HOLIDAY MOVIE PREVIEW

WHEN THE HERO DIES AT THE END

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that Kyle didn't survive to see himself on the big screen.

A Character Amid Carnage

IN 2012, COOPER'S NEW PRODUCTION company joined with Warner Bros. to buy screenwriter Jason Dean Hall's adaptation of Kyle's memoir. Cooper called Kyle on the phone and the two men spoke briefly, but the actor didn't recognize the tough-as-nails narrator who propelled the book onto the *New York Times* best-seller list for over 30 straight weeks. "He was complicated," Cooper tells *TIME*. "He might have written that stuff in his book, but he also saw the gray areas. He had to fight to get things right with his family and his wife Taya, because he didn't want to be like the 90% of SEALs who wind up divorced." After spending time with Taya, Kyle's parents and his friends, Cooper came to see the ex-sniper as a charismatic Texan with a preternatural calmness that inspired warmth in those around him.

Aside from Kyle's terrifying accomplishments as a sniper, what sets his autobiography apart is that he turns a good chunk of it over to Taya, who describes how the war changed her husband and their family life irrevocably. So Cooper's *American Sniper* depicts two fronts: one in Iraq, the other back home. Like 2008's *The Hurt Locker*, it is a soldier's movie—one that documents the personal toll of conflict without questioning whether the war itself was worth all the carnage.

"It's really a character study more than a war movie," says Cooper, who as a producer initially wanted Chris Pratt to play Kyle. "I really got to immerse myself in Chris and how he saw things, how he talked, how he thought. His family really opened up everything to me. There were hours and hours of interviews and videos they had of him. He had this really specific Texas accent, and it would change depending on who he was talking to."

Cooper grew to love that voice, so much so that when Cooper slipped into Kyle's twang on set, he kept it going for three straight months without breaking. "It wasn't that I was in character for the whole time," he explains. "It just made it easier to be in that register all the time. I found myself on the phone or just going about my life talking like Chris."

Studying the art of war Cooper gained 40-plus pounds of muscle, trained with a Navy sniper and studied hours of interviews to play Kyle

Photograph by Bjarne Jonasson for *TIME*

FROM ARCHIVE

HOLIDAY MOVIE PREVIEW

Still, Kyle's father Wayne had a nagging doubt about Cooper. "You do realize that my son was about twice your size," he said. Cooper's response: "I'm going to work on that." And he did. It's not just a grizzled beard that transforms the actor—it's also his neck, which is monstrous after growing three collar sizes, thanks to a regimen of hourly meals and constant workouts that added 40-plus pounds of bulk to the actor's frame.

His portrayal impressed the one person most likely to see any cracks in the facade: Taya Kyle. "It's surreal," she says. "It's not just Bradley playing Chris—it's Chris, honest to God. He spoke like Chris, he worked out to Chris' workout music, he got the way he walked, he got inside of his heart and soul."

Such transformations are the stuff of Oscar legend, and if there will ever be a season in which the handsome dude from *The Hangover* franchise is going to be taken seriously, it's this one. On Broadway, Cooper's portrayal of John Merrick in a production of *The Elephant Man*—a role that requires complete physical immersion, without the aid of prosthetics, into a character afflicted by a disfiguring disease—is setting box-office records at the Booth Theatre. He's been lauded by the Academy before: he earned Oscar nominations for Best Actor in *Silver Linings Playbook*, in which he played a bipolar man who finds a muse in Jennifer Lawrence, and Best Supporting Actor in *American Hustle*, in which he portrayed an aggressive, highly emotional cop. But those performances, both directed by David O. Russell, had strong comic elements, and *American Sniper* is deadly serious.

Russell was Cooper's first choice to direct *Sniper*; he says they discussed the film while wrapping production on *American Hustle*. Then Steven Spielberg signed on, but he reportedly had a grander vision of the film and couldn't come to terms with the studio. Finally, they found a director who knew a thing or two about both making and acting in war movies: Clint Eastwood. The venerable filmmaker has a number of straight-up combat films to his name, including *Firefox*, *Heartbreak Ridge* and *Flags of Our Fathers*. But he has consistently done his best work when grappling with big themes—

murder, guilt, mercy, forgiveness—in movies like *Unforgiven*, *Million Dollar Baby* and *Mystic River*. *American Sniper* neatly connects those two sides of Eastwood's repertoire.

"I guess you could call it a war film, because it's about the war," Eastwood says. "But really it's about relationships and the obstacles people have to overcome when they're involved in the service."

Cooper was thrilled to have Eastwood on set, especially when he needed to deliver lines like, "I would lay down my life for my country"—something Kyle was never shy of saying—and not have them register as clichés or propaganda. With Eastwood behind the camera, *Sniper* elegantly depicts Kyle's shift from loving husband and unabashed patriot to shadowy figure who hides from his wife and is startled by the sound of a lawn mower or the rambunctious play of a boy and his dog. Eastwood pays Cooper his highest compliment, saying, "I never once caught him acting in the picture, which I loved. He embodied the part."

