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The American Legion
For God and Country

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TO: Peggy Dooley

COMPANY: White House

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FROM: John Hanson

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COMMENT:

#1 - concerns our membership numbers

#2 - We asked the Gallup Poll to perform the survey. This is a draft release, but the numbers are correct.

CALL ME AT 861-2790 (o) or 739-0924 after 3pm.

Thanks.

VOLUME 29

Wilmot Proviso to Zygote

THE ENCYCLOPEDIA AMERICANA

INTERNATIONAL EDITION

COMPLETE IN THIRTY VOLUMES

FIRST PUBLISHED IN 1829

GROLIER INCORPORATED

International Headquarters: Danbury, Connecticut 06816

leavy preparatory naval-air bombardment of Iwo Volcano Islands, begins.
-United States Marines land on Iwo Jima.
-United States 21st Bomber Command mass incendiary-bomb raid on Tokyo.
-Last Japanese position in Manila is wiped out.
—Americans land on Mindanao, Philippines.
—Iwo Jima is declared secure.
1–19—United States carrier aircraft attack Japanese air and naval bases in preparation for invasion of Okinawa.
—British complete recapture of Mandalay, Burma.
—Americans land on Kerama-retto near Okinawa.
ds are completely occupied March 28).
Jnited States Tenth Army lands on Okinawa.
-Japanese naval sortie toward Okinawa (Battle of the East China Sea).
-Japanese begin furious air offensive, using aze aircraft, against United States shipping at wa.
itish reoccupy Rangoon.
Chinese forces halt Japanese drive on Chihkiang n April 1944).
Japanese in China begin moving troops north to reinforce their army in Manchuria.
Organized Japanese resistance on Okinawa ends.
Luzon is declared secure (mopping up continues nd of war).
ıstralians and Dutch begin operations in Balikpapan area of Borneo.
Jnited States Navy and Army aircraft begin a offensive against Japan in preparation for d invasion.
Jnited States tests successful atomic bomb at gordo, N.Mex.
British Pacific Fleet joins United States Third n attacks on Japan.
omic bomb is dropped on Hiroshima.
ıe USSR declares war in Japan (effective Aug.

omic bomb is dropped on Nagasaki; Russians Manchuria.
oviet troops enter northern Korea.
ıpan surrenders.

IL AND DIPLOMATIC DEVELOPMENTS OF HE WAR AND POSTWAR PERIODS

eat Britain and France declare war on Ger-

Germany and the USSR revise nonaggression

Finland capitulates, signing Treaty of Moscow.
Vinston Churchill becomes prime minister of ritain.
aly declares war on France and Great Britain ve June 11).
he USSR begins seizure of Lithuania, Latvia, onia (ends Aug. 6).
erman-French armistice is signed (fighting ne 25 after signature of Italo-French armistice).
SSR seizes Bessarabia and northern Bucovina.
nited States begins embargo on shipment of materials to Japan.
nited States trades 50 destroyers for naval s in British possessions.
esident Roosevelt signs first American peace-ective Service Act.
panese begin occupation of northern French ia.
nited States imposes total embargo on scrap s to Japan.
pan joins Axis (Tripartite Pact).
ngary joins Axis.
mania joins Axis.

lgaria joins Axis.
ongress passes Lend-Lease Act.
ugoslavia joins Axis.
—Anti-Axis coup d'état takes place in Yugo-

pan and the USSR sign neutrality pact.
osevelt proclaims unlimited national emer-

rman and Italian assets in the United States n.
rmany, Italy, and Rumania declare war on

land declares war on the USSR.
ngary declares war on the USSR.
n occupies southern Indochina.
nese assets in the United States are frozen.
sevelt and Churchill issue Atlantic Charter.

Sept. 17—British and Soviet troops occupy Teheran, Iran.
Dec. 8—Japan declares war on the United States and Great Britain; the United States and Great Britain declare war on Japan.
Dec. 9—China declares war on Japan, Germany, and Italy.
Dec. 11—Germany and Italy declare war on the United States, which then declares war on them.
Dec. 24—British-American Arcadia conferences open in Washington (end Jan. 14, 1942).

1942
Jan. 1—Declaration by United Nations is signed by 26 countries.
April 8—Bolero Conference begins in London (ends April 14).
Oct. 22—To clear way for Operation Torch (Allied invasion of French North Africa), Maj. Gen. Mark W. Clark lands from submarine for secret meeting with pro-Allied French officers.
Dec. 24—Admiral Darlan is assassinated.

1943
Jan. 14—British-United States conference opens at Casablanca (ends Jan. 24).
May 12—Trident Conference opens in Washington (ends May 25).
July 25—King Victor Emmanuel III of Italy proclaims fall of Mussolini, replacing him with Marshal Pietro Badoglio.
Aug. 14—Quadrant Conference opens in Quebec, Canada (ends Aug. 24).
Sept. 3—Italian government signs armistice (effective Sept. 8).
Oct. 13—Italy declares war on Germany.
Nov. 22—Sextant Conference opens at Cairo, Egypt (recesses Nov. 26).
Nov. 28—Eureka Conference opens at Teheran, Iran (closes Dec. 1).
Dec. 1—Cairo Declaration is issued.
Dec. 3—Sextant Conference reopens at Cairo (closes Dec. 7).

1944
July 20—Attempt to assassinate Hitler fails.
Aug. 21—Dumbarton Oaks Conference opens (ends Oct. 7).
Aug. 23—Rumania surrenders unconditionally.
Aug. 25—Rumania declares war on Germany.
Aug. 26—Bulgaria opens negotiations for surrender with Allies.
Sept. 5—The USSR declares war on Bulgaria.
Sept. 8—Bulgaria declares war on Germany.
Sept. 9—The USSR grants Bulgaria an armistice.
Sept. 12—Rumania signs armistice; Octagon Conference opens in Quebec (ends Sept. 16).
Sept. 19—Allied-Finnish armistice is signed.
Oct. 23—Great Britain, the USSR, and the United States grant *de jure* recognition to French provisional government headed by Gen. Charles de Gaulle.

1945
Jan. 30—Preliminary Anglo-American phase (Cricket) of Argonaut Conference begins at Malta (ends Feb. 2).
Feb. 4—Second phase (Magneto) of Argonaut Conference opens at Yalta (ends Feb. 11).
March 3—Finland declares war on Germany.
March 10—Japanese place French Indochina under direct military administration.
April 5—The USSR notifies Japan that it intends to denounce their 1941 neutrality pact.
April 12—President Roosevelt dies.
April 23—Heinrich Himmler's offer to surrender German forces to Western Allies is rejected.
April 25—San Francisco Conference opens (adopts United Nations Charter June 26).
April 28—Mussolini is captured and killed by Italian partisans.
April 30—Hitler commits suicide.
May 7—German High Command surrenders all forces unconditionally at Reims.
July 17—Terminal Conference begins at Potsdam, Germany (ends Aug. 2).
July 26—Terminal Conference issues Potsdam Declaration, presenting surrender ultimatum to Japan.
July 28—Japanese announce that they will reject surrender ultimatum (rejected July 30).
Aug. 8—The USSR declares war on Japan (effective Aug. 9).
Aug. 10—Japan offers to surrender.
Aug. 14—Japan surrenders.
Sept. 2—Japanese representatives sign instrument of surrender aboard the battleship *Missouri* in Tokyo Bay.
Sept. 11—Big Four foreign ministers' meeting opens in London (ends Oct. 2).
Dec. 16—Foreign ministers' meeting opens in Moscow (ends Dec. 26).

1946
April 25—Foreign ministers' meeting opens in Paris (ends May 16).
June 15—Foreign ministers' meeting reconvenes in Paris, reaching substantial agreement on treaties for Italy, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, and Finland (ends July 12).
July 16—Peace conference opens in Paris (ends Oct. 15).
Nov. 4—Foreign ministers meet in New York to complete treaties (meeting ends Dec. 12).

1947
Feb. 10—Italian, Bulgarian, Rumanian, Hungarian, and Finnish peace treaties are signed in Paris.
Sept. 15—Five peace treaties come into force.

1950
June 25—Korean War begins.

1951
Sept. 4—Conference meets in San Francisco to draw up Japanese Peace Treaty.

1952
April 28—Japanese Peace Treaty comes into force.

1953
July 27—Armistice ends Korean War.

1954
Oct. 5—Free Territory of Trieste is divided between Italy and Yugoslavia.

1955
May 15—Austrian State Treaty is signed in Vienna.
July 27—Austrian treaty comes into force.

JOHN R. ELTING,
Colonel, United States Army; Department of Military Art, United States Military Academy.

17. Costs, Casualties, and Other Data

World War II spread death and devastation throughout most of the world to an extent never before experienced. The loss of life can be only generally summarized; an attempt to express the value of property and livelihoods destroyed in terms of money is futile: the resulting sums reach astronomical figures that have little if any practical meaning.

Military Casualties.—Probably the best documented and most meaningful figures are the battle casualties. Those for the United States, Great Britain, and the Commonwealth nations are accurate; those for other nations, Allied or Axis, vary in reliability. Chinese figures are largely estimates because of the lack of documentation, information on Soviet losses has been given only grudgingly and in very general terms, and many records of the Axis nations were lost when those countries were overrun. The most accurate available figures are shown in Tables 1, 2, and 3.

Table 1—UNITED STATES ARMED FORCES TOTAL STRENGTH AND CASUALTIES IN WORLD WAR II, DEC. 7, 1941–DEC. 31, 1946

Service	Total strength	Battle deaths	Deaths from other causes	Wounds[1]	Captured or missing
Army[2]	11,260,000	234,874	83,400	565,861	135,524
Navy	4,183,466	36,950	25,664	37,778	2,429
Marine Corps	669,100	19,733	4,778	67,207	1,756
Coast Guard	241,093	574	1,345	955	
Total	16,353,659	292,131	115,187	671,801	139,709

[1] Not mortal. [2] Includes Army Air Forces.

In utilizing strength figures, it should be noted that total strength means the total number of personnel belonging to the armed forces during the entire war, whereas peak strength is the greatest strength reached at any one time during the war. Several methods of classifying and computing casualties are in use, and other variations result from the differing periods covered by the various computations. Consequently, different reputable reference works sometimes show slightly different figures even for United States casualties. Nonbattle deaths include deaths from accidents and disease.

Table 2—ARMED FORCES PEAK STRENGTHS AND BATTLE DEATHS OF THE PRINCIPAL ALLIED POWERS

Nation	Peak strength	Battle deaths
Australia	680,000	23,365
Belgium	650,000	7,760
Canada	780,000	37,476
China	5,000,000	2,200,000[1]
Denmark	25,000	3,006[2]
France	5,000,000	210,671
Greece	414,000	73,700[2]
India	2,150,000	24,338
Netherlands	410,000	6,238
New Zealand	157,000	10,033
Norway	45,000	1,000
Poland	1,000,000	320,000
USSR	12,500,000	7,500,000
Union of South Africa	140,000	6,840
United Kingdom	5,120,000	244,723
United States	12,300,000	292,131
Yugoslavia	500,000	410,000[2]

[1] Casualties beginning with the Japanese invasion in 1937. [2] Most of these casualties were suffered in guerrilla warfare that followed German occupation of the country. In the case of Denmark they include more than 1,200 merchant sailors in the service of the Allied powers.

Table 3—ARMED FORCES PEAK STRENGTHS AND BATTLE DEATHS OF THE AXIS POWERS

Nation	Peak strength	Battle deaths
Bulgaria	450,000	10,000[1]
Finland	250,000	82,000
Germany	10,200,000	3,500,000
Hungary	350,000	140,000
Italy	3,750,000	77,494[2]
Japan	6,095,000	1,219,000
Rumania	600,000	300,000[1]

[1] A limited number of these casualties occurred after the country joined the Allies. [2] Of these, 17,494 were killed after Italy became a cobelligerent with the Allies.

Civilian Casualties.—Casualties among civilians were much less accurately recorded than military losses. In part, this was unavoidable because of the population shifts that took place as civilians fled before invading armies or the continual air attacks on major industrial centers, or were sent to Germany or the Soviet Union for forced labor.

Civilian casualties in the United Kingdom, slightly over half of which were inflicted in the London area, were as follows:

Agent	Killed	Seriously injured	Total
Aircraft bombs	51,509	61,423	112,932
V-1 (flying bombs)	6,184	17,981	24,165
V-2	2,754	6,523	9,277
Artillery fire	148	255	403
Total	60,595	86,182	146,777

Civilian casualties in the USSR have been placed roughly at 2,500,000 killed. The loss of population (including both military and civilian casualties) caused directly or indirectly by the war has been stated at 20,000,000. Air raids against Germany killed approximately 300,000 Germans and seriously injured about 780,000 more. Numerous additional casualties occurred during the Soviet invasion of 1944-1945, but no specific estimates are available. Japanese civilian casualties probably approached 500,000 killed and 625,000 seriously injured, plus a considerable number reported as missing after the fire raids and atomic bombings. In addition, about 360,000 Japanese captured by the Russians in Manchuria, Korea, and the Kuril Islands were still missing in 1950; a large number of them have never been accounted for. Chinese civilian losses are unknown but probably numbered several million.

Industrial Conversion and War Pro

In the final analysis, victory was won by the Allied powers' technological superiority and ability to raise, arm, equip, move, and supply superior forces throughout the world and through them to break up and destroy the technological resources (as well as much of the forces) of the Axis nations. Of all the Allies, it was the United States that possessed the raw materials, skilled manpower, and industrial plant that made their victory possible. This potential American technological power, however, required precious time to change from peacetime to military production. The process of conversion, and of reconversion at the war's end, is illustrated in Table 4.

Table 4—UNITED STATES BUDGET EXPENDITURES, JULY 1, 1940–AUG. 31, 1945
(Billions of dollars)

Expenditures	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944
Defense expenditures:					
War Department	$0.9	$ 7.3	$29.5	$46.5	$4[illegible]
Navy Department	0.9	4.2	14.0	24.6	29.[illegible]
Other departments	0.1	2.7	8.9	14.1	12.[illegible]
Total	1.9	14.2	52.4	85.2	76.[illegible]
Nondefense expenditures	3.4	6.0	5.4	5.0	4.[illegible]
Total	$5.3	$20.2	$57.8	$90.2	$81.[illegible]

Among the varied items purchased by U[illegible] States defense expenditures were 57,027 [illegible] tanks (9 different types), 676,433 two-and[illegible] half-ton, six-wheel-drive trucks (11 types), [illegible] eight-inch howitzers (48 of them self-propel[illegible] 476,628 2.36-inch rocket launchers (bazo[illegible] 4,014,731 Garand rifles, 106,658 gunner's [illegible] rants, 4,072,000,000 rounds of .45-caliber [illegible] munition, 57,488,000 wool undershirts, 116,[illegible] 000 pounds of peanut butter, 206,753 SCR-[illegible] (Handie-Talkie) radio sets, 500,754 30-[illegible] bottles of influenza virus vaccine, 7,570,[illegible] tives (48 types), 23,510,030 military gas [illegible] (2 types), and 3,898 B-29 (Superfortress) [illegible] heavy bombers. One of the best indications [illegible] the growing tempo of American military produc[illegible] tion during the war is the following data [illegible] machine-gun production, covering the period [illegible] 1, 1940–Aug. 31, 1945:

Year	.50 Caliber[1]	.30 Caliber	Year	.50 Caliber	.30 Caliber
1940	5,155	3,633	1943	641,638	188,[illegible]
1941	49,479	27,672	1944	677,011	121,[illegible]
1942	347,492	314,839	1945	239,821	61,[illegible]

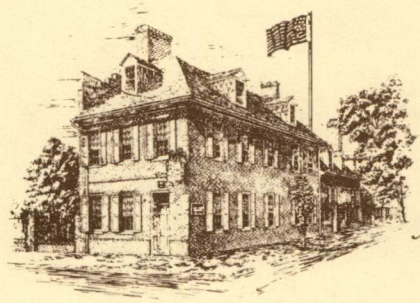
[1] The increasing preponderance of .50-caliber machine guns reflects their growing use as aircraft and armored vehicle armament.

Shipping Losses.—Allied merchant shipping losses during the war were as follows:

Year	Number of vessels	Tonnage
1939	221	755,[illegible]
1940	1,059	3,991,[illegible]
1941	1,299	4,328,[illegible]
1942	1,664	7,790,[illegible]
1943	597	3,220,[illegible]
1944	205	1,043,[illegible]
1945	105	438,[illegible]
Total	5,150	21,570,[illegible]

Of the 5,150 Allied merchant vessels sunk, 2,8[illegible] were victims of Axis submarines, principally Ger[illegible] man. The parallel German submarine losses (revised according to the latest British Admiralty assessment) therefore furnish an interesting [illegible]

THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER FLAG HOUSE *c.1793* AND MUSEUM



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August 25, 1989

Ms. Peggy Dooley
Speech Writing Office
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Ms. Dooley:

When you called the Flag House this morning to inquire whether we were planning any special celebration of the writing of "The Star-Spangled Banner" in September of 1814, I explained that we were not -- because we tell about the circumstances of its writing every day.

I said also that I would send you some material about the Flag House; you will find enclosed some of our brochures (we are somewhat affiliated with U.S.F. Constellation, and so we share a brochure). I am sending also a program from one of the Pause for the Pledge ceremonies at Fort McHenry on Flag Day; these programs contain material about the War of 1812 (so few people seem to know much about our "second War for Independence") as well as material about the making of the "star-spangled banner" flag (made by Mary Pickersgill in the house now known as the Flag House) and about Francis Scott Key's writing of his poem, inspired by the sight of Mrs. Pickersgill's huge flag.

Mrs. Pickersgill's house dates from 1793. She lived here from 1807 until her death in 1857, and it was here that she sewed by hand the flag, as well as other flags. The house is furnished in authentic furnishings of the period, some even belonging to Mrs. Pickersgill. We give tours daily, except Sunday, and explain all of the above information. Come see us some time!

Sincerely,

Mary C. Griepenkerl

Mrs. Edward C. Griepenkerl
Member of the Directorate,
Volunteer staff member

844 East Pratt Street, Baltimore, Maryland 21202-4495 / 301-837-1793



Pause For The Pledge



Delaware	Dec. 7, 1787
Pennsylvania	Dec. 12, 1787
New Jersey	Dec. 18, 1787
Georgia	Jan. 2, 1788
Connecticut	Jan. 9, 1788
Massachusetts	Feb. 6, 1788
Maryland	April 28, 1788
S. Carolina	May 23, 1788
*New Hampshsire	June 24, 1788
Virginia	June 26, 1788
New York	July 26, 1788
N. Carolina	Nov. 21, 1788
Rhode Island	May 29, 1788

*9 states required for final ratification.

Ratification order of original 13 states

FLAG DAY USA ★ June 14, 1988 7 P.M. (EDT)

"I pledge allegiance to the Flag of the United States of America and to the Republic for which it stands, one Nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all."

1788 ★ Bicentennial of Ratification of the U.S. Constitution ★ 1988

Fort McHenry National Monument and Historic Shrine.
A program of the National Flag Day Foundation, Inc. Baltimore, Maryland.

NATIONAL FLAG DAY USA ★ PAUSE FOR THE PLEDGE

PROGRAM ★ JUNE 14, 1988 ★ 6:00 PM

FORT McHENRY NATIONAL MONUMENT AND HISTORIC SHRINE

MUSICAL PRELUDE	564th Tactical Air Force Band, Langley Air Force Base, Virginia, under the direction of Lieutenant Kelly G. Bledsoe
GREETINGS	Bob Turk, Television Personality, WJZ-TV Channel 13, Master of Ceremonies
PARADE OF FLAGS	50 State Flags in order of entry into the Union, carried by a Student Representative from each State, narrated by Gerald P. Rogers
INVOCATION	Col. J.E. Watterson, Chief of Chaplains, First Army Headquarters, Fort George G. Meade, Maryland
WELCOME	John Tyler, Superintendent, Fort McHenry National Monument and Historic Shrine
	The Honorable William Donald Schaefer Governor of the State of Maryland
	The Honorable Kurt L. Schmoke, Mayor of the City of Baltimore
	Richard M. Patterson, Vice President, National Flag Day Foundation
INTRODUCTION OF DISTINGUISHED GUESTS	
PARACHUTE DROP	Flying National Colors—Maryland Army National Guard Demonstration Parachute Team, under the command of
THE NATIONAL ANTHEM	564th Tactical Air Force Band (JOINED BY THE AUDIENCE)
RAISING OF STAR-SPANGLED BANNER REPLICA (42′ × 30′)	Melvin J. Lowery, Baltimore and New York Opera Companies
7:00 P.M. EDT NATIONWIDE PAUSE FOR THE PLEDGE	Led in unison by: (JOINED BY THE AUDIENCE) Governor William Donald Schaefer, representing all Governors The Honorable Louis L. Goldstein Comptroller, State of Maryland representing all State Flag Day Coordinators Mayor Kurt L. Schmoke, representing all Mayors A State Student Representative, representing the Youth of the Nation
THE PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE TO THE FLAG	***"I pledge allegiance to the Flag of the United States of America and to the Republic for which it stands, one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all."***
MUSICAL SELECTION	Melvin J. Lowery, "America the Beautiful" (JOINED BY AUDIENCE)
INTRODUCTION OF GUEST SPEAKER	Maj. Gen. James F. Fretterd, The Adjutant General of Maryland
FLAG DAY MESSAGE	The Honorable Louis L. Goldstein, Comptroller of the State of Maryland Maryland State Flag Day Coordinator
PRESENTATIONS	Richard M. Patterson, Chairman, National Flag Day Committee
PRESENTATION	James A. McDougald, Field Division General Manager-Postmaster Baltimore
EXPRESSION OF GRATITUDE	Louis V. Koerber, President, National Flag Day Foundation
MILITARY MUSICAL SELECTIONS	564th Tactical Air Force Band
FLY OVER	A-10 aircraft from the 175th Tactical Flight Squadron, Maryland National Guard
SPECIAL PERFORMANCE	U.S. Air Force Honor Guard (drill team), Bolling Air Force Base, Washington, D.C., commanded by
CONCERT	The Bourbon Street Ramblers Dixieland Group, under direction of Edward Goldstein—U.S. Recording Companies have funded, at least in part, the instrumental music for this performance, as arranged by Local 40-543, American Federation of Musicians
FIREWORKS BY ZAMBELLI	"By Dawn's Early Light," Sponsored by the National Flag Day Foundation, Inc.

The 99th Congress passed and President Ronald Reagan signed Public Law 99-54 on June 20, 1985 recognizing the PAUSE FOR THE PLEDGE of Allegiance as part of National Flag Day ceremonies.
President and Mrs. Reagan participated in ceremonies at Fort McHenry on June 14, 1985.

A FLAG FOR ALL GENERATIONS

THE FLAG AND THE SECOND WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

In most histories of the United States, the War of 1812, fought against Great Britain between 1812 and 1814, rates little more than a footnote. Such obscurity is undeserved.

The conflict was of signal importance to the United States because it became nothing less than a war of self-affirmation. At its beginning, America's integrity as a nation stood challenged by the former Mother Country. By the war's end, that integrity had been defended and secured once and for all. For that reason, some historians have called the contest The Second War of Independence. It truly was.

Great Britain's plan for victory relied on a three-pronged attack. Her forces would sever secession-minded New England from the rest of the "colonies" via Lake Champlain; they would cut the rest of the country in half at the Chesapeake Bay; then, finally, they would seize control of the Mississippi, thus halting forever any westward expansion by the United States.

