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NIDS-ZMSBw Joint Research Project 2019-2021

Sharing Experiences in the 20th Century

Joint Research on Military History

The National Institute for Defense Studies, Japan

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Edited by
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Preface

Both National Institute for Defense Studies (NIDS) and Center for Military History and Social Sciences of the Bundeswehr (ZMSBw) have the distinction of belonging to their respective ministries of defense, and have played a major role in research, education, and archive management. Through the years from 2019 to 2021, NIDS and ZMSBw have carried out a joint research project on military history in the 20th century. NIDS and ZMSBw held two workshops in Tokyo and Potsdam respectively in 2019 and an online workshop in 2021 under the pandemic of COVID-19. This compilation of essays were originally presented at these workshops.

In spite of the geographic distance, Japan and Germany share a similar historical experience. Both countries emerged as nation-states in the second half of the 19th century and had close military relations. In the 20th century, regardless of their hostile relationship in the First World War, the Japanese military actively sought to incorporate the German military experience into its own institute. On the road towards the Second World War, both countries faced domestic social instability and the emerging Soviet Union. In addition, Germany's post-Cold War experience in revising its self-definition of strategic role and attempting to form a multinational force in NATO may provide useful suggestions for Japan, which is currently facing drastic changes in the strategic environment.

Interestingly, essays in this book clarified differences in research style. Researchers at ZMSBw attempt to grasp the socio-historical aspects, linking the military and society, while those at NIDS focus on specific enquiry into military history. This intersection of perspectives and methods is stimulating and will be a catalyst for further research.

Despite the recent pandemic, it was a great pleasure to conduct the joint research project and have it published both in English and Japanese. We hope that this research can provide not only new perspectives for exploring the past, but also a useful foundation for understanding the contemporary strategic problems.

ISHIZU Tomoyuki — Director, Center for Military History, NIDS

Introduction

Japan and Germany shares the experience of war in the twentieth century, which was characterized by total war, and the two countries were closely related during each phase of war including the First World War, the Second World War, the Cold War.

In examining the commonalities of these experiences, it is important to understand the following two points. The first is to understand the total continuity of these phases of war in the twentieth century. The second is to understand the interactive combination of strategy, tactics, and society in that continuum. The authors of the essays here have deepened this understanding in discussion of our joint research project. We had fifteen presentations in our workshops from 2019 to 2021. Of these, thirteen presenters contributed essays to this book. These essays cover a wide range of NIDS's and ZMSBw research interests. For the list of the workshops, please refer to Appendix I.

For the convenience of readers, this book is divided into three chronological sections, "The First World War and its Influences," "The Second World War and Strategy," and "The post-Second World War and Society." Let us briefly explain the summary of each essay.

In the first section, we have five essays on the military and social consequences of the First World War.

The book opens with an essay by REICHHERZER Frank, which discusses the social system of Germany in the twentieth century, created by the experience of total war. This essay represents the bottomline of this joint research project. In other words, he looks at the framing of war and warfare in German academia between the two World Wars, and identifies an overarching consequence of the First World War as "bellification." He develops this notion into an analytical tool, describing the socialization of war on the one hand and demilitarization of war on the other. Hence, Reichherzer sheds light on the active role of civil society in the planning, preparation and conducting of "total war" in Germany.

EPKENHANS Michael examines the development of German naval strategies in two World Wars, focusing on the social and tactical backgrounds. He discusses the geographical constraints of German fleet operations, inadequate sea-lane cutting

capabilities, and the impact of the United States' involvement in the First World War. His conclusion, "Though Germany was no doubt a strong naval power, it had never been a sea power" is highly suggestive.

Turning to the Japanese side, ISHIZU Tomoyuki discusses the impact of Japan's military contributions to the Allies in the First World War upon its political and strategic consequences. He focuses on Japan's efforts to maximize its national interests through negotiations with its allies, most notably Britain, and its acceptance of the Versailles Treaty System. The First World War brought Japan to a new political and strategic environment in the Pacific, a change in the balance of power in the region with the weakening of the European influence. He also discusses the transformation of the Japanese imperialism.

Nextly, ABE Shohei focuses on Japan's strategic and social factors through the process of accepting the infantry tactics of other countries by the Imperial Japanese Army after the First World War. He examines the Japanese Army's efforts to understand and adapt to the war. He shows that the Japanese Army accepted the lessons of the First World War selectively but efficiently under the lack of combat experience and of industrial strength.

At the end of the first section, WERBERG Dennis discusses the political movements of veterans created in interwar German society and their impact on its military of the Second World War. He reveals the complementary opposition within the German right wing by looking at the activity of its veterans' organization "Stahlhelm" [lit. "Steel Helmet"] in the twentieth century. Although both Stahlhelm and the National Socialist Party (NSDAP) were right-wing and mutually intended to exploit each other, they adopted different image on strategies due to the differences in the supporters associated with their political positions. This is a new perspective for understanding the society of the interwar Weimar Republic, especially for Japanese readers.

In the second section, we have five essays which analyze the background of the Japanese and German strategy during the Second World War.

Firstly, SHIMIZU Ryotaro focuses on the strategic decision-making process in Japan's entry into the Second World War, and discusses the human networks and social background, including its intelligence group. He elaborates the conception of

"Northbound" in the Imperial Japanese Army and shows how its officers planned and executed the Mukden Incident in 1931, which provoked a severe arms race between Japan and the USSR. The inferiority in this arms race in the Far East encouraged Japan to the alignment with Germany, and this in turn urged Joseph Stalin to appease Adolf Hitler who triggered the Second World War. Shimizu also indicates that Soviet intelligence activities against Japan were extremely intensified in the 1930s, of which the most prominent intelligence group was led by Richard Sorge. Finally, using newly released materials, he analyzes the activities of the Sorge spy ring concerning Japan's strategic decision in July 1941. In spite of the myth of Sorge's great contribution for the defense of Moscow against German aggression, Shimizu concludes that Sorge was puzzled by the "indecision" of the Japanese government.

PÖHLMANN Markus focuses on General Heinz Guderian from multifaceted perspectives, revealing the social and strategic background behind him. Pöhlmann tries to present a new interpretation of Guderian by meticulously tracing his military career. He points out the discrepancy between the general's military career and the content of his autobiography which has been uncritically accepted until now. As a result, it becomes clear that the conventional image of Guderian based on his autobiography is strongly influenced by his cultivation of his image, his self-justification and disregard for the other's role in the evolution of German armored forces.

Nextly, we have two essays on the analyses of social backgrounds of Japan's strategic shift by SHINDO Hiroyuki and SHOJI Junichiro.

Shindo focuses on the evolution of Japanese strategy during the Pacific War, which generally has been described with a focus on the overall material difference between Japan and the United States. He emphasizes the significance of Japan's interservice conflict which led to the divergence of focus and dispersal of assets in the planning and execution of Japan's wartime strategy.

Shoji analyzes the factors behind the war termination processes of Japan and Germany, which followed quite different paths, and concludes as follows. First, the decision by Japanese leaders to change Japan's war aims from "building the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere," to the "preservation of national polity," which was a central Japanese value, and the common acceptance of this revised war aim by Japan's leaders meant that the basic orientation towards war termination had been

made within Japan. Second, a moderate faction existed in both Japan and the United States during the war, and, regardless of the fact that the two nations were at war with each other, a certain "relationship of trust" continued to exist between the two, which promoted the movements towards peace in both nations. Finally, Japan and the United States had different perceptions regarding a campaign for the Japanese Home Islands, and this became a factor in the realization of peace.

At the end of the second section, we have a unique essay by HANADA Tomoyuki. He focuses on the differences in Soviet perceptions of Japanese and German strategy as a background of its strategy. He compares the perspectives of Japan and Germany as seen by the Soviet military leadership, through an analysis of Russian historical archival documents. He reveals that the Soviets had different perspectives both on the purpose of war and the postwar conception for the two nations. He also points out that the Soviet perspective defines Russia's current stance on the territorial issue with Japan.

In the third section, we have three essays that cover the post-Second World War era. Two of these essays, those by KRAFT Ina and REESE Martin analyze the backgrounds of Germany's strategic shift in the post-Cold War.

Kraft describes that the multinational force structures in Europe which originated during the Cold War have evolved in various forms since the end of it. She classifies them into four multinational forms which have developed since the 1990s: NATO command structure, military structure of the EU, multinational Force in NATO (from corps scale to battalion scale), and the national military unit with a multinational character. She explains the motives of their establishment as an efficient means of utilizing military resources, a method of producing a strategic deterrent effect, and a means of political communication.

Reese shows that the post-Cold War expansion of NATO and the need to cope with the Russian power in Eastern Europe caused the new strategic role of Germany to shift from a potential combat zone to a (logistic) "strategic hub." In the context of the recent re-emergence of the Russian threat to NATO's eastern flank, he poses an academic reappraisal of this paradigm shift from the perspective of a historian.

The book closes with an essay by KÄSER Frank, which analyzes the military exchanges between Japan and Germany from the unique perspective of comparative

history of Japanese and German public archives. Käser offers concrete benefits for the use of archives in our research. Further, he shows where research is still needed in the study of Japanese-German military history.

We hope that the essays in this book provide readers with new perspectives and possibilities for further research, showing the organic combination of strategy, tactics, and society and the continuity of each phase of war in the twentieth century.

OHTANI Hiroki — Assistant editor, Lieutenant Commander, JMSDF.

Contents

Section I.

The First World War and its Influences

CHAPTER 1

‘Bellification’
War, Military, Society and Knowledge in the Age of World Wars (and beyond)

REICHHERZER Frank

1. Introduction[1]

“The experience of the world war shows us that the frames of war we draw – war as a purely military affair and business – were too narrow. We now know that we have to study war as a whole; that means war as an affair of society as a whole”.[2] This is a quote from Oskar Ritter von Niedermayer’s book ‘Wehrpolitik’ (Defence Policy) of 1939 taken from the chapter ‘Wehr und Wissenschaft’ (Defence and science/academia). In the 1930s, Niedermayer was a colonel on leave (Ergänzungsoffizier) and worked as a professor and director of the Institute for Defence Policy (Institut für Wehrpolitik) at Berlin University. Niedermayer knew what he was talking about. As a soldier and a researcher, his field of action was the zone between military and academia from his early career.[3]

By analysing Niedermayer’s words, one can get an impression of the general characterisation of war in ‘high modernity’[4]: a) understanding war as mainly a military affair is too simple; b) modern war should not be seen as a fight of military organisation vs military organisation but as a clash of societies vs societies; c) this opens a zone where military and many parts of civil society interact; and d) the role and flows of knowledge for planning, organising, fighting, and even

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[1] This article is based on the research in my book Reichherzer: ‘Alles ist Front!’. Here further literature on the touched topics and source material are presented. This paper is also part of the work of a recent research group ‘Knowledge, Military, Force and Violence’ at the German Armed Forces Center of Military History and Social Sciences.

[2] Niedermayer: Wehrpolitik, p. 137.

[3] Niedermayer’s life is captured in Seidt: Berlin Kabul Moskau. Regarding World War I see Seidt: From Palestine to Caucasus. For Niedermayer’s life and activities during the NS-regime and his ambivalent attitudes toward NS-ideology see Jahr: Generalmajor Oskar Ritter von Niedermayer.

[4] ‘High modernity’ tries to make sense of the years from the 1880s to the 1970s. For this temporal framework see Scott: Seeing Like a State; Herbert: Europe in High Modernity. For a critique and differentiation see Raphael: Ordnungsmuster der ‘Hochmoderne’.

imagining war could be added.

The observations and arguments in Niedermayer's book – more than 20 years after the beginning of World War I – were honestly spoken; they were not a revolution. One can find ideas and phrases like these in many articles, books, and governmental and military memos worldwide. However, before World War I, questioning the military's role in preparing and fighting a war after a more or less political decision to go to war – especially in Germany – would cause much irritation – not only in the military establishment.[5] Niedermayer's and similar ideas did nothing less than question the monopoly of the military on warfare.

Niedermayer's quote leads to questions: What happened between the turn of the century and the 1940s in how people thought about the nexus of war, military, and society? What was the role of knowledge about war and warfare, and further, what does this all mean? Hence, my paper will try to give answers to these questions. Thus, I develop my argument on three levels.

The first is *empirically*. During World War I, society became more critical of a common and joint war effort. War resonated in almost every societal system. This development caused a power shift in the triangle of war, military, and society. A centrepiece in this complex relationship is a manifold 'knowledge about war'.[6] Therefore, the academic field, especially the implementation and development of concepts and institutionalisation of 'Wehrwissenschaften' ('war studies'/'defence studies') in Germany in the interwar years, is the focus of my interest.

Secondly, I will move to an *analytical* level. The question of knowledge in academia and its connection to war opens a broader view. Hence, a characteristic

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[5] The dispute between the General Staffs Historical Division and the historian Hans Delbrück about strategy of Friedrich II in the Seven Years War is an example. One vindication for the General Staffs position was that Delbrück was a civilian with less military experience. See Lange: Hans Delbrück und der ‚Strategiestreit'; Bucholz: Hans Delbrück and the German Military Establishment.

[6] I understand 'knowledge' here in a broad sense. It implies 'know how', 'know to', 'scientific', 'artisan', and 'tacit' knowledge. A very good introduction into the field of knowledge is Burke: What is the History of Knowledge?

signature of the Age of World Wars becomes possible to sketch: '*Bellification*'.[7] The term derives from the Latin word '*bellum*' for war. Bellification as an analytical tool makes it possible to discuss the process and intensity of how a society orients itself toward war or how far the imagination of war affects societies.

By having this first outline in mind, my paper will deepen this in three parts:

1. In the first part, I will point out the imagined 'future war' and answer how and why thinking of war changed during/especially after World War I and what consequences arose from this change.
2. My second part outlines the role of knowledge and impact of 'totality' of warfare on the academic world and the 'war studies' concept in Germany as a 'total' approach.
3. Moreover, in the last short part, I will sketch the concept of 'bellification' as a heuristical and analytical tool for research and discussion of twentieth-century history.

2. Shifting Paradigms. Framing War in the Age of World Wars

The contemporaries perceived World War I as a war unequal to all former wars. The war reconfigured the relationship between experience and expectation.[8] Phrases like "The Revolution of the war ..."[9] and "The war was a rigorous cleaning-up of old-fashioned attitudes…"[10] could be found everywhere. Sure, one could easily find wordings and framings like this for every war in history. However, in the case of the Great War of 14-18, the contemporaries felt a very deep caesura

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[7] This word was coined in the context of a research centre at Tübingen University (SFB 437) und further developed and conceptualised by my own empirical studies. See Reichherzer: 'Alles ist Front!', esp. pp. 413-426. For a similar understanding see the works of Rüdiger Bergien and Michael Geyer. For example, Bergien: Bellizistische Republik; Geyer: The Militarization of Europe; Geyer: Der zur Organisation erhobene Burgfrieden. For a summary of the work of the Tübingen Center see Beyrau/Hochgenschwender/Langewiesche (Ed.): Formen des Krieges.

[8] Reinhart Koselleck's work on temporality and history(icit)y and the interconnectedness of the past, present and future, especially the concepts of "spaces of expectation" (Erfahrungsräume) and "horizons of expectation" (Erwartungshorizonte) provide a profound framework. See e.g. Koselleck: 'Space of Expectation' and 'Horizons of Expectation'. For a further conceptualization of war and experience in modern Europe see: Buschmann/Carl (Ed.): Die Erfahrung des Krieges.

[9] Benary: Die Revolution des Krieges, p. 757.

[10] Cochenhausen: Wehrkunde als Lehrfach, p. 263.

and acted based on new 'imagined realities', which were relatively constant till the 1970s. Hence World War I represented – in the words of the philosopher of science Thomas S. Kuhn – a fundamental 'paradigm shift', or according to the likewise famous term of Ludwik Fleck, a changing 'style of thought'.[11]

Here, two long-lasting processes were critical. One becomes visible from catchwords like industrialisation, mechanisation, and a high level of technology. The other one is mass-mobilisation. These processes started in the eighteenth century and became crucial in the nineteenth century's last 20 or 30 years. In World War I, their destructive potential came together. Industrialisation/the spread of technology and mass-mobilisation, communication, and logistics went hand in hand. The catchy phrase 'total war', coined in the 1930s, epitomizes this in contemporary discussions and marks the process of 'totalisation'.[12]

With a closer look, it becomes clear that the visions of war and the arising consequences were based on two commonly accepted, unquestioned beliefs. First, war is unavoidable or even permanent with the only statuses being war and non-war. Furthermore, war is an event without any limits. These two core elements became almost axiomatic assumptions of military and political planning and the 'total mobilisation' of society, along with the seemingly new needs of war.[13]

- *War is unavoidable/permanent*
  Indeed, the belief that war is unavoidable was not new. In former times war was regarded as divine intervention in nature and human history. Nevertheless, in the late 19th century and during World War I, war was seen – especially in right-wing circles – more and more within the context of a conflict-oriented reading of Darwinist theory. The 'struggle for existence'

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[11] See Kuhn: The Structure of Scientific Revolutions; Fleck: Genesis and Development of a Scientific Fact.

[12] For the historizing 'total war' see Förster/Nagler (Ed.): On the Road to Total War; Boemeke/Chickering/Förster. (Ed.): Anticipating Total War; Chickering/Förster, (Ed.): Great War, Total War; Chickering/Förster (Ed.): The Shadows of Total War; Chickering/Förster/Greiner (Ed.): A World at Total War.

[13] For this see the war poet Ernst Jünger, Jünger: Die totale Mobilmachung.

became a key concept of life and applied to social organisation.[14] So, war seemed to be a non-neglectable essential part of human life. "Blood alone […] drives the wheel of world history",[15] as a popular author wrote. Connected to this, the 'good' order of the society would be a society built along with the needs and categories of war. Hence war lost its character as a political instrument and became an endless 'struggle for existence', namely in national-socialist ideology. The vision of an unavoidable war in the near future legitimised organising society for war and fuelled a certain kind of radicalism.

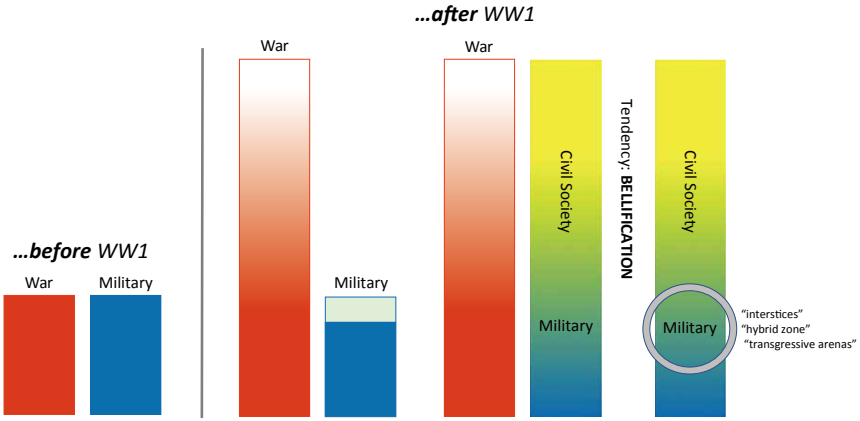
- *War without limits*
  In the eyes of the contemporaries, war became an unlimited, 'total' event. This understanding is observable in many areas. Just to highlight some examples: the breaking down of borders between war and peace, between the 'front' and the 'homeland' (the latter becoming 'home-front'), between the soldier and the civilian, between military and political leadership, between military and civil use of technology and infrastructures, and the questioning but destruction of ethical values and standards by the so-called 'necessity of war'.[16] This shows that the border between the military and civil spheres dissolved during World War I. In the interwar years, the vision of a future war swept it away. War was, in the eyes of the many contemporaries, no longer limited to the military and its institutions.[17] Instead, now war was characterised as an affair of society as a whole, and its 'civil' aspects were getting attention. So, war had to be conceptualised as a 'total' phenomenon. In this interpretation, again, war was everything and became the top category for the organisation of society. That means that every action, subject, and object had to be valued by their necessity for the future war effort. So, from this point of view, war became the measure

[14] On the metaphorical use of this theory see Weingart: 'Struggle for Existence'.
[15] Soldan: Mensch und die Schlacht der Zukunft, p. 104.
[16] See Reichherzer: 'Alles ist Front!', pp. 43-63.
[17] For one of the many voices see Linnebach: Wehrwissenschaften. Begriff und System. For a critique of this trend, Ambrosius: Zur Totalität des Zukunftskrieges, pp. 187-188.

of all things (including man).

From this outlook, two divergent but entangled processes emerged from the interpretation of war experience: a) civil appropriation of war and b) demilitarisation of war.

Figure 1: The Nexus of War – Military – Society…



In a schematic and simplified view (Figure 1), seen from nineteenth-century history, military and war were congruent before World War I. Dealing with war and warfare was a pure affair of the military and its institutions. During World War I, war became more and more unlimited – as mentioned above. Military assets like soldiers, tanks, artillery, ships, planes, and trucks were seen as a necessity for warring. All capacities of the country – the whole 'potential de guerre' – had to be taken into account. Hence a wide gap opened between war on the one hand and the military organisation on the other. The proponents of civil society aimed to fill this gap. According to these ambitions, they focused on new perceived factors – the civil dimension of war. The agents of many parts of the civil sphere tried to identify and solve the problems of total war in a scientific/academic manner, which

arose from the specific interpretation of war as an unlimited event. Overarching knowledge about warfare was the key factor for solving problems of imagined total warfare.[18] Those problems could range from the 'perfect' organisation of society, and the preparedness of the economic system for war, to area studies and the arrangement of landscape and urban spaces for war. Here, on the one hand, an appropriation of war by non-military actors and their expertise becomes visible. On the other, this process can be described as 'demilitarisation of war'. The 'old and traditional term war' (Kriegsbegriff) became 'substituted by the new political term of defence'[19] (Wehrbegriff). The military lost its ultimate capability in all matters of warfare. Moreover, there was no apparent difference where the tasks of the military end and the responsibility of civil society begins.[20] Here, an area with interstices developed – the habitat for civil-military hybrids and the realm of transmission and translation of knowledge.

This development happened all over Europe and North America and maybe in Japan.[21] In the case of Germany in the interwar years, the substantial 'civil' engagement was amplified by the restrictive military provisions of the Treaty of Versailles and within the context of the revitalisation of war in politics, culture, and art during the late 1920s, and not to forget rising militant masculinity, nationalism, and Nazism during the interbellum.[22]

The reduction of the German army to a small military force allowed no room for answering the questions of a 'total' war with an extension of the Army or the incorporation of experts into military institutions. The opposite was the fact. For sure, the peace treaty prohibited military-related activities outside the

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[18] Programatic is Szöllösi-Janze: Wissensgesellschaft in Deutschland; see as well Ash: Wissenschaft – Krieg – Modernität; and for the NS-Regime Flachowsky, Hachtmann, Schmaltz (Ed.): Ressourcenmobilisierung.

[19] Niedermayer: Wehrgeographie, p. 7.

[20] So Erich Ludendorff, First Quartermaster-General of the Imperial Army's Great General Staff in the second half of the First World War, Ludendorff: Kriegserinnerungen, p. 1.

[21] For Japan see Tomohide: Militarismus des Zivilen in Japan 1937–1940; for Britain see: Edgerton: Warfare State; for the USA this process grew strong short before World War II and especially during the Cold War. See for a mass of literature and bridging the times, Lowen: Creating the Cold War University.

[22] For further references see Reichherzer: 'Alles ist Front!', pp. 96-127.

military – especially at universities and in private associations (Art. 177, Treaty of Versailles). However, military and civil authority and even private organisations could camouflage these 'civil' actions easily. The military leaders were forced to cooperate with civilian administrative staff and civilian organisations, and the universities. With the Treaty of Versailles, the Allies destroyed the famous Prusso-German general staff as the central military planning organisation and the centrepiece for waging war. Hence civil-military cooperation became more necessary and less questioned.[23] So, forced from outside, the military had to give up its monopoly on warfare. In the context of 'demilitarisation of war', military planning organisations tried to induce and manage action within fields of the civil society and to channel the different activities outside and beside the military organisation. Here, they were confronted with self-confident civil actors who claimed management of warfare for themselves.[24] Rivalry and cooperation went hand in hand. Civil-military relations were negotiated in a permanent process.[25] However, a manifold civil-military complex came into existence in interwar Germany, which fitted much better with the image of 'total war' than a pure military general staff as a unique supreme planning unit.

3. 'Wehrwissenschaften' – The Impact of 'Total War' on the Academic World

When researching about the impact of war experiences in German science and academia and the role of knowledge and even management of knowledge after World War I, one will find a new and vague concept in German, which is called 'Wehrwissenschaften'. The term 'Wehrwissenschaften' was a fashionable neologism. The phrase appeared in Germany in the above described political and socio-cultural atmosphere of the late 1920s. Librarians at the Army Central Library (Heeresbücherei) in Berlin coined the term. The librarians had to categorise the new literature on the civil aspects of war. Thus, they used 'Wehrwissenschaften' as an umbrella term. So, the word was pragmatically created but became very

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[23] See Bergien: Bellizistische Republik.
[24] Dülffer Vom Bündnispartner zum Erfüllungsgehilfen, pp. 291-292; Reichherzer 'Alles ist Front!', pp. 161-170.
[25] A thought-provoking study of civil-military relations is still Huntington: The Soldier and the State.

popular soon. It was able to work as the focal point of all activities connected with the civil aspects of war or in the space between military, science, academia, politics, economy, and any other field – in short, society as a whole.[26]

Although there are similar phenomena in many countries, 'Wehrwissenschaften' is not easy to translate. It has a special meaning, which derives from particular German circumstances in the interwar period. 'War studies', '(total) science of war', 'military studies', 'national defence studies', 'preparedness studies', 'polemologie' and many more terms are found in journals, newspapers, and pamphlets in the US, Britain, and France in connection with 'Wehrwissenschaften'. However, there is no direct hit among these translations. 'Wehrwissenschaften' is an all-inclusive term that covers all implications of the concept. Drawing together all these aspects mentioned here, like the totality of defence measures, preparedness, and possibility to switch from peace to war within a short period, provides an impression of what is meant by the concept of 'Wehrwissenschaften'. I will call this 'war studies' in a broad sense below.

A heterogeneous group of people advanced the concept from different parts of society, who acted in the space between military, administration, and academia. Proponents of war studies never developed or established a coherent program. We can see intense discussions and different manifestations within the academic landscape.[27] However, on a meta-level, all these concepts and manifestations had some things in common. The common intention of war studies and its proponents was, following the image of total war, to mobilise society for an anticipated war. Academia, science, humanities, universities, and other research institutions should be the core of this project. Within the context of a rising information and knowledge society, knowledge was the key to this kind of mobilisation. Hence, generating, augmenting, distributing – the flow of knowledge – was seen as a necessity. By looking at articles, programmatic studies, pamphlets, memos, and many other sources, three main components become visible, shaping war studies' aims.[28]

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[26] Reichherzer: 'Alles ist Front!', pp. 140-141.
[27] For examples see Reichherzer: 'Alles ist Front!', pp. 140-189.
[28] See in a comprehensive form Reichherzer: 'Alles ist Front!', pp. 17-19.

- *Crosslinking and Flows of Knowledge*

The first was the striving for integration and cross-linking of knowledge. This was a direct reaction to the experience of an unlimited war. Integration and cross-linking were means of handling unlimited war under the umbrella term of 'Wehrwissenschaften'/'war-studies'. Integration should be achieved within academia between the classical disciplines as well as between politics, military, academia, and administration. Linking should enable the flow of concepts, ideas, and outcomes between different disciplines, different people and different social systems. Needless to say, the interconnected questions of war were the driving impulse here.[29]

- *Knowledge-Based Policy Advice*

The second component could be described as knowledge-based policy advice and the education of policymakers. The background for this aim is the diagnosis of a lack of knowledge about the war in the political leadership of the German Empire before and during World War I on the one hand and the lack of understanding of political affairs by the general staff and military leaders on the other hand. In this context, war studies should constantly contribute scientific knowledge about war to the decision-making process. To overcome the lack of knowledge about warfare, proponents of war studies advocated that every higher official should acquire a basic knowledge of war and warfare. The ubiquity of war implied that almost every issue had to be analysed from the outlook of war over any other aspect. So, the constant consideration of war was necessary: for example, providing a tax break for allterrain trucks, which could later be used in the army, building rail coaches which make transportation of the wounded possible, to transforming landscapes and urban areas into 'warscapes'.[30]

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[29] For a conceptual approach on circulation of knowledge see the volume of 'Nach Feierabend', Gugerli et al: Zirkulationen; see as well the steady growing articles on the topic on the following site. <https://historyofknowledge.net/category/circulation-of-knowledge/> (15.09.2021).

[30] See for example Oestreich: Vom Wesen der Wehrgeschichte, p. 232; Frauenholz: Wehrpolitik und Wehrwissen, pp. 124-135. Especially for the idea of warscapes (Wehrlandschaft) see the chapter in Wiepking-Jürgensmann: Die Landschaftsfibel.

- *Affecting and Organising Society by Knowledge*

The third aim dealt with the education of society as a whole for the needs of war. A popular form of 'war studies' was to bring the knowledge of war into every corner of society. The traumatic experience of the defeat in 1918 seemed to make necessary the creation of a society ready for war at all times. Proponents of war studies saw within this 'mental armament' a factor (almost) equal to the 'material armament' of the nation. This does not mean the creation of a pure 'warrior nation'. The project of 'Wehrwissenschaften' had a more subtle approach: Modern men (and even women), the agents of total war, should be two-faced. They should be able to live a peaceful life but also be able to fight an ultimate all-out war, in a tank, in a submarine or fight on the shop floor, in a laboratory or an office.[31]

As a consequence, war studies could not simply be one discipline among others. From my point of view, which is inspired by intellectual history, this specific German type of war studies could not be measured in categories of the standard modern academic order built around the concept of easily separated disciplines. They should be viewed as an overarching conception busting academic disciplines in the classic sense. Like 'environment' or 'climate' today, 'war' affected everything and everybody. If war is 'total', it could not be investigated by one discipline. So, war studies transgressed and overarched the borders of disciplines. Hence, they have to be understood as – in terms of science studies – an 'inter' – or even 'transdisciplinary' approach with the object of investigation of war in the centre.[32]

This is also reflected in the systematisation of war studies. War studies could find arenas of transgressions in the disciplinary system, but they could not change the system. So, they were present in the academic landscape in four different variations.

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[31] See for example Linnebach: s. v. Wehrwissenschaften, p. 742; Siehe hierzu exempl.: Deutsche Gesellschaft für Wehrpolitik und Wehrwissenschaften (Ed.): Kleine Wehrkunde.

[32] For this and the following see Reichherzer: 'Alles ist Front!', esp. pp. 377-382.

The first step was a more general version, which collected, processed, and distributed the outcomes of other disciplines dealing with war. This manifestation of war studies gave an overview of the main topics of war studies for a broad audience from all parts of universities and even from the public. Switching from peace to war and thinking about war already in peacetime should be possible for anybody. In this process, knowledge of war should trickle down to all parts of society and be made applicable by everyone.

The second form of dealing with war in academia was found within traditional disciplines – like history or physics – which in particular were oriented toward war. Scholars in areas of interest for warfare should look at their field from the angle of war and generate specific knowledge for the field. For example, geographers paid attention to geopolitical questions, and historians covered the history of war. By the way, historical and geographical studies were reasonable means for painting a broad picture of war – because the categories of time (history) and space (geography) could – in the eyes of the contemporaries – be used in an integrative, 'total' way.[33] Course catalogues and syllabi from the 1930s and 1940s tell us, for example, that chemists and biologists were informed about chemical warfare. Likewise, students of medical science and law had to take this knowledge about chemical agents into account.

The third step was an integrative and even intensive study of war. Collecting and systematising information and data from other disciplines and transforming it into a comprehensive knowledge and understanding of war was a centrepiece.[34] An Encyclopaedia of Wehrwissenschaften, which was published from 1936 onwards, fostered the approach of systematisation and distribution of knowledge.[35] In a kind of feedback loop, this overarching knowledge should be influence research in the

[33] See for the case of history e.g. Schmitthenner: Die Wehrkunde und ihr Lehrgebäude and for geography Niedermayer: Wehrgeographie. Practical outputs of his institute include the visualization of knowledge in different atlases (Wehrgeographische Atlanten) for France, UK, USSR, and USA, in print in winter 1944/45. These atlases functioned as devices which systematize different knowledge and brought intelligence in maps and visualizations together.

[34] E.g. Niedermayer: Wehrgeographie; Niedermayer: Wehrpolitik; Linnebach: Wehrwissenschaften. Begriff und System; or Ewald: Wehrwissenschaft.

[35] Franke: Handbuch der neuzeitlichen Wehrwissenschaften.

discipline. The synthesised, systematised, and aggregate knowledge should be distributed to other fields of knowledge and interested ministries, other political institutions, and the private sector.

At the beginning of the 1930s, the concept manifested itself in teaching appointments at almost every German university. In a few hotspots (like Berlin and Heidelberg), the universities established special institutes dealing with war studies in more or less close relationships with the military.[36] Besides this, the German Association for Defence Policy and War-Studies (Deutsche Gesellschaft für Wehrpolitik und Wehrwissenschaften) was founded, which works as a central network for distributing knowledge of war.[37] The association tried to specify the concept, coordinate the outcomes, and give advice to politicians, military leaders and lecturers and professors at the university. A look into university course catalogues and calendars shows us an increasing number of themes dealing with war in the 1930s. War studies were intensively pushed by people acting in the space between the military, academia, science, industry, administration, and student organisations. These civil-military 'hybrids' or 'go-betweens' worked – almost literally – as interpreters in the intermediate sphere between academia, the military, administration, and any other part of society.

4. Beyond Militarisation – Bellification as a Signature for Analysing Twentieth-Century History?

The birth of the concept named 'Wehrwissenschaften' (war studies) in the interwar years shows that the image of industrialised mass warfare without limits – 'total war' – provided the basis for claiming the concept of 'total studies of war'. If war has become total, it has to become a project of society as a whole. In this context, war studies were both: a) an indicator and b) an agent in a process called 'bellification' of society.

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[36] For example at the Universities of Heidelberg and Berlin.

[37] See Kolmsee: Die Rolle der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Wehrpolitik und Wehrwissenschaften; Reichherzer: 'Alles ist Front!', pp. 233-253.

War advanced in the modern mindset to a guiding principle of collective belief systems. War took a diffuse meaning as an influential idea of order in virtually every area of society – regardless of a liberal, a communist or an authoritarian-fascist worldview. The societies of the twentieth century, in particular, were primarily structured with the threat of war looming over them. War became the measure of all things during this period: Every action, subject, and object was questioned and evaluated for relevance to the common (future) war effort.

In my view, this tendency, what I suggest we call 'bellification', was an essential signature of the twentieth century with the high tide from the interwar years till the fading of the Cold War order since the 1970s. Why 'bellification'? The analytical framework of bellification is related to but differs from 'militarisation' or 'militarism'. First: Militarisation focuses on the military and the expansion of military organisational values and into civil society and social systems. In contrast, the military was not the centre and not the role model, which advanced the process. It was the self-empowerment of the civil society for war besides a military sphere. Hence second: 'Militarisation' often implies a hijacking of the civil society by the military. Conversely, bellification brings the agency and actions of the civil society into the focus of analysis. Third, looking from a bellicistic point of view back on twentieth-century history, we can identify civil societies in a status of permeant preparedness and total mobilisation ready for switching from peace to war literally in one second. Nevertheless, society became not a uniformed military camp or a 'garrison state'[38]. Such kind of 'hyper-militarisation' was impossible and never a goal and was even seen as dysfunctional by most proponents of civil mobilisation and even within the military.

Instead, the situation was very complex. Bellification sheds light on this. A quote from German war poet Ernst Jünger in his essay 'Total mobilisation' finally made clear what bellification was about: "Just pressing one button on the console, and the widely ramified net of energies of peaceful, modern life had to be channelled

[38] See Lasswell: The Garrison State.

to the power of war".[39] So, the crucial point of 'war' in the twentieth century is more subtle. The heuristic framework of bellification allows for identification and analysis of self-mobilisation, self-authorisation, or even self-empowerment of the civil society and emphasises on the appropriation of all affairs of planning and waging war by non-military actors. War became or should become 'in-scripted' into civil societies. Air raid shelters in the basement of skyscrapers or in subway stations, highways designed to work as potential airfields, public health matters, pre-military training in schools, transfer of technology to the arms industries, the resilience of critical infrastructures and many more are examples of taking a potential war in civil affairs into account – sometimes more visible, sometimes less visible. The consequence is a hybrid situation, which was neither war nor peace. However, war has to be put in quotation marks because 'war' is a fluid phenomenon. Sure, 'war' could be seen as an armed conflict. Further, 'war' is an idea, an imagination, or principle of order, and at the very least, 'war' is a powerful metaphor. Bellification takes all this into account.

Hence the imperative for research using bellification could be: Look at the twilight zone between war and peace, between military and civil society. This could be fruitful for historians and social scientists alike. Bellification works well as a heuristic and analytical device to explore the role of 'war' in societies. The concept of bellification sheds light on civil-military relations. It makes processes of using 'war' and the specific form and intensity of an orientation towards 'war' and their advocates in different quantity and quality visible. Moreover, bellification is connectable to other processes.

Applying bellification to twentieth-century history, it becomes clear how the order of war shaped the twentieth century from World War I to the 1970s. Beginning in the late 1960s and especially since the 1970s, the organisational power of war for arranging society was questioned from many sides. The implosion of the Cold War paradigm started from then and faded during the 1980s. If there is a switch from the concept and metaphor of 'war' to 'market' as on organising principle

[39] Jünger: Die totale Mobilmachung, p. 14.

during the last decades of the twentieth century and maybe to something else today – this would be another story.

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CHAPTER 2

German Naval Strategy in World War I and World War II

EPKENHANS Michael [1]

The Kaiser's Naval Passion

German naval expansion is difficult to explain without mentioning the influence of the new emperor, Wilhelm II, who succeeded the throne in 1888. In contrast to his predecessors, the Kaiser was the first member of the imperial family who was both really interested in naval affairs and willing to acknowledge the need for a powerful navy. In the course of his reign, the Navy was to benefit greatly from this imperial favour. In 1888, the victorious German Army consisted of 19,294 officers and 468,409 non-commissioned officers and men in peacetime, whereas the Navy's total strength at the time amounted to only 15,480 men, including 534 executive officers. The fleet itself consisted of 18 armoured ironclads, as well as 8 large and 10 small cruisers. In 1913, when Wilhelm II celebrated his silver jubilee, the Navy's size had grown to 2,196 officers and 59,991 non-commissioned officers and men. Moreover, the *novelle* (amendment) to the naval law in 1912 stipulated that the fleet was to consist of 61 capital ships, 40 small cruisers, 144 torpedo boats, and 72 submarines. In comparison to 1888, this was indeed a powerful military instrument that was capable of both offensive and defensive warfare.

"A Place in the Sun"

One of the reasons for this huge expansion of the Navy was Germany's intention to become a real world power. In the eyes of the Kaiser, as well as his many contemporaries, this meant the creation of a colonial empire overseas equal to that of the British Empire. Whereas many European powers had begun building

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their colonial empires since the 16th century, Germany was a latecomer in this respect. While Bismarck eventually opened the floodgates for colonial enthusiasts by establishing colonies in Africa and the Pacific region in the mid-1880s, he had always been a very reluctant imperialist.

The new Kaiser was one of the most important protagonists of a more offensive colonial policy that aimed to turn Germany into a world power. Again and again, he gave voice to this conviction in public speeches. However, the Kaiser was not alone in his demands for a reorientation of German foreign policy. Like him, many of his contemporaries felt that Imperial Germany was a vigorous young nation that had to become more imperialist in order to preserve the nation's status among the Great Powers, as well as its future in a globalising world. Looking back to the 1920s, one of Germany's leading liberal historians, Friedrich Meinecke, described this public perception quite accurately: "Given how the world looked at that time, a nation like Germany, with its narrow and, due to its expansion, increasingly narrowing existence, was forced to come to the conclusion that the creation of a larger colonial empire was indispensable to secure its future." This conviction was further strengthened by the attempts of other powers to enlarge their spheres of influence in the Middle and Far East in the mid-1890s. In addition, the situation seemed favourable. Tensions between Germany's most important rivals – Britain and France in Africa, as well as Britain and Russia in Asia – seemed to allow Germany the almost unique position of being a *tertius gaudens* among the Great Powers. As a result of all these deliberations, it was obvious that entering into the arena of global power politics offered more advantages than remaining a continental power.

Germany's Sea Interests

However, the traditional motives of power politics and power projection into distant areas where German interests seemed at stake, as well as those of the defence of Germany's coastlines along the North or Baltic Seas, along with the Emperor's naval passion, only partly explain the build-up of the Navy from the 1870s, and moreover, its expansion from the late 1890s. Since the late 1840s, Germany had been undergoing an almost dramatic change from an agrarian to a modern industrial country. After unification, the pace of change accelerated;

new laws further freeing industry and commerce of century-old regulations on standardising measures, weights, and even time zones supported the rapid expansion of industry and commerce. German gross domestic product had risen from 9.4 million marks in 1850 and 17.6 million marks in 1875 to 33.1 million marks in 1900. In 1913, it amounted to 48.4 million marks. Similarly, the output of traditional industries like the coal and iron ore industries increased enormously. The production of iron ore, for example, had risen from 0.2 million tons in 1850 to 2.2 million tons in 1873, 5.4 million tons in 1895, and eventually, 19.3 million tons in 1913. Soon, the industrial latecomer began to catch up with, or in some cases, even overtake, the leading country of the industrial revolution, Great Britain, in old industries like the iron ore and steel industries, not to speak of the new optical, chemical, machine building, and electrical industries.

These industries needed both markets to sell their products, as well as raw materials from many regions in distant parts of the world. Shipping companies like Norddeutscher Lloyd, Hamburg-Amerikanische Packetfahrt Actiengesellschaft (Hapag), and Hamburg Südamerikanische Dampfschifffahrts-Gesellschaft (HSDG) transported these goods and materials all across the oceans of the world. After modest beginnings, and partly subsidised by the German government in the 1880s, they helped build up a considerable merchant fleet. Though most of their vessels were still built in Britain, the proportion of those built on German shipyards slowly increased. So did the number and size of Germany's shipbuilding industry, which also included thousands of bigger or smaller suppliers scattered all over the country. Lagging behind Britain in the 1870s and 1880s, this industry also made a great leap forward. Shipyards in Hamburg, Bremen, Kiel, Stettin (Szczecin), and Danzig (Gdansk) eventually acquired the necessary skills to compete with their rivals in Britain. Orders for warships, as well as packet boats, greatly supported this development, however many engineers spent years in Britain learning how to construct and build ships.

Most importantly, Germany's population had risen from 33.7 million in 1850 and 39.2 million in 1870 to 56.3 million in 1900. In 1910, Germany, with 64.9 million inhabitants, had the second-largest population in Europe.

This population needed food. Whereas Germany had been an agrarian, self-sufficient country until the mid-19th century, it had increasingly begun importing

food towards the end of the century. Though figures vary, these imports made up between 20 and 25 per cent of the food supply at the eve of war in 1914. Most of these imports – meat as well as grain – were transported by ship. The same applies to raw materials. Though Germany was able to export iron ore and coal, it had to import other materials to keep its industries running. Most important were palm seeds; later, oil, metals like nickel and tin, cotton for the textiles industry, and saltpetre for the chemical industry had to be imported as well, just to name a few.

In an era of rival imperialist powers, safe trade routes were a prerequisite for the provision of food to a growing population and the continuous flow of imports into and exports from a prospering and dynamically expanding industrial nation. In contrast to earlier centuries, where German states more or less left the protection of their merchant vessels against pirates or of its citizens overseas to the Royal Navy, a powerful nation-state like Imperial Germany now had to protect these, and its interests in general, itself. As a result, German cruisers were protecting German merchant vessels in Chinese, South American, African, and Mediterranean waters from the 1870s, intervening on the spot if necessary. Moreover, as the conflicts with Denmark in the 1840s and 1860s showed, only a navy would be able to break a blockade to protect its industry and commerce from serious economic consequences, as well as its people from starving.

World Politics, Naval Build-up, and Domestic Politics

A prospering economy was not, however, only an aim in itself; in an era of rapid political and social change, economic wealth seemed the best means of guaranteeing domestic stability. The late 19th century economic crises had repeatedly fragmented each of the countries in Europe. These crises had caused political upheavals that partially threatened the existing political and social order, as they supported the conviction of socialist parties that only revolutions could improve the lives of the large majority of the population. Imperial Germany was no exception in this respect. However, in contrast to neighbouring countries in Western Europe, Germany was still partly premodern. During the Wars of Unification between 1864 and 1871, the monarch and the old elites, which had ruled the country for centuries, had been able to defend many of their prerogatives in politics, the army, and within society. Though they had increasingly come

under pressure from the bourgeois, as well as the working classes, they were still unwilling to yield. Instead, a successful social-imperialist policy that would bring about economic prosperity and political prestige, and thereby open up a bright future for everybody, offered a solution that made political and social reform unnecessary.

World Politics, Sea Interests, and Sea Power

In the eyes of the Kaiser, as well as many of his contemporaries, 'more ships' was the only solution to becoming a world and colonial power, securing political stability at home, and safeguarding German sea interests. As the Kaiser told his American friend Poultney Bigelow in 1894, having devoured the 'Bible' of all naval enthusiasts at the turn of the century, Captain USN Alfred T. Mahan's series of books titled *The Influence of Sea Power upon History*, he became deeply convinced of the interrelationship between naval power and global power, which, in turn, was a prerequisite for power and national prestige, economic wealth, and social stability. Both the Sino–Japanese War of 1894–95 and the obvious impending collapse of the Chinese Empire and its ensuing division among the Great Powers bolstered this conviction and newly spurred on his ambitions.

However, while the Kaiser was a naval enthusiast full of ideas, he would not have succeeded had he not had a young naval officer at his side who was able to systematically develop these ideas: Admiral Alfred Tirpitz. Belonging to a generation of naval officers who had been educated in the Prussian and Imperial Navies, Tirpitz soon showed exceptional qualities as both an organiser and a political and strategic thinker. These qualities had attracted the Kaiser's attention in the early 1890s. It was undoubtably Tirpitz who eventually provided the ideological framework necessary to gain support for expanding the Navy. Tirpitz's letter to the former Chief of the Admiralty Admiral Stosch, written in late 1895, best summarises his cast of mind – a mixture of power-political, maritime, and social-Darwinist convictions: "Up until 1866, our maritime interests were completely prostrated: sea trade, the export industry, transatlantic colonies, sea fisheries, transatlantic-Germanism, the Navy. Anything that survived out of these had a 'parasitic character.' This issue mostly still remains. In my view, Germany will swiftly sink from her position as a great power in the coming century if

these maritime interests are not brought to the forefront positively, systematically, and without losing any time: in no small degree also because there lies in this new great national task, and the economic gain which is bound up with it, a strong palliative against educated and uneducated social democrats. […] The aforementioned interests," he continued, "can only be placed upon a sound basis by power, and indeed, sea power. Otherwise, we shall lack the courage to draw cheques on the future. The 'parasitic idea' must be changed on the principle of *civis Germanus sum* (I am a German citizen). One particular difficulty lies in the fact that the expenditure on military sea power must be made opportunely and in full realisation of the economic advantages that will be accrued. Narrowmindedness and the shopkeeping spirit – which only consider the personal gain of the moment – must be added to this."

Political Success, Public Support, and Naval Law

Whereas the early 1890s had still been years of transition, contradictory plans, and political setbacks at home as well as abroad, the Kaiser, with the support of Tirpitz, who was appointed Secretary of the Imperial Navy Office, and Bernhard von Bülow, an ambitious young diplomat who became foreign secretary in 1897 and chancellor in 1900, eventually succeeded in reorienting German foreign, naval, and domestic policy. For almost two decades, world politics and naval building dominated German politics in almost every respect. The demand for equal rights (*Gleichberechtigung*) and a larger "place in the sun," which Bülow had postulated during his famous first speech at the Reichstag in December 1897, appealed to many of his contemporaries for years to come. The occupation of an outpost in distant China – Jiaozhou (formerly Kiaochow) – at the same time and the purchase of a number of islands in the Pacific from Spain only a year later clearly showed that the government was on this track.

Success overseas, however, can only partly explain how the Imperial Navy became popular so quickly. In order to achieve this aim in a country with a long history of land power thinking, Tirpitz, supported by a Navy League which soon had almost one million members, organised a modern propaganda campaign when he took office in 1897. Naval officers, professors, and teachers had begun travelling all over the country explaining the "dire need of a navy," as the Kaiser

had phrased it. At the same time, the Navy itself began organising all kinds of public events, which in turn excited the imagination of an increasing number of people: public ship launches, visits to watch naval manoeuvres, and mock naval battles in specially built basins.

Within two years (1898 to 1900) the Reichstag passed two laws that greatly increased the strength of the Navy. Three more were to follow in 1906, 1908, and 1912, accelerating the pace of naval building. These laws were by no means unique at that time, as many countries influenced by Mahanian ideas had begun to build up navies as well. However, no government did it as systematically and energetically as Germany. Moreover, nowhere else would the government eventually deprive parliament of its budget law by stipulating that the Navy would renew itself automatically at a building rate of three capital ships per year, all in as little as 20 years' time.

A Navy Against Great Britain

Though the final aims of the Kaiser's new men in replacing the *Pax Britannica* by a *Pax Germanica*, either through a cold war or, if necessary, even a hot war against the supreme world and sea powers were probably unknown, the "risk theory" and public speeches made by the Kaiser left no doubt that the new course of German foreign policy was directed against Great Britain. In 1899, Tirpitz assured the Kaiser that after completion of the High Seas Fleet, Britain would lose "every inclination to attack us, and as a result concede to Your Majesty such a measure of naval influence and enable Your Majesty to carry out a great overseas policy."

At first glance, these promises also seemed reasonable from a strictly naval point of view. Due to Britain's commitments all over the world, the building of a navy in the North Sea also seemed promising. Britain, Tirpitz always argued, would neither be able to deploy its whole fleet in home waters, nor would it have enough funds and men to outbuild Germany by more than one third. The ratio of 3:2 between the two fleets would give the German fleet a fair chance in a war against the Royal Navy, especially if this war took place under the guns of Heligoland, which would give the fleet an even better chance against the enemy.

It was this conviction – that it would be possible to successfully place a dagger

at Britain's throat – that would eventually not only prove to be one of the reasons for increasing tensions between Germany and its neighbours, but also change the fragile European power system. Instead of becoming a *tertius gaudens* who had her choice of the biggest and most powerful allies, Germany was soon isolated.

Anglo–German Naval Race

While at the turn of the century, Great Britain had no reason to worry about Germany's naval building due to the great superiority of the Royal Navy over all other navies, worries about both Germany's aims in general, as well as its naval building in particular, steadily increased as a result of misunderstandings or direct clashes over differing interests in world affairs. When the Royal Navy started to build a new type of battleship, the *Dreadnought*, in 1905, with Germany not only following suit in 1906, but even accelerating the building tempo in 1908, a naval race began with disastrous consequences for Anglo–German relations. Eventually Germany lost this race, which reached its peak in 1908–1912. The imperial government proved unable to keep up financially with the pace of British naval building. More importantly, however, German chancellors Bülow and Theobald von Bethmann Hollweg, Bülow's successor in 1909, were increasingly convinced that a reorientation of both German foreign and naval policy was inevitable. Instead of achieving the desired place in the sun, Germany had suffered a series of diplomatic setbacks, leaving the country isolated on the Continent. An open conflict had to be avoided. Whereas Germany's Army seemed strong enough to fight both France and Russia, an open conflict with Great Britain could only end in disaster. Despite all efforts, the Imperial Navy was still inferior to the Royal Navy, as Tirpitz secretly had to admit.