A Good Deed Is Punished

BY THE TIME EASTWOOD ARRIVED IN THE fall of 2013, a huge shift in the story had taken place. To overcome symptoms of PTSD after leaving the Navy in 2009, Kyle

set out to help other veterans struggling to adapt to life at home. With his outsized reputation and knowledge of sharpshooting, he started a nonprofit that engaged vets in the finer points of riflery and gave them a chance to learn that even a decorated, celebrated tough guy like Kyle had trouble reconnecting with those he cared about after spending so much time on ultra-high alert in combat zones.

On Feb. 2, 2013, Kyle and a friend took a veteran named Eddie Ray Routh, 27, who had been having serious bouts of PTSD and mental illness, out for a day of target practice. Routh's mother worked at the school Kyle's children attended, and she asked if Kyle could spend some time with him. It seemed like a typical session until a shooting range employee discovered the bodies of Kyle and his friend; Routh had allegedly shot them both and made off with Kyle's pickup truck. Police arrested him that night and say he confessed to the murders. Routh has pleaded not guilty to the charges.

"When I heard that Chris had been killed, it was one of those choking moments where your brain hears the information and your body is trying to catch up with what it all means," Cooper says. Now the movie faced a new question: Should they show the horrific last moments of a man killed with the bullets of his own gun, by a fellow veteran he was trying to help?

"I gave it some strong thought," Eastwood says. "I had an ending in mind that included the shooting range, but that's not what the story is about. I didn't want to come back and do a big martyrism scene." Instead, there is simple text on a black screen after a final shot of Kyle getting into his pickup truck with Routh.

It's still chilling, more so when we see real-life video of thousands of people waving flags and banners along the highway as Kyle's hearse passes. It underscores the challenges we face in caring for the men and women who do battle on our behalf; thousands have returned not only with physical wounds but also psychic ones. Cooper wants viewers to empathize with what vets have experienced. In the film, he says, Kyle "is traversing the line from home life to being in country, and the viewer goes through that as well. So if people get a feel for the impact that has on a human, if anybody can have a little bit more of an understanding of what that does, then we've been successful." ■



The Devil of Ramadi Cooper as Kyle in full battle mode; the sniper had 160 confirmed kills in Iraq, a military record

HOLIDAY MOVIE PREVIEW

THE LADY AND THE SCAMP. ANGELINA JOLIE FINDS HER EQUA

How the actor turned director fell for Louis Zamperini, a gutsy survivor with just the kind of unbelievable story she wanted to tell
By LEV GROSSMAN/LOS ANGELES

THE HARD PART ABOUT MAKING A MOVIE from Louis Zamperini's life story is that his life was barely plausible enough to be a movie in the first place. Zamperini was born in 1917, the delinquent child of Italian immigrants, and grew up to become a track star: he made the U.S. Olympic team when he was only 19. When World War II broke out, he became a bombardier in the Pacific theater. In 1943, his plane went down in the ocean.

Zamperini drifted in an open boat for 47 days, subsisting on rainwater and raw fish before washing up on the Marshall Islands. He spent the next two years in brutal Japanese prisoner-of-war camps, where he was singled out for persecution by a sadistic Japanese officer. He barely survived, but through it all he never lost hope, and his life is a monument to the human ability to endure and persevere.

Hollywood has been toying with Zamperini's story for more than 50 years—Tony Curtis was going to play him in 1956 but made *Spartacus* instead. Now on Dec. 25, *Unbroken* arrives in theaters, starring a little-known English actor named Jack O'Connell as Zamperini. Its director is better-known, though not for being a director: she's Angelina Jolie.

Jolie's life is in some ways only a little more plausible than Zamperini's. She's

gone from a B-movie actress to a winner to one of Hollywood's p stars. (She topped *Forbes*' list in 2011 and 2013.) In the '90s her turbulent personal life made her a star on the tabloids; now she's a devotee (to Brad Pitt) and mother (to six three biological, three adopted) also a leading humanitarian—years ago she was made a special representative for the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees—and last year she received the New York Times that she'd received a double mastectomy. No director, *Unbroken* is her second.

Based on all that, you would think Jolie to be a dervish of manic energy in person she's calm and still. She looks very much as she does on camera, with large eyes and and *Maleficent* cheekbones. Zamperini's story is one of suffering, but Jolie drew to its uplifting core. "There's a lot of darkness in the story, but with the U.N., there's so much light," she says. "And then to have a man like Louis, who was this little immigrant troublemaker who thought he was worth anything—it. I needed something positive through all the things that kept at night."

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“You could call it a war film, because about the war,” Eastwood says. “It’s about relationships and how people have to overcome what you’re involved in the service.” “I was thrilled to have Eastwood especially when he needed to decide, like, ‘I would lay down my life for my country’—something Kyle was not saying—and not have them be clichés or propaganda. With behind the camera, *Sniper* depicts Kyle’s shift from loving and unabashed patriot to a shadow who hides from his wife and by the sound of a lawn mower and unctious play of a boy and his god pays Cooper his highest compliment, saying, ‘I never once caught in the picture, which I loved. I did the part.’”