Ultimately, all three plans went awry, although it looked for a time-particularly after the Americans' defeat at Bladensburg in August, 1814, and the subsequent burning of Washington, D.C.–that the Chesapeake region might yield. That it didn't can be attributed to the gallant defense of Baltimore, from which the British were repulsed in September, 1814, after battles on both land and water.

But events at Baltimore had other significance as well, for, as we shall see, it was as a result of the city's triumph that America gained both her national anthem and an enduring respect for the flag which is her proud symbol, The Star-Spangled Banner.

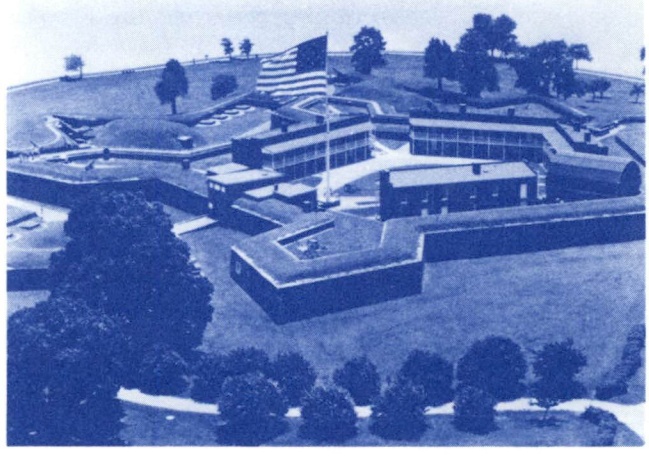
FORT McHENRY: CITADEL OF FREEDOM

Fort McHenry National Monument and Historic Shrine, by reason of its contribution to American history, occupies a pre-eminent position among the shrines and monuments of our country. It was the successful defense of this Fort against a 25-hour British naval bombardment in September 1814 that inspired a young American patriot to write the words which were eventually adopted as our national anthem.

As early as the Revolutionary War, the tip of the narrow peninsula on which Fort McHenry rests was considered a strategic place to defend Baltimore. In 1776, Fort Whetstone was built on the present site of Fort McHenry to protect the entrance to Baltimore harbor. Construction of the masonry Fort now in existence was begun in 1798 and was named to honor the Secretary of War, James McHenry, a resident of Baltimore.

In August, 1814, the British burned the Capitol, the White House and other buildings in Washington. Their next target was Baltimore. Under the leadership of Gen. Samuel Smith, a local politician and veteran of the Revo lution, Baltimore defenses were erected, arms and equipment gathered, and citizen soldiers trained. Smith's forces were made up mostly of Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Virginia militia, some regular units, and sailors. The key to the defense was Fort McHenry, garrisoned by a thousand men.

The British intended to take the city by a joint land and naval attack. Early on September 12, their troops began moving ashore at North Point, 12 miles from Baltimore. About 5 miles inland, they met the first resistance by American forces. A shot brought down General Ross, the British commander, and his death robbed his army of much of its effectiveness. Pushing on toward the city, the British encountered the main American line. Here the outnumbered Americans fought well, but a British flanking movement forced them to withdraw. At dawn on the 13th the battle resumed. As the British marched toward the city, the war ships of their fleet moved to within 2 miles of Fort McHenry and opened fire. The bombardment lasted 25 hours. It was later estimated that some 1,800 bombs, rockets and shells were fired at the Fort and about 400 landed inside. Four defenders at the Fort were killed and 24 more were wounded.



Fort McHenry National Monument and Historic Shrine, where the flag flies 24 hours a day by Presidential Proclamation.

The Fort must fall before the ships could penetrate the harbor and join forces with their land troops. About midnight the British launched a flanking attack up the other channel of the river hoping to take the Fort from the rear. This sortie failed. Stymied by the tenacious defense of the Fort, the fleet could not support the army. The British hopes of capturing Baltimore collapsed. The bombships continued bombardment until 7 a.m. on the 14th, then withdrew down the river to pick up the withdrawing army. The city was saved! —Paul E. Plamann

FRANCIS SCOTT KEY AND "THE STAR-SPANGLED BANNER"

The Battle of Baltimore would be remembered only as one of the few American victories of consequence in the War of 1812 had not Francis Scott Key, a 34-year-old lawyer-poet, so effectively dramatized the bombardment, the flag, and much of the feeling of the day in verse.

Francis Scott Key, a prominent figure of his time, was both an orator and idealist. Key was born in 1779 at a manor house, Terra Rubra, in Frederick County, Maryland. He attended St. John's College in Annapolis and returned to Frederick to practice law. After he married Mary Tayloe Lloyd, the couple moved to Georgetown so Francis could practice law with his uncle, Philip Barton Key.

A pacifist at heart, Key had no desire for war with England. Still, after Congress passed the War Act in 1812, Key the patriot became a lieutenant and quartermaster in a field company just before Washington was burned in 1814.

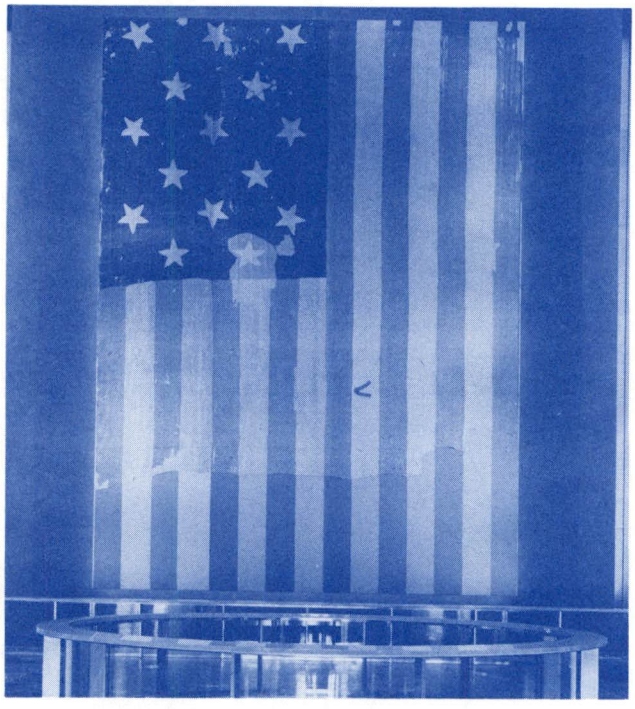
The incident which led to Key's celebrated poem began at this time, September, 1814, when friends importuned the persuasive lawyer to intervene after the unjust capture of Dr. William Beanes, a physician from Upper Marlboro who had caused the arrest of an unruly band of British soldiers. In retaliation, Admiral Sir George Cockburn sent a detachment of troops who broke into Dr. Beanes' house, dragged him from bed, and threw him in irons on board ship. It was an outrage, but his release could not be secured, and Cockburn threatened to hang him from the yardarm.

Although the capital was in utter confusion, the President gave his sanction to this mission of mercy. Under a flag of truce, Key boarded an American sloop with Colonel John S. Skinner and approached the British fleet somewhere in the Chesapeake. Key was coldly received, but he had with him documents which described the care with which the captured doctor had treated wounded British soldiers. The documents swayed the argument, and Key's plea for the release of Dr. Beanes was granted. But the hour had struck for the attack on Baltimore from the sea. Powerless to give warning, the three Americans were detained, thus being forced to watch the bombardment of Fort McHenry within enemy lines, a strange paradox.



Percy Moran depiction of Key seeing the Star-Spangled Banner by the "Dawn's Early Light." The Peale Museum, Baltimore, Maryland.

Over embattled Fort McHenry flew a tremendous flag. Key watched the enemy rockets and bombs burst in the air. He felt the spray and the movement of the swells. The night grew still. In the morning light Key saw the great flag over the star fort. On the back of an envelope he began to write the words which would become "The Star-Spangled Banner."



The Star-Spangled Banner, Smithsonian Institution.

Key jotted down notes aboard the ship and finished the poem that night after he returned to Baltimore. Mr. Key's poem was set to a well-known English tune. Printed as a handbill immediately after the battle, the song, evoking powerful emotions of courage and patriotism, became very popular with the people of Baltimore. Within months of its birth, the song appeared in newspapers, magazines, and books.

It was not until the start of the Civil War that "The Star-Spangled Banner" became foremost among our national songs. During the war, both Northern and Southern forces rallied to the song. During this war, and others that would follow, branches of the military service used it as an "unofficial" national anthem during their ceremonies.

With America's entrance into World War I, the song became so widely accepted that a drive was begun in Congress to make it our nation's official anthem of the Armed Forces.

The battle to win Congressional approval, however, was not an easy one. There were many other contenders for the honor, including "America the Beautiful" and "Yankee Doodle."

There were many individuals and groups associated with the movement to have "The Star-Spangled Banner" made our country's anthem. But paramount among the leaders in this cause were Maryland Congressman J. Charles Linthicum and Mrs. Reuben Ross Holloway, of Baltimore, whose perseverance was finally realized on March 3, 1931. That day President Herbert Hoover signed his name to Public Law 823, thereby officially designating a national anthem for the United States.

—Paul E. Plamann

MARY PICKERSGILL AND THE MAKING OF THE STAR-SPANGLED BANNER

Flagmakers have their own auras and mystiques, but only three have received much attention in the history of our flags. Rebecca Flower Young was a professional flagmaker in Philadelphia prior to the American Revolution. It is generally believed that she made the Grand Union Flag which General Washington raised over his headquarters on New Year's Day, 1776.

The most enduring legend surrounds the story of Betsy Ross. In June, 1776, before the signing of the Declaration of Independence, Betsy Ross, a Philadelphia seamstress, supposedly received a call from a committee of Congress asking her to make a flag; and as the legend claims, our flag was born. Questions have been raised about the Betsy Ross story over the years, but despite the lack of concrete evidence, it is firmly implanted in American folklore.

Another story about the flag with definite confirmation, concerns Mary Young Pickersgill, the daughter of Rebecca Flower Young. Mary was born in 1776 in Philadelphia. In 1807 Mary and her mother, both widows, with little Caroline Pickersgill, moved into a corner row house on Albermarle Street, Baltimore, Maryland. Mary advertised as a "flag, banner and pennant maker" and made flags for local ship owners.

In 1813 Mary Pickersgill made the Star-Spangled Banner, the flag that flew over Fort McHenry in the War of 1812 and which Francis Scott Key saw in the "dawn's early light." Confirmation rests firmly on two documents: Caroline Pickersgill Purdy's letter printed in Preble's *The Origin and History of the American Flag*, published in 1917, and Mary Pickersgill's original receipt.

The story of the Star-Spangled Banner begins with a statement attributed to Major George Armistead, Commandant of Fort McHenry, in July, 1813, to the Commander of Baltimore defenses, General Samuel Smith: "We, sir, are ready at Fort McHenry to defend Baltimore against invading by the enemy . . . except that we have no suitable ensign to display over the Star Fort, and it is my desire to have a flag so large that the British will have no difficulty in seeing it from a distance."

In 1876 Caroline Pickersgill Purdy wrote a letter to Georgiana Armistead Appleton, daughter of the Fort McHenry Commandant, in which she recounted the details of the making of the flag. Caroline writes: "It was made by my mother, Mrs. Mary Pickersgill, and I assisted her. My grandmother, Rebecca Young, made the first flag of the Revolution under General Washington's directions, and for this reason my mother was selected by Commodore Barney and General Stricker to make this star-spangled banner, being an exceedingly patriotic woman."

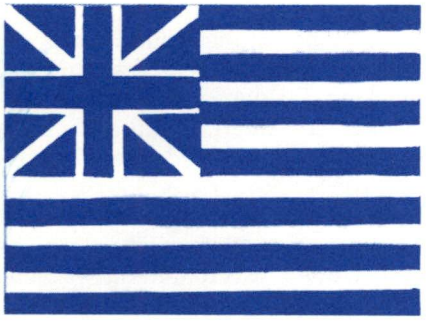
This garrison flag was 30 feet hoist (height) by 42 feet fly (span from the staff to the outer edge). Preble states, "It had fifteen five-pointed stars, each two feet from point to point, and arranged in five indented parallel lines, three stars in each horizontal line. It had fifteen instead of thirteen stripes, each near two feet wide."

In her letter Caroline continues: "The flag, I think, contained four hundred yards of bunting, and my mother worked many nights until twelve o'clock to complete it in a given time." Wool bunting was usually imported from England in bolts 18 inches wide. These strips, however, were two feet wide, six inches added by a French fell. The flag, being so large, was assembled in a nearby malt-house.

In March, 1938, Mary Pickersgill's original receipt came to light, written in her fine script and "Signed in duplicate for Mary Pickersgill - Eliza Young." The reverse side of the receipt is signed "G. Armistead Major" and specifies "Fortification Voucher No. 10. Mary Pickersgill for flags." (The second flag listed in this receipt is believed to have been a storm flag.) The receipt gives the price paid to Mary–$405.90–and the flag dimensions. The flag was delivered to Fort McHenry on August 19, 1813, a full year before the Battle of Baltimore, September 12, 13, and 14, 1814.

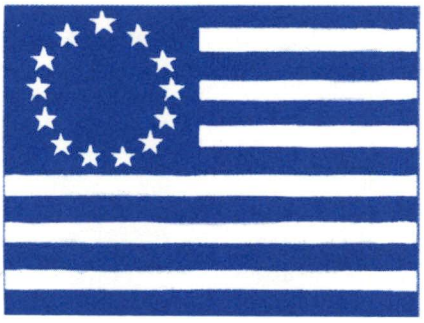
That the Star-Spangled Banner was made by Mary Pickersgill is fact, not legend. The flag is on display in the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C. The house where it was made still stands at Pratt and Albermarle Streets in Baltimore, Maryland, and is a National Historic Landmark. The house has been restored and with its adjacent 1812 War Museum commemorating the Battle of Baltimore is operated by an independent non-profit association. Affectionately known to Baltimoreans simply as "the Flag House," it is open to the public daily, except for certain major holidays.

The Grand Union



The first revolutionary flag of the United States and the ensign of a new navy. This flag had the British Grand Union as the canton and 13 stripes, alternating red and white, to represent the 13 colonies.

An Early Stars and Stripes



Not until 1912 was the design of the flag formalized. Earlier flagmakers arranged the stars as they saw fit. Above is a popular early design. However, there is no evidence it was flown during the Revolution.

The 15 Stars and Stripes



After Vermont and Kentucky joined the Union, Congress adopted this flag with 15 stars and 15 stripes in 1794. In 1818, it was decided to limit the stripes to 13 but to continue to add stars as new states joined the Union.

FLAG DAY

The Stars and Stripes came into being on June 14, 1777, when the Second Continental Congress authorized a new flag to symbolize the new nation, the United States of America. The commemoration of this day as the birthday of the flag developed slowly.

The Stars and Stripes first flew in a Flag Day celebration in Hartford, Connecticut, in 1861, the first summer of the Civil War. The first national observance of Flag Day came on June 14, 1877, the centennial of the original flag resolution. In the decades that followed, a number of individuals and organizations, quite possibly unaware of the efforts others were making, pressed to have Flag Day observed regularly.

One individual who waged a life-long crusade for a national Flag Day observance was Bernard J. Cigrand. As a 19-year-old teacher in the Stony Hill School near Waubeka, Wisconsin, he kept on his desk mounted in a bottle, a 38-star flag, 10 inches high. At the close of school in 1885, Cigrand observed a first Flag Birth Day with his pupils.

Although Cigrand left his teaching post in 1886 for a career in dentistry, he persisted in furthering a national Flag Day holiday on June 14. He wrote, lectured, lobbied, and organized to advance the cause. In 1894 he helped found the American Flag Day Association in Chicago, which soon expanded nationally.



The Stony Hill School near Waubeka, Wisconsin, restored to how it looked in 1885.

Similar grass-roots movements in support of Flag Day developed elsewhere. Numerous patriotic societies such as The Sons of the American Revolution took the lead. Many Civil War veterans' groups in New England and the Mid-West also became identified with the Flag Day movement.

A major objective of the advocates of Flag Day was to stimulate patriotism among the young. Entreated by patriotic societies, Superintendents of Schools were often the first public officials to direct that exercises be conducted. In large cities these exercises in the schools were viewed as a contribution to the Americanization of immigrant children.

By the mid-1890s the observance of Flag Day on June 14 had caught on everywhere. Official recognition of the date as Flag Day was slower to come, however. Gradually, mayors and governors began to issue proclamations establishing the holiday in their jurisdictions.

It was 1916 when President Woodrow Wilson issued a proclamation calling for a nationwide observance of Flag Day on June 14. It was not until 1949, however, that Congress gave the holiday permanence by resolving "That the 14th day of June of each year is hereby designated as Flag Day . . ." President Harry Truman immediately signed the measure into law.

Today, Flag Day is not a legal holiday, except in Pennsylvania. Notwithstanding, the appeal to Americans of this day of reverence for Old Glory remains high. On June 14 the National Flag Day Committee again invites America to share in this happy celebration of history and heritage.

PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE STORY

The author of the Pledge of Allegiance was an ordained minister and magazine writer, Francis Bellamy, who stated that his aim was to say "what our republic meant and what was the underlying spirit of its life."

I pledge allegiance to my flag and (to)
the Republic for which it stands —
one Nation indivisible — with liberty
and justice for all.

FRANCIS BELLAMY · 1892

The Pledge in Bellamy's handwriting.

The pledge had its background in a patriotic campaign to institute the flying of the national flag over schoolhouses and other public buildings. The campaign reached a crescendo in 1892 with a well orchestrated national celebration of the 400th anniversary of the discovery of America by Columbus.

A national committee prepared a script for a Columbus Day ceremony which culminated in raising the flag. The pledge was included in this script disseminated widely to schools. So it was in 1892, in the context of special Columbus Day celebrations, that the Pledge of Allegiance was first recited by school children across America.

The wording of the pledge has been modified three times. In 1923 the words, "the flag of the United States," were substituted for "my flag" on the ground that some foreign-born when giving the pledge might have in mind the flag of their native land. Even greater specificity was attained a year later when "of America" was added. On Flag Day, 1954, President Dwight Eisenhower signed a law which added the words, "under God."

When recounting in later life the story of how the Pledge of Allegiance originated, Bellamy wrote: "The first time I heard it was when it was roared out by 6,000 high school students in Boston, and I felt my thrill as I realized it was a living contribution to patriotic education and sentiment . . ." This thrill will be regenerated as millions PAUSE FOR THE PLEDGE at 7 p.m. (EDT) on June 14 repeating the simple words of enduring meaning.

THE NATIONAL FLAG DAY FOUNDATION, INC.

The concept of PAUSE FOR THE PLEDGE of Allegiance on Flag Day had its origins in 1980. The ceremony was conceived as a way for citizens, regardless of age, race, religion, national origin or geographic locale, to share a patriotic moment and project a sign of unity abroad.

This simple ceremony evoked such a positive response that it was repeated in subsequent years. In 1985, Congress passed and President Reagan signed Public Law 99-54 which made the PAUSE FOR THE PLEDGE of Allegiance an official part of National Flag Day ceremonies.

To foster such observances, a National Flag Day Foundation, Inc. was chartered in December, 1982. This non-profit, non-partisan Foundation is committed "to conduct educational programs throughout the United States of America in promotion of National Flag Day, declared by Act of Congress to be celebrated on June 14 of each year, . . . and further to encourage national patriotism by promotion of the PAUSE FOR THE PLEDGE of Allegiance, whereby the entire nation may pause simultaneously on National Flag Day and recite the Pledge of Allegiance to the National Flag."

All 24 subdivisions in Maryland, including Baltimore City, are planning to conduct Flag Day ceremonies coinciding with the National PAUSE FOR THE PLEDGE of Allegiance observance. Over 3000 cities across the nation have received information and assistance in planning their local ceremonies.

The Governor of each state has selected an outstanding student to come to Baltimore to represent his/or her state in the National Parade of Flags. Each Governor has also appointed a state educational official to participate in the Flag Day events. These officials will be asked to take leadership in developing Flag Day programs in their school systems and encouraging observances in communities throughout the state. This program extends significantly the educational program of the National Flag Day Foundation.

Mrs. Nancy Reagan, Honorary Chairman
National PAUSE FOR THE PLEDGE Program

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HUMAN FLAG CEREMONIES

At Fort McHenry, from 10:00 am to 11:30 am June 7, over 4000 children from all subdivisions of Maryland participated in the formation of an American Human Flag.

Precedent and inspiration for this ceremony was the original Human Flag formed on the grounds of Fort McHenry by Baltimore City School children in 1914. Participants in the 1914 Human Flag were present to pass "the baton of patriotism" to the younger generation.

The event generated an educational experience for all school systems. The National Flag Day Foundation made available a packet of educational materials. The Maryland State Department of Education prepared a series of lesson plans for use in classrooms prior to the creation of the Human Flag. Teachers were encouraged to use these aids in conducting lessons on the Flag, the Pledge of Allegiance and their meaning.

FEDERAL HILL CEREMONIES

Citizens from across the state and nation gathered in the Harborplace Amphitheater June 11 to initiate four days of activities commemorating National Flag Day.

The focal point of the ceremony was the unveiling of the nation's largest replica of the Star-Spangled Banner on the slope of Federal Hill. The replica measures 100' by 60'. The U.S.F. Constellation, the nation's oldest ship of the U.S. Navy, fired her cannon with return cannon fire from atop Federal Hill. This symbolically recreated the historic battles fought in Baltimore.

Mayor Kurt L. Schmoke brought words of welcome to the 50 young adult State Student Representatives and the 50 State Education Liaison officials. Fifteen-star flags which had flown over Fort McHenry were presented to the State Representatives to take back to their Governors as symbols of unity among these United States.

EXPRESSION OF GRATITUDE

This is the ninth year Americans everywhere will be simultaneously saying the Pledge of Allegiance to the Flag at 7:00 p.m. EDT. Its success is due to the enthusastic cooperation and teamwork of thousands of people and organizations across our Nation.

The National Flag Day Foundation sincerely hopes that all volunteers and supporters know how much their assistance is appreciated. More detailed recognition is precluded by space limitations. Appreciation to those shown and to those known only to themselves is limitless.

The following individuals and organizations have made monetary contributions as follows: (6/2/87 to 6/1/88)

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Baltimore Gas & Electric Co.
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IWO JIMA

LEGACY OF VALOR

BY

BILL D. ROSS

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1

General Kuribayashi knew from the first that, when the Americans came, they would try to isolate and seize Mount Suribachi—it was simple military logic. Suribachi's 556-foot summit dominated the island's eight square miles of barren, volcanic rubble. It was an all-seeing eye to watch every movement on the island and direct pinpointed bombardment on the invaders.

So he began on his first day on Iwo to fortify the maze of boulder-strewn gullies and ravines at the base, the honeycomb of caves on its steep slopes, and the huge crater at its crest.

By D-Day, Suribachi was as formidable as the famed Rock of Gibraltar. The wasteland at the foot of the volcano was studded with more than seventy camouflaged concrete blockhouses. Another fifty were concealed on its rocky sides, and many of these were connected by tunnels with hundreds of caves, mortar and sniper pits, and reinforced pillboxes.

Two thousand troops defended Suribachi. They weren't Kuribayashi's best men; his elite forces held the deep main defense line across the island at its widest point two and a half miles to the north. He hoped the volcano would hold out for at least ten days to ravage the beaches with its own arsenal and direct fire for his other fortifications in the northern highlands, positions from which to bleed the Marines to death with bombardment.

Following the Samurai's plan of defense, if Suribachi fell earlier, and the Marines pushed northward, the cream of the general's fighters—and his strongest defenses—still would slaughter the Americans.