Attempts at negotiating an agreement with Britain failed. Whereas Germany had much to demand from Britain politically but nothing substantial to offer as far as the naval question was concerned, the British government in London was only interested in naval concessions and had nothing to offer politically. For the German government, naval concessions, if not accompanied by an agreement securing Britain's neutrality in a continental war, would shatter its foundations after the great expectations raised in the years before and the costs of the naval building programme. For the British government, on the other hand, any political

concessions would leave Britain isolated in a continental war, which Germany was then likely to win, thus establishing a full hegemony on the Continent – a nightmare for every British politician.

In the end, despite several attempts at coming to some kind of agreement, things remained as they had been before. Most importantly, it was more than doubtful that any chancellor would have got consent from both the Kaiser and Tirpitz. Again and again, Tirpitz told the Kaiser in the years of crisis not to yield to the mounting pressure upon him and exchange a political agreement against an arms limitations agreement that would not provide the necessary measure of security, as "it is the backbone of Your Majesty's naval policy that the German fleet must be so strong that a British attack would become a risky undertaking. The position of the German Empire as a world power rests on this risk, as does the influence our fleet has in maintaining the peace," he argued during an *Immediatvortrag* (personal report to the Kaiser) in October 1910.

Similarly, he summarised his social-Darwinistic view of the course of world history, which had always been one of his driving motives, in a secret speech to the officers of the Imperial Navy Office in October 1913: "Generally speaking, the question of whether Germany should fight for its place in the world against England […] or whether it should be content with the status of a second-rate power on the Continent is a question of one's political faith. For a great nation, however, it seems more honourable to fight for the most important aim and to go under honourably, rather than renouncing it for a future without glory."

Failure

These were indeed bold aims and assertions, but they could hardly disguise the fact that Germany's turn to the sea had failed on the eve of war in spite of Tirpitz's success in introducing another *novelle* in 1912. Soon he had to admit that he did not have the financial resources to build the ships stipulated by the naval law. More importantly, the deterioration of Germany's position on the Continent had strengthened the conviction of Germany's leadership that the nation's fate did not depend upon the navy but, as before, upon the army. Consequently, the latter was increased in 1912, then once again in 1913, whereas the Navy asked for new funds in vain. Even the Kaiser, Germany's most important naval enthusiast,

had begun to lose interest in his navy. Most importantly, the Navy realised on the eve of war that its strategic assumptions had also been proved wrong. Reports about manoeuvres of the Royal Navy left no doubt that it would not seek battle right after the outbreak of war. Instead, it would establish a distant blockade that the High Seas Fleet would be unable to break, unless it was willing to risk self-destruction.

Détente

However, though the future seemed bleak from Tirpitz's point of view, it was an open question as to whether the road Germany had taken at the turn of the century would lead into the abyss. Rather, the two years following the Haldane Mission in 1912, during which the German chancellor and the British secretary of war had tried in vain to find a solution to the naval question, were in fact years of a kind of détente. Neither Grey nor Bethmann Hollweg thought it wise to touch the naval question again. Both of them were convinced that negotiations would do more harm than good. Moreover, they had realised that more confidence was necessary to deal with such difficult matters as reducing naval expenditure or concluding some kind of political agreement. As a show of confidence, in June 1914, a British squadron took part in Kiel Week for the first time in 10 years. When the squadron left Kiel, Admiral Warrender signalled to the ships of the High Seas Fleet lying in harbour: "Friends today, friends in the future, friends forever!" This was a very astonishing signal after years of intense conflict.

Naval War Plans

However, what role were navies to play in the war? For the High Seas Fleet in the years immediately preceding the outbreak of war, the outlook was bleak. In early 1914, even Tirpitz admitted that under the leadership of the new First Lord of the Admiralty, Sir Winston S. Churchill, the Royal Navy had won the naval race despite the enormous financial strain that this entailed, whereas Tirpitz was unable to finance the vessels the German Navy was supposed to build according to the naval law. More importantly, whereas the Army had its Schlieffen Plan, which determined the deployment, as well as the movements of troops, according

to a timetable and which had been carefully worked out and updated in the years prior, the Navy did not have such a plan. Since the German Navy had been built up only for the purpose of helping to overcome Great Britain and her naval supremacy at almost any cost, everyone expected the Navy to have a plan of operation for implementing a strategy that promised success, or at least told the Commander-in-Chief of the High Seas Fleet exactly what to do in a war against its most dangerous enemy: the Grand Fleet.

What had happened? Since 1898, German Imperial Admiralty staff, the Command of the High Seas Fleet, the Imperial Navy Office, and the Kaiser had discussed a number of plans of operation against Great Britain. These plans were all based on the assumption that the Royal Navy would establish a close blockade along the German coast and that, sooner or later, a decisive battle would take place in the "wet triangle" off Heligoland.

This scenario, however, seemed very unlikely on the eve of war. In 1912, the German Navy had concluded from a number of observations that the British Admiralty was beginning to change its strategy with respect to Germany. Battleships had become too vulnerable to submarine attack and damage caused by torpedoes and mines to risk them in a battle that seemed unnecessary for one important reason: geography. As a result, the British side gave up the idea of establishing a close blockade, or at least an observational blockade, which would have sooner or later forced the German Navy to break it by challenging the Grand Fleet. Instead, a distant blockade of cruisers between the Orkneys, Shetlands, and Faeroes covered by the Grand Fleet from its new war base at Scapa Flow seemed sufficient to achieve the Royal Navy's main aim, which was to cut off Germany's line of communications. It is true that many officers in the Royal Navy had difficulties in coping with this change in naval strategy, which not only forced them to give up on a decisive Trafalgar-like battle right after the outbreak of war, but also to accept that – as Churchill put it in September 1914 – the Navy's main role would be to provide "the cover and shield" that would allow Britain to create an army "strong enough to enable our country to play its full part in the decision of this terrible struggle." In this, they hardly differed from their enemy on the other side of the North Sea, who, for lack of hard knowledge about the operational implications of the new technology now at sea and more complex ideas of sea

control and trade protection, still also clung to traditional ideas of naval warfare, which were no longer feasible.

German naval leadership had only very slowly come to realise the consequences of this change in Britain's strategy in its war plans, leaving it somewhat stunned. When first asked what the High Seas Fleet would do "if the Grand Fleet does not come," the Chief of the Admiral staff, Admiral August von Heeringen, simply responded, in 1912, with, "then our submarines will have to make it." Two years later, the Imperial Navy still had no idea how to solve this dilemma. In May 1914, during the last manoeuvres of the High Seas Fleet before the outbreak of war, its commander-in-chief, Admiral Friedrich von Ingenohl, only shrugged his shoulders when Tirpitz asked the same question.

These reactions are in fact easy to explain. In 1912, 1913, and once again in the spring of 1914, the Navy had looked for alternative manoeuvres and war games. The results were disappointing: the party representing the High Seas Fleet always lost. Due to its geographical disadvantage, the German Navy had no chance of breaking such a blockade or forcing the Royal Navy to engage in battle close to the German coast without risking total disaster.

With regard to Russia, due to the overall importance of the North Sea theatre of war, as well as Russian numerical and material superiority, the Imperial German Navy had no option but to stay on the defensive. However, the Kiel Canal, which had become operational on July 30, 1914, after many years of reconstruction made necessary by the larger size of the new German capital ships, enabled German naval planners to reinforce its forces in the Baltic Sea to either meet Russian challenges or even launch offensive strikes itself. This possible scenario had, in return, prompted the Russian Navy to stay on the defensive. Though Russia had begun to rebuild its fleet in 1912, its forces were still too weak to take an offensive role, even against a smaller German fleet. More importantly, still suffering from the traumatic experience of the Russo–Japanese War in 1904–05, the prospect of losing the new fleet in a sudden encounter with numerically far superior German units caused the leadership of the Russian Baltic Fleet to be cautious. A German strike against Russia's long coastline and at the rear of its armies, not to speak of a direct attack on its capital, St. Petersburg, could have a disastrous impact upon the future course of war.

The North Sea

Many contemporaries who, following the speeches and writings of naval officers before 1914, had expected a great and decisive battle in the North Sea, were soon deeply disappointed. Instead, the Grand Fleet, as well as the High Seas Fleet, restricted their actions to watching each other in wait of an opportunity for one's own forces to strike under favourable circumstances. Due to an overwhelming superiority in terms of its modern, as well as pre-dreadnought battleships and battle cruisers, the Grand Fleet, with its new commander-in-chief, Admiral Sir John Jellicoe, could afford a wait-and-see-attitude. Safeguarding the transport of the British Expeditionary Force to the Continent after the outbreak of war proved successful. Implementing and keeping up the blockade was more difficult. First, the strain of service in war experienced by smaller craft of the Northern Patrol, and even many modern ships, in the rough waters of the North Sea was indeed great, as the deficiencies in machinery and need for repairs soon made apparent. Second, so long as the British government hesitated in forcing neutrals like the Netherlands or Norway not to re-export contraband for political reasons, all efforts to cut off Germany's lifelines proved at least partly in vain.

The High Seas Fleet was in a more difficult position. Due to the change in British naval strategy, operations plan number 1, which finally became effective on July 31, had no choice but to simply give the order to wear down Britain's naval strength first, seeking battle only under favourable circumstances. Anything else would have been suicidal. Accordingly, submarines and smaller vessels were to attack the Grand Fleet and infest the North Sea with mines.

As a result, the High Seas Fleet remained on the defensive in the North Sea, leaving the initiative to the Grand Fleet in the vague hope that an opportunity might arise that would be successful. This *guerilla war*, or as the Germans called it, *Kleinkriegs* strategy, suffered a severe blow only a few weeks after the beginning of hostilities. On August 28, three small German cruisers and a torpedo boat sank after they had been surprised by superior British forces off Heligoland.

The impact of the outcome of this first encounter between the two fleets was far-reaching: for many months to come, German naval and political leadership would discuss alternatives to the Navy's plans of operation, a problem which, as it soon turned out, was closely related to the question of leadership in particular.

What alternatives did the German Navy actually have? As far as the North Sea was concerned, the number of options was indeed very limited. They simply amounted to a kind of hit-and-run-strategy against the British East Coast that aimed at enticing parts of the Grand Fleet to come out and engage in battle under more favourable circumstances for the German fleet than in the open or even northern parts of the North Sea, where the risk of meeting superior forces was simply too great.

The first of these strikes was planned in September 1914, but cancelled at the last minute. German naval intelligence had received reports on the location of the Grand Fleet, from which it appeared too dangerous to leave port. In the following months, German battle cruisers raided the East Coast several times; they did not, however, achieve any strategic success. Though both fleets came close to each other and eventually exchanged fire, either poor visibility or Hipper's conclusion that it would be wiser to run for home than run into a trap prevented a more serious encounter. Moreover, the Battle of Dogger Bank in January 1915 clearly demonstrated the risks of this strategy: while the Grand Fleet reached home without losing a single vessel, the High Seas Fleet lost the armoured cruiser *Blücher*.

As a result of this disaster, the High Seas Fleet remained on the defensive for more than a year. It would, however, be wrong to assume that only the High Seas Fleet was dissatisfied with this development. In Britain, important voices time and time again demanded a more active role for the Royal Navy in the North Sea by suggesting the need to occupy one of the Frisian Islands, Heligoland, and the Danish port of Esbjerg.

It was only as late as April 1916 that Admiral Reinhard Scheer, who had only been appointed commander-in-chief of the High Seas Fleet three months prior, again ordered more offensive strikes in the North Sea. Scheer hoped to find an opportunity to challenge smaller parts of the Grand Fleet, which he hoped to annihilate. For reasons of morale, as well as political considerations, namely the justification of the Navy's existence, a more active role seemed of the greatest importance after two years of fighting during which the Navy had not proven that it was worth the money that had been spent on it thus far. It was one of those strikes that, more or less by accident, led to the Battle of Jutland on May 31, 1916,

almost two years after the outbreak of war.

Regardless of what German Naval officers would later say or write about this "Glorious first of June," as Kaiser Wilhelm II first wanted to call the battle, it was no German victory, although British losses of men and material were higher. Strategically, the battle had changed nothing, as Admiral Scheer frankly admitted in a memorandum to the Kaiser in early July. Nevertheless, after repairing his vessels, which had been severely damaged at Jutland, Scheer left his base at Schillig Roads two more times in the hopes of meeting and annihilating parts of the Grand Fleet. These hopes were, however, not fulfilled. Despite the Grand Fleet feeling great disappointment at the outcome of the Battle of Jutland, which had been no Trafalgar, it saw no use in giving battle, which, even if it resulted in a great victory, would not change anything strategically. Neither its commander-in-chief, Admiral Jellicoe – transferred to the post of First Sea Lord in 1917 not due to his merits but as a result of loss of confidence in his leadership qualities – nor his successor, Admiral David Beatty, were willing to risk so much for nothing. Like the Grand Fleet, albeit in a much worse position, the High Seas Fleet stayed in port, only leaving again in April 1918 to make a raid in the northern North Sea to attack Allied convoys. For this it paid rather dearly, for one of its most modern battlecruisers, the *Moltke*, was hit by a torpedo fired by a British submarine; the Grand Fleet, or a part of it, however, did not come into sight. Subsequently, the Imperial German Navy again restricted its role to that of a fleet in being that protected Germany's coast from invasion and supported the increasingly difficult task of sweeping mines in the German Bight to allow submarines to exit into the North Sea for operations against Britain's merchant fleet.

At the verge of collapse of the German Empire in October 1918, the newly established naval command under Admiral Scheer, the *Seekriegsleitung*, again made plans for an offensive strike against the Grand Fleet. Fully aware that such a strike was both an unnecessary political provocation of the Allies and strategically useless, the *Seekriegsleitung* nevertheless hoped that an attempt to gain victory in a final great battle would help save the honour of the naval officer corps through their willingness to sacrifice their own lives and ships, thereby paving the way for the build-up of a newer, more powerful navy after the war. This was, of course, pure nonsense. It was hardly surprising, then, that sailors on vessels that were

doomed to sink if they left port in the last days of October mutinied. Angry about the way they had been treated by their officers in many respects during the war, they saw no purpose in sacrificing their lives for a system that had denied them equal rights in politics, not to speak of the increasingly disastrous situation with regard to the provision of food and other goods. Starting at Germany's main naval bases at Wilhelmshaven and Kiel, mutinying sailors, who quickly united with soldiers from the Army and other workers, brought down the existing political and social order.

The Naval War in the Baltic Sea

Geography, special hydrographic conditions, and climate had a deep impact on naval operations in the Baltic Sea. Unlike the North Sea, the Baltic Sea is merely a large lake with only one narrow entrance at its western edge. The hydrographic conditions and climate, however, had both advantages and disadvantages for all parties. Whereas the former was favourable for the deployment of submarines and the use of mines, the long nights and ice made operations very difficult, especially at the eastern parts of the Baltic Sea between October and March. Since no modern means of reconnaissance were available at that time, enemy forces could advance and strike without being detected early, if the ice allowed any operations at all.

In contrast to the North Sea, where German forces were in an inferior position, the situation in the Baltic Sea was, by and large, advantageous for the Imperial German Navy. Though the number of vessels stationed at Kiel and other forward positions like Danzig or Pillau (Baltiysk) (8 mostly old light cruisers, 8 torpedo boats, and 3 submarines) was smaller than the Russian Baltic Fleet, which consisted of 4 older pre-dreadnoughts, 5 armoured cruisers, 4 light cruisers, 63 torpedo boats, and 12 submarines, as well as 4 modern capital ships, which would become operational in less than a year, the Imperial German Navy could always rely on the High Seas Fleet to support either defensive or offensive operations.

It was precisely this situation that caused the German Baltic Fleet to start an offensive right after the outbreak of war. First, to prevent the Grand Fleet from entering the Baltic Sea, the commander-in-chief of the German Baltic Fleet, Prince Henry, the Emperor's younger brother, issued an order to mine its entrance. This measure was, however, only advantageous for the German Navy at first

glance. It could of course prevent its direct enemy, the Russian Baltic Fleet, as well as indirectly prevent the Grand Fleet, from forcing the Danish Straits. This notwithstanding, the closure of the Danish Straits also had serious repercussions on Germany's grand naval strategy. By limiting the possibility of a raid by the High Seas Fleet out of the Kattegat and into the North Sea, the German naval leadership carelessly discarded a strategic option which would have kept the Grand Fleet in suspense, thus making their defence measures more complicated. Second, to discourage the Russian Baltic Fleet from carrying out offensive strikes along the long German coast, German cruisers and torpedo boats were dispatched to the eastern parts of the Baltic Sea as a show of force. Unfortunately, this strike turned out to be a disaster with far-reaching consequences. The small cruiser *Magdeburg* ran aground in the Gulf of Finland and had to be abandoned while the rest of the squadron made a narrow escape. It was, however, not the loss of the *Magdeburg* itself that proved disastrous, but the fact that the Russian Navy found the top secret signal book of the Imperial German Navy in the wreckage. Handed over to the British very soon, this signal book enabled the Grand Fleet to detect the movements of the German fleet at a very early stage and remain "master of the situation" in the North Sea until the end of the war by taking precautionary measures.

Though the Russians refrained from openly attacking their enemy, they were nevertheless quite successful in causing damage. In the autumn of 1914, several German warships were severely damaged or lost after passing over Russian minefields. The situation became more complicated for the German Baltic Fleet when, after the end of winter, it successfully moved east with the victorious German armies. The scouting forces of the Baltic Fleet, established in April 1915 and based at the Russian port of Libau (Liepaja), conquered in May, were now in a better position to try and secure the lines of communication in the Baltic Sea, especially the important sea routes to Sweden. This task, however, soon proved more difficult than previously expected. The Russians were masters in laying mines, and supported by British submarines, they launched a successful campaign during which, from the Germans' point of view, merchant vessels and warships were sunk at an alarming rate. The failure of German attempts to force entrance into the Gulf of Riga in 1915 and the sinking of seven torpedo boats, which, upon

advancing into the Gulf of Finland in December 1916, had passed over a minefield, illustrate that the Russian Baltic Navy knew how to fulfil its task. Unlike in the North Sea, where the Royal Navy remained a staunch opponent, the Russian Baltic Fleet was soon on the verge of collapse after the outbreak of revolution in 1917, thus paving the way for a combined amphibious operation by both the German Army and Navy to conquer the Baltic Islands in October 1917, only weeks before the outbreak of the Bolshevist revolution. Though successful, the Navy's losses – two modern capital ships were hit by mines – were an unnecessarily high price to pay for the operation, which, as some commanding officers rightly surmised, had only been ordered to first prove to the Army that the Navy was capable and willing to make a successful strike if necessary, and second, to divert attention away from the mutinies that had seriously affected morale in the summer of 1917. The German naval expedition to Finland, which followed the request of the new government of this former part of the Russian Empire and which was supposed to support Finnish forces in their attempts to prevent Bolshevists from invading the country, saw no combat action. Nevertheless, damage to the battleship *Rheinland*, which had run aground onto rocks, was another severe and unnecessary loss in a situation that was already difficult enough for the Navy.

The War in Distant Oceans

In naval history, cruiser or commerce warfare has always been a strategy implemented by numerically weaker navies to inflict losses on an overwhelming enemy. By destroying enemy merchant vessels, thereby causing serious problems for trade, industry, and the provision of food, or the destruction of vessels transporting troops and war materials from distant parts of the British and French Empires to the main theatre in Europe, fast cruisers could help force a powerful opponent to sue for peace. Consequently, it would have been an obvious strategy of the Imperial German Navy to devise plans for cruiser warfare. Such a strategy would not only have seriously threatened Britain's, and even France's, lifelines, but would have also forced the numerically far superior Royal Navy to disperse its ships. In that event, the number of British vessels available to engage in a decisive battle in the North Sea might have been much smaller than it actually was in 1914.

Remarkably enough, however, due to the great impact of Mahanian ideas on naval warfare, cruiser warfare had not played an important role in preparing for the war at sea, and neither did it after war had actually broken out. The lack of bases and coaling stations had been one reason why Tirpitz had always emphasised the need to build a battle fleet rather than a fleet of cruisers waging commerce warfare on the oceans. It is true that on the eve of war, Tirpitz seems to have toyed with the idea of forming two "flying squadrons" consisting of battle cruisers to wage cruiser warfare in the Atlantic. He even picked up this idea again in mid-August 1914, however he dismissed it soon after. After the unexpected success of the U-boat *U-9* against Royal Navy ships in the English Channel, the secretary of state of the Imperial Navy Office was convinced that submarine warfare would deliver results more quickly than traditional cruiser warfare.

Against this background, Germany's cruisers, scattered over distant parts of the world, were doomed to be sunk sooner or later. Although German Admiralty staff issued orders to the German East Asiatic Squadron in the spring of 1914 recommending an attack on the British forces in East Asia immediately after the war only "if circumstances for the cruiser squadron […] are particularly favourable," Admiral Count Maximilian von Spee, the commander of Germany's most powerful squadron overseas, consisting of two armoured and four small cruisers, decided to try and reach his home base. On the way back, he defeated an inferior British squadron led by Admiral Sir Christopher Cradock off the coast of Chile in November 1914. However, the Admiralty, which had at first underestimated the potential danger of a powerful German squadron threatening important British trade routes in the South Atlantic and let the German ships escape from its naval base on the Chinese coast, struck back by dispatching a superior force to hunt them down. Only a month after the battle, Coronel Spee's squadron was sunk off the Falkland Islands while preparing for an attack on Port Stanley. The remaining small German cruisers, such as the famous *Emden* (sunk in November 1914), the *Dresden*, and the *Königsberg*, which were waging commerce warfare in the Indian and Pacific Oceans and off the coast of East Africa, were all hunted down by the spring of 1915.

Whereas the Royal Navy had had no apprehensions concerning the impact on Britain's lifelines of Germany's cruisers overseas, the prospect of fast German

passenger and merchant vessels being converted into auxiliary cruisers became a growing worry of the Admiralty. Due to their great speed and number, these vessels were expected to pose a much more serious threat to British trade routes than any German warship. In the event, these fears were, by and large, proved to be unjustified. Though most of Germany's auxiliary warships were sunk in the first few months of the war, they could claim some successes. For example, one of Britain's newest dreadnoughts, the *Audacious*, fell victim to a mine laid by the German auxiliary cruiser *Berlin* in the Irish Channel in October 1914. After an interlude of almost two years, the lack of success in the main theatre of war eventually caused German naval leadership to resume the war against Britain's trade routes using auxiliary cruisers. Hoping to force the Admiralty to weaken its forces in the North Sea, the German Navy again sent out several converted merchant vessels, including the old steamships *Möwe* and *Wolf*, as well as the *Seeadler*, a slow sailing ship. Whereas Seeadler was soon hunted down and sunk, *Möwe* and *Wolf* successfully waged commerce warfare in the Atlantic, Indian, and Pacific Oceans for almost two years before returning to Kiel in early 1917 and 1918, respectively.

New Forms of War: The Submarine Challenge

The only serious threat to British superiority in the Mediterranean, the North Sea, and of course, the Atlantic Ocean, was submarines. Realising that a Mahanian blue water strategy would bring no success, in late 1914, the German naval command at least partially reverted to a different strategy: that of submarine warfare. The submarine had been invented in the mid-19th century. During a slow process of trial and error involving many accidents and setbacks, every navy had been developing this new type of vessel since the turn of the century, with Britain having the largest submarine fleet – 72 vessels – on the eve of war, with the German Navy having only 28 operational vessels.

This notwithstanding, and despite proving their seaworthiness and capabilities in naval warfare prior to the war, submarines were still not regarded as an important weapon in future wars at sea. Though submarine warfare remained a question of trial and error for all navies throughout the war due to manifold technical problems with either the boats themselves or their armaments, the

success of the German submarine *U-9* was something of a turning of the tide in this respect in spite of the many reservations held by the adherents of battleships. Under very favourable circumstances, *U-9* had sunk three old British armoured cruisers within one hour off the coast of Dover in September 1914. However, attempts in 1915 and 1916 to introduce submarine warfare on a larger scale and in a more effective manner by sinking Allied ships without warning met with severe opposition from Germany's political leadership. Until 1917, the danger of the United States of America entering the war on the side of the Allies with all its repercussions on the Allied war effort outweighed the promise of a quick and decisive success against Allied ships by German Imperial Admiral staff. Only in February 1917, when victory on land was not yet in sight and hunger, as well as a lack of raw materials, had become a serious domestic problem that threatened political and social stability, did Germany's leadership unanimously decide to bet everything on one last card to force Britain to its knees – and in doing so, it lost everything. Though German submarines inflicted heavy losses on Allied ships in the first months of 1917, the introduction of the convoy system soon helped the Allies improve the situation. Moreover, new forms of anti-submarine warfare and a large-scale mining offensive that effectively blockaded exit routes proved successful in fighting against German submarines, which soon suffered increasing losses totalling 178 vessels and 4,474 men out of a total of 335 vessels in service.

Scuttling of the High Seas Fleet in 1919

In June 1919, at least from its own point of view, the High Seas Fleet achieved its only victory: by scuttling itself at Scapa Flow, Britain's main naval base in the Orkney Islands, it prevented the humiliating distribution of its vessels between the victorious Allies.

A New Beginning

When World War II broke out on September 1, 1939, due to Germany's attack on Poland, the German Navy, the *Kriegsmarine*, was in a very difficult position. Although the *Kriegsmarine* had eventually shaken off all the restrictions of the Treaty of Versailles of 1919, the build-up of the fleet had only just started. From

the Navy's point of view, it was, without a doubt, important to have Hitler's support. This support had even led to an agreement with the Navy's greatest rival before 1914, Great Britain, in 1935. This agreement permitted the Navy to build a fleet that had roughly one-third of the strength of the Royal Navy. Regarding submarines, the *Kriegsmarine* was eventually even allowed to become equal in strength. Against the background of Germany's naval aspirations prior to 1914, this seemed very little. However, this treaty did help to improve Anglo–German relations – for the time being. Thus, in contrast to the events leading to the outbreak of World War I, an arms race, with its disastrous consequences for German foreign and domestic politics, could be avoided, at least at present. Moreover, a higher building rate to diminish the huge gap between the German and British navies was simply not possible due to a lack of resources, as well as shipbuilding capacities. Last but not least, neither Hitler, nor the Navy, ever intended to keep the treaty, planning to increase the strength of the *Kriegsmarine* whenever possible. Thus, in late 1938 to early 1939, the *Kriegsmarine* secretly passed a new building programme: the so-called *Z-Plan*. This plan not only accelerated the tempo of the building of a newer and more powerful fleet, but also greatly increased its strength. According to the plan, in 1947 the *Kriegsmarine* would consist of 10 battleships, 3 pocket battleships, 4 aircraft carriers, 21 heavy and light cruisers, and 249 submarines, not to mention a considerable number of other vessels. It is doubtful as to whether this would have been sufficient to fight a combined British and US fleet. Naval staff estimated that Britain would possess about 22 to 25 battleships, 12 aircraft carriers, more than 80 cruisers, and 200 destroyers by 1942. When adding the building programmes of the French and US navies, the *Kriegsmarine* would still be inferior in every respect. However, since Hitler continued to argue that he would only need the fleet at as late a date as 1946, there seemed no need to worry about any conflict in the near future. Rather, if Hitler first attacked in the east and succeeded in establishing continental hegemony, there would be enough time, shipyards, and resources to further enlarge the Navy in order to fight a stronger Anglo–American fleet.

Raeder and Naval Strategy

Numbers are, however, only one aspect in judging German naval policy before and during the war. Rather, they are inextricably connected with naval strategy. Only a homogenous fleet can be successful in wartime. So, what strategy did Germany's naval leadership try to implement in respect to a future war? Before 1914, Germany had built up a Mahanian battlefleet in order to achieve naval supremacy. During the war, this strategy soon proved futile. The possession of a powerful fleet was useless if it did not go hand in hand with a favourable geographical position. As a result, Britain had established a blockade that effectively cut off Germany from all sea lanes. Attempts to break this blockade failed. Unrestricted submarine warfare, which began in 1917, had also failed to turn the tide, despite great losses inflicted upon Allied trade.

Disappointed by this lack of success, younger officers had already begun discussing new ideas during the war. In their eyes, only a sea denial strategy aimed at destroying the economic lifelines of the enemy with modern cruisers and submarines seemed capable of solving Germany's strategic dilemma: the lack of free access to the oceans. The era of powerful battleships – which, while increasingly vulnerable to torpedo attacks and too costly to be sacrificed in battle, did not change the course of war – seemed over.

However, discussions among German naval officers in the interwar years show that the Navy's leadership was still split between advocates of a sea denial strategy, and those who advocated for a strategy of sea control. For many officers who started their careers in the Tirpitz era, only big ships seemed to promise success in a future naval war.

Grand Admiral Erich Raeder, the commander in chief of the German Navy since the late 1920s, though no doubt also deeply influenced by Tirpitz's ideas, had developed a different strategy. In his analysis of German cruiser warfare during World War I, Raeder came to the conclusion that all naval theatres of war formed a homogenous whole. As a result, all operations had to be viewed in terms of their correlation with other sea areas. In practice, this meant building a fleet that was able to both protect Germany's coastlines and inflict severe losses on the enemy by attacking its lines of communication across the world's oceans with pocket battleships and submarines.

Implementing this strategy, however, proved difficult. When it became clear in 1938 that Hitler regarded not only France and Russia as Germany's future enemies, but also Great Britain, the *Kriegsmarine* faced a serious dilemma. Whereas Raeder, still under the assumption that the Navy would be given enough time to prepare for such a war, would have preferred an oceanic strategy, parts of the naval leadership opted for a sea control strategy. So did Hitler, who eventually gave the order to step up battleship building in late 1938.

The Kriegsmarine at War

Less than a year later, after war had eventually broken out and the Navy had to face Britain again, Grand Admiral Raeder was in a very difficult position. Against the background of a building programme that had only just been implemented, the future of the navy seemed bleak. Fully aware that neither the small number of U-boats nor surface forces would have a decisive impact on the outcome of the war, he almost helplessly resigned himself to his fate. "All the Navy can do is show that they know how to die gallantly," he recorded in the official war diary of the *Seekriegsleitung* on September 3, 1939.

Raeder's conviction – that is, to die in vain with no military purpose – was the result of his experiences in 1918. The debacle of the last sortie in October 1918, which had to be given up after the sailors of the battlefleet, unwilling to die at the very last moment of war, began to mutiny, had shaped the memory of many officers. They had suffered enormously from this event and their failure to die honourably for the fatherland. Moreover, in the eyes of many of their contemporaries, since the Navy was responsible for the ensuing revolution, it was to be blamed for all the upheaval and humiliation that had followed.

In contrast to 1914, open battle against the Royal Navy was out of the question due to the great inferiority of the *Kriegsmarine*. Instead, the *Kriegsmarine* could try to destroy as much of Britain's maritime transport capacity as possible. This would require an oceanic strategy, which was implemented at the outbreak of war. In the last days of August 1939, two of the Navy's most powerful surface vessels – the pocket battleships *Deutschland* and *Graf Spee* – were deployed to the Atlantic Ocean to wage cruiser warfare. For almost three months, both ships successfully raided British merchant ships in the Atlantic Ocean. Whereas the

Deutschland returned home safely in December, the *Graf Spee* scuttled itself after an indecisive encounter with British vessels at the mouth of the River Plate in December 1939, very much to the embarrassment of Hitler, as well as the chief of the *Seekriegsleitung*. Besides the loss of the *Graf Spee*, the results of these operations were also unsatisfactory: since only 11 ships had been sunk, it is difficult to argue that Britain's lifelines were thereby seriously threatened. Moreover, it had become obvious that the pocket battleships, specially designed for long-range operations in distant waters, had reached the limits of their sustainability. However, as so often before and afterwards, the *Seekriegsleitung* had no interest in sober analysis. Instead, whereas it had still been arguing in September that commerce warfare was a means to achieve success by sinking as many merchant vessels as possible, the *Seekriegsleitung* now maintained that the main aim of the deployment of raiders was to disrupt British trade and force the Royal Navy to disperse its vessels all across the oceans, thus relieving the situation for the German side in home waters.

The pessimism of naval leadership in 1939 was, however, soon replaced by a more optimistic assessment of the future. Following Raeder's demands, Hitler eventually decided to conquer Denmark and Norway before attacking France, Belgium, and the Netherlands in the west in the spring of 1940. The occupation of these two Scandinavian countries opened the gate into the Atlantic Ocean for the Navy, which it had lacked in 1914–18. It is ironic, however, that while the *Kriegsmarine* now possessed the bases it had longed for at that time, it had nearly lost the fleet it needed for successful operations against Britain. In battles with the Royal Navy, the *Kriegsmarine* had paid a high price for this operation, for almost a third of its surface vessels – 10 destroyers and 3 cruisers – were destroyed by superior British forces. However, the occupation of the French Atlantic coast further improved the position of the *Kriegsmarine* in the war against Britain.

Against this background, and despite the losses the *Kriegsmarine* had suffered during the campaign in Norway, the *Seekriegsleitung* believed that its chances in a commerce war against Britain were good. In the summer of 1940, and again in the spring of 1941, Raeder deployed the remaining vessels of the surface fleet to the Atlantic Ocean. In November 1940, the pocket battleship *Admiral Scheer* attacked a British convoy, sinking five ships and severely damaging others. As

a result, the Admiralty stopped all convoys for the time being. Soon afterwards, both battleships *Scharnhorst* and *Gneisenau*, as well as the heavy cruiser *Hipper*, also began raiding British convoys in the Atlantic Ocean and off the West African coast. Though they sunk 115,622 tons of British shipping, this success would not force Britain to its knees, as more than 800,000 tons of goods reached Britain at the same time. The attempt to repeat these successes by sending Germany's most powerful battleship, the *Bismarck*, to the Atlantic Ocean proved disastrous. Although the *Bismarck* sank the British battlecruiser *Hood*, it was itself sunk by superior forces only a few days later.

After the loss of the *Bismarck* in May 1941, all surface operations more or less came to a standstill. Astonishingly enough, it was not Raeder but Hitler who had taken this decision. Whereas Raeder had still hoped to resume commerce warfare in the Atlantic Ocean from the German Navy's new French base, Hitler had rightly come to realise that the days of big surface ships were over. More importantly, after severe setbacks in the east, he was unwilling to risk further unnecessary losses without considerable gains. Faced with the option of either redeploying the remaining surface vessels to Norwegian waters, where Hitler feared Allied landings, or simply decommissioning them, thus freeing up thousands of men for other duties, Raeder eventually gave in. In February 1942, the battleships *Scharnhost* and *Gneisenau*, as well as the heavy cruiser *Prinz Eugen*, returned to their German home bases from Brest after a very risky, though successful, operation (Operation Cerberus). British air attacks on Kiel, however, impeded any new deployments after repairs were made to the damage they had incurred while crossing the Channel. It was only the *Scharnhorst* that would eventually leave port, doing so in 1943 to attack British convoys to Russia in the Arctic. However, it was sunk by superior British forces in December. The *Tirpitz*, once the pride of the *Kriegsmarine*, suffered the same fate a year later. Damaged by several British attacks, it finally sank after severe air attacks in a Norwegian fjord in November 1944 without ever having used its big guns against the enemy. The era of big ships was finally over: those that had survived Allied attacks were used as floating artillery platforms in the East to shell Russian forces or – in the last weeks of the war – to rescue German citizens from the Russian onslaught.

Submarine Warfare

With the lack of a powerful surface fleet, it was hardly surprising that U-boats were the backbone of the war in the Atlantic Ocean right from the beginning of the war. Consequently, like the pocket battleships, all available U-boats were deployed to the North Atlantic. There they achieved a remarkable level of success. 1.3 million tons of Allied shipping were sunk between September 1939 and June 1940. Moreover, the flagship of the Royal Navy, *HMS Royal Oak*, as well as one aircraft carrier, *HMS Courageous*, fell victim to German U-boat attacks. The start of the war could hardly have been better. A closer look, however, shows that the *Kriegsmarine* would barely be able to sustain this level of success unless the number of U-boats could be greatly increased. To be effective in winning the tonnage war by sinking ships at a faster rate than the Allies could replace them meant deploying at least 100 to 150 U-boats at the same time. Taking into account vessels undergoing repairs, maintenance works, or resupply, the Navy required a force of 300 U-boats. It did not, however, have the capacity for this at that time. Accordingly, the *Seekriegsleitung* demanded the submarine fleet be increased by building at least 29 new submarines monthly.

However, implementing this strategy proved more difficult than expected. Though Hitler had approved the Navy's plans to increase the rate of submarines built per month, numerous shortages – such as a lack of materials, building capacities, and skilled workers – barely covered their losses. First, Hitler was concentrating on the conquest of the Continent, and from 1941 onwards, the defeat of his most important enemy, the Soviet Union. Second, from 1940 to 1941, the dictator was hesitant to launch a full attack on Great Britain both at sea and by air to destroy its economic potential as Raeder had been demanding again and again. It was clear that Hitler still regarded Britain as a potential partner in the future, just as he had done before the war. Third, unlike Raeder, Hitler seemed to realise that the Navy's aim of waging economic warfare, and thus helping win the war, was at best a vague hope, and by no means a recipe for success. It is true that during the succeeding campaigns of 1940 and 1941, the U-boats, operating from their new bases in France in so-called 'wolf packs,' had again achieved remarkable successes, sinking 3.5 million tons of Allied shipping. Attacks by the *Luftwaffe* had further increased British losses. This notwithstanding, British

efforts to overcome the clearly serious crisis by increasing the rate of shipbuilding, improving the convoy system, developing new anti-submarine weapons, cracking the German 'Enigma' code, strengthening ties with the United States, which directly and indirectly began to support Britain, and increasing U-boat losses were a clear indication that it might take much longer than expected to win the tonnage war. Moreover, all efforts to force Britain to its knees by stepping up U-boat attacks on convoys entailed the risk of luring the United States – with its huge amount of resources – into the war. This was not in Hitler's interest, for it would make it almost impossible to win the war on the Continent. "To secure the continental zone," Hitler told the chief of the Naval Staff, Vice Admiral Kurt Fricke, in October 1941, was now the "prime necessity of the hour."

The extent to which political considerations influenced submarine warfare in the Atlantic became even more visible when Hitler decided to transfer 23 U-boats to the Mediterranean in order to support Italy, which was suffering from increased serious setbacks, as well as concentrate additional U-boats off the coast of Gibraltar or in Arctic waters. Fully in line with these decisions, only six U-boats were assigned to the American East Coast after the German declaration of war against the United States in December 1941.

For the *Kriegsmarine*, these developments were unsatisfactory, as Germany's sea denial strategy would hardly work under these circumstances. Moreover, the number of U-boats ready for operation in the Atlantic was still small. For example, in April 1941, only 28 out of the 100 U-boats of the Kriegsmarine could be deployed in the Atlantic. The remaining 230 were still undergoing trials and the training of their new crews was yet to be completed. Though the situation was slowly improving, at the end of the year, only 91 U-boats out of a submarine fleet of 249 were ready for operations. However, due to the deployment of U-boats in other theatres of war, only 22 out of a total of 55 were available for the tonnage war in the Atlantic. Against this background, and in spite of the great success of U-boats under his command in 1940 and 1941, Admiral Karl Dönitz, Flag Officer U-boat Command, was seriously worried in early 1942 that, "we will finally arrive too late for the Battle of the Atlantic." As a result of this pessimistic analysis, Dönitz radically demanded that all U-boats be concentrated in the West Atlantic as soon as possible. Only in the areas that were then still out of range of

British air surveillance could success be achieved. In order to achieve this success, however, Dönitz needed more U-boats. Due to the lack of far-reaching German reconnaissance aircraft to help locate the convoys, it seemed that it was only a greater number of U-boats formed in a line across the huge ocean that would be able to eventually detect and hunt down convoys before the latter reached home waters, after which superior naval vessels and support from fighter aircraft would cover their further voyage.

The German declaration of war against the United States in December 1941, however, would eventually change this situation. After severe setbacks for Germany in the West – which were due not least to the impact of *Ultra* on the tonnage war, due to which British losses were reduced by an estimated 65 per cent, as convoys could now be diverted to less dangerous routes – the new year began with a 'drumbeat.' During Operation Drumbeat, German submarines sank almost 400 vessels carrying two million tons of shipments within six months. When the U-boats were eventually withdrawn after the introduction of the convoy system along the US Coast, submarine attacks were again concentrated on Allied convoys in the Mid-Atlantic Ocean. Here they again achieved remarkable successes. Nevertheless, the increasing number of losses made clear that the situation was slowly getting worse. Whereas in the first six months of 1942, only one U-boat was lost for every 40 merchant ships sunk, this ratio fell to one for every 10 merchant ships by that summer.

For the *Kriegsmarine*, this was no reason to worry. Rather, Raeder's dismissal as commander in chief of the *Kriegsmarine* and the appointment of Grand Admiral Karl Dönitz as his replacement in January 1943 seemed to improve the situation in several aspects. First, the era of powerful capital ships, symbols of sea power that had failed to justify their own existence, was definitely over. Now, all efforts had to be concentrated on the U-boat war. Second, admired by his men and having a very special relationship with the Führer, Dönitz seemed the right man to win this war against all odds. With Hitler's support, and in close cooperation with the powerful minister of armaments, Albert Speer, he accelerated the building of U-boats, destroyers, minesweepers, and coastal vessels. By building 40 U-boats a month, the U-boat fleet alone grew to 2,400 submarines. Like cars, these U-boats were now built in sections, with different modules constructed by

various contractors, and eventually put together at experienced shipyards. Huge shelters, like Valentin in Bremen, were built to protect the production of U-boats against air attacks. Moreover, new types of U-boats were developed, such as type XXI and type XXIII, which had completely new propulsion systems that not only increased the submerged speed, but also the range while diving.

Though Dönitz tried to improve U-boat production, the Battle of the Atlantic would reach its climax in the spring of 1943. In March 1943, Dönitz's U-boats achieved remarkable successes in fighting Allied convoys. A total of 82 ships and 476,000 tons were sunk. As a result, the supply situation became so desperate that some on the Allied side even talked of losing the war. However, within two months, the situation changed completely. In April, Allied losses amounted to only 39 ships and 235,000 tons. Most importantly, this lack of success coincided with an alarming increase of losses on the German side. Whereas in March, only 12 U-boats had been lost, the number of vessels lost rose to 15 in April, reaching the astonishing number of 43 in May; roughly 25 per cent of the operational strength of the U-boat arm. As a result, Dönitz had no choice but to break off the Battle of the Atlantic. Though he resumed it again in September, he once again had to recall his U-boats after severe losses, which were not made up for by the victories they had gained. An indication of the cost of a submarine war is the ratio of U-boat losses to sunk Allied shipping. Whereas in 1941 and 1942, only one U-boat had been lost per 148,032 (1941) and 132,526 (1942) tons of shipping sunk, this ratio fell to one U-boat per 18,587 tons in 1943. Against this background, success in the tonnage war was completely out of reach.

What were the reasons for this defeat? First, of course, was the renewed success of the code breakers at Bletchley Park, which enabled the Royal Navy to once again track down and hunt the wolf packs, as well as divert convoys in time, after a short period of blindness caused by the Germans changing the encryption system of the Enigma machine. Second, the Allies succeeded in closing the 'mid-Atlantic air gap' in the spring of 1943 by long-range *Liberators*. U-boats were now subject to attacks from the air. Of a total 258 U-boats lost in 1943, 90 were sunk and 51 damaged by RAF Coastal Command. Third, new technological means like radar, ASDIC, and high-frequency direction finding (huff-duff) systems, as well as anti-submarine mortars and depth charges, similarly contributed to this

success. Fourth, in contrast to the *Kriegsmarine*, which increasingly suffered from a lack of raw materials and men and whose bases were soon to be under almost continuous air attack, the Allies could mobilise almost unlimited resources, both in terms of building new merchant ships and new weapons, as well as procuring men.

Dönitz's hopes in turning the tide by building a greater number of U-boats would therefore soon prove futile. Losses, however, did not make him rethink either his position towards the Führer, whom he almost blindly admired, or his strategy. On February 20, 1945, when the Allies had already invaded the western and eastern parts of the Reich, he was still convinced that it would be possible to build 87 XXXI and XIII-type U-boats. His emphasis on building 600 *Seehund*-type midget submarines is just one example of Dönitz simply ignoring what was going on for as long as possible. His deep-rooted loyalty to the Führer and his conviction that the *Kriegsmarine* should "fight to the last cartridge" in order to overcome the traumatic experiences of 1918 may explain this attitude. About 30,000 German sailors and almost 73,000 Allied sailors and merchantmen paid a very high price for this attempt at winning the tonnage war in the Atlantic Ocean.

Summary

To sum up, over two world wars, Germany tried to achieve not only world power status, but also status as a sea power. In both wars, it utterly failed. Though Germany was no doubt a strong naval power, it had never been a sea power. Its disadvantageous geographical position, as well as its tendency towards land power-thinking, made this impossible. As Tirpitz rightly argued in his *Memoirs*, the Germans had never understood the sea. It was only after 1945, when Germany became an ally of the Western powers, that the country achieved sea power status. However, this is beyond the scope of this paper.

Further Reading

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CHAPTER 3

Japan and the First World War

ISHIZU Tomoyuki

Foreword

In 1914, the provisions of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, first signed in 1902, encouraged Japan to enter the First World War on the British side for mutual defense.[1] Japan declared war against Germany on the 23rd of August under the spirit of the Alliance, with the aim of capturing the German base at Tsingtao on mainland China and occupying the German Marshall, Caroline, and Marianas (except Guam) island groups in the Western Pacific (Micronesia).[2]

Tsingtao (and Kiaochow Bay) was besieged and taken on the 7th of November 1914 by a largely Japanese naval and land force, with token British participation for political reasons.[3] By then, the German island groups in the Western Pacific north of the equator had been occupied by the Japanese.[4]

The Imperial Japanese Navy also helped escort ANZAC troopships across the Indian Ocean and some of its warships took part in the hunt for the German light cruiser *Emden* in the East Indies and Indian Ocean, and for Admiral von Spee's

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1 The Alliance was renewed and extended in scope twice in 1905 and 1911, before its demise in1921. It officially terminated in 1923. For English literature on the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, see Ian H. Nish, *The Anglo-Japanese Alliance: The Diplomacy of Two Island Empires 1894-1907* (London: Athlone Press, 1985), pp. 23-95; Phillips O'Brien, *The Anglo-Japanese Alliance* (London: Routledge/Curzon, 2004). The Alliance committed Japan to "strict neutrality" in case Britain became "involved in war with another power."

2 On the 15th of August Japan issued an ultimatum to Germany, stating that Germany must withdraw its warships from Chinese and Japanese waters and transfer control of Tsingtao to Japan. When the ultimatum expired on the 23rd Japan declared war on Germany.

3 For the Japanese, Tsingtao was an object of great interest. For English literature on the Tsingtao campaign, see John Dixon, *A Clash of Empires: The South Wales Borderers at Tsingtao, 1914* (Wrexham: Bridge Books, 2008); John Dixon, "Germany's Gibraltar: The Siege of Tsingtao," *Britain at War* (October 2008), pp. 25-31; Charles B. Burdick, *The Japanese Siege of Tsingtao: World War I in Asia* (Hamden: Archon Books, 1976); Mark J. Grove, "The Development of Japanese Amphibious Warfare, 1874 to 1942," in Geoffrey Till, Theo Farrell, Mark J. Grove, eds., *Amphibious Operations* (SGSI, The Occasional, No. 31, October 1997).

4 In 1898, following the Spanish-American War, Germany purchased three groups of Pacific islands, the Carolines, Marianas, and Marshalls, from Spain.

German East Asiatic Squadron in the Pacific Ocean.[5]

Until 1917, however, the Japanese forces stayed mainly in the Asia-Pacific region.

1. Japan's Decisions for War

Anglo-Japanese relations before and at the outbreak of the First World War were not cordial; they were far from it.[6]

Britain withdrew its earlier request for Japan to join the War, and when Japan did declare war on Germany, Britain maintained that Japan had to limit the scope of its military or naval operations to just off the coast of China, which naturally upset Japanese political as well as military leaders.[7]

This is because many British leaders quite correctly suspected that far from aiding the Allied cause in the War, the Japanese aimed simply to profit at the expense of the European powers' interests in the Asia-Pacific region.

Japan, for its part, regarded the outbreak of the War as a "god-given opportunity"

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[5] At the beginning of hostilities the larger units of the German East Asiatic Squadron under the command of Vice Admiral Maximilian von Spee were dispersed in central Pacific colonies on routine missions. The ships rendezvoused in the northern Marianas for coaling, and, with the exception of *Emden* which headed for the Indian Ocean, made their way to the west coast of South America. There the squadron destroyed a Royal Navy squadron at the Battle of Coronel before being itself destroyed at the Battle of the Falkland Islands.

[6] For example, the Australians were alarmed rather than reassured when, after the renewal of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance in 1905 the British withdrew ships from the Asia-Pacific in order to better counter German naval growth in the North Sea arguing that Japan could protect British interests in the region. Carl Bridge**,** "W. M. Hughes and Japan at the Paris Peace Conference and After, 1916-22: A New Assessment" (Paper presented at NIDS seminar, April 2012).

[7] For more details, see, for example, Ian H. Nish, *The Anglo-Japanese Alliance*, pp. 365-377; Ian H. Nish, *Alliance in Decline: A Study in Anglo-Japanese Relations 1908-23* (London: Athlone Press, 1972), pp. 115-157; Peter Lowe, *Great Britain and Japan, 1911-1915: A Study of British Far Eastern Policy* (London: Macmillan, 1969), pp. 177-219; Frederick R. Dickinson, "Japan" in Richard F. Hamilton, Holger H. Herwig, eds., *The Origins of World War I* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 300-336; S. C. M. Paine, *The Wars for Asia 1911-1949* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 13-47.

At the outbreak of the First World War, the British feared German cruiser raids on their merchant shipping, and planned to run the Germans down by destroying their bases and communications. In the Pacific, the Allies allocated German bases north of the equator to Japan, and bases south of it to the British Empire.

Japanese forces bloodlessly occupied the Palau, Caroline, Marshall, and Marianas Islands, taking the bases at Yap, Ponape, and Jaluit. Japanese surveys revealed the potential fleet base of Truk, which the Germans had overlooked. The Imperial Japanese Navy searched for the fleeing Germans with the First and Second South Seas Squadrons' powerful fast battle cruisers and light cruisers.

to expel the Germans from the Asia-Pacific, establishing and strengthening its sphere of influence in the region, most notably in China. Japanese Foreign Minister Takaaki KATO expected that the War in Europe could spell opportunity for Japan to assert itself as the hegemon of the Asia-Pacific, and therefore took the government into the War although Japan was technically not obligated under the Anglo-Japanese Alliance.[8]

KATO was an early advocate of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1902. For him, the key to Japan's world standing was steadily expanding economic privileges in China and continuing Japan's association with the world's greatest naval power and largest commercial presence on the Asian continent, Britain.

As he told the Japanese Cabinet on the 7th of August 1914, participation in the War made sense "from the alliance friendship from which Britain's request derives." Given the declining enthusiasm for the Anglo-Japanese Alliance and glorification of German prowess among other influential circles in Japan, the speed and decisiveness with which the Foreign Minister responded to Britain's request for assistance takes on added significance.

Sakuzo YOSHINO, soon to gain celebrity status among the Japanese as the preeminent champion of democracy, saw it as "absolutely the most opportune moment" to advance Japan's standing in China.[9]

Marquis Kaoru INOUE, another important political figure at that time, welcomed the "solidarity of the national unity" that a renewed drive for influence on the continent would bring.