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COOPER: WARREN BROS.; LAWRENCE: LUMINATE; THE INTERVIEW: EG ARAGONE—COLUMBIA PICTURES



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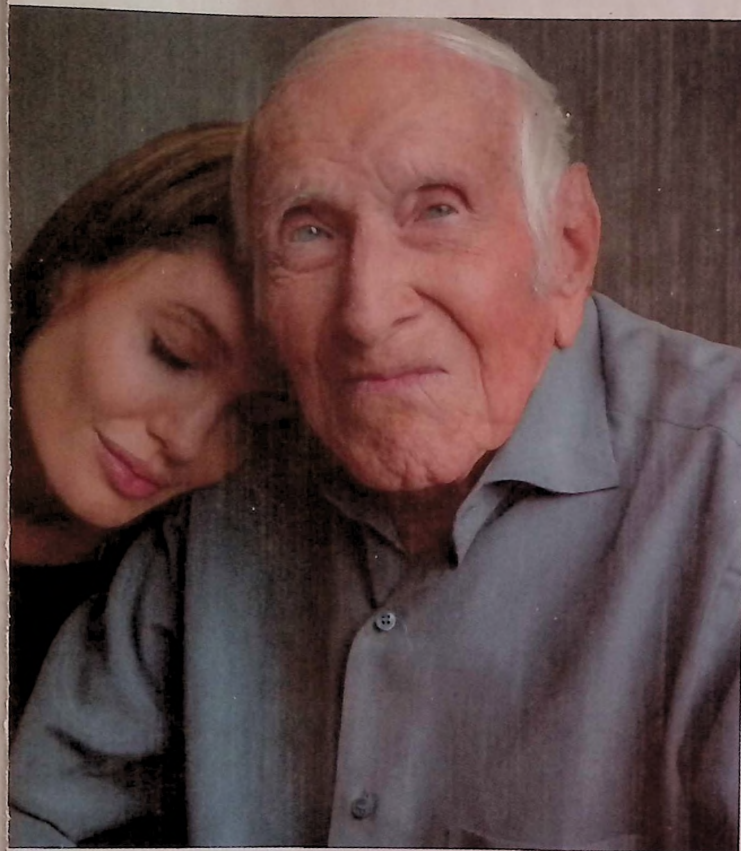
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gone from a B-movie actress to an Oscar winner to one of Hollywood’s priciest stars. (She topped *Forbes*’ list in 2009, 2011 and 2013.) In the ‘90s her turbulent personal life made her a staple of the tabloids; now she’s a devoted wife (to Brad Pitt) and mother (to six kids, three biological, three adopted). She’s also a leading humanitarian—two years ago she was made a special envoy for the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees—and last year she revealed in the *New York Times* that she’d had a preventive double mastectomy. Now she’s a director; *Unbroken* is her second film.

Based on all that, you would expect Jolie to be a dervish of manic energy, but in person she’s calm and still. She doesn’t fidget. She looks very much as she does on camera, with large eyes and full lips and *Maleficent* cheekbones. Zamperini’s story is one of suffering, but Jolie was drawn to its uplifting core. “Traveling with the U.N., there’s so much that can feel so overwhelming and so negative,” she says. “And then to have an example like Louis, who was this little Italian immigrant troublemaker who didn’t think he was worth anything—I needed it. I needed something positive to get me through all the things that keep me up at night.”



For somebody who’s spent so much of her life in front of cameras, Jolie seems pretty relieved to get into the director’s chair. “I don’t want to be that person in the spotlight,” she says. “I’m much more at home sitting with the sound guys and the grips, in my boots, working.” In fact she has a kind of nerdy affinity for the nuts and bolts of filmmaking—she lights up when she talks about those aspects. Laura Hillenbrand, who wrote the hugely best-selling biography on which the film is based, recalls Jolie asking her to figure out what color uniform a high school track-and-field team would have worn in 1935. “My heart soared at the question,” Hillenbrand says. “It’s easy to fudge things. It’s hard to be devoted to doing things right. She’s taken the hard path.”



Jolie's background also gives her a special feel for her actors: she sees her set as a protective bubble, free of distraction, where emotion can safely come out. "In terms of the configurations, scheduling, admin, all that boring stuff, she really kept that separate," says O'Connell. "I only recall on set one conversation that wasn't relevant to what we were doing there, and that was my fault. I started asking her about the Beatles, if she'd met them. And it turns out she had."

On occasion, Jolie had to balance her protective instinct with her obsession over detail. For the scenes at the 1936 Olympics, she made the cast wear old-fashioned running shoes. "The shoes exercise a different muscle, and their legs were cramping," she says. "The mother in me would say, 'Let's