Colonel Kanehiko Atsuchi commanded the Suribachi garrison. He believed he would die on the mountain; there had been too many close calls before D-Day when his headquarters rattled with near misses from bombing and naval gunfire. At fifty-six, he was the oldest colonel in the Imperial Army, and his battalion commanders were a motley group.

One was an aging lieutenant colonel passed over for promotion because of his years; one was a major with no combat experience; and

two of the three captains had risen through the ranks without attending the Imperial Military Academy—a rarity in the Japanese army. But at Iwo, all fought valiantly and died with their troops. Six of Atsuchi's men survived the battle, huddled in a barbed-wire stockade at the volcano's base when the fighting ended.

Marines gave Suribachi the code name "Hotrocks," and clouds of steam did occasionally billow from its crater. Before the invasion, troops had heard rumors that heavy naval gunfire and air bombardment might set off a full-scale eruption of the slumbering mountain, but seismologists disagreed.

When "Harry the Horse" Liversedge and the 28th Marines went to work on Suribachi on D-Day plus one, his three assault battalions were across the seven-hundred-yard isthmus. But the ground they held was less than two hundred yards deep, and faced the enemy in two directions. Now they must surround the fortress before they could move up the slopes to the summit, while at the same time they had to push northward toward the airstrip. It took four bloody days to do the job.

"It's gonna be a helluva day in a helluva place to fight the goddamned war," Colonel Johnson said as his battalion jumped off at 8:30. The thirty-seven-year-old Naval Academy man came from Highland Park, Illinois, and was headed for high command if Iwo, or another invasion down the road, didn't claim his life. In earlier campaigns, his lackadaisical attitude toward personal danger flabbergasted even the bravest men, and the pattern continued.

On D-Day, he strode casually and erect up and down Green Beach, stub of a cigar in his mouth, exhorting his men: "Okay, you Marines, let's get the goddamned hell off this beach!" He was short and chubby, if not a trifle fat; not the tall, trim stereotype of a career Leatherneck officer. He flaunted regulations by wearing a faded cotton fatigue cap with upturned bill instead of a steel helmet. He didn't carry a knapsack, he didn't wear a cartridge belt, and disdained all combat gear except a Colt .45 pistol carried in his right hip pocket; he didn't even have a canteen.

Where Johnson was concerned, clothes didn't make the man—at least in combat. His superiors—and, more important, his men—knew he was all Marine, and that's what mattered. He was a stern disciplinarian, and could outlast any man on a thirty-mile training march; then he did tote a full battle pack to show he could. He had

the mean look of a Marine bulldog when angry; a mellow, smiling, almost fatherly expression when in a good mood. His men were devoted and proud to be in his battalion; they would go anywhere, do anything he asked because they knew he'd be with them all the way.

Now Johnson was at it again, nonchalantly gesturing and pointing out enemy positions as the battalion moved around Suribachi's base from the east. The task at hand was his only concern. He has a devout believer in the centuries-old axiom of warriors that fear is a deadly contagion in battle, but that courage of combat commanders under fire can spark and flame the determination of men to fight beyond their limits. In the jargon of the still-to-come space age, Johnson and his men had "the right stuff."

Jackson Butterfield's battalion jumped off at the same time, pointed around the volcano from the west. His men thought the name sounded more like a professor's—or maybe a lawyer's or a minister's—than a veteran of hard fighting in the central and south Pacific. He had little of Johnson's devil-take-the-hindmost attitude, but his men knew he was fearless in combat; the outfit had been the first to drive across the isthmus and he had been in the thick of the action.

Charley Shepard's battalion was in reserve, taking on fresh men to replace casualties and mopping up die-hard strongpoints bypassed in D-Day's fighting. They didn't expect too much trouble, and weren't expected to take any new ground. But nonetheless they killed seventy-five Japanese in what often was close-in and bitter fighting.

There were no air strikes and no naval shelling before the jump-off; Japanese lines were too close to Marine positions. Tank support was also missing: eight were expected to spearhead the push, but they were sitting silent, out of fuel and ammunition. It took two hours to resupply the Shermans, and when they started to move, a storm of mortars hit them from Suribachi. Twice more they tried to join the attack; twice more they were bracketed by shelling.

By midmorning, the advance was from fifty to seventy yards, and it had been costly. Without help from the tanks, it was a case of frontal assault by riflemen and demolitions teams against well-entrenched and camouflaged positions. Shortly after eleven o'clock, the Shermans finally were able to grind into the melee. Newly landed artillery moved inland and commenced firing. For a time, the push slowly gained some momentum, but opposition was still fierce.

Even with the added firepower, the advance had sputtered to a

halt by sundown, and Johnson and Butterfield ordered the men to dig in for the night. They had gained from 175 to two hundred yards, and lost twenty-nine men killed and 123 wounded—one fallen Marine for nearly every yard of new ground.

Another chilly night of anxiety engulfed men in their foxholes. Flares lit the sides of Suribachi and the narrow front as they slowly floated to earth under oscillating parachutes. Marines kept alert for any movement from the mountaintop, and Japanese on it fired periodic pyrotechnic signals to their artillery in the north that brought almost immediate response: heavy shelling of Marine positions. The all-night harassment made sleep beyond question, as did the constant threat of infiltration and the still-expected banzai. But, for the second night, it didn't come. General Kuribayashi was following his battle plan to the letter.

Again the Japanese got a potent, unexpected ally on D-Day plus two: the weather. During the night, the northeast wind swelled to gale force. Six-foot surf lashed the cluttered beachhead, and Admiral Turner ordered it shut down for the third time since H-Hour.

At daybreak fast-moving clouds looked heavy with rain. But visibility was good, and at eight o'clock forty planes came in from the carriers. They hit Suribachi and positions guarding its base for twenty minutes in wave after wave of rocket and machine gun fire and napalm. At 8:30, Johnson's and Butterfield's men took up the advance from where it had stopped. Shepard's battalion jumped off, headed in the other direction, northward, to deepen the hold across the island.

From platoon leader to private, the Third Platoon, Easy Company, Second Battalion, 28th Regiment, Fifth Marine Division was a microcosm of all Marines on Iwo Jima. Ethnic backgrounds, personalities, physical characteristics, civilian jobs, attitudes, and personal desires and ambitions were a cross section of every outfit fighting to take the island.

First Lieutenant John K. Wells's platoon was at the point of the push by Johnson's men. He was a twenty-three-year-old Texan, who carried a Thompson submachine gun with a forty-round clip of ammunition. Like his commander, he was on the flamboyant side; back in base camp he wore his khaki overseas cap at a jaunty forward tilt, and he spent more time mingling with his men than in officers' country.

Sun and wind had deeply tanned his strong features, making him look older than his years. It was his first time in combat, but when he stormed a pillbox on the beach, the troops were sure they had a leader who knew what he was doing. They called him "Tex" or "G. K." for Genghis Khan.

Ernest I. Thomas was Wells's platoon sergeant and second in command of the forty-five-man outfit, a twenty-year-old, hard-boiled, rough-talking former drill instructor at San Diego's boot camp. His men liked "Thomas the Tiger," a name given more in recognition of a self-proclaimed prowess as a lady-killer than for ferocity. "His growl is worse than his claws," they said.

Sergeant Henry O. Hansen was number three. The twenty-three-year-old platoon guide came from Somerville, Massachusetts. "The Count" was slender, just under six feet, and prided himself on a natty appearance in snappy dress blue uniform, khakis, or dungarees. The platoon called him "one helluva fighter," and he lived up to the billing on D-Day when he demolished four pillboxes and pulled three wounded men from no man's land in the process.

Sergeant Howard M. Snyder, from Huntington Park, California, was twenty-two, a squad leader with four campaigns behind him. "Maybe I'm crazy," he said before landing, "but I'm looking forward to this fight. I think it'll beat anything I've seen so far." Iwo met his expectations.

Corporal Harold P. Keller was from an Iowa hamlet incongruously named Brooklyn. He was a BAR man and, like Snyder, a veteran of four earlier landings—one from a submarine in a raid on Makin Island—and had been wounded at Bougainville. His combat record gave newcomers a feeling of security; he knew what war was all about, and how to survive.

The platoon called Corporal Everett M. Lavelle "Pappy." He was in his thirties, graying at the temples—the oldest man in the outfit—and had three battle stars. He came from Bellingham, Washington, and throughout the first night on Iwo, he said he had a constant thought: "Jesus, what a relief it'll be when morning comes." Now he wasn't so sure.

At eighteen, Private First Class James Robeson was the youngest member of the platoon. He, too, was from Washington, a town with the Indian name Chewelah, and looked younger than he was. Shaving

wasn't yet a daily ritual, and his button nose was a perpetual victim of sunburn. Iwo was his first battle. His buddies called him "Chicken" or "Baby" or "Chick." He didn't mind the latter.

Sergeant Kenneth D. Midkiff was an easygoing mountaineer from West Virginia. He spoke in a soft drawl, was a former paratrooper, and had made three amphibious assaults before Iwo. The platoon felt comfortable around "Katie"; he was battle-wise and cautious and planned to return when the war was over to his native hills "to hunt, fish, and make some moonshine." He never made it..

Private First Class Raymond Strahm had three landings under his belt; four, counting Iwo. He had learned to use a parachute as a Paramarine, but, like Midkiff, always went ashore in a landing craft—all Marine parachute units disbanded before making a combat jump. A shade over six feet tall, Strahm was called "Little Raymond." The Chicagoan was the platoon's world-class poker player. The week before embarking, he'd cleaned out a big game back on Hawaii, won $3,700, and loaned losers ten dollars each.

Scholar of the unit was Corporal Robert A. Leader, a student at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts when he signed up. Red-haired, blue-eyed, fair-complexioned and tall, he had the reserve and practicality expected of a Massachusetts Yankee. Iwo Jima, for him, was a short and brutal experience.

On D-Day, sand from an artillery burst buried him completely; after what seemed like an eternity buddies dug him out, unhurt. Six days later he was cut down by machine gun fire during the fight for the second airstrip. This time, Harold Keller dragged him to safety and an aid station. Leader survived near-fatal stomach wounds, spent months recovering in a stateside hospital, and returned to school. He became, in postwar years, a well-known liturgical artist and Associate Professor of Art at Notre Dame University.

Private First Class Louis Adrain was a taciturn Spokane Indian from Wellpinit, Washington. Seeing no enemy troops on the beach, he asked: "Where's the reception committee?" Now, the morning of D-Day plus two, a sniper's bullet pierced his heart. He fell forward, wearing a borrowed dungaree jacket with another man's name across the back, weapon still firing.

One of the platoon could have missed Iwo. Private First Class John J. Fredotovitch was in Camp Pendleton's hospital in California when the Fifth Division was shipped out to Hawaii. He talked his way back to the outfit, and was now in action for the third day. Shortly before noon, mortar fragments bit into his left shoulder and upper left leg. For him the battle was over. His immigrant Russian-Polish parents in Oakland, California, were glad he was still alive.

Corporal Leonce Olivier could trace his ancestry back two centuries to the French Cajuns who came to Eunice, Louisiana, from Canada. "Frenchy" didn't trust the Garand M-1 rifle most infantrymen used; he thought the '03 Springfield, a pre-World War I vintage weapon, more accurate and reliable. His buddies weren't happy when he said, "This is gonna be worse than Tarawa," where he'd used the Springfield to win the Silver Star Medal for gallantry.

There were thirty-two others in the platoon—men like nineteen-year-old Private First Class Richard S. White, a devout Baptist from east Texas who yelled to a corporal as they moved forward, "You still an atheist?" A mortar exploded yards away and the answer came back: "I'm gonna start praying in the morning."

There were men like Platoon Sergeant Josephy McGarvey, a rabid baseball fan from Philadelphia. He crouched behind a bunker waiting for the mortar barrage to lift when one of his squad jumped into the hole: "You think the Phillies will win the pennant this year?" "I hope so," McGarvey said, and went about his business as the shelling lifted—business that would earn him the Silver Star.

And there was Private First Class Donald J. Ruhl.

He was twenty-one, came from Montana's cattle country, and was a maverick to the core. At base camp in Hawaii he often was in trouble—ignoring orders, arguing and fighting, the platoon's malcontent. But, like Tony Stein, he had the killer instincts of a cowtown gunfighter, and they showed on D-Day. In a one-man charge against a fiercely defended blockhouse, he killed nine Japanese, dragged a wounded Marine to safety through forty yards of no man's land, and spent the night alone in an enemy machine gun pit he had captured single-handedly; he wanted to make damned sure the weapon wouldn't be used against the platoon.

Now, on D-plus two, he and Sergeant Hansen were at the point of the struggling assault. By eleven o'clock they had worked to within a few yards of Suribachi's base when they spotted a camouflaged bunker and dove for cover. Ruhl raised his head above a boulder to get a better view and heard a sputtering hiss.

"Sonuvabitch! Watch out! Grenade!" he yelled to Hansen as it

landed six feet away. He flung himself on the missile, his body taking the full impact of the explosion. In the only three days of combat he would ever see, Ruhl had earned the Medal of Honor and sacrificed his life to save his sergeant.

From a hundred different positions on the slopes of Suribachi, barking machine guns, screaming artillery, and crumping mortars seemed to be coming simultaneously along with the cries of "Corpsman! Corpsmannnnnn!" Wounded crawled, when they could, to any protection they could find. Stretcher bearers braved the scythe-like fire in desperate rescue attempts as the fighting roared on.

"Genghis Khan" Wells and four men hugged the sides of a shell hole in front of another bunker waiting for the mortars to lift. One slammed into the crater, and all were wounded in the blast. The lieutenant was groggy, bleeding profusely, but refused to leave the scene. He took a shot of morphine from Corpsman John Bradley and kept command of the platoon.

Corporal Charles W. Lindberg saw what was happening as Wells and the other wounded crawled behind the pillbox alive with machine gun fire. With his flamethrower he turned the enemy position into a roaring furnace. Two more pillboxes and a bunker were yards away; it took two minutes to flame them and their defenders. As the advance moved ahead, bullets still thudded around Wells as he screamed orders, but his strength ebbed and his wounds filled with sand as he fought to stay conscious. Yet it was another half hour before he turned the platoon over to Sergeant Thomas and made his way to the battalion aid station where litter bearers ducked mortars to take him to the beach for evacuation.

"Thomas the Tiger" knew what he had to do. He located three tanks and led them against several pillboxes and bunkers. The heavily reinforced positions were silenced in a furious firefight that cleared the way for the rest of the battalion to break through to the base of Suribachi; the area had been the soft spot in the defense line. Wells and Thomas received the Navy Cross for their actions; Lindberg, the Silver Star.

Action was fierce the rest of the day as artillery and mortars rained down from Suribachi, and enemy machine gunners and snipers raked the attacking troops in front of the slopes. At sunset things quieted down, but it was eleven o'clock before the line was consolidated and

the men of the 28th dug in for another night.

Butterfield's troops had gained 650 yards; Shephard's, five hundred; Johnson's, one thousand. Marines now were in solid strength at Suribachi's north base and halfway around the volcano.

Chandler Johnson was pleased with his battalion's performance during the day, especially that of Wells's platoon. He'd been with them several times, moving among the ravines and boulders, pointing out positions, and prodding the men to keep going. "Stay in one place and the bastards'll kill you," he yelled at one point to a squad pinned down by mortars. That night he made a mental note that he'd found the right unit for the final push to take Suribachi's summit when the time came.

He couldn't have found more determined men; they not only had blasted open the way to the volcano's base, but in one day their platoon had become the most decorated in Marine Corps history: one man had earned the Medal of Honor, two would receive the Navy Cross, the second highest decoration awarded Marines; one would wear the Silver Star; seven would get Bronze Stars; and seventeen, Purple Hearts for wounds received in a single dawn-to-dusk action on a tiny chunk of forlorn real estate.

It was strangely calm early in the evening at the base of Suribachi. Men nearest the mountain could hear muffled chatter among the defenders as they moved about in caves on the slope, and there was the spasmodic tat-tat-tat, tat-tat-tat of machine guns and the cracking of rifles. There were still enemy artillery and mortars, but not as heavy as during the two previous nights.

Then, shortly after 2:00 A.M., Japanese infiltrators struck at Johnson's battalion—not in a screaming banzai, but in a well-organized raid. Mortars made a shambles of the attack before it had hardly begun, and sixty enemy intruders were killed in the barrage made more deadly by a thirty-minute firefight. On the western side of the volcano, where Shepard's men were dug in, twenty-eight more Japanese were cut down in a fierce ten-minute melee. Butterfield's men, alerted by the furor, expected something, but it never came.

2

D-plus three was George Washington's Birthday, a national holiday back home, but on Iwo few men remembered or cared. Overnight, the weather had turned miserable. A torrential cold rain soaked men to the skin, and jelled with the coarse volcanic ash to clog and jam weapons.

Meteorologists at Makalapa had warned about the weather at Iwo this time of the year. Their studies found that major storms often buffeted the island, that the skies were clear only twenty percent of the time, that forty-five percent of the days were cloudy, twenty-seven percent partly cloudy, and nine percent rainy. Now the heavy rain was driven by a twenty-knot gale that whipped up a pounding nine-foot surf. At 10:20 A.M., the beaches were closed again; it was useless to try to land reinforcements and supplies. Angry clouds hung below five hundred feet and hid Suribachi's crest.

But a battle can't wait for weather. At eight o'clock, despite the wind and the rain, the attack against Suribachi started again.

Tanks couldn't move in the hub-deep slush; artillery didn't fire because targets couldn't be spotted; there was no air support or naval shelling. So it was another dirty job for the infantry. They shivered under the driving rain and moved out against the dreadful terrain and the desperate, determined foe estimated by "Harry the Horse" Liversedge's intelligence officers to number six hundred still alive.

Drenched Marines assaulted foxhole after foxhole, pillbox after pillbox, bunker after bunker with rifle fire, grenades, flamethrowers, and demolitions. It was slow and dangerous work, but they made steady progress. An eleven-man patrol worked partway up the steep, rocky slopes searching for a route to the summit; naval gunfire and air strikes had wiped out existing trails.

While Johnson's men cleared out opposition around the eastern side of the volcano and battled up the slippery sides, Shepard's battalion bolstered the line in the center. Butterfield's outfit still slugged around the western side, bent on final encirclement of the fortress.

At 6:30 P.M., the push was halted for the day. Opposition had been heavy, but it had come in wild flurries, not in the sustained

fighting that had marked previous days. In some ways the weather helped the Marines, exhausted from three days of bloody battle. With the near-zero visibility and curtains of rain, Japanese artillery and mortar fire were sharply reduced, not only around Suribachi, but across the entire island.

And it was now becoming apparent that the assault had taken its toll of the defenders and cut deeply into their ability to hold the mountain much longer.

Night was relatively quiet on the lines. No infiltrators. No savage firefights. The weather improved, and once again the beachhead was operational. Men, equipment, and supplies came ashore. Casualties were evacuated.

Offshore, aboard the *Auburn*, where General Smith now had his headquarters, losses were tallied. They were far worse than he expected, and, like President Roosevelt, he shuddered. In three days they amounted to 4,574 men killed and wounded. In the push to take the airstrip, and in the fighting for the high ground around the quarry, the Fourth Division had lost 2,517 on the beaches. The Fifth Division, on Green Beach and in the push to conquer Suribachi, had lost 2,057.

Chandler Johnson was busy long before dawn of D-plus four, briefing his company commanders on the day's plan of action. He was determined that Marines would be atop the volcano by sundown, and was trying to figure out the best way to get there. Shortly after daybreak he ordered out the first patrols. At eight o'clock, he sent a runner for First Lieutenant Harold Schrier, who had taken command of Wells's platoon during the night.

He pointed out to Schrier a possible route up the slopes. His orders were simple: "Take the platoon up the hill, and put this on top."

Johnson handed him a small flag—it measured fifty-four by twenty-eight inches—that First Lieutenant George G. Wells, the battalion adjutant, had brought ashore in a map case from the transport *Missoula*. Wells knew it would be wanted when the summit was taken.

Scouts from D and F Companies already were on the steep sides looking for a path to the crest and feeling out resistance. Sergeant Sherman B. Watson and three privates were surprised at how easy the the ascent was going—once out of the sliding rocks near the base the footing was good. George Mercer, who came from a small Iowa

town, was amazed at the quiet. Louis Charlo, an Indian from Montana's sheep country, glanced over his shoulder at the spectacular view. Theodore White, a Kansas wheat farmer, expected that "all hell would break loose at any minute." So far they had met no resistance, and within forty minutes they were on the crest, peering into the cone. Still no Japanese, but they spotted several machine guns with neat stacks of ammunition nearby. It was 9:40 A.M. They scampered and slid down the slope to make their report.

Lieutenant Schrier, a lanky twenty-four-year-old veteran of a disbanded Marine Raider Battalion, was ready to move out with his men. They had stocked up with ammunition, replenished supplies of hand grenades and demolition charges, and flamethrowers were full of fuel. A radioman and two stretcher teams joined the forty-man patrol. So did Louis R. Lowery, a twenty-five-year-old staff sergeant photographer for *Leatherneck*, the official Marine Corps magazine.

They left in single file, moving at a fast clip until the climbing became steeper. They passed a Marine howitzer with two men sprawled across the weapon—it had taken a direct hit from artillery—as well as several dead Japanese, one of whom wore bright orange sneakers. As the slope steepened, the men stopped every few minutes for breath. Flankers went out to guard the column. At times when climbing became difficult, the ascent was on hands and knees. Several threatening cave entrances were passed, but there was no fire; nor were any live Japanese seen.

Marines below watched in astonishment. Offshore, men tracked the snake-like column through binoculars. One sailor on a transport said: "Those guys should be getting flight pay."

Schrier crested the summit first and called a halt. In thirty minutes the patrol had climbed half-a-thousand feet up what had been a death-dealing mountain for four days. Not a shot had been fired, not a man hurt. He peered into the crater, saw the unmanned machine guns, several destroyed rocket launchers, a number of mortar pits, and five artillery pieces. "Where the hell are the Nips?" he muttered aloud, and signaled the rest of the men to follow.

Harold Snyder, the sergeant who was "looking forward to this fight," was next over the lip. Harold Keller, the careful corporal from Brooklyn, Iowa, followed. Right behind was "Chick" Robeson, the platoon's teen-age "baby"; then came the scholar corporal, Robert Leader. They felt they were in the eye of a hurricane: it was all too

quiet—an eerie, frightening, almost deathly stillness. One man urinated into the cone. "This is what I think of you sonsabitches," he said.

Sergeant Thomas and about half the patrol, weapons primed for firing, stood silhouetted on the skyline atop the rim. Others probed down the crater's sides looking for Japanese. Several men scouted for something on which to raise the flag.

Keller saw the first enemy. "The Nip started to climb out of a deep hole with his back to me," he said in telling of the action. "I fired three times from the hip and he dropped out of sight." The rifle fire triggered an immediate torrent of grenades from several camouflaged cave mouths, and the Marines answered with bullets and grenades of their own in a short-lived scrimmage that ended as quickly as it had begun.

While the melee was at its height, two men—Leader and Private First Class Leo J. Rozek—had found a seven-foot length of iron pipe from a rainwater cistern, and they attached the flag to it. No one in the patrol bothered to check the time, but thousands of men below, and aboard the ships of the offshore armada, knew to the minute when it happened.

It was 10:31 A.M., February 23, 1945. An instant in history.

"There goes the flag!" shouted the Marines at the base of Suribachi.