At the same time, however, the Japanese military, especially the Imperial Japanese Army, worried about potential Japanese losses in a military engagement

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[8] In fact, KATO and a handful of his closest advisors single-handedly took the government into the war and KATO was the man most responsible for Japanese belligerence.
KATO's swift decision had two aims. The first was to affect the outcome of a turbulent domestic debate over Japan's governance. The second was to enhance Japan's position in Asia, the easiest option being to eject the vulnerable Germans.
The outbreak of the war in Europe was thus widely viewed by the Japanese as providing an opportunity to advance Japan's larger continental ambitions.

[9] Williamson Murray, Tomoyuki Ishizu, "Introduction to Japan and the United States," in Williamson Murray, Tomoyuki Ishizu, eds., *Conflicting Currents: Japan and the United States in the Pacific* (Santa Barbara: Praeger, 2010), pp. 1-17; Jonathan Bailey, *Great Power Strategy in Asia: Empire, Culture and Trade, 1905-2005* (Oxford: Routledge, 2007), pp. 61-84. For most of the Japanese, Shantung was an easy "steppingstone" to China.

with Germany. In fact, most of the military experts gave Germany a better than even chance of victory in Europe.[10]

Even the students of the First World War sometimes overlook Japan's role in the War, but there are four areas where, the author believes, Japanese commitment was important.

These are: (1) the landing and siege operations on the German base in China at Tsingtao, combined with the occupation of various islands in the Western Pacific; (2) the expedition against the Bolsheviks in Siberia from 1918 onwards; (3) exports of weapons and ammunitions to the Allied; and (4) the naval escort mission in the Mediterranean.

In addition, Japan was asked to contribute more to the Allied over the course of the First World War. These included: to send land forces to the Western and Eastern Fronts; to send a naval force to the American Atlantic coast; and to send an expedition to the Gulf of Aden or the Red Sea. However, the Japanese government turned all of them down mainly because of its military reasons.[11]

Let us now briefly examine the four areas in turn.

2. Japan in the Asia-Pacific Region

Firstly, Japan was active over the entire course of the First World War in the Asia-Pacific region and the Indian Ocean, mainly by naval commitment. Japan's main contribution to the War was made by the efforts of its navy, not army, and even the army's operations could not have been carried out without naval support.

This includes, once again, the attack on the German base in China at

[10] Germany for its part approached Japan in 1916 for a separate peace.

[11] These Allied requests were presented over the course of the War, officially or not, and were on the whole not pursued if they were once rejected by Japan.

Tsingtao,[12] combined with the occupation of the German island groups in the Western Pacific,[13] hunting for the German East Asiatic Squadron in the Pacific Ocean, escorting ANZAC troopships across the Indian Ocean, and patrolling in the Pacific.

The Tsingtao Campaign was the first and the last Anglo-Japanese joint landing and siege operation in the First World War, which characterized the military

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[12] By 1914 there was a regular presence of foreign soldiers in Peking where they acted as Legation Guards in that city. Britain also had a presence in Tientsin and Weihaiwei in Shandong Province, Eastern China. In 1914, the 2nd Battalion of the South Wales Borderers was the British Legation Guard with two companies in Peking and a further two at Tientsin. They had, by the end of August that year, nearly completed two years of their tour of duty.

The Tsingtao campaign was a naval blockade followed by landing and siege operations. From the British side, the 2nd Battalion of the South Wales Borderers and a half battalion of the 36th Sikhs took part in the campaign. See Dixon, *A Clash of Empires*, pp. 13-37; Dixon, "Germany's Gibraltar," pp. 25-31.

By the time the operations against Tsingtao took place, aircraft from the Imperial Japanese Navy bombed ships in the harbor, wireless station, army camps, and so on. In fact, aircraft of the seaplane carrier *Wakamiya* became the first of its kind in the world to successfully attack land and sea targets. These planes would also take part in another military first: the first night-time bombing raid.

Tsingtao fell in November 1914 and the widespread celebration in Japan marked the fall of the German fortress. *The Osaka Mainichi Shinbun* talked of "sowing the seeds" that would ensure the future "luxuriant growth" of Shantung Province according to Japanese wishes. And *The Tokyo Asahi Shinbun* welcomed the prospect of increased trade with China, especially in Shantung, where goods would now travel inland "after inspection by the Japanese [customs officers] and along railroads run by the Japanese."

[13] Japanese occupation of the German islands north of the equator was carried out despite them having been ceded to the British Empire (in this case, Australia and New Zealand) in November 1914, when the Germans had surrendered to an Australian force at Rabaul, their Pacific capital, in New Guinea. However, the British had agreed to support the Japanese keeping the islands they occupied, which was formalized in a secret agreement of February 1917 in return for the dispatch of Japanese destroyer flotillas to the Mediterranean discussed below. The Australians were furious when they later found this out but a compromise was reached: they would stay quiet in public during the War but would reserve the right to re-open the question during the peace negotiations.

cooperation as well as confusion and animosity between the two countries.[14]

The Tsingtao Campaign was the operation initiated by the Navy. On 3 August the Japanese Naval General Staff adopted a plan of operations for the Japan Sea and called for an assault on Tsingtao, in concert with the Army, aimed at "permanently extinguishing Germany's power in Asia and eliminating its ambition."

Japan even helped British forces to put down a mutiny by Indian soldiers in Singapore in February1915.[15]

3. Japan and the Siberian Intervention

Secondly, the so-called Siberian Intervention from 1918 onwards may have been a small issue in the First World War for most of the European powers, but it was strategically very important for Japan.[16]

The Siberian Intervention was the dispatch of troops of the Allied to the Russian Maritime Provinces as part of a larger effort by the Western powers and

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[14] At the outbreak of the First World War in Europe, Britain clearly had concern about the German East Asiatic Squadron operating in the Asia-Pacific region, and recognized that the port at Tsingtao could not be allowed to provide supply and shelter for the Germans. The British therefore turned to the Japanese to gain control of the waters around eastern China and to effectively blockade the port of Tsingtao. The Japanese on their part had been expecting to gain a foothold in China for years and saw this request as a golden opportunity that was too good to be missed. They readily agreed to the British request for assistance.
The battle of Tsingtao was essentially one of siege. For the British part, Brigadier-General N. W. Barnardiston was only allowed the 2nd Battalion of the South Wales Borderers and a half battalion of the 36th Sikhs. In all he had about 1,650 men, not much when one considers that the final Japanese forces for the Tsingtao campaign was approximately 40,000 men.
With whatever good grace the Japanese accepted British cooperation in the campaign, their military leaders in Tsingtao did not welcome British "interference" not only because they had to arrange for food, horses, and fodder for the British troops, but also because they could not have been unaware that one of the purposes of Britain's presence was to act as a "watchdog" over Japanese activities. For more details, see Dixon, *A Clash of Empires*. See also Dixon, "Germany's Gibraltar," pp. 25-31.
According to one Japanese source, casualties for the campaign among the Japanese Army were 416 dead and 1,546 wounded, whereas British ones were 61 wounded. Casualties among the Japanese Navy were 295 dead and 46 wounded, whereas British ones were only 3 wounded. According to another source, Japanese Army casualties numbered 236 killed and 1,282 wounded; the British, 12 killed and 53 wounded. The German defenders suffered 199 dead and 504 wounded. In any event, the Japanese Commander, Army General Mitsuomi KAMIO deserved credit; Japan paid a remarkably low price for sieging a major naval base.

[15] In February 1915, marine units from the Imperial Japanese Navy ships based in Singapore helped suppress a mutiny by Indian troops against the British government.

[16] The Japanese were initially asked by the French in 1917 to intervene in Russia but declined the request. However, the Army General Staff later came to view this as an opportunity.

Japan to support White Russian forces against the Bolshevik Red Army during the Russian Civil War.

The collapse of the Russian Eastern Front presented a tremendous problem to the Allied, since not only did it allow Germany to shift troops and war material from its Eastern Front to the west, but it also made it possible for Germany to secure the huge stockpiles of supplies that had been accumulating at such strategically important places as Murmansk, Arkhangelsk, and Vladivostok.

In addition, some 50,000 Czech Legion personnel, fighting on the side of the Allied, were now trapped behind "enemy-lines," and were attempting to fight their way out through the east to Vladivostok along the Bolshevik-held Trans-Siberian Railway.

Faced with these concerns, Britain and France decided to militarily intervene in the Russian Civil War against the Bolshevik government.[17] The Japanese viewed the collapse of the Russian Empire in 1917 as an opportunity to free Japan from any future threat from Russia by, if possible at all, detaching Siberia and forming an independent buffer state.

However, the Japanese government had at the beginning refused to undertake such a military expedition and it was not until the following year, 1918, that events were set in motion which led to a change in its policy. The agreement of the United States was obtained. Whereas Britain and France would have been happy to give Japan a free hand, the United States would not agree, and the Japanese leaders had declined to send an expedition to the area of Amur basin unless they

[17] Britain and France had three objectives that they hoped to achieve: (1) prevent the Allied war material stockp iles in Russia from falling into German hands; (2) rescue the Czech Legion and return it to the European Front; and (3) resurrect the Eastern Front by installing a White Russian backed government. For English literature on the Siberia Intervention, see Paul E. Dunscomb, *Japan's Siberian Intervention 1918-1922: 'A Great Disobedience against the People'* (Plymouth: Lexington Books, 2011).

were invited to do so by the United States.[18]

After lengthy discussions, Japan and the United States reached an agreement (without really consulting their European allies) to undertake an inter-Allied expedition on 2 August and Japan dispatched some 70,000 soldiers in total to Siberia.[19]

Although Western powers finally decided to withdraw from Russia in 1920, the Japanese stayed on, primarily due to fears of the spread of communism so close to Japan, and the Japanese controlled Korea and Manchuria in the north-eastern part of China.

It was not until 1922 that Japan decided to withdraw from the Russian Maritime Provinces, and finally in 1925 Japan withdrew from the northern half of Sakhalin after it had established diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union.

4. Japan as a Logistical Base

A third area is the exports of weapons and ammunitions to the Allied. Military supplies were sold on a large scale to the Russians for use on the Eastern Front.

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[18] When the United States entered the War on the 6th of April 1917, Japan and the United States found themselves on the same side, despite their increasingly acrimonious relations over China and competition for influence in the Asia-Pacific region. This led to the Lansing-*Ishii* agreement of the 2nd of November 1917 to help reduce tensions. See Murray, Ishizu, "Introduction to Japan and the United States," pp. 1-17.
In July 1918, the United States asked the Japanese government to supply 7,000 troops as part of an international coalition of 25,000 troops, including an American expeditionary force, which planned to support the rescue of the Czech Legion and recurring of wartime supplies. After heated debate in the Japanese Diet, the administration of Prime Minister Masataka TERAUCHI agreed to send 12,000 troops, but under the command of Japan, rather than as part of an international coalition.
Troops were sent to Vladivostok in September, but soon there were major Allied disagreements about numbers. An arbitrary figure of 7,000 from each of the Allies had been specified by the United States, although it bore little relationship to the actual numbers required for the vastness of Siberia. Indeed, Britain, France, and Italy had earlier urged that Japan be allowed to send a force far larger than the stipulated 7,000. During the negotiations with Washington, Japan had avoided committing to the numbers to be sent and the zones which would be covered by operations.
Naturally, deployment of a large force for the rescue expedition made the Allies wary of Japanese intentions.

[19] There were of course other strategic reasons behind the Japanese intervention including the expansion of Japan's sphere of influence. True, Japan was in Siberia primarily to safeguard stockpiled military supplies and to rescue the Czech Legion. However, the Japanese government's intense hostility to communism, a determination to recoup "historical losses" from Russia, and the perceived opportunity to settle the "northern problem" facing Japan's security by either creating a buffer state, or through outright territorial acquisition, were also important factors.

One could argue that the Brusilov Offensive of 1916 could not have been carried out without Japanese military supplies. In fact, almost two-thirds of the weapons and ammunitions used by Russian soldiers in 1916 were imported from Japan.

But soldiers were not sent. Even when a compromise solution was reached with the United States over sending troops to Siberia in 1918, the Japanese troops were to be confined strictly to eastern Siberia, and there was no question of sending them to European Russia.

In addition, Japan helped the French by, for example, constructing 12 destroyers for the French navy, and again, a vast amount of Japanese military supplies was used by the French soldiers, say, at the battle of Verdun of 1916. It is needless to say that Japan exported weapons and ammunitions to its most important ally, Britain as well.

5. Japan's Naval Escort Mission in the Mediterranean

A fourth area of commitment is the Imperial Japanese Navy's escort mission in the Mediterranean.

As was mentioned above, it was Japan's desire to occupy Tsingtao and the German island groups in the Western Pacific that led Japan to war. Japan also needed to consolidate its position in China, as exemplified by the presentation of the "Twenty-one Demands" of 1915, and to secure a voice at a peace conference after the War.[20]

The Imperial Japanese Navy, which had long advocated Japan's advance to the South as opposed to the Army's desire for northward advance, was among the most powerful driving forces.[21] It is little wonder that Rear Admiral Saneyuki AKIYAMA, the main architect of the Japanese naval operation plan at the Battle

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[20] Frank Dikotter, *The Construction of Racial Identities in China and Japan: Historical and Contemporary Perspective* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006), pp. 101-104, 160-161; Naoko Shimazu, *Japan, Race, and Equality* (London: Routledge, 1998), p. 115; Frederick R. Dickinson, *War and National Reinvention: Japan in the Great War, 1914-1919* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), pp. 84-116; Frederick R. Dickinson, *World War I and the Triumph of a New Japan, 1919-1930* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 1-22.

[21] This escort mission gave the Imperial Japanese Navy a *rationale* for enlarging its budget *vis-a-vis* the Army and expanding the fleet. See J. C. Schenking, "Bureaucratic Politics, Military Budgets and Japan's Southern Advance: The Imperial Navy's Seizure of German Micronesia in the First World War," *War in History*, Vol. 5, No. 3 (July 1998), pp. 308-326.

of Tsushima in 1905, vigorously supported not only Japanese participation in the War but also its escort mission in the Mediterranean.[22]

Responding to the British request for further support to the War, from April 1917, eight destroyers with a flagship cruiser under the command of Rear Admiral Kozo SATO (the Second Special Squadron with the 10th and 11th Japanese flotillas) were based at Malta in the Mediterranean, playing an important and efficient part in the anti-submarine convoy escort duty against German U-boats, along the sea lines of communication between Marseille and Malta, Taranto and Malta, and Malta and Alexandria.[23]

Japan decided to send a naval force to the Mediterranean, because it received assurances from its allies of something tangible in return: an immediate promise by the Allied to support Japan's claims to former German possessions which it then occupied.

A further four brand-new destroyers arrived in Malta in August as the 15th flotilla with the armored cruiser *Izumo* to add to the Japanese commitment.[24] As one may recall, Germany had declared the policy of unrestricted submarine warfare in February 1917, and overall casualties of the Allied transports were increasing dramatically since then.

Apart from the warships mentioned above, two British destroyers, *Minstrel* and *Nemesis* (renamed as *Sendan* and *Kanran* respectively) were handed over

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[22] Admiral Saneyuki AKIYAMA, who had long advocated Japan's southward advance, argued strongly in favor of not only participation in the War, but also sending a squadron to the Mediterranean on the ground that, though there would be danger and possibly causalities, it would contribute to a greater understanding of naval techniques and technology and lead to the improvement of weaponry in the Japanese Navy.
At the same time, however, there was a strong group in the Naval General Staff who opposed this course on the ground that "for Japan to operate in a war zone which is of no direct interest to the Empire will not only cause disaster to its ships but also put at risk the valuable bulwark of the state." Those who opposed AKIYAMA's course also argued that, by sending a considerable naval force to the Mediterranean, Japan would be leaving its home island undefended and vulnerable. For AKIYAMA, see Sadao Asada, *From Mahan to Pearl Harbor: American Strategic Theory and the Rise of the Imperial Japanese Navy* (Annapolis: US Naval Institute Press, 2006).

[23] When Japan received assurances from its allies of something tangible in return—an immediate promise by the Allied to support Japan's claims to former German possessions which it then occupied—Japan decided to send a naval force to the Mediterranean.

[24] Cruiser *Akashi* arrived in Malta in mid-April 1917 as a flagship of eight destroyers of the 10th and 11th flotillas. In August 1917, armored cruiser *Izumo* arrived in the Mediterranean to relieve *Akashi* as the flagship.

to the Japanese Navy in June 1917 and manned by its sailors for the duration of the War. In addition, two British sloops, renamed *Tokyo* and *Saikyo*, were also in the Mediterranean. As was mentioned above, 12 destroyers constructed by the Japanese were handed over to the French Navy, all of which were on active duty there during the entire course of the War.[25]

The Japanese were nominally independent, but they actually carried out whatever orders they received from the British Commander-in-Chief at Malta, Admiral George A. Ballard. According to Japanese sources, the Japanese Navy by the end of the War carried out escort missions 348 times, escorting 788 Allied warships and transports and 750,000 personnel, with 34 actual combat operations.

Three episodes are worth mentioning in this short paper.

First, in May 1917, two Japanese destroyers engaged in a rescue operation, saving British personnel from the transport *Transylvania* which was sunk by German torpedoes, despite the fact that the German U-boat was still in the vicinity. The Japanese rescued 3,000 out of 3,300 personnel. True, this escort mission itself was a failure because the Japanese destroyers could not protect the transport, but in recognition of this rescue operation, 27 Japanese officers and sailors were awarded military medals by King George V.

A second episode was rather tragic. One of the Japanese destroyers, *Sakaki*, was torpedoed by the Austrian U-27 on the 11th of June 1917 in the Eastern Mediterranean off Crete. She was badly damaged, with 59 dead including the captain of the ship, Commander Taichi UEHARA.[26]

Thirdly, in the face of the German spring offensive of 1918, *Kaisersschlacht*, the Allied employed the so-called "Big Convoys" in the Mediterranean between Marseille and Alexandria, and all of the five round-trip convoys were escorted mainly by the Japanese destroyers with a minimum loss of transports.

With these Japanese activities in the Mediterranean, Admiral, G. C. Dickens, Commander-in-Chief of the British Mediterranean Fleet, reported back to the Admiralty that, "whereas Italians are inefficient, French are unreliable, Greeks are out of the calculation, and Americans are too far away, the Japanese are excellent,

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[25] Furthermore, two of the four cruisers of the First Special Squadron were dispatched to Cape Town, South Africa.

[26] *Sakaki* was salvaged and repaired.

but small in number."[27] *The Times* newspaper also praised the Japanese Navy using such expressions as "speedy arrival and seamanlike" and "good seamanship and greatest rapidity of action."[28] From these remarks, one could easily imagine how grateful the British felt at that time to have Japanese destroyers in the Mediterranean.

Indeed, Ian Nish wrote in his *Alliance in Decline*:

"If we try to assess Japan's naval contribution to the allied effort, we have to conclude that it was considerable in the last stage of the war. It was by no means the sole cause of allied success in meeting the submarine onslaught; but it has to be numbered as one factor alongside the contribution of American destroyers and the success of the British convoy system. Her contribution in the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean was a great relief to the Royal Navy. Finally, Japan's naval assistance was more valuable to Britain than to other members of *Entente* who were less dependent on keeping open trade channels."[29]

Paul Halpern also concluded in his *A Naval History of World War I* that "this Japanese contribution……at a critical moment in the war against submarines has been largely forgotten, but under the circumstances it was far from negligible."[30]

It is, however, true to say that these commitments by the Imperial Japanese Navy during the First World War have almost been "forgotten," even remaining outside conventional appreciation by historians, partly because they were overshadowed by the memories of the Second World War in 1939-45.

This is why the author wants to draw the attention of the readers to a small but remarkable aspect of the history among the Allied and that, some 100 years ago, Japan and the Allied European countries fought side by side in the Mediterranean for common causes.

If one visits Malta today, one can see a memorial built in 1918 at the Commonwealth War Graves, to the 78 Japanese sailors who fell in the

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[27] Paul G. Halpern, *The Royal Navy in the Mediterranean 1915-1918* (London: Temple Smith, 1987), p. 496.
[28] *Ibid*.
[29] Nish, *Alliance in Decline*, p. 228.
[30] Paul G. Halpern, *A Naval History of World War I* (Abingdon: Routledge, 1994), p. 393.

Mediterranean. Buried there are 73 out of these 78, including the captain of the destroyer *Sakaki*.

Ironically, the memorial was destroyed by a German air raid during the Second World War at the Battle of Malta and then left unattended until 1973 when it was reconstructed.

True, compared with the fierce battle and sheer slaughter of the Western Front, say, in Somme and Verdun, the Japanese naval commitment and casualties in the Mediterranean may only be a side-show in the First World War.

Even among naval operations during the War, the Mediterranean campaign could only be a small footnote if one compares its significance with that of, say, the Battle of Jutland to the entire course of the War.

True, compared with the U.S. Navy's contribution in the Mediterranean (note that the United States was a late comer to the First World War),[31] the Japanese commitment cannot be exaggerated.

Having accepted this, however, one could still argue that the importance of logistics or supplying the theatre of war must never be underestimated.

However, the lessons of the Mediterranean operations, including the importance of the *guerre de course*, of blockade, of submarine and anti-submarine warfare, and the value of the merchant navy and convoy systems, for example, were neither properly learned nor implemented in the policy of the Imperial Japanese Navy in the 1920s and 30s.

Hence, the Second World War in the Pacific.[32]

6. The Versailles Peace Conference and After

Japan after the First World War could take part in the Versailles Peace Conference of 1919 as one of the "Big Five," and it became one of the Permanent Members of the League of Nations in 1920.

In addition, Japan had increasingly filled orders for needed war materials for the Allied towards the end of the First World War, and the wartime economic

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[31] For the U.S. contribution in the Mediterranean, see for example, *The Times History of the War* (London: Times Publishing Company, 1919), Vol. XVIII, p. 449.

[32] For a good account of the Pacific War, see Daniel Marston, ed., *The Pacific War Companion: From Pearl Harbor to Hiroshima* (Oxford: Osprey, 2005).

boom had helped to diversify its domestic industry, increase its exports, and transform Japan from a debtor to a creditor country for the first time. Exports quadrupled from 1913 to 1918.[33]

Japan had two overriding goals during the First World War and at the Versailles Peace Conference: to keep the best possible terms with old and new allies; and to pursue its territorial ambitions in the Asia-Pacific region.

To be more specific, Japan focused on two demands at the conference: territorial claim for the former German colonies, Shantung and island groups in the Western Pacific; and the inclusion of its "racial equality" clause.

Japan obtained the German island groups in the Western Pacific north of the equator as Class C mandates.[34]

At the same time, however, Japan crossed swords with the Allied powers over this territorial issue of the Western Pacific (with the United States and Australia), the so-called Shantung problem (with China), and the insertion of a racial equality clause in the League of Nations covenant or charter (with most of them).

In the end, Japan's campaign to have a racial equality clause was not successful.[35] Obtaining equal status with other Western powers was Japan's dream since the 1860s, and Japan therefore had proposed the racial equality clause. The first draft presented to the League of Nations Commission was as follows:

"The equality of nations being a basic principle of the League of Nations, the High Contracting Parties agree to accord as soon as possible to all alien nationals of states, members of the League, equal and just treatment in every respect making no distinction, either in law or in fact, on account of their race or nationality."

The proposal received a majority vote in April 1919. Eleven out of the seventeen delegates present voted in favor of Japan's amendment to the covenant, and no negative vote was taken. However, the chairman, U.S. President Woodrow

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[33] For more details, see Frederick R. Dickinson, *War and National Reinvention*.

[34] At the Versailles Peace Conference, it was agreed that, in the Pacific, mandates would go to Australia for New Guinea, New Zealand for Samoa, and Japan for the Marianas, Marshall, and Caroline Islands.

[35] Such a clause, however benign, in most of the Allied powers' view and most notably Australia's, might have been used to mount a legal challenge to their restrictive immigration laws, initially as applied to the mandate and perhaps ultimately to the countries themselves.

Wilson, overturned it, arguing that although the proposal had been approved by a clear majority, in this particular matter, strong opposition had manifested itself, and that on this issue a unanimous vote would be required.

The strong opposition came from the British or Australian delegation. This is because its adoption would have challenged the established norm of the Western dominated international system of the day, which involved the colonial subjugation of non-white peoples.[36]

It is often argued that the rejection of the racial equality clause proved to be an important factor in turning Japan away from cooperation with the Western powers.

True, the Japanese domestic opinion was very much concerned with the issue and its media fully covered the progress of the Conference, leading to an alienation of the Japanese towards the United States, and leading to broader conflicts later on. At the same time, however, it has to be noted that the Japanese government was using the racial equality clause as a bargaining tool as well.

To be more specific, the Japanese wished only that they be treated equally as a nation and be considered a great power. They were more interested in ensuring that Japan, as a sovereign nation and member of the League, be granted the same privileges as Western powers, including the right to overseas colonies.

The racial equality proposal also masked Japan's own sense of racial superiority and racial discrimination towards other Asians that existed in the Japanese Empire. Its policies towards Koreans especially after the 1910 annexation left much to be desired. The Koreans were subjected to forced assimilation, and discrimination against Koreans was justified on the ground that they were not yet ready for equal treatment as a result of their low degree of civilization.[37]

In other words, Japan's colonial rule was justified on the basis that Koreans and Taiwanese were an inferior race needing the guidance of a superior race to bring about civilization and enlightenment of their country.[38]

In 1919, the year of the Versailles Peace Conference, the Japanese military

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[36] Naoko Shimazu, *Japan, Race, and Equality*, p. 115.
[37] Dikotter, *The Construction of Racial Identities in China and Japan*, pp. 101-104, 160-161. See also, Shimazu, *Japan, Race, and Equality*.
[38] Dikotter, *The Construction of Racial Identities in China and Japan*, pp. 112-113, 117.

brutally suppressed the March 1st Movement which was a Korean nationalist uprising in response to discrimination and oppression by the Japanese.[39] The Japanese never extended equal rights, legal or political, to their colonial subjects. Fair and equal treatment applied only to "civilized" nations and League members, and not their colonies or subject peoples.

True, Japanese domestic opinion was very much agitated by its media on this specific issue, but the Japanese government was prepared to broker a deal whereby, in return for recognition of their rights in China and the Western Pacific—the *Okuma-Ishii* Doctrine which paralleled the Monroe Doctrine—it would agree not to press the racial equality issue further.

In fact, Japan was delighted to get mandates to Shantung and the island groups in the Western Pacific north of the equator, its principal aim of the First World War and at the Conference.

On balance, one could therefore conclude that the Versailles Peace Conference was a diplomatic success for the Japanese. Despite its relatively small role and sacrifice in the First World War, Japan had emerged as a great power in international politics by the end of the War, admitting that it still felt like an unequal member of the "imperialist club."

As far as the Sino-Japanese relations were concerned, the Twenty-one Demands imposed on China in 1915 had provoked bitter resentment among the Chinese and the Shantung problem added fuel to this resentment.

With Japan's European Allies heavily involved in the War in Europe, Japan sought further to consolidate its position in China by presenting the Twenty-one Demands to the Chinese President, Yuan Shikai in January 1915. If achieved, the Twenty-one Demands would have essentially reduced China to a Japanese protectorate, and at the expense of numerous privileges already enjoyed by the European powers in their respective sphere of influence in China.

In the face of slow negotiations with the Chinese government, widespread and increasing anti-Japanese sentiments, and international condemnation, particularly from the United States, Japan withdrew the final group of demands, and the treaty

[39] The Koreans had hoped they could gain self-determination in the Versailles Peace Conference but they continued to be under Japanese control.

was signed by China on the 25th of May 1915. Furthermore, Japan continued to extend its influence and privileges in China via the *Nishihara* Loans in 1918.

At the Versailles Peace Conference, the Japanese claim to Shantung was disputed by the Chinese delegation. As mentioned above, at the outset of the First World War in 1914 Japan had seized the territory, most notably Tsingtao, which was granted to Germany in 1897. Japan also seized the German island groups in the Western Pacific.

And in 1917, Japan had made secret agreements with Britain, France, and Italy as regards their annexation of these territories. With Britain, there was a mutual agreement, with Japan also agreeing to support British annexation of the Pacific islands south of the equator. So, despite a generally pro-Chinese view on behalf of the U.S. delegation, article 156 of the Treaty of Versailles transferred German concessions in Shantung, China to Japan rather than returning sovereign authority to China.

Quite naturally, Chinese outrage over this provision led to a demonstration known as the May Fourth Movement and to China's eventual withdrawal from the Treaty.

Surely, this was not in accordance with the spirit of the racial equality clause Japan had long advocated; this was just of political and economic opportunism.

One could also argue that the First World War and the Versailles Peace Conference was one of the most important turning points of Japanese imperialism and of the road to the Pacific War, although this does not necessarily mean that war was inevitable. In fact, a new international order or peace—"uneasy peace"—was established and maintained in the 1920s in the Asia-Pacific region. Japanese foreign policy during this period can be characterized by "internationalism" as exemplified by the SHIDEHARA diplomacy. In fact, Japan withdrew from Shantung and Siberia.

The term SHIDEHARA diplomacy came to describe Japan's liberal and cooperative foreign policy during the 1920s. Japanese Foreign Minister Kijyuro SHIDEHARA attempted to maintain a non-interventionist policy toward China and good relations with Britain and the United States. He also guaranteed "Open Door" in China, and pledged in the Japanese Diet that Japan should and will uphold the principles of the League of Nations.

At the same time, the naval balance in the Pacific was what concerned a majority of political as well as military leaders of Japan and the United States most. In fact, national strength was still measured by the number of capital ships in the 1920s. A naval race had already developed between the two countries, and Britain was in danger of lagging behind, especially in the Pacific.

In 1914 Britain had 29 capital ships, but only 2 in the Pacific (and 1 Australian Dreadnought cruiser), Japan had 4 capital ships and 1 Dreadnought cruiser, all in the Pacific, and the United States had 10 capital ships with only 1 in the Pacific. However, by 1918, British overall strength was 30, and Japan and the United States 16 each. By then, for the British to counter either Japan or the United States in the Pacific, they would always need one as an ally against the other.

This led to the Washington Naval Treaty (Five-Power Treaty), the Nine-Power Treaty, and the Four-Power Treaty. The latter would lead to the termination of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance in 1923, by which the Japanese felt "betrayed" by the British.

In the "Washington Treaty System," equivalent to the Versailles treaty system in the Asia-Pacific region, major powers including Japan, the United States, Britain, France, and Italy confirmed the territorial integrity of China and the territorial *status quo* in the Pacific. They guaranteed they would consult before acting, but not aid each other mandatorily, and set fleet sizes in a ratio of 5:5:3 for Britain, the United States, and Japan.

These meant fleet reductions and also that the United States and Britain, as two-ocean navies, would need to combine their forces to counter Japan's one-ocean strength in the Pacific. But the Japanese were not satisfied with the ratio at all.

Towards the end of the 1920s, SHIDEHARA's cooperative approach was criticized as "weak-kneed," and Japan opted for "Positive Diplomacy" in the 1930s, emphasizing its special interests in East Asia. Japan also began to claim that Manchuria was separate from China, keeping out the Chinese nationalists as well as communists.

Conclusion

Having said this, however, the "Washington Treaty System" of the 1920s was a qualified success for all of the parties which established peace—albeit uneasy—in the Asia-Pacific region for another ten years.

As far as the Japanese foreign policy towards China and the United States was concerned, however, Sino-Japanese relations were never to be improved and the conflict between Japan and the United States over China led the two countries into a collision course in the 1930s.

Presumably it was after the First World War that Japan started more proactive and aggressive foreign policies although they were still within the framework of the "Washington Treaty System." But after 1931, the year of the Manchurian Crisis, Japan commenced its own way of empire building, which was quite different from Western Powers'.

This can be seen as confirming the division of Japan's formal empire in Taiwan and Korea and its informal empire and sphere of influence in Manchuria and the treaty ports in China before the First World War. Though increased Japanese economic expansion, immigration, and special privileges in Manchuria seemed to threaten the policy of "Open Door" in China, it was not until the Chinese Revolution of 1911 and the outbreak of the First World War of 1914 that Japanese imperialism began to take on a different character in response to the breakdown of central authority in China and the inability of Western powers to intervene to protect their interests.

Japan's goal in the early stage of its imperialism was the revision of the "unequal treaties" and the establishment of Japan as an equal status among Western powers. These goals were accomplished before the First World War.

And the study of Japanese imperialism after the First World War leads us to a completely different picture, and the Twenty-one Demands and the occupation of the German island groups in the Western Pacific, representing Japan's desire for northern advance and southern advance respectively, mark a second stage of Japanese imperialism.

Especially after the 1930s, Japan challenged the new international order or peace—the "Washington Treaty System"—and tried to establish yet another international order—"New Order in East Asia"—by its own initiatives.

In this respect, the First World War was a very important event in modern Japanese history.

CHAPTER 4

The impact of WW I on the tactical development of the Imperial Japanese Army

ABE Shohei

Introduction

World War I, fought in Europe where massive industrialization and great improvements in technology were achieved, taught contemporary people lessons requiring comprehensive and complex whole of nation approach like the conception of total war. Likewise on the tactical level, emergence of new weapons and significant increase in firepower on the field taught lessons to armies in many countries, which forced them to solve those problems to prepare for the next war. After WW I, discussions on the future of the army in Europe were centered upon mechanization, for both the victors and the defeated, based on the lessons from the long static war of attrition. On the other side of the hemisphere in the far east, being segregated from the war in Europe and therefore with limited information on the war, the Japanese Army struggled to understand and to adapt itself to the new norm of warfare which materialized in WW I, instead of to *the next war* suggested by the lessons of it. By the beginning of WW II, the Japanese Army only had been able to catch up with *the new norm* in a Japanese way.

In this paper I would like to make clear the process of the tactical development of the Imperial Japanese Army to adapt to WW I-type warfighting in terms of infantry tactics.

1. Craving for information

On the 23rd of August 1914 Japan declared war against Germany and occupied Ching Tao, German territory in the South Pacific, by November. But Japan limited army operations to the Asia-Pacific area, and continuously refused to send ground troops to Europe regardless of the repeated requests from allies. A year after the outbreak of WW I on the 27th of December 1915 the Imperial Japanese Army established the Special Military Investigation Committee in the Ministry of Army to prepare itself for the future based on the lessons of WW I. About 25 officers

and some civilians of the committee from all major institutes of the army were organized into 8 sections, each of which had its own field of interest.[1] This effort was so comprehensive that its subjects encompassed military organizations, mobilization, education, strategy, tactics, fortification, materiel, and logistics. The information collected were published monthly and distributed among the whole Army. The focus of the reports was trench warfare on the Western Front.

Along with this effort the Army General Staff, the Infantry School, and even some infantry divisions began studies on trench warfare. The whole army was craving for information on WW I.

2. The first series of efforts

2.1 Trench Warfare Exercise of 1918

In autumn 1918, just before the surrender of Germany, the Japanese Army conducted the first experimental maneuvers, named "Jinchi Kobo Enshu" or Trench Warfare Exercise to study the ramifications of WW I. Directed by General Hyoe Ichinohe, the head of the Inspectorate General of Military Training, they reenacted a battle of the Western Front of WW I in the maneuver area. The objectives were threefold: firstly to understand new ways of both defensive and offensive tactics adopted in the war; secondly to study the effects and employment techniques of the new equipment and munitions; and thirdly to establish guidelines for planning and executing training of this kind for field units.

Because the troops only knew what they had been trained, i.e., basically the way the Japanese Army fought the Russo-Japanese war, the Army wrote special manuals to prepare for this maneuver,[2] which were based on French infantry manuals of 1917.[3] The Army distributed them among participants about a few months in advance and trained them according to it. The main features of the

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[1] Atsushi Koketsu, "Gunji Chosa Iinkai no Gyomu Naiyo (What was done in the Special Military Investigation Committee)", *Seiji keizai shi gaku* (The journal of historical studies: politico-economic history), vol. 174 (1980): 56.

[2] Kobo enshu keikaku iinkai (The planning committee for trench warfare), *Jinchi sen ni okeru hohei no koudou* (Infantry actions in trench warfare), August 1918 (material in the possession of Military Archives, Center for Military History [CMH], National Institute for Defense Studies [NIDS], Ministry of Defense [MoD]).

[3] The contents of those manuals are identical to the French manuals of 1917.

experimental manuals were as follows.

Infantry battalions, which had only rifles at the time, got an additional 4 heavy machine guns, 2 infantry guns, and 64 grenade launchers for this experiment. And 4 light mortars were added to regiments. For the Japanese, which were in their second year of a 10 year-process of acquiring only 6 heavy machineguns for each regiment, this volume of firepower was revolutionary.

Infantry formation became more dispersed and added more depth. For attack, assaulting battalions were to employ waves of assaulting lines of companies. The interval between men was 5 or 6 paces instead of 2 of the doctrine of those days. Fire and movement was to be conducted at platoon level instead of company. Form of maneuver shifted from a stiff linear one to a fluid one in order to infiltrate into enemy defensive positions. For defense, instead of one line of defense, a division was to establish 2 or 3 defensive belts, each of which consisted of 3 defensive lines, and to hold them in conjunction with spoiling attacks and counterattacks by individual units on their own initiative. With the above changes, they introduced a new way of command and control because they required independent actions by small units at the level of platoon, squad, or below amid the confusion of battles. Such actions were exceptional for the Japanese Army back then.

For the maneuver the Army temporally organized 3 regiments with 2 normal brigade HQs, 1 heavy regiment, 2 heavy artillery battalions, and 2 engineer battalions. During the 3-week experiment, the first 10 days were assigned for field fortification work. The maneuver started with a speech by General Ichinohe to observing officers: "I regret to say that even the basic concepts for both offensive and defensive fighting are undecided and showing what should be done is beyond my capacity ... I request you to frankly exchange opinions regarding benefits and shortfalls of the fighting methods in detail in search for essence requisite for the future army training."[4] Along with the maneuver, live fire tests of various new weapons were conducted to understand the effects of bombardment on field fortification.

Due to excessive requirements and poor exercise control by inexperienced

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[4] *Taisho 7 nen jinchi kobo enshu kiji dai 1 kan* (1918 Trench Warfare Exercise, vol. 1), 1918 (material in the possession of Military Archives, CMH, NIDS, MoD).

officers, achievements of the maneuver were insufficient. The exercise issues identified were inadequate understanding of infiltration maneuver, counterattack and spoiling attack, poor cooperation with adjacent units, and so on.[5] Among them the initiative of lower command echelon and infantry-artillery cooperation were focuses of the problems to be settled.

As for the initiative of the lower command echelon, the Army decided that requisite tactical skills for noncommissioned officers and proper actions by individual soldiers should be attained to cope in the confusion of battle. However, attending troops voiced suspicion. "Is it suitable for Japanese culture? Considering the educational standard of current noncommissioned officers, it is doubtful that they can achieve it." "If it is the best way, we must conduct far more intense training." "With the noncommissioned officers who are inept in this kind of skills … it is impossible to achieve victory."[6] They suggested the transformation of leadership training for noncommissioned officers.

As for infantry-artillery cooperation, General Ichinohe mentioned that "it was far below expectation, and there was a large room for fixes."[7] He saw infantry troops and artillery batteries conduct 2 separate battles where each branch did its own. The officers from both branches did not even understand the need for exchanging their battle concepts and requisite information, on top of the lack of means for communication. The same was pointed out for the cooperation between heavy infantry support weapons and rifle units. The main challenge was receiving support synchronized to the infantry maneuver when it deviated from the predetermined scheme for attack.

Though the achievements of the experiment were limited, it was a ground-breaking effort that galvanized the entire Japanese Army. It was observed by a total of 238 officers, who were in commanding positions above regiment and divisional staff from every division in addition to those from central army institutions. The experiment became a catalyst to promulgate the new way of fighting, even if it offered just a glimpse of it.

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5 *Taisho 7 nen jinchi kobo enshu kiji dai 4 kan* (1918 Trench Warfare Exercise, vol. 4), 1918 (material in the possession of Military Archives, CMH, NIDS, MoD).
6 Ibid., 160.
7 Ibid., 21-24.

2.2 1920 revision of the Infantry Manual

At this moment the Army was uncertain what would be key to breaking through the defensive belt of WW I. The most promising solution the Army could think of was the way the German army conducted the Ludendorff Offensive in 1918, information of which was too scant to understand what happened.[8]

In 1919 the Infantry School started the work of revising the Infantry Manual of 1909 based on the studies of WW I. The guidance given from Lieutenant General Masahiko Kawamura, the Commandant of the Infantry School, demanded that the infantry manual should be a Japanese one, instead of just importing the Europeans', taking into account the Japanese culture, the capacity of Japanese soldiers, and the organization and the equipment that the Japanese Army could afford. In addition it directed that the focus of the manual should be *open warfare* instead of *trench warfare*, which he thought was much easier than the former in terms of time available for decision making, and that the scope should be limited to fundamental skills applicable to any combat situation on the premise of the short service term of the draftees.[9]

At this moment there were two schools of thoughts on how the manual should be revised. One was represented by the Infantry School, which was responsible for drafting the new manual; the other was by the Special Military Investigation Committee, which was the center of research for the war and organized the recommendation for the manual. They differed on 2 points. The first point was about the amount of new weapons and ammunitions that would be the condition for drafting the manual. The Infantry School assumed that the weapons and ammunitions could be insufficient because of the weak industrial capacity of Japan. On the other hand the committee assumed that the same level of armaments and supplies as the Europeans during the war should be considered. The second point was about the understanding of two different forms of warfare:

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[8] Rikugun hohei gakko (The Army Infantry School), "Susen jinchi no kobo ni kansuru Kaneko chusa no iken (Lieutenant Colonel Kaneko's opinion concerning trench warfare)", *Kenkyu geppo* (Monthly Research Report), vol. 9 (1918): 41-42.

[9] Rikugun hohei gakko (The Army Infantry School), "Hohei soten kaisei ni kansuru Kawamura koucho no danpen (The excerpt of speech of commandant Kawamura concerning revision of the Infantry Manual)", *Kenkyu geppo* (Monthly Research Report), vol. 16 (1919): 25-36, vol. 17 (1919): 25-30, vol. 18 (1919): 37-41.

open warfare and *trench warfare*. The school viewed *trench warfare* as a peculiar kind of warfare requiring different fighting skills from *open warfare*. It decided there was no lesson from WW I to be adopted to the *open warfare* doctrine, which was the core of the Infantry Manual, even though there were other thoughts in the army which regarded the two forms of warfare as inseparable, with *open warfare* following breakthrough of the defensive belt.[10]

After the discussions in fall of 1919 they revised and created a tentative version of the Infantry Manual in September 1920. The Infantry School's thought was adopted. And the strategic imperative for short decisive war required the Japanese Army to reject *trench warfare* as unfavorable and exceptional. The lessons adopted from WW I were only minimal. It was almost identical to the latest manual published after the Russo-Japanese War except for consideration of both dispersion and decentralization of command.

3. Road to the drastic change in tactics

3.1 Trench Warfare Exercise of 1922

By the end of 1921 the Japanese Army had access to the latest infantry manuals published after the war by former belligerents of WW I: Britain, France, Germany, and the U.S. The Army understood that the European countries had reached a conclusion on the lessons of the war.[11] At the end of 1921 Lieutenant General Soichiro Kojima, the chief of headquarters, Inspectorate General of Military Training, organized the Committee of Infantry Tactics with the aim of revising the Infantry Manual with the latest knowledge from Europe. As the aim shows, the scope of the study was only limited to *open warfare*.

The committee studied various ways including war games, experimental exercises, and live fire tests. The studies mostly relied on French documents, and the opposing force of the war games was the French Army. The culminating event associated with the effort of this committee was the exhibition maneuver in April of 1921 in the presence of more than 120 officers including all division

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[10] Captain Miura, *Hohei soten kaisei ni kansuru iken* (Opinions on the revision of the Infantry Manual), (material in the possession of Military Archives, CMH, NIDS, MoD).

[11] Infantry Major Mitome, "Kaisei hohei soten souan ni kansuru kenkyu (Research on the revised tentative Infantry Manual)", *Kenkyu geppo* (Monthly Research Report), vol. 56 (1923): 4-5.

commanders and reserve generals. After 4 months of study the committee submitted the final report.

Contrary to former arguments, the committee admitted that the two forms of warfare, *open warfare* and *trench warfare*, were inseparable. Along with this fundamental change in framework, it reached a conclusion on the following associated changes: delegation of command and control downward, shorter combat range of infantry fire, and machinegun centric employment of infantry.

The delegation of command and control downward was described in terms of necessity of dispersion required by dense lethal fire of machineguns. The committee concluded that under the fire of the modern battlefield, even the platoons would be large enough to be immobile as a group. Only sections or individual soldiers could maneuver under enemy fire. Troops that reached deeper into enemy position should enable the following troops to advance. As a result, tactical unit of fire and movement was changed from the platoon to the section along with the abolition of the tightly closed formation.

The combat range of infantry fire had been stipulated as mid-range of 600m in the manual. But the study showed that infantry fire should be shortened to 300m to avoid casualties by enemy artillery bombardment and to adapt to the new norm of battlefield of wide dispersion and camouflage where soldiers hardly spotted distant targets without an optical device. To supplement the weaker firepower of the Japanese Army compared to that of European armies, both in terms of infantry fire and artillery fire, the introduction of sufficient number of grenade dischargers was stressed.

The Japanese Army acknowledged the value of machinegun centric employment, replacing the firepower of rifles with light machineguns for the infantry sections. However, because Japan could not afford to equip each infantry section with a light machinegun, the gap had to be filled by rifle sections without dispersing, and therefore, accepting the possibility of greater casualties.

Soon after the formation of the Committee of Infantry Tactics, the Army decided to conduct another experimental maneuver, Trench Warfare Exercise of 1922, cancelling the scheduled Special Engineer Exercise of 1922. The purpose was to select adequate lessons of the trench warfare from WW I for the Japanese Army, by examining the ways to conduct trench warfare, which was formed in

close relationship with the study of *open warfare* by the Committee of Infantry Tactics.[12] The maneuver was conducted with temporally organized troops; one and a half infantry battalions for defense, and two and a half infantry battalions for attack, both of which were reinforced by infantry and artillery guns, engineer units, and balloon units with the exception of the support by tanks and airplanes that were attached only to the attacking unit. The offensive phase of the exercise was about a week long after 2 months of fortification work.

The focus areas of the exercises were twofold: how to organize all the combat elements through meticulous planning and to execute it for both offense and defense, and finding a new way of fighting centered on the infantry section.[13] Through the exercise the Army admitted that planning for trench warfare improved marginally, and the execution, especially the preparation work, was poor. The new section centric fighting, which participating troops were trying to materialize, was nothing more than what the Army had been doing. The issues raised for further development were: relation between plan and order, command and control of the small units, cooperation between the infantry and the artillery, and the way to employ defending force for defense in depth.

Planning by the company commander and below was the worst, though the Army required more detailed planning for the lower echelon. For execution, the plan should have been adaptable to changing situations by updating the plan or improvising the actions of individual leaders without adherence to the plan. The balance between the preplanned action and the improvised action was regarded as a key to trench warfare. To strike a balance between them, the Army concluded that the development of the initiative of individual soldiers was necessary.

For the command and control of the small unit, the Army regarded *the command facilitating the initiative of the subordinate* was necessary. But what the troops actually performed was *uncontrolled command*, by which commanders gave just nominal orders to subordinates and left them on their own without any control. It was too novel for the troops to understand the new way of command

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[12] Kyoiku sokan bu (The Inspectorate General of Military Training), *Taisho 11 nen jinchi kobo enshu kiji dai 1 kan* (Report on the Trench Warfare Exercise of 1922, vol. 1), March 1923, 4 (material in the possession of Military Archives, CMH, NIDS, MoD).

[13] Ibid., 99.

and control. Poor tactical skills and judgment of both the platoon leaders and the section leaders emerged as new problems.

Cooperation between infantry and artillery was evaluated as poor, especially when the advance of the infantry attack was delayed and adjustments of the artillery fire were difficult due to lack of means to communicate swiftly between them. In regard to keeping the overall harmony between infantry and artillery, the Army admitted that local failure of the infantry attack was not good enough to change the artillery fire plan. This notion led to the negation of the creeping barrage and promoted the further study of the cooperation.

The issues associated with the way to employ the defending force in depth were withdrawal and counterattack. In the exercise, the defending troops fought and retrograded to the next defensive line one by one as the enemy attack progressed. Such an approach was criticized as the successive defense which should be avoided. It was emphasized that defensive positions should be held tight. In the counterattacks, firing troops in the position just vacated all positions and launched an attack even when effect of fire was insufficient or attacked the enemy head on with poor synchronization of fire and movement.

Those are all signs of old habits of linear tactics before WW I. The central problem regarding the new way of fighting was command and control of the lower tactical echelons. Whereas linear tactics had allowed communication by natural voice, the new ones did not because of the dispersion and lack of proper communication equipment. It was hard to communicate with the troops beyond reach of natural voice. Officers who attended the exercise were right on the mark about the difficulty. "By having insights into how situations will develop and with spontaneous initiative we must establish spiritual radio communication." "Now it is required that the training will cultivate closer mental communications with each commanders."[14] Those were a requirement for Telepathy, or Mission Command in current military parlance, and it should be achieved through proper training.

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[14] *Taisho 11 nen jinchi kobo enshu kiji dai 2 kan (ge)* (1922 trench warfare exercise, vol. 2 part 2), 1922 (material in the possession of Military Archives, CMH, NIDS, MoD), 185-188.

3.2 1923 revision of the Infantry Manual

After the conclusion of the study by the Committee of Infantry Tactics, based on the outcome of the study and the maneuver, the Infantry Manual of 1923 was published, again as a tentative version, in January 1923. It was "the drastic change from the former".[15]

For the offensive actions the Japanese Army basically accepted the idea of the Europeans. However, the Army understood that Japan lacked both the industrial capacity to equip enough fire arms and the intellectual capacity of the noncommissioned officers.[16] The Army decided not to go so far as the Europeans did.

The main features of the changes were emphasis on the local encirclement by the units of lower echelon, more dispersion, and the delegation of command to the lower.

The local encirclement by the units of the lower echelon had been stipulated in the former manual, but this time it was emphasized more aggressively. The commanders of all echelons were required to break into weak points of the enemy position, to locally encircle him, and to exploit it to the breakthrough of the enemy defensive belt.

Further dispersion and the delegation of command to the lower were materialized based on the outcome of the committee, though under sparse enemy fire it still stuck to the use of packed formation as a favorable form. The section leader was required to exercise command authority for the first time. And the responsibilities associated with fire control were transferred from the company commander to the platoon leader with detailed directions to be given by the section leader instead of the platoon leader. The authority for initiating assault was delegated from the battalion commander to the company commander.

For the defensive action the Japanese Army only partially accepted the WW I lessons of Europeans. The primary principle the Army stressed was "breaking

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[15] The comment of Lieutenant General Kazushige Ugaki, *Hohei soten souan kaitei riyu sho* (Explanation on the revision of the tentative Infantry Manual), January 1923 (material in the possession of Military Archives, CMH, NIDS, MoD).

[16] Infantry Major Mitome, "Kaisei hohei soten souan ni kansuru kenkyu (Research on the revised tentative Infantry Manual)", *Kenkyu geppo* (see note 9 above), 13-14.

enemy attack in front of the forward edge of the battle area by holding the only one defensive belt". There was no difference in principle from the Russo-Japanese War except for expression of "defensive belt" instead of "defensive line". The word "belt" symbolized the lessons from WW I accepted by the Japanese in the case of open warfare. Even in the case of trench warfare the second defensive belt and ones further in depth should be utilized just in case. The counterattack which had been conducted by the battalion and above was to be done by the platoon and above. The place of counter attack was only limited to the point where the enemy broke in or just in front of the defensive position. The infantry school clearly negated counterattack against the enemy having already penetrated the first defensive belt.[17]

3.3 1928 revision of the Infantry Manual

The next manual of 1928, which was not labelled "tentative" after almost a 10-year effort of assimilating the lessons of WW I, was basically the same as the 1923 tentative version. It was just edited so that soldiers could more easily understand.