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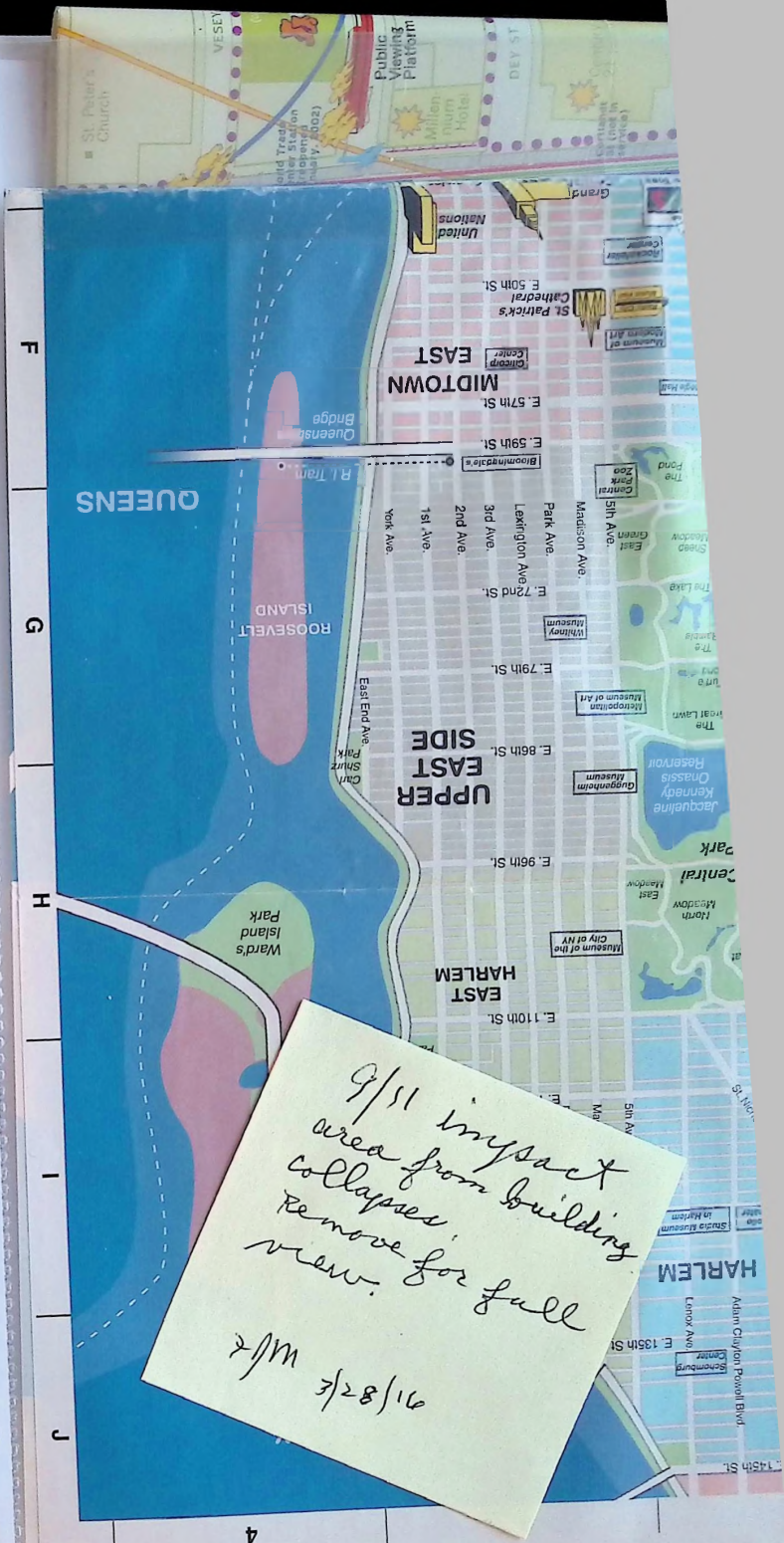


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Zamperini died this past July, at 97, but Jolie spent enough time with him to form a deep bond: his children, Luke Zamperini and Cynthia Garris, describe Jolie and Pitt as honorary Zamperinis. She showed a cut of the film to the man himself in the hospital on her laptop. "If it was only for this moment, I was happy I made the film," Jolie says. "It was one of the most profound moments of my life. I brought it thinking he would have some critique on filmmaking. It was just a man watching his life and remembering his friends. It was beautiful."

She has already gotten her most important review, but Jolie shows no signs of resting on her laurels. Since *Unbroken* wrapped, she married Pitt—after seven years together—and she has already shot another film, *By the Sea*, which she wrote and co-starred in with her new husband. "We just finished it about a week ago, this little independent movie about grief and marriage and life," she says. "Brad and I did it together—on our honeymoon, we played a very unhappily married couple."

Unbroken is a biopic, but there is a small undercurrent of autobiography in it. Like Zamperini, Jolie had a wayward youth, and like him she found her career, purpose and place in life. "I think I do connect to people who could be written off as wild or dark, or who are just full of fire and looking for a place to put that fire," she says. "It's an important lesson to learn, and it's something I did learn: you live on behalf of others and you're happier and you have purpose. And you have a great excuse to have all that fire."