Those on the beaches, who were aware of what was happening and could see it, cheered the sight with their own shouts of jubilation. Ships' radios crackled with news of the momentous event and flashed it to those in the fleet who couldn't see it. General Kuribayashi, if he saw Marines atop the mountain, must have known the end for Suribachi's defenders was at hand—something the Japanese on the volcano already knew.

Lou Lowery focused his bulky Speed Graphic camera to capture the historic moment: the raising of the first flag on Iwo Jima. Robeson, crouching at the cameraman's side, refused to be in the picture; he "didn't want to be a Hollywood Marine." As the flag blew almost horizontal to the rocky ground, four members of the platoon were photographed: Schrier, Thomas, Lindberg, and Private First Class James R. Nicel, a replacement who had joined the outfit that morning.

As Lowery clicked the shutter, a Japanese leaped from a cave and opened fire on him and Robeson. He missed. Robeson didn't; his

BAR cut the enemy down in midstride. The body was grasped by its feet and dragged into the cave. An officer sprang from the entrance, snarling and swinging a broken sword in a giant half arc. Howard Snyder squeezed the trigger of his Colt .45. It misfired and the sergeant ducked for his life. A rifle burst from Private First Class Clarence B. Garrett stopped the one-man charge. But this was just the start.

Grenades came like hailstones from several caves. Marines sprayed the mouths with rifles and grenades, then flamethrowers moved in to burn the openings, and demolition blasts closed many almost as soon as they were flamed.

Lowery leaped to escape a grenade's explosion, and rolled and skidded fifty feet down the steepest slope. He was unhurt; the film holder with his precious negatives was intact. His photo coverage of the campaign became an historical treasure in Marines Corps archives. After the war he stayed with *Leatherneck*, first as a six-striper sergeant and then as its civilian photographer director, until his retirement in 1982.

The frantic mini-battle was over in minutes. Within half an hour, Suribachi's commanding summit was serving the Marines as it had the Japanese—as an observation post. High-powered binoculars and electronic detection devices were in place, spotting enemy artillery whenever it fired anywhere on the island.

Lieutenant Schrier was puzzled as the platoon scouted the crater and nearby slopes for enemy positions. He wondered why the brief, sharp counterattack—the last organized resistance on Suribachi—hadn't come the instant the Marines moved over the crest. "We'd have been real dead ducks," he said. "They could've killed us all."

That afternoon, Sergeant Thomas and ten men inspected the cave from which the last attack had come. It burrowed nearly a hundred yards into the mountain; in it they found more than 150 dead Japanese. Most died by holding hand grenades to their stomachs and pulling the pins. Demolitions men blew the entrance to kill the overpowering stench and to give the enemy an unmarked mass grave.

Among the litter of documents the Marines found in the crater was one indicating that, the night before, about one hundred troops had left in the darkness in an attempt to sneak through Marine lines and join General Kuribayashi's main forces in the north. Only a handful made it, and they probably died in the fighting for the second airstrip.

Colonel Atsuchi's body never was found, nor were those of any of the other Japanese officers who most certainly were killed on the mountain with nearly two thousand of their men.

Several men on the beaches and near Suribachi's base, and at least one man aboard the hospital ship *Samaritan*, were more interested than most in the capture of the volcano's summit.

One was Chandler Johnson, watching from his CP. "Some sonuvabitch is going to want that flag," he told his adjutant, "but he's not going to get it. That's our flag. Better find another one and get it up there and bring ours back." A runner, a lisping corporal called "Wabbit," was sent scampering to the beach to see what he could find.

Fate had placed two others on Green Beach when the flag was raised. One was General Smith, and the other was the Secretary of the Navy.

"Holland, this means a Marine Corps for another five hundred years," Forrestal told the Old Warrior as they watched what was happening. "Howlin' Mad" nodded, his eyes filled with tears. Neither knew in advance that the final push to the summit was underway. Forrestal was on the beachhead because, over strenuous objections from Admiral Turner, he wanted to be there.

General Smith was there to be close to his Marines, and to be with the Navy's top man if anything happened; he didn't want to be safely aboard ship if Forrestal was hit by enemy fire. The beach was far from quiet: twenty-three Marines had been killed within the hour a few yards from where the brass stood. With them were two admirals, two of Forrestal's aides, and several reporters.

Forrestal wore khakis and a gray sweatshirt to break the cold, blustery wind. Both had steel helmets, were unarmed, and Smith wore a zippered combat jacket over fatigues. He chomped his omnipresent unlighted cigar and was "proud as hell to be wearing my Marine dungarees."

Platoon Leader Wells was aboard the *Samaritan* and raising seven kinds of hell to get ashore despite his wounds. "By God," he ranted, "they're my men, I'm sure of it, and I want to be with them and dammit, I'm going to be." An understanding doctor gave him a first-aid pack of sulfa and morphine, and the lieutenant hitched a ride on a press boat headed for shore to pick up correspondents' news copy. He limped to the start of the path up Suribachi and found Chick

Robeson and Private Robert E. Goode about to go to the top again. With arms around one another's shoulders, the trio labored up the steep slope to join the valiant platoon.

Colonel Johnson professed to be livid when he heard Wells was back on the mountain. He wasn't. "I was proud as hell of that young fighter," he told a newsman, and Wells kept his platoon to finish the mop-up of the crater.

Private Charles S. Rogers also had more than a casual interest in the flag-raising. He was nineteen, one of Johnson's men, and had been seriously wounded by mortars on D-Day. From his cot on the deck of the hospital ship *Solace* he could barely see the flag and wanted to lift himself for a better view. He couldn't make it, but he tried; his eyes misted and he was proud of the lump in his throat.

Joe Rosenthal was sorry he missed being with the platoon, but that's the way things often turn out. The thirty-three-year-old Associated Press photographer had been in the business a long time and knew, as he put it, "you win some, you lose some."

He'd been in the Pacific for a year, and had landed with the Marines at Guam and Peleliu, where he'd made a name for himself as a man who could make good pictures under fire. Before shipping out from AP's San Francisco bureau, he'd tried to enlist but none of the services would take him because of myopia so severe that he wore thick glasses, and had two extra sets with his photographic gear. He carried 150 pounds on a five-foot-five-inch frame and had a small mustache. Some friends said he resembled a French chef.

Rosenthal landed early D-Day afternoon on the Fourth Division's beaches and had made dozens of pictures of the fighting since then. He returned at sunset each day to the *Eldorado* to write captions and see that his negatives were aboard the courier flying boat to Guam, and to eat and sleep.

When he came ashore the morning of February 23, he trudged through the sand and up the terrace to Colonel Liversedge's command post. "Harry the Horse" told him Schrier's platoon already was on the summit, but Rosenthal decided to go up anyway; maybe he could get a panoramic shot of the island, or find something else worth shooting.

Two Marine photographers had the same idea, Sergeant William Genaust and Private Robert Campbell. Genaust was a motion picture cameraman with several rolls of sixteen-millimeter color film. Campbell had a Speed Graphic for black-and-white stills. The trio was about to begin the climb when "Wabbit" returned.

He was out of breath, but he had located another flag on LST 779 on the beachhead. It took several minutes to tell Ensign Alan S. Wood why he wanted it; with his excited, lisping speech he had trouble making himself understood. When Wood was able to decipher the Marine's mission, he gave him the ship's rarely used ceremonial flag. It was twice the size of the original, measuring eight feet by four feet, eight inches.

"Must be rough up there," the ensign said, as "Wabbit" nodded "yes" and took off in a dead run. He didn't want to catch hell from the colonel for being gone too long. Johnson immediately sent a man to the summit with the new flag, and he was there with several of the original flag-raisers when the trio of photographers arrived, huffing and puffing.

The new flag was immediately lashed to a longer length of pipe, and six Marines were having trouble shoving the staff into the rubble. The photographers watched for a moment and then scurried for positions to shoot the action.

Rosenthal frantically piled rocks to get better elevation to make his picture. He focused, and the Speed Graphic's shutter clicked just as the struggling Marines hoisted the new flag. He had preset the exposure at one four-hundredths of a second at between f/8 and f/11.

Genaust caught the action with his Bell & Howell Filmo, and was standing shoulder-to-shoulder with the AP man, shooting the identical and unforgettable scene in color on the few feet of color movie film that remained in his camera. As the second flag was raised, the first was simultaneously lowered. Campbell snapped his shutter at that instant, his photo showing both flags.

Rosenthal made two more pictures; one showing three Marines grasping the pipe after the large flag was raised; the other a group shot of the jubilant platoon with the Stars and Stripes snapping in the wind. He went down off the volcano and continued working until late afternoon, when he hitched a ride to the *Eldorado* for his nightly chores.

In his captions covering the day's shooting, the one for the flag-raising said: "Atop 550-foot Suribachi Yama, the volcano at the southwest tip of Iwo Jima, Marines of the Second Battalion, 28th Regiment,

Fifth Marine Division, hoist the Stars and Stripes, signaling the capture of this key position."

When the press pouch arrived at Guam, and Rosenthal's negatives were processed, darkroom technicians knew immediately that the Suribachi photo was something very special. It didn't fit the pattern of a conventional news picture; the face of only one man was clearly visible, the rest were either hidden by hands and arms raising the flag, or their heads were turned.

But it was a masterpiece of instantaneous composition and lighting that captured the mood of the unfolding drama on Iwo Jima. Its stage-like setting and the powerful position of the men gave it the graven look of a posed statue; so much so, in fact, that cynics and critics of the Marine Corps later suggested the photo was staged.

Anyone on the island, friend and foe, could plainly see the second flag. It touched off new waves of cheers on the beaches, where unshaven and weary shore parties thumped one another on the back and shouted. Those on the front, their ranks already decimated by the hundreds, felt the battle was at last making some headway.

Whistles, horns, and bells rang out aboard the ships surrounding the island. The next day, when the photo appeared on front pages of virtually every newspaper in the States, it became an instant symbol for millions on the homefront—an indelible portrait of patriotism and determination.

It took days to track down the names of Rosenthal's flag-raisers, a frantic quest touched off by a clamor at home to identify the men. They were, from left to right, Private First Class Ira H. Hayes, a Pima Indian from Arizona; Private First Class Franklin R. Sousley, a Kentucky mountaineer; Sergeant Michael Strank, from central Pennsylvania's coal country; Pharmacist's Mate Second Class John Bradley, from the farmlands of Wisconsin; Private First Class Rene A. Gagnon, of French-Canadian descent, from New Hampshire's Green Mountains; and Corporal Harlon Block, from the southernmost tip of Texas.

Sousley, Strank, and Block were killed before ever learning of their fame. Bradley was wounded and evacuated; only Hayes and Gagnon left the island physically unhurt, but both would die as alcoholics—a situation, friends said, brought on by their inabilities to cope with fame the two felt was undeserved.

Rosenthal became an overnight celebrity of sorts, albeit a confused one. When Associated Press headquarters radioed congratulations on "the war's most memorable photo," he didn't know which one they were talking about; he'd made dozens of shots since D-Day. The picture won the 1945 Pulitzer Prize and was the official symbol of the Seventh War Bond Drive, when $220,000,000 in bonds were sold. It was later reproduced on a postage stamp and was re-created in minute detail in the world's largest bronze statue, at the foot of Arlington National Cemetery, just across the Potomac River from Washington, D.C.

Bill Genaust never saw what he shot; he was killed a few days later making more footage of Marines in battle. But millions saw his film within days in movie theaters across the nation. Decades later it was being viewed by other millions almost daily in television documentaries. That Genaust was never given credit for the footage, and that he died still filming the action at Iwo, were sore spots with those who knew him. Lowery's and Campbell's pictures received scant attention, but they and Rosenthal remained friends.

And what of the forty men of the Third Platoon who first scaled Suribachi's summit? Four made it to the end of the battle; the others were killed or wounded before the island was conquered.

Suribachi's conquest cost the 28th Regiment 510 men in four days of fighting. Since D-Day, its total casualties—including those killed or wounded on the beaches before the assault on the volcano began—were 895, nearly thirty percent—and the battle for the island had just begun. The regiment stayed on and around Suribachi for another week, cleaning out die-hard Japanese, reorganizing and taking on new men, and refitting before swinging north.

Years later an official Marine Corps monograph summed up the capture of the fortress. "The Japanese had conducted an effective defense," it said. "Making maximum use of their artillery, mortars, and automatic weapons, they did not waste themselves in costly all-out counterattacks. Forcing the Marines to come to them, the enemy inflicted heavy casualties before being blasted or burned out of their fortifications."

Men who had been on the mountain thought the forty-seven words weren't enough to tell the story.

3

Correspondents, those on the beachhead and those on the *Eldorado*, filed a flood of copy daily, a graphic word picture of a battle mounting in intensity and casualties. Photographs of the wreckage-strewn beaches and of Marines struggling up the deep black sand of the terraces took over the front pages of newspapers from coast to coast.

From the time Marines landed on D-Day, Navy censors blue-penciled all mention of specific losses. Reports said only that "no estimate of casualties is yet available." But on February 22, Admiral Nimitz's communiqué shocked the nation. "At 1800, as of February 21, our casualties on Iwo Jima were estimated at 644 killed, 4,108 wounded and 560 missing." The invasion was just fifty-one hours under way.

This was worse than anything the Americans had suffered anywhere in World War II; worse than Tarawa, worse than Normandy, worse than on the beachhead at Anzio. There was no doubt that Marines were in the bloodiest battle since Gettysburg.

An anxious homefront bought newspaper extras by the thousands and listened for radio bulletins about the battle's progress. Theaters showed newsreels of the assault, sometimes updating them daily as new footage arrived. For the first time live broadcasts were beamed to the States from a beachhead under fire. As the fighting roared on and casualties skyrocketed, editorials began to appear to question Marine tactics and to demand "Howlin' Mad" Smith's scalp.

As the European war thundered to an end, more and more correspondents moved to the Pacific for the final chapter in the global conflict. More than a hundred were scattered among the Iwo invasion fleet on D-Day, turning out an unprecedented flow of copy.

Except for Marine combat correspondents, it was strictly a personal matter whether or not reporters went ashore or covered the action from the relative safety and comfort of the transports and command ships; no one had authority to order the civilians to land. Those who went to the beachhead shared the same dangers and hardships as the troops, but with one glaring difference—they could go back to

a ship whenever they wanted to hitch a ride. Those who stayed afloat covered the action through binoculars, monitored radio reports from the island, interviewed men returning from the beaches, and had regular press briefings.

Only a few of the bravest and most dedicated reporters went ashore on D-Day, or—as Bob Sherrod, who landed early that afternoon, put it—"the most foolhardy or stupid." The Associated Press's James S. Lindsley was the first civilian ashore. He scrambled across Yellow Beach I shortly after 1:30 P.M. with Captain John W. Thomason III, the Fourth Division's public relations officer.

Scattered in the maelstrom were some fifteen Marine writers and photographers, mostly sergeants who had been newsmen in civilian life and who had landed with their units in the earlier assault waves.

Lindsley and Thomason were told at the Line of Departure that "the beach had been stabilized." Seconds after they had bolted from a Higgins boat and plunged into a shell hole, artillery blew a following landing craft out of the water. The next round killed several Marines yards away.

"Doesn't look like it's stabilized to me!" Thomason yelled over the din.

They worked up the terrace, darting from hole to hole as machine gun bullets kicked up the black sand around them. The rest of the day they were pinned down most of the time. At sunset, Thomason left Lindsley in a foxhole they'd dug along the edge of the airstrip, and helped carry wounded to the beach.

Lindsley wondered "what in the hell am I doing here?" He spent the night amid the dangers and fears of thirty thousand other Americans on the beachhead.

Somewhere in the confusion were Keith Wheeler, the *Chicago Daily Times* man, and John Lardner, a sports writer-humorist-columnist turned correspondent for *Newsweek* and the *New Yorker*. They were neck deep in a crater, and having the same troubles as Lindsley and Thomason. Within hours, Wheeler would be seriously wounded by a sniper's bullet that struck his jaw.

Sherrod tried all morning to get ashore. Finally, as he descended the gangway of the *Eldorado* to head for the beach, he met a filthy and exhausted Marine debarking from the Higgins boat. "I wouldn't go in there if I were you," he said. "There's more hell in there than I've ever seen in the rest of the war put together."

Once ashore, the *Time-Life* man remembered that Al Crocker of the *St. Paul Dispatch* had decided not to land until the next morning. "Smart man that Crocker, smart man," Sherrod mused.

Washington's new policy of "more aggressive" news coverage was one of the few things going according to plan at Iwo. Five specially designated landing craft, with the word PRESS painted in four-foot letters on their sides, shuttled newsmen to and from the *Eldorado*, picking up copy and film.

Once aboard the command ship, dispatches were passed through censors and sent by high-speed radioteletypes to Guam for instant relay by powerful short-wave transmitters to the mainland. Each day at sunset, a Navy Catalina flying boat ferried still negatives and newsreel footage, radio recordings, and other copy from civilian and Marine correspondents to CinCPac headquarters for processing and transmittal to the States.

In all invasions before Iwo, beachhead news copy had been flown to Honolulu on hospital planes evacuating wounded. It was a haphazard system; newsmen first had to wait until an airstrip could take the aircraft. Then they had to see that their dispatches were aboard a plane and hope they would reach Navy press headquarters once the aircraft landed at Pearl Harbor. It was a time-consuming process to get anything through censorship and radioed or cabled to the mainland for publication. The time lag created a worrisome vacuum of hard news for the homefront, especially when the action was heavy and costly.

Sometimes days went by before eyewitness stories were in print to put flesh on the bare bones of information released in scrimpy official communiqués. Tarawa's bloody three-day battle was over before the first on-the-spot account of the savage fighting reached the mainland. Civilian newsmen were disgruntled and angry that the first beachhead copy was from Technical Sergeant Jim G. Lucas, an enterprising Marine combat correspondent, who landed in the first waves with the assault forces. The delay was even worse for pictures. It was eight days after the Saipan invasion that the first of them reached San Francisco.

Kelly Turner thought the new system worked too well, and that correspondents were being pampered. Twelve hours after H-Hour on Iwo, more than eighty thousand words of copy had passed through censors on the *Eldorado*, been radioed or flown to Guam, and on to

the States for use in newspapers the next morning. During the first twelve days 1,168,875 words were filed from the command ship—no one ever knew who took the word count or why it was made.

In some respects, the admiral *was* right and the coverage *was* too good.

Much of the writing, composed in the heat of battle within sight of blood and smell of death, upset millions of readers. Many stories carried graphic comparisons to Tarawa, Saipan, Peleliu—at that time the most costly of Marine campaigns—and some brought up the carnage of Soissons and the Marne in World War I, where Marine casualties had been staggering.

Secretary Forrestal added to the wave of concern in a live broadcast from Guam after he had flown there from Iwo. He described "the terrible Japanese guns set on that grim and barren island so that there were streams of coverging fire at the beachhead over which the Marines had come scrambling from the sea."

While Joe Rosenthal's photo gave the homefront a mighty surge of pride, it also fanned the flames of tension and anxiety. To millions it mirrored, as nothing before had done so dramatically, the courage and heroism of *all* American fighting men—soldiers, sailors, airmen, and Marines. But to publishers Hearst and McCormick, it symbolized a tragic and needless waste of Marine lives, and gave them added fuel to stroke their editorial fires seeking to make General MacArthur the Supreme Commander, Pacific.

In addition to the chain of twenty-two Hearst newspapers and those controlled by the volatile colonel—*The Tribune* in Chicago and *The Daily News* in New York—the howling, well-orchestrated chant was taken up by powerful supporters in Washington led by *The Times-Herald*, owned and edited by McCormick's niece, the flamboyant Eleanor "Cissy" Patterson.

But the scathing editorials of the Hearst-McCormick-Patterson press failed to recognize, or attempt to explain, the shrewdness of General Kuribayashi and the do-or-die determination of his troops to defend the doorstep to the Japanese homeland. Nor did they face up to the fact that the Marines were taking Iwo Jima in the only way it could be conquered—by an amphibious landing and direct, head-on frontal assault. The incredible logic of the press lords and their lady boiled down to a position of "to hell with everything else, we want MacArthur." The raging battle, ten thousand miles away in the Pacific,

hadn't reached its climax, and Marines were being killed or wounded at the rate of more than a thousand a day, when the bombastic controversy exploded in headlines.

On February 27, Hearst's San Francisco *Examiner* printed a front-page editorial with a heavy black border. It said Marines certainly would capture Iwo Jima, but "there is awesome evidence in the situation that the attacking American forces are paying heavily for the island, perhaps too heavily."

Hearst himself had written the words in his crisp, inimitable style from his sprawling multimillion-dollar mountaintop castle at San Simeon, south of San Francisco. It smacked of a scene from Orson Welles's movie *Citizen Kane*, which Hearst abhorred.

In an unmistakable attack on the leadership of Admiral Nimitz and General Smith, the tirade continued: "It is the same thing that happened at Tarawa and Saipan. If it continues the American forces are in danger of being worn out before they ever reach the really critical Japanese areas." In Tokyo, and on Iwo, there was no doubt that the island was "really critical" to the Japanese, that it would be defended to the last man, and that many more thousands of Americans would fall in the fighting.

Hearst had tight-fisted claim to the barony of a press lord. Not only did he own the nation's largest chain of newspapers, he also was absolute master of International News Service, the sole wire service news source for more than four hundred newspapers and radio stations in all parts of the country. Hearst Metrotone News turned out three newsreels every week, and they were seen by millions in more than two thousand theaters. Seven high-powered radio stations were under the Hearst banner, as well as a complex of highly profitable mass-circulation magazines.

But the *Examiner* was his personal voice, his pride and joy, the first newspaper he ever owned—a gift from his doting father, a tycoon United States Senator who had made millions in mining gold. The paper was the nerve center from which the sprawling communications domain took unequivocal direction. When "The Chief"—the name by which overworked and underpaid staffers knew him—wrote for *The Mighty Monarch of the Western Slope*, as the paper called itself on its masthead, he expected all his editors to get the signal and follow the lead.

On February 28, Hearst unleashed the next salvo. It was written

in his unmistakable style—short sentences and paragraphs, key words in capital letters, pithy and searing prose throughout—and was the lead editorial in the *Examiner*. It read:

> "GENERAL MacARTHUR is our best strategist.
> "He is our most SUCCESSFUL strategist.
> "He wins all his objectives.
> "He outwits and outmaneuvers and outguesses and outthinks the Japanese.
> "HE SAVES THE LIVES OF OUR OWN MEN, not only for the future and vital operations that must be fought before Japan is defeated, but for their own safe return to their families and loved ones in the American homeland after the peace is won.
> "It is our good fortune to have such a strategist as General MacArthur in the Pacific war.
> "Why do we not use him more, and indeed, why do we not give him supreme command in the Pacific war, and utilize to the utmost his rare military genius of winning important battles without excessive loss of precious American lives?"

Hearst, with the combined power of his millions and his communications empire, not only printed news; he created it. The editorial blazed from the pages of his mass-circulation dailies in New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Boston, and Detroit. It snapped out in the smaller ones in Albany and Syracuse, New York; in Omaha, Nebraska; San Antonio, Texas; and Milwaukee, Wisconsin. His wire service carried it verbatim, and many client papers printed it. Associated Press and United Press found its torrid contents legitimate news, and their teletypes clattered it out in newsrooms from coast to coast.

William C. Wren, the *Examiner* managing editor, expected a wave of excitement, to put it mildly, when the paper hit the streets—although he wasn't prepared for what came. But he'd taken heat many times before because of his chief's scathing editorials. Wren was hard-boiled, a trademark of all Hearst executives who kept their jobs, and he was cool and imperturbable when pressure was the heaviest. He was sitting at his desk, chewing an unlit cigar and working on copy, when he heard a rumbling commotion in the dingy city room.