4. Institutional reform for improving the capacity of noncommissioned officers

To make the Infantry Manual practical the Japanese Army had to take another step beyond just changing the doctrine. As discussed along the course of tactical development, the fundamental lack of capacity of the noncommissioned officer could be the critical cause of deadlock for the implementation of the new doctrine. Understanding the necessity of intellectual enhancement and cultural transformation of the noncommissioned officer, the Army revised the Army Maneuver Regulation, the Army Training Regulation, and the Army Service Regulation in conjunction with the publication of the infantry manual and established 3 Army Noncommissioned Officer Schools by 1927.

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[17] Rikugun hohei gakko (The Army Infantry School), "Kaisei hohei soten souan ni kansuru kenkyu (zoku) (Research on the revised tentative Infantry Manual [continued])", *Kenkyu geppo* (Monthly Research Report), vol. 59 (1923): 52.

The new Army Maneuver Regulation of 1924 designated leaders of small units including noncommissioned officers to be inspected periodically along with giving emphasis to the importance of leader development for small units and combined arms training. And it included the provision of establishing the permanent framework for experimental study of trench warfare, while maneuvers of this kind had been temporal.

The Army Education Regulation was revised 3 times in conjunction with the revisions of the Infantry Manual. The regulation of 1920 emphasized education by self-awareness, which responded to the fear of mutiny plagued among the war-weary European countries. On the other hand, the Army Service Regulation of 1921, whose tentative version was published in 1919, described the necessity of spontaneous initiative of junior officers and noncommissioned officers to wage future war in addition to attention to the mutiny. The Army Education Regulation of 1922 directly mirrored the changes in the infantry doctrine. It stipulated that the infantry section was the focus of the training, and that the achievements of conscripts in the first year of the training should be inspected. In the explanation on the change, General Kazushige Ugaki, the head of the Inspectorate General of Military Training, elaborated the importance of the tactical judgement and leadership capacity of noncommissioned officers, and demanded that preparation for the education of candidates of noncommissioned officers be conducted with care. The regulation of 1927 promoted the idea further by stipulating the *how* in detail. The urgency of the improvement of the noncommissioned officer education was continuously promulgated by the Inspectorate General of Military Training.

5. Changes through Japan's own warfighting experience

The theoretical studies of the WW I and the associated transformation of the infantry tactics based mostly on information from France were concluded with the publication of the Infantry Manual of 1928. But proofing tests were needed to finalize the transformation. Two tests were prepared by the Germans, then conducted by their apprentice, namely the Chinese National Army; one started from 1932 and the other from 1937. The experience of 1932, or the 1st Shanghai Incident, was reflected in the 1937 Tentative Infantry Manual, and that of the earlier stage of the Sino-Japanese War was reflected in the 1940 Infantry Manual.

The focus of the revision of the 1937 manual was tactics of the infantry rifle platoon, along with the change in organization. The rifle platoon employed in the incident consisted of 2 through 4 rifle sections and 2 sections of light machinegun. The experience of the combat taught that: the platoon was unwieldly for having too many sections subordinated to it, grenade dischargers which were temporally assigned for the expedition were very useful and should be added to infantry troops, and the cooperation between rifle sections and light machinegun sections should be improved.[18] Then the Army decided to reorganize it to the new rifle platoon consisting of 3 rifle sections, each of which had 1 light machinegun, and 1 grenade discharger section with 4 pieces. Tactics corresponding to the organizational change was introduced to the manual. This change made the offensive tactics of the Japanese Army almost identical to the Europeans of WW I. On the other hand the defensive tactics did not change. On the contrary the basic principle of "breaking enemy attack in front of battle position" was further emphasized.

The campaign around Shanghai of the Sino-Japanese war stood out from all battles between Japan and China in terms of preparedness and intensity of fighting. Unlike the first Shanghai incident of 1932 which the Chinese did not expect, the campaign was well prepared by the Chinese with the help of German military advisers. The crash was like WW I with more than 2 months of deadlock, in which attacks launched by each side bogged down and both poured reinforcement in piecemeal fashion. The eventual force size amounted to 7 Japanese divisions and 7 Chinese divisions with heavy casualties for both sides, more than 40,000 for the Japanese and approximately more than 200,000 for the Chinese. Through this experience the Japanese Army understood the firepower of the modern warfare, though it was limited in scale and intensity compared to the European experience.

The lessons of the campaign were introduced into the 1940 Infantry Manual. Most of the changes were minuscule except for the idea of defense. Before this revision the primary focus of defense had been to make conditions for the

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[18] Rikugun hohei gakko (The Army Infantry School), *Gakko an jun hi hohei soten kaisei an (riyu sho tomo) daitai kyouren ika no bu* (Manuscript of the school, Secret Equivalent, the revision manuscript of the Infantry Manual [with reasons], training of the battalion and below) (1936), 41 (material in the possession of Military Archives, CMH, NIDS, MoD).

offensive in a short decisive war. This meant defense with a lower force ratio rather than defense against overwhelming enemy attack.[19] In this manual the Army changed the focus to wider frontage against a superior enemy. Even though the basic concept of "breaking enemy attack in the front of defensive position" was still held, utilization of the depth of the defensive positions was admitted as normal. This made the defensive position for open warfare slightly deeper, as deep as the defensive position of infantry battalion, which still negated to use multiple defensive belts in depth. For trench warfare utilization of the defensive belts in depth, which had been only applicable under exceptional conditions, became normal.

This new focus led to several changes. Counterattack against the enemy in front of the defensive position was abandoned because of the heavy loss. Independency of battalion battle position was enhanced. And the normal range of the infantry fire weapons was shortened by prohibiting mid-range of 600m to avoid casualties from enemy fire.

Thus in 1940 the Japanese Army at last accepted the idea of elastic defense adopted by the Europeans, though with reservation. The defense of the Japanese Army was categorized into defense for open warfare and defense for trench warfare. Only for the latter did it allow battles in the defensive belts placed in depth. Where the line was drawn between the two determined the way to fight a defensive battle. But the line was vague. There was no objective criterion for the line. This question was raised by line officers when the Infantry School requested inputs for the revision of the 1928 Infantry Manual.[20]

No solution was discussed or suggested by anyone as far as the documents show. The indistinctness and the doctrine of rapid decisive war with defense averse thinking adopted by the Japanese biased the focus of training and mind of soldiers toward offensive open warfare. When it comes to defense in practice, it only allowed a shallow defensive belt with the depth of infantry battalion coupled

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[19] Colonel Miyazaki, *Sakusen youmu rei hensan ni atari toku ni kyouchou jushi sare taru youkou* (Particular points of emphasis and importance on editing the Field Service Regulations, Operations), (1940) (material in the possession of Military Archives, CMH, NIDS, MoD).

[20] Rikugun hohei gakko (The Army Infantry School), *Hohei soten hensan keika tuzuri (19)* (Files of the process for editing the Infantry Manual, vol. 19) (1928) (material in the possession of Military Archives, CMH, NIDS, MoD).

with aggressive counterattacks in open warfare.

6. In conclusion

Looking at the process of the tactical development of the infantry after WW I, the Japanese did make an earnest effort to collect information and study it to understand what WW I would mean to the Army. But in the process, Japan's lack of experience with modern warfare imposed a limitation to understanding. Prejudice tinted by the old ways of doing, coupled with the imperative imposed by the strategic environment, both domestic and the international, prevailed the reality experienced by others. Even after Japan's own experience, they accepted it reluctantly. Eventually the Imperial Japanese Army managed to materialize its efforts to assimilate the lessons of WW I in time for the outbreak of the war against the UK and USA. These efforts contributed to the success of the initial phase of the Japanese offensive in Southeast Asia.

CHAPTER 5

Der Stahlhelm - League of Frontline Soldiers. A right-wing movement in 20th century Germany

WERBERG Dennis

On the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the outbreak of the Great War on 3 July 2014, the Franco-German political scientist Alfred Grosser spoke in front of the German parliament. In his speech about the consequences of the war and its meaning for Europe he went into detail about parts of German society after 1918 that refused to accept military defeat in 1918. This led to the 'stab-in-the-back-myth' (*Dolchstoßlegende*) as one of the most influential political legends of the 20th century.[1] According to this narrative, the German troops never had been defeated but were brought down by the weakness and betrayal of their home country. After the war, right-wing political parties and associations utilised this myth to undermine the legitimacy of the Weimar Republic as a direct product of treason and to attack its representatives and supporters.[2] One of these bad actors was the *Stahlhelm - Bund der Frontsoldaten*, which defined itself as a "league of battle-hardened, undefeated German frontline soldiers and of young men, brought to war-readiness by them".[3] In this context, Alfred Grosser brought back into memory a combat league and political movement of the Weimar Republic, which has been in a shadowy existence within historical research, despite its magnitude and importance. In this article, I am going to give an overview about the *Stahlhelm* as a political player and its relations to the National-Socialist movement as the major challenger and rival within the German right of the 1920s and early 1930s. Therefore, in the first chapter I am going to analyse forms of competition between

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[1] Cf. 100. Jahrestag des Beginns des Ersten Weltkriegs. Gedenkstunde im Plenarsaal des Deutschen Bundestages am 3 Juli 2014. Ansprache von Professor Dr. Alfred Grosser <https://www.bundesregierung.de/Content/DE/Bulletin/2010-2015/2014/07/81-2-grosser-gedenken-bt.html> (last access: 21 July 2021).

[2] See Barth, Boris, Dolchstoßlegenden und politische Desintegration. Das Trauma der deutschen Niederlage im Ersten Weltkrieg 1914-1933 (= Schriften des Bundesarchivs Vol. 61), Düsseldorf 2003.

[3] „*Das erlaubte dem bis 1933 immer mächtigeren Stahlhelm, sich folgendermaßen zu definieren: Bund der schlachterprobten, unbesiegt heimgekehrten deutschen Frontsoldaten und der von ihnen zur Wehrhaftigkeit erzogenen Jungmannen*." (100. Jahrestag des Beginns des Ersten Weltkriegs).

the two movements in the commemoration and exploitation of the Great War for political purposes. In the second chapter, I am going to describe their rivalry for dominance within the public space, even leading to violent confrontations. Additionally, I am going to extend the perspective in a short third chapter to the newly founded veterans' organisations after 1945.

1. Overview

The *Stahlhelm* (lit. 'Steel Helmet') was an organisation of German veterans of the First World War, founded in the wake of defeat and the revolution of November 1918. Starting as a non-political association of former soldiers, the first local groups represented organisations of self-defence against revolutionary turmoil and offered their assistance to the newly formed government to maintain law and order. But early on, radical right-wing, authoritarian and anti-democratic tendencies were growing stronger, leading the *Stahlhelm* into an increasingly hostile opposition against the liberal democratic system of the Weimar Republic. After several attempts had failed to win the more radical groups over to the relatively moderate positions of federal leadership, the founder and first *Bundesführer* (federal leader) Franz Seldte neglected to adjust the course of the league. After the dissolution of the post-war troops – a mix of Free Corps formations and other irregular military forces like vigilante groups and self-defence organisations – the *Stahlhelm* incorporated a great number of their former members and absorbed various smaller so-called combat leagues. By doing so, the league rose to become the most important mass movement of the political right, counting 500,000 to 600,000 adherents in the late 1920s.[4] For their annual assemblies (*Reichsfrontsoldatentage*) held between 1925 and 1932, its leadership mobilised up to 200,000 members, occupying public spaces in major German cities, parading on the streets with fully uniformed columns and adding authority to the league's political demands. Its declared main goal as a political movement was the gathering of splintered organisations, leagues as well as political parties

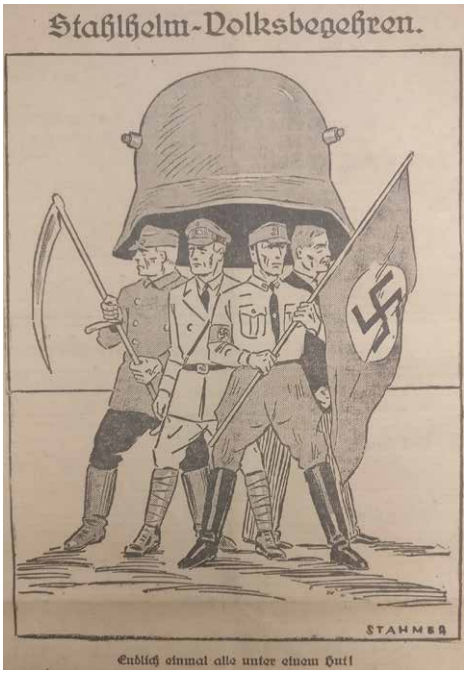
[4] Cf. Elsbach, Sebastian, Das Reichsbanner Schwarz-Rot-Gold. Republikschutz und politische Gewalt in der Weimarer Republik (Zugl. Diss. Phil., Universität Jena 2018), Stuttgart 2019 (= Weimarer Schriften zur Republik, 10), pp. 117-118.

of the right to forge a strong political coalition and to reshape Germany as an authoritarian state. In this context, the veterans' leaders referred to German history in general and the First World War in particular. As the German people had been brought together by war – they argued – the *true* soldiers of the Great War were meant to rally the nationalistic forces once more. Using the conflict as a great unifier, the German people were to be brought "*unter einen Hut*" (lit. under one hat), meaning to be united for one common purpose: to make Germany a great power again. A caricature in the *Stahlhelm*-related newspaper *Der Alte Dessauer* of 1931 echoed another image in the *Berliner Punsch* magazine of 1866, predicting the German unification under Otto von Bismarck and the Prussian spiked helmet in the Unification Wars 1864 - 1871. The message was clear: Germany was to be united by its soldiers, represented by the typical headgears of their respective era – spiked helmet and steel helmet.

Illust. 1: "Agility, Energy and Courage high, driven by a strong sense for unity; they brought under one hat [united] a great people in thirty days"

Source: Journal *Berliner Punsch*, 25.8.1866

Illust. 2: "Finally all are under one hat" ["finally all are united"].



Source: Der Alte Dessauer, Vol. 8, 15 (11.4.1931)

As an organisation overarching all political parties of the right, from the centre-right to right-wing extremism, the *Stahlhelm* was the main antagonist of the *Reichsbanner Schwarz-Rot-Gold* (lit. Imperial Banner Black-Red-Gold). This movement united members of the parties and other players in support of the parliamentary republic, like Social Democrats, middle-class liberals of the German People's Party and members of the catholic *Zentrum* party.

Despite its right-wing profile, the tensions and rivalry between the league and the rising National-Socialist movement grew stronger, although they joined forces from time to time in order to achieve shared political goals. Throughout the 1920s, National Socialists and other racial extremists attacked the *Stahlhelm* because of the moderate position of its leadership regarding Jews especially. Their aim was to drive a wedge between its leadership and the deeply heterogeneous base, to

provoke defections and weaken the rival for domination within the political right.[5] In 1922, Seldte himself had declared that as far as he was concerned, there were "no Jews or Non-Jews, only *Stahlhelm* members"[6] in his association. One of his closest colleagues, the leader of the Bavarian federal organisation, retired major Carl Ritter von Wäninger, distanced himself and his followers explicitly from the early National Socialists. In a circular letter to all groups in Bavaria he criticised their radical anti-Semitism:

"In my opinion it is detrimental foolishness, if a poor and devastated country like Germany would believe to be able to solve its problems by jew-baiting."[7]

In the 1920s, however, the veterans' organisation was a rising star within right-wing politics while the National-Socialist movement could not achieve significant successes at the ballot box outside Bavaria. Seldte and his supporters therefore could argue from a position of strength. After numerous attacks in the National Socialistic press, Wilhelm Heinz as editor of the league's newspaper condemned this behaviour in an article on the front page titled "The Frontline of the Decent!" (*Die Front der Anständigen!*), while supreme leader Seldte published an open letter to Adolf Hitler, threatening to crush his movement.[8] However, as a player attempting to unite the political right entirely, the *Stahlhelm* could not afford to break with the right-wing extremists. Especially in Munich as place of origin and early stronghold of the *NSDAP* (National Socialist Worker's Party) even Wäninger had to admit that he needed the Nazis, because they represented "the best activists".[9] Furthermore, by the end of the 1920s the *Stahlhelm* leadership realised that a great part of the base sympathised with the National Socialists or were

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5 Cf. Longerich, Peter, Geschichte der SA, München 2003, pp. 70-71.

6 „nicht Juden oder Nichtjuden, sondern Stahlhelmleute" (Berghahn, Volker R., Der Stahlhelm Bund der Frontsoldaten 1918-1935 [Zugl. Diss. Phil Universität London 1964], Düsseldorf 1966 [= Beiträge zur Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der politischen Parteien, 33], p. 66).

7 "„Ich halte es für eine schädliche Torheit, wenn ein so armes, heute am Boden liegendes Land wie Deutschland glauben sollte, durch Judenhetze diese Frage lösen zu können […]" (Wäninger to all Bavarian local branches, 24 April 1924 [Bavarian Main Public Record Office, Section IV, Stahlhelm No. 347, fol. 4]).

8 See *Die Front der Anständigen!* Der Stahlhelm Vol. 8, No. 15 (11 April 1926).

9 Protokoll der Bundesvorstandssitzung, 21.5.1926, p. 7 (Federal Archives, R72/5 fol. 105).

even in favour of their movement.[10] At the same time, Hitler and his supporters came to the conclusion that by attacking the more conservative forces, they had boxed themselves into a corner and ran the risk of isolation.[11] As a consequence, the NSDAP mitigated its tone and neglected to attack the league on the basis of anti-Semitism. Instead, its agitators focussed on the *Stahlhelm*'s policy, the lack of revolutionary dynamics and inner coherence. This development combined with the rising significance of the NSDAP paved the way for cooperation at the highest level. In 1929 and 1931, both protagonists participated in committees for the preparation of political petitions and referendums. The first petition was aimed against the acceptance of the Young Plan by the German government that was crafted to regulate the payment of reparations while the second targeted the dissolution of the Prussian state parliament, in which republican parties held the majority. After the failure of both attempts, this alliance nonetheless ruptured and National Socialists resumed their attacks. In autumn 1931, when the members of the self-declared 'National Opposition' met for a big rally in Bad Harzburg, the *Stahlhelm* leadership refused to support the candidacy of Hitler for the German presidential election in the following year and thus to submit to the demands of the National Socialists for domination. As a result, the conflicts between the two organisations escalated, eventually leading to violent clashes. In the final months of the Weimar Republic it was frequently impossible to distinguish whom the storm troopers of the *Sturmabteilung* (SA) and the Nazi agitators hated more – Marxists or *Stahlhelm* members.[12] In January 1933, however, when Hitler was appointed chancellor, Franz Seldte became Secretary of Labour because President Paul von Hindenburg – a former Field Marshall of the Prussian Army and Chief of the Great General Staff – had an affection for the veterans' league. The conflicts nevertheless continued, finally resulting in its dissolution in November 1935.

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[10] Cf. Lenz an Bundesamt, 24 June 1929 (Bavarian Main Public Record Office, Section IV, Stahlhelm 79); Protokoll Bundesvorstandssitzung, 22/23 March 1930 (Federal Archives, R72/13, fol. 61); cf. also Nußer, Horst G. W., Konservative Wehrverbände in Bayern, Preußen und Österreich 1918-1933. Mit einer Biographie von Georg Escherich 1870-1941, München 1973, p. 286.

[11] Cf. Rösch, Mathias, Die Münchner NSDAP 1925-1933. Eine Untersuchung zur inneren Struktur der NSDAP in der Weimarer Republik, München 2002 (= Studien zur Zeitgeschichte, 63) (Zugl. Diss. Phil., Universität München 1998), pp. 157-165, 170-177.

[12] Cf. Berghahn, Der Stahlhelm, p. 243.

2. The Great War and Paramilitary Politics

As a veterans' organisation, the *Stahlhelm* referred heavily on the personal experience of war and tried to link it to its self-image as a political movement (*Bewegung*). In this regard there were distinct differences between the league and National Socialism, challenging its attempts to unite the right under one banner. Derived from the first Battle of the Somme in 1916, in which German troops successfully defended against the material superiority of the British and French, the *Stahlhelm* developed a distinct image of heroism, fitting the self-image of its members and its politics. It focussed on 'strength of nerve', 'endurance', 'hardiness', as well as on an 'activism' tamed by 'strict discipline'. It laid the emphasis on the common soldiers of trench warfare fulfilling their duty. This ideal correlates with the research findings of military historians arguing that most of the soldiers were neither motivated by gushing euphoria for war, nor were they willing to breach their obligations.[13] Seldte himself had participated in the Battle of the Somme as a company commander and had lost his left forearm due to severe injuries. After the war, he processed his experiences in two novels and a stage play, which premiered after the consecration of the first *Stahlhelm* flag in the dome of Magdeburg in 1921. According to several articles published in veterans' newspapers, the idea of the league corresponded with a mentality, brought to life by the barrages in the Battle of the Somme the soldiers had endured; "there lies the birthplace of a new Germany" another article claimed. The valiant assault as an attribute of heroism had been replaced by ideas of steadfastness.[14] Similar images of a new, defensive kind of heroism in industrial mass warfare can be found among former enemies and allies, as letters of French frontline soldiers

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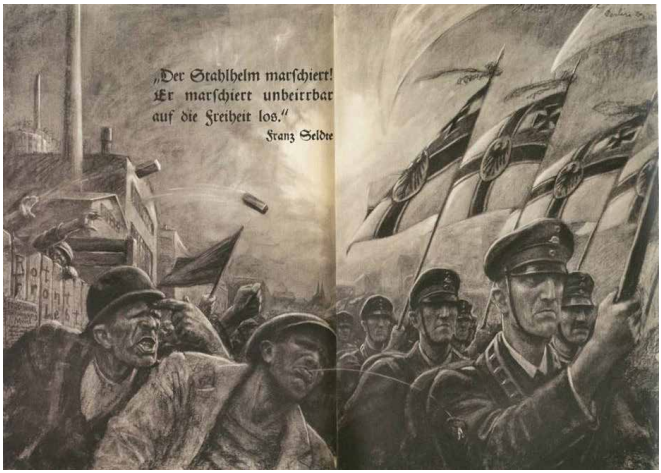
[13] Cf. Stachelbeck, Christian, Deutschlands Heer und Marine im Ersten Weltkrieg, München 2013 (= Beiträge zur Militärgeschichte, 5), p. 188.

[14] Cf. Münkler, Herfried, Der Große Krieg. Die Welt 1914 bis 1918, 4th Ed., Berlin 2014, p. 463, 466; For articles in *Stahlhelm*-sources concerning the battle of the Somme 1916 cf. Der Werdegang des Stahlhelm (= Feldgraue Hefte Vol. 1); (Federal Archives, R72/334 Vol. 2), fol. 13; Goes, Gustav, Das Magdeburger Inf.-Regt. 66 - die Wiege des Stahlhelm. In: Stahlhelm-Jahrbuch 1927, im Auftrage der Bundesleitung des „Stahlhelm", Bund der Frontsoldaten. Hrsg. von Franz Schauwecker, Magdeburg 1927 (Federal Archives, R72/337), p. 48; *Juli 1916 an der Somme*, Der Stahlhelm Vol. 8, No. 32 (8 August 1926).

and perceptions of Austro-Hungarian veterans in the inter-war period show.[15] As a movement, the league should therefore proceed in the moderate *Tempo 114*, the marching speed of the Prussian infantry since 1888 – slow but relentless and unstoppable, untouched by pushbacks and setbacks in the political sphere. As the members had endured the horrors of war they should now remain loyal to their movement even in face of misfortunes and the absence of concrete political victories. This self-image is best represented in a caricature in a propaganda booklet of 1932:

Illust. 3: "The *Stahlhelm* marches! It marches unflinchingly towards freedom."



Source: Die Stahlhelm-Fibel (Tempo 114). ed. by the Propaganda-Section of the Stahlhelm Federal Office, Berlin 1932

On the right side, it shows a marching column of the *Stahlhelm* with flag

[15] Cf. Ulrich, Bernd, und Benjamin Ziemann, Das soldatische Kriegserlebnis. In: Eine Welt von Feinden, pp. 127-158, 237-240; Beaupré, Nicolas, Kriegserfahrungen, Zeitempfinden und Erwartungen französischer Soldaten im Jahr 1916. In: Materialschlachten 1916. Ereignis, Bedeutung, Erinnerung. Im Auftrag des Zentrums für Militärgeschichte und Sozialwissenschaften der Bundeswehr, Hrsg. von Christian Stachelbeck, Paderborn [u.a.] 2016 (= Zeitalter der Weltkriege, 17), p. 338f; Hofer, Hans-Georg, Nervenschwäche und Krieg. Modernitätskritik und Krisenbewältigung in der österreichischen Psychatrie (1880-1920), Vienna [et al.] 2004, pp. 267-280.

bearers in front, marching towards the right edge. The veterans bypass an industrial complex and a crowd of workers, clearly depictured as political lefties, attacking them. They berate the marchers and throw bricks at them. One of the workers in the foreground spits at the flag bearer closest to the viewer. The *Stahlhelm* members, however, meet these attacks, as the uniform facial expressions of grim determination imply, with discipline and 'strength of nerve'. They stay focussed on the destination of the march and there are no observable hints for an imminent aggressive reaction. This scene is marked with a quote of Seldte: "The *Stahlhelm* marches! It marches unflinchingly towards freedom."

At the same time, the *Stahlhelm* leadership made a point that this self-imposed deceleration was not to be mistaken for numbness, immobility or even apathy. As the German Army in retrospect had never fallen back into full-on defence and as it had been able to attack the enemy again and again, the veterans' league should be able to do the same. This hardiness, combined with flexibility and tonicity, corresponded with an aspect of the steel helmet itself – in the fusion of chrome nickel steel and rubber and their characteristics. Their attributes were then transferred to the (former) German frontline soldier.[16] This image correlated with the political strategy and the inner necessities of the organisation. As already mentioned, its leaders tried to unite the political right as a whole, forcing them to spend a lot of time and energy to balance the differences and contrary interests of the various players, prohibiting any calls for fast and determined changes of the political system. Additionally, as a collective basin of the paramilitary right, the *Stahlhelm*'s base itself had become extremely heterogeneous, hindering its leadership to formulate a correspondent political programme. A report by a referee Ludwig within the federal leadership of May 1926 clearly conveys the resulting lack of inner coherence:

"Today, it is the case that we are divided in districts, which represent regional organisations of self-defence, those, in which the *Stahlhelm* fights the Reds, others, in which the *Stahlhelm* is indeed nothing more than a warriors' association,

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[16] Cf. Sonderausstellung. Stahlhelme vom Ersten Weltkrieg bis zur Gegenwart. Friedrich Schwerd, dem Konstrukteur des Deutschen Stahlhelms, zum Gedächtnis. Bearbeitet von Jürgen Kraus, Ingolstadt 1984 (= Veröffentlichungen des Bayerischen Armeemuseums, 8), pp. 82-83.

a traditions club, politically uninterested and without political will."[17]

The resulting perception of indecisiveness and sluggishness, however, became a real threat when the league was confronted with National Socialism, which presented itself as a youthful, determined, even revolutionary movement, promising to overcome the crisis of the late Weimar years with radical velocity. Thus, it is no coincidence that fascists in general and National Socialists in particular preferred the image of the 'storm troopers' of the Great War when utilizing it for political purposes. These formations had had the task to attack key positions of the enemy by surprise, to destroy machine gun positions as well as dugouts and to pave the way for the assault of the conventional troops. Storm trooper formations consisted of young volunteers who were physically tough, mentally resilient, and unmarried. They had undergone specialised military training and were equipped with state-of-the-art weaponry available, designed to fight in close quarters. Therefore, a prominent battle of the Great War to refer to was the Battle of Verdun. Other than the Battle of the Somme in the same year, the Germans had been on the attack and thus narratives about the battle revolved around keen assaults on concrete targets.[18] The elite status and aggressive tactics of the German storm troopers were to be transferred to the political activism of the National Socialists movement in general and its combat league in particular. The *Stahlhelm* meanwhile tried to mitigate the right-wing extremists' activism and to win them over to support its more conservative politics. Hardiness to hold a conquered position and the defence were as important as the verve of the attacker, the propaganda of the league claimed in 1932. This is why the veterans wanted to turn the virtues of traditional German soldiership to become the foundation and the restraining force for the forward-storming, national idealism of

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[17] „*Heute liegen die Dinge doch so, wir teilen uns immer noch in Bezirke, die landschaftsgemäss Selbstschutzorganisationen darstellen, solche, in denen der Stahlhelm gegen rot kämpft, andere, in denen der Stahlhelm in der Tat nichts anderes als ein Kriegerverein, ein Traditionsbund, politisch uninteressiert und ohne politischen Willen ist*." (Minutes of the federal board meeting on 21 May 1926 [Federal Archives, R72/5, fol. 112]).

[18] Cf. Krumeich, Gerd, Die deutsche Erinnerung an die Somme. In: Die Deutschen an der Somme 1914-1918. Krieg, Besatzung, Verbrannte Erde. Hrsg. von Gerhard Hirschfeld, Gerd Krumeich und Irina Renz, Essen 2006, p. 323.

the German youth.[19] It is fair to assume that the National Socialists were addressed here, considering the conflict of generations as an aspect of the escalating rivalry between the two movements[20] and the political weight the NSDAP had gained until the *Reichstag* elections of November 1932.

3. Steel Helmet against Swastika – Conflicts in Political Symbolism

The confrontations between the two self-declared movements were mostly carried out in the sphere of political symbolism which had become a subject for historical research of its own. Previous studies on the downfall of the Weimar Republic had concluded that the symbols of democracy and republicanism were inferior to those of National Socialism and that this inferiority contributed to their end.[21] Historians today are describing a struggle for and against the Weimar Republic at eye level by the means of political symbols. Paramilitary formations on both sides tried to dominate public spaces with uniforms and flags, with songs and hymns, tried to remove symbols of the opponent or to outperform them.[22] This kind of confrontation could also be found within the right wing. The first leader of the Bavarian *Stahlhelm* formation, Wäninger, for example not only rejected the extreme anti-Semitism of the National Socialists but prohibited the exhibition of swastikas and the singing of songs of "similar tendency" at his league's events.[23] By doing so, he limited the extremists' ability to attract attention and to promote their

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[19] *„Es gilt, die Tugenden des alten deutschen Soldatentums zur Grundlage und zur zügelnden Kraft des vorwärtsstürmenden nationalen Idealismus der deutschen Jugend zu machen. Auf die Zähigkeit im Festhalten einmal eroberter Stellungen und im Abwehrkampf kommt es ebenso sehr an wie auf den Schwung des Angriffsgeistes*." (Über den Parteien. In: Die Stahlhelm-Fibel, o. P.).

[20] Cf. Weinrich, Arndt, Der Weltkrieg als Erzieher. Jugend zwischen Weimarer Republik und Nationalsozialismus, Essen 2013 (= Schriften der Bibliothek für Zeitgeschichte NF, 27), pp. 152-177; Olenhusen, Irmtraut Götz von, Vom Jungstahlhelm zur SA. Die junge Nachkriegsgeneration in den paramilitärischen Verbänden der Weimarer Republik. In: Politische Jugend in der Weimarer Republik. Hrsg. von Wolfgang Krabbe, Bochum 1993 (= Dortmunder historische Studien, 7), pp. 146-182.

[21] Cf. Buchner, Bernd, Um nationale und republikanische Identität. Sozialdemokratie und der Kampf um die politischen Symbole in der Weimarer Republik in der Weimarer Republik, Bonn 2001 (= Politik und Gesellschaftsgeschichte, 57), pp. 14-16, 361-362.

[22] Cf. Rossol, Nadine, Flaggenkrieg am Badestrand. Lokale Möglichkeiten repräsentativer Mitgestaltung in der Weimarer Republik. In: Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft Vol. 56 (2008) 7/8, pp. 615-637; Heise, Robert, und Daniel Watermann, Vereinsforschung in der Erweiterung. Historische und sozialwissenschaftliche Perspektiven. In: Geschichte und Gesellschaft Vol. 43 (2017) p. 8, 13.

[23] Cf. Notes of the board meeting 5 October 1924 (Bavarian State Archives, Section IV Stahlhelm No. 330).

cause. When the league held its 10th annual assembly (*Reichsfrontsoldatentag*) in Munich, it challenged the National Socialists in one of their early strongholds. Over 100,000 veterans travelled to the Bavarian capital and several massive events dominated the public space. After a rally in the famous *Löwenbräukeller*, marching columns formed up at the war memorial in front of the Bavarian Army Museum. Famous German military leaders of the Great War, like Field Marshal August von Mackensen, Admiral Alfred von Tirpitz, Colonel General Felix von Bothmer as well as the Bavarian Secretary of the Judiciary, attended the event as guests of honour. Subsequently, the veterans moved into the Dante Stadium in Western Munich carrying 2,300 banners. Following the ceremonial Grand Tattoo (*Großer Zapfenstreich*), the first day of the event concluded with fireworks illuminating the night sky. But the main event followed the day after when tens of thousands of uniformed men paraded in front of the assembled *Stahlhelm* leadership along a central major street in Munich, the *Prinzregentenstraße*.

During the preparations for the event, Adolf Hitler had been invited as an honoured guest as well, but he had refused to attend and stayed away from the city ostentatiously. Instead, he sent the future governor (*Reichsstatthalter*) of Bavaria, Franz Ritter von Epp, to represent the NSDAP. Additionally, he ordered his storm troopers to treat the visiting *Stahlhelm* members friendly and to volunteer as city guides. At the same time, however, Hitler had given strict orders prohibiting them to participate in the marches.[24] Under no circumstances should the impression arise that the Nazi "brown shirts" became a mere attachment of the grey-uniformed masses of the *Stahlhelm* or that the storm troopers were about to be absorbed. On the contrary, the National Socialists seized the opportunity to demonstrate their claimed modernity and superiority over the veterans' organisation. The Munich police department reported the employment of an aircraft during the event, advertising for the National Socialists' newspaper *Der Völkische Beobachter*.[25] In an article, the National Socialists depicted how the airplane had been greeted by the cheering crowd as it circled over their heads, forcing everyone to look at

[24] Cf. Abstract of the report by the Munich police headquarters No. 79, 8 July 1929 (State Archives Munich, Pol. Dir München 10038, fol. 55).
[25] Ibid.

the Swastika high above in the sky over Munich.[26] The constellation itself had a strong symbolic character. Down there, the seasoned veterans of the Great War were deployed, in their field-grey uniforms, wielding the colours of the bygone German Empire and goose-stepped in the Prussian marching speed of *Tempo 114*, introduced in 1888. High above, a plane as a symbol of modernity as well as of speed and dynamics carried the symbols of the National Socialist movement.[27] When the *Stahlhelm* rallied its members again in Koblenz one year later and welcomed a delegation of Italian Fascists the league itself employed an aircraft to underline his claim to be a modern nationalistic movement as well.[28]

After the festivities had ended, however, the *Stahlhelm*'s presence in Munich was threatened to be over-shadowed by its extremist rivals. Meanwhile the two organisations had agreed to cooperate in a committee to prepare a petition against the acceptance of the Young Plan and sub-committees were formed in the whole country. During the preparation for the first session of the Bavarian Sub-committee a few months after the *Reichsfrontsoldatentag*, the new leader of the veterans' association, retired Colonel Hermann Ritter von Lenz, faced the challenge to claim the public space for the *Stahlhelm* without tens of thousands of supporters from all over the country gathered in the city. During a rally, where Hitler, Alfred Hugenberg – the chairman of the German National People's Party (*DNVP*) – and Lenz himself would appear for example, the veterans and the storm troopers were ordered to provide stewardship. To counter the "brown shirts" with their standard bearers, who were to be placed in the centre of the shared stage, it was necessary, the *Stahlhelm* leader of Munich wrote, that the league demonstrated its power by mobilising as many members as possible and to let them march in closed formations. As opposed to the mass event a few months earlier, the veterans were threatened to be pushed in the background. When another event was held in the *Cirkus Krone* one year later, Lenz even refused to officially invite the National

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[26] Cf. *Der deutsche Soldat*, in: Der Völkische Beobachter (Bavarian Edition) Vol. 1929, No. 126 (4 July 1929) (City Archives Munich, ZA-14361).

[27] For further analysis of the employment of planes and pilots for the representation of German National Socialism and Italian Fascism see Esposito, Fernando, Fascism, Aviation and Mythical Modernity, Basingstoke 2015.

[28] See articles titled *Der Tag des Aufmarsches* und *Die Ehrengäste*, in: Der Stahlhelm Vol. 12, No. 40 (5 October 1930).

Socialists. He was worried about the presence of too many "brown shirts", which could dwarf his grey-uniformed followers. In other cities and regions storm troopers disturbed gatherings and rallies of the league by interjections, by chanting the *Horst-Wessel-Lied* – an infamous Nazi battle song – and by raising the right arm, performing the Hitler salute. In regions like Franconia, another early stronghold of National Socialism, the veterans moved on to hold rallies in coterie to prevent the rival organisation from exploiting them, thus limiting their range and effectiveness of addressing potential supporters and new members. In part, these counter-measures seemed quite desperate indeed. When Hitler came to the city of Regensburg and attracted 1,500 people the local *Stahlhelm* leader decided to 'walk around' the city with some members to demonstrate that they were "still alive", as he wrote. When another leader attended a Nazi rally he was shocked about the dominance of the Swastika and the small children, raising the right arm for the Hitler salute. Again and again, the veterans were outshined by the presence of their rival organisation in the public sphere. In their rising tensions, the Swastika also stood against the steel helmet as the league's symbol. The veterans tried to dominate public squares and halls with grey-uniformed bodies and outnumber the "brown shirts". On the other hand, National Socialists tried to overtone the hymn of the league by singing the anthem of the NSDAP.[29]

Sometimes though, these conflicts led to violent clashes, especially after the league's leadership had refused to support the candidacy of Hitler in the German Presidential Election in 1932. Violence reached another climax one year later, after Hitler had been appointed Chancellor of the German Reich. After his inauguration, it emerged that the *Stahlhelm* would not be allowed to persist as an independent organisation – even though *Bundesführer* Seldte had become a member of the new cabinet. In this situation, he and especially Theodor Duesterberg, the influential second federal leader, tried to preserve the league facing the totalitarian efforts of the National Socialists. Duesterberg even attacked them in public and addressed former opponents – members of the republican veteran associations and political parties which were even more threatened. As early as February 1933, he declared

[29] Cf. Werberg, Dennis, Stahlhelm – Nationalsozialismus – Neue Rechte. Der Frontsoldatenbund und sein Verhältnis zum Rechtsextremismus 1918 – 2000 (working title, to be published).

that there were hundreds of thousands of former frontline soldiers amongst the Socialists and Catholics whose patriotism was not to be judged by the NSDAP. Apparently, it was his goal to convince the former opponents to join the *Stahlhelm* ranks to strengthen its position. As a consequence, the regime intensified the pressure on Seldte to deprive Duesterberg from power. In April 1933, Seldte succumbed to the pressure and ousted his colleague. After that, negotiations began and the transfer of the youngest *Stahlhelm* members into the *SA* was prepared for autumn 1933. Only the eldest adherents were to remain under Seldte's direct control. At the same time, however, as Duesterberg and his supporters had wished, a substantial number of Social Democrats, Liberals and Conservatives – members of the dissolved political parties and associations – joined their ranks.[30] By enquiring those former opponents, the leaders on the subordinated levels tried to strengthen their position as negotiations went on for the league's future alongside the National Socialist fighting organisations, *Sturmabteilung* and *Schutzstaffel*. As a consequence, the membership figures roughly doubled, reaching between 750,000 and one million adherents in May 1933. The new leader of the Bavarian branch in Munich, retired cavalry captain, historian and archivist Otto von Waldenfels assessed this development as success "very substantial but yet sometimes quite undesirable" because it gave the National Socialists an excuse for brutal interventions.[31] The most famous incident occurred on 27 March 1933 in Brunswick, where the *Reichsbanner* was about to be incorporated in the veterans' ranks when Prime Minister Klagges (NSDAP) ordered to dissolve a joint rally by force. Two thousand *Stahlhelm* members as well as over one thousand 'Marxists' were arrested, the local branch of the *Stahlhelm* was dissolved and Klagges spread the message of a planned *coup d'état* by the joint veterans. Another incident occurred in late June in the region of Lauterecken in Western-Palatinate. In this sparsely populated, rural area, several new local groups had been founded under great participation of Social Democrats. In the night of 23 June 1933, 300 storm troopers and workers from the near National Socialist labour camp were rallied

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[30] Cf. Meinl, Susanne, Nationalsozialisten gegen Hitler. Die nationalrevolutionäre Opposition um Friedrich Wilhelm Heinz, Berlin 2000, pp. 187-188.

[31] Cf. Waldenfels, Otto Freiherr von, Der Leidensweg des Stahlhelm, p. 9 (Bavarian Main Public Record Office, Section IV, Stahlhelm No. 361).

in the town of Wolfstein, the place where the district leadership of the *Stahlhelm* was located. Following the abuse and arrest of a Catholic priest, the mob stormed the homes of the district leader, retired Sergeant Franz Eduard Klinger, and his closest co-workers. The men were dragged out of their beds in their nightdresses and arrested while being brutally abused and beaten. In the following days, the health condition of Klinger deteriorated and he was subsequently hospitalised in the regional capital city of Kaiserslautern where he died on 4 July 1933.[32] This incident, combined with either the inability or the unwillingness of federal leadership to protect its adherents led to the breakdown of the whole organisation in Western-Palatinate. In protest and in fear of further assaults many *Stahlhelm* leaders resigned and gave way for successors more compliant to the new rulers. In the end, all attempts of the veterans to strengthen their position and to prevail were in vain. After a greater part of the members had been transferred to the storm trooper formations and after Hitler had declared the rearmament of Germany in 1935, the last remains of the veterans' organisation were dissolved. Many joined the National Socialist party, the warriors' associations of the *Kyffhäuserbund*, already brought into line by the Nazi regime, and other conform organisations.[33]

4. Old Steel Helmets in a New Germany

However, some of the former *Stahlhelm* members went underground and upheld secretive meetings. The former local groups were concealed as clubs for sports and leisure activities. After the end of the Second World War, these *Stahlhelm connections* re-surfaced, at first without any coordination. Until the end of 1950, as a member wrote in an open letter, approximately ten different groups and "God knows how many regulars' tables" had been established.[34] These gatherings belonged to the many soldiers' associations in Germany after

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[32] Cf. Werberg, Stahlhelm – Nationalsozialismus – Neue Rechte (to be published).

[33] Cf. Gestapo Hannover meldet … Polizei- und Regierungsberichte für das mittlere und südliche Niedersachsen zwischen 1933 und 1937. Bearbeitet von Klaus Mlynek, Hildesheim 1986, p. 460, 483, 493; Hering, Rainer, Konstruierte Nation. Der Alldeutsche Verband 1890 bis 1939, Hamburg 2003 (= Hamburger Beiträge zur Sozial- und Zeitgeschichte, 40), p. 158.

[34] Cf. Open letter of Rosbach to the first district leader of Oldenburg, 31 December 1950 (Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution, Zentrales Altaktenwesen (ZAW), No. 2735, p. 192).

the war, counting between one to two thousand organisations.[35] In February 1951, the league was founded anew as "successor organisation of Duesterberg's *Stahlhelm*" in Frankfurt. With regard to its personnel, ideology, political strategy and symbols there were strong continuities to the old league. Among the founders were numerous leaders and members of the federal leadership and confidants of the former *Bundesführer*. The most senior officials, however, Seldte and Duesterberg, had already passed away. The German steel helmet of the Great War as well as the colours of the old German Monarchy – Black-White-Red – remained the most important symbols. In terms of the political agenda the original members agreed on a 12-point-programme with great resemblance to their official statements until 1933.[36] Their declared goals included the gathering of former frontline soldiers and officers to build a coalition overarching the political parties of the right and to overcome the differences dividing the nation on the basis of war experience. But different from the Weimar years, the new leadership was not able to integrate the diverging factions within, ranging from members loyal to the German post-war government of Konrad Adenauer, radical and paramilitary enemies of democracy as well as non-political veterans. The tensions between them, combined with the renewed outbreak of conflicts between the supporters of the two former *Bundesführer* resulted in the fragmentation of the organisation. First, the new leader, a confidant of Duesterberg, retired Sergeant Carl Simon, was forced out by Thomas Girgensohn, a former high-ranking official within the storm troopers and top-brass supporter of Seldte. Simon then formed an organisation of his own and fought the league at every opportunity. Another fracture occurred when his successor, retired Field Marshal Albert Kesselring, announced his plans for the league to equate the colours of the German Republic, Black-Red-Gold, with the association's colours stemming from the German Empire, Black-

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[35] Schweinsberg estimates the number of soldier organisations at 1,000 while Thomas Kühne suggests that there were around 2,000 organisations (cf. Schweinsberg, Krafft Freiherr Schenck zu, Die Soldatenverbände in der Bundesrepublik. In: Studien zur politischen und gesellschaftlichen Situation der Bundeswehr, ed. by Georg Picht, Berlin 1965 (= Forschungen und Berichte der evangelischen Studiengemeinschaft, 21), p. 105; Kühne, Thomas, Kameradschaft. Die Soldaten des nationalsozialistischen Krieges und das 20. Jahrhundert, Göttingen 2006 (= Kritische Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft, 173), p. 93).

[36] Cf. Tauber, Kurt P., Beyond eagle and swastika. German nationalism since 1945, Middletown 1967, pp. 320-321.

White-Red. Additionally he planned to open up membership to Social Democrats and members of trade unions. As a consequence, uproar shook the veterans' organisation to its core. Following this, several branches separated and formed another organisation, the *Bund der Frontsoldaten* (League of Frontline Soldiers) with a strong militant and anti-socialist profile. The remaining league itself was split between veterans supporting the first *Bundesführer* Kesselring, the chief of the *Bundesamt* (the federal office of administration) Girgensohn and the second *Bundesführer* Lehmann. Since the organisation remained stuck in its ways as a veterans' association of the Great War, it was barely able to address the veterans of the Second World War, causing the organisation to overage as the years went by.[37]

When Kesselring's successor Kurt Barth died in 1964, the league changed its course. To free themselves from the claim to power of Girgensohn, the regional association leaders united and pushed one of their own, retired First Lieutenant and bearer of the *Ritterkreuz* – one of the highest awards in the military of Nazi Germany – Wilhelm Massa, to become *Bundesführer*. He disempowered his internal enemies, broke with the Federal Republic of Germany and integrated the league in the network of already existing far-right organisations and political parties. He managed to stabilise the shrinking base and to attract new members – even young people who attended paramilitary training provided by the veterans.[38] Nevertheless, several branches of the association were able to build and maintain contacts with garrisons of the Federal Armed Forces of Germany (*Bundeswehr*). The veterans wanted to influence the new German military and be recognised as former soldiers with war experience. Many high-ranking military officers on the other hand were planning to utilise the *Stahlhelm* as one of the more reliable soldiers' associations to further recruit personnel and strengthen the willingness to serve in the regular armed forces. Especially in the late 1960s, a general trend in German society for liberalisation gained ground. Protest movements called for disarmament and negotiations with the Eastern Bloc to preserve peace. From the viewpoint of conservatives and traditionalists inside and outside the military,

[37] Cf. Supplementary Report, 1 February 1955 (Federal Archives. BW7/2754, fol. 130. 134, 136).
[38] Cf. Werberg, Stahlhelm – Nationalsozialismus – Neue Rechte (to be published).

this development threatened the ability of the armed forces to provide national defence.[39] The cooperation with soldiers' organisations was therefore used to balance this trend. Occasionally, these connections incriminated the military and the German Federal Ministry of Defence when they became public. The best-known incident took place in the spa town of Bad Bergzabern in the federal state of Rhineland-Palatinate where a new local group of the *Stahlhelm* was established in 1966. At the founding event, a number of soldiers of Signal Battalion 768 stationed nearby participated and a non-commissioned officer of the *Bundeswehr* assumed a leading function. During this event, a former functionary of the NSDAP delivered a speech about the defence against Bolshevism as a great historic accomplishment of National Socialism, relativised the mass murder of the European Jews and announced another march to the east.[40] In consequence, the new group was dissolved and the soldiers who had initiated the event received disciplinary action. The Parliamentary Commissioner of the German Armed Forces (*Wehrbeauftragter*) demanded to intensify education for the soldiers and one year later, the German Federal Ministry of Defence published the first official, critical depiction about the *Stahlhelm* in the Weimar Republic, based on historical studies.[41]

In 1975, after more than ten years in office, *Bundesführer* Wilhelm Massa resigned. His successor initiated another course, distancing himself from right-wing extremists and focussing on military tradition and camaraderie. This change resulted in more tensions, withdrawals and exclusions. In the end, around 730 members remained in total. Because of its shrinking influence and since there were no more extremist tendencies at the executive level, the German Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution (*Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz*) stopped monitoring the league. In the 1990s, the *Stahlhelm* got into the focus for

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[39] Cf. Dörfler-Dierken, Angelika, Die Bedeutung der Jahre 1968 und 1981 für die Bundeswehr. Gesellschaft und Bundeswehr. Integration oder Abschottung? Baden-Baden 2010 (= Militär und Sozialwissenschaften, 44), pp. 26-31.

[40] Cf. Bill of Indictment, pp. 3-4; Letter of the German Federal Disciplinary Attorney (Bundesdisziplinaranwalt) to the German Federal Ministry of Defence 1 June 1966 (Federal Archives, BW1/66145).

[41] Cf. Annual Report of the Parliamentary Commissioner of the Armed Forces (*Wehrbeauftragter*) 1965, p. 13; *Der Stahlhelm. Der Bund der Frontsoldaten in der Weimarer Republik*, in: Information für die Truppe. Hefte für staatsbürgerliche Bildung und geistige Rüstung Vol. 5 (1967), pp. 316-329.

one last time in some minor regional newspapers in Lower Saxony. The media reported about a *Franz-Seldte-Haus* and a training ground on which right-wing extremists conducted military exercises. Lastly, in the year 2000 the league's leadership decided to dissolve the organisation at the federal level, presumably to avoid prosecution for attempts to import items with prohibited Nazi symbols into Germany. After that, the league's last signs of life faded from the records as well as from the right and far right activities in Germany.

5. Summary and Conclusion

In conclusion: The *Stahlhelm - Bund der Frontsoldaten* was a right-wing movement in Germany in the 20th century and a last attempt to gather the political right on the eve of the National Socialist regime. As such, its leadership was a right-wing competitor and rival of the National Socialists while a great part of the basis in fact sympathised with the latter. The rising tensions between the two players manifested in a clash of symbols in which the steel helmet, formations of field-grey uniformed men, Imperial War Flags, hymns, as well as salutes competed against the Nazi symbols: swastika, brown shirts, the *Horst-Wessel-Lied* and the Hitler salute. Between 1933 and 1935, the *Stahlhelm* became one of the last melting pots of possible opposition members and paradoxically a basin for Social Democrats, Liberals and other Conservatives. The reasons for these new members to join were as diverse as their political background. Some were fundamentally opposed to the Nazi regime and tried to resist it or just sought shelter from persecution. Others sympathised with the idea of a new German *Reich* and wanted to participate in its establishment but felt deterred by the revolutionary appeal of the Nazi storm troopers. There were also those who just wanted to uphold their personal connections within a non-National-Socialist organisation, as well as the functionaries who wanted to keep their independence. In most cases, however, the opposition of the latter was not fundamental. Therefore, it would be wrong to glorify the *Stahlhelm* in the last years of its existence as a bastion of resistance against National Socialism. On the whole, this veterans' league represented not pure fascists, even though a major part of its members sympathised with fascism. It represented an anti-liberal, authoritarian current within the German right-

wing, somewhere between the monarchists of old and the other, more extreme representatives of the new right. Its leaders had fought parliamentary democracy more and more viciously and had welcomed the concentration of political power in the hands of the German President, Field Marshall von Hindenburg. Therefore, the *Stahlhelm* had paved the way for the rise of National Socialism and the ultimate downfall of democracy. In any case, the National Socialists continued their fight against their old rival.