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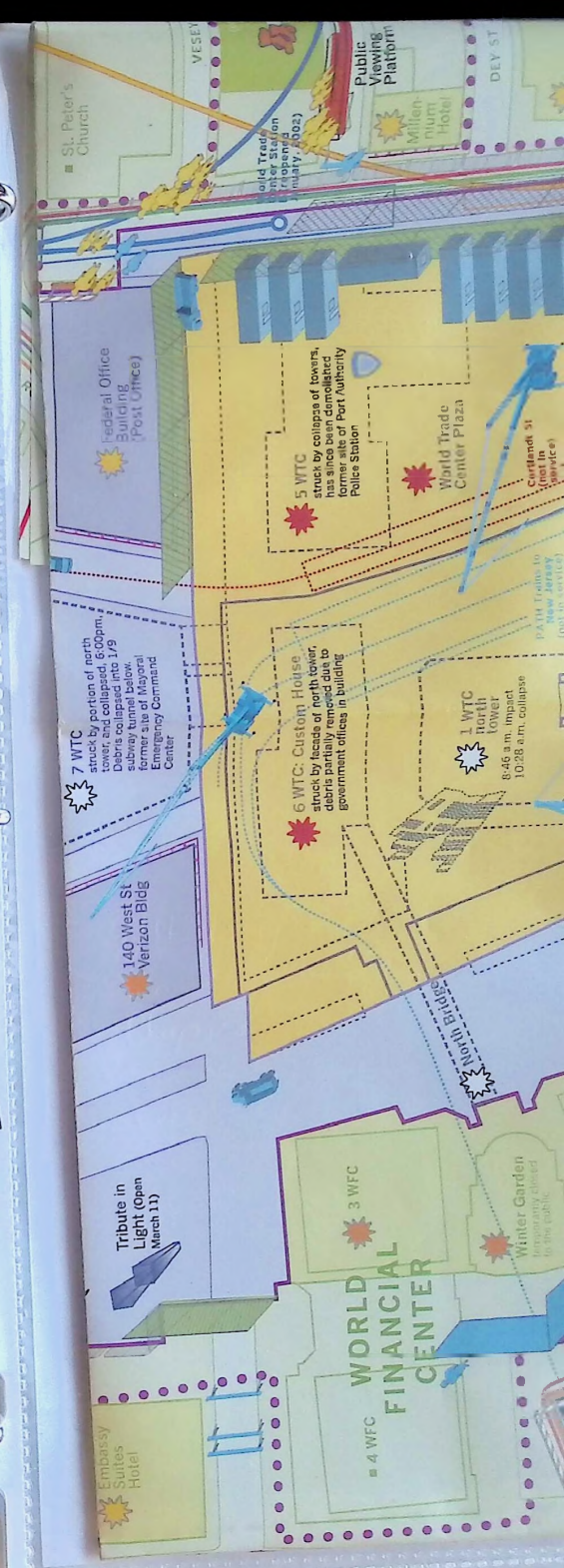
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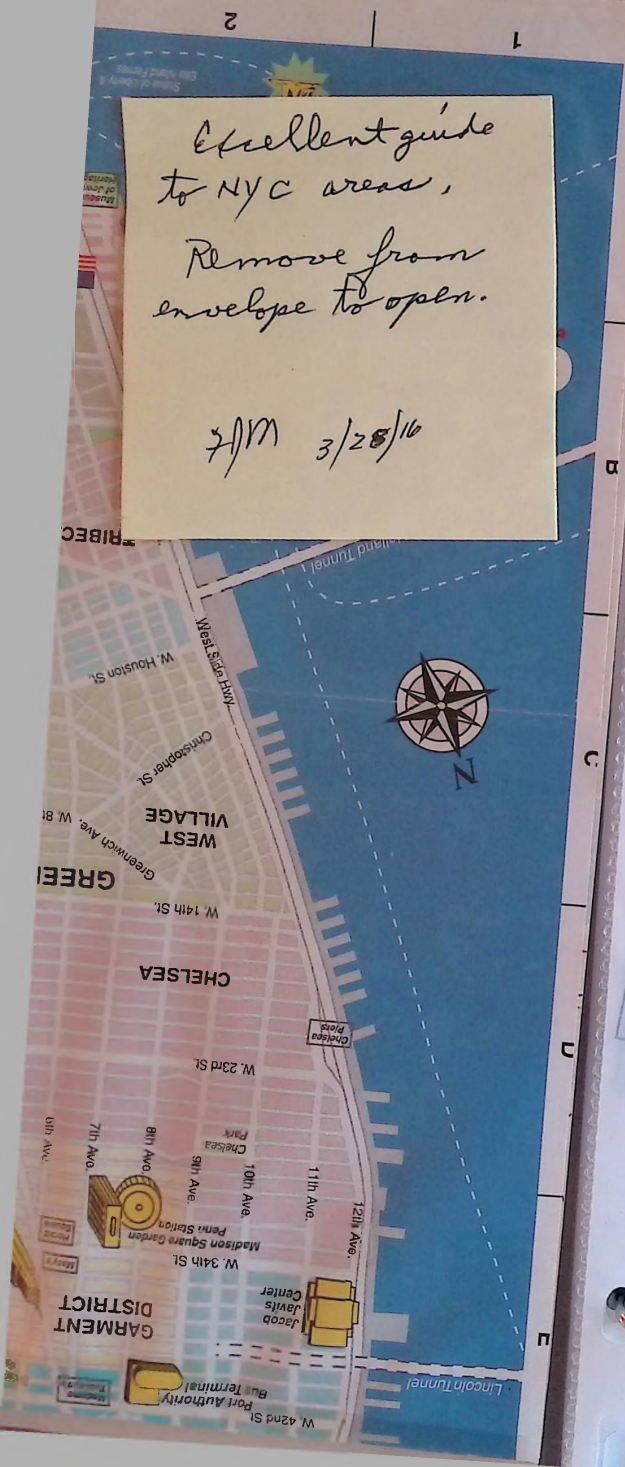


Excellent guide
to NYC areas,
Remove from
envelope to open.