It was shortly after 10:00 P.M. and the next edition was on dead-

line. Nearly a hundred Marines stormed toward the editor's cluttered, glassed-in office. Their eyes blazed, and they pushed aside anyone blocking their advance. A frightened staffer turned in a riot call as Marines surrounded Wren.

"Look," he said, "I take orders from my commanding officer, just like you do, and they came from Mr. Hearst at San Simeon. He said to run the editorial as he wrote it, and I did."

Furious Marines demanded that Hearst be called, and Wren got on the direct line. "Mr. Hearst is too busy to be disturbed," he was told. The Chief had spoken, and would have nothing more to say—at least for the moment. Wren calmed the Marines by promising they would have their say in the next day's paper, and the explosive episode was defused.

When San Francisco police and the Navy Shore Patrol tramped up the stairs to the confused scene, the sullen and bitter Marines left. Asked if legal action would be taken against the men, a Marine officer said: "Probably not. They were off duty and acting as individuals. Apparently they read the editorial and didn't like it." He was a man of rare understatement.

Deeply concerned citizens wrote congressmen and senators—and Secretary Forrestal—about the heavy and still mounting casualties at Iwo. The secretary's office released a letter from one woman, who was not identified, nor was it known if she had a son or close relative in the battle. It read:

"Please, for God's sake, stop sending our finest youth to be murdered on places like Iwo Jima. It is too much for boys to stand, too much for mothers to take. It is driving some mothers crazy. Why can't objectives be accomplished in some other way? It is almost inhuman—stop, stop!"

Forrestal answered: "On December 7, 1941, the Axis confronted us with a simple choice: fight or be overrun. There was then, and is now, no other possibility. Having chosen to fight, we had then, and we have now, no final means of winning battles except through the valor of the Marine or Army soldier who, with rifle and grenade, storms enemy positions, takes them, and holds them. There is no shortcut or easy way. I wish there were."

Next day's *Examiner* mentioned the near-riot in a three-paragraph story buried in the paper's back pages: there was no rebuttal from the Marines on the editorial page—or elsewhere. It was a different story

in the *San Francisco Chronicle*, whose offices were a few blocks away. The lead editorial in the competing morning paper said:

> "The recapture of the Philippines remains competent, energetic and immensely heartening to the American people. We are proud of that job.
>
> "To slur the United States Marines in one type of operation, however, to draw odious comparisons between theirs and the type of operations conducted by General MacArthur, is to raise a sinister fantasy. To hint that the Marine and Naval leadership in that assault is incompetent is an attempt at a damnable swindle of the American people.
>
> "The *Chronicle* does not propose to engage in a controversy over the relative merits of our fighting forces in the various theaters of war. But neither does the *Chronicle* propose to remain mute when the United States Marines, or any force on the world battle line, is butchered at home to make a Roman holiday."

The paper was owned by four sisters. One was Mrs. Phyllis de Young Tucker. She had been informed three days earlier that First Lieutenant Nion R. Tucker, Jr., her only son, had been cut down on D-Day while assaulting Green Beach with the Fifth Division, and had died of his wounds.

Admiral Nimitz and General Smith were keenly aware of the furor raging stateside; but there was nothing they could do to stop it. Marines in the raging battle knew nothing of the blazing controversy—they knew only that they wanted to win the battle, to leave Iwo alive and unhurt.

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STRATEGIC MODERNIZATION: THE REAL BUDGET ISSUE

by
Dick Cheney
U.S. Secretary of Defense

Congress is about to go through a tough exercise. I know it will be tough, because I have been through it myself. So have members of the committees with jurisdiction over the Department of Defense. Put simply, the Congress must decide how this country can prepare for its long term security with a shrinking defense budget.

The source of the problem is not hard to find. The DoD budget has been cut for each of the past five years, after inflation, for a cumulative 12 percent cut between 1985 and 1990. There is no easy fat left to trim.

Faced with this reality, President Bush and I thought it was time to cancel some programs. For the five years of 1990-94, our recommended cancellations would have saved $19.3 billion. Unfortunately, the House Armed Services Committee took a different approach. Rather than terminate programs, the committee voted to keep practically everything alive and stretch programs out. As a result, the government would have to pay excessively high unit costs for assembly lines that would have to run at inefficiently low rates of production.

At least as important as the waste is the fact that the funds have to come from somewhere to keep lower priority programs alive. The committee took most of the coming year's money out of strategic modernization -- and especially out of the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) and B-2 Stealth Bomber.

MODERNIZATION

Earlier this decade, the nuclear freeze movement argued that because both the United States and Soviet Union could destroy each other many times over, it made no sense to build new strategic weapons of any kind. The fallacy is that the weapons needed for deterrence must change over time. If the Soviet Union improves its ability to strike first, we have to make improvements of our own to maintain the same level of deterrence.

Some contemporary opponents of modernization question whether the United States has any reason to be fearful of the Soviet Union in an age of perestroika and glasnost. The problem is that we have to base our procurement decisions not on Mr. Gorbachev's apparent intentions, but upon the capabilities -- the actual weapons -- that any potential Soviet leader would have available over the next 25 years. Intentions or leaders can change overnight, but an effective weapons system takes years to produce.

Of course, merely asserting a generalized need for modernization will not help a planner decide which weapons to build. Those choices have to be guided by a broad sense of

purpose. The purpose of modernization is to assure that enough of our strategic forces will continue to be able to survive any seriously imaginable first strike, given foreseeable or potentially dangerous developments in future offensive technologies. Individual programs ought to be judged not as abstractions, taken one a time, but as pieces of a whole strategic package that has to act as a deterrent against a comparable package on the other side.

TRIDENT

There has been relatively little controversy this year over the submarine portion of the U.S. deterrent. The Trident program is a major success story. The increased quietness of the submarine, and the extended range and increased accuracy of its D-5 missile, will ensure that the sea-based leg of the deterrent triad can survive into the foreseeable future.

Today, the U.S. deploys a mixed force of Trident and Poseidon submarines. Built more than 20 years ago, the Poseidon is nearing obsolescence. All will be retired by the late 1990s. To take their places, 16 Tridents have been authorized as of 1989. Eight are fully operational, two are undergoing sea trials, and six are under construction. While the full size of the Trident force has yet to be determined, the President has called for one to be authorized in 1990 and another in 1991.

The Trident force would be difficult, if not impossible, for the Soviet Union to destroy during a first strike against the United States. As a result, its ability to respond promptly

against hard targets will remain a critically important part of the U.S. deterrent.

MOBILE ICBMs

Although submarines currently look safe against a first strike, it would be dangerously imprudent to rely solely upon them for the indefinite future. We cannot place all our bets on the assumption that the Soviet Union will never develop advanced anti-submarine capabilities capable of neutralizing the Tridents. Therefore, it remains essential to retain a land-based capability.

The Peacekeeper or MX multi-warhead ICBMs are the country's most capable, most accurate missiles. These fifty missiles, with a total of 500 warheads, have already been built and are deployed in Wyoming. The problem is that they are sitting in fixed silos. For about $5.4 billion, they can deployed between 1992 and 1994 in a rail mobile garrison. This is the least costly way to make a substantial portion of our ICBM force more survivable, quickly.

The single warhead, small ICBM will be ready for deployment by 1997. Once it is deployed in a road mobile configuration, Soviet planners would have to use more than one accurate missile to take out each single warhead. By making a first strike more difficult, building this missile can contribute to stability.

The decision to move more slowly with the small ICBM than with redeploying the Peacekeeper was not based on any doubt about the small missile's potential contribution. Financial

considerations prevent us from funding both programs fully at the same time. It is important to insure that at least one mobile missile is made operational quickly, and the Peacekeeper is a lot closer to being ready.

Some questions have been raised about how we can propose to build two mobile missiles while at the same time proposing to ban such missiles at the Strategic Arms Limitation (START) talks. The positions may look contradictory, but they really are interdependent. We cannot agree to a situation in which the Soviet Union has mobile missiles and we do not. That means we cannot allow even a limited number of mobile missiles under START unless Congress agrees to build both of our mobile ICBMs and we can verify whatever limits end up in the treaty. Once both of these problems are solved, we will be prepared to reconsider our negotiating posture.

This raises a more basic question about the relationship between negotiation and modernization. The Soviet Union already has two mobile missiles roughly comparable to the Peacekeeper and small ICBM. Experience teaches us that the Soviets will not agree to a treaty limit if they feel they can achieve a better result by waiting for the U.S. to limit itself unilaterally. For negotiating as well as strategic reasons, therefore, we have to respond to the Soviets' capability.

B-2 BOMBER

The B-2 manned bomber is in some ways the most stabilizing element of the triad. Because bombers are so much slower than missiles, it is not credible to think of them as first strike

strategic weapons. In addition, bombers can be recalled, retargeted and reused: they are the most versatile element of the triad.

Far from being outdated in a missile age, manned bombers work synergistically with ballistic missiles to make planning for a first strike against the United States more difficult. Assume for the sake of argument a day when the Soviets might have figured out a way to neutralize our submarines. It still would be impossible for them to destroy a mixed force of bombers and missiles all at once, because of the differences between the flight times for missiles and the time it takes to get bombers in the air.

Some of the congressional debate about the B-2 so far has turned on questions about how it would be used. Some critics of the program questioned that we would ever send a bomber to do a job a missile could do. But the fact that there may be some redundancy in targeting is not a drawback. The whole point about synergism is that the bombers are meant to deter even if our ICBMs are destroyed. And in addition, there are some jobs a bomber can do better than a missile.

The B-1 bomber is a useful advance over the B-52 for now, but we cannot expect the B-1 to penetrate the heaviest Soviet defenses against prime targets into next century. Although I did have some concerns about the B-2, I am now persuaded that this airplane will give us important and in some ways amazing capabilities. The B-2's revolutionary stealth characteristics will allow it to penetrate and attack heavily defended targets, whether fixed or moving. In addition, its superior range (6,000

miles, or 10,000 miles with one refueling) will make it a superior aircraft for other long range missions. This may become particularly important over time, considering the declining availability of overseas bases.

Yes, the B-2 is expensive -- but not remarkably so for what it will do. Its cost is only 25 percent more than the flyaway cost of a B-1, in constant dollars. Moreover, we have procedures in place to control risks as we move through the testing phase to begin production.

SDI

A successful Strategic Defense Initiative could potentially mean more for America's future security than any one of the other elements of our strategic modernization program. We must move forward with the other elements because SDI is still in a research phase, years away from deployment. But if the program bears the kind of fruit that is looking increasingly likely, SDI will contribute a great deal to deterrence -- not only against a Soviet threat, but against the large number of other countries that are on the verge of having their own nuclear and chemical missiles.

Part of the skepticism about SDI comes from the way it once was portrayed by some as a means for protecting the whole population against nuclear attack. In reality, the program assumes defensive systems will be introduced in phases, with the goals of the first phase being less ambitious than those of the follow-on phases. Initial defenses would strengthen deterrence

by disrupting an attack and denying its objectives. Later more capable defenses would provide better protection.

In each phase, the program envisions a layered defense system, with both ground and space based components. Even in the first phase, a space based layer would intercept a significant percentage of the enemy's missiles before the warheads could separate from their delivery vehicles. The mission of the ground based layer would be to destroy warheads that get past the space based layer.

Even though a Phase One system would be less than "perfect", it would leave Soviet planners completely uncertain about what targets might be damaged in a first strike. At a minimum, therefore, SDI can supplement missile mobility, bomber redundancy, and a host of other stabilizing measures. Moreover, it can achieve these results in a way that might finally move us away from a deterrence based solely on offensive weapons to one based increasingly on defense.

SDI research has already made remarkable progress. But a significant cut in our budget request could disrupt the entire program. This year, many Phase One projects are moving into the testing and validation phase. A major cut will make it impossible to maintain a balance between testing the feasibility of mature Phase One systems and funding more basic research for the later phases. Unlike past years, when funding determined how quickly new research could get started, a major cut this year would shut down existing projects and turn some of the nation's premier scientists and engineers away from the field.

** TOTAL PAGE.010 **

The SDI program therefore is at a crossroads. A $1.1 billion cut would all but preclude even the possibility of deploying militarily significant defenses this century. SDI would be forced to retrench into a technology-only program. This would be deeply disturbing, particularly since the programs being funded with the same money are ones that would have considerably less military utility over the long term.

CONCLUSION

Fiscal austerity demands choices. When choices are hard, it is always tempting to cut long range programs to save short term pain. Building a constituency for strategic modernization is made even more difficult, because our objective is to create an environment in which the weapons will not be used.

As politically unrewarding as the hard choices may be, we need to modernize our strategic forces, and to pursue arms control, because the danger of not doing so is too great. The Soviet Union is the only country that can put our continued survival at risk. We ought to face up to this fact soberly. Congress should resist the temptation to give in to today's pressures to make sure the United States can continue to defend itself well into the next century.

The majority of Americans would like to see the American flag protected by a constitutional amendment. A recent Gallup Poll revealed that two-thirds (66%) of the nation said that, if asked, they would sign a petition asking for a constitutional amendment to make flag burning illegal.

The poll was conducted by The Gallup Organization of Lincoln, Nebraska with a national random sample of individuals age 18 and older living in the continental United States.

Completed during July, 1989, the sample was controlled for age, sex and region to match 1980 U.S. Census data. A three call-back system was used to guarantee the representativeness of the sample.

The Poll showed that for the most part it appears that Americans were not pleased with the recent U.S. Supreme Court decision that ruled that while offensive, flag burning was protected under the free speech guarantee of the First Amendment. Six-tenths of the respondents interviewed said that they disagreed with the Supreme Court ruling. Respondents with lower incomes and less education were much more likely to disagree with the Supreme Court ruling than were there higher income, higher educated counterparts.

When asked how they felt when they first learned of the Supreme Court ruling concerning burning the American flag, the majority said that they were angry/upset (48%) or disappointed (24%). Only 9% said that they thought it was a good ruling.

In further support of the flag, almost two-thirds (64%) of the respondents said that they think a constitutional amendment should be enacted which would allow federal and state governments to make flag burning illegal. Once again, lower income groups in particular (70%), agreed that such an amendment should be enacted.

Less than three-tenths (27%) of the respondents thought that such a constitutional amendment would place their freedom of speech rights in jeopardy. Minorities were much more likely to think such an amendment would result in loss of rights than were whites (40% to 25% respectively).

Bartlett's

Woodrow Wilson
1856–1924

1 The United States must be neutral in fact as well as in name. . . . We must be impartial in thought as well as in action.

Message to the Senate [August 19, 1914]

2 You deal in the raw material of opinion, and, if my convictions have any validity, opinion ultimately governs the world.

Address to the Associated Press [April 20, 1915]

3 There is such a thing as a man being too proud to fight.

Address to Foreign-Born Citizens [May 10, 1915]

4 [The Civil War] created in this country what had never existed before—a national consciousness. It was not the salvation of the Union; it was the rebirth of the Union.

Memorial Day Address [1915]

5 The flag is the embodiment, not of sentiment, but of history. It represents the experiences made by men and women, the experiences of those who do and live under that flag.

Address [June 14, 1915]

6 We have stood apart, studiously neutral.

Message to Congress [December 7, 1915]

7 America cannot be an ostrich with its head in the sand.

Speech at Des Moines [February 1, 1916]

8 There must be, not a balance of power, but a community of power; not organized rivalries, but an organized common peace.

Address to the Senate [January 22, 1917]

9 It must be a peace without victory. . . . Victory would mean peace forced upon the loser, a victor's terms imposed upon the vanquished. It would be accepted in humiliation, under duress, at an intolerable sacrifice, and would leave a sting, a resentment, a bitter memory upon which terms of peace would rest, not permanently, but only as upon quicksand. Only a peace between equals can last. *Ib.*

10 A little group of willful men, representing no opinion but their own, have rendered the great Government of the United States helpless and contemptible.

Statement made in reference to certain members of the Senate [March 4, 1917][1]

11 Armed neutrality is ineffectual enough at best.

Address to Congress, asking for a declaration of war [April 2, 1917]

12 The world must be made safe for democracy.[2] *Ib.*

13 It is a fearful thing to lead this great peaceful people into war, into the most terrible and disastrous of all wars, civilization itself seeming to be in the balance. But the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free. To such a task we can dedicate our lives and our fortunes, everything that we are and everything that we have, with the pride of those who know that the day has come when America is privileged to spend her blood and her might for the principles that gave her birth and happiness and the peace which she has treasured. God helping her, she can do no other.[3] *Ib.*

14 1. Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at.

2. Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas. . . .

5. A free, open-minded, and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims

Address to Congress (The Fourteen Points) [January 8, 1918][4]

15 14. A general association of nations must be formed . . . for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike. *Ib.*

16 Sometimes people call me an idealist. Well that is the way I know I am an American. America is the only idealistic nation in the world.

Address at Sioux Falls [September 8, 1919]

17 The highest and best form of efficiency is the spontaneous cooperation of a free people.

From BERNARD BARUCH, *American Industry at War: A Report of the War Industries Board [March 1921]*

[1] Eleven senators had conducted a filibuster against a bill authorizing the arming of American merchant vessels.

[2] See James Harvey Robinson, 703:2.

[3] See Luther, 155:13.

[4] See Clemenceau, 643:11.

Edward Fra
1857–1

Never give a sucker a

Joseph C
1857–1

A work that aspires,
the condition of art shou
tion in every line.
The Nig

But the artist appeal
being which is not depe
that in us which is a gif
tion—and, therefore, m
during. He speaks to ou
and wonder, to the se
rounding our lives: to o
beauty, and pain.

The ship, a fragmen
earth, went on lonely a
planet.

Goodbye, brothers! Yo
As good a crowd as ever
the beating canvas of a h
ing aloft, invisible in the
for yell to a westerly ga

I am a great foe of fav
in private life, and ever
tionship of an author t
Lord Jim

There is a weird pow
. . . And a word carr
deals destruction throu
go flying through space

That faculty of behold
of his desire and the sha
out which the earth wou
no adventurer.

You shall judge of a m
as by his friends.[2]

Vanity plays lurid tri

Only a moment; a m
romance, of glamour—
of sunshine upon a stra

[1] Often attributed to W. C.
Peggy [1923]. He made the q
Dictionary of Word and Phrase
See F. P. Adams, 773:13.
[2] See Wilde, 674:26.

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1977

THE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF MILITARY HISTORY

from 3500 B.C. to the present

R. ERNEST DUPUY and TREVOR N. DUPUY

Revised Edition



HARPER & ROW, PUBLISHERS: New York
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Mexico City, São Paulo, Sydney

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ralized. By June 6, Normandy
ny were in effect isolated from
ıder of France. In all, some 4
ıs of bombs were dropped dur-
eriod, nearly 60 per cent by
aircraft.

August. Shuttle Bombing from
'o permit American bombers to
:her east into Germany with
mb loads, and also to confuse
ir-defense efforts, arrangements
e for them to fly east to bases
:e rapidly advancing Russian
pite operational success, the co-
with the Russians was never
tive. Also the Russian air de-
e unable to cope effectively with
:ounterraids on the American
ussia, resulting in severe Amer-
. The effort was therefore soon
l.

December. Climax of the Stra-
Offensive. The long-range
eturned to their primary mis-
tacking Germany's warmaking
ıave for a few diversionary at-
tactical targets to assist in the
rom the Normandy beachhead
p. 1107). The pattern of opera-
as before, save that the growing
f planes permitted even more
perations. Principal targets were
oil-production facilities and
tion system. All large industrial
e struck, however, including
s, electric-power facilities, and
ctories. The attacks on oil pro-
rastically reduced the available
rplanes, tanks, trucks, and sub-
hus affecting Germany's ability
n land, in the air, and at sea.
el reduced the new fighter-pilot
:reating a vicious cycle; inad-
trained German pilots were
ot down by the attacking bomb-
ıeir fighter escorts. The attack
n transportation also had a wide
king the flow of raw materials
s, and of finished products to
an fighting forces and popula-
lly the curve of German pro-
gan to drop sharply; the Com-
ıber Offensive was wrecking
capability to continue the war.

Operations in Italy, 1944

ANZIO-RAPIDO CAMPAIGN

1944, January 5–15. Drive to the Rapido. Stubborn assaults through the mountains, from the confluence of the Liri and Garigliano rivers north to the Apennines, advanced the Fifth Army nearly 7 miles to the final German Gustav Line along the Rapido, with Monte Cassino the key terrain obstacle in the bulge's center. Alexander planned a frontal attack, assisted by an amphibious landing at Anzio (Operation "Shingle"), some 60 miles from the Rapido front. The Anzio force would then advance inland to cut the German communications line. Although the 2 operations were beyond mutual-support capabilities, it was believed the dual operation would force evacuation of the Gustav Line. The Eighth Army, meanwhile, would continue its advance on Pescara, on the Adriatic coast.

1944, January 17–21. Rapido-Cassino Assaults. The X Corps attacked across the Garigliano, attaining a bridgehead. On its right the II Corps U.S. 36th Division attempted to force the Rapido, but was repulsed with heavy loss (January 17–19). The French corps nibbled north of Cassino to make slight but costly gains. As expected, German reserves were drawn to the Rapido front, and the amphibious operation was launched from Naples (January 21).

Anzio Operations, January 22–February 29

1944, January 22. The Landings. Major General **John P. Lucas**' VI Corps—some 50,000 Anglo-American troops, with 5,200 vehicles—began landing without opposition. Forty-eight hours later, most of the troops were ashore, the initial objectives attained, and a beachhead established, 7 miles deep. Lucas, however, made no attempt to drive inland toward the Alban Hills—the vital terrain. Instead, he consolidated his position, awaiting the landing of heavy weapons, tanks, and additional supplies. General Clark, who was present, concurred. But Kesselring's quick reaction brought German reinforcements from the north as well as from quiet sectors of the Gustav Line.

1944, January 23–February 16. German Build-up. Under General **Hans Georg Mackensen** the quickly extemporized Fourteenth Army pinned Lucas to his beachhead.

1944, February 16–29. German Counterattacks. A series of brutal blows drove back the outlying Allied units. Lucas was relieved (February 23) by Clark, Major General **Lucius K. Truscott, Jr.,** U.S. 3rd Division commander, replacing him.

1944, March–May. Stalemate. The amphibious assault became a siege for 3 more months with all the elements of World War I trench warfare. All portions of the narrow beachhead were under continuous observation and fire, while the Luftwaffe swept the harbor area, disrupting supply and reinforcement efforts.

1944, February–May. Operations on the Rapido. Fifth Army battered at the Gustav Line. The U.S. 34th Division assault on Monte Cassino, the so-called **First Battle of Cassino,** was repulsed (February 12). The New Zealand Corps then tried, supported by aerial bombardment (General **Bernard C. Freyburg** mistakenly thought the Germans were using the monastery for observation), in the **Second Battle of Cassino** (February 15–18), and also failed. The Germans quickly occupied the ruined monastery and repulsed the New Zealanders. The most massive close air support attack attempted to date brought no different result in the **Third Battle of Cassino** (March 15–23).