After the league had been dissolved, the *Stahlhelm* veterans upheld their connections and continued to meet, concealed as clubs for sports and leisure activities. After the total defeat and occupation of Germany in World War 2, these groups resurfaced and tried to re-establish the organisation with modest success. The unwillingness or inability to adapt combined with internal tensions between different factions led to a general decline. The league was not able to regain the position it had held as the most potent right-wing veterans' organisation of the Weimar years.

Section II.

The Second World War and Strategy

CHAPTER 6

Undecided Decision: Japan's "Northbound" and Richard Sorge Spy Ring in 1941

SHIMIZU Ryotaro

Introduction

Japan's external policies were divided into the Northbound and the Southbound before the Second World War. The "Northbound" was an idea that Japan should expand its territory, influence and military power toward Manchuria and Siberia in terms of politics, economy and national security. Before the Russo-Japanese War in 1904, Japan's military strategy was defensive. After the war, Japan succeeded the South Manchuria Railway and the tip of Liaodong Peninsula including Port Arthur from Russia, which was the most appropriate landing place for the Japanese armed forces. This would enable rapid concentration in the center of Manchuria.

The Northbound was associated with the sectional interests of the Japanese army, while the Southbound was linked to those of the navy, inasmuch as they each had a potential adversary: Russia and the United States. In this paper, I will elaborate on the concept of "Northbound" of the Japanese army and discuss how this policy was abandoned in 1941. And then, I will examine whether the international intelligence group that was set up by the USSR affected Japanese decisions politically and militarily.

1. Strategies of the Japanese Army in the 1930s

E.H. Carr argued that the most significant event in 1929 for the Soviet Union occurred in Manchuria, when Zhang Xueliang sought to resume the Chinese Eastern Railway.[1] His efforts were met with resistance from the USSR, which launched the Sino-Soviet Conflict. In this battle near Manzhouli, the Soviet army beat the Chinese army with overwhelming mechanized artillery, aircraft

[1] Edward H. Carr, *The Russian Revolution from Lenin to Stalin, 1917-1929*, London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003, p. 181.

(including bombardment aircraft) and tanks.

The conflict was critical for Japan as well. The Japanese army was shocked by the strength of the Far Eastern Soviet army. In particular, they estimated the flight range of the bombardment aircraft of the Soviets at that time to be 1,000 to 1,500 km; when extended to 2,000 to 3,000 km in the near future, the USSR could bombard mainland Japan from the airbase in the maritime province of Siberia. After the Russo-Japanese War, Japan's grand strategy was to fight outside the main islands, Manchuria and the West Pacific Ocean area. "The standards of force strength" of the army and navy should have allowed them to take the offense against Russia and the United States in those areas. However, the resurrection of the Soviet forces was an evident sign of the failure of this grand strategy.

This sense of threat became the most important motivation for Japanese soldiers, especially middle-ranking officers who planned and executed the Mukden Incident in 1931. Some of them were then deployed to the staff of the Kwantung Army at Lüshun.[2]

In 1928, they assassinated Zhang Zuolin, the father of Zhang Xueliang, in Mukden. The reluctance of Zuolin to agree on railroad construction with the Japanese side became a trigger for the assassination. The Japanese government officially decided on a railroad construction plan in north Manchuria in 1927. By constructing the branch lines of the South Manchuria Railway (SMR), which were bound for the north, northeast and northwest toward the border areas, they intended to prepare for battle with the USSR and to develop the heavy and chemical industry using the mineral resources along the lines.

A representative figure of the officer group, Teiichi Suzuki, recalled after World War II that the aims of the Mukden Incident in 1931 were: 1) the enhancement of transportation and communication facilities for preparing for a war against the USSR; 2) the settlement of the surplus population in mainland Japan; and 3)

[2] The Kwantung Army was established in 1919. It originated from the troops deployed to protect the interests on the Liaodong Peninsula. After the South Manchuria Railway Company succeeded from Russia following the Russo-Japanese War, the potential enemy for the Japanese army was always Russia. It was because the political and military leaders had thought the Russian Empire would start a revenge war. In reality, the relationship between the two countries improved. Confidential clauses contained in the 1907 and 1912 agreements between Japan and Russia indicate their respective areas of influence in Manchuria and Inner Mongolia: South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia for Japan, and North Manchuria and Western Inner Mongolia for Russia.

exploiting mineral resources for military industries for the future total war.[3]

After Kanji Ishiwara joined the Kwantung Army as Chief of Operations in October 1928, he and other staff conducted several field trips in north Manchuria. He advised his colleagues to set a "culminating point of the offensive" for the future battlefield of Manchuria in the Khingan Mountains (the Greater Khingan and Lesser Khingan) and the Plains of Hulunbuir (northwest of Qiqihar).[4]

In March 1932, just five months after the Incident, the Manchukuo government was established.[5] The Army's General Staff had updated its anti-Soviet strategy by August 1932. They expected the main force of the Soviet Army to intrude along the western frontier (Greater Khingan), with branch operations taking place on the northern and eastern frontiers. Then, immediately after the outbreak of the war, the Kwantung Army was to take the offensive in the east, destroying each unit there, and then intercepting the main force in the northern frontier. By applying the lessons of the Schlieffen Plan from World War I and developing railways and an information infrastructure in Manchuria, they intended to predominate with mobility on each front.

However, the military expansion of the USSR in the Far East was much faster and more massive than the Japanese army had expected. In September 1933, the Chief of Operations of the General Staff, Col. Yorimichi Suzuki, admitted to his friend at the War Ministry that they were not confident of victory against the USSR owing to the gap in aircraft power between the two countries.[6] The senior officials in the army of this period were seen as hardliners against Russia. However, their aim was to limit the adversary to the Soviets alone, inasmuch as

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[3] 木戸日記研究会編『鈴木貞一氏談話速記録』上巻、1971年、61、68頁 [Kido Nikki Kenkyukai ed., *The Oral History of Teiichi Suzuki*, vol. 1, Tokyo, 1971, p. 61, 68].

[4] The reasoning was that, if the battle were fought in Central Manchuria, the Japanese army would face an uphill battle due to the advanced artillery and mechanized corps of the Soviet Army. It was thought that North Manchuria should be occupied instead, and that the Japanese army should fight in the mountain range along the border with Russia. The defense relied on taking advantage of the slopes in the wave-like plains of Hulunbuir.

[5] By agreement between Puyi (the last Emperor of Qing dynasty) and the Commander of the Kwantung Army, Japan had the responsibility to protect Manchukuo, and the Japanese army was entitled to use every resource for the defense of the new state, including developing new railways and airfields. Under this fictional relationship between the two states, the Japanese army achieved the rights to implement the military plan against the Soviets.

[6] 「鈴木貞一日記」1933年9月27日条『史学雑誌』87巻1号、史学会、1978年1月 [September 27, 1933 in "Diaries of Teiichi Suzuki," in *Shigaku Zasshi*, vol. 87, no. 1, Tokyo, Jan. 1978].

they declined the Soviets' proposal for a non-aggression treaty and the concession of the Eastern Chinese Railway.

Thus, as a consequence of the Mukden Incident and the establishment of Manchukuo, both Japan and the USSR were forced to expand their military power in the Far East. As a result of this arms race, the military balance between the two countries was completely broken by 1935.[7] The gap in the strength of aircraft and tanks was estimated at three times in 1933, and more than five times in 1935.[8]

2. Intelligence Warfare in the Far East

Soviet efforts in the domain of military intelligence against Japan had also been reinforced since 1929. Richard Sorge, one of the most famous spies in history, seemed to be the conductor of the unit.

Sorge was born in the Russian Empire in Baku, which is the capital of the Republic of Azerbaijan. His father was a skilled oil driller from Germany and his mother was a native Russian. He relocated to his father's homeland and joined the First World War, where he was seriously injured three times. After the war, he returned to being a student. While studying for a doctorate at the University of Hamburg, he joined the Communist Party of Germany (KPD). After finishing his studies at Hamburg, he moved to Frankfurt and worked as a research associate at the Institute of Social Research, which was established for the development of innovative Marxist social sciences in 1924. In the same year, Sorge attended guests from the Comintern headquarters at the secret conference of KPD.[9]

He was then recruited by some cadre of the Comintern and selected as an agent of the Comintern headquarters. After serving in Scandinavian countries, he was reallocated to the Red Army's Fourth Department (the Main Intelligence Directorate, later the GRU) in 1929 and soon thereafter sent to Shanghai, China in the autumn of 1930. There, he gained his most valuable companion, Hotsumi

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[7] In late 1935, it seemed that the strength of both sides was as follows: Japan had 5 divisions, 200 aircraft, and 150 tanks; the Soviets, 14 rifle divisions, 950 aircraft, and 850 tanks.

[8] 防衛庁防衛研修所戦史室『戦史叢書　関東軍〈1〉』朝雲新聞社、1969年、194-195頁 [National Institute for Defense Studies (NIDS), *Senshi Sosho: Kwantung Army*, vol. 1, Tokyo: Asagumo Shimbunsha, 1969, pp. 194-195].

[9] Frederick Deakin, Richard Storry, *The Case of Richard Sorge*, New York: Harper & Row, 1966, pp. 36-39.

Ozaki. Ozaki was born in Tokyo in 1901. After graduating from Tokyo Imperial University, he joined the Asahi Shimbun (a newspaper publisher). In 1928, he became a correspondent in Shanghai; in little time, he gained a strong reputation as a journalist specializing in China issues. Chalmers Johnson argued in his book on Ozaki and Sorge that they were the most intellectually overqualified spies in modern history. "Neither was a spy for financial gain; their motivations were political, and of the two, Ozaki's were the more sophisticated and the more daring."[10]

How did they meet in that chaotic city? It had been believed that Agnes Smedley, a well-known leftwing American journalist from Missouri, mediated between them, because Sorge repeatedly emphasized this in statements before prosecutors. However, recently, it has come to light that the encounter between the two intellects had been deliberately planned in a Communist's network. Ginichi Kito, a Japanese member of the Communist Party USA (CPUSA), was the node that connected them.[11]

For the Soviet intelligence community, the CPUSA was a perfect footing for their worldwide activities, as it included many immigrant members from various countries. The CPUSA was divided into 13 factions by language, and the Japanese faction had about 40 members. The Comintern directed each communist party to establish and strengthen secret illegal leadership organizations. The party in the USA had two faces. One was the "vanguard" of the labor class, leading labor movements in the great depression and engaging the anti-fascist people's front in the Spanish civil war. The other, darker side was the base for the worldwide operations of the Comintern, specifically those guided by the secret organ named the OMS (the International Liaison Department). The OMS was in charge of illegal activities, such as forgery of passports, alien smuggling, and underground cash transfers, not only for the Comintern, but also for GRU, NKVD (the People's

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[10] Chalmers Johnson, *An Instance of Treason: Ozaki Hotsumi and the Sorge Spy Ring*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990, p. 4.

[11] 加藤哲郎『ゾルゲ事件:覆された神話』平凡社、2014年、186-187頁 [Tetsuro Kato, *The Sorge Case: the End of a Myth*, Tokyo: Heibonsha, 2014, pp. 186-187].

Commissariat for Internal Affairs) etc.[12]

Kito seemed to have been ordered to acquire Ozaki for Sorge. Sanzo Nosaka, who had been the leader of Japanese communists in the United States and would become the chairman of the Japanese Communist Party after WW II (1958-82), when he was moved from the United States to Moscow to direct Japanese communists in the world, was probably involved in this mission.[13]

In Shanghai, there was also a group of Japanese leftist intellectuals under the guidance of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). Many of them belonged to the SMR Company, whose members were diffused throughout north China and Manchuria. Sorge admitted before prosecutors that Ozaki obviously had relations with them. Moreover, a Chinese researcher argues that Sorge's informants were to reach a hundred, and that Sorge and Zhou Enlai met in 1931.[14] Apparently, Ozaki, Sorge, Smedley and Ursula Kuczynski, who would be known later as the "Atomic Bomb Spy," were the nodes between both networks under the Comintern and the CCP.

Smedley would be the most important node connecting them. She was a very famous journalist and activist specializing in anti-British imperialism in India and anti-colonialism in China; she cooperated with the Comintern and with the GRU guided by Yan Berzin.[15] Ozaki was transferred to the Osaka Office of the Asahi Shimbun in 1932. According to Sorge's report to Moscow, in December 1932, Smedley invited Ozaki to Beijing and successfully persuaded him to cooperate with Sorge's spy ring. [16] Smedley likely said that the work was for the cause of international communism. Ozaki himself seemed to have believed that he had been working for the Comintern to the end. In September 1933, Sorge came to Tokyo. Sorge was also interested in academic research on Japanese society and

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[12] Harvey Klehr, John Earl Haynes, Fridrikh Igorevich Firsov, *The Secret World of American Communism*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995, p. 71; John Earl Haynes, Harvey Klehr, *Venona: Decoding Soviet Espionage in America*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999, p. 59.

[13] 加藤『ゾルゲ事件』、182-183頁 [Kato, *The Sorge Case*, pp. 182-183].

[14] 楊国光『ゾルゲ、上海ニ潜入ス:日本の大陸侵略と国際情報戦』社会評論社、2009年、74、76頁 [Yang Guoguang, *Sorge Came to Shanghai*, Tokyo: Shakaihyoronsha, 2009, p. 74, 76].

[15] Owen Matthews, *An Impeccable Spy: Richard Sorge, Stalin's Master Agent*, London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2019, p. 62.

[16] А.Г.Фесюн, «Дело Зорге» телеграммы и письма (1930-1945), Центр гуманитарных инициатив, 2019 [Andrey Feshun, *The Sorge Case: Telegrams and Letters*, Moscow, 2019], p. 53.

politics. However, his boss at GRU, Berzin demanded military intelligence from "Ramsay" (Sorge's codename) as follows:

a) specific coverage, with figures, of the work of the military plants;
b) provision of raw materials and fuel;
c) the condition of the railways and maritime transport;
d) construction of warehouses, bases, equipment of shipment ports;
e) the organization and condition of the air defense system;
f) the condition of the Japanese countryside and the agrarian question.[17]

Besides Ozaki, Sorge had a devoted assistant in 1933; Yotoku Miyagi was a painter born in Okinawa, immigrated to the Unites States and entered the CPUSA. He presumably was trained and dispatched by the CPUSA under the guidance of the Comintern. In 1935, a highly skilled radiotelegraph operator, Max Clausen, also joined Sorge's ring by order of Moscow.

While working as a foreign correspondent for German newspapers, he approached the German embassy in Tokyo. In particular, Eugen Ott, who was a military attaché and then ambassador in 1938, was the most important source. Ott had served in a Japanese infantry regiment at Nagoya and had many friends in the Japanese army, in which Col. Takanobu Manaki was the chief of the Germany section of the General Staff. Sorge thus had much intelligence from Ott concerning the negotiations for the Anti-Comintern Pact signed in 1936. This negotiation, which had begun between the Nazis' unofficial diplomacy consultant Joachim von Ribbentrop and Japanese military attaché Maj. General Hiroshi Oshima in 1935, was completely penetrated by the Soviet NKVD spy ring orchestrated from the Hague station by Walter Krivitsky. In the Anti-Comintern Pact, there was a secret clause that Germany and Japan should not "entlasten" [reduce] the military pressure exerted from the frontier with both countries. Joseph Stalin, who was still immature on foreign affairs and fascinated by the political ability of Adolf Hitler since the Night of the Long Knives (the purge of the SA guided by Ernst Röhm), having grasped the whole picture of the Pact with the intelligence network, began

[17] Фесюн, «Дело Зорге» [Feshun, *The Sorge Case*], p. 79.

his desperate attempts to "Munich" [appease] Hitler.[18]

This attitude of Stalin would be conducive to the non-aggression pact [Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact] in August 1939; then, Germany conducted a perfect surprise attack against the USSR in June 1941. In the Far East, the gap in military strength was an incentive for officers in the War Ministry and the General Staff to be allied with Nazi Germany. This trend resulted in the Tripartite Pact in 1940. At the same time, the Nazis offered a model of a new socio-economic regime for officers in the Japanese army. This movement led to the collapse of party politics and the New Structure headed by Fumimaro Konoye. In this sense, the Mukden Incident indubitably brought about a catalyst effect for the Second World War.

3. The "Decision" in the Summer of 1941

Richard Sorge's spy ring is considered to have sent over 400 reports from Tokyo to Moscow through "Wiesbaden"—Vladivostok or Khabarovsk. Among them, the most valuable pieces of intelligence were supposedly the alarm for German invasion against the USSR in June and the expectation that the Japanese army would not attack Russia in the Far East in the summer of 1941. In the former, Sorge reported the starting date of war correctly. However, according to the Mitorokhin Archive brought to the West by former KGB archivist Vasili Mitrokhin, there were more than one hundred reports from the NKVD to Stalin suggesting a German invasion of Russia in 1941. There was also information from the GRU, including from Sorge.[19] However, Stalin did not believe that Hitler would attack Russia, and the military intelligence cadre replied that Sorge's reports were doubtful. Only after Operation Barbarossa came into reality would Stalin acknowledge the validity of the intelligence from the Sorge ring.

The latter, that is, the decision of "not attacking" the USSR, has been deemed the most critical achievement of the Sorge spy ring. As Charles Willoughby, Chief of Intelligence on General MacArthur's staff during World War II, acknowledged in his book *Shanghai Conspiracy* (1952), "Sorge was able to assure his superiors

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[18] Water Krivitsky, *In Stalin's secret service: An exposé of Russia's secret policies by the former chief of the Soviet intelligence in Western Europe*, 3rd edition, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1939, p. 4.
[19] Christopher Andrew, Vasili Mitrokhin, *The Sword and the Shield: the Mitrokhin Archive and the Secret History of the KGB*, New York: Basic Books, 1999, pp. 92-93.

that there would be no attack: the Siberian divisions were entrained for the West and appeared on the Western Front for the successful defense of Moscow."[20] This has become the grounds for judging Sorge to be the greatest spy in the 20th century.

As I mentioned above, since the Japanese army had suffered from an inferiority in military strength against the USSR, war on the western front created the ideal moment to attack Russia and, in particular, to destroy crucial military facilities, such as airfields for large bombardment aircraft in south maritime Siberia.

By early June, the Japanese army and navy were informed by the Japanese ambassador to Germany, General Oshima, that the outbreak of war between Germany and Russia was inevitable. The army and navy thus reconsidered their predetermined policy after the outbreak of WW II, which was to advance to Southeast Asia to ensure natural resources, such as oil, rubber, tin, and rice in the Western colonies, and at the same time, to obtain air bases to attack Singapore.

To the Japanese military, the German-Soviet War was as an accelerative factor for advancing both to the South and to the North. Foreign Minister Yosuke Matsuoka signed the Neutrality Treaty with Stalin on April 13, 1941, shortly after Ribbentrop and Hitler implied to him in official talks that Germany would go to war with Russia. For Matsuoka the neutrality treaty seemed to be nothing more than leverage for the negotiations with the United States, so he insisted on an attack on Russia in the Far East immediately after the start of war on June 22. However, the army and navy did not agree to change their predetermined policy. The Japanese government then reestablished the strategy at a conference held before the Emperor, which prioritized the Southbound on July 2, 1941.

The Japanese government issued an official statement that the highest decision was made before the Emperor. However, the decision included two policies: 1) advancing to South French Indochina; and 2) preparing in secrecy to attack the USSR in Siberia. The problem of "North or South" was ambiguous to the very end at the conference.

Sorge learned about this conference decision on July 2 from Ozaki, who was a special adviser of Prime Minister Fumimaro Konoye. On July 3, Sorge

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[20] Charles Willoughby, *Shanghai Conspiracy: The Sorge Spy Ring*, New York: E.P. Dutton, 1952, p. 24.

transmitted a report as follows:

1) The German military attaché [Maj. General Alfred Kretschmer] told me that the Japanese General Staff is full of activities in view of the German offensive against the great enemy and the inevitability of the Red Army's defeat. He thinks that Japan will enter the war in no later than five weeks. The Japanese offensive will begin at Vladivostok, Khabarovsk and Sakhalin, with an amphibious landing from Sakhalin.
2) Source Invest [Ozaki] thinks Japan will enter the war in six weeks. He also reported that the Japanese government has decided to remain faithful to the Tripartite Pact, but will also adhere to the Neutrality Pact with the USSR. It was decided to send three divisions to Saigon. Matsuoka, who previously insisted on attacking the USSR, agreed with this decision.
3) Sources of Intari [Miyagi] said that they had heard of strengthening the eastern border with some troops from northern China as well as reinforcing the troops in Hokkaido.[21]

The decision of the Imperial Conference was correctly reported in the second section; however, as it was attached with information from Kretschmer and Yotoku Miyagi, the focus became blurred. Rather, the mood of the General Staff and the information on the concentration of army units to the eastern border area may have created an imminent sense of threat of Japanese attack in Moscow. After his arrest, Sorge confessed that he was convinced that Japan's primary target was the "south" to prepare for occupying Singapore, and Japan would take a wait-and-see attitude for the "north"; he then immediately reported this to Moscow by radio wave.[22] In reality, Sorge's report accurately reflected the "indecision" between Northbound and Southbound.

The GRU headquarters' assessment of this report is unclear. According to some research, a GRU cadre handwrote on telegram paper that this report is trustworthy. However, there is no such telegram in the selection of Sorge's telegrams and

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[21] Фесюн, «Дело Зорге» [Feshun, *The Sorge Case*], p. 365.
[22] 小尾俊人編『現代史資料1:ゾルゲ事件1』みすず書房、1962年、288頁 [Toshito Obi ed., *Contemporary Historical Materials 1: The Sorge Case*, vol. 1, Tokyo: Misuzu Shobo, 1962, p. 288].

letters recently compiled by Andrey Feshun. Instead, there is a memorandum by Maj. General Konstantin Kolganov titled "The Origins of Political Distrust of INSON." Inson was also Sorge's codename. Kolganov stated that Sorge and his group in Tokyo could be sold out by Berzin, the former chief of GRU, and his company, who had already been purged by Stalin. Sorge's reports therefore must be cautiously reviewed alongside other sources. At this time, Kolganov was virtually at the top of the GRU, and Sorge's reports were too scarcely seen to be trusted.

The reason for the distrust of Richard Sorge among the cadres of GRU is open to various interpretations. First of all, Yan Berzin, who was already purged by Stalin on suspicion of betraying people, had recruited Sorge to the GRU. Second, Stalin may have been furious at Sorge's report on Genrikh Lyushkov, who had been the former NKVD chief in the Far East and defected via Manchukuo to Japan. Sorge supposedly attended the press conference in Tokyo, and reported to Moscow with no disguise on the Lyushkov's statement criticized Stalin's regime and revealed the reality of the Great Purge.[23] Third, the GRU headquarters knew that the British colonial secret police had discovered Sorge was a Soviet agent connected with the case of Hilaire Noulens, a spy of the Comintern in Shanghai in June 1931. In a report from 1936, an executive of the GRU charged that Sorge had committed numerous errors in Shanghai by having many connections with the local members of the Chinese Communist Party through Agnes Smedley.[24] Generally, the assessment of Richard Sorge was not very high. Furthermore, Stalin's suspicions of Sorge must have been reflected in the attitudes of the GRU leadership.

Let us return to the topic of July 1941. Two days after the decision, War Minister and very near future Prime Minister, Lt. General Hideki Tojyo said: "The policy with which Japan is going is still undetermined. It is sufficient to let both

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[23] 田嶋信雄「リュシコフ・リスナー・ゾルゲ:「満洲国」をめぐる日独ソ関係の一側面」江夏由樹ほか編『近代中国東北地域史研究の一視角』山川出版社、2005年、191頁 [Nobuo Tajima, "Lyushkov, Lisner, Sorge: a relation between Japan, Germany and USSR around the 'Manchukuo'" in Yoshiki Enatsu et al. eds., *A Perspective of the Research of Modern Northeast China,* Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppansha, 2005, p. 191].

[24] Фесюн, «Дело Зорге» [Feshun, *The Sorge Case*], p. 102.

foreigners and Japanese long guess about Japan's policy." [25]

The Japanese General Staff actually issued the order for vast mobilization, namely "Kantokuen," on July 7. This military plan, made at the end of June, was to attack the USSR with 25 divisions in the northern and eastern border area. The primary targets were air fields for large bombers. At this moment, only 16 divisions were mobilized, but rear units, including logistic and communication units, corresponding to over 20 divisions were also transferred to Manchuria. Through this mobilization, the Kwantung Army would have strengthened from 330,000 to 850,000 people by the end of August. Given the climatic conditions, D-day had to have happened before the beginning of September.[26]

Under this circumstance, Sorge and his company were strained with the highest tension, and their intelligence activities reached the climactic moment because his greatest mission was to protect the Soviets from Japanese aggression in the Far East.

Sorge and Ozaki's spy ring maintained its intensive activities in August and September. While Ozaki obtained the highest-level information from the Konoye Cabinet, Miyagi gathered information on relocations of army troops. In early September, Ozaki went to Manchuria to conduct a close investigation and ask former colleagues at the Investigation Bureau of the SMR. Although, in his "confession," Sorge stated that he was convinced of the abandonment of the "Northbound" by the end of August, the group seemed to have eagerly gathered military intelligence in Manchuria and kept reporting to Moscow, as described below.

On August 7, Sorge transmitted that the mobilization for the South and the North would be completed by the middle of August. On August 11, he reported that the General Staff would not stop the mobilization after severe economic sanctions imposed by the United States. As the General Staff may decide to attack the USSR without the consent of the Japanese government, the Soviet army

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[25] 波多野澄雄『幕僚たちの真珠湾』吉川弘文館、2013年、101頁 [Sumio Hatano, *Staff Officers' Pearl Harbor*, Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 2013, p. 101].

[26] 防衛庁防衛研修所戦史室『戦史叢書　大東亜戦争開戦経緯〈4〉』朝雲新聞社、1974年、278-288頁 [NIDS, *Senshi Sosho: The Background before the Great East Asian War*, vol. 4, Tokyo: Asagumo Shimbunsha, 1974, pp. 278-288].

should remain maximally vigilant. On August 23, he reported that the Japanese strength in Manchuria amounted to 25-30 divisions, and there could still be an offensive in the Vladivostok area.[27]

On September 11, Sorge transmitted that German ambassador Ott had lost hope for the Japanese army to attack the USSR during the year 1941. On September 14, he reported that, according to Ozaki's analysis, Japan had probably abandoned the invasion of Siberia; at least 700,000 troops would be stationed in Manchuria in preparation for the aggression next spring. In addition, Ozaki told him that the USSR would be relieved from the scare of Japanese aggression after September 15. However, Kolganov, the head of the GRU, wrote a note that this intelligence should be carefully checked against other sources.[28]

On October 3, the main troops still remained in the eastern border area. The Kwantung Amy ordered double tracking work between Mudanjiang and Suifenhe in the eastern border area and the construction of a railroad (200km) and auto route (300-400km) from Heihe along the Amur to the north in the northern border area. Furthermore, the Kwantung Army ordered the SMR Company to construct a secret railway from near Qiqihar to Oupuxiang (the city on the Amur across from Ushumun in the USSR). On October 4, Sorge transmitted that, due to the order of the Kwantung Army, the SMR Company had procured 3,000 railroad cars from north China and started moving 50 million tons of military transportation in 40 days, but that the amount was gradually reduced. He said this meant the abandonment of aggression by the end of the coming winter. Moreover, in the first week of mobilization in early July, the Kwantung Army ordered the SMR Company to recruit 3,000 skilled engineers for the army with the intent to confiscate and rebuild the Trans-Siberian railway from broad gauge to standard gauge. The number of requested engineers was soon reduced to 1,500 and, at last,

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[27] Фесюн, «Дело Зорге» [Feshun, *The Sorge Case*], p. 366, 369, 371, 381.
[28] Фесюн, «Дело Зорге» [Feshun, *The Sorge Case*], pp. 386-387, 393-394.

to 50 in the middle of September.[29]

In early September, Sorge and his company would be convinced that Japan's attack in the Far East would not occur in 1941. Nevertheless, they kept reporting until just before their arrest by the Japanese police.

Conclusion: Between Distrust and Indecision

Since the occupation of Saigon after the negotiation with Vichy France invoked the severe economic sanctions of the United States, Japan headed for war in the Pacific. Lt. General Shinichi Tanaka, former Chief of Operations of the General Staff, recollected that when he had set the date for the Pearl Harbor attack, December 8, 1941, he took into consideration the preparation for the attack against Russia in the spring of 1942. In the war plan of the army, after the operations in Hawaii, Singapore and the Philippines, with acquisition of natural resources from Southeast Asia, Japan would take a defensive arrangement. However, after succeeding in the attack at Pearl Harbor and the occupation of Singapore, the army and the navy did not agree with the goal of the second stage of the Pacific War. This means that the army and the navy did not have any agreement or common conceptions about the war against the United States and Britain.

In 1940 and 1941, it is said that various decisions were made with each sectional interest reflecting the pro and con arguments. In consequence, the national policy became very much like "student essays." The Japanese government remained in a state of indecision and fell onto the path to war against the United States.[30] Although there was no clear and immediate crisis between the two countries,

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[29] Фесюн, «Дело Зорге» [Feshun, *The Sorge Case*], pp. 395-396. This information is also confirmed by the Ota Taizo Papers in the National Diet Library, Japan. Ota was a prosecutor for the Sorge case. The information in the Ota Papers was provided for verification by the Prosecutor's Office to the Soldiers Affairs Bureau of the War Ministry, which oversaw the military police. Although the military police (the Kenpeitai) had suspicions about Sorge and his ring, they hesitated to step in for the investigation in consideration for SS Colonel Josef Meisinger, the Gestapo liaison at the German Embassy.

[30] 角田順『太平洋戦争への道　7:日米開戦』朝日新聞社、1963年[Tsunoda Jun, *The Way to the Pacific War 7: the Outbreak of War against the United States*, Tokyo: Asahi Shimbunsha, 1963]; 森山優『日本はなぜ開戦に踏み切ったか』新潮社、2012年[Atsushi Moriyama, *Why Japan Went Ahead with the War*, Tokyo: Shinchosha, 2012].

the many talks in Washington led to the revelation of fundamental antagonisms concerning future concepts in the Asia-Pacific region.

Despite the myth of Sorge as the greatest spy in the 20th century, there is no proof that Sorge's intelligence did affect the strategic decisions of the USSR. Taking the Kwantung Army's defiance in 1931 into consideration, Moscow would not feel relieved until Pearl Harbor in December 1941. As far as the military strength in Siberia is concerned, there would be no grand-scale relocation to Moscow before winter in 1941.[31]

One thing is certain: Sorge, who was stuck between the indecision in Tokyo and the distrust from Moscow, completed his mission.

[31] 林三郎『関東軍と極東ソ連軍』芙蓉書房、1976年、214頁 [Saburo Hayashi, *The Kwantung Army and the Far Eastern Soviet Army*, Tokyo: Fuyo Shobo, 1976, p. 214].

CHAPTER 7

Hitler's Commander General Heinz Guderian and the Evolution of German Armoured Forces

PÖHLMANN Markus

The evolution of German armoured forces between the two World Wars is commonly seen as one of the big military success stories of the 20th Century. In the attacks on Poland in 1939 and on France in 1940, tanks played a decisive role. During the attack on the Soviet Union in 1941, the *Wehrmacht* would not have reached the gates of Moscow without their tank and their mechanized rifle divisions. Even during the later phase of the war, between 1942 and 1945, armoured forces remained the backbone of Germany's defense.

In the early campaigns of 1939/40, the German Army did not have *more* tanks than its enemies did; it did not even have *better* tanks. However, it used the weapon system in a so far untested, operational role.[1] Moreover, it was able to synchronize the technical potential of the weapon system with its traditional command culture. It is, therefore, not surprising that tankers count among the most prominent commanders in Hitler's armed forces. Erwin Rommel is one of them. Erich von Manstein, though he was not a tank man but a renowned expert in mobile warfare operations, was another important figure. However, the most prominent tank commander surely was Heinz Guderian. No story has been told as often as his has.[2] The popular version of this heroic story runs like this: During the Western Front battles of 1916-18, the young officer discovers the potential of the new weapon for the future. During the interwar years, Guderian fights for his vision, often against a conservative military elite. Finally, in 1935, his ideas are

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[1] For the war on France Cf. カール・ハインツ・フリーザー『電撃戦という幻（上・下）』大木毅、安藤公一訳（中央公論新社、2003年） (Karl-Heinz Frieser, *Blitzkrieg-Legende. Der Westfeldzug 1940*, German edition 1995). I would like to thank Frank Käser for his support in the research for Japanese sources.

[2] The best English-language biography is Russell A. Hart, Guderian. Panzer Pioneer or Myth Maker? Washington D.C. 2006. Kenneth Macksey, Guderian. Creator of Blitzkrieg, London 1975, is dated but contains some original ideas by the author, himself a tank commander. A German-language biography of Guderian remains a desideratum.

accepted and turned into *Panzer* divisions. Guderian becomes the "creator"[3] of Germany's armoured forces. During the initial campaigns, this story continues; Guderian proves himself as a dashing and charismatic commander. Against his superiors, including the dictator Adolf Hitler, he is very outspoken. He looks down on the pencil pushers in the general staff. In the end, he has to witness the demolition of his instrument of victory through Hitler's military incompetence. This story sounds well, indeed. The only problem is that this story is mainly based on Guderian's own account.[4] In addition, historians should rather be skeptical to rely too much on their protagonists' autobiographies.

This article draws a sketch of Guderian's military career between 1914 and 1945. It points out his professional achievements and deficits. It attempts to clarify his role in the build-up of Germany's armoured forces after 1918 and his role as a leader of armoured forces in World War 2.

Military education and the experience of the First World War

Like all military biographies of this era, this story is deeply rooted in the experience of the Great War of 1914-18. However, it might be necessary to take a further step back, because whoever wants to understand Guderian in his times needs to study the world of the Imperial officer corps. Heinz Guderian was born into a family of small landowners in Kulm, in one of the agrarian, Eastern provinces of Prussia on 17 June 1888. His father opted for a military career and rose to the rank of general in the Prussian army. Due to the background of his family, Heinz Guderian chose his military career via the cadet corps. In 1908, he became an officer in the light infantry. As a junior officer, he was too young to receive enough monarchist imprints during the last peace years prior to 1914. The Kingdom of Prussia might have been his homeland but the traditional combination of the Prussian monarchy and the aristocratic vein of the officer corps was no longer his spiritual or ideological guidance. Guderian was a commoner and a technocrat. When he was in his second year at the war academy in 1914, the

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[3] The term "creator" [= 装甲兵器の発明者; *Schöpfer*] also holds a religious connotation in the German language.

[4] Cf. ハインツ・グデーリアン『電撃戦 ―グデーリアン回想記（上・下）, 本郷健訳（中央公論新社、1999年） (Heinz Guderian, Erinnerungen eines Soldaten, German edition 1952, English 1952).

First World War started and his general staff training was suspended. Guderian was finally transferred to the general staff officer corps by decree, not as a result of full examination, in 1918. During the war, he initially served as a radio communications officer, and from 1915 onwards, as an intelligence officer. In either assignment, Guderian experienced the horrors of war from a certain healthy distance. In this context, it is interesting to know that – in contrast to the allusion in his autobiography – he actually never personally experienced a tank attack during the First World War. In fact, his personal experience in 1914-18 was by no means a necessary precondition for his later interest in armoured warfare.[5] With the exception of a brief liaison mission in Italy, he had spent four years on the Western Front. It was not before early 1919, that Guderian arrived on the Eastern theatre of war where he spent some weeks in the staff of a voluntary force that fought against the Bolsheviks in the Baltic.[6]

After the defeat of November 1918 and Germany's following disarmament, then captain Guderian was taken over into the small *Reichswehr*, the army of Germany's young democracy. This was not self-evident as the Imperial wartime mass army had to be demobilized and, due to the provisions of the peace treaty, had to be reduced to a number of 115,000 men (army and navy). An air force was not allowed. The same was true for the full range of modern weapon systems, including heavy artillery, chemical agents, battleships, submarines, and tanks. The fact that Guderian managed to continue his military career was proof of his professional abilities but it was also proof of his good personal networking, particularly during his last wartime assignment in the Baltic region in early 1919.[7]

Between the Wars

However, positions for staff officers in the small German army were very rare. When in 1922 Guderian received the offer to transfer to the new motor troop's branch, he accepted. During the coming decade, he worked in the field of troop

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[5] Cf. Markus Pöhlmann, Der Panzer und die Mechanisierung des Krieges. Eine deutsche Geschichte 1890 bis 1945, Paderborn 2016, pp. 187-188.

[6] Macksey, Guderian, pp. 25-33.

[7] Among his patrons during these months were officers like Hans von Seeckt, Wilhelm Heye, and Werner von Fritsch, who would all play imminent roles in the German Army between 1918 and 1938.

transportation and thereby developed a thorough understanding for the potential of mobile, motorized warfare.

It has to be remembered that the production, import, and maintenance of tanks and armoured vehicles was forbidden for Germany due to the provisions of the Peace Treaty (Article 177). This restriction not only caused an asymmetric situation with regard to the military arsenals of the German Republic and her neigbours. It also gave rise to an extraordinary interest in this new weapon system on behalf of the German military, which had been rather reluctant with regard to this technological innovation during the war. As a result, these "forbidden fruits" were dealt with secretly in the army's transportation department from the mid-1920s onwards. The ways to circumvent the restrictions were manifold. Dummy tanks were used to symbolize the weapon system during maneuvers. The *Reichswehr* cooperated with the Soviet Union in establishing a secret training area where prototypes could be tested and German and Soviet personnel was trained. However, the most important lessons were drawn from studying the international literature on tanks. British authors like JFC Fuller might have been early prophets in this field, but as early as 1928 the German experts – among them Heinz Guderian – had learned enough and they started incorporating these new lessons into the traditions of German doctrine.

At the organizational core of German armoured warfare thinking stood the *Panzer* division. So far, most modern armies had experiences with a brigade structure, with the divisional structure debated but dismissed for a number of reasons. The German *Panzer* division was the result of a debate between 1929 and 1934 and therefore coincided with Germany's plans for a general rearmament. A test division was set up during the winter of 1934/35, followed by its first maneuver in August 1935. On 15 October 1935, three divisions were formally established. In its original structure, the *Panzer* division consisted of one tank brigade, one motorized rifle brigade, one motorized artillery regiment, one reconnaissance battalion, one anti-tank battalion, one engineer battalion plus divisional support units. Its overall strength was nearly 12,000 men.[8]

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[8] For the evolution, structure, and doctrinal concept of the Panzer division until 1939 cf. Pöhlmann, Panzer, pp. 131-181.

The basic doctrinal idea was to grant the tank independence from its original role as a battering ram in the trench war scenario of 1916-18 and of providing support for the infantry. For this purpose, the tank elements were integrated into the combined-arms structure described above. Now, these new divisions were planned as spearhead formations that would break through the enemy front, disrupt the enemy's command and control structure, attack its rear area and thereby pave the way for the following main forces. An essential precondition for its success was the support by an air force that was able and willing to provide close air support.

The problems for the early armoured forces were manifold: Mass production had only started in the spring of 1934. The bulk of the early vehicles were of dubious quality with regard to firepower and armour, as a speedy build-up in terms of numbers was the priority of the day. The use of German tanks in the Spanish Civil War of 1936-39 would soon disclose these weaknesses.[9] However, this engagement also worked as a last-minute opportunity to readjust ideas and mend forces before September 1939. The most pressing problem remained the enormous costs of armoured formations. An all-armoured formation remained a dream for the German planners during the years to come.

As chief of staff of the inspectorate of the motor troops from 1931 onwards, Guderian had transformed his staff into the brain pool for a future armoured force. However, he was never a solitary "creator" in this crucial period. In fact, he could rely on a team of very able subordinates, among them – and these men are much less known to the public – the later *Wehrmacht* generals Josef Harpe, Werner Kempf or Friedrich Paulus. Finally, without his superior, General Oswald Lutz, the inspector of motor troops, Guderian would have never reached so far.

His biggest personal asset in these years was his ability to promote the demands of his branch in the field of military publications. In 1937, Guderian published his first book "Achtung – Panzer!" which was an unconventional mix of historical accounts, an introduction into tank tactics, and a public relation publication for the armoured troops.[10] The latter function was crucial, as from

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[9] Cf. Steven J. Zaloga, Spanish Civil War Tanks. The Proving Ground for Blitzkrieg, Botley 2010.

[10] Cf. ハインツ・グデーリアン『戦車に注目せよ ― グデーリアン著作集』大木毅編訳（作品社、2016年）(Heinz Guderian, Achtung – Panzer!, German edition 1937).

1933 onwards, the restrictions of the Peace Treaty were history and the armed forces found themselves in an extremely dynamic process of rearmament. In the course of this process, Guderian for the first time proved his ability as a public lobbyist for his own branch.

One of the more persistent legends, promoted by Guderian himself, was the assertion that his visionary ideas had been met with resistance by a conservative military leadership. In this narrative, Guderian's assumed chief opponent was the Chief of the Army General Staff, General Ludwig Beck. However, it needs to be stressed that the task of a CGS was to coordinate the build-up of the army as a whole and to harmonize the demands of the different branches and institutions. Tanks could not be his sole focus. Therefore, Beck had to tighten strings with this very impulsive character Guderian. Until 1935, no army in the world had tackled the concept of operational armoured warfare as consequently as the German army. This was also Beck's merit as it was his successor's, General Franz Halder. It was also the achievement of the dictator himself. Adolf Hitler was not a trained officer but had a strong yet rather intuitive grasp for the military instruments he needed to realize his ideological and military aims. Therefore, the National Socialist war of conquest and annihilation in Europe cannot be imagined without Guderian's tank force.

Panzer Commander 1939-41

There is no indication that Heinz Guderian had any doubts whatsoever about Hitler's decision to go to war. The year 1939 was the moment when the general finally left the office desk and became a commander in the field. For the upcoming *Blitzkrieg* campaigns, he appeared to have a natural talent. Guderian had initiative; he was leading from the front, and he was a bully against peers that happened to get into his way.

During the war against Poland in September/October 1939, Guderian commanded the motorized XIX Army Corps which was part of the Northern pincer movement. Against France, his corps managed an early and important breakthrough at Sedan in May 1940, followed by a speedy push toward the coast. This helped to cut off French and British forces. Here, Guderian's propensity

to insubordination became obvious for the first time. A temporary relief from command was revoked due to the tactical success of his action. At the end of the war in France, the idea of using *Panzer* divisions (later combined in *Panzer* corps and supported by a strong air force component) as spearhead formations had become an integral element of the new German doctrine.[11] The successes in Poland and France also gave Heinz Guderian the opportunity to promote his personal propaganda image. However, his drive and tactical independence had a dark side: Guderian did not care much about communications with his superiors. He was not a team player. He disobeyed orders. His unreined initiative only worked as long as the *Wehrmacht* had the factor surprise on its side and as long as it fought against inferior adversaries. However, this all came to an end on 22 June 1941.

The attack on the Soviet Union resulted in a severe crisis of Hitler's war plan.[12] From the outset, Heinz Guderian was in command of *Panzergruppe 2*. This temporary armoured formation consisted of four corps, and it led the attack of the German centre towards Moscow. At the end of August, Guderian's *Panzergruppe 2* was diverted by the high command towards the South in order to support the attack on the Ukrainian capital of Kiev. This decision by Hitler, who had won over Guderian against his superiors' interests, severely crumbled Soviet defences in the South, but at the same time it weakened the spearhead attack on Moscow.[13] After Kiev, Guderian resumed course against Moscow. However, the Red Army's dogged defence, the German's outrunning their own supply lines, and the advent of the winter thwarted the plan of attack on the capital. At the end of 1941, the *Wehrmacht* got stuck and a Soviet counter attack was imminent. In this situation, several front commanders recommended a tactical retreat in order to save their depleted forces, a proposal that was categorically rejected by Hitler. In this critical situation, Guderian was relieved from his duties for insubordination on

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[11] Nominally, Panzer corps (*Panzerkorps*) were not established prior to summer 1942. From the end of May 1940, Guderian commanded the *Panzergruppe Guderian*, a temporary formation which consisted of two armoured corps.

[12] Cf. Horst Boog et al. (eds.), Germany and the Second World War. Vol. 4. The Attack on the Soviet Union, Oxford 1998; David Glantz, Operation Barbarossa. Hitler's invasion of Russia 1941, Cheltenham 2012; Christian Hartmann, Operation Barbarossa. Nazi Germany's War in the East, 1941-1945, Oxford 2012.

[13] Cf. David Stahel, Kiev 1941. Hitler's Battle for Supremacy in the East, Cambridge 2012.

26 December 1941. It is highly symbolic that the timing of Guderian's career crisis coincided with the end of the early *Blitzkrieg* phase of the war. The strains of command had inflicted considerable health problems for him. Nevertheless, from hindsight, this involuntary time-out paid off very well for Guderian. It saved him from becoming involved in war crimes, as it had been the case with many of the German generals on the Eastern Front in 1942 and 1943. However, the short period from August to December 1941 had been enough to prove that Guderian was willing to execute any order given by the high command without hesitation. Like most of the generals, Guderian had followed and circulated a complex of "Criminal Orders" issued by the *Wehrmacht* high command in the run-up to the invasion. These directives practically suspended the rule of international law for the war against the Soviet Union, meaning sure death for political commissars, assumed partisans (a code often used for the members of the Jewish communities), and Soviet prisoners of war.[14]

Inspector General 1943-44

Following the disaster of Operation *Barbarossa*, the *Wehrmacht* planned to resume the offensive in 1942 with an attack on the industrial centres in Ukraine and a push for the oil fields in the Caucasus region.[15] However, this attack did not gain the necessary momentum. The Red Army was pushed back, but not destroyed. With each day it became more apparent that the Germans had to replace bigger losses than their opponent. Furthermore, the Red Army had learned from its defeat in 1941, and it had learned from German armoured doctrine in particular. As a consequence, tank vs. tank engagements proved more and more costly for the *Wehrmacht*. Against the new Soviet types – the medium type T-34 and the heavy type KV-1 in particular – German guns often proved ineffective and

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[14] Omer Bartov, The Eastern Front, 1941-1945. German Troops and the Barbarization of Warfare, New York 1986; and Felix Römer, The Wehrmacht in the War of Ideologies. The Army and Hitler's Criminal Orders on the Eastern Front, in: Alex J. Kay, Jeff Rutherford, David Stahel (eds.), Nazi Policy on the Eastern Front, 1941. Total War, Genocide, and Radicalization, Rochester 2012, pp. 73-100.

[15] For Operation *Blau* see Bernd Wegner, The War against the Soviet Union 1942-1943, in: Horst Boog et al. (eds.), Germany and the Second World War. Vol. 6. The Global War, Oxford 2001, pp. 843-1215; David M. Glantz and Jonathan M. House, To the Gates of Stalingrad. Soviet-German Combat Operations, April-August 1942, Lawrence, KS 2009.

this caused a veritable tank shock.

The crisis on the Eastern Front forced Hitler to call back Guderian in March 1943. Hitler needed a tank expert who would tackle the technical and operational deadlock and he was well aware of Guderian's popularity among the soldiers. Again, Guderian's appointment as Inspector General of the Armoured Forces proved that he never stood against all odds but that he had supporters in influential positions, including Hitler himself. In the new position, Guderian was able to display his organizational abilities and he gave important impulses in the field of training. However, crucial decisions in armament and operational planning had already taken place before his return to the scene.[16] This became obvious during the planning phase for the war's biggest land battle, Kursk (5-23 July 1943).[17] Here, Heinz Guderian had no saying in the planning and conduct of the operation. Nevertheless, he focused on training and the introduction of the next generation of German tanks, namely *Panzerkampfwagen V (Panther), Panzerkampfwagen VI (Tiger)*, and the tank destroyer *Ferdinand*. The production of these new types was in direct correlation with the planning for Kursk: More of these new types would mean a better chance to defeat the Red Army in this battle. However, the longer the *Wehrmacht* waited for more tanks leaving the factories, the better Soviet defensive positions became – a classic dilemma the German high command could not solve.[18]

Kursk and the following Soviet counter offensives demonstrated that the character of war on the Eastern front had changed during Guderian's temporary absence. The Red Army had continued their learning process, particularly with regard to combined arms and to deep operations. At the same time, the *Wehrmacht* had suffered severe losses – losses that it could no longer compensate. From now on, German tanks were forced to give up their operational role. Together with assault guns (much despised by Guderian for they were controlled by the artillery branch), they became tactical guardians of the infantry. Finally, the German air force had lost air superiority leaving the armoured forces vulnerable to Soviet

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[16] Pöhlmann, Panzer, pp. 395-399.

[17] A well-researched primer on Kursk is Roman Toeppel, Kursk 1943. The Greatest Battle of the Second World War, Warwick 2018. See pp. 17-18 for the question of chronology.

[18] Toeppel, Kursk, pp. 38-51.

ground-attack aircraft.

General Guderian's answer to this problem was a mantra for the build-up of an operational reserve of armoured forces. This was easily said, but impossible to be done. He was trying to win the war of 1944, but could not contribute to winning the war of 1943. In the end, the general was caught up in an outdated *Blitzkrieg* understanding of the war. This operational tunnel vision also became apparent during the defensive preparations for the invasion in France in June 1944. While the Allies' strategic intent was common knowledge, the actual timing and location of D-Day was hard to determine for the German high command. Consequently, the allocation of the armoured divisions as the reserve for a counter-attack was difficult to decide. After long debates, in which Guderian played a role among others, Hitler decided for a compromise. His decision was a mix of armoured forces lined up along the coast plus a more remote reserve. This plan did not work out. However, it is doubtful if the alternative – keeping the complete armoured forces back for a major counter-stroke after having identified the enemies' intent – would have made a difference.[19] Armoured divisions would play a crucial part in keeping the British advance around Caen, but from now on, death for the *Panzers* came from the air. Allied air superiority paralyzed their freedom of maneuver and it impeded their logistics critically. The development of armoured warfare had reached its next level.[20]

Chief of the Army General Staff 1944-45

On 20 July 1944, the military coup against Hitler involuntarily ended Guderian's work as Inspector General. A group of high-ranking officers and former, mostly conservative politicians had decided that only Hitler's death would save Germany from disaster. Colonel Claus Schenk Count Stauffenberg, chief of staff of the commander of the home forces, had volunteered to plant a bomb during a briefing

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[19] Pöhlmann, Panzer, pp. 440-448.