2/11 3/28/16



7/11 3/28/16





Wall of the missing, St. Vincent's Hospital, September 2001. Photograph by Margaret Morton

Around Ground Zero

14TH STREET
POLICE LINE
SEPT 11-14, 2001

Ground Zero (also referred to as the inner zone, the pile, the pit, the site, the zone) is where the twin towers and the neighboring buildings of the World Trade Center collapsed, leaving a 16-story pile of debris and fragments of the exterior structural walls. The pile now removed, consisted primarily of dust made up of the pulverized contents of the towers, extending deep into the underground base of the complex. As this foundation is excavated, "the bathtub," a 70 foot-deep slurry wall holding back the Hudson River and dating from the construction of the towers, has been exposed at the western side of the site.

The site is accessible to construction and rescue workers, firefighters and police involved in these efforts, public officials and the press, and others with special authorization. Recovery and removal operations go on 24 hours a day.

As of early March 2002, some 3,000 people are thought to have died at Ground Zero, including the 147 passengers aboard the two planes that struck the towers. The debris is removed carefully to allow for the identification of the missing. Ambulances, bearing the remains of the victims are increasingly rare; a police escort may indicate that they are carrying the body of a firefighter, police officer, or emergency worker.

Very large  **cranes**, typically used in  **mining operations**, were used to remove most of the debris, and in the process became a new landmark for downtown Manhattan.

 **Trucks** carrying debris from the site leave it frequently. The rubble is taken to Piers 6 and 25 and loaded onto  **barges** for shipment to New York Harbor to the Statue of Liberty Island.



A project of the Temporary Memorials Committee
New York New Visions Coalition for Rebuilding

Concept and Design: Laura Kurgan
Project team: Janette Kim and Bethia Liu
and Donald Shillingburg. Photography: M
Printing: AGW Lithographers, Inc. This ma
Sample Porcelain 80 text.

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For information: <http://www.aroundgroundzero.org>
Web design: Razorfish
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Carrying debris from the site, it is frequently. The debris is moved to Piers 6 and 25 and barges for shipment to New York Harbor to the landfill on Staten Island. The debris is examined by investigators. What remains of the steel is transported to Brooklyn for recycling. The debris is



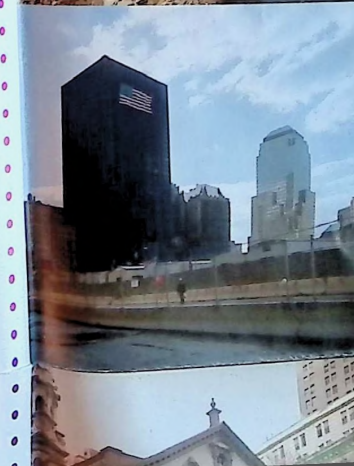
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Ground Zero (also referred to as the inner zone, the pile, the pit, the site, the zone) is where the twin towers and the neighboring buildings of the World Trade Center collapsed, leaving a 16-story pile of debris and fragments of the exterior structural walls. The pile now removed, consisted primarily of dust made up of the pulverized contents of the towers, extending deep into the underground base of the complex. As this foundation is excavated, "the bathtub," a 70 foot-deep slurry wall holding back the Hudson River and dating from the construction of the towers, has been exposed at the western side of the site.

The site is accessible to construction and rescue workers, firefighters and police involved in these efforts, public officials and the press, and others with special authorization. Recovery and removal operations go on 24 hours a day.

As of early March 2002, some 3,000 people are thought to have died at Ground Zero, including the 147 passengers aboard the two planes that struck the towers. The debris is removed carefully to allow for the identification of the missing. Ambulances, bearing the remains of the victims are increasingly rare; a police escort may indicate that they are carrying the body of a firefighter, police officer, or emergency worker.

Very large  **cranes**, typically used in mining operations, were used to remove most of the debris, and in the process became a new landmark for downtown Manhattan.

 **Trucks** carrying debris from the site leave it frequently. The rubble is taken to Piers 6 and 25 and loaded onto  **barges** for shipment across New York Harbor to the Fresh Kills landfill on Staten Island, where it is reexamined by investigators and engineers. What remains of the steel structure is transported to Brooklyn for examination and then to scrapyards in New Jersey for recycling. The debris is estimated to weigh 1.35 million tons, about two thirds of which had been removed by March.

 There is no **public access** to Ground Zero beyond the "red line." Although it runs through buildings and other obstacles, it is visible as a chain-link fence covered in green fabric. Several construction access gates at major streets are guarded by police or National Guard troops. Between the fence and the inner zone are areas used for staging, storage, construction and emergency vehicles. The **green fence** prevents visitors from interfering with recovery and demolition work and ensures the safety of the public. The temporary barriers can be moved to allow for different conditions on a daily basis. Though segments of the fence obstruct the view, visitors have appropriated them as sites of memory and witness.

 The openings afforded by cross streets and avenues often allow **views** of the site. As the demolition progresses, these locations change. There are two official **viewing platforms**.  Just inside the site at the southwest corner, the Port Authority platform has been used by dignitaries, celebrities, officials, and by the victims' families, many of whom have written messages on the handrails. A public viewing platform has been built on Fulton Street, near Broadway. It too has become a repository of messages left by visitors.  **Tickets** to the viewing platform are distributed daily at the South Street Seaport Museum's ticket booth at Fulton and South Street on Pier 16.