COMMENT. *Since the objective of the Anzio-Rapido operation was to pry the Germans out of the Gustav Line by utilizing Allied sea power to cut their line of communications, Anzio should have been the main effort, the Rapido merely a holding attack. But insufficient sea transportation (because of the demands of the 2 coming amphibious invasions of France) was available to ensure a sledge-hammer blow at Anzio. So the joint operation—and the responsibility must rest on Alexander—became a weak planning compromise: 2 main efforts, entirely incapable of mutual support, neither of them powerful enough to do the job alone. It can be argued that had Lucas immediately and boldly pushed ahead to his final objective—the Alban Hills—the Gustav Line must have collapsed, with Rome quickly occupied. But*

Lucas' commander, General Clark, was ashore on D day and concurred in the decision to consolidate before driving inland. Some 23,860 American and 9,203 British casualties were evacuated during the 4-month hell on the beachhead. In the end the Gustav Line collapsed only as a result of the very type of frontal attack the amphibious operation was designed to avoid.

1944, March 15–May 11. Operation "Strangle." U.S. Major General **Ira C. Eaker's** Anglo-American Mediterranean Allied Air Forces undertook a systematic air interdiction campaign to cut off supplies to German troops south of Rome. Despite severe punishment, the Germans did not withdraw as Allied air planners had hoped. However, the effect would soon be evident when intensive ground pressure was combined with the air interdiction campaign.

ROME CAMPAIGN

1944, May 11–25. Breakthrough. Regrouped to bring the weight of the 15th Army Group into his main effort, Alexander launched a full-scale surprise assault in the 20-mile zone between Cassino and the sea. The interdiction pressures of "Strangle" were intensified. In the combined air-ground offensive, "Diadem," French, Polish, British, Canadian, and U.S. units smashed through the German lines. The Poles took Cassino (May 17–18). At Anzio the reinforced VI Corps attacked (May 23) toward the Alban Hills; contact was made between the two Allied forces two days later.

1944, May 26–June 4. Advance on Rome. General Clark's shift of the Fifth Army toward Rome now saved the German Tenth Army from possible envelopment. Skillfully handled rear guards checked American advances at Valmontone and Velletri (May 28–June 2), while the remainder of the Tenth Army fell back. Rome was entered (June 4), hot on the heels of a general German retirement.

1944, June–August. Advance to the Arno. The Allies pushed rapidly up the peninsula. But withdrawals of troops—both ground and air—to mount the invasion of southern France (see p. 1108) reduced Alexander's strength, while German reinforcements bolstered Kesselring. In a series of masterly delaying actions the Germans—despite Allied air superiority—retired to the Gothic Line, extending across the peninsula south of Bologna, its outposts running generally from Pisa, through Florence, to Ancona.

1944, August–December. Advance to the Gothic Line. The Fifth Army crossed the Arno (August 26). Leese's Eighth Army took Rimini (September 21), and Clark, committing all his reserves, made an unsuccessful bid for Bologna (October 1–20). Another Italian winter settled on an exhausted Allied army group. Alexander, promoted to Supreme Allied Commander in place of Wilson (transferred to head the British military mission in Washington), was replaced by Clark. Truscott took over the Fifth Army and Lieutenant General **Richard L. McCreery** took over the Eighth from Leese.

The Allied Invasion of Western Europe

THE PRELIMINARIES, MAY, 1943–MAY, 1944

Allied Situation and Plans

At the Trident Conference (see p. 1090), President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill agreed on a major cross-Channel invasion of Europe in 1944. Planning was under Lieutenant General Sir **Frederick Morgan**; the target date was set as the first week of June 1944. A gigantic amphibious operation from southern England to France, with nearly 3 million men, was planned. After all possible landing sites were considered, the area east of the Cotentin Peninsula of Normandy was selected, because of (a) its proximity to Allied fighter bases in England, (b) the short water distance for carrying supplies and reinforcements in limited numbers of landing craft, (c) the nature of the beaches, (d) the nature of the inland area, and (e) the German defenses. In February, General Eisenhower, designated to command the invasion, established Supreme Headquarters Allied

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September 8 to October 14: 10:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m.
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Free to Children under 6, to Constellation Members and active Military.
Special group rates are available, call (301) 539-1797.

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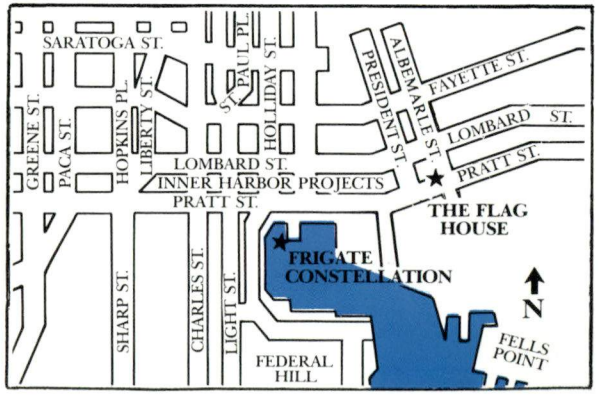
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10-4, Monday through Saturday; 1-4 Sunday; Closed Sundays in Winter and some holidays.

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Adults, $1.50; Children 13-18, $1.00; Children 6-12, 50¢; Members, Active Military and Under 6 free; Over 65, $1.00
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Transportation between Constellation and Flag House: Pratt Street Trolley



A unique opportunity to visit two of our most historic national shrines, just a few blocks apart.

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Constellation's Museum Shop, "The Ship's Store," offers many one-of-a-kind items on a nautical theme. Books, prints, natural-material Scrimshaw, crystal and pewter are on hand, as well as many delightful gifts for under $5.00.

The Flag House Museum Shop sells flags of all nations and all states in the U.S., in addition to unique items related to the collections.

Credit cards are accepted in both shops. Proceeds help to support the maintenance of both national historic landmarks.

When planning your visit, contact:

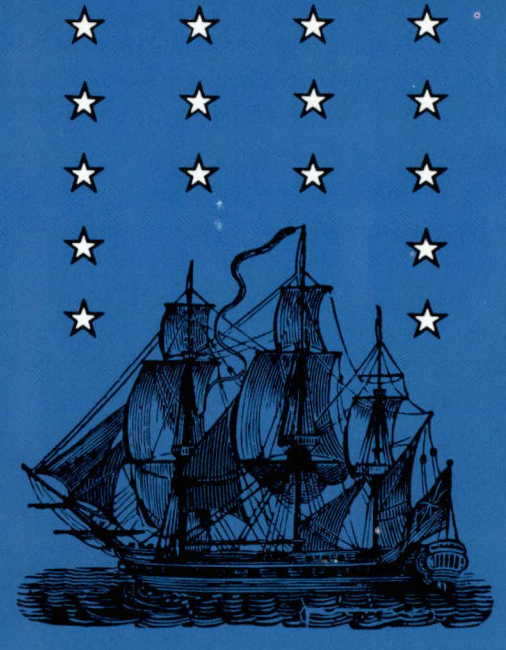
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Flag House Association
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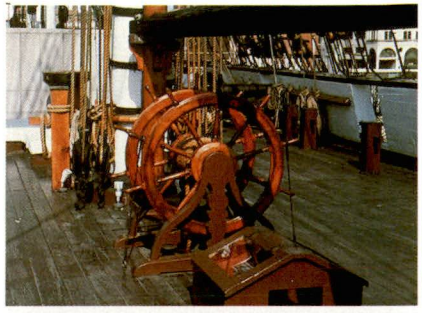
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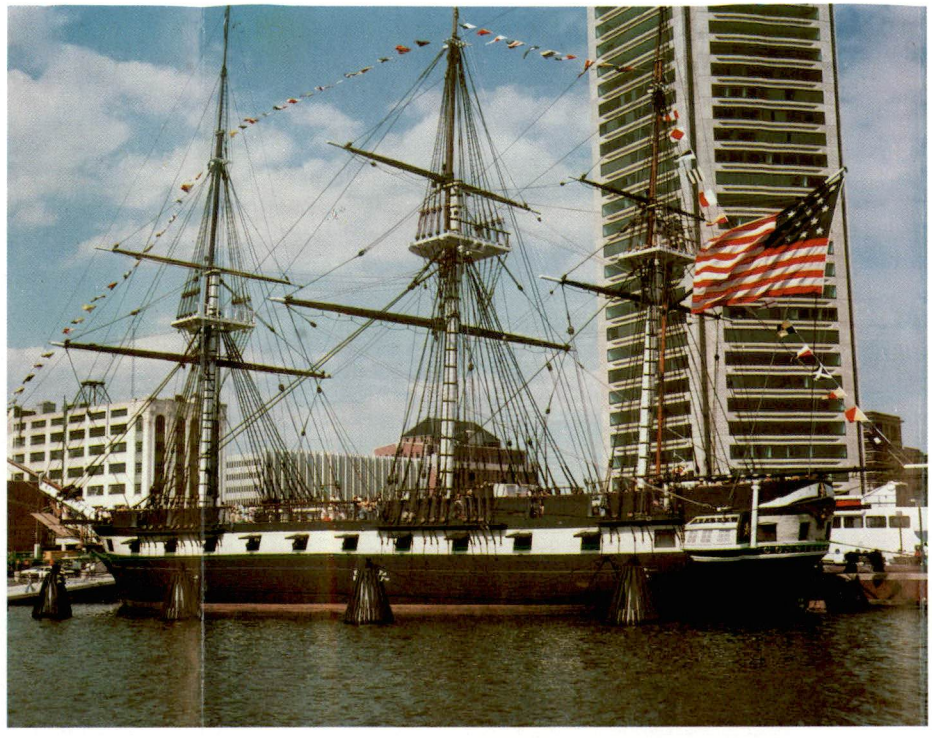
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Visit Frigate Constellation and the Star Spangled Banner Flag House









Above Photos Courtesy—Oliver C. Shipley

Frigate Constellation

Feel her history and relive her glory as you explore the decks of the first commissioned ship of the U.S. Navy.

The first of our fledgling Navy to put to sea, U.S.F. *Constellation* was also first to engage and first to defeat a man-o-war from the old world, the French Frigate *l'Insurgente* in 1799.

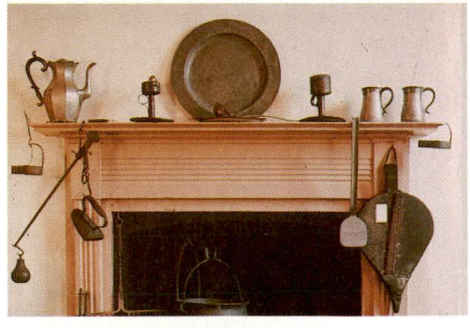
From her launching in Baltimore on September 7, 1797, she served with distinction until 1945, earning a lasting place of honor in naval history.

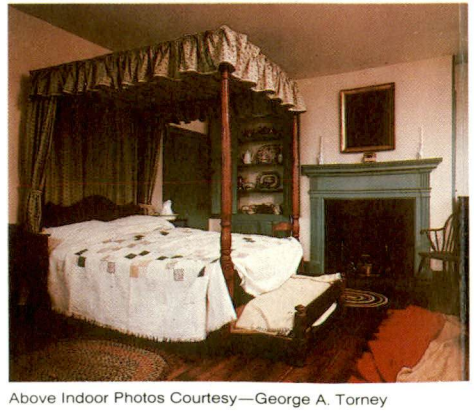
For nearly a century and a half, she and her gallant crews protected our nation from pirates and privateers, and distinguished herself in the War of 1812, the Civil War, and as the Flagship of the Atlantic Fleet during World War Two.

The *Constellation* is now permanently displayed as a national historic landmark and major tourist attraction at Constellation Dock, in the Inner Harbor.



Above Outdoor Photos Courtesy—Oliver C. Shipley





Above Indoor Photos Courtesy—George A. Torney

The Flag House

To visit The Flag House and the adjacent 1812 Museum, is to experience history, culture, patriotism, and charm. Small in size, The Flag House has a doll house magic for children, while its authenticity and historical significance attract their elders.

In this corner row house at E. Pratt and Albemarle Streets, built in 1793 in Baltimore's Old Town, Mary Pickersgill made by hand the massive 30 x 42 feet Star Spangled Banner. This most famous of all American flags was the one that was "still there" over the ramparts of Fort McHenry in the dawn of September 14, 1814. A lawyer named Francis Scott Key was so moved by the sight of the flag still flying after the intensive 25 hour bombardment by the British that he penned the emotional words that became our National Anthem.

A guided tour through the authentically restored and furnished Flag House, is a charming visit to one of the proudest periods in our nation's history.

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THE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF MILITARY HISTORY

from 3500 B.C. to the present

R. ERNEST DUPUY and TREVOR N. DUPUY

Revised Edition



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:edieval History, Har-
tes Military Academy

s and major South Vietnamese
owns. **Saigon** and **Hue** were the
targets of the Communist as-
ting went on block by block
city of Hue until February 25,
gon combat reached inside the
Embassy grounds. All of the
re repelled, and fighting sub-
e February with the exception
around the U.S. Marine base at
which remained under siege.
he offensive was not militarily
for the Communists, it was a
al victory since the American
Vietnamese forces were taken
by surprise.

ry 24. Air Attack on Hanoi.
om the carrier U.S.S. *Enterprise*
he port area.

16. My Lai (Song My) Mas-
ing a search-and-destroy opera-
task force of the U.S. 23rd
Infantry Division, C Company,
Infantry, some 200 unarmed
nen, women, and children—
ered in the village of My Lai
g Ngai Province (northern sec-
outrage remained unpublicized
han a year, and when it was
shocked the Free World and
d antiwar sentiments in the
tes.

–15. Operation "Pegasus." A
,000 U.S. and ARVN soldiers,
om the 1st Cavalry Division
), attacked to free the Marines
Khe Sanh. The North Viet-
d already begun to withdraw

3. Operation "Complete Vic-
er 100,000 men from 42 U.S.
RVN battalions undertook an
gainst Communist forces in 11
around Saigon.

19–May 17. Operation "Dela-
offensive was launched into
base areas in A Shau Valley,
and Thua Thien provinces
ector), by 1st Cavalry Division
, 101st Airborne Division, ele-
he 196th Light Infantry Bri-
ARVN Division, and ARVN
Bravo (Airborne), designed
an expected attack against

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1969, October 1. Vietnamese Forces Assume

In the future days, which we seek to make secure, we look forward to a world founded upon four essential human freedoms.

The first is freedom of speech and expression—everywhere in the world.

The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way—everywhere in the world.

The third is freedom from want—which, translated into world terms, means economic understandings which will secure to every nation a healthy peacetime life for its inhabitants—everywhere in the world.

The fourth is freedom from fear—which, translated into world terms, means a world-wide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no nation will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbor—anywhere in the world.

That is no vision of a distant millennium. It is a definite basis for a kind of world attainable in our own time and generation. That kind of world is the very antithesis of the so-called new order of tyranny which the dictators seek to create with the crash of a bomb.

To that new order we oppose the greater conception—the moral order. A good society is able to face schemes of world domination and foreign revolutions alike without fear.

Since the beginning of our American history, we have been engaged in change—in a perpetual peaceful revolution—a revolution which goes on steadily, quietly adjusting itself to changing conditions—without the concentration camp or the quick-lime in the ditch. The world order which we seek is the cooperation of free countries, working together in a friendly, civilized society.

This nation has placed its destiny in the hands and heads and hearts of its millions of free men and women; and its faith in freedom under the guidance of God. Freedom means the supremacy of human rights everywhere. Our support goes to those who struggle to gain those rights or keep them. Our strength is our unity of purpose.

To that high concept there can be no end save victory.

NOTE: In the decade since 1931, international lawlessness practiced successively by Japan, Italy, and Germany, has been casting a lengthening shadow over the world. Repudiation of solemn treaty pledges, invasion of independent countries, bombing of civilians, enslavement of captive peoples—those are the principles which have seemed to guide the aggressor nations.

The policy of our government has been consistently designed to keep war out of the Americas. Clearly this will become impossible if the last European bulwark of democracy, Great Britain, falls before the Axis powers. For over a century, Britain's fleet has been standing guard in the Atlantic Ocean, complementing our own fleet in an almost consistently friendly fashion, and helping to give us in 1941 the naval protection which we otherwise should not be able to build quickly enough for the present crisis. We now understand that one of the ways in which we must defend America is by enabling the British fleet to stay on guard so as to preserve the integrity of the seas.

Our defense policy has had to be developed in response to the spread of international brutality. In my message to the Congress on January 4, 1939, I proclaimed the need for methods to curb the aggressors (see Item 1, 1939 volume). Even before the outbreak of the European War, I urged the repeal of the embargo upon arms and munitions contained in our Neutrality Act, which operated to the detriment of peace-loving nations, and for the benefit of the dictators (see Item 93, 1939 volume). But those who claimed "better private information" about the danger of war refused to act to remove this handicap against the democracies.

When Hitler plunged Europe into war, I again asked, and this time secured, the repeal of the arms embargo (see Item 130, 1939 volume). Yet, as the cruel forces of lawlessness crushed nation after nation, America's peril became greater and greater. We needed time to expand our productive facilities to meet the threat of aggression in this hemisphere. We needed time to build up our land and naval defenses. And time was getting short, with aggression on the quick march which modern warfare had developed.

In June of 1940 it became clear to us that it was necessary immediately to send to Great Britain much more aid than the matériel which she and France had ordered in America, and which was then coming off the assembly line. Accordingly, in that month we sent to Great Britain more than $43,000,000 worth of our surplus stocks of rifles, machine guns, field artillery, ammunition, and aircraft. This was equipment which would have taken many months to manufacture and which, with the exception of the aircraft, had been produced during the World War period at a cost of $300,000,000. Most of this material

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THE PUBLIC PAPERS AND ADDRESSES OF FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

WITH A SPECIAL INTRODUCTION AND EXPLANATORY NOTES BY PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT

1940 Volume

WAR—AND AID TO DEMOCRACIES

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY · NEW YORK · 1941

152 ¶ The Annual Message to the Congress. January 6, 1941

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, Members of the Seventy-seventh Congress:

I ADDRESS you, the Members of the Seventy-seventh Congress, at a moment unprecedented in the history of the Union. I use the word "unprecedented," because at no previous time has American security been as seriously threatened from without as it is today.

Since the permanent formation of our Government under the Constitution, in 1789, most of the periods of crisis in our history have related to our domestic affairs. Fortunately, only one of these—the four-year War Between the States—ever threatened our national unity. Today, thank God, one hundred and thirty million Americans, in forty-eight States, have forgotten points of the compass in our national unity.

It is true that prior to 1914 the United States often had been disturbed by events in other Continents. We had even engaged in two wars with European nations and in a number of undeclared wars in the West Indies, in the Mediterranean and in the Pacific for the maintenance of American rights and for the principles of peaceful commerce. But in no case had a serious threat been raised against our national safety or our continued independence.

What I seek to convey is the historic truth that the United States as a nation has at all times maintained clear, definite opposition, to any attempt to lock us in behind an ancient Chinese wall while the procession of civilization went past. Today, thinking of our children and of their children, we oppose enforced isolation for ourselves or for any other part of the Americas.

That determination of ours, extending over all these years, was proved, for example, during the quarter century of wars following the French Revolution.

While the Napoleonic struggles did threaten interests of the

United States because of the French foothold in the West Indies and in Louisiana, and while we engaged in the War of 1812 to vindicate our right to peaceful trade, it is nevertheless clear that neither France nor Great Britain, nor any other nation, was aiming at domination of the whole world.

In like fashion from 1815 to 1914—ninety-nine years—no single war in Europe or in Asia constituted a real threat against our future or against the future of any other American nation.

Except in the Maximilian interlude in Mexico, no foreign power sought to establish itself in this Hemisphere; and the strength of the British fleet in the Atlantic has been a friendly strength. It is still a friendly strength.

Even when the World War broke out in 1914, it seemed to contain only small threat of danger to our own American future. But, as time went on, the American people began to visualize what the downfall of democratic nations might mean to our own democracy.

We need not overemphasize imperfections in the Peace of Versailles. We need not harp on failure of the democracies to deal with problems of world reconstruction. We should remember that the Peace of 1919 was far less unjust than the kind of "pacification" which began even before Munich, and which is being carried on under the new order of tyranny that seeks to spread over every continent today. The American people have unalterably set their faces against that tyranny.

Every realist knows that the democratic way of life is at this moment being directly assailed in every part of the world—assailed either by arms, or by secret spreading of poisonous propaganda by those who seek to destroy unity and promote discord in nations that are still at peace.

During sixteen long months this assault has blotted out the whole pattern of democratic life in an appalling number of independent nations, great and small. The assailants are still on the march, threatening other nations, great and small.

Therefore, as your President, performing my constitutional duty to "give to the Congress information of the state of the

Union," I find it, unhappily, necessary to report that the future and the safety of our country and of our democracy are overwhelmingly involved in events far beyond our borders.

Armed defense of democratic existence is now being gallantly waged in four continents. If that defense fails, all the population and all the resources of Europe, Asia, Africa and Australasia will be dominated by the conquerors. Let us remember that the total of those populations and their resources in those four continents greatly exceeds the sum total of the population and the resources of the whole of the Western Hemisphere—many times over.

In times like these it is immature—and incidentally, untrue—for anybody to brag that an unprepared America, single-handed, and with one hand tied behind its back, can hold off the whole world.

No realistic American can expect from a dictator's peace international generosity, or return of true independence, or world disarmament, or freedom of expression, or freedom of religion—or even good business.

Such a peace would bring no security for us or for our neighbors. "Those, who would give up essential liberty to purchase a little temporary safety, deserve neither liberty nor safety."

As a nation, we may take pride in the fact that we are soft-hearted; but we cannot afford to be soft-headed.

We must always be wary of those who with sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal preach the "ism" of appeasement.

We must especially beware of that small group of selfish men who would clip the wings of the American eagle in order to feather their own nests.

I have recently pointed out how quickly the tempo of modern warfare could bring into our very midst the physical attack which we must eventually expect if the dictator nations win this war.

There is much loose talk of our immunity from immediate and direct invasion from across the seas. Obviously, as long as the British Navy retains its power, no such danger exists. Even

if there were no British Navy, it is not probable that any enemy would be stupid enough to attack us by landing troops in the United States from across thousands of miles of ocean, until it had acquired strategic bases from which to operate.

But we learn much from the lessons of the past years in Europe—particularly the lesson of Norway, whose essential seaports were captured by treachery and surprise built up over a series of years.

The first phase of the invasion of this Hemisphere would not be the landing of regular troops. The necessary strategic points would be occupied by secret agents and their dupes—and great numbers of them are already here, and in Latin America.

As long as the aggressor nations maintain the offensive, they—not we—will choose the time and the place and the method of their attack.

That is why the future of all the American Republics is today in serious danger.

That is why this Annual Message to the Congress is unique in our history.

That is why every member of the Executive Branch of the Government and every member of the Congress faces great responsibility and great accountability.

The need of the moment is that our actions and our policy should be devoted primarily—almost exclusively—to meeting this foreign peril. For all our domestic problems are now a part of the great emergency.

Just as our national policy in internal affairs has been based upon a decent respect for the rights and the dignity of all our fellow men within our gates, so our national policy in foreign affairs has been based on a decent respect for the rights and dignity of all nations, large and small. And the justice of morality must and will win in the end.

Our national policy is this:

First, by an impressive expression of the public will and without regard to partisanship, we are committed to all-inclusive national defense.

Second, by an impressive expression of the public will and without regard to partisanship, we are committed to full support of all those resolute peoples, everywhere, who are resisting aggression and are thereby keeping war away from our Hemisphere. By this support, we express our determination that the democratic cause shall prevail; and we strengthen the defense and the security of our own nation.

Third, by an impressive expression of the public will and without regard to partisanship, we are committed to the proposition that principles of morality and considerations for our own security will never permit us to acquiesce in a peace dictated by aggressors and sponsored by appeasers. We know that enduring peace cannot be bought at the cost of other people's freedom.