[20] For tank operations and the role of the air forces cf. James Jay Carafano, After D-Day. Operation Cobra and the Normandy Breakout, Boulder and London 2000; John Buckley, British Armour in the Normandy Campaign, London and New York 2004.

with Hitler at his headquarters at Rastenburg.[21] Guderian's attitude toward military resistance remains ambiguous to date. His postwar judgements reveal a negative stance. This attitude was not necessarily motivated by his belief in the dictator as an ideological leader, but by the supreme commander's practical utility for Guderian. He was held in high esteem by Hitler. Furthermore, the general, like many of his peers, struggled with the idea of killing the dictator on whom he had taken an oath of allegiance. Guderian's refusal of getting involved in the coup was finally motivated by the fact that, meanwhile, retired General Ludwig Beck, his personal arch-enemy from prewar years, counted among the military leaders of the group. It appears probable that Guderian had been contacted confidentially in order to assure the prominent general's support for the coup. The course of events indicates that he had refused the approach; however, he had not disclosed the approach to the authorities.[22] This left him a fallback-position in case the coup succeeded. The fact that Heinz Guderian inspected troops in a very remote place and spent the rest of the day at his estate – far from both Berlin and the headquarters at Rastenburg – supports the theory that he was aiming at keeping himself physically as far as possible from the repercussions 20 July would bring.

The assassination failed and one of the first decisions taken by the injured Hitler was to call back Guderian and order him to take over the position as acting Chief of the Army General Staff. The dictator was determined to seize the opportunity and eliminate the conservative military elite that – in Hitler's perception – had always looked down on him as a political parvenu and a military amateur. Guderian, whose disdain for the general staff corps was well known, was Hitler's ideal candidate for this purge of the military. He had no strategic ambition and he was politically obedient. The general's loyalty had already been ensured earlier by Hitler donating him a rural estate and some financial gratuities.[23]

Now, as Chief of the Army General Staff, Guderian for the first time carried the full weight of responsibilities, like his disliked predecessors had done before him.

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[21] For the Stauffenberg-coup cf. Winfried Heinemann, Operation "Valkyrie." A Military History of the 20 July 1944 Plot, Berlin 2021; for the broader context Peter Hoffmann, The History of the German Resistance 1933-1945, Montreal 1996.

[22] For Guderian during the July plot cf. Hart, Guderian, pp. 98-102.

[23] Cf. Gerd R. Ueberschär und Winfried Vogel, Dienen und Verdienen. Hitlers Geschenke an seine Eliten, Frankfurt/Main 1999, p. 110, 223.

Neither by training nor by experience was Heinz Guderian suited as the strategic adviser of the Commander-in-Chief. Paradoxically, this advice was no longer essential as the strategic situation was becoming desperate from the summer of 1944 onwards. The Western Allies had landed in Italy and France, and the Red Army was crushing the German centre in Belarus. At the same time, Germany's cities and the war industry were ravaged by the Allied bombing campaign. In October 1944, Americans and Soviets entered German territory for the first time.[24] At this point in time, strategic advice by general Guderian had become redundant anyway as the dictator no longer relied very much on the strategic council of others. What he needed was a technical executioner of his own military will.

Guderian's order to the general staff corps on 24 August 1944 demanded for an unconditional allegiance to Hitler: "No one believes more fanatically in victory or radiate that belief more than you. […] Be an example to others in your unconditional obedience. There is no future for the *Reich* [empire] without National Socialism."[25] This document is often cited as inappropriate in both its content and tone. It is, however, also an indicator of the extreme situation in which Guderian found himself. Hitler's security apparatus was now running wild against assumed plotters and their families, and neither social class, nor military rank or political function provided protection.

In his new function, Guderian also took part in the military court which was responsible for ousting actual or assumed plotters from the army, so that these officers could be tried and convicted by the Nazi "People's Court." Guderian later explained his role in this committee as an attempt to avert worse consequences.[26] His military responsibility could also become a personal liability: Guderian's role as Chief of the Army General Staff in the crushing of the Warsaw insurrection of August 1944 would result in a Polish request for extradition after the war. This request was denied by US authorities who were interested in having Heinz Guderian available as a witness at the Nuremberg war crimes tribunal and as a

[24] Rolf-Dieter Müller (eds.), Das Deutsche Reich und der Zweite Weltkrieg. Vol. 10/1. Der Zusammenbruch des Deutschen Reiches, Munich 2008.
[25] Geoffrey P. Megargee, Inside Hitler's High Command, Lawrence KS 2000, p. 214.
[26] Ibid., pp. 213-214.

source for American military intelligence.[27]

In March 1945, Guderian had realized that his position – very close to the captain of a sinking ship – could become dangerous. He did what he had always been very good at: escalating a controversy. This time, he found himself in a heated debate with Hitler over an abortive counter offensive against the fortress Küstrin.[28] As a consequence, he was sacked (again) and thus found himself in the more remote and more secure position of retirement when the war in Europe came to an end in May 1945.

Hitler's Commander

Looking back on Heinz Guderian's career, lights and shadows appear and they do so more than in other military biographies. He was a gifted organizer and a motivator for his soldiers. Tactically, he was a sanguine gambler, not a tenacious fighter – an attacker, not a defender. He was a general officer who would perform best whenever he was operating within the limits of his branch. Heinz Guderian was a general staff officer who despised the general staff as a mentality.

In his autobiographical writings, he would later deliberately downplay the role of peers and subordinates during the build-up of the German armoured forces in order to position himself in the light. He was never a lonely visionary but he was an innovator who had, for most of his career, influential supporters, people who cleared the way for him and who protected him.

Guderian did not escape the gallow in Nuremberg or a Soviet labor camp because he had not thought or acted in accordance with the racist and criminal concept of Nazi warfare. In fact, the dismissals in 1941 and 1945 simply saved him from getting involved more intimately with the dark sides of war on the Eastern front. After 1945, Heinz Guderian did not spend much time on questioning the criminal character of the war or his individual role in it. Instead, in his writings

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[27] Jens Brüggemann, Männer von Ehre? Die Wehrmachtgeneralität im Nürnberger Prozess 1945/46. Zur Entstehung einer Legende, Paderborn 2018, p. 56; cf. also Alaric Searle, Wehrmacht Generals, West German Society, and the Debate on Rearmament 1949-1959, Westport 2003.

[28] Cf. Macksey, Guderian, pp. 197-198, who insinuates that the furor in this controversy might have been fueled by a drink that Guderian had had with the Japanese military attaché, Ōshima Hiroshi, before the meeting with Hitler.

he demanded full sovereignty and a quick end to the prosecution of war criminals as a precondition for a German contribution to NATO.[29] Guderian was not an ideologically motivated national socialist officer; he was simply an opportunist. And within the group of Hitler's commanders he was one of the few who were able to influence their own image in history very profoundly.

[29] Cf. Heinz Guderian, Kann Westeuropa verteidigt werden? Göttingen 1950, p. 84; ibid., So geht es nicht! Ein Beitrag zur Frage der Haltung Westdeutschlands, Heidelberg 1951, pp. 63-69.

CHAPTER 8

From the Offensive to the Defensive: Japanese Strategy During the Pacific War, 1942-44

SHINDO Hiroyuki

Japan initiated the Pacific War by declaring war on the United States, Great Britain, the Netherlands, and Chiang Kai-shek in December 1941. Less than four years later, the war ended in Japan's total defeat. Much of the Japanese research on the causes of Japan's defeat tends to be deterministic and emphasizes the disparity in industrial capabilities and other aspects of national power between the Allies, in particular the United States, and Japan. While the difference in industrial capabilities was clearly a factor which affected the war's outcome, many of the strategic decisions made by Japan during the war also played an important role in ensuring that Japan would not overcome its industrial weaknesses. In other words, Japan's ultimate defeat was also contingent on Japan's wartime decisions, and these decisions should be examined in order to more fully understand why Japan could not overcome or even partially remedy its disadvantage in national power or industrial capabilities and ultimately lost the war.

One factor which played a major role in Japan's ultimate defeat was the strong rivalry between the Imperial Japanese Army (IJA) and Navy (IJN). Interservice rivalries were not peculiar to the Japanese, but the rivalry between the IJA and IJN is striking because it repeatedly affected Japan's major wartime decisions regarding strategy. This report shall examine two major strategic wartime decisions made by Japan. The first is the strategy for the Second Stage Operations, which was adopted in March 1942. The second is the strategy commonly called the Absolute National Defense Zone Concept, which was adopted in September 1943. The IJA and IJN's interservice rivalry greatly affected the content and execution of the two strategies, both of which ultimately made Japan's strategic situation worse. A study of these two strategic decisions will therefore enable one to understand better how Japan's interservice rivalry was a factor other than Japan's overall industrial capability which led to Japan's defeat.

For various reasons, in July 1940 Japan adopted a national policy of expanding

southwards even at the risk of war with the western powers.[1] The adoption of this "Southward Advance" policy was noteworthy because it marked the first time that the IJA agreed to such an advance, into Southeast Asia, which traditionally had been considered to be the IJN's geographical area of responsibility, and which would involve fighting against America, which traditionally had been the IJN's primary hypothetical enemy.[2]

The IJA's immediate interest in Southeast Asia was to seize the resource rich area of the Netherlands East Indies and Malaya. The natural resources available there were deemed necessary to fight what had become an increasingly protracted war in China, which started in 1937 and was ongoing. It is important to note that even after December 1941, the IJA's strategic priority continued to be the prosecution of its war in China, and the advancement of preparations for a future war with the Soviet Union, which was its traditional enemy.[3] Within the framework of the situation after December 1941, the IJA was interested in forcing the United Kingdom to capitulate, as a means of forcing Chiang Kai-shek to lose hope and capitulate as well. The IJA therefore was interested in defeating the British in Malaya, Singapore, and Burma, and possibly driving on into India. Specifically, the IJA felt that the assault and capture of Singapore was the most important part of the entire Southern Operation.[4]

The IJA therefore deployed all ten divisions which were specifically assigned

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[1] For an examination of Japan's diplomatic and military policies leading up to the Pacific War, see, for example, Richard B. Frank, *Tower of Skulls: A History of the Asia-Pacific War July 1937-May 1942* (W. W. Norton and Company, 2020); and Ian W. Toll, *Pacific Crucible: War at Sea in the Pacific, 1941-1942* (W. W. Norton and Company, 2012).

[2] Details of how the IJA and IJN came to claim their traditional areas of operational responsibility and hypothetical enemies can be found in, for example, Edward J. Drea, *Japan's Imperial Army: Its Rise and Fall, 1853 – 1945* (University Press of Kansas, 2009); and David C. Evans and Mark R. Peattie, *Kaigun: Strategy, Tactics, and Technology in the Imperial Japanese Navy 1887 – 1941* (Naval Institute Press, 1997).

[3] On December 8, 1941, the IJA consisted of fifty numbered divisions, plus a division-sized "Cavalry Group." Of these, only ten were specifically assigned to the Southern Operation, while twenty-two were deployed against China, thirteen were deployed in Manchuria, and six were stationed in the Home Islands, Taiwan, and Korea. (One of the divisions deployed in China, the 38th, took part in the assault on Hong Kong, and is often counted as a division taking part in the Southern Operation. In that case, the IJA committed eleven divisions to the initial operation in Southeast Asia.) Takushiro Hattori, *Daitoa-Senso Zenshi* (Complete History of the Great East Asia War) (Hara Shobo, 1950), table on pp. 194-95.

[4] Kumao Imoto, *Daitoa-Senso Sakusen Nisshi* (Great East Asia War Operations Diary) (Fuyo Shobo, 1998), p. 77.

to the Southern Operation to operations in Malaya; the Philippines; Borneo, Sumatra, Java; and the remainder of the Netherlands East Indies.[5] While Japan also undertook operations in the Pacific Ocean, namely Guam, Wake, and Rabaul, at the start of the Pacific War, the IJA (as well as the IJN) considered the area east of the Philippines to be the IJN's area of responsibility. The IJA therefore made only a minimal commitment to operations in the central and southern Pacific Ocean, centered around the South Seas Detachment, which was a force centered on the 144th Infantry Regiment (whose parent division, the 55th, was involved in the Burma campaign), and which was to cooperate with the IJN in the taking of Guam, and later, Rabaul.[6]

Despite these interservice differences, the Southern Operation (or First Stage Operations) was executed relatively smoothly, and was successfully concluded in early to mid-March 1942 with the occupation of Java. Interservice friction was not a major factor in the Southern Operation because the IJA and IJN agreed on its strategic objective, which was to secure the oil wells and other natural resources of the so-called Southern Resource Area and to eliminate the major American and British military bases in the region.[7]

The rivalry between the IJA and IJN, however, clearly affected Japan's strategy and conduct of the war after spring of 1942. The November 1941 strategy called for the quick seizure of the Southern Resources Area and destruction of the American, British, and Dutch bases of operation in the area, followed by the establishment of a "Long Term, Undefeatable Posture." In other words, Japan was to shift to a defensive strategy after the conclusion of the Southern Operation. The British were to be defeated with Germany's help, and Chiang forced to capitulate. An impregnable defensive perimeter was to be established which encompassed all of Japan's newly acquired territory, and the inevitable American counteroffensive was to be thrown back somewhere along this perimeter. The IJA

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[5] Hattori, table on pp. 194-95.

[6] Boeicho Boeikenshusho Senshishitsu, Senshi Sosho *Minami Taiheiyo Rikugun Sakusen (1) Port Moresbi Ga-to Shoki Sakusen* (South Pacific Army Operations (1) Port Moresby and Early Guadalcanal Operations) (Asagumo Shinbunsha, 1968), p. 7. It is instructive to note that as late as August 1941, the IJA General Staff opposed the use of the South Seas Detachment in the assault on Rabaul, because it felt that such distant operations exceeded the IJA's capabilities. Ibid.

[7] Imoto, p. 115.

and IJN's leadership hoped that America would be disheartened by the loss of the British and Chiang as its allies, and would lose the will to continue the war against Japan when soundly defeated along the defensive perimeter.[8]

Both services had agreed to this strategy when it was adopted in November 1941. Unfortunately for Japan, the IJA and IJN had not agreed beforehand where the defensive perimeter was to be established. Thus, when the two services began studying their options for the so-called Second Stage Operations, the different views held on the Pacific War by the IJA and IJN came to the forefront. The IJA General Staff wanted to follow the November 1941 strategy, and curtail major offensive operations against the Americans. Within the framework of the Pacific War, the IJA was interested in continuing operations aimed at the defeat of the British, and considered ground and air operations in Burma and India, a part of which were eventually carried out. Other than those operations, however, the IJA wished to carry out its prewar plans of downsizing its commitment to the Southern Resources Area by withdrawing six divisions from Southeast Asia and redeploying four to the Home Islands, and one each to China and Manchuria.[9] In other words, the IJA wished to renew its efforts to win the war in China as soon as possible, and to focus again on preparations for an eventual war with the Soviet Union.[10]

Meanwhile, the IJN became divided within itself regarding its preference for the Second Stage Operations. The Naval General Staff was in agreement in principle with the IJA regarding the need for the establishment of a strong defensive perimeter after the conclusion of the First Stage Operations. However, the Naval General Staff differed with the IJA General Staff regarding where this perimeter should be drawn. Since the Americans were traditionally the IJN's primary hypothetical enemy, the IJN had carefully studied the Americans for years, and were acutely aware of the differences in industrial potential or capacity between Japan and America. The Naval General Staff therefore understood that it could not win a long, protracted war with the Americans, which would enable the

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[8] Hattori, pp. 164-65.
[9] Ibid., pp. 315-16.
[10] Boeicho Boeikenshusho Senshishitsu, *Senshi Sosho Daihonei Rikugunbu (3) Showa 17-Nen 4-Gatsu made* (IGHQ Army Section (3) Until April 1942) (Asagumo Shinbunsha, 1970), p. 469.

Americans to outproduce the Japanese and eventually overwhelm the Japanese with superior material strength. However, the Naval General Staff also understood that there was no good way to force America to fight a short war, in which lay the only hope for a Japanese victory, and so went along, somewhat halfheartedly, with the IJA's insistence on the establishment of a strong defensive perimeter, even though the adoption of such a strategy might result in the long and protracted war against the Americans which the Naval General Staff wanted to avoid.[11]

When studying its options for the Second Stage Operations, therefore, the Naval General Staff continued to agree in principle with the need to establish a "Long Term, Holding Posture," but differed with the IJA General Staff on where to draw the perimeter. The Naval General Staff argued that local offensive operations should be continued, even if the overall strategy against the Americans shifted to the strategic defensive. The Naval General Staff felt that the defensive perimeter should be pushed farther outwards in certain key areas, in order to maintain the initiative in the war and to keep the Americans on the defensive, which would keep them from regrouping and preparing for a counteroffensive.[12] The Naval General Staff therefore advocated offensive operations in the South Pacific, aimed at Australia or the sea lines of communication between America and Australia. Not only was the Naval General Staff concerned about the possibility of Australia becoming a base for any Allied counteroffensive into the Southern Resources Area, but also felt that the United Kingdom would suffer a fatal blow if Australia (and India) could be knocked out of the war. In addition, the Naval General Staff hoped that by continuing the offensive in the South Pacific, the Americans might be forced to commit their battle fleet, which at that time consisted of the three aircraft carriers which had survived Pearl Harbor. If the Americans would commit their aircraft carriers to the defense of Australia or the sea lines of communication to the South Pacific, the IJN could fight the Decisive Fleet Battle, which had traditionally been the centerpiece of its war plans against America.

Within the IJN, however, the Combined Fleet staff, in particular Admiral

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[11] Boeicho Boeikenshusho Senshishitsu, *Senshi Sosho Daihonei Kaigunbu Rengo Kantai (2) Showa 17-Nen 6-Gatsu made* (IGHQ Navy Section and Combined Fleet (2) Until June 1942) (Asagumo Shinbunsha, 1975), pp. 239-40.

[12] Ibid., pp. 247-49, 294-99.

Isoroku Yamamoto, its commander-in-chief, argued for a different set of operations for the Second Stage. Yamamoto, who felt he understood the Americans very well, had no faith in the efficacy of the November 1941 strategy, which was essentially a defensive strategy. He felt a reliance on any "Long Term, Holding Posture" would only result in a long war which Japan could not win. To that extent, he shared the reservations of the Naval General Staff. However, Yamamoto also did not believe that the Americans would consider a Japanese thrust against their sea lines of communication or Australia to be enough of a threat to require the commitment of their remaining aircraft carriers. He also did not believe that cutting the South Pacific sea lines of communication would result in a war that was short enough to enable Japan to win, i.e. cutting the SLOC, while not meaningless, would still result in a long war. Instead of these options, Yamamoto felt that the only way Japan could shorten the war was to win consecutive major battles against the Americans that would shock American public opinion into accepting some sort of settlement with Japan. Yamamoto had strongly advocated the Pearl Harbor operation against the opposition of the Naval General Staff in part because he hoped a smashing victory there would have such a "shock effect." He therefore argued for a major thrust eastwards in the Central Pacific, against Hawaii, as Japan's Second Stage Operations. However, the Combined Fleet staff opposed a thrust against Hawaii in mid-1942, because the IJN's carrier air power could not be strengthened sufficiently by then. Meanwhile, Yamamoto and his staff became increasingly concerned over the possibility of American carrier air raids against the Japanese Home Islands, and felt that the Japanese perimeter should be pushed eastwards, to Midway. Thus, Yamamoto's Hawaii operation was put on hold, and the Combined Fleet advocated a thrust to Midway as the focus of Second Stage Operations.[13]

From January 1942, the two General Staffs began debating the Second Stage Operations. The Naval General Staff proposed an invasion of Australia. The IJA refused, because such an operation would require the commitment of an

[13] Ibid., pp. 299-301, 339-40. It is important to note that the Combined Fleet staff advocated the Midway operation even before its fears were realized by the Doolittle Raid of April 18. It is also important to note that the Midway operation which was conceived was not intended to be a steppingstone towards an eventual assault of Hawaii. Ibid.

additional ten to twelve divisions, and would further detract from the IJA's desire to renew its focus on the Asian mainland.[14] The Naval General Staff also proposed an expansion into the Solomon Islands, and on to Fiji and Samoa, in order to cut the U.S.-Australia SLOC. The IJN assured the IJA that the IJN's Special Naval Landing Forces could carry the burden of such an operation and that the IJA need only to cooperate by committing nine or ten infantry battalions. The IJA did recognize the strategic value of removing the threat of Australia becoming a base for a counteroffensive into the Southern Resources Area, and therefore agreed with the latter proposal, which was named Operation FS, because it required only a minimal commitment of IJA forces.[15]

However, the two services could not settle their differences on which axis of operations Japan should place priority for its Second Stage Operations. The interservice debates on this issue escalated into a larger debate on how Japan should prosecute the Second Stage of the war, and resulted in an agreement on March 7, 1942 which was titled "Guidelines on the Future Prosecution of the War."[16] This decision settled none of the questions regarding priority of operations. The key sentence read that Japan would "continue to expand its current military successes and establish a long term, undefeatable political and military posture, while executing positive measures when the opportunity presents itself."[17] The IJA General Staff, Naval General Staff, and Combined Fleet (Yamamoto) each interpreted the strategy to suit their respective needs. Thus, the IJA decided to establish the long term, undefeatable posture by transitioning to the strategic defensive and downsizing their forces in Southeast Asia, and to recommit to the war in China and to preparations for war against the Soviets. The Naval General Staff felt it was authorized to continue offensive operations and expand into the South Pacific. Meanwhile, the Combined Fleet staff felt its proposals to push eastward against Midway had been approved.[18]

As a result, Japan's strategic efforts split into three major axes: the Asian

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[14] *Minami Taiheiyo Rikugun Sakusen (1)*, pp. 123-26.
[15] Ibid., pp. 126-28.
[16] *Daihonei Rikugunbu (3)*, p. 517.
[17] Ibid.
[18] Ibid., pp. 517-18.

mainland (China and Manchuria), the South Pacific, and Midway. The Japanese thus dispersed their assets instead of concentrating them against their materialistically superior enemies. Unfortunately for Japan, each of these axes of operations were defeated. The thrust into the South Pacific was first defeated in the Coral Sea battle in May. The eastwards offensive against Midway was defeated in June 1942. The loss of Japanese offensive naval power at Midway ultimately resulted in the cancellation of Operation FS, and the entire Japanese thrust into the South Pacific was ultimately defeated by the campaigns on New Guinea and in the Solomon Islands from August 1942 through early 1944. Meanwhile, the IJA had to cancel its plans for starting a major offensive in China.

Following the twin defeats at Guadalcanal and Buna, the Japanese had to shift to the strategic defensive. During the first half of 1943, the IJA and IJN debated the specifics of the strategy they had to take, now that they were on the defensive. The biggest issue was where to draw the main defensive line, especially in the South Pacific. The IJA argued for pulling back to Bougainville Island in the Solomons, and the Lae-Salamaua area on the northeast coast of New Guinea. The IJA wanted to avoid a repeat of their experiences on Guadalcanal, where they felt large ground forces had been forced to fight on an island which was too distant for the Japanese to supply adequately. This feeling was reinforced by the defeat on Attu Island, in the Aleutian Islands, where the Japanese had been unable to reinforce or resupply their garrison, which fought and died to the last man in May 1943.[19]

In comparison, the IJN wished to fight as far forward as possible. In the South Pacific, the IJN was primarily concerned with maintaining the viability of Rabaul as its most important forward base in the area, which required that the fighting be kept as far away from it as possible. The IJN therefore argued for defending the Central Solomons, in other words, New Georgia Island, instead of withdrawing to the Northern Solomons, as the IJA wished.[20]

In the end, the IJA and IJN once again agreed by adopting both proposals

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[19] Hattori, p. 413.

[20] Boeicho Boeikenshusho Senshishitsu, *Senshi Sosho Minami Taiheiyo Rikugun Sakusen (3) Munda, Salamaua* (Army Operations in the South Pacific (3) Munda and Salamaua) (Asagumo Shinbunsha, 1970), pp. 169-70.

rather than giving priority to one of them. In the "Army-Navy Central Agreement Regarding Southeast Area Operations" of March 22, 1943, the IJN would defend New Georgia with its Special Naval Landing Forces, while the IJA would defend Bougainville.[21]

This conflict between the IJA and IJN on where to place the main line of resistance repeated itself on a larger scale over the entire Pacific Ocean area. In the Central Pacific, the IJN wanted to defend the Marshall and Gilbert Islands, which were the outermost chain of islands held by the Japanese and marked the easternmost extent of their territory as late as the fall of 1943. The IJN's primary concern was to maintain the viability of Truk, located in the Caroline Islands, as its main forward base in the area. In order to maintain Truk's effectiveness as a forward base, the IJN believed that the Marshall and Gilbert Islands had to be held, i.e. be the main line of defense, in order to keep the actual fighting away from Truk.[22]

Meanwhile, the IJA did not want to defend a perimeter which was beyond Japan's logistics capability and felt that the main line of defense in the Central Pacific should be drawn further to the west, but could not decide how far back the new perimeter should be drawn, nor when the current perimeter should be pulled back. The IJA General Staff repeatedly studied and debated this issue from the spring of 1943, but had reached no conclusion by the end of July.[23]

The issue of where to draw the main line of defense thus remained unresolved when the Americans resumed their counteroffensive in the South Pacific in late June and early July 1943, at New Georgia in the Solomons, and against the Lae-Salamaua area on New Guinea. The Japanese quickly found themselves unable to adequately resupply and reinforce both areas. This was the same problem they had faced in the earlier battles on Guadalcanal and on the Kokoda Track, and at Attu. The question of the new main defensive perimeter thus required an immediate

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[21] Ibid., p. 170.

[22] Boeicho Boeikenshusho Senshishitsu, *Senshi Sosho Daihonei Kaigunbu Rengo Kantai (4) Dai Sandan Sakusen Zenki* (IGHQ Navy Section and Combined Fleet (4) Early Period, Third Stage Operations) (Asagumo Shinbunsha, 1970), p. 311.

[23] Hiroyuki Shindo, "The Japanese Army's Search for a New South Pacific Strategy, 1943," in Peter Dean, ed., *Australia 1943: The Liberation of New Guinea* (Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 75-80.

decision. By mid-August, the IJN and IJA more or less were in agreement, and the line was formally approved in September by the "New Operations Guidance Policy." This has informally been called the Absolute National Defense Zone concept. The strategic planners of the IJA and IJN determined the area that Japan absolutely had to hold in order to win the war, and the defensive perimeter was drawn to encompass this area. The line ran down the eastern side of the Kuriles, the Japanese Home Islands, Ogasawaras, Marianas, and cut through the Caroline Islands, then ran between Dutch New Guinea and Papua New Guinea, before curving west and encircling all of the Dutch East Indies and Malaya, and ended by running up between Burma and India.

The establishment of a new "Main Line of Defense" was incorporated into a comprehensive strategy for fighting and winning the war under the strategic conditions of mid-1943. The Army and Navy General Staffs agreed on the so-called "New Operations Guidance Policy" on September 15, and the military strategy was incorporated into a new national policy, which an Imperial Conference approved on September 30, 1943. The military aspects of the new policy were as follows. The Japanese decided to reinforce their defenses along the new main line of defense. Considerable forces were still fighting outside of that line, such as the 8th Area Army in the Solomon Islands and eastern New Guinea, but they were to fight a "Holding Operation." In other words, they were to buy time by fighting and withdrawing as necessary. On the other hand, they were essentially not to be reinforced any further. Meanwhile, forces for mounting a massive counteroffensive against the Americans were to be built up behind the new main line of defense, with air forces to be given priority. These forces would then launch a decisive counteroffensive eastwards, in the Central or South Pacific, sometime in the second half of 1944.[24]

The IJA, which had not fully committed to the war in the Pacific Ocean area, and against the Americans, until late 1942 and early 1943, thus finally began transferring major ground forces from what had heretofore been its primary area of concern, i.e. Manchuria, to the islands of the Central Pacific. Ironically, by

[24] Hattori, pp. 498-99. Saburo Hayashi, *Taiheiyo Senso Rikusen Gaishi* (Overview of History of Ground Operations in the Pacific War) (Iwanami Shoten, 1951), pp. 117-18.

the time the new strategy was adopted, i.e. fall of 1943, the IJN was considering the abandonment of Truk, its forward base in the Central Pacific. The IJN, and especially Combined Fleet headquarters, had become increasingly concerned about the vulnerability to air attack, of any of its surface forces which might be based in Truk.[25] Additionally, as 1943 neared its end and American submarines increased their effectiveness against Japanese shipping, the IJN faced increasing difficulty in supplying Truk with sufficient fuel oil to enable fleets based at Truk to operate. By early 1944, the IJN was seriously considering pulling its surface forces back from Truk to Palau or even further westwards, as far back as Borneo, in order to place them closer to the sources of oil.[26] An American reconnaissance flight over Truk on January 7 was taken as an indication that a major air raid was imminent. This hastened the final decision, and the IJN sent the bulk of its surface forces out from Truk to the Palau Islands, Tawi Tawi, and elsewhere, from late January through mid-February.[27] Therefore, even as the IJA began its major effort to reinforce the ground defenses of the Central Pacific, the IJN was abandoning Truk, the defense of which was ostensibly the key reason why the IJA's ground forces were required in the area.

In the end, the "Absolute National Defense Zone" concept did not produce any meaningful results for the Japanese, and failed when the new line of defense was breached at Hollandia in May 1944, and at Saipan after the Marianas Campaign of June-August 1944. There are many reasons for the failure of this strategy, such as the fact that it was based on aircraft production goals which were impossible to begin with, given the actual amounts of raw materials the Japanese had access to. The rivalry between the IJA and IJN, which is the focus of this report, also played a large role. Although the IJN had agreed in principle to the concept of the new main line of defense, which stipulated that areas outside of the line were not to be reinforced further and essentially left to their own resources, the IJN did not give up the idea of defending the Marshall and Eastern Caroline Islands

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[25] Boeicho Boeikenshusho Senshishitsu, *Senshi Sosho Daihonei Kaigunbu Rengo Kantai (5) Dai San-dan Sakusen Chuki* (IGHQ Navy Section and Combined Fleet (5) Middle Period, Third Stage Operations) (Asagumo Shinbunsha, 1974), pp. 223-26.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Ibid., pp. 226-27.

either, even after the new strategy had been agreed upon.[28] The IJA thus found itself in a quandary. Once the new strategy had been agreed upon, the IJA viewed the Mariana Islands as the most vital part of the new defense line, and wanted to give top priority to their reinforcement. However, by the fall of 1943, the IJA was also very aware of the perilous state of the IJN's defensive preparations in the Marshall Islands. Faced with the IJN's continued efforts to strongly hold the Marshalls, the IJA finally decided that it could not abandon the IJN to its fate, and very reluctantly decided to send its forces which it had intended to redeploy from Manchuria to the Marianas and Western Caroline Islands to the Marshalls and Eastern Caroline Islands instead. As a result, by January 1944, approximately forty infantry battalions and other forces which were to have been used to strengthen the defenses of the Marianas and other points along the new perimeter were sent outside of that line, to the Marshalls and Eastern Caroline Islands, where most of them were lost or cut off and isolated after the Americans carried out their campaign against the Marshalls from the end of January 1944.[29]

The IJA redeployed a further thirty infantry battalions and other forces to the Marianas and Western Carolines from February 1944 onwards, but the delay in the sending of such substantial forces to the Marianas, meant that the defensive preparations in the Marianas were greatly delayed. Along with a number of other factors, this led to the Japanese defeat on Saipan, Guam, and Tinian Islands in the Marianas Campaign of June-August 1944 and the quick breaching of the new defensive perimeter.[30]

This paper has examined Japan's strategic decisions in the spring of 1942 and the fall through winter of 1943, and the role played by the interservice rivalry between the IJA and IJN. The decisions in 1942 affected how Japan would exploit its militarily advantageous situation. The 1943 decisions, on the other hand, were supposed to enable Japan to cope with its increasingly deteriorating strategic situation. In the former, the interservice rivalry resulted in a strategy which dispersed Japan's assets and led to their piecemeal defeat. In the latter, the interservice rivalry ensured that the Absolute National Defense Zone could

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[28] Hattori, p. 499.
[29] Imoto, pp. 490-93.
[30] Hattori, pp. 501-2.

not be sufficiently defended. While Japan's materialistic inferiority vis a vis the Americans certainly was a major cause for Japan's ultimate defeat, these two examples show that Japan's interservice rivalry, among other factors, also played a major role in determining the ultimate outcome of the war in the Pacific.

CHAPTER 9

Japanese Termination of the Pacific War: The Significant and Causal Factors of "the End of War"

SHOJI Junichiro

In World War II, the principle of unconditional surrender, declared in January 1943 at the Casablanca Conference, made termination of the war far more difficult. Indeed, Germany kept on fighting until Berlin fell and truly had to surrender unconditionally. In contrast, Japan laid down its arms by accepting the Potsdam Declaration before the "decisive battle for the Home Islands" began.[1]

In order to address the question of why Japan took an approach quite different from Germany's toward termination of war, this paper shall examine the background and factors that brought about Japan's political surrender, while taking into consideration recent studies. It analyzes: 1) Japan's war objectives; 2) Japan-U.S. relations; and 3) the military factor, specifically, the gap between Japanese and American perceptions of an American invasion of the Japanese Home Islands.

Japan's War Objectives

The imperial conference convened on June 8, 1945 approved the "Basic Policy for the Future Direction of the War." The Japanese army's original draft, reflecting its hardline policy of resisting to the very end, stated that "the Japanese Empire will prosecute the war to the end in order to preserve the national polity and protect the imperial land (the Home Islands), and thereby secure the foundations for the further development of the race."[2]

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[1] For an overview of the studies on the end of the war, see, for example, the introduction in Tamon Suzuki, *"Shusen" no Seijishi 1943–1945* [The political history of the end of war, 1943–1945] (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 2011). For an introduction to the discussion on the atomic bombings and the end of the war, see Michael Kort, "Hiroshima to Rekishika: Shusei Shugi no Kobo" [Historians and Hiroshima: The rise and fall of revisionism], trans. Sadao Asada, *Doshisha Hogaku* [The Doshisha Law Review] 60, no. 6 (January 2009).

[2] Jun Eto, Ken Kurihara, and Sumio Hatano, eds., *Shusen Kosaku no Kiroku (Ge)* [The records of the engineering of the termination of the war (Vol. II)] (Tokyo: Kodansha Bunko, 1986), 140–41.

The basic policy adopted read as follows: "With the belief in giving seven lives for the country as its inspiration and based on the strength of its advantageous geographical position and the unity of its people, the Japanese Empire will prosecute the war to the end in order to preserve the national polity and defend the imperial land, and thereby, accomplish the objective of the military expedition."[3] The first half took into account domestic considerations for the upcoming convocation of the Imperial Diet, while bearing in mind the wishes of the army. Nevertheless, the basic policy was undeniably a major disappointment for peace advocates.

As a compromise measure, the cabinet inserted the following clause into the basic policy: "to preserve the national polity and defend the imperial land, and thereby, accomplish the objective of the military expedition." As a result, Japan's war objectives, which until then were "self-sufficiency and self-defense" and "building the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere," were limited to "preservation of the national polity" and "defense of the imperial land." This had two important meanings for Japan's approach to termination of the war. First, it came to be understood within the cabinet that Japan would attain its war objectives if the "national polity" and "imperial land" were preserved, especially the former, and that the war would be fought to completion. Prime Minister Kantaro Suzuki later stated: "This had considerable implications. I believed that the policy enabled the first steps to be made in our efforts towards the termination of the war."[4]

This understanding was echoed by Hisatsune Sakomizu, chief cabinet secretary, who was behind the drafting of the basic policy. He later wrote: "The cabinet interpreted it to mean 'if the national polity is preserved and the imperial land is defended, then the objective of the military expedition would be achieved.' The cabinet understood the basic policy as providing an orientation towards the

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[3] Ibid., 170.

[4] *Shusen no Hyojo (Suzuki Kantaro Jutsu)* [Features of the termination of the war as told by Kantaro Suzuki] (Tokyo: Rodo Bunkasha, 1946), 26.

end of the war."[5]

The army, while agreeing to limit Japan's war objectives, had a different notion from that of the cabinet. For example, an army officer and aide to Army Minister Korechika Anami wrote that attaining "one blow, certain victory" in a battle for the Home Islands was the optimum means for actively achieving the major objective of "preservation of the national polity," which was at the heart of concluding the war. He went on to say that "the key to achieving peace lies in whether or not the national polity is preserved."[6] Whereas Foreign Minister Shigenori Togo and others intended to ensure "preservation of the national polity" through diplomatic negotiations before the Home Islands were invaded, the army felt that it could be ensured only by dealing one major blow and attaining certain victory in a battle for the Home Islands.

Strategic Surrender: The Politics of Victory and Defeat is a classic work on the termination of war by Paul Kecskemeti of the RAND Corporation, published in 1958. The book undertakes theoretical analyses of the forms of war termination, comparing the experiences of Japan, Germany, and Italy. Kecskemeti notes that "the loser may decide to quit because he feels that his core values will not suffer, even if the winner has his way completely and permanently."[7] Because Japanese leaders arrived at a shared understanding that Japan's core value, preservation of the "national polity," was a war objective, guidelines for realizing the termination of the war became clearer. The question was how to achieve this objective—through military force or negotiations?

Secondly, the principle of "building the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere," underscored at the Greater East Asia Conference in 1943, was eliminated from Japan's list of war objectives, and this served to further facilitate termination

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[5] Hisatsune Sakomizu, *Shusen no Shinso* [The truth of the end of the war] (Self-published, 1955), 34–35.

[6] Tadashi Nishiuchi and Masataka Iwata, *Otakebi: Daitoa Senso no Seishin to Kyujo Jiken* [The spirit of the Great East Asia War and Kyujo incident] (Tokyo: Nihon Kogyo Shinbunsha, 1982), 223–25.

[7] Paul Kecskemeti, *Strategic Surrender: The Politics of Victory and Defeat* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1958), 14.

of the war. In other words, as long as a principle such as the building of a co-prosperity sphere was a war objective, compromise between the two sides was difficult, and therefore, it was likely that the war would be fought to the bitter end.[8]

A basic policy with such landmark significance was approved in the following circumstances. First, Germany surrendered on May 8, 1945. This absolved Japan from the need to continue showing good faith towards Germany by observing the Axis Pact and refraining from a separate peace that had been used as an argument against such a separate peace with the Allies. Second, as it became increasingly apparent that Japan was losing the battle in Okinawa, for which expectations had been high, there was growing momentum for pursuing an immediate peace rather than making peace after striking the enemy a severe blow.

For example, according to the declassified *Showa Tenno Jitsuroku* [Annals of Emperor Showa], which is a biography of Emperor Showa compiled by the Imperial Household Agency, Foreign Minister Togo reported on April 30, 1945 on measures that Japan would take following Germany's collapse, and in response, the emperor expressed his "hopes for an early end to the war."[9]

Germany's war was of a different nature from Japan's. It was a "war of annihilation" (*Vernichtungskrieg*) in which the survival of the race and an ideology was at stake. Because it was founded on a powerful principle, or ideology, it was a war of victory or destruction, and peace through compromise was out of the question.[10]

This kind of ideology surfaced in an extreme way in the last stage of the

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[8] Regarding the transformation of the war objective and its significance, see Ryoichi Tobe, "Japan's War Guidance: Three Key Points," *New Perspectives on the War in the Pacific: Grand Strategies, Military Governments and POWs*, National Institute for Defense Studies, March 2008.

[9] The Imperial Household Agency, *Showa Tenno Jitsuroku (9)* [Annals of Emperor Showa (9)] (Tokyo: Tokyo Shoseki, 2016), 657.

[10] For a recent work discussing the characteristics of Nazism and war, see Richard Bessel, *Nachisu no Senso 1918–1949: Minzoku to Jinshu no Tatakai* [Nazism and war], trans. Akira Oyama (Tokyo: Chuko-Shinsho, 2015).

war. In March 1945, with defeat imminent, Adolf Hitler issued his famous Nero Decree and adopted a scorched earth policy involving the destruction of all assets in German territory. In Hitler's words: "If the war is lost then the nation will be lost also . . . because this nation has shown itself the weaker. The future belongs exclusively to the stronger nation from the East." In other words, Hitler felt that the weaker race did not deserve to exist any longer and should suffer the same fate as the defeated nation itself. Hitler's desire for death and destruction was ultimately directed at Germany itself, that is, at the annihilation of Germany.[11]

Incidentally, in the emperor's second "imperial decision," made during a meeting of the Supreme Council for the Direction of the War on August 14, 1945, he stated: "Continuing the war will result in the whole nation being reduced to ashes. I cannot endure the thought of letting my people suffer any longer . . . Compared to the result of losing Japan completely, we can at least hope for reconstruction as long as some seeds remain."[12] This decision is symbolic of the differences between the Japanese and German political situation and political leaders at the time.

Japan-U.S. Relations

Second, I focus on the factors underlying Japan's acceptance of the Potsdam Declaration, namely, the so-called "moderates" in Japan and the United States, as well as the "relationship of trust" that existed between Japan and the United States even when they were adversaries.

In Japan, certain groups sought peace between their country and the United States from early in the war. For example, on the very day of the attack on Pearl Harbor, former prime minister Konoe Fumimaro said to his aide: "We will lose this war. I order you to study how Japan shall lose. It is the job of politicians to

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[11] Sebastian Haffner, *Hitora towa Nanika* [The meaning of Hitler], trans. Tatsuo Akabane (Tokyo: Soshisha Publishing, 1979), 188–96.

[12] Kainan Shimomura, *Shusen Hishi* [The secret history of the end of war] (Tokyo: Kodansha Gakujutsu Bunko, 1985), 140.

conduct this study."[13] In January of the following year, 1942, Konoe stressed to Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal Koichi Kido that the timing of the termination of the war should be considered as quickly as possible. On February 5 of that year, Kido advised the emperor that: "the Great East Asia War will not be terminated easily. Ultimately, the quickest way to peace will be to fight the war to the end, including constructive efforts. Meanwhile, it will be necessary to grasp any opportunity to achieve peace as quickly as possible." On February 12, the emperor stated to Prime Minister Hideki Tojo, "While I realize that adequate considerations are being paid not to lose the opportunity of terminating the war, for the sake of humanity and peace we should not prolong the war and needlessly increase the heavy damage inflicted."[14]

The tide of the war subsequently turned against Japan. Thus, from around the summer of 1943, key figures came together to promote efforts to end the war, under the leadership of a number of former prime ministers, including Konoe and Keisuke Okada. Other persons involved included navy officers, such as Mitsumasa Yonai and Sokichi Takagi; army officers from the Imperial Way faction; and Shigeru Yoshida, a diplomat. This movement first evolved as a campaign to overthrow the Tojo cabinet and resulted in the entire cabinet's resignation.

In addition, recent research indicates that even among mainstream army officers, whose views had been seen as monolithic, there were groups that aimed to achieve peace quickly. Many of these officers were assigned to the War Direction Section of the general staff.[15]

In Germany there was sporadic resistance, including the July 20, 1944 assassination attempt against Hitler. However, partly because many anti-Nazi Germans were in exile, such as Willy Brandt, who later became prime minister,

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[13] *Kataritsugu Showashi: Gekido no Hanseiki (3)* [Stories of the history of the Showa period: A tumultuous half century (3)] (Tokyo: Asahi Shimbun, 1976), 304.
[14] Kido Nikki Kenkyukai, ed., *Kido Koichi Kankei Bunsho* [Documentation relating to Koichi Kido] (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press: 1966), 43–45.
[15] Tomoyuki Yamamoto, *Nihon Rikugun Senso Shuketsu Katei no Kenkyu* [Study of the process of the termination of the Japanese army's war] (Tokyo: Fuyoshobo, 2010).

Germany lacked a wide range of groups or movements in the political mainstream that explored ways of achieving peace to avoid a catastrophe, as occurred in Japan. Nor was there a movement within the German army that attempted to forestall the ultimate defeat. At the same time, the United States continued to refuse all German requests for a partial or localized surrender and repeatedly demanded a complete and immediate unconditional surrender.[16]

As for the Americans, the so-called "pro-Japanese" officials played a significant role. An example is State Department official Joseph C. Grew, who formerly served as under secretary of state. In speeches delivered across the United States, Grew explained that "moderates" or "liberals" existed in Japan, and that if the militarist clique were overthrown and the moderates or liberals placed in charge of the government, Japan could be rebuilt into a country that collaborates with the international community. Grew argued that the emperor was on the side of moderates and liberals and defended the imperial system. Furthermore, Henry L. Stimson, secretary of war, lauded Kijuro Shidehara, Reijiro Wakatsuki, and others as progressive politicians who had stood up to the militarist clique and promoted the sound development of Japan.[17]

During the war, these officials had an enormous impact on policymaking and moderated U.S. policies toward Japan. An example is a memo titled "Conditions for Japanese Surrender" adopted by the Post-War Programs Committee of the State Department in November 1944. The memo essentially stated that according to the terms of surrender, support would be provided to democratic and moderate persons who remained in Japan and that the occupation forces would stand ready to assist with the country's democratization. This varied significantly from the hardline stance in the United States that sought severe measures, including

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[16] Yasushi Yamaguchi, "Hitora to Doitsu Kokubogun: Mujoken Kofuku eno Michi" [Hitler and the German military: The path to unconditional surrender], in *Showashi no Gunbu to Seiji (4) Dainijitaisen to Gunbu Dokusai* [Military and politics in Showa history (4): World War II and military dictatorship], ed., Masaki Miyake (Tokyo: Dai-Ichi Hoki, 1983), 216–24.

[17] For the activities of the pro-Japanese officials, see, for example, Makoto Iokibe, *Nichibei Senso to Sengo Nihon* [Japan-U.S. war and post-war Japan] (Tokyo: Kodansha Gakujutsu Bunko, 2005) and Akira Iriye, *Nichibei Senso* [Japan-U.S. war] (Tokyo: Chuokoron-Sha, 1978).

eradication of the imperial system. The pro-Japanese judged that it would be preferable to occupy Japan while collaborating with and making use of the moderates who remained in the country, and that an occupation would be more in line with American national interests.[18]

Furthermore, these people were heavily involved in drafting the Potsdam Declaration, and as a result, paragraph 10 states: "The Japanese Government shall remove all obstacles to the revival and strengthening of democratic tendencies among the Japanese people. Freedom of speech, of religion, and of thought, as well as respect for the fundamental human rights shall be established." The words "revival and strengthening of democratic tendencies" reflected the perception of the pro-Japanese officials.

Diplomatic historian Makoto Iokibe has called the extensive efforts made by these pro-Japanese officials "good fortune in the midst of defeat" bestowed on Japan unexpectedly.[19] Kecskemeti notes: "There were well-informed and intelligent people in policymaking positions whose knowledge of Japanese conditions enabled them to hit upon the right approach. Thus American surrender policy avoided what would have been the worst of the disasters towards which the cult of 'unconditional surrender' was pressing."[20]

While no direct channels of negotiation existed between Japan and the United States, information on the activities of the moderates and others in the United States reached Japan. For example, Konoe, in his famous statement to the emperor in February 1945, wrote: "To date public opinion in Great Britain and United States has not gone so far as to favor a change of the national polity. (Of course, a part of public opinion is radical, and it is difficult to predict how opinion will change in the future.)" Asked what he thought about the army chief of general staff's view that the United States would demand the elimination of the imperial family, Konoe responded that the Americans' goal was to overthrow the

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[18] Iriye, *Nichibei Senso*, 261–63.
[19] Iokibe, *Nichibei Senso to Sengo Nihon*, 189.
[20] Kecskemeti, *Strategic Surrender*, 210.

militarist clique of Japan, and that "it seems the United States would not go that far, based on the views of Grew and the American leadership." It was intelligence collected by the Public Affairs Bureau and other branches of the Foreign Ministry that formed the basis of this view.[21]

This sort of Japanese intelligence significantly influenced Japan's acceptance of the Potsdam Declaration. In response to the declaration, issued on July 26, 1945, and followed by the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and the Soviet Union's entry into the Pacific War, the Suzuki cabinet issued an emergency telegram on August 10. It stated that the cabinet accepts the declaration "with the understanding that the said declaration does not comprise any demand which prejudices the prerogatives of His Majesty as a Sovereign Ruler."

The United States issued the following reply by Secretary of State James Byrnes: "The authority of the Emperor and the Japanese Government to rule the state shall be subject to the Supreme Commander of the Allied powers." Japan received this reply on August 10, and opinion within the government was divided over how to interpret it and how to respond: accept the terms, ask for further clarification, or continue with the war.

A recent study has revealed that at this critical time, intelligence from neutral countries, including Sweden and especially Switzerland, played an important role in communications between senior Japanese and U.S. officials regarding "preservation of the national polity."[22]

For example, the study notes that the report titled *"Potsudamu" Sangoku Sengen ni kansuru Kansatsu* [Observations concerning the trilateral "Potsdam" Declaration], prepared based on European intelligence and submitted to Foreign

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[21] Junichiro Shoji, "'Konoye Josobun' no Saikento: Kokusai Josei Bunseki no Kanten kara" [Konoe Fumimaro and Konoe's memorial to the throne in February 1945], *Kokusai Seiji* [International Relations] 109 (May 1995): 62–64.

[22] Tetsuo Arima, *"Suisu Chohomo" no Nichibei Shusen Kosaku: Potsudamu Sengenwa Naze Ukeireraretanoka* [Japan-U.S. end of war efforts relating to the "Swiss espionage network": Why was the Potsdam Declaration accepted?] (Tokyo: Shinchosha, 2015).

Minister Togo, recognized that the declaration affirmed Japanese sovereignty, used the phrase "unconditional surrender" in relation to the Japanese military, and did not refer to the imperial family and the national polity. On this basis, the report contended that the declaration had taken into consideration maintaining Japan's honor and adopted a stance considerably different from that taken toward Germany.

Furthermore, the study refers to a telegram from the minister to Sweden, Suemasa Okamoto, which arrived in Japan on August 13. The telegram described local news reports claiming that the United States had won an "American diplomatic victory" by successfully overriding opposition from the Soviet Union and other countries and forcing them to accept continuation of the imperial system. Based on his analysis of these news reports, Okamoto concluded that the essence of Japan's terms had been accepted. The study notes that this was also communicated to the emperor and Prime Minister Suzuki and affected subsequent developments.[23]

Shunichi Matsumoto, vice minister of foreign affairs, had the following notion: "As we had imagined, the United States took our request, and, despite considerable opposition, considered and indirectly approved it by wording it differently." The vice minister handed the telegram to Suzuki and requested its immediate acceptance.[24] At a time when opinion was divided over the response to Byrnes's reply and Suzuki himself was wavering, the effect of such information was not negligible.

In any event, as a result of these developments, the emperor, in his second decision issued to the Supreme Council for the Direction of the War, commented that "while it is natural that we have some concerns about our counterpart's

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[23] Ibid., 251–54, 273–76.

[24] Sumio Hatano, *Saisho Suzuki Kantaro no Ketsudan: "Seidan" to Sengo Nihon* [Prime Minister Kantaro Suzuki's decision: The emperor's decision and post-war Japan] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2015), 212.

attitude, I do not want to doubt it."[25]

Before and after making this comment, the emperor attempted to assuage the strong concerns expressed by Army Minister Anami about the American reply, saying: "Do not worry, Anami, I have conclusive proof" (August 12),[26] and "Anami, I fully understand your feelings, but I am confident that I can preserve the national polity" (August 14).[27] These remarks suggest that the emperor had obtained some evidence through intelligence and other sources.