COURTESY FEMA/MITRE

In addition to the collapsed WTC buildings there were some 45 seriously damaged buildings around the site. Many of these have been repaired and reopened. Some of these structures have been temporarily covered by construction **curtains**  to prevent injury and damage from falling debris.

Within and around the site, many spontaneous **memorials** to the dead and missing have been constructed, disassembled, lost, removed, moved, or rebuilt since September 11. At Ground Zero, large pieces of the building, notably the remnants of the walls and fragments of its steel structure, served as markers of the catastrophe until mid-December. At the fence, the viewing platforms and elsewhere, memorials have included candles, photographs, flowers, flags, messages, and teddy bears, which have become the most prominent symbols of mourning

and memory. Two memorials were created along the Battery Park Esplanade, one for uniformed officers and the other (a wall of hundreds of teddy bears, now largely removed) for civilian victims. The fence along St. Paul's Chapel on Broadway at Fulton Street has been a constant, if changing, memorial site. An unclaimed bicycle on Broadway at Cedar Street serves as a memorial to the unknown number of undocumented immigrant workers who died on September 11. Thousands of flyers with the photographs of the missing, their names and descriptions, were posted at hospitals, rescue centers, bus stops, and phone booths around the City. They first appeared as signs of hope, and later became markers of loss and memory.

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HOUSTON STREET
POLICE LINE
SEPT 11-14, 2001

CANAL STREET
POLICE LINE
SEPT 11-14, 2001

CHAMBERS STREET
MILITARY LINE
SEPT 11-15, 2001

http://www.aroundgroundzero.net.
New York
NewVisions
Ground Zero

Looking and listening, a walk around the site inspires imagination, mourning, and recollection, allows us to participate in charting a future course, and to measure our disorientation in the face of the unimaginable.

remnants of the buildings, the traces of these acts change, are disassembled and remade, often disappearing forever.

Since September 11, 2001, the area around Ground Zero in Lower Manhattan has provided the site for a multitude of private and public acts of remembrance, respect, and understanding. Like the

(Family Member, The New York Times, October 25, 2001)

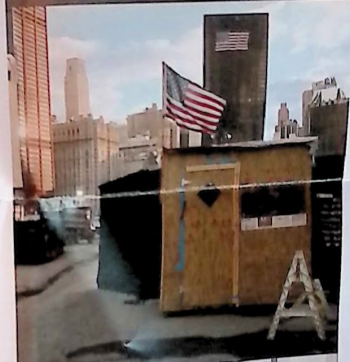
"It is a burial ground. It is a cemetery, where the men and women we loved are buried. Where they rest is now hallowed ground."

Cafe Hare
934 4300

AROUND GROUND ZERO
Mar 2002



...y institute; Princeton University, ...
The Van Alen Institute; and two anonymous donors.
For information: <http://www.aroundgroundzero.net>
Web design: Razorfish
Web hosting: Logicworks



Around Ground Zero, February 2002. Photographs by Margaret Morton

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site officials.

GROUND ZERO

Mar 2002

"It is a burial ground. It is a
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AROUND GROUND ZERO

Mar 2002

Cole Adams
633 4300

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(Family Member, The New York Times, October 25, 2001)

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Associated Press photos

New York rescue workers comb through the debris of the World Trade Center. What was a seven-story high pile of wreckage on Sept. 11 is now a seven-story deep hole.

ALMOST DONE

As cleanup work at ground zero nears completion, workers face dealing with long-delayed grief

Associated Press

NEW YORK — With the debris nearly gone and the cleanup just a month from completion, the workers who have spent nearly every day at the World Trade Center ruins since Sept. 11 face what could be a wrenching change in their lives.

Some have yet to begin grieving for the friends they lost. Many fear losing the bonds of friendship forged through the emotionally and physically exhausting labor. Others are nervous about returning to the lives they had before the terrorist attack. And some of those who lost their firefighter sons do not want to face the day when they have to stop searching.

The sun now shines as warmly as it did more than seven months ago, when workers began picking through rubble that stood 10 stories high. Now, ground zero is reduced to a seven-story pit, and buds are sprouting on a tiny tree nearby.

"The other day, I brushed into the tree, and I do a double

take," said Mark Winslow, a Port Authority police lieutenant. "I look at it, and the tree leaves are starting to bud. I say, 'Oh my God. We have been here a long time. We went through three seasons.'"

As the scenery changed around them, rescue workers stifled their grief and ignored the symptoms of stress.

"The task that you have at hand is so important that your attention and concentration is on that—it's not like you have time to sit down and think about what happens," said Port Authority Police Lt. John Ryan, who oversees the recovery of remains.

Sgt. John Flynn, whose best friend and partner, Gregg J. Froehner, was killed in the attack, said he has not begun to grieve for that loss or the many others. Thirty-seven Port Authority police officers were among the more than 2,800 people killed.

"I know it's going to come. I know there's going to be a



A steel beam from the World Trade Center, covered in graffiti, photographs and flowers, will be the last piece of wreckage removed from the site.