In the recent national election there was no substantial difference between the two great parties in respect to that national policy. No issue was fought out on this line before the American electorate. Today it is abundantly evident that American citizens everywhere are demanding and supporting speedy and complete action in recognition of obvious danger.

Therefore, the immediate need is a swift and driving increase in our armament production.

Leaders of industry and labor have responded to our summons. Goals of speed have been set. In some cases these goals are being reached ahead of time; in some cases we are on schedule; in other cases there are slight but not serious delays; and in some cases—and I am sorry to say very important cases—we are all concerned by the slowness of the accomplishment of our plans.

The Army and Navy, however, have made substantial progress during the past year. Actual experience is improving and speeding up our methods of production with every passing day. And today's best is not good enough for tomorrow.

I am not satisfied with the progress thus far made. The men in charge of the program represent the best in training, in ability, and in patriotism. They are not satisfied with the progress thus far made. None of us will be satisfied until the job is done.

No matter whether the original goal was set too high or too low, our objective is quicker and better results.

To give you two illustrations:

We are behind schedule in turning out finished airplanes; we are working day and night to solve the innumerable problems and to catch up.

We are ahead of schedule in building warships but we are working to get even further ahead of that schedule.

To change a whole nation from a basis of peacetime production of implements of peace to a basis of wartime production of implements of war is no small task. And the greatest difficulty comes at the beginning of the program, when new tools, new plant facilities, new assembly lines, and new ship ways must first be constructed before the actual matériel begins to flow steadily and speedily from them.

The Congress, of course, must rightly keep itself informed at all times of the progress of the program. However, there is certain information, as the Congress itself will readily recognize, which, in the interests of our own security and those of the nations that we are supporting, must of needs be kept in confidence.

New circumstances are constantly begetting new needs for our safety. I shall ask this Congress for greatly increased new appropriations and authorizations to carry on what we have begun.

I also ask this Congress for authority and for funds sufficient to manufacture additional munitions and war supplies of many kinds, to be turned over to those nations which are now in actual war with aggressor nations.

Our most useful and immediate role is to act as an arsenal for them as well as for ourselves. They do not need man power, but they do need billions of dollars worth of the weapons of defense.

The time is near when they will not be able to pay for them all in ready cash. We cannot, and we will not, tell them that

they must surrender, merely because of present inability to pay for the weapons which we know they must have.

I do not recommend that we make them a loan of dollars with which to pay for these weapons—a loan to be repaid in dollars.

I recommend that we make it possible for those nations to continue to obtain war materials in the United States, fitting their orders into our own program. Nearly all their matériel would, if the time ever came, be useful for our own defense.

Taking counsel of expert military and naval authorities, considering what is best for our own security, we are free to decide how much should be kept here and how much should be sent abroad to our friends who by their determined and heroic resistance are giving us time in which to make ready our own defense.

For what we send abroad, we shall be repaid within a reasonable time following the close of hostilities, in similar materials, or, at our option, in other goods of many kinds, which they can produce and which we need.

Let us say to the democracies: "We Americans are vitally concerned in your defense of freedom. We are putting forth our energies, our resources and our organizing powers to give you the strength to regain and maintain a free world. We shall send you, in ever-increasing numbers, ships, planes, tanks, guns. This is our purpose and our pledge."

In fulfillment of this purpose we will not be intimidated by the threats of dictators that they will regard as a breach of international law or as an act of war our aid to the democracies which dare to resist their aggression. Such aid is not an act of war, even if a dictator should unilaterally proclaim it so to be.

When the dictators, if the dictators, are ready to make war upon us, they will not wait for an act of war on our part. They did not wait for Norway or Belgium or the Netherlands to commit an act of war.

Their only interest is in a new one-way international law, which lacks mutuality in its observance, and, therefore, becomes an instrument of oppression.

The happiness of future generations of Americans may well depend upon how effective and how immediate we can make our aid felt. No one can tell the exact character of the emergency situations that we may be called upon to meet. The Nation's hands must not be tied when the Nation's life is in danger.

We must all prepare to make the sacrifices that the emergency—almost as serious as war itself—demands. Whatever stands in the way of speed and efficiency in defense preparations must give way to the national need.

A free nation has the right to expect full cooperation from all groups. A free nation has the right to look to the leaders of business, of labor, and of agriculture to take the lead in stimulating effort, not among other groups but within their own groups.

The best way of dealing with the few slackers or trouble makers in our midst is, first, to shame them by patriotic example, and, if that fails, to use the sovereignty of Government to save Government.

As men do not live by bread alone, they do not fight by armaments alone. Those who man our defenses, and those behind them who build our defenses, must have the stamina and the courage which come from unshakable belief in the manner of life which they are defending. The mighty action that we are calling for cannot be based on a disregard of all things worth fighting for.

The Nation takes great satisfaction and much strength from the things which have been done to make its people conscious of their individual stake in the preservation of democratic life in America. Those things have toughened the fibre of our people, have renewed their faith and strengthened their devotion to the institutions we make ready to protect.

Certainly this is no time for any of us to stop thinking about the social and economic problems which are the root cause of the social revolution which is today a supreme factor in the world.

For there is nothing mysterious about the foundations of a healthy and strong democracy. The basic things expected by our people of their political and economic systems are simple. They are:

Equality of opportunity for youth and for others.

Jobs for those who can work.

Security for those who need it.

The ending of special privilege for the few.

The preservation of civil liberties for all.

The enjoyment of the fruits of scientific progress in a wider and constantly rising standard of living.

These are the simple, basic things that must never be lost sight of in the turmoil and unbelievable complexity of our modern world. The inner and abiding strength of our economic and political systems is dependent upon the degree to which they fulfill these expectations.

Many subjects connected with our social economy call for immediate improvement.

As examples:

We should bring more citizens under the coverage of old-age pensions and unemployment insurance.

We should widen the opportunities for adequate medical care.

We should plan a better system by which persons deserving or needing gainful employment may obtain it.

I have called for personal sacrifice. I am assured of the willingness of almost all Americans to respond to that call.

A part of the sacrifice means the payment of more money in taxes. In my Budget Message I shall recommend that a greater portion of this great defense program be paid for from taxation than we are paying today. No person should try, or be allowed, to get rich out of this program; and the principle of tax payments in accordance with ability to pay should be constantly before our eyes to guide our legislation.

If the Congress maintains these principles, the voters, putting patriotism ahead of pocketbooks, will give you their applause.

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was the beginning of escorting merchant ships carrying fuel and ammunition to Phnom Penh.

1971, January 30. Operation "Dewey Canyon II." This operation by U.S. forces, just south of the DMZ, was to secure that area and establish lines of communication to support a planned South Vietnamese thrust into Laos.

1971, February 3. Renewed South Vietnamese Offensive in Cambodia. USMACV announced that it was providing full air support for the offensive into the Fish Hook and Parrot's Beak areas of Cambodia.

1971, February 8–April 9. South Vietnamese Operation "Lam Son 719" in Laos. This had the objective of disrupting North Vietnamese logistics along the Ho Chi Minh Trail. The U.S. Command in Vietnam announced that no U.S. ground forces or advisors would enter Laos. The South Vietnamese 1st Infantry Division and 1st Armored Brigade seized Tchepone, Laos (directly west of Quang Tri City), the main objective of their operation and the primary supply center for forces coming down the Ho Chi Minh Trail (March 6). Preliminary reports at the conclusion of the action on April 9 listed 13,462 Communists killed and 56 captured; 5,066 individual and 1,935 crew-served weapons, 106 tanks, 422 trucks, and 1,250 tons of rice were captured. Friendly losses were listed as 1,707 (176 U.S.) killed, 6,466 (1,042 U.S.) wounded, and 693 (42 U.S.) missing.

1971, July 9. Northern Province Defense Responsibility to Vietnamese Forces. The turnover of "Fire Base Charlie 2," 4 miles south of the DMZ, marked the completion of the transfer of the defense responsibility for that area by U.S. forces.

1971, August 11. All Ground Combat Responsibility Turned Over to South Vietnamese. Defense Secretary **Melvin Laird** announced the completion of the first phase of the Vietnamization program.

1971, December 26–31. U.S. Fighter-Bombers Attack North Vietnamese Targets. Airfields, missile sites, antiaircraft batteries, and supply depots were struck in retaliation for Communist attacks on Saigon, DMZ violations, and attacks on unarmed U.S. reconnaissance planes.

1971, December 31. U.S. Military Strength in South Vietnam: 158,119; U.S. combat deaths in Southeast Asia in 1971: 942.

OPERATIONS, 1972

1972, March 30. Communist Easter Offensive. In the biggest offensive since the 1968 Tet campaign, some 20,000 North Vietnamese forces launched a four-pronged attack into South Vietnam across the DMZ with the goal of taking **Quang Tri City**, capital of South Vietnam's northernmost province, and driving the South Vietnamese 3rd Division from 15 border outposts. In retaliation U.S. aircraft and naval forces began bombing military supply facilities near Hanoi and Haiphong. Some 50,000 Communist troops, poised along the Cambodian and Laotian borders, drove into Binh Long Province north of Saigon (April 5), taking Loc Ninh (April 7) and securing half of **An Loc**, the provincial capital (April 13). In the central coastal region Communist forces attacked Binh Dinh Province in an effort to cut the counrty in two (April 18). Four North Vietnamese divisions attacked in the central highlands in Kontum Province (April 22), taking **Dak To** (April 24) and encircling the provincial capital of **Kontum** (April 29).

1972, April 7. Relief of U.S. Air Commander in Vietnam Announced. General **John Lavelle** was removed as Commander of the U.S. Seventh Air Force in Vietnam in March, retired, and demoted to lieutenant general when it was revealed that he had ordered some 20 unauthorized air strikes against North Vietnamese targets between November 1971 and March 1972.

1972, April 26–May 1. Battle of Quang Tri City. The city fell to North Vietnamese forces as the ARVN 3rd Division retreated to Hue. Heavy fighting continued elsewhere, particularly at An Loc and Kontum.

1972, May 8. President Nixon Orders Mining of North Vietnamese Harbors. Haiphong harbor and the harbors of 6 other North Vietnamese ports were to be mined and all land and sea routes interdicted.

1972, June 28. Appointment of General Frederick C. Weyand to Commander U.S. Forces in Vietnam. He replaced General Creighton W. Abrams.

1972, June 28–September 15. Second Battle



(Smith/Blessey)
Draft Five
August 18, 1989
LEGION

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: AMERICAN LEGION
~~WASHINGTON, D.C.~~ BALTIMORE, MD
THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 7, 1989

Advance
John Minnick

Advance
VA

Justice Gierke [GER-kee] -- and let me salute the first Viet Nam veteran to be selected National Commander. And all of you who represent our Nation's largest and fastest-growing veterans organization -- now 2.8 million strong.

As always, it is a great privilege to join you. And a deep personal pleasure to renew old ties. And to greet new friends.

Today is September 7th -- and I'm determined not to repeat the mistake I made last year when I referred to this date as Pearl Harbor Day. Now that I've dispensed with that announcement, I want to wish all of you a happy Thanksgiving.

Not surprisingly, anniversaries were on my mind as I traveled here from Washington. Past the Pentagon. The Congress. And then Fort McHenry. And so I got to thinking how 1989 marks the 175th anniversary of the "Star-Bangled Banner." And how your convention lies a few yards from its birthplace.

Advance
Aug 31
AL

~~Yesterday~~, you did something that would have pleased Francis Scott Key. ~~For~~ By supporting a Constitutional Amendment making it illegal to desecrate the American flag, you joined the crusade to protect the symbol of America's honor. Fellow veterans, what our flag embodies is too sacred to be abused.

Your action hailed America's greatest symbol of liberty. As the Legion did, also, at the beaches of Anzio, the steep cliffs of Normandy, and shell-torn hills dubbed Pork Chop and Dak To. For 71 years, you have helped write the American Story. And today you write it still. A well-known commercial says, "Don't leave home without it." Well, here's my American Legion card. In my heart, I never do leave home without it.

This morning, I want to talk about home and heart. The home we call America. And the freedom which forms its heart.

Fifty years ago this very week, a bold-faced chapter in American history unfurled its opening page. For as panzer tanks crossed the Polish frontier, and Stuka bombers leveled Warsaw, this planet watched in horror as World War II began.

In the end, that conflict took more than 55 million human lives. And symbolized, as few things have, man's inhumanity to man. In China and Monte Casino, in Belgium and Bataan -- men and women fought gallantly -- dared greatly -- so that freedom could prevail.

Perhaps George S. Patton put it best. "It takes very little yeast to leaven a lump of dough," he began, undoubtedly twirling his pearl revolver. And then "Old Blood and Guts" went on to add: "It takes a very few veterans to leaven a division of dough boys."

dough boys?

Well, those veterans, and dough boys, helped win World War II -- Ike, and Nimitz, and Jimmy Doolittle, and millions of other heroes who fought in the front lines, and on the home front. And

today, we can honor them with the lives we lead. For by defending what Franklin Roosevelt called the Four Freedoms of speech, religion, and from want and fear, we can preserve a world bereft of violence and tyranny.

What, after all, does freedom mean? It means self-expression and individuality. It means the triumph of democracy -- not merely the absence of war. It means the strength necessary to defend that democracy -- moral and intellectual, economic and military. It means knowing what the British strategist, Robert Thompson, meant by saying: "National strength equals manpower, plus applied resources, times will."

Fifty years ago, that will meant shooting bullets. Today, that will means -- thank goodness -- counting ballots. But each sought -- and seeks -- what then-Vice President Nixon, in a 1958 address at historic Guildhall, called "the victory of plenty over want, of health over disease, of freedom over tyranny."

To achieve that victory will require the sacrifice, and courage, that Americans have shown before. And must again. Both here and abroad, we seek a freer, fairer life. Here's how the American Legion can lead the way. And has. Saying yes to hope. And no to fear.

o Already, you have brought community service to every State through what I call a "thousand points of light." Aiding handicapped kids. Or building good government through Boys State and Girls State programs. And I know you will build on these beginnings: Since 1985 -- Money given to scholarships -- $13

million; and to all causes -- $144 million; ~~blood donated -- __ pints~~; and hours given to charity -- count 'em: over 60 million.

And I know, too, you will act on this related front: For a truly free America must break the chain of drugs. Two days ago, I announced a program to take back the streets from the con-artists and thugs. Our drug program will cost $__. And put funding where the problem is -- the community. You know how battles are often fought -- block-by-block, house-by-house. Well, this battle will do the same.

We need your help. And I know we'll have it. Because for years you've done your part. In Minnesota, for instance, Rosemont Post Number 65 runs the program "Drug Talk." And in Russellville, Arkansas, I especially like Post Number 20's giveaway of thousands of rulers. Their message says it all. "You really measure up when you say 'No' to drugs."

o Freedom means stemming drugs. Freedom also means combatting other illness and disease -- and here, too, you've led the way. At last count, over 11,000 Legion and Auxiliary members volunteered at VA hospitals. Now, let us take an even bigger step toward ensuring veterans' access to quality health care. By supporting our proposed National Commission to review the alignment of VA medical facilities.

This Commission will outline the future structure of the VA system. And it will be modeled after the Department of Defense Base Closure Commission. But here's the difference: Our bill will forbid the closing of a single, solitary medical center.

We will ask Congress to approve or disapprove our proposals as a single package. And it's a good package. For it will create specialized centers from ambulatory to community-based care. And strengthen veterans' overall care. So I ask you to support VA's realignment commission. And let its goal match your need: Veterans care that is accessible to all.

o Well and good, and yet: No freedoms are possible without freedom from oppression. Not speech. Not religion. Not from want or fear. We learned that in World War II. And this lesson, also: If the best way to ensure war is for America to be militarily weak, the best way to ensure peace is for America to be militarily strong.

Winston Churchill was referring to this strength when he called World War II "the most preventable in history." The strength of arms to deter aggression. The strength of character to respond if tyrants act. In the late 1930s, democracies chose to use that strength belatedly. And so began the conflict in which __ Americans paid the ultimate price.

Today, that hesitancy seems far away. For as tyranny's tide is running out, democracy's tide is running in. In Poland and Hungary, in the gulag and ghetto, liberty is sweeping our globe. Yet with even hopeful change comes uncertainty. And with uncertainty comes the need for vigilance. This is no time to declare freedom's victory before the fact.

Half-a-century ago, our challenge was to defeat Rommel's Afrika Corps, island-hop from Guadalcanal to Okinawa, and destroy

what Churchill dubbed "Hitler and his gang." Today, our challenge is less dramatic, but just as vital: To make fragile peace strong, and temporary peace permanent. For ours remains a global stage, and America remains its leading player -- whether we like it or not. If we don't use our strength to keep the peace, others will use their strength to break the peace.

Yes, defense funds are finite -- our authorization bill reflects that. So we want to cancel unneeded programs that would save nearly $20 billion from 1990-94. But the House has voted to keep -- not erase -- them, and lengthen their funding. Making the budget hostage to pork-barrel that will strip money from projects crucial to strategic modernization.

This modernization is vital -- vital because America must base its procurement decisions not on perestroika and glasnost -- but on the future capacity -- the actual weapons -- that any Soviet leader might have available. As decades change, so do the weapons needed to deter first-strike ability. This President -- any President -- would betray his office if he failed to view America's deterrence against those of other Nations.

That is why I have called for two Trident submarines to be funded in 1990 and 1991. And why I am committed to the second part of our deterrent triad: strategic land-based missiles. Already, the Soviet Union has two mobile systems. And we need to match them. Not only to modernize our forces into the 21st Century. But to gain leverage for arms control.

What we're talking about is simple logic. Or as Sam Rayburn said, "If a man has common sense, he has all the sense there is." We want to ban all mobile missiles in the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks. But common sense warns us: We can't ban any until the Congress makes our level comparable to the Soviets.

Well, our new single-warhead ICMB missile -- the Midgetman -- makes common sense. For when deployed, it would require more than one enemy missile to take out a single warhead. And our MX multi-warhead ICBM -- it makes sense. For the Midgetman won't be ready until 1997. And to fill the void, I have asked Congress to shift existing MXs to mobile, less vulnerable rail cars.

The third part of our deterrent triad -- the B-2 or Stealth Bomber -- can avoid radar. Its range is perfect for long-range missions. And here's the kicker: the B-2 makes it impossible for any country to destroy a mixed force of bombers and missiles.

Finally, I want to mention the Strategic Defense Initiative. For SDI will supplement missile and bomber mobility. Begin the movement from offensive to defensive deterrence. And deter not merely existing threats but also Nations on the verge of possessing nuclear and chemical missiles. If that's not common sense, I don't like fishing.

Fellow veterans, peace is not an accident. Not the peace which ensures FDR's Four Freedoms of speech, religion, and from want and fear. Not real peace -- the peace which lasts.

Real peace evolves from planning and preparedness, engagement and reality. Real peace springs from democracies who

know that when it comes to national defense, finishing second means finishing last.

So, let us modernize our strategic forces. And, thus, encourage arms control. We need the Trident and Midgetman. We need the MX, B-2, and SDI. Yes, each involves short-term funding pain. But they form a package where each part assists the others. To approve them today will protect America tomorrow.

__ years ago, Douglas MacArthur returned to the Plain at West Point, where he gave a speech to the cadets. "The soldier," he told them, "above all other people, prays for peace -- for he must suffer and bear the deepest wounds and scars of war."

Fellow veterans, General MacArthur knew -- as we do -- how war can be glorious from a distance -- but hateful and grotesque up-close. At times, it is inevitable -- at times, even necessary. But not here. Not now. Not if we summon our "manpower, plus applied resources, times will."

What a wonderful legacy -- for this, and future generations. What a tribute to the men and women who toiled at Inchon and Bastogne. In the gulleys and the hills. Valiant Americans -- heroes all -- now part of our history, and of our lore.

Let us close by saluting them, and you. And by saying: Together, let us build a more secure and peaceful world. And let me thank you for the privilege of sharing this occasion. God bless you, Godspeed to the American Legion, and God bless the United States of America.

# # # #

Star Spangled Banner - when, where written?

quote: Robert Thompson, British strategist. "National strength equals manpower plus applied resources times will."

How many Americans were killed in WW II?

Churchill - referring to Germans as "Hitler and his gang."

Sam Rayburn quote: "If a man has common sense, he has all the sense there is."

What year did MacArthur give a speech at West Point?

FAX TRANSMISSION

Date: 8-11-89

From: VA
Public Affairs

Contact: Bob Putnam

Phone: FTS: _____
COM: 233-5587

Fax #: FTS: 376-8778
COM: (202) 376-8778

To: Kurt Smith
White House Speechwriters

# of pages: 3

Comments: Let me know if you need anything else.

SPEECH MATERIAL/TALKING POINTS ON VETERANS ISSUES
(for consideration by the President)

ISSUE #1: "WINNING THE PEACE" THROUGH PATRIOTISM

AROUND THE WORLD, WE'RE SEEING INCREASED RESPECT FOR, AND INTEREST IN, DEMOCRATIC VALUES OF OPENNESS, HUMAN DIGNITY AND INDIVIDUAL INITIATIVE. THIS PROVIDES THE STRONGEST CONFIRMATION YET OF THE PREFERENCE FOR DEMOCRACY AMONG THOSE WHO HAVE EXPERIENCED THE FAILURE OF SOCIALISM.

BUT AT THE SAME TIME, WE NEED TO BE REALISTS -- OUR WORLD REMAINS A DANGEROUS PLACE.

WE NEED TO RECOGNIZE THAT THE PROGRESS THAT HAS BEEN MADE, AND THE BALANCE THAT HAS BEEN RESTORED ON THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE, CAME FROM A WESTERN POLICY OF STRENGTH AND REALISM.

AMERICA'S FOREIGN POLICY MUST REMAIN GROUNDED ON OUR OWN VALUES, ALONG WITH THE STRENGTH AND DETERMINATION TO SAFEGUARD OUR INTERESTS AND THOSE OF OUR ALLIES AND FRIENDS.

THE AMERICAN LEGION HAS RAISED A STRONG AND CONSTANT VOICE IN THIS CONTEXT. THE POSITIONS THE LEGION HAS TAKEN, BASED ON THE PROFESSIONAL ANALYSES OF YOUR NATIONAL SECURITY AND FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMISSIONS, HAVE MADE IT CLEAR THAT WE MUST REMAIN EVER VIGILANT TO PROTECT THE PEACE AND FREEDOM WE ENJOY.

ISSUE #2: "WINNING THE PEACE" THROUGH NATIONAL SERVICE:

YOU'VE HEARD ME SPEAK OF A "THOUSAND POINTS OF LIGHT." THE LEGION'S VOLUNTEER PROGRAM IS ONE OF THEM.

IN THE LAST FIVE YEARS, LEGION AND LEGION AUXILIARY MEMBERS HAVE GIVEN OVER 60 MILLION HOURS OF THEIR TIME, SOME 144 MILLION DOLLARS, AND -- PERHAPS MOST REPRESENTATIVE OF WHAT THEIR PROGRAMS ARE ALL ABOUT -- TWO AND HALF MILLION UNITS OF BLOOD TO THE COMMUNITY.

THAT PERFECTLY EXEMPLIFIES THE VALUE OF NATIONAL SERVICE.

THE FACT IS, I'VE BEEN TALKING A GREAT DEAL LATELY ABOUT NATIONAL SERVICE, BASED ON MY CONVICTION THAT -- WITH PARTICIPATION FROM YOUNG AND OLD, FROM INDIVIDUALS AND BUSINESSES, AND, REALLY, FROM ALL SEGMENTS OF OUR SOCIETY ...