Moreover, it cannot be ignored that the emperor and Suzuki had a certain amount of trust in the United States, and therefore, interpreted the information they had acquired positively. At the cabinet meeting on August 13, Suzuki stated in regard to Byrnes's reply: "From rereading it over and over, I sense that the United States did not write it with evil intent. We have different national situations. We also have different views. I believe that it will not essentially change the Emperor system. We should not object to the wording."[28] Suzuki's stance "in effect signified his trust in the 'good intentions' of the American leaders in regard to the preservation of the national polity."[29]

In his second decision issued to the Supreme Council, the emperor stated: "I understand that there are various doubts regarding the issue of national polity. However, based on the meaning of the text of this reply, I take it that our counterpart has good intentions."[30] A historian has noted that indeed, "The judgments of Suzuki and the Emperor were strongly supported by a simple trust in the United States and Americans."[31]

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[25] Shimomura, *Shusen Hishi*, 140.
[26] Military History Society of Japan, ed., *Daihonei Rikugunbu Senso Shidohan Kimitsu Senso Nisshi (Ge)* [War Direction Section, Army Division, Imperial Headquarters, confidential war diary (Vol. II)] (Tokyo: Kinseisha, 1998), 757.
[27] Hisanori Fujita, *Jijucho no Kaiso* [The grand chamberlain's memoir] (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1961), 141.
[28] Shimomura, *Shusen Hishi*, 128.
[29] Hatano, *Saisho Suzuki Kantaro no Ketsudan*, 202.
[30] Shimomura, *Shusen Hishi*, 140.
[31] Hatano, *Saisho Suzuki Kantaro no Ketsudan*, 224.

A well-known example of Japan's trust in the United States is the country's reaction to the death of President Franklin D. Roosevelt. Suzuki expressed his condolences, saying, "I must admit that Roosevelt's leadership has been very effective and has been responsible for the Americans' advantageous position today." The prime minister went on to say, "For that reason I can easily understand the great loss his passing means to the American people and my profound sympathy goes to them."[32] In contrast, Suzuki did not send a congratulatory telegram five days later on the fifty-sixth birthday of Hitler, the leader of Germany, Japan's ally.

The Nazi leadership, on the other hand, was delighted to hear the news of Roosevelt's death, believing that it would bring about a turning point in the war. Hitler is said to have issued a statement asserting that "fate has taken from us Roosevelt, the greatest war criminal in history." Thomas Mann, a German writer in exile in the United States at the time, wrote: "Japan is now at war with the United States with life and death at stake . . . In that oriental country, there still exists a spirit of chivalry and a sensitivity to human dignity. It still reveres a person who has died and reveres a person of great character. These are the differences between Germany and Japan."[33]

Military Factor: The Gap between Japanese and U.S. Perceptions of the Decisive Battle for the Home Islands

Third, I consider the contrasting Japanese and American perceptions of the military significance of the "decisive battle for the Japanese Home Islands," codenamed Operation *Ketsu* by the Japanese and Operation Downfall by the Americans. From around spring of 1945, about the time Germany was defeated, the emperor began to show great interest in a battle for the Home Islands.[34] For

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[32] Sukehiro Hirakawa, *Heiwa no Umi to Tatakai no Umi* [Sea of peace and sea of war] (Tokyo: Kodansha Gakujutsu Bunko, 1993), 81.
[33] Ibid., 149–50.
[34] For a study that analyzes the relationship between the emperor and the end of war in the context of the decisive battle for the Home Islands, see Tamon Suzuki, "Showa Tenno to Nihon no 'Shusen'" [Emperor Showa and Japan's "end of war"], in *Kokusai Kankyo no Henyo to Seigun Kankei* [Transformation of the international situation and civil-military relations], ed., Shinichi Kitaoka (Tokyo: Chuokoron-Shinsha, 2013).

example, the *Showa Tenno Jitsuroku* records that on May 9, after listening for more than an hour to a report from the army's chief of general staff, Yoshijiro Umezu, the emperor "communicated the Imperial General Headquarters Army Order (to the relevant commanders) to the effect that they shall facilitate the execution of the Battle for the Home Islands."[35]

Although the emperor inquired about the actual state of preparations for defending the Home Islands, he failed to receive a clear-cut explanation from the army. He thus actively attempted to grasp the situation by a number of means, including by sending his aides-de-camp to inspect Togane and Katakai, the beaches in the vicinity of Kujukurihama, on June 3 and 4.[36]

On June 9, Umezu returned from an inspection of Manchuria and gave a pessimistic report to the emperor: Japan's troop strength in Manchuria was only equivalent to eight U.S. divisions, and Japan had only enough ammunition for a single battle. On hearing this report, the emperor began to believe that "as the forces in the homeland are far less well equipped than the forces in Manchuria and China, there is no way they could fight." The report therefore became one of the factors heightening the emperor's anxieties regarding the end of the war.[37]

Admiral Kiyoshi Hasegawa, who had been sent to strategic areas in Japan as a special inspector general of fighting power assets, briefed the emperor on June 12. Hasegawa reported that because of a lack of weapons, shortage of equipment, and inadequate training, the forces at the anticipated fronts could not possibly fight a battle for the Home Islands. As an example, Hasegawa explained that the small boats that were to be utilized as suicide attack weapons were hastily built, installed with used car engines, and operated by inadequately trained personnel.

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[35] The Imperial Household Agency, *Showa Tenno Jitsuroku (9)*, 663.

[36] War History Office, National Defense College, Defense Agency, *Senshi Sosho Daihonei Rikugunbu <10>* [Military history series: Army Department, Imperial Headquarters <10>] (Tokyo: Asagumo Shimbunsha, 1975), 449.

[37] Takashi Ito, ed., *Sokichi Takagi Nikki to Joho (Ge)* [Sokichi Takagi: Diary and information (Vol. II)] (Tokyo: Misuzu Shobo, 2000), 885–86.

The emperor was astonished and commented, "I can fully imagine."[38]

At around the same time, Prince Morihiro Higashikuni informed the emperor that not only the coastal defense forces, but also the combat divisions, were insufficiently supplied with weapons, and that shovels were being made with iron salvaged from bombs dropped by the enemy. Based on this information, the emperor "confirmed that war was impossible."[39]

On June 13, the emperor was notified of the "honorable death" of the navy's garrison in Okinawa, and on June 14 and 15, he fell ill and did not make any public appearances.

According to the *Showa Tenno Jitsuroku*, on June 20, the emperor told Foreign Minister Togo "that he desired an early termination of the war."[40] On this occasion, the emperor stated that "based on the recent reports of the Chief of the Army General Staff, Chief of the Naval General Staff, and Admiral Hasegawa, it has become clear that our operational readiness in China and in the Japanese homeland is inadequate for a war," adding, "Please proceed to terminate the war as quickly as possible."[41]

The series of reports on a battle for the Home Islands had a significant influence on the emperor's perception. Many historians note that these reports led him to abandon the idea of making peace after dealing the enemy a severe blow and to shift instead to pursuing a swift peace.[42]

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[38] Statement by Kiyoshi Hasegawain Motoei Sato and Fumitaka Kurosawa, eds., *GHQ Rekishika Chinjutsuroku: Shusenshi Shiryo (Ge)* [GHQ History Division's deposition records: End of war archive (Vol. II)] (Tokyo: Hara Shobo, 2002), 569–70.

[39] Hidenari Terasaki and Mariko Terasaki Miller, eds., *Showa Tenno Dokuhakuroku Terasaki Hidenari Goyogakari Nikki* [Diary of Hidenari Terasaki, general official of the imperial household: Emperor Showa's monologue] (Tokyo: Bungei Shunju, 1991), 118.

[40] The Imperial Household Agency, *Showa Tenno Jitsuroku (9)*, 705.

[41] Shigenori Togo, *Jidai no Ichimen* [An aspect of time], ed. Togo Shigenori Kinenkai (Tokyo: Hara Shobo, 1985), 340.

[42] For example, Kazutoshi Hando, *Showashi* 1926–1945 [Showa history 1926–1945] (Tokyo: Heibonsha Library, 2009), 461; Tsuyoshi Hasegawa, *Anto Sutarin, Toruman to Nihon Kofuku* [Secret feud: Stalin, Truman, and Japan's surrender] (Tokyo: Chuokoron-Shinsha, 2006), 167.

Meanwhile, the army continued to call for the "honorable death of 100 million" and with continued confidence, insisted on a "battle for the Japanese Home Islands." At the meeting of the Supreme Council for the Direction of the War held on August 9, shortly after the atomic bombings and the Soviet Union's entry into the Pacific War, Togo asked, "Are you confident that you can prevent the enemy from landing in the Japanese homeland?" Umezu responded: "If it goes extremely well, we can even repel the enemy. Because it is a war, however, it is hard to conceive that it will definitely go well. While we will concede some landings, I am confident that we can inflict severe casualties on the enemy during their invasion."[43] The army, while recognizing that ultimate victory was impossible, continued to hang on to a thread of hope.

Nevertheless, in his first decision issued to the Supreme Council, on the same day, the emperor stated: "You keep talking about decisive fighting for the Home Islands, but the defenses at the most important area, Kujukurihama, have yet to be completed. In addition, the divisions that will be involved in this battle are inadequately equipped, and it is said that their equipment will not be complete until after mid-September . . . Your plans are never executed. Given that, how can we win the war?"[44] The emperor thus mentioned the incomplete preparations for the battle for the Home Islands, and not the atomic bombings or the Soviet Union's entry into the Pacific War, as reasons for accepting the Potsdam Declaration. He added: "What would happen if we were to plunge into the Battle for the Home Islands in this condition? I am very worried. I think to myself, will this mean that all the Japanese people will have to die? If so, how can we leave this nation, Japan, to posterity?"[45]

This comment caused Army Major General Tatsuhiko Takashima, chief of staff of the Twelfth Area Army and the Eastern Command Headquarters, who

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[43] Togo, *Jidai no Ichimen*, 357.

[44] Koichi Kido (Kido Koichi Nikki Kenkyukai Kotei), *Kido Koichi Nikki (Gekan)* [Diary of Koichi Kido (Vol. II)] (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1966), 1223–24.

[45] Hisatsune Sakomizu, *Dainihon Teikoku Saigo no Yonkagetsu: Shusen Naikaku "Futokorogatana" no Shogen* [The last four months of the Japanese Empire: Testimony of the end of the war cabinet's "confidant"] (Tokyo: Kawade Bunko, 2015), 207–8.

was entrusted with defense of the Kanto area, to feel responsible for the reference to the Twelfth Area Army's "biggest shortcoming," in other words, the lack of defensive preparations at Kujukurihama. He responded, "The Battle for the Home Islands is just a 'house of cards,' as is symbolized by the defensive positions at Kujukurihama."[46] Conversely, the army general staff frequently inspected the defenses in various areas in preparation for the battle for the Home Islands. According to its reports, not only were the fortifications, supplies, training, and logistics supplies inadequate, but even the spirit of decisive fighting was lacking. Thus, in reality, the general staff also recognized the difficult situation.[47]

It is noteworthy that in this decision issued to the Supreme Council, as noted above, the emperor expressed his distrust of the military, stating that the actions of the army and navy commands were not in line with their plans, and giving as an example preparations for defending the Home Islands. Additionally, the emperor noted that since the outbreak of the war, there had been significant discrepancies between the "plans and results" of both the army and the navy. With regard to the defense of Kujukuri, the emperor said: "In fact, what my aides-de-camp later told me after seeing the site is very different from what the Chief of the Army General Staff told me. I understand that most of the defenses are incomplete."[48]

These remarks sent shock waves through the army leadership. Torashiro Kawabe, deputy chief of staff of the army, wrote in his diary: "The imperial decision was issued. In short, His Majesty has no expectations for Japan's future operations." Kawabe went on to say:

> I am afraid His Majesty did not arrive at this view as a result of the debates during the Imperial Conference. That is to say, His Majesty has no expectations for Japan's future operations. In other words, His Majesty has

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[46] Yomiuri Shimbun, ed., *Showashi no Tenno (3): Hondo Kessen to Potsudamu Sengen* [The emperor in Showa history (3): The battle of the Japanese Home Islands and the Potsdam Declaration] (Tokyo: Chuo Bunko, 2012), 44–45.

[47] See, for example, War History Office, *Senshi Sosho Daihonei Rikugunbu <10>*, 247–53, 310–16, 376–77.

[48] Sakomizu, *Dainihon Teikoku Saigo no Yonkagetsu*, 207–8.

> no trust in the military . . . It was an expression of his increasing distrust in the military. This distrust was directly expressed by His Majesty the Emperor.[49]

Shuichi Miyazaki, chief of the First Bureau, General Staff Office, wrote in his diary: "A day of great misfortune. What humiliation."[50]

In effect, the emperor's distrust of the army, which he made explicit for the first time in connection with preparations to defend the Home Islands, was one of the reasons he accepted the Potsdam Declaration. This had a greater effect than military reasons in encouraging the army, especially its general staff, to give up on the war. While admitting that Japan was defeated militarily, the army had asked for an opportunity to strike the enemy somehow. However, the emperor's distrust severed all hope.

For the United States, on the other hand, despite Japan's poor and incomplete preparations for a battle for the Home Islands, potential human losses presented a major issue as the launch of Operation Downfall approached. In other words, Japan's residual force and anticipated suicidal attacks were threats to the United States. Furthermore, the severity of the battles for Iwo Jima and Okinawa and the cost to the United States due to Japanese military resistance—the death or injury of an estimated 35 percent of the American forces committed— provided a significant disincentive to proceeding with the invasion.

On June 18, 1945, President Harry S. Truman convened a meeting at the White House to consider Operation Downfall and its expected casualties. At the meeting, opinion was divided, especially regarding the estimated number of deaths and injuries. William D. Leahy, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and others noted that nearly 35 percent died or were injured in the Battle for Okinawa, and forecasted that Operation Downfall would result in a similar death toll.

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[49] Kawabe Torashiro Bunsho Kenkyukai, ed., *Shosho Hikkin: Rikugun wa Akumade Goseidan ni Shitagaite Kodosu* [Follow the words of the emperor: The army will act in compliance with the imperial decision] (Tokyo: Kokushokankokai, 2005), 178–79.

[50] War History Office, *Senshi Sosho Daihonei Rikugunbu <10>*, 453.

Accordingly, they were reluctant to undertake the operation and advocated easing the terms of unconditional surrender to minimize casualties. Meanwhile, George C. Marshall, army chief of staff, was more optimistic. In the end, the meeting approved Operation Olympic (an invasion of Kyushu), one of the operations planned under Downfall, and decided to put on hold Operation Coronet (an invasion of the Kanto Plain), the other operation under Downfall for the time being.[51]

On July 2, Secretary of War Stimson submitted a memorandum to President Truman to explain the purpose of the draft Potsdam Declaration. Referring to the fierce fighting on Iwo Jima and Okinawa, he noted, "If we once land on one of the main islands and begin a forceful occupation of Japan, we shall probably have cast the die of last ditch resistance." For this reason, Stimson advised that the United States should strive for the prompt and economical achievement of its objectives, by presenting conditions to Japan.[52]

Of course, at the time, the various U.S. government departments each had their own widely varying projections of the number of deaths and injuries from Operation Downfall. A number of recent studies based on newly released historical records have higher casualty estimates.[53]

In any case, U.S. concern about the military cost of an invasion of the Japanese Home Islands led the United States to reconsider its demand for Japan's unconditional surrender, and ultimately, the war ended with Japan accepting the Potsdam Declaration.

Kecskemeti writes, "Our theoretical analysis implies that strong residual capabilities on the losing side are apt to produce a substantial 'disarming' effect

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[51] Makoto Iokibe, *Beikoku no Nihon Senryo Seisaku: Sengo Nihon no Sekkeizu (Ge)* [U.S. occupation policy toward Japan: The blueprint of post-war Japan (Vol. II)] (Tokyo: Chuokoron-Sha, 1985), 180–87 and Hasegawa, *Anto*, 168–72.
[52] Iokibe, *Beikoku no Nihon Senryo Seisaku (Ge)*, 192.
[53] Kort, "Hiroshima to Rekishika," 483–87.

on the winning side by inclining the winner to make political concessions to the loser as incentives for surrender." Kecskemeti notes that potential battles in Japan that would reflect Japan's geographical advantages as an island country, the Japanese military's residual capabilities, and Japan's extreme will to resist were regarded as grave threats by the United States, which was unlike the situation in Germany and Italy in the final stage of the war. He believes that these things thus served as valuable assets for Japan to obtain political concessions from the United States in the transactions and negotiations on its surrender.[54]

Military historian John Ferris notes that Japanese assets and combat that caused heavy casualties to U.S. forces in the Pacific theater: "did achieve some political objectives. [Japan's] defeat achieved a victory of a kind."[55]

Conclusion

Had decisive fighting taken place on the Home Islands, there would have been even greater loss of life for Japan and the United States. Moreover, Japan's urban areas and countryside would have been devastated, and Japan would likely have been put under direct foreign rule and conceivably been partitioned like Germany. Japan, however, was able to avoid this tragedy by terminating the war more quickly than Germany, that is, before decisive fighting on the Home Islands began. This is perhaps the reason why Japan calls the termination of the war the "end of war" or "defeat in war," while postwar Germany refers to the end of its war as "liberation" (from Nazism) or "defeat" (collapse).

Incidentally, the notion that Germany was "liberated" was introduced by German President Richard von Weizsäcker in his famous address to commemorate the fortieth anniversary of the war's end. The president identified May 8, 1945 as

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[54] Kecskemeti, *Strategic Surrender*, 158, 210, 220.

[55] John Ferris, "Taiheiyo Senso Kokiniokeru Rengokoku no Senryaku" [Politics as strategy: The United States and the end of the Pacific War, 1944–1945], in *Nihon to Rengokoku no Senryaku Hikaku: Kensho Taiheiyo Senso to Sono Senryaku (3)* [Comparison of Japanese and Allied strategies: A study of the Pacific War and its strategy (3)], eds., Masaki Miyake et al. (Tokyo: Chuokoron-Shinsha, 2013), 253.

the day of "liberation" from Nazism, and this view has now become widespread.[56]

For Japan, on the other hand, termination of the war literally signified the "end of war." The war was terminated through military "defeat," accompanied by difficulties and sacrifice, even though Japan had agreed to the disadvantageous unconditional surrender. The Potsdam Declaration stated that the representatives of the United States, China, and Great Britain "have conferred and agree that Japan shall be given an opportunity to end this war."

Of course, in the war against Germany in the European theater, there was a complex interaction among the military objectives and interests of many countries, including the United States and the Soviet Union, but Japan's situation was more favorable than Germany's. As noted by diplomatic historian Sumio Hatano, "The war to be concluded was not a war staged in China or Asia; it was the Japan-U.S. war that came down to a contest of military strength."[57] As this paper has discussed, the limiting of war objectives, the existence of a relationship of trust, and the considerations concerning a battle for the Home Islands were all matters that concerned only Japan and the United States. This prevented the political situation from being further complicated and made termination of the war relatively easy. Furthermore, there were pro-Japanese officials in the United States (and moderates that could support them in Japan). In addition, even others, including U.S. policymakers and military personnel, had to factor in the human cost of war, having seen the fierce resistance of the Japanese military in the last stages of the war. In turn, the United States called for revisions to the policy of unconditional surrender from the perspective of both "trust" and reasonableness.

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[56] For information on the dispute in Germany, see Richard von Weizsäcker and Tsutomu Yamamoto, *Kako no Kokufuku / Futatsu no Sengo* [Past conquests and two post-wars] (Tokyo: NHK Publishing, 1994), 180–211.

[57] Sumio Hatano, "Shusen wo Meguru Shidoshazo: Suzuki Kantaro wo Chushin ni" [Images of leaders at the end of war, with a focus on Kantaro Suzuki], in *Kindai Nihon no Ridashippu: Kiro ni Tatsu Shidosha tachi* [Leadership in modern Japan: Leaders at the crossroads], ed., Ryoichi Tobe (Tokyo: Chikura Shobo, 2014), 194.

CHAPTER 10

The Soviet Military Leadership's Perceptions of Japan and Germany during World War II

HANADA Tomoyuki

Introduction

This paper analyzes the Soviet military leadership's (the Soviet Council of People's Commissars and the General Staff of the Red Army) perceptions of Japan and Germany during World War II. In particular, the author focuses on the Soviet perceptions of the two Axis powers to shed light on the differences in their purpose of war and postwar conception.[1]

During World War II, with the Japanese-Soviet Neutrality Pact concluded in April 1941 as a strategic framework, Japan and the Soviet Union had an official diplomatic negotiation route between the Allied and Axis powers. This is starkly different from the 1930s when Japan-Soviet relations were characterized by war and peace, with tensions in the Soviet-Manchurian border areas significantly increasing due to the Manchurian Incident and the subsequent foundation of Manchukuo. In those times, large-scale regional conflicts occurred that peaked in 1939 with the Nomonhan Incident, and both countries sought to divide the spheres of influence after the outbreak of World War II as seen in Japanese-Soviet diplomatic coordination and in the "Japan-Germany-Italy-Soviet Quadruple Entente Concept" set forth by the second KONOE Fumimaro Cabinet. Additionally, in the latter half of World War II, Japan and the Soviet Union were sometimes expected to play the role of mutual intermediary countries in the German-Soviet peace negotiations and the Japanese-US peace negotiations (including the agreements at the war's termination), respectively. However, the former negotiations raised concerns that releasing Soviet troops from the Eastern Front would increase the threat to Japan in the Far East, while the latter raised concerns that releasing Japanese troops from the Pacific Front would increase

[1] This article is a revised version of "The Soviet Military Leadership's Perceptions of Japan during World War II," *Security & Strategy*, Vol. 1 (January 2021). Some parts have been updated.

the threat from the Far East to the Soviet Union. Therefore, neither was realized. Until the Soviet Union's entry into the war against Japan on August 9, 1945, Japan-Soviet relations remained superficially stable. Although the military and diplomatic expectations of the two sides greatly differed, it can be said that a great power relationship was established on the basis of mutual non-interference in the Far East. As such, for an accurate understanding of Japan's Pacific War and of the Soviet Union's Great Patriotic War (German-Soviet War), it is important to analyze what kind of perceptions Japan and the Soviet Union formed of each other during wartime.

On the other hand, German-Soviet relations during World War II at times functioned as a favorable partnership based on the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, and both countries divided the spheres of influence in Eastern and Western Europe. Although Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union were ideologically at odds with each other, they achieved territorial expansion as challenging countries against the existing international order. This was also attributed to the Soviet Union's expulsion from the League of Nations. But after the decisive confrontation between the leaders of both countries in November 1940, Adolf Hitler secretly ordered the Wehrmacht (the German Army in World War II, 1935-1945) to carry out "Operation Barbarossa," which led to the outbreak of the Eastern Front on June 22, 1941.

Historical research findings so far on Japan's perceptions of the Soviet Union have mainly focused on: political and diplomatic views towards the Soviet Union of TERAUCHI Masatake, GOTO Shinpei, KUHARA Fusanosuke, MATSUOKA Yosuke, and YONAI Mitsumasa, who are known as pro-Soviet politicians in the Japanese government; the activities of the Japanese Communist Party and Comintern (Communist International) that aimed for the social spread of communism in Japan; and military intelligence related to the espionage activities of Japanese officers mainly from the Army General Staff, the Navy General Staff, the various special service agencies, and the military attaché system attached to

embassies.[2] In particular, with regard to the Japanese military's perceptions of the Soviet Union, the Japanese Army recognized the Soviet Union as its greatest potential adversary, and carried out anti-Soviet and anti-communist espionage activities all over the world. In addition to gathering and analyzing information on the Soviet Union from the Army General Staff Division 2 Section 5 (Russia Section), the Navy General Staff Division 3 Section 7 (Russia Section, with Section 6 being in charge until October 1932), the Kwantung Army General Staff Office Section 2, and the Harbin Special Service Agency (reorganized into the Kwantung Army Intelligence Office after 1940), the actual situation of anti-Soviet and anti-communist strategy was elucidated from the military attaché system in Eastern European and Middle Eastern regions surrounding the Soviet Union (Poland, Hungary, Latvia, Romania, Finland, Sweden, Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan).[3]

On the other hand, the Soviet Union's perceptions of Japan have not been sufficiently analyzed due to the restrictions on the use of official documents and historical materials in the Soviet era. Historical research on this topic is currently underway following the declassification of historical archives after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Particularly with respect to the Soviet military leadership's perceptions of Japan, the possibility of research activities at the Archives has dramatically increased, although there were delays in declassifying official documents and historical materials. In addition, although new research findings,

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[2] For more information on recent research findings regarding Japan's perceptions of the Soviet Union, see ASADA Masafumi, *Nichiro Kindaishi: Senso to Heiwa no Hyakunen* [The Modern History of Japan and Russia: A Hundred Years of War and Peace], Kodansha Modern Books Series, 2018; IOKIBE Makoto, SHIMOTOMAI Nobuo, A.V. Torkunov, and D.V. Strel'tsov, eds., *Nichiro Kankeishi: Parallel History heno Chosen* [The History of Japanese-Russian Relations: Challenging Parallel Histories], University of Tokyo Press, 2015; TOMITA Takeshi, *Senkanki no Nisso Kankei 1917-1937* [The Japanese-Soviet Relations During the Interbellum 1917-1937], Iwanami Shoten, 2010; WADA Haruki and TOMITA Takeshi, translated and eds., *Siryoshu: Comintern to Nihon Kyosanto* [Collected Materials: Comintern and the Japanese Communist Party], Iwanami Shoten, 2014.

[3] For books by the involved parties, see NISHIHARA Yukio, *Zenkiroku Harbin Tokumukikan* [All Records of the Harbin Special Service Agency], Mainichi Shimbun Publishing, 1980; HAYASHI Saburo, *Kwantung Army to Kyokuto Russia Gun* [The Kwantung Army and the Russian Army in the Far East], Fuyo Shobo, 1974. For recent research findings, see KOTANI Ken, *Nihon Gun no Intelligence* [The Japanese Military Intelligence: Why Was Intelligence Not Utilized?], Kodansha Métier Selections, 2004; TAJIMA Nobuo, *Nihon Rikugun no Taiso Boryaku* [The Japanese Army's Anti-Soviet Strategy: Japanese and German Anti-Comintern Pact and Eurasian Policy], Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 2017. For more information regarding the Japanese pre-war military attaché system, see TACHIKAWA Kyoichi, "Japanese Pre-War Military Attaché System," *NIDS Journal of Defense and Security*, Vol. 16 (December 2015), pp. 147-185.

memoirs, and collections of official documents and historical materials have been published in Russia and the Western countries, it is a rather large problem that these are not sufficiently analyzed in Japan.

From that point of view, the purpose of this paper is to verify the reality of the Soviet military leadership's perceptions of Japan and Germany based on official Russian documents, which were often understood as Stalin's dictatorial ideology (and prejudice), by shedding light on the Soviet military leadership's perceptions of Japan and Germany during World War II. In addition to clarifying the Soviet military leadership's views towards both countries, this paper will also attempt to compare the Soviet military leadership's perceptions of Japan with the perceptions of Nazi Germany, which too was an Axis power during World War II. The author hopes that this research will not only deepen the general understanding of the Soviet Union's war leadership towards Japan and Germany, but that it will also provide a historical perspective for analyzing modern Russia's perceptions of Japan and Germany.

In this research, the term "war leadership" is defined as "the Soviet military leadership, with Stalin at the top, over military and diplomatic strategy and over operations at the military headquarters in the Far East." In conjunction with this, with regards to the name of the Soviet Army, the "Red Army" (official name: "Workers' and Peasants' Red Army") was renamed the "Soviet Army" in February 1946 after World War II. However, in this paper, "Soviet Army" is sometimes used to mean the Soviet military, and therefore, "Red Army" and "Soviet Army" are both used. Additionally, in connection with the reforms to the Red Army's organization in the latter half of the 1930s, the rank names of senior commanders in the military leadership became easily confused with those of unit commanders, and the author has unified them into new rank names.

1. Comparison with Perceptions of Japan and Germany:

Purpose of the War

For the Soviet military leadership, the war with Japan was a battle against militarism and imperialism. However, when looked at from the point of view of the purpose of the war, its nature was ideologically different from that of the

Wehrmacht, also one of the Axis powers. With regards to Hitler's war plans, Timothy D. Snyder points out that within the Wehrmacht, there were "four plans" when the German-Soviet War broke out in June 1941: (1) destroy the Soviet Union in weeks with a Blitzkrieg victory; (2) starve 30 million people (Eastern and Central Europe) by a "Hunger Plan" in months; (3) turn Poland and the occupied eastern regions into German colonies (Germanization) based on the Master Plan for the East; and (4) eliminate European Jews by embarking on a "final solution" after the war.[4] These war plans were not just aimed at achieving normal military victories and strategic goals, but also at exterminating the Slavs, who were the main ethnic group in the Soviet Union and in Eastern and Central Europe, and had overtones of racial and annihilation war to expand and develop the "Lebensraum," or "living space" of the German people.

The link between Hitler's racism and the purpose of the war was clearly written in the "Hossbach Memorandum," in which Hitler himself lays out his war plans, emphasizing that: "The aim of German policy was to make secure and to preserve the racial community [Volksmasse] and to enlarge it. It was therefore a question of space." The memorandum states that "Germany's future was therefore wholly conditional upon the solving of the need for space."[5] Afterwards, the idea of a German-Soviet War as a racial war is said to have influenced the Wehrmacht's war plans even before the German-Soviet Nonaggression Pact was concluded on August 23, 1939. Führer Directive No. 21, for "Operation Barbarossa," was issued on December 18, 1940, stating that early occupation of the capital of Moscow was not important, with the aim being to strengthen the Army Group Center and carry out an annihilation siege war. After that, he ordered a north-south transversal to carry out an annihilation siege war in the Baltic States and

[4] Timothy Snyder, *Bloodlands: Europe between Hitler and Stalin*, Basic Books, 2010, p. 187.
[5] "Hossbach Memorandum," «https://avalon.law.yale.edu/imt/hossbach.asp».

Ukraine.[6] However, in these battle plans, the leaders of the Ministry of Defense assumed that the Soviet Union's regime would collapse internally in the face of a Blitzkrieg victory, embodying a shared, disdainful view of a Soviet Union that would face a variety of problems such as excessive burdens on its active troops and logistics difficulties. For these reasons, although Germany captured 330,000 prisoners of war in the Battle of Białystok–Minsk, the Army Group Center's first siege, it allowed many Soviet soldiers to escape eastward and has been criticized as a strategically "empty victory."[7]

The Soviet military leadership's perception of Germany was based on battles with fascists, militarists, and imperialists, reflecting Hitler's racist ideology. The Soviet Union held out the purpose of the war as a total war of annihilation for the survival of the nation, and gave absolute priority to achieving triumph via operational plans and mobilization of troops and supplies. This can be gleaned from Stalin's radio speech broadcast on July 3, 1941, in which he denounced Nazi Germany as a "bloodthirsty aggressor" for breaking the German-Soviet Nonaggression Pact and initiating a war against the Soviet Union, then expressing a strong sense of crisis saying: "The issue is one of life and death for the Soviet government, of life and death for the peoples of the U.S.S.R.; the issue is whether the peoples of the Soviet Union shall be free or fall into slavery. The Soviet peoples must realize this and abandon all complacency; they must mobilize themselves and reorganize all their work on a new, war-time footing."[8] He loudly proclaimed: "The war with fascist Germany cannot be considered an ordinary war. It is not only a war between two armies, it is also a great war of the entire Soviet peoples against the German-fascist armies. The aim of this Great Patriotic

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[6] With regards to the purpose of the Wehrmacht's German-Soviet War, the "Program School," which explains Hitler's conquest plans and political decisions as the main rationale, became mainstream in the field of modern German historical research. Its argument is based on the fact that, at Berchtesgaden on July 31, 1940, Hitler told the Wehrmacht leaders that he intended to wage war against the Soviet Union and that meetings with Commissar for Foreign Affairs Molotov broke down in November 1940. On the other hand, recent research findings have focused on the existence of the anti-Soviet "Marcks Plan" and "Rosberg Plan" battle plans, which were created behind the scenes at the Wehrmacht. OHKI Tsuyoshi, *Dokusosen* [The German-Soviet War: The Terrible War of Annihilation], Iwanami Shinsho, 2019, pp. 20-28.

[7] OHKI Tsuyoshi, *Doitsu Gunjishi* [German Military History: Image and Reality], Sakuhinsha, 2016, p. 257.

[8] СТАЛИН: PRO ET CONTRA. РХГА/Пальмира. 2017. С. 174.

War against the fascist oppressors is not only to eliminate the danger hanging over our country, but also to aid all the European peoples groaning under the yoke of German fascism," evoking wartime patriotism by comparing it to the "War for the Fatherland" between the Russian Imperial Army and the French Continental Army during the Napoleonic Wars.[9] Relatedly, the Soviet government decided to dissolve Comintern in June 1943 in order to strengthen lines of international cooperation with the United Kingdom and the United States, and in September 1943, announced a policy of reconciliation with the Russian Orthodox Church and approving a revival of the Church's patriarchate system, which can be thought of as making spiritual ties in order to prevail against the Wehrmacht.

What is interesting here is the differences with the Soviet military leadership's purpose for the war against Japan. Although not well known within Japan, by definition, the Soviet Union's entry into the war against Japan is not included in the Great Patriotic War, which refers to the battles from the Wehrmacht's military advance via Operation Barbarossa on June 22, 1941, until Germany's unconditional surrender on May 8, 1945. Additionally, the idea of racial and annihilation war, as seen in the German-Soviet War, is not found in official documents and historical materials around the purpose of the war against Japan. Therefore, it can be said that during World War II there was an ideological difference in the Soviet military leadership's purpose for war with Japan and for war with Germany even though commonality can be found between the militarism and imperialism of the two Axis powers.

The Soviet military leadership's perceptions of Japan during World War II can be analyzed from the Soviet Union's diplomatic negotiation process with the United Kingdom and the United States in regard to Soviet entry into the war against Japan. After the attack on Pearl Harbor on December 8, 1941, British Foreign Secretary Robert Anthony Eden asked Stalin on December 20 about the possibility of the Soviet Union entering into the war against Japan, and at the time, Stalin carefully answered: "If the Soviet Union declares war on Japan, then the Soviet Union will have to wage a truly serious war on land, on air, and on sea. This is completely different from Belgium and Greece declaring war on Japan.

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[9] Там же. С. 175.

The government of the Soviet Union will have to carefully calculate possibilities and powers. At present, the Soviet Union is not yet ready to engage in war with Japan."[10] Additionally, when Franklin Delano Roosevelt asked the Soviet military leadership for permission to use air force bases in the Far East, Stalin refused, citing the Soviet-Japanese Neutrality Pact and the intensification of the German-Soviet War. And while the Soviet Union replied that "We must resolutely wage war with our main enemy, Hitler's Empire," it emphasized that the anti-Japanese front in the Pacific war and the anti-Japanese war on mainland China were part of the joint front in the war against the Axis powers.[11]

Stalin's clear expression of intent regarding entry into the war against Japan was allegedly a statement to United States Secretary of State Cordell Hull at the Third Moscow Conference of Foreign Ministers in 1943. What is noteworthy when considering perceptions of Japan is the content of Stalin's speech at the November 6, 1944 celebrations for the 27th Anniversary of the October Revolution. At this time, Stalin publicly denounced Japan as an "aggressor state" while showing a sense of caution, saying: "One cannot regard as an accident such distasteful facts as the Pearl Harbor 'incident,' the loss of the Philippines and other Pacific Islands, the loss of Hong Kong and Singapore, when Japan, as the aggressor state, proved to be better prepared for war than Great Britain and the United States of America, which pursued a policy of peace. . . . Accordingly it is not to be denied that in the future, the peace-loving nations may once more find themselves caught off their guard by aggression unless, of course, they work out special measures right now which can avert it."[12] This tone was also seen in the April 5, 1945 denunciation of the Soviet-Japanese Neutrality Pact, with Commissar for Foreign Affairs Molotov explaining that Operation Barbarossa and the attack on Pearl Harbor had not occurred when the pact was originally concluded: "Since that time, the situation has been basically altered. Germany has attacked the USSR, and Japan, the ally of Germany, is aiding the latter in its war against the USSR. Furthermore, Japan

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[10] YOKOTE Shinji, "Stalin no Nihon Ninshiki 1945 [Stalin's Perception of Japan 1945]," *Hougaku Ronshu*, Vol. 75, No. 5 (May 2002), p. 14.

[11] Boris Slavinsky, *Nisso Senso heno Michi* [USSR-Japan: On the Way to War, A Diplomatic History of 1937-1945], translated by KATOH Yukihiro, Kyodo News, 1999, p. 322.

[12] Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, ed., *Senji Nisso Koushoshi* [History of Japanese-Soviet Wartime Negotiations], Vol. 2, Yumani Shobo, 2006, pp. 894-895.

is waging war with the USA and Great Britain, which are the allies of the Soviet Union. In these circumstances the neutrality pact between the USSR and Japan has lost its sense, and the prolongation of that pact has become impossible."[13]

As described above, when analyzing the Soviet military leadership's perception of Japan from the perspective of the purpose of the war, although the war with Japan ideologically differs from the Wehrmacht's racial and annihilation war, it can still be seen, through the hard line taken towards Japan before World War II, that the Soviet military's leadership recognized the Japanese threat. Additionally, even when taking into account the purpose of the war, which was to fight militarism and imperialism, it can be seen that Stalin envisioned the Soviet Union's future participation in the war against Japan.

2. Comparison with Perceptions of Japan and Germany:

Postwar Conception

Another important point to consider when comparing the Soviet military leadership's perceptions of Japan during World War II to perceptions of Germany concerns the German and Japanese postwar conceptions. This is an important theme that attracts attention not only in regard to the termination of World War II, but also in terms of the origin of the US-Soviet Cold War and the Asian Cold War, and there is a variety of previous research.[14] In this paper, the focus will be on the postwar conception before the end of World War II.

As for the Soviet military leadership's perceptions of Germany around the postwar conception, there was a great deal of turmoil between the Soviet Union's expansion into Eastern and Central Europe and the postwar security ideas for Europe as a whole, starting with the postwar problem of occupying Germany. In particular, the Soviet military leadership, which had fought a racial and annihilation war with the Wehrmacht, strongly demanded that Germany be weakened after the war by dividing and occupying it in order to prevent the

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[13] Ibid., p. 903.

[14] For more information on Japan's postwar plans for the United States and the Soviet Union, see SHIMOTOMAI Nobuo, *Asia Reisen Shi* [The History of the Cold War in Asia], Chuko Shinsho, 2004; HASEGAWA Tsuyoshi, *Racing the Enemy: Stalin, Truman, and the Surrender of Japan*, Harvard University Press, 2005; Susan Butler, *Roosevelt and Stalin: Portrait of a Partnership*, Knopf, 2015.

revival of German militarism and imperialism, and strongly insisted on forcing Germany to acknowledge the result of the war through unconditional surrender to the Allies. Roosevelt also shared this idea of Germany accepting defeat, as he attributed the rise of the Nazi regime to the failure to instill a sense of defeat in Germany after World War I. For this reason, the three great powers of Britain, the United States, and the Soviet Union, declared at the Yalta Conference in February 1945: "It is our inflexible purpose to destroy German militarism and Nazism and to ensure that Germany will never again be able to disturb the peace of the world. We are determined to disarm and disband all German armed forces; break up for all time the German General Staff that has repeatedly contrived the resurgence of German militarism."[15]

On the other hand, British Prime Minister Winston Churchill assented to the Yalta agreement. But, in view of his overarching goal of reconstructing the British Empire, traditional anti-Soviet sentiment, and postwar security conception of Europe as a whole, Churchill was very wary of the Soviet Union expanding into Eastern and Central Europe, and supported reconstructing postwar Germany in order to form a strong anti-Soviet nation on the European continent. This was closely related to Britain's support for Free French and the Soviet Union's support for the Lublin Committee (Polish Committee of National Liberation). As such, the historical background of the formation of perceptions towards Germany can be seen by examining the postwar conception. In particular, as the end of World War II approached, Churchill showed an awareness of the threats of the Soviet Union's military presence and of Communist ideology in continental Europe. In considering the Russians as "a chaotic, semi-Asian group on the other side of the wall of European civilization," it is believed that he attempted to make diplomatic needs for European cooperation and integration for postwar reconstruction compatible with military needs based on the idea of a balance of power.[16]

Amidst these circumstances, in a speech at the 1944 celebrations for the

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[15] Arthur Conte, *Yalta Kaidan: Sekai no Bunkatsu* [Dividing the World at the Yalta Conference: A Record of the Eight Days that Determined the Postwar System], translated by YAMAGUCHI Toshiaki, Nigensha, 2009, p. 410.

[16] HOSOYA Yuichi, "Winston Churchill ni okeru Ohshu Togo no Rinen [Winston Churchill and the Idea of European Integration]," *The Hokkaido Law Review*, Vol. 52, No. 2 (May 2001), p. 77.

Anniversary of the October Revolution, Stalin expressed strong caution about the reconstruction of postwar Germany, saying that: "After her defeat, Germany will, of course, be disarmed, both in the economic and political sense. It would, however, be naïve to think that she will not attempt to restore her might and launch new aggression. It is common knowledge that the German leaders are already now preparing for a new war. History shows that a short period—some 20 or 30 years—is enough for Germany to recover from defeat and re-establish her might."[17] On top of that, in order to prevent a new invasion from Germany, or to prevent the development of a major war should an invasion occur, Stalin agreed to the establishment of a special institution for peacekeeping and security and to the establishment of a leadership organization for the institution. With regards to the establishment of this special institution for peacekeeping and security, Stalin supported Roosevelt's postwar conception of a four-country system that included the three great powers of the United Kingdom, the United States, and the Soviet Union, as well as the Chinese Nationalist government, and it has been shown that, at the Dumbarton Oaks Conference in September 1944, Stalin was willing to draft the United Nations charter despite confronting the British and American representatives over the veto power of the Security Council's permanent members.[18]

Also noteworthy as a recent research finding is that Stalin insisted on expanding the Soviet Union into Eastern and Central Europe for the unity of the Slavic peoples. When Stalin met with the delegation from Czechoslovakia at the end of March 1945, he emphatically described his postwar conception for Europe: "We are the new Slavophile-Leninists, Slavophile-Bolsheviks, communists who stand for the unity and alliance of the Slavic peoples. We consider that irrespective of political and social differences, irrespective of social and ethnic differences, all Slavs must ally with one another against the common enemy—the Germans." Additionally, after mentioning that the Slavs were the greatest victims of the two

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[17] Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, ed., *Senji Nisso Koushoshi*, Vol. 2, p. 893.

[18] It has been pointed out that Stalin initially expected financial cooperation and the assistance of the International Monetary Fund for postwar reconstruction of the Soviet Union. His relationship of trust with Roosevelt is said to have paved the way for tolerating ideological competition between socialist and capitalist economies. Susan Butler, *My Dear Mr. Stalin: The Complete Correspondence between Franklin D. Roosevelt and Joseph V. Stalin*, Yale University Press, 2005, pp. 254-255.

world wars, he named the Russians, Ukrainians, Belorussians (now Belarussians), Serbs, Czechs, Slovaks, and Polish, arguing that: "We will be merciless towards the Germans but our allies will treat them with kid gloves. Thus we Slavs must be prepared for the Germans to rise again against us."[19] In this way, Stalin revealed that he was wary of Germany as a common enemy even after the war, and at the same time questioned whether the United Kingdom and the United States would conform to the Soviet Union's hard line against Germany. Stalin's claims can be understood as distrust of both the United Kingdom and of the United States, but they can also be read as a great cause for establishing the legitimacy of control for the Soviet Union's expansion into Eastern and Central Europe.

As described above, the Soviet military leadership's perceptions of Germany around the postwar conception had two aspects of forcing postwar Germany to acknowledge defeat and to prevent the revival of German militarism and imperialism, countering Germany's reconstruction in the postwar European security conception. It goes without saying that, after Roosevelt's death on April 12, 1945, these two aspects became apparent in the great power relations between the Soviet Union and both the United Kingdom and the United States, becoming the greatest issue in postwar European security.

Then, what about the Soviet military leadership's perceptions of Japan around the postwar conception? This question cannot be analyzed without examining the acquisition of rights and interests in the Soviet Union's postwar East Asia, which was guaranteed by the secret agreement at the Yalta Conference. From the perspective of preventing the revival of Japanese militarism and imperialism, it emphasized: (1) maintaining the status quo in the Mongolian People's Republic; (2) the return of Sakhalin and all adjacent islands as a restoration of the rights of the old Russian Empire which were infringed upon by Japan's "rebellious attack" in 1904; (3) internationalization of the Dalian commercial port and protection of Soviet rights and interests at the port; (4) restoration of leasing rights at Lüshun Port as a base for the Soviet Navy; (5) a joint operation by the Chinese Eastern Railway and the South Manchurian Railway via establishment

[19] Jeoffrey Roberts, *Stalin's Wars: From World War to Cold War, 1939-1953*, Yale University Press, 2006, p. 234.

of a Sino-Soviet joint venture; (6) retention of the full interests of the Chinese Nationalist government in Manchuria; and (7) handing over the Kuril Islands to the Soviet Union. Stalin particularly emphasized (2) and (7) in his September 2, 1945 speech commemorating victory over Japan, pointing out that "The southern part of Sakhalin and the Kuril Islands revert to the Soviet Union and henceforth will serve not as a barrier between the Soviet Union and the ocean and as a base for Japanese attack upon our Far East, but as a direct means of communication between the Soviet Union and the ocean and as a base for the defense of our country against Japanese aggression," after mentioning Japan's "predatory acts" such as the Russo-Japanese War, the Siberian intervention, the Changkufeng Incident (Battle of Lake Khasan), and the Nomonhan Incident, as well as the Soviet Union's participation in the war against Japan as a retaliatory act.[20] It is very interesting that, at this time, Stalin strategically positioned South Sakhalin and the Kuril Islands territory as an exit to the Pacific Ocean.

Additionally, Stalin said to Roosevelt during the discussion on the secret agreement at the Yalta Conference: "The war against Germany clearly threatened the Soviet Union's survival, but the Russian people may not easily understand why the Soviet Union will be at war with Japan when there has been no major conflict with Japan to date. However, if the above conditions are met, then the Russian people will understand that participation in the war against Japan is in the national interests."[21] It can be seen that the Soviet Union's entry into the war against Japan was positioned as a military and diplomatic strategy for securing rights and interests in postwar East Asia while aiming to prevent the revival of Japanese militarism and imperialism and being aware of the differences with the war against Germany.

On the other hand, in common with perceptions of Germany in the postwar conception, the Soviet military leadership showed a strong sense of caution about reconstructing postwar Japan, and was particularly concerned about the revival of Japanese nationalism. Stalin made this clear on July 7, 1945, in a meeting with T. V. Soong, President of the Executive Yuan of the Chinese Nationalist

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[20] СТАЛИН: PRO ET CONTRA. С. 254.

[21] Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, ed., *Senji Nisso Koushoshi,* Vol. 2, pp. 1068-1069.

government, stating: "Japan will not be ruined even if one accepts unconditional surrender, like Germany. Both of these nations are very strong. After Versailles, all thought Germany would not raise. 15-20 years, she recovered. Same would happen with Japan even if she is put on her knees."[22] Additionally, after talking of the incomplete connections between the Trans-Siberian Railway and the infrastructure at Vladivostok, Sovetskaya Gavan, Petropavlovsk, and De-Kastri, which were major Far East ports for the Soviet military, Stalin said at the meeting that: "To complete the Soviet defense system in the Far East, we must construct a railroad that crosses Siberia north of Lake Baikal. This requires 40 years. As such, we need an alliance with the Chinese Nationalist government. During the period, the Soviet Union will secure rights and interests in Manchuria, but, when the deadline expires, the Soviet Union will waive its rights and interests in Manchuria."[23]

As described above, while keeping in mind the goal of securing its rights and interests in postwar East Asia, the Soviet military leadership's perceptions of Japan around the postwar conception had two aspects of: preventing the revival of Japanese militarism and imperialism; and cautiousness about the postwar reconstruction of Japan. In order to deal with these two aspects, Stalin achieved great effects by positioning possession of the South Sakhalin and the Kuril Islands territories as a strategic means and by concluding an alliance with the Chinese Nationalist government (the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance was concluded on August 14, 1945), both of which became the Soviet Union's strategic foundation in postwar East Asia.[24] Although this perception of the Japanese threat can be regarded as an extension of the hard line towards Japan that existed before World War II, the Soviet military leadership also hid its strategic intentions by informing the Chinese Nationalist government of the strength of the Japanese nation, fueling anxiety to get the Chinese Nationalist government to allow the Soviet Union to secure its rights and interests in postwar

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[22] ASADA Masafumi, *Nichiro Kindaishi*, p. 414.

[23] Русско-Китайские Отношения в XX веке: материалы и документы. Памятники исторической мысли, 2000. Т. 4-2, С. 89.

[24] For a record of the meetings between Stalin and T. V. Soong, as well as the entire Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance, see TERAYAMA Kyosuke, *Stalin to Mongol 1931-1946* [Stalin and Mongolia, 1931-1946], Misuzu Shobo, 2017, pp. 431-438.

East Asia.

Conclusion

The Soviet military leadership's perceptions of Japan around the purpose of war indicated the Soviet Union continued to take a hard line since the Manchurian Incident, and, although it was not recognized as a racial and annihilation war like the German-Soviet War, it was assumed that the Soviet Union would enter the war against Japan for the purpose of fighting militarism and imperialism. In addition, the Soviet military leadership's perceptions of Japan around the postwar conception kept in mind the idea of securing the Soviet Union's rights and interests in postwar East Asia, as agreed upon in the secret agreement at the Yalta Conference, while still having two aspects of preventing the revival of militarism and imperialism and of being wary of Japan's postwar reconstruction. Stalin's positioning of the possession of the South Sakhalin and the Kuril Islands territories as a strategic means is very suggestive when considering the contemporary Northern Territories issue and the security of both Japan and Russia.

Section III.

The post-Second World War and Society

CHAPTER 11

Multinational Force Structures in Europe

KRAFT Ina

1. Introduction

European states are engaged in a multitude of military cooperation arrangements.[1] For example, various and numerous multinational relations exist in different military process areas relating to capability development, military training and joint doctrine development. Furthermore, since the end of the Cold War, European states have participated in numerous international military missions together.[2] Military cooperation in Europe, however, becomes particularly visible in the establishment of standing and non-standing multinational military structures, both at command and unit level, that are dispersed over the whole European continent. This chapter provides an overview on these multinational force structures in Europe and answers questions of how they came about.

2. The Development of Multinational Structures in Cold War Europe

Many of the multinational arrangements that exist in Europe today were put in place after the end of the Cold War. The multifaceted nature that we see today, however, originated from as early as the 1940s. The origin of the institutionalised and long-term cooperation of the armed forces of various European states as we know it today dates back to the cooperation of the Allied Forces during World

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[1] The statements contained in this paper are based on the findings of a research project on multinational cooperation in the military that was carried out at the Bundeswehr Centre of Military History and Social Sciences between 2020 and 2021. Parts of this chapter were presented at the 16th ERGOMAS Biennial Conference in Tartu, Estonia, on 20 July 2021 and at a joint workshop held online by the National Institute for Defense Studies (Japan) and the Bundeswehr Centre of Military History and Social Sciences (Germany) on 10 August 2021.

[2] For pragmatic reasons, the terms “Europe” and “European” are used in this chapter for NATO and EU members, as well as for European democracies of Western character that are closely linked politically to these two organisations. For this chapter, developments within the Warsaw Pact are excluded. For the purpose of the arguments pursued in this chapter, former members of the Warsaw Pact become relevant as their armed forces participated in multinational settings after the end of the Cold War.

War II.[3] In 1942, British and US armed forces established a joint headquarters, the Allied Forces Headquarters (AFHQ). One year later, the Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Forces Europe (SHAEF) was created.[4] It was the precursor of NATO's Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe (SHAPE), established in 1951.