See Grief, Page A8

WORLD TRADE CENTER CLEANUP

Grief

(Continued from Page A1)

point in time where I hit a wall," said Flynn, 47.

The Port Authority police and the city police and fire departments have already offered extensive counseling to all their members but are still grappling with how to provide therapy to the ground zero workers. Port Authority police are considering a weekend retreat for the officers.

"People have become attached to the site — it's become a mission and an obsession to try and recover all those people who lost their lives," said Richard Sheirer, former director of the city emergency management office. "When that's over, it's going to be difficult for everyone, whether it's the grappler operator or a firefighter looking for a friend."

Some retired firefighters dread that the end will come before they find their sons' remains. They have spent nearly every day there, yet remains have been identified for only 182 of the 343 firefighters killed.

"All these months down here, you figure eventually you'd get

killed. "It's very hard, walking away."

Firefighter Dennis O'Berg, 55, retired earlier than he had planned after losing his son on Sept. 11. He has sought relief by working at the site, forming relationships with others looking for their lost sons.

"I wish it would go on, I do," O'Berg said. "As long as we're still looking, we still have hope that I'm going to find my son and everyone else who's left."

The last remaining heaps of debris are expected to be cleared by May. About 800 laborers toil there during a 24-hour period, 150 of them firefighters or police officers. Workers have removed more than 1.5 million tons of rubble and found more than 19,000 body parts.

When the task is done and they return to work, they are likely to find their jobs have changed. Protecting the city is different now, and new faces will replace co-workers lost.

"When you do something every day for as long a period of time as this has been, you grow to develop friendships. And when the site is done, we won't be working together on a daily basis," said Ryan, the Port Authority officer. "Unless you're actually here and going

gift for Ralph Eusebio
imagine that almost
We'll be back in
have several March
This might be the
Try!
Meanwhile - stay
year ...

Dear Ann Marie and D.
It's always great to
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LEANUP

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officer. "Unless
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gift for Ralph Emerson's retirement. It's hard to
imagine that almost 50 years have passed!

We'll be back in the east in late February;
have several March commitments, but maybe
this might be the year to meet. I promise, we'll
try!

Meanwhile - stay well. Hope it's a good
year

Mel

Dear Ann Marie and Mike,

It's always great to hear from you. We're still
bi-coastal - back and forth between San Diego &
Brooklyn. Aside from you & poor Jerry Schiff, have
had almost no contact with the Penn gang. Heard
from Jackson many years ago. Wrote a note & sent a

...FOR PEACE,

JOY,

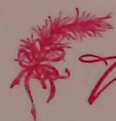
AND HAPPINESS.

Affectionately,

Charlotte and Mel

HOLIDAY
WISHES

Dear Mike and Ann Marie,

 With all good wishes
for the new year.

We're still bi-coastal. We enjoy many
aspects of life in California but still seem to
need the stimulation of N.Y.C.

Everyone gets to California eventually.
How about a visit?

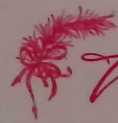
California # (858) 792-6532

Fondly,
Charlotte and
Mel





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Fondly,
Charlotte and
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Francis J. Micheline, Ph.D.

December 27, 2001

Dr. Melvin Belsky

Dear Mel:

It was so good to get your card and note today. It is hard to believe how the time has gone but fifty years ago on Christmas I got engaged to Anne Marie and today is our 49th wedding anniversary. Next year will be the fiftieth and if you wind up on the East coast next year over the holidays I hope it will find you attending our anniversary party!

When we read your card it was a definite, YES, we would like to visit together when you get back to Brooklyn. We are going on a cruise last week in February but by April we should have a fairly clear calendar to plan a visit to New York. We used to get to the city when we were younger but would you believe it's been at least 25 years since we went and stayed for a couple of days? We want to do it while we still can so let's set a time so we can book a hotel and spend some time relaxing and telling war stories from Penn.

I gathered from your note that you were unaware that Jack Ward died a few years ago. I saw him at a casino in Atlantic City one night about five years ago and he was a lonely man. His two daughters were very bright and successful but alienated from their dad for some reason.

We see John and Natalie Wallace kids, sometimes at the house in D.C. which the kids still own on A Street, N.E. right behind the supreme court building. We had dinner with John, III, and Andrew with wife and baby son Cody last August. John, the oldest, went from U. of Chicago to law school, then McGill Med and is now finishing residency in psychiatry. Great young man. Never married but seems serious with a young lady according to his brother.

Sandy, daughter, was married, two children, lives in Maine I think, and it is the youngest, Andrew, I see most often. He is in the Coast Guard, married a Coast Guard woman, have a year old son, Cody, a real red headed chip off the Wallace block. Nice kids all.

The Wallaces, Jack Ward, (who arranged the blind date for me with Anne Marie through Jane Patrick), you, Louie Lukens, Sze Tu Chung (?), and Tom Humphreys are the only names I dredge up out of the past. Joe Devlin of course, and one other blond grad student who went on to teach at Howard University. I keep thinking of more even as I write this but need a few beers to rewind the tapes of memory.

Suffice to say it would be great to get together. Let's seriously keep it in our plans for the spring. Please give my best to Charlotte. I hope the arthritis is under control.

Mike

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