... THIS CAN BE THE ANSWER TO OVERCOMING THE DISINTEGRATION OF OUR COMMUNITIES.

WHEN I SEE WHAT THE LEGION IS ACCOMPLISHING, I'M MORE SURE OF THIS THAN EVER.

SECRETARY DERWINSKI TELLS ME THAT THE VA HEALTH CARE SYSTEM SIMPLY COULDN'T DO WITHOUT THE HELP IT GETS FROM VOLUNTEERS, AND THAT -- IN PARTICULAR -- THE MORE THAN 11,000 REGULARLY SCHEDULED LEGION AND AUXILIARY VOLUNTEERS MAKE A TREMENDOUS DIFFERENCE IN THE QUALITY OF LIFE FOR HOSPITALIZED VETERANS.

I THINK THE LEGION AND THE LEGION AUXILIARY CAN SERVE AS A POWERFUL ROLE MODEL IN ACCOMPLISHING THIS VITAL NATIONAL SERVICE MISSION.

****

ISSUE #3 -- THE FLAG: (Theme of Legion Convention is tied into the Flag; this is the 175th Anniversary of the Star Spangled Banner, written in Balto near site of the convention):

YOU PROBABLY KNOW BY NOW THAT I DID NOT TAKE LIGHTLY THE SUPREME COURT'S DECISION THAT A PERSON COULD NOT BE CONVICTED FOR DESECRATION OF THE AMERICAN FLAG.

SOME PEOPLE SAY THIS IS A DEAD ISSUE NOW. BUT IT'S NOT DEAD, AS FAR AS I'M CONCERNED, UNTIL A CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT IS ENACTED PROHIBITING DESECRATION OF THE FLAG.

I KNOW VETERANS HAVE A SPECIAL STAKE IN THIS DECISION, SINCE IT WAS THEIR -- YOUR -- SACRIFICES THAT MADE THIS FLAG MORE A SYMBOL OF AMERICA THAN A SIMPLE PIECE OF CLOTH.

WE MUST CONTINUE SPEAKING OUT: BURNING THE AMERICAN FLAG IS UTTERLY WRONG -- PERIOD.

****

ISSUE #4 -- ACCESS TO QUALITY HEALTH CARE SERVICES (If possible, Secretary Derwinski would appreciate support for VA's proposed realignment commission along lines outlined below):

ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT BENEFITS VETERANS EARNED IN SERVICE TO THEIR COUNTRY IS MEDICAL CARE. IT HAS BECOME INCREASINGLY APPARENT IN RECENT MONTHS THAT IMPROVEMENTS ARE NEEDED IN THE EXISTING SYSTEM DESIGNED TO PROVIDE THAT CARE.

ACCESS TO SERVICES HAS BECOME UNEVEN AROUND THE COUNTRY, AND THE SYSTEM HAS HAD DIFFICULTY KEEPING UP WITH NEW EQUIPMENT NEEDS.

FURTHERMORE, NEW NEEDS ARE BEING POSED BY THE INCREASINGLY AGING VETERAN POPULATION. AND THE MEDICAL WORLD IS CHANGING FAST, WITH HOSPITAL-BASED MEDICAL CARE SYSTEMS EVOLVING INTO MANY NEW MODES OF NON-INSTITUTIONAL HEALTH CARE SERVICES.

TO RESPOND TO THESE PRESSURES, SECRETARY DERWINSKI SENT CONGRESS (ON JULY 17) OUR PROPOSAL FOR A NATIONAL COMMISSION TO REVIEW THE ALIGNMENT OF VA MEDICAL FACILITIES THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY.

THIS COMMISSION WILL PROVIDE RECOMMENDATIONS ABOUT THE FUTURE STRUCTURE OF THE VA SYSTEM, INCLUDING ANY SUGGESTIONS FOR MISSION CHANGES.

THE COMMISSION IS MODELED AFTER THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE BASE CLOSURE COMMISSION WITH ONE IMPORTANT EXCEPTION -- THIS IS NOT A CLOSING COMMISSION. THE LEGISLATIVE PROPOSAL DEVELOPED BY VA ANTICIPATES NO MEDICAL CENTERS WILL BE CLOSED.

APPOINTING SUCH A BLUE RIBBON COMMISSION OF INDEPENDENT MEDICAL EXPERTS SERVES TO TAKE THE POLITICS OUT OF THE DISCUSSION ABOUT THE FUTURE OF VA MEDICAL SERVICES. AND THAT'S SOMETHING THAT'S BADLY NEEDED, BECAUSE THE VA SYSTEM HAS GROWN AND BEEN SUBJECT TO PATERNALISTIC DIRECTIONS FROM CONGRESS FOR MANY YEARS. UNDER THIS NEW PROPOSAL, CONGRESS WOULD BE ASKED TO APPROVE OR DISAPPROVE THE RECOMMENDATIONS AS A SINGLE PACKAGE.

THE HEALTH CARE MIX OF THE FUTURE SHOULD INCLUDE SPECIALIZED CENTERS OF EXCELLENCE, AMBULATORY CARE, COMMUNITY-BASED CARE AND HOME HEALTH CARE PROGRAMS. WE WANT THE VA HEALTH CARE SYSTEM TO BE ABLE TO PROVIDE VETERANS WITH THE MOST MODERN AND MOST APPROPRIATE KINDS AND LEVELS OF CARE AVAILABLE. THIS COMMISSION WILL HELP US MOVE TOWARD THAT GOAL.

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OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET

NATIONAL SECURITY DIVISION

COVER SHEET

NUMBER OF PAGES: 3 (EXCLUDING COVER SHEET) DATE: 8/11/89

TO: Stephaine Blessey

AGENCY & ROOM NO.: Speechwriting

OFFICE NO.: 395-7750

TELEFAX NO.: 456-6218

FROM: David Morrison

AGENCY: OMB/NSD

OFFICE NO.: 395-4734

TELEFAX NO.: 395-3307

SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS:

Look at marked text for speech input.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

JUN 15 1989

cc: Official File - NSD/SP
DO Records - 030948
White House Liaison Rm. 91 - Control # 013933
NSD Chron
SP Chron
NSD:DMorrison:rvw: 06/12/89

Mr. Arthur R. Piccolo
The Campaign for New York City's Future
26 Broadway - Suite #400
New York, New York 10004

Dear Mr. Piccolo:

Thank you for your letter of April 17, 1989 to President Bush suggesting a way to increase spending for local domestic programs.

On February 9th of this year, President Bush presented to Congress a statement of his priorities in a report entitled Building a Better America.

For defense, President Bush proposed to "freeze" the 1990 budget at the real 1989 level. In April, the President and Congress agreed to a $305.5 billion budget for national defense in 1990 as part of a bipartisan budget agreement. This is almost $4 billion below the "freeze" level proposed in February and about $10 billion below the level proposed by President Reagan in January. For the fifth consecutive year, defense funding will decline in real terms. As a result, defense spending will account for only 5.5% of the Gross National Product in 1990, a level similar to those of the post-Vietnam years and well below the post-World War II average of 8%. Further reductions in the defense budget would increase the risk that basic national security objectives would not be met.

For domestic programs, the President proposed a variety of initiatives. For example, he proposed funding of $1 billion to combat homelessness in America, an increase of $400 million over the 1989 level. To fight drug abuse, President Bush proposed funding of nearly $6 billion for educating the young, expanding drug treatment programs and enhancing drug-related law enforcement activities. Also,

the President proposed an additional $4.5 billion to strengthen general law enforcement activities at all levels of government - Federal, State and local. Since February, the President has made other proposals which would increase funding for drug abuse and law enforcement programs by roughly $.5 billion more. The bipartisan budget agreement reached in April includes funds for these and other proposals to improve domestic programs.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) R. E. Howard,
Robert E. Howard
Deputy Associate Director
for National Security

FY/I

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503
AUG 1989

cc: Official File - NSD/S
DO Records
DO Chron
WH Liason - 04813
Mr. Scully
Mr. Hodsell
NS Division Office (2
SP Chron

NSD:DMorrison:rvw:8/31/89

Honorable William L. Dickinson
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Congressman Dickinson:

Thank you for your June 16th letter to President Bush which provided your observations on this year's Paris Air Show and on Soviet military aviation.

The President shares your concern that we avoid becoming complacent over national defense as a result of Mr. Gorbachev's recent proposals and remain aware of the Soviet's improved military capabilities.

The Administration's defense budget proposal will provide for a strong national defense in a fiscally constrained environment. It will permit the Department of Defense to maintain current operational readiness, attract and retain quality people, and develop and efficiently procure needed weapons. In military aircraft, for example, the budget emphasizes efficient procurement of systems already in production, such as the F-16 and F/A-18. It also includes funds for continued development of advanced fighter, attack, and bomber aircraft including the ATF, A-12, and B-2.

We must ensure Congressional support of the President's program. Your effort in committee and your hard work to promote the President's budget on the floor were greatly appreciated.

We look forward to working with you to ensure that our national defense is never compromised.

Sincerely,

Signed

Thomas A. Scully
Associate Director
for Legislative Affairs

WORKING DRAFT

MY IMPRESSIONS -- WORLD WAR II

December 7, 1941

I was walking across the campus at Andover when I heard the news. I was 17. It came as a shock -- a jolt -- an awakening. I did not fully comprehend world affairs. My interests were our undefeated soccer season just finished, basketball -- baseball coming up. Christmas vacation only a couple of weeks away, graduation, then college. Things changed instantly. I knew right then that I wanted to go into the service.

December 8, 1941

Our headmaster, a great historian and tough disciplinarian, summoned us all into George Washington Hall, the school's assembly place. There was the normal joking, kidding, sloppy posture. Dr. Claude M. Fuess called to order the 800 students by saying something like this: "your country is at war. We have just played the Star Spangled Banner. From now on when the Star Spangled Banner is played you will stand at attention, hands at your sides and you will show respect." From that day on, without fail, I have stood at attention when the Star Spangled Banner was played.

Stephanie -

Here is the latest draft -
There will be some deletions at the request of LIFE, the Pres. has ok'd them.

KG Thanks!

WORKING DRAFT

Early June 1942

Secretary of War Henry Stimson, an alumnus of Andover, gave the commencement address. He encouraged the graduating class to get some college education before serving. I was determined not to go on to college but to become a Navy pilot. Secretary Stimson was a towering world figure but I wondered about this call of his.

June 12, 1942

On my 18th birthday I was sworn into the Navy as a Seaman 2nd Class, the first step towards becoming a Navy pilot. The Navy had just changed the rules. It no longer required two years of college before becoming a Navy pilot; pilots were urgently needed. The Navy moved to accept High School graduates for pilot training. Walter Levering, LT USNR, swore me in at Boston. I went on active duty as an Aviation Cadet August 6, 1942.

August 6, 1942

Active duty at last. I climb on a southbound train at Penn Station. My dad was a big, strong guy. He put his arm around me and said goodbye. I'd never seen my dad shed a tear before.

June, 1943

Having been stationed at Chapel Hill for preflight, Minneapolis for Primary Training, and Corpus Christi for Advanced, I received my Navy wings and Ensign's Commission June 4. I was still 18 years old. I wanted to fly in combat. All my classmates wanted to fly in combat. Our country was at war -- united. I selected Torpedo Bombers. . .I fell in love early on with the 'low and slow' TBF. The Grumman Avenger carried 2,000 lbs. of bombs, the biggest single engine aircraft in the fleet. It had a crew of 3. I went off to Fort Lauderdale to learn to fly it. Training up and down the East coast, dropping torpedoes off Cape Cod, bombs and torpedoes in Lake Okechobee, Florida, Chincoteague, Virginia, Charleston Rhode Island, Miami. . .I saw 'em all. I had an Ensign's stripe and an Admiral's confidence. I was a Navy pilot.

Spring - Summer 1944

I was assigned to Air Group 51, the first air group to be aboard the new fast Carrier San Jacinto, CVL 30. We went on a "shake down cruise" to Trinidad, put San Jac into Commission at Philadelphia, headed for the Pacific via the Panama Canal, touched the USA one last time at San Diego and then went West.

Many of the Air Group and ship's company had spent no time at sea. One roommate, subsequently killed, Tom Waters had a red face, but the seas were so bad that his face literally turned green.

We struck Wake Island on May 23, 1944. My close friend and roommate, Jim Wykes went off on a search mission, and never came back. I lay in my upper bunk and cried for my friend. No-one saw me -- that wouldn't do.

September 2, 1944

Over Chi Chi Jima, my plane was hit by anti-aircraft fire at about 8:30 a.m. The submarine FINBACK picked me out of the water close to the Japanese held island of Chi Chi Jima. I learned later that my crewmen were killed. In that life raft for about 2 hours, wondering if my life would be spared, I prayed to God, I was sick to my stomach and again I shed a tear. I was a very scared kid, just 20, away from his mother and dad, paddling against the wind trying to get further away from the Japanese held island.

WORKING DRAFT

September 1944 -- aboard the FINBACK in Japanese waters

The Submarine stayed on its war patrol, and I along with 2 other rescued pilots and 2 crewmen spent the next 30 days standing watch and counting my blessings. We got depth charged by Japanese s
concerned
rescued p
silver st
won a

Life says Looking Forward has 3 crewmen, not 2.

October 1

Back in Pearl Harbor for a week at a "rest home" -- some flying, then hitch h
under Admiral Bull Halsey
s
Naval power
oll.
You could f
ures
of Japanese
beginning t
one
unifying s
wanted badly to rejoin my squadron -- to fly more, to do my part.

Life says a bio. by Nickolas Kane quotes 20 days of R&R, not a week.

November 1944

I flew my final combat mission over Luzon ~~Bay~~, November 19, 1944.
Puffs of a
like
the concer

Is it Luzon Bay, Manilla Island or Manilla bay, or what?

There was a sense of exhilaration in our ready room. We were going home. We'd probably make it in time for Christmas. Several of our VT 51 squadron mates had been killed, but that was accepted. The war had us together on one track. In a sense, the ferocity of the battle helped heal the hurt for our fallen comrades. It was our duty, our honor. We were fighting for the USA against tyranny. The Country was united. We, on a carrier, were a part of something great and good. At times we were scared, but there were never any doubts.

Christmas Eve 1944

I arrive home. I stop at the Rye Station on the way to Greenwich. There my fiancee, Barbara, climbs on the train. We go the 10 minutes to Greenwich. My mother and dad meet us. I was glad to be home for Christmas. I was glad to be surrounded by love. At church the next day, Christmas Day, I counted my blessings. I thanked God I was home -- and in the quiet of our church I thought about Jim Wykes, Dick Houle, Ted White, John Delaney, and the others who would never come home for Christmas. I think I asked "Why," but there was not any agony about the cause. There were no divisions about the War. We were right, God was on our side.

WORKING DRAFT

We had suffered a surprise attack and, now three years later we were winning; and I, a 20 year old Lt. (j.g.) was part of the greatest fighting force in the world. I had grown up. I had flown with the best off a great carrier that flew the Texas flag into battle. I was part of a team. We cared about each other in our squadron. We understood each other's fears and loves. We played together, sang together, flew together. We bitched about our Squadron Commander -- too tough, too demanding, too serious. But we loved to fly on his wing -- we respected Don Melvin.

If we hot dogged it or risked the lives of the ship's crew by some careless maneuver, Captain Beauty Martin would kick some serious butt, but he was our Captain and we bragged about him. He didn't know me from Adam's off Ox. But why should he -- I had one stripe, finally 1 1/2, and he had 4. We gave him a lot of room. We gave him a lot of respect.

We were the best pilots. When we ground-looped on land, it was that damned gust of wind, or it was low hydraulics in the left brake. When we missed the proper wire landing on the carrier, it was that crazy landing signal officer. . ."Damn fool, had me too high all the way in, or too fast, or too slow"; but we never told him. He held our lives in his hands.

And besides, the skipper always thought he was right.

We were the best. . .cocky devils, sure of our ability, sure of our mission. 20 years old, and we knew exactly what had to done. We knew we were right and that we would win.

Winter - Spring 1945

Barbara and I were married January 6th. We had time for a honeymoon, then off we went to carrier re-qualification in the Great Lakes. We bought our first car -- a 1941 Plymouth -- price $350 and drive across Canada to join our squadron in Lewiston, Maine. Up and down the East Coast in VT 153, a new torpedo squadron manned by some of my pals from VT 51. I checked out in the F4U, the hot-shot gull wing Corsair fighter. . .and for a moment I wondered if "low and slow" was good enough for me anymore. A fleeting thought only, since by now the feel of the TBF was a part of my very existence. The TBF was a forgiving airplane -- and though I was a pretty good pilot, I'd still make some pilot's errors that needed forgiveness.

WORKING DRAFT

August 1945

I'm just 21 now. We are based in Virginia. Barbara and I are having more time together. As our new squadron, with orders in hand to go back to the Pacific, starts our final training. . .the war ends. I'll never forget the screaming and the cheering and the dancing in the street and the praying. Bar and I went to church and we said thanks. The War's end meant we would not have to be separated, and that I would not have to cover any more landings of marines on beaches -- seeing them get slaughtered as the Japanese dug in to defend their homeland.

September 18, 1945

I am discharged from the Navy on "points" and now I go to college. The togetherness of it all disperses. We all re-focus. It's soccer, baseball -- it's our first baby, and Economic classes. Barbara and I know family joy, and the happiness of being at school and looking forward shortly thereafter to a new life in our west. We have lots of new friends. The letters from the shipmates slow down. They are finding their new way too.

WORKING DRAFT

June, 1948

A brand new college grad, my first job ahead, I drive to Odessa, Texas. The war seems long ago, far behind -- ahead lies a whole new exciting life.

January 20, 1989

I am sworn in as President of the United States. A TBF on a float goes by in our Inaugural parade. On it are some squadron mates from VT 51 and a couple of old submariners who were aboard Finback when she picked me out of the drink off Chi Chi Jima. They are smiling and waving. No-one knows who they are. But I know.

February, 1989

I am in Japan for the funeral of Emperor Hirohito. It is an icy cold day and the long ceremony is beautifully done. Sitting there in the cold, surrounded by World leaders, I had time to think. Yes, I thought about the burst of anti-aircraft fire from Chi Chi Jima that killed my friends, but that thought did not dominate. I thought about Hirohito going to call on MacArthur, about Japan's remarkable recovery and about her democracy. I thought about the quiet little man and his love of nature and how that contrasted with the horrible pictures we saw 45 years ago. . .I thought of Japan. And I thought of forgiveness.

Our alliance is strong, our friendship is genuine. They are now a democracy. How remarkable that is. Maybe Ted White, Jack Delaney, and Jim Wykes did not die in vain. It was right that I went back to Japan to the Emperor's funeral.

# # #

Harold M.

Milton Moore

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Cheney Warns Defense Bill Risks a Veto

Unrequested Arms May Force Troop Cuts

4/60 /162

By George C. Wilson
Washington Post Staff Writer

DEFENSE BUDGET HEARTBURN ISSUES

HOUSE VERSION	SENATE VERSION	ADMINISTRATION REQUEST
"Star Wars" missile defense		
$3.1 billion	$4.5 billion	$4.9 billion
Existing MX missile on rail cars		
$600 million for research alone	$1.1 billion for research and production	$1.1 billion for research and production.
New Midgetman mobile missile		
$0	$100 million	$100 million
New Navy F-14D fighter plane		
$857 million	$0	$0
V-22 Osprey transport plane for Marines		
$508 million for testing and production	$255 million for testing alone.	$0
Stealth Bomber		
$3.9 billion; no spending until fleet is cut.	$4.6 billion; no spending until more testing is completed.	$4.9 billion; no restrictions.

THE WASHINGTON POST

President Bush will have no choice but to veto the defense money bill this year and sharply reduce the number of men and women in uniform in future years if Congress keeps resurrecting weapons the Pentagon wants to kill, Defense Secretary Richard B. Cheney warned in firing the first shots in the battle of the budget to resume after Labor Day.

"A veto is a real possibility" if the House insists on a defense authorization bill it recently passed rather than accepting a measure close to the Senate version, which Bush favors, Cheney said in an interview with The Washington Post Thursday. "The president is clearly prepared to do that."

Pentagon officials complain that the House subjected them to the triple whammy this year by refusing to go along with weapons cancellations, financing programs the president did not want by taking money from ones he advocated and keeping the total defense budget at the no-growth total of $305 billion rather than raising it to pay for the add-ons.

Lawmakers counter that voters did not send them to Washington to rubber stamp the Pentagon's budget request but to make their own choices on how the billions for defense should be apportioned.

What the Pentagon calls the main "heartburn" issues are the House decisions to keep the Navy's F-14D Tomcat fighter plane and the Marines' V-22 Osprey transport alive rather than cancel them as Bush recommended, cutting money from the Strategic Defense Initiative and the two newest strategic land missiles—Midgetman and the rail mobile MX—to pay for the additions.

"That's the veto bait," said one of the congressional staffers preparing for the House-Senate conference on rival defense authorization bills that is to be convened shortly after Congress returns Sept. 6 from its recess.

Asked what would happen beyond this year's budget battle if Congress, as is likely, refuses to approve Bush's request to increase the defense budget in real terms by one percent in fiscal 1991 and 1992 and by 2 percent in fiscal 1993, the usually ebullient Cheney turned glumly silent.

After a pause, the secretary replied: "Then we've got a big problem—even tougher" than the one that required him to cancel weapons to accommodate Congress's demand for a zero-growth budget for fiscal 1990.

In those circumstances, he said "my bias" is to reduce further the size of the active-duty Army, Navy, Air Force and Marine Corps. This would get people off the Pentagon payroll, resulting in immediate savings in spending, without forcing the military to go without modern weapons.

Many career budget officers at the Pentagon say there is no way to avoid deep manpower cuts during Bush's first term, given Congress's refusal to increase defense appropriations and the bow wave of bills falling due in the mid-1990s from weapons ordered in the boom years of the Reagan administration. The Army, the largest service, will take the biggest hits, they predicted.

Today the Army is a little more than half of its Vietnam war size of 1.5 million men and women. It is slated to shrink further to a force of 764,021 people by the end of the coming fiscal year.

The Air Force, already reducing manpower to free money for such costly weapons as its stealth bomber and fighters, also is shrinking dramatically. The Air Force has gone from an active-duty force of 905,000 in 1968, the Vietnam War peak, to 571,000 today. Plans call for the service to shrink to 567,474 by the end of fiscal 1990.

The Navy, which had 765,000 men and women in uniform in 1968, is scheduled to be reduced to 591,541 by the end of fiscal 1990.

The Marine Corps totaled 307,000 in 1968; it will number 197,159 at the end of fiscal 1990 under the lowered force levels.

Cheney declined to predict how much the armed forces will shrink after 1990 because of budget constraints and the apparent ending of the Cold War. But he did say that he is determined to avoid going back to the hollow forces of the 1970s where the emphasis was on quantity of people and weapons rather than quality.

"I'd rather have capable forces, even if they're smaller, than I would preserve the fiction of a larger force," Cheney said. He said former battalion commanders reinforced his bias in favor of going small rather than hollow by telling him recently: "We remember when we had insufficient manning and large vacancies in our roster of officers, serious drug problems, lack of equipment, lack of spare parts, equipment that wouldn't work, inability to train. We never want to go through that again."

Cheney said, "I've come away from those kinds of discussions generally with the view that we ought to maintain the most capable force possible. And if that means somewhat smaller forces, so be it."