To this day, SHAPE and the NATO's strategic and operational headquarters, which were gradually established in the course of time following the set-up of NATO's military structure in the 1950s, represent the integrated NATO Command Structure (NCS).[5] At these headquarters, all of NATO's operations are planned and their implementation is supported. Some of the staff working at these headquarters serve as members of their national delegations and are thus subject to instructions from their countries' respective capitals. This is also the case with NATO's Military Committee, through which the chiefs of the general staff of the armed forces of NATO's member states or their representatives coordinate with one another while also representing their countries' positions. However, the members of the International Military Staff (IMS), as well as the staff of NATO's commands and the subordinate headquarters, do not act as representatives of their respective states, but as members of NATO, even if they continue to wear their

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[3] During the Boxer Rebellion in China (1900–1901), the so-called *Armee-Oberkommando* (Army High Command) of the German Army exercised command over its own forces and, for a short period, also over British, French, Italian, Japanese, Russian and US troops. However, it had a national, as opposed to an integrated multinational, staff; R. Leonhard, *The China Relief Expedition: Joint Coalition Warfare in China, Summer 1900* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 2009). The so-called Supreme War Council, which was created in 1917 to coordinate the operations of the United Kingdom, France and Italy in World War I, was primarily a political coordinating body and not a military headquarters; E. Greenhalgh, *Victory through Coalition: Britain and France during the First World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 173; M. McCrae, *Coalition Strategy and the End of the First World War: The Supreme War Council and War Planning, 1917–1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019). These military cooperation arrangements can be regarded as precursors to the highly institutionalised multinational structures that came into existence after World War II and that are a focus of this chapter.

[4] F. Morgan, *Overture to Overlord* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1950); SHAEF and Office of the Chief of Military History, *History of COSSAC (Chief of Staff to Supreme Allied Commander)*, 8-3.6 CA, (Washington D.C.: Center of Military History Manuscripts (CMH), 1944).

[5] G. W. Pedlow, *The Evolution of NATO's Command Structure, 1951–2009* (Brussels: NATO, 2009), <https://shape.nato.int/resources/21/evolution%20of%20nato%20cmd%20structure%201951-2009.pdf>, <https://www.nato.int/nato_static_fl2014/assets/pdf/pdf_2018_02/1802-Factsheet-NATO-Command-Structure_en.pdf> (accessed on 3 May 2021). In the context of European unification, the term *integration* designates the transfer of sovereign rights. However, although the NATO Command Structure is referred to as 'integrated', the NATO countries have not transferred sovereign power over their armed forces to NATO.

national uniforms.

Given that during the Cold War, attacks on NATO's European territory were expected to occur in any geographic region, from the North Cape to the Mediterranean Sea, at any time, for the first four decades of its existence, NATO adopted a comprehensive and regional structure. For that purpose, the Alliance territory was divided into regions and a Commander-in-Chief (CINC) who assumed command and control over land, air and naval forces in his or her area of command via integrated headquarters was assigned to each region.[6] This regional structure shaped NATO until the end of the Cold War.

Besides the integrated NATO Command Structure, NATO was based on military commands and formations that were provided to the Alliance by its member states. To this day, they represent the NATO Force Structure (NFS). The interrelations between the NATO Command Structure and the national formations were complex and multifaceted. Air defence, for example, was hard to accomplish at a national level due to geographic conditions and technical constraints. As a consequence, a large amount of operational elements of the air forces of European states were integrated into tactical NATO air fleets, which assumed command and control over them. In the case of the German *Luftwaffe*, this applied to almost 100 percent of the troops.[7]

Major land formations, however, mostly retained their national organisation. There were, however, some exceptions. One was the Allied Command Europe Mobile Force (Land) (AMF(L)), a multinational brigade with battalions from various European states that was created in 1961.[8] AMF(L)'s mission was to protect the northern and southern flank of the Alliance in particular. In addition, Germany and Denmark established the Corps Headquarters Allied Land Forces Schleswig-

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[6] Pedlow, *The Evolution of NATO's Command Structure, 1951–2009* <https://shape.nato.int/resources/21/evolution%20of%20nato%20cmd%20structure%201951-2009.pdf>, 2.

[7] B. Lemke and H. v. d. Felsen, *Die Luftwaffe 1950 bis 1970: Konzeption, Aufbau, Integration*, Sicherheitspolitik und Streitkräfte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland (Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 2006), 65; B. Mende, "Multinationalität - nichts Neues für die Luftstreitkräfte", in *Multinationale Streitkräfte in der NATO: Gemeinsamkeit verbindet*, ed. C. P. M. G. CPM (Sankt Augustin: CPM, 1994).

[8] B. Lemke, *Die Allied Mobile Force, 1961 bis 2002 (Entstehung und Probleme des Atlantischen Bündnisses)* (Berlin: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2015).

Holstein and Jutland (LANDJUT) in 1962.[9] In peacetime, approximately 100 officers and noncommissioned officers from Denmark, Germany, as well as the United Kingdom, Canada and the US served at the headquarters of the corps.

As a naval equivalent to the AMF(L), the Standing Naval Force Atlantic (STANAVFORLANT) was established in 1967. It was a multinational naval squadron which is now called Standing NATO Maritime Group 1 and for which the NATO member states detach destroyers and frigates on a regular basis.[10] In 1980, the NATO Airborne Early Warning & Control Force (NAEW&CF), which many Europeans know by their distinctive aircraft with radar domes mounted on the fuselage, was founded.[11] To this day, multinational crews work together on board these military aircrafts.

Shortly before the end of the Cold War, another land formation was created in 1989: the French–German Brigade. When it was established, however, the brigade stood outside the military structure of NATO, which France had left in 1966. Some other binational cooperation structures also existed during the Cold War, for example, the joint Belgian–Dutch Navy Command, created in 1948, or the United Kingdom/Netherlands Amphibious Force, which was formed in 1972.[12]

To conclude, during the Cold War, a handful of multinational military structures had been created on the European continent. These structures were already characterised by a certain degree of differentiation at that time: the AMF(L), for example, was a loosely coupled land formation composed of independent national units. The AWACS fleet, on the other hand, had multinational staff working closely together on a day-to-day basis, and thus exhibited a comparatively high level of multinational integration. While there have been a few attempts to establish multinational military structures at the level of a military formation, it

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[9] W. Gerhard, "What about multinational corps in NATO?", *Military Review*, vol. 59, no. 3 (Fort Leavenworth: Army University Press, 1979).

[10] H.-G. Fröhling, *Bundeswehr und Multinationalität*, manuscript of a talk held at the Mürwik Naval Academy (Koblenz: Zentrum Innere Führung, 1998), 2; H.-P. Weyher, "Multinationalität auf See", in *Multinationale Streitkräfte in der NATO: Gemeinsamkeit verbindet*, ed. C. P. M. G. CPM (Sankt Augustin: CPM, 1994).

[11] The unit is also known as the AWACS air surveillance force. AWACS is an abbreviation of Airborne Warning and Control System.

[12] See <https://english.defensie.nl/topics/international-cooperation/other-countries/the-belgian-and-netherlands-navies-under-1-command>, <https://english.defensie.nl/topics/international-cooperation/other-countries/british-dutch-cooperation-between-marine-units> (accessed on 3 May 2021).

is mainly due to the highly integrated NATO Command Structure that NATO can be regarded as already having been a multinational military organisation during the Cold War.

3. Multinational Structures in Europe Since 1990

The end of the Cold War has significantly changed the picture of military cooperation in Europe, and four intertwined developments deserve attention: first, NATO streamlined and changed its integrated command structure while preserving its multinational character. Second, the European Union, an international and supranational organisation that, for decades, had focussed on economic and political integration in Europe, also began to develop its own defence identity, consequently establishing multinational military planning capabilities. Third, many European states reduced their armed forces, decommissioned many of their national major formations, and in turn, participated in multinational headquarters and units. At the same time, the Alliance started to rely increasingly on multinational force structures. In consequence, the NATO Force Structure became ever more multinational over time. Fourth, in addition to the establishment of multinational formations and units in Europe, armed forces of European states even began to integrate some multinational features into their national structures. In the following section, these four developments will be studied in greater detail.

3.1 The Multinational NATO Command Structure After the Cold War

After the end of the Cold War, the collapse of the Soviet Union and the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact, NATO as a collective defence alliance not only continued to exist, but also saw the number of its members, as well as the size of its territory, increase through the admission of several former states of the Warsaw Pact and of the Soviet Union.

During the Cold War, the primary task of the Alliance was to ensure the preservation of the member states' territorial integrity. With the imminent threat of an attack by forces of the Warsaw Pact gone after the end of the Cold War, the Alliance started to focus on rather diffuse risks, such as terrorism or political instabilities, that might pose a challenge to the Alliance's security. Subsequently,

international crisis management and regional cooperation augmented NATO's main task of territorial defence.[13] As early as 1990, NATO had launched its first out-of-area operation at the Iraqi–Turkish border (Operation Anchor Guard).[14] Following the 11 September 2001 terrorist attacks in the US, the threat of international terrorism became an even more important factor in the strategic thinking of the Alliance.[15] However, the war in Eastern Ukraine in 2014 and the concern about a conflict with Russia eventually led to a readjustment of NATO's strategy and a revived focus on territorial defence.

The multinational structures of NATO reflect these strategic developments, with a delay that organisational adaptations of a major organisation generally require. Against the background of the elimination of the existential threat posed by the Warsaw Pact and the troop reductions carried out in many NATO countries for almost two decades, the NATO Command Structure has also been reduced in several steps from 33 to 7 commands and from 22,000 to 6,800 staff members between 1990 and 2018.[16] In line with this changed strategic orientation focussing on international crisis management, the remaining multinational headquarters were furthermore not organised on a geographical but a functional basis, into strategic, operational and tactical levels.

In reaction to the Ukraine conflict, however, both trends, i.e., downsizing and functionalisation, were halted, and to some extent, even reversed. In 2018, the NATO leaders agreed on the establishment of two new commands.[17] A Joint Support and Enabling Command (JSEC) was established in Ulm, Germany, in

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[13] NATO, *The Alliance's New Strategic Concept agreed by the Heads of State and Government participating in the Meeting of the North Atlantic Council* (Brussels: NATO, 1991), <https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_23847.htm>; *The Alliance's Strategic Concept Approved by the Heads of State and Government participating in the meeting of the North Atlantic Council in Washington D.C.* (Brussels: NATO, 1999), <https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_27433.htm>.

[14] See <https://awacs.nato.int/operations/past-operations> (accessed on 30 September 2021).

[15] *Comprehensive Political Guidance Endorsed by NATO Heads of State and Government on 29 November 2006* (Brussels: NATO, 2006), <https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_56425.htm>.

[16] *The NATO Command Structure (Fact Sheet)* (Brussels: NATO Public Diplomacy Division (PDD) – Press & Media Section, 2018).

[17] *Brussels Summit Key Decisions 11–12 July 2018 (Fact Sheet)* (Brussels: NATO Public Diplomacy Division (PDD) – Press & Media Section, 2018).

September 2019.[18] Its mission is to ensure the quick movement of troops and military equipment across the European continent. The Joint Force Command Norfolk (JFCNF), NATO's Atlantic Command headquartered in Norfolk, Virginia, USA, was established in July 2019[19] to protect sea lanes between Europe and North America. Through that, the number of commands increased, as did the number of staff. Furthermore, the Joint Force Command Norfolk is a regional headquarters with a regional military task portfolio, thus it emphasises geography over functionality.

3.2 Multinational Military Planning Structures of the EU

It was not only NATO, but also the European Union, that was the driving force for military developments in Europe after the Cold War, albeit to a much lesser extent than the Alliance. The collapse of the Soviet Union, as well as the crises in Central and Eastern Europe in the 1990s, especially the wars in the disintegrating state of Yugoslavia, challenged Europeans with regard to their foreign policy response and revealed that their so far poorly developed cooperation mechanisms in the field of foreign, security and defence policy were no longer sufficient to meet the complex difficulties that European states encountered after the end of the Cold War.

In consequence, the heads of state or government of EU member states gradually extended the European Union's competences in the field of foreign and security policy by the establishment of a Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) in the early 1990s. In addition, starting in the late 1990s, they established some military planning and command structures in the frame of the EU's Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP).[20] In 2003, the EU launched its first military

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[18] See <https://jsec.nato.int/newsroom/news-releases/natos-new-joint-support-and-enabling-command-declares-initial-operational-capability> (accessed on 3 May 2021).

[19] See <https://shape.nato.int/news-archive/2019/jfc-norfolk-formally-activated-by-nac>, <https://www.usff.navy.mil/Press-Room/News-Stories/Article/2351970/natos-new-command-in-the-atlantic-reaches-its-first-operational-milestone/> (accessed on 3 May 2021).

[20] For a comprehensive insight into the development of the EU's foreign, security and defence policy, see W. F. v. Eekelen, *Debating European security, 1948–1998* (The Hague: Sdu Publishers; Brussels: Centre for European Policy Studies, 1998); *From Words to Deeds: The Continuing Debate on European Security* (Brussels: Centre for European Policy Studies; Geneva: Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces, 2006).

operation in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.

Today, the European Union Military Committee (EUMC) is the highest military body within the EU.[21] It is composed of the Chiefs of Defence of member states or their representatives. The EU Military Committee provides the EU with advice on military affairs and directs the planning and conduct of EU operations. The European Union Military Staff (EUMS) is the working muscle of the EUMC. Its approximately 200 personnel provide military expertise in the fields of operations and capabilities. Within the EU Military Staff, the Military Planning and Conduct Capability (MPCC) is a 30-staff strong planning structure at the strategic and operational level. As the name suggests, it is responsible for the planning and conduct of EU military operations.

The EU's military planning structures are not just a very small copy of NATO's Command Structure. On the contrary, unlike NATO, the EU only has limited means to command and control its own military operations.[22] Three command options are available: first, the use of national headquarters; second, the use of the NATO Command Structure in line with an agreement between the EU and NATO dating back to 2003 (i.e., the Berlin Plus agreement)[23]; and third, the use of its own institutional resources in the MPCC for the conduct of small missions, e.g. military training missions.[24]

Ambitious plans to establish an up to 60,000-strong European response force, as was outlined in the context of the so-called European Headline Goal in 1999, have not been realised. Instead, the EU has been implementing the considerably more modest concept of the EU-Battlegroups since 2004. In accordance with that concept, two battalion-sized rapidly deployable force packages are established for a period of six months on the basis of voluntary contributions from EU member states. The EU-Battlegroups are supposed to be operational within 10 days to

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[21] See https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/council-eu/preparatory-bodies/european-union-military-committee/ (accessed on 25 September 2021).

[22] See European External Action Service, *EU Concept for Military Command and Control (Rev8)* EAS/ CSDP/PSDC 194 8798/19, EUMC 44, CSDP/PSDC 194, (Brussels: EEAS, 2019), <https://data.consilium.europa.eu/doc/document/ST-8798-2019-INIT/en/pdf>.

[23] See https://www.europarl.europa.eu/meetdocs/2004_2009/documents/dv/berlinplus_/berlinplus_en.pdf (accessed on 24 January 2022).

[24] T. Tardy, "MPCC: towards an EU military command?", *EUISS Brief Issue*, no. 17 (Paris: European Union Institute for Security Studies (EUISS), 2017).

conduct operations within a radius of 6,000 km around Brussels. However, until today, the EU has never activated an EU-Battlegroup.

The EU's planning, command and control structures are much less developed than equivalent NATO structures mainly because of path dependencies: by the time Europeans started to develop their Common Security and Defence Policy, NATO's comprehensive military structures had long been established. For EU members, many of which are also members of NATO, the creation of equally sophisticated EU command structures would have led to a costly and, with regard to their commitment to NATO, politically sensitive duplication of capabilities.

Instead, the EU developed some features qualitatively distinct from NATO, that is, a focus on the civil–military aspects of crisis management, which resonates with the EU's self-conception as a civilian actor in the field of security policy. The civilian component of military missions is the EU's signature trademark, which is demonstrated by the fact that since 2003, the EU has conducted 11 military operations but more than 20 civilian missions.[25] An example is the European Union Police Mission to Bosnia and Herzegovina (EUPM/BiH) that was launched in 2003.

The future development of the EU's multinational military planning structures continues to depend on member states' willingness to promote integration in the area of security and defence. In that context, the fact that the United Kingdom, a country that has traditionally played a blocking role with respect to the development of a common European defence policy, has withdrawn from the EU may accelerate the further development of the EU Common Security and Defence Policy.[26] At the same time, the United Kingdom was a cooperation partner with considerable military assets. Its exit from the EU thus leaves a capability and expertise gap that will require a particular effort by the EU member states to be filled.

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[25] See <https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage/430/military-and-civilian-missions-and-operations_en> (accessed on 8 June 2020).

[26] J. Howorth, "The European Union's Security and Defence Policy: The Quest for Coherence", in *International Relations and the European Union*, ed. C. Hill, M. Smith and S. Vanhoonacker (Oxford: OUP, 2017), 361; Deutscher Bundestag, "Mögliche sicherheits- und verteidigungspolitische Folgen des britischen Referendums über den Austritt des Vereinigten Königreichs aus der Europäischen Union", *Ausarbeitung (Wissenschaftliche Dienste des Bundestages)* WD 2 – 3000, no. 020/17 (2017).

3.3 Multinational Forces

The establishment of multinational planning and command structures in NATO and the EU after the end of the Cold War was paralleled by the set-up of multinational headquarters and units all over the European continent. On their meeting in London in 1990, the NATO Heads of State and Government declared that the Alliance "will rely increasingly on multinational corps made up of national units".[27] Starting with the establishment of the Allied Command Europe Rapid Reaction Corps (ARRC) in 1992, nine multinational corps have been created in Europe to date (see figure 1).[28] The corps serve NATO as Rapid Deployable Corps. In that capacity they can be dispatched to lead NATO missions. Furthermore, on a rotational basis they assume command of the NATO Response Force, a multinational rotational force system where NATO members commit military units for a period of 12 months. They may also have additional national and multinational roles. One state or a small group of states act as the respective corps' framework nation(s). The costs for operating the corps are imposed on the framework nations that also provide the majority of personnel and infrastructure.

Figure 1: The Rapid Deployable Corps

Name	Founded	Head quarters	Participating Nations
Allied Command Europe Rapid Reaction Corps /Allied Rapid Reaction Corps (ARRC)	1992	Innsworth, Gloucester, United Kingdom	Framework Nation: United Kingdom Participants: Albania, Canada, Croatia, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Spain, Turkey, USA
Eurocorps*	1993	Strasbourg, France	Framework Nations: Germany, France, Belgium, Spain, Luxembourg Participants: Poland, Greece, Italy, Turkey, Romania, Canada (until 2007), Finland (until 2005), Austria (until 2011)

[27] NATO, "London Declaration on a Transformed North Atlantic Alliance" (London: NATO, 1990), <https://www.nato.int/docu/comm/49-95/c900706a.htm>.

[28] M. Meyers, "Grundsätze und Perspektiven der Multinationalität", *Wehrtechnischer Report*, November issue (Hamburg: Report Verlag, 1996); De Decker, *European armed forces*, Document A/1468 (Paris: Assembly of the WEU, 1995); Wilkinson, *Multinational European forces*, Document A/1804 (Paris: Assembly of the WEU, 2002).

1st (German/ Netherlands) Corps (1 GNC)	1995	Münster, Germany	Framework Nations: Germany, Netherlands Participants: Belgium, Denmark (until 2017), France, Greece, United Kingdom, Italy, Norway, Spain, Czech Republic, Turkey, USA
Multinational Corps Northeast (MNC NE)	1997	Szczecin, Poland	Framework Nations: Denmark, Germany, Poland Participants: Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Slovakia, Czech Republic, Romania, Slovenia, Croatia, Hungary, Sweden, United Kingdom, France, Greece, Netherlands, Turkey, Canada, Italy, Belgium, Finland, Norway, USA
NATO Rapid Deployable Corps - Spain	2000	Valencia, Spain	Framework Nation: Spain Participants: Czech Republic, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Turkey, United Kingdom, USA
NATO Rapid Deployable Corps - Italy	2001	Solbiate Olona, Italy	Framework Nation: Italy Participants: Albania, Bulgaria, Canada, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Montenegro, Netherlands, Poland, Romania, Slovenia, Spain, Turkey, United Kingdom, USA
NATO Rapid Deployable Corps - Turkey **	2001	Istanbul, Turkey	Framework Nation: Turkey Participants: Albania, Bulgaria, Germany, Greece, Italy, Netherlands, Poland, Romania, Spain, United Kingdom, USA
NATO Rapid Deployable Corps - Greece	2003	Thessaloniki, Greece	Framework Nation: Greece Participants: Albania, Bulgaria, France, Italy, Poland, Romania, Spain, Turkey, United Kingdom, USA
NATO Rapid Deployable Corps - France	2005	Lille, France	Framework Nation: France Participants: Germany, Belgium, Canada, Spain, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Netherlands, Romania, United Kingdom, Albania, USA, Turkey

Source: Compiled by the author on the basis of the following links: https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_50088.htm, https://arrc.nato.int/about-us/HRFL, https://arrc.nato.int/about-us/participating-nations, https://mncne.nato.int/about-us/organisation/organisational-structure, http://www.nrdc-ita.nato.int/26/contributing-nations, http://www.hrf.tu.nato.int/brochure.pdf (accessed on 03 May 2021).

*Under an agreement made in 1993, the Eurocorps can be placed under NATO command. In 2002, the Eurocorps was certified as a High Readiness Force (Rapid Reaction Corps). See <https://www.eurocorps.org/a-force-for-the-eu-nato/>.

**As of 2014.

Multinational structures in Europe are neither limited to the western part of Europe, as the location of many of the NATO's Rapid Deployable Corps might suggest, nor are they confined to corps headquarters. Starting with the creation

of the Baltic Battalion (BALTBAT) by Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia in 1994, a variety of units below the corps level were established, in which Eastern European states participated at the forefront. Today, more than 40 multinational force structures exist in Europe. Apart from NATO's Rapid Deployable Corps, the list of multinational formations comprise, for example, four Multinational Division Headquarters (Multinational Division Southeast, North East, North and Center); a number of brigade-sized formations such as the NATO Airborne Early Warning & Control Force, the French–German Brigade, the South-Eastern Europe Brigade, the European Gendarmerie Force, the Command Support Brigade of the Multinational Corps Northeast, the Multinational Brigade Southeast and the NATO Alliance Ground Surveillance Force, and battalion-sized military structures such as the TISA Multinational Engineering Battalion, the NATO Force Integration Units (NFIUs) and the Multinational Multirole Tanker Transport Unit.

In addition to these standing multinational structures, several other multinational arrangements exist in Europe today which are either only active for a limited period of time or for which the European states only detach units on a temporary basis. Examples include the European Maritime Force (EUROMARFOR), the NATO Response Force and the EU-Battlegroups.

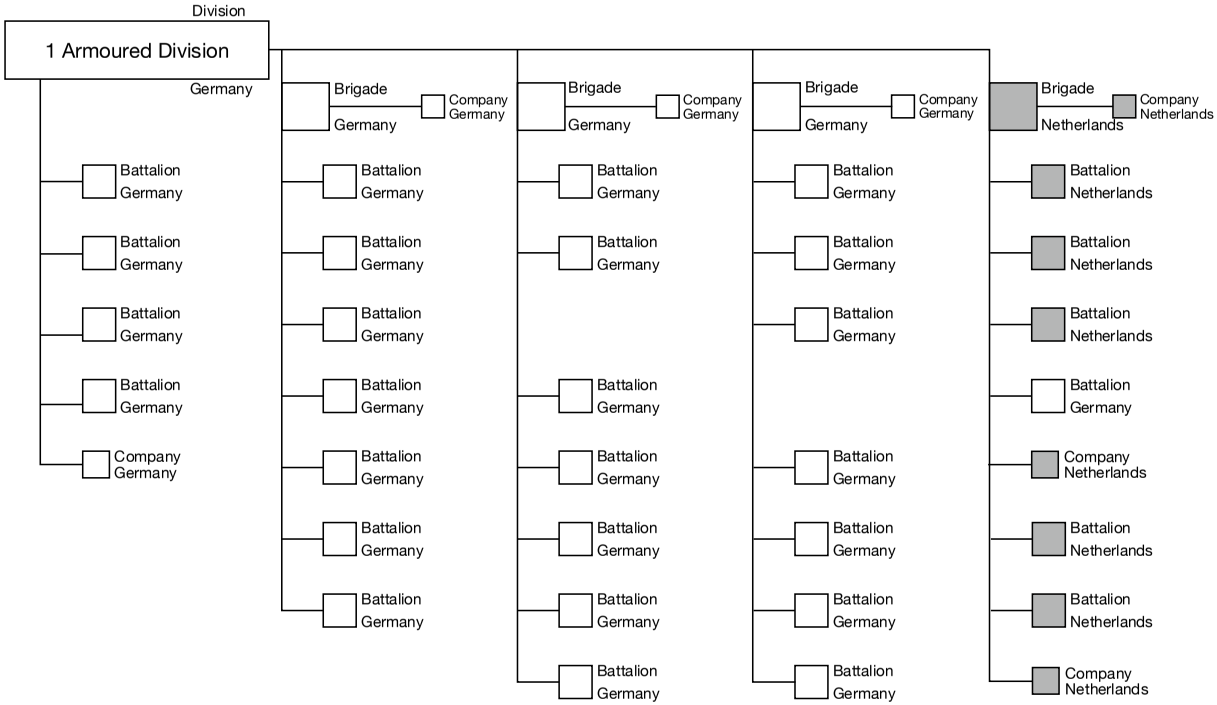
3.4 National Formats with a Multinational Character

Although it might seem counterintuitive, multinational structures can ultimately also develop in a national context. That happens, for example, in cases where military units from one country are integrated into the national force structure of another country by means of military cross-attachments.

One example of the cross-attachment of units and personnel is the close cooperation between the German and Dutch armies. In 2004, the Dutch 11 Airmobile Brigade was integrated into the German Special Operations Division (since 2014: Rapid Response Forces Division). In 2016, the 3,000-strong Dutch 43rd Mechanised Brigade was integrated into the German 1 Armoured Division. At the same time, the German Tank Battalion 141, in which Dutch soldiers serve as well, was placed under the command of the Dutch brigade (see figure 2).[29]

[29] See <https://www.bmvg.de/de/themen/friedenssicherung/bilaterale-kooperation/deutschland-niederlande> (accessed on 3 May 2021).

Figure 2: Organisational Structure of the German 1 Armoured Division (2021)



Source: Compiled by Catharina Gottschalk and the author based on a chart provided by the German 1 Armoured Division on 27 July 2021.

Other cases of national structures with multinational features are those national headquarters at which a larger number of foreign soldiers work on a permanent basis as foreign officers (as opposed to liaison officers who represent their sending nations). One example of this is the Multinational Joint Headquarters, established in Ulm, Germany in 2013, which is tasked with the planning and conduct of military operations for both the EU and NATO. Legally, the Multinational Joint Headquarters is a German national military headquarters.[30] Yet, it employs soldiers not only from Germany, but also from Bulgaria, Italy, Croatia, Luxemburg, Austria, Poland, Romania, Slovenia, the Czech Republic, Hungary and the US.[31]

4. Motives for Establishing Multinational Structures

Why do European states pool and integrate military planning, command and control capabilities? Why do they establish multinational force structures? For what purpose do they open their national commands to foreign military personnel? These questions will be discussed briefly in the remaining part of this paper.

One motive for creating multinational command structures in the early stages of the Cold War was the expected increase in the defence capability of armed forces in Europe. The presence of NATO forces on the European continent during the Cold War in the face of the threat posed by the Warsaw Pact made it seem necessary to place them under a unified command.[32] By that, defence plans, the determination of the required force strength, as well as necessary training standards, were to be regulated centrally, and thus more effectively, for all NATO members.[33] The principle of an effective organisation of military force remained one of the main motives for multinational cooperation in Europe even after the end of the Cold War. In 2006, to give an example, NATO referred to its own role in European defence as "a catalyst for generating the forces needed to meet

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[30] M. Sadlowski, *Handbuch der Bundeswehr und der Verteidigungsindustrie* (Bad Neuenahr-Ahrweiler: Bernard & Graefe in der Mönch Verlagsgesellschaft mbH, 2020), 412–13.

[31] See <https://www.bundeswehr.de/de/organisation/streitkraeftebasis/organisation/multinationales-kommando-operative-fuehrung> (accessed on 5 May 2021).

[32] BMVg, *Weißbuch 1983. Zur Sicherheit der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Bonn: Bundesministerium der Verteidigung, 1983), 146.

[33] Deutsche Bundesregierung, *Die Organisation des Nordatlantikvertrages NATO* (Bonn: Presse- und Informationsamt der Bundesregierung, 1956), 57.

requirements and enabling member countries to participate in crisis management operations which they could not otherwise undertake on their own".[34]

In addition to the operational advantage of pooling military resources in common structures is the strategic advantage of the deterrence effect. The aggregation of military capabilities may increase the deterrence potential of the countries involved. Common doctrines, command and control structures and a joint military structure might have a greater potential for action than single contributions made by respective individual armed forces. What is more, multinational structures concentrate military personnel locally in one place. Allied forces stationed in West Germany during the Cold War would have not only made an operational contribution to defence in the event of an attack—their mere presence on the border of the Warsaw Pact also had a strategic deterrence effect, given that an attack on West Germany would have not only meant an attack on abstract Alliance territory, but also an attack on Danish, Dutch, Belgian, British and American soldiers present in that area. The consequence would have been that these countries at the very least would potentially have participated in a counterstrike.

This 'trip wire'-logic of deterrence is once again being applied today, as the presence of a larger number of multinational headquarters and foreign armed forces in the Eastern Alliance territory illustrates. Common structures thus increase the deterrence potential of an alliance. Also, in respect to multinational forces in Europe, it can be argued that deterrence is not only based on a contractual defence commitment in an alliance framework, but also on the physical collocation and regional presence of allied armed forces.

Another operational motive for increased multinational cooperation in Europe is that multinational structures might make it easier for NATO to master the challenge of generating forces for operations.[35]

However, the multitude of multinational force structures in Europe is not only a result of strategic or operational considerations. It also has a political rationale.

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[34] NATO, *NATO Handbook* (Brussels: NATO Office of Information and Press, 2006), <www.nato.int>, 16.

[35] J. R. Deni, *Alliance Management and Maintenance: Restructuring NATO for the 21st Century* (Aldershot, Hampshire, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007), 6–7.

To start with, multinational structures are visible symbols of political cohesion between contributing nations. This motive becomes particularly visible with the French–German Brigade, which was referred to as "a signal and role model for European Armed Forces".[36] Consequently, the main rationale for its establishment had not been a military one but a "successful French–German integration".[37]

From the 1990s onwards, the motive of political integration through military cooperation can also be found in other instances of multinational force structures, albeit in a modified form, when the integration of the armed forces of Eastern European states into NATO is concerned. The Multinational Corps Northeast in Szczecin, Poland can serve as an example. During the 2000s it was referred to as the "integration corps".[38] It mainly served the purpose of improving Poland's integration into NATO. Only later did the corps assume an operational role in crisis management and, following the Ukraine crisis, the defence of Allied territory. Multinational military structures thus may also serve the objective of politically binding together their participating countries.

Multinational structures are furthermore an expression of the Alliance's solidarity with its member states and burden sharing. Following a deterrence logic, they may represent an external strategic communication to military adversaries; however, multinational force structures also represent an internal political communication addressed to their allies: with their commitment to multinational structures, powerful states express that they are willing to assist in crises faced by partner states that have less military power; smaller partners, on the other hand, signal their willingness to participate in efforts towards a successful common defence.

Being part of multinational structures might also promise international prestige. In his case study on the establishment of the Rapid Deployable Corps, John Deni explains that the formation of such a corps on one's own national

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[36] P. Klein and E. Lippert, *Die Deutsch-Französische Brigade als Beispiel für die militärische Integration Europas*, ed. S. I. d. Bundeswehr, SOWI-Arbeitspapiere, no. 53 (Strausberg: Sozialwissenschaftliches Institut der Bundeswehr, 1991), 2.

[37] Alain Carton quoted in ibid., 3.

[38] M. Wróbel, "Das Integrationskorps", *Österreichische Militärische Zeitschrift*, vol. 39, no.1 (Vienna: Bundesministerium für Landesverteidigung, 2001).

territory augments international perceptions of credibility.[39]

Not only strategic, operational and political motives are at play when the establishment and continuance of multinational formations and command structures are concerned. A third cluster of motives can be found at the organisational level of the armed forces. Membership of major multinational formations and higher command structures provides smaller countries with the opportunity to assign their military personnel to posts that do not exist at the national level due to the small size of their armed forces. This applies to the level, as well as the diversity, of assignments, with military advancement being the focus of the assignment level and the transfer of knowledge being the main purpose with regard to the diversity of assignments. Furthermore, participation in multinational headquarters in some cases ensures access to joint sources of funding and training capacities.[40]

The establishment of multinational structures is often also a way for European armed forces to preserve some of their size and capabilities in times of force cuts. Many of the current multinational forces emerged from military structures that had initially lost their original purpose: the British I Corps of the British Army of the Rhine stationed in Germany was the nucleus of the Allied Command Europe Rapid Reaction Corps, the Headquarters Allied Land Forces Schleswig-Holstein and Jutland was the core of the Multinational Corps Northeast and the Multinational Division North, established in 2019, emerged from the Danish Division based in Haderslev, Denmark. Multinational cooperation may therefore contribute to the survival of military structures. Despite their strategic rationales and political impetus, multinational cooperation might also have a self-referential motivation based on an organisational interest in the survival of national military structures.

5. Conclusion

The institutionalisation of military cooperation in Europe originated in US–British cooperation during World War II. During the Cold War, NATO

[39] J. R. Deni, *Alliance Management and Maintenance: Restructuring NATO for the 21st Century*, 50, 70.
[40] Ibid., 50, 75.

member states engaged in the establishment of a highly integrated multinational NATO Command Structure. Since 1990, there has been a sharp rise in the number of military cooperation structures in Europe. Furthermore, representations of military cooperation have become more diverse. Today, the NATO Command Structure is just one type of multinational military structure in Europe amongst many others. The EU has seen the creation of some of its own multinational military planning structures, and its EU-Battlegroups could be regarded as a form of multinational force structure. In addition, European states are engaged in the set-up of numerous and diverse multinational headquarters and units. Additionally, they have also established sophisticated cross-attachments and multinational staff integration with respect to national commands.

The rationale for committing to multinational cooperation in Europe is not always necessarily a strategic or operational one. As this paper has demonstrated, the pooling and integration of national military capabilities has also sometimes followed a political logic. Even the organisational interests of the armed forces might have contributed to the close-knit web of multinational force structures present in Europe today.

CHAPTER 12

From *Combat Zone to Strategic Hub*: The Transformation of the Conception of Warfare in the German High Command in the Early 1990s

REESE Martin

The recent redeployment of the last German military personnel from Afghanistan on 29 June 2021 concluded the longest foreign operation of the Bundeswehr. In the past 25 years, while the German armed forces focussed on missions within the framework of international crisis management, the command and control of major formations and the operational thinking of the "Cold War" played a minor role at most. The slogan "Be able to fight so you won't have to fight" seemed obsolete. This changed suddenly with the unlawful annexation of Crimea in 2014 and the threat to the eastern flank of NATO by the Russian Federation.[1] The resulting paradigm shift – under similar circumstances – now places the Bundeswehr and NATO in a transformation process with enormous challenges, just as the one experienced in the early 1990s.

During the second plenary discussion of the "Talks at the Memorial" (*Gespräche am Ehrenmal*) format on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact on 1 July 2021, the acting Chief of the German Army, Lieutenant General Alfons Mais, clearly stated: "Those who fail to appear within days at the external borders with combat-ready, i.e. cohesive, flexible units capable of escalating and war-fighting, to face an opponent who operates on interior lines and freely chooses where to mount aggression, might be too late to respond and will fail to achieve the security policy objective".[2]

NATO defence planning unmistakably shows what is expected of Germany, stressed the Chief of the Army. What is expected are land forces with a "cold-start

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[1] Jarowinsky, Hanna, Podiumsdebatte: Bundeswehr muss wieder „kaltstartfähig" werden, 08.07.2021. URL: <https://www.bmvg.de/de/aktuelles/podiumsdebatte-bundeswehr-muss-wieder-kaltstartfaehig-werden-5103566> (last accessed on 13 July 2021).

[2] BMVg, Mediathek, Gespräche am Ehrenmal am 01.07.2021, Audio lecture by Lieutenant General Alfons Mais. URL: <https://www.bmvg.de/de/mediathek/audio-vortrag-von-generalleutnant-alfons-mais-5104158> (last accessed on 13 July 2021).

capability" that can be used at the external borders of NATO territory in a state of crisis within a few days, and Germany as rear area of operation functioning as "hub" to provide support in deploying, receiving and moving forward follow-on forces.[3]

Although the subject is highly topical, it is not new. Even after the end of the "East-West conflict", the Bundeswehr was at the beginning of an operational reorientation. The conceptions of forward defence that had grown over decades and the scenarios associated with them had become obsolete.[4] When asked about the new "front" in a fundamentally changed, more complex world, the former Chief of Defence Admiral Dieter Wellershoff replied: "the front is where my territory, the territory of my friends or my interests are attacked. The aggressor determines where the front is".[5]

But what did the Bundeswehr's conception of warfare look like in the new "front" and what operational ideas shaped it? This essay attempts to reflect on these questions. It is part of a dissertation project to be developed by the author on the conception of warfare in the Bundeswehr in the 1990s. The focus of the article is on the operational-tactical level with regard to possible aggression from the east and thus does not fully cover the conception of warfare at the time. The politico-strategic level was not examined. It must also be pointed out that not all files relevant to the contribution have yet been released for public use due to the classified archival period of 30 years. Therefore, the source analysis still had to be carried out very selectively. This applies in particular to NATO documents, whose classified status can only be revoked with the consent of all member states. The content of many NATO documents is reproduced in national documents, some of which have already been evaluated by the author.

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3 Ibid.
4 Bürgener, "GDP ade", p. 38.
5 Cf. ibid.

1. Remaining strategic options of the Soviet Union from the perspective of the Armed Forces Staff in 1990

For more than 40 years, the "East-West conflict" was the defining feature of world politics. It was characterised by the power-political rivalry between the USA and the USSR. The "Iron Curtain", the dividing line between the two systems, ran across Europe and divided Germany into the former German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany. The Berlin Wall became a symbol of this division. Its fall on November 9, 1989 marked the end of the bloc confrontation and made German reunification possible a year later. But it was still a long way to complete sovereignty. Around 360,000 Russian soldiers of the Western Group of Forces (WGF) were still stationed in Germany.

The drastic changes in the military political situation resulted in a fundamental reassessment of the offensive capability of the Warsaw Pact. In particular, the fact that the non-Soviet Warsaw Pact states increasingly questioned their participation in military operational planning that simply supported Soviet hegemony in the Warsaw Pact, in addition to the future reductions called for under the arms control agreements, surely had a crucial influence on the operational and strategic planning concepts of the Soviet Union. Against this backdrop, in May 1990 the planners at the Armed Forces Staff[6] were of the opinion that from the mid-1990s ad-hoc surprise attacks into the Central Region would no longer be a valid option for the Soviet Union. Comprehensive attack operations were only feasible with a redeployment of forces stationed east of the Ural Mountains after a preparation time of several months. Attack operations with limited strategic objectives continued to be possible with an appropriate concentration of forces in one strategic direction. However, as a consequence of the notably reduced armed forces this could not be achieved in echelon formations in width and depth with the previously assumed intensity.[7]

But what did this threat look like in detail and what military options were available to the Soviet armed forces in the estimation of the Armed Forces

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[6] The Armed Forces Staff was the working staff of the Chief of Defence of the Bundeswehr in the Federal Ministry of Defence.

[7] BArch-MA, BW 2/53903, Annex to Fü S VI 3, Tgb.Nr. 279/90 VS-Vertr., 1. Entwurf Untersuchungsbericht zur Harmonisierung der FOFA Munitionsplanung, 03.05.1990, pp. 3-4.

Staff? Tasked by the Vice Chief of Staff of the Bundeswehr, the Armed Forces Staff Division III prepared a position paper on "military political, strategic and operational principles for the planning of the Bundeswehr in a unified Germany with due consideration of the conditions for the transition period until the withdrawal of the Soviet forces" for the meeting with Minister of Defence Gerhard Stoltenberg in the Chiefs of Staff Council on 1 August 1990.[8]

This blueprint submitted to the minister provided not only the principles for the build-up of the Bundeswehr in the New Federal States and the resulting operational defence concept for all Germany, it also shed light on the ideas of the operation experts with regard to the remaining options of the Soviet Union. For the analysis of future strategic and operational options for Central Europe, the blueprint is divided into three phases, and would serve as a guide from a "transitional period" to a "state after the transition".

Phase I ends with the ratification of the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe I[9] and the implementation of the unity of the German State (time perspective 1990/91). It is already characterised by a considerable improvement of the situation. Nevertheless, the Soviet Union had a wide range of options available reaching from the defence along its borders to the strategic offensive against NATO's European member states. Nevertheless, the prerequisites had already changed to such an extent that the extreme option of a simultaneous strategic intervention of all Europe at a range from the Arctic to Turkey and in depth to the Atlantic after a short preparation time had become impossible.[10]

A residual risk remained, however, since the Soviet Union had a sufficiently superior potential at its disposal that would allow it to launch a strategic offensive, albeit with a very long preparation time. The prospects of success were considered doubtful. Nevertheless, this potential-oriented assessment of the option—"strategic offensive after a long preparation time"—was considered the

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[8] BArch-MA, BW 2/53282, Auftrag stv. Generalinspekteur an CdS Fü S, Planungsüberlegungen über die Anteile der künftigen Bundeswehr auf dem Territorium der heutigen DDR, 24.07.1990, p. 1.

[9] The ratification of the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe took place on 19 November 1990.

[10] BArch-MA, BM 1/15804, GenInsp, Tgb.Nr. 1000/90 geh., part A, Fü S III 2, Skizze der militärpolitischen, militärstrategischen und operativen Grundlagen für die Planung künftiger deutscher Streitkräfte (Planungsskizze), 3.08.1990, p. 10.

most dangerous one.[11]

Phase II followed the ratification of the CFE Treaty I and the completed unification and ended with the conclusion of the implementation of CFE I and the complete withdrawal of the WGF from the acceding territories (time perspective 1991 to 1994). The conclusion was that the gradual reduction of the strategic armed forces stationed in East Germany and the implementation of the CFE Treaty would considerably improve the situation in both the Central Regions and the flanks, since the range and extent of the remaining offensive options available to the Soviet Union would continue to decline. The option of a theatre-wide strategic offensive after a long preparation time and limited strategic offensives in Central and Western Europe after a short preparation time was no longer feasible. The analysts therefore concluded that a transition to strategic defence would necessarily be made.[12]

In particular due to the Northern Group of Forces (NGF) stationed in Poland and the ground and air forces not yet withdrawn from Germany, the Soviet Union still had residual options for offensive action with limited strategic objects albeit only after a longer preparation time. At any time, the Soviet Union would have been able to use the forces still present in Germany to occupy key territories and facilities in the acceding territories against the will of the German government. The forces remaining in Poland, according to the assessment of the Armed Forces Staff, would secure the LOCs (Lines of Communication) and force Poland with forward-moved main forces to at least accept the conflict or participate passively. The strategic armed forces stationed in Germany and Poland would cover the rapid build-up and advance of the main body of the manoeuvre forces from the Soviet Union and immediately conduct a joint offensive with limited strategic objectives. This offensive could consist in rapidly dividing the two NATO army groups, and striking them separately in the Central Region, according to the

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[11] BArch-MA, BW 2/53282, Annex 1 to Fü S III 2 part A of July 1990, Fü S III 6, Überlegungen zu künftigen operativen Rahmenbedingungen, July 1990, p. 3.

[12] BArch-MA, BM 1/15804, GenInsp, Tgb.Nr. 1000/90 geh., part A, Fü S III 2, Skizze der militärpolitischen, militärstrategischen und operativen Grundlagen für die Planung künftiger deutscher Streitkräfte (Planungsskizze), 3.08.1990, pp. 10-11; BArch-MA, BW 2/53282, Fü S III 6, Annex 1 to Fü S III 2 part A of July 1990, Überlegungen zu künftigen operativen Rahmenbedingungen, July 1990, pp. 3-6.

evaluation. An offensive counter-air operation would neutralise the combat air assets of NATO. In this scenario, the primary focus of the Soviet Union would be to concentrate superior forces in the decisive area, both in the build-up and in the creation of a point of main effort, in order to win the race for time against NATO. Further, it would have had to retain the initiative throughout and concentrate superior forces at key points to pre-empt a counter concentration of NATO forces. Overall, the Soviet Union could have been keen to neutralise the military assets of NATO in this manner in order to create favourable conditions according to its own interests. The described scenario also constitutes the most dangerous case.[13]

It was concluded that the more probable option would be to use the remaining strategic armed forces of the WGF in Germany as delaying and observation forces to cover the timely occupation of an advanced forward defence of the Soviet Union at the Elbe or Oder-Neiße or, more probable at the Vistula or Bug rivers in a conflict.[14]

In summary, the conclusion is that both options posed serious problems for the defence of the Central Region as well as for the military stability in Central Europe, and raised a number of questions and problems for operational planning. This is particularly true given that in this phase Germany, Denmark and the Benelux as well as the flank states continued to be completely within the operational range of offensive options of the Soviet Union. The former intermediate objectives of a strategic offensive like the Rhine and the Baltic exits would become final targets of the attack operations. Over time, such an approach was assessed by the Armed Forces Staff to be extremely unlikely and very dangerous.[15]

Phase III follows the complete withdrawal of the WGF from Germany and comprises the period until the redeployment of all Soviet stationing forces in Europe to the territory of the Soviet Union—unless already done—and the transition to a concept of defence of the USSR at its borders (time perspective from 1995). Also in this phase, the Soviet Union had only limited options for

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[13] BArch-MA, BW 2/53282, Annex 1 to part A Fü S III 2 of July 1990, Fü S III 6, Überlegungen zu künftigen operativen Rahmenbedingungen, July 1990, p. 4.
[14] Ibid.
[15] BArch-MA, BM 1/15804, GenInsp, Tgb.Nr. 1000/90 geh., part A, Fü S III 2, Skizze der militärpolitischen, militärstrategischen und operativen Grundlagen für die Planung künftiger deutscher Streitkräfte (Planungsskizze), 3.08.1990, p. 11.

attack on the European theatre. The most dangerous case would be the option to re-establish the old structure oriented towards offensive capability. This would require one or two years of preparation time, however. As long as NATO retained its capability to re-increase its armed forces if necessary, it would be able to cope with this danger.[16]

In addition, the planning considerations provide a brief assessment of the strategic options of the Soviet Union in other regions. Operations experts of the Armed Forces Staff reached the conclusion that the northern flank region would always be within the range of Soviet offensive options. An increase of dangers in this region was not to be expected, however. In contrast, the southern flank could develop a greater potential for instability. It was to be expected that the instability of the Middle East in the southern flank region would affect both NATO and the Soviet Union, which could cause the Soviet Union to seek a stronger military presence on its southern flank than previously. For the foreseeable future, the Soviet Union would also use the Atlantic for the protection of its strategic submarine second-strike capability and of its mother country. In all phases, it would retain the general possibility of severing NATO sea lines of communication and of concentrating sea-based attack assets against Europe in the entire northern flank region as offensive options.[17]

2. Operational concepts by the Army Staff in the early 1990s

The beginning of the 1990s saw a radical change in the conception of warfare of NATO and the Bundeswehr. The former General Defence Plan-related and almost inflexible "NATO layer cake"[18] along the intra-German border was abandoned in favour of a mobile conduct of operations with reduced force levels. As early as at the London NATO Summit in June 1990, the heads of state and government agreed that in the future the alliance should rely more strongly on the capability

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[16] Ibid., p. 12.
[17] Ibid., pp. 12-13.
[18] Until 1990, NATO's General Defence Plan provided for the defence of the inner-German border by the various national corps stationed in the Federal Republic of Germany, which in the event of a defence would have been deployed like a layer of cake from the Baltic Sea to the Alps.

"*…of setting up armed forces again only when they become necessary*".[19] Given the impending German unity, an increased presence of allied armed forces on German soil was no longer a military and operational necessity. According to NATO the much longer warning and preparation time would have allowed an allied deployment in the Central Region[20] in time, if required.

Since force reductions made the overall cohesive defence from the defence sectors of the NATO corps in parallel impossible, the protection of the expanded alliance area, which had grown to include the eastern acceding territories, required not only more mobile and flexible armed forces but also a military concept adapted to the new situation. This had far-reaching consequences for strategy, armed forces structures and operational thinking. Henceforth, forces, time and space stood in a completely different relation to one another. As a result of the decreasing armed forces in the future, space was to become more important strategically.[21] As the strongest military power in Europe, the Soviet Union and its successor Russian Federation initially continued to be the crucial benchmarks for planning defence operations in Central Europe.[22]

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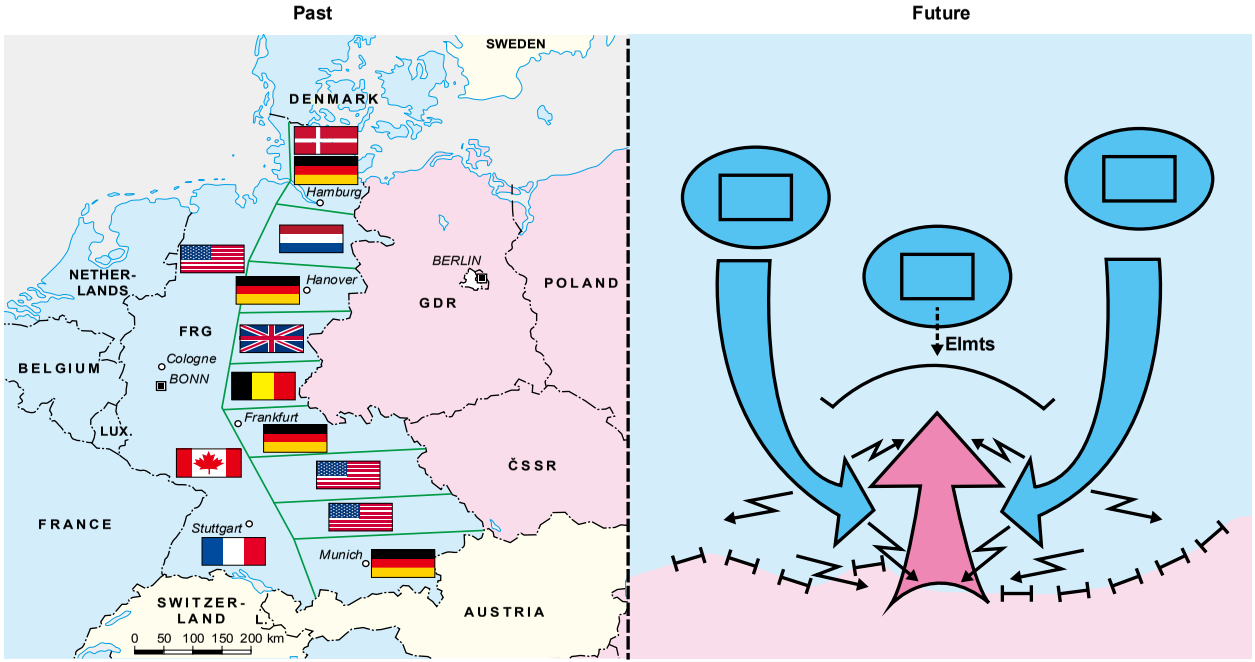
[19] Cf. BArch-MA, BW 2/32476, Planungsstab BMVg, Annex 2, Richtlinien für die militärpolitische Einbindung deutscher Streitkräfte in Bündnis, no date, p. 3.

[20] In the military context of NATO, the Central Region comprised the strategic area of Western Europe from south of the Elbe River in the north to the Alps in the south.

[21] Bürgener, "GDP ade", pp. 38-39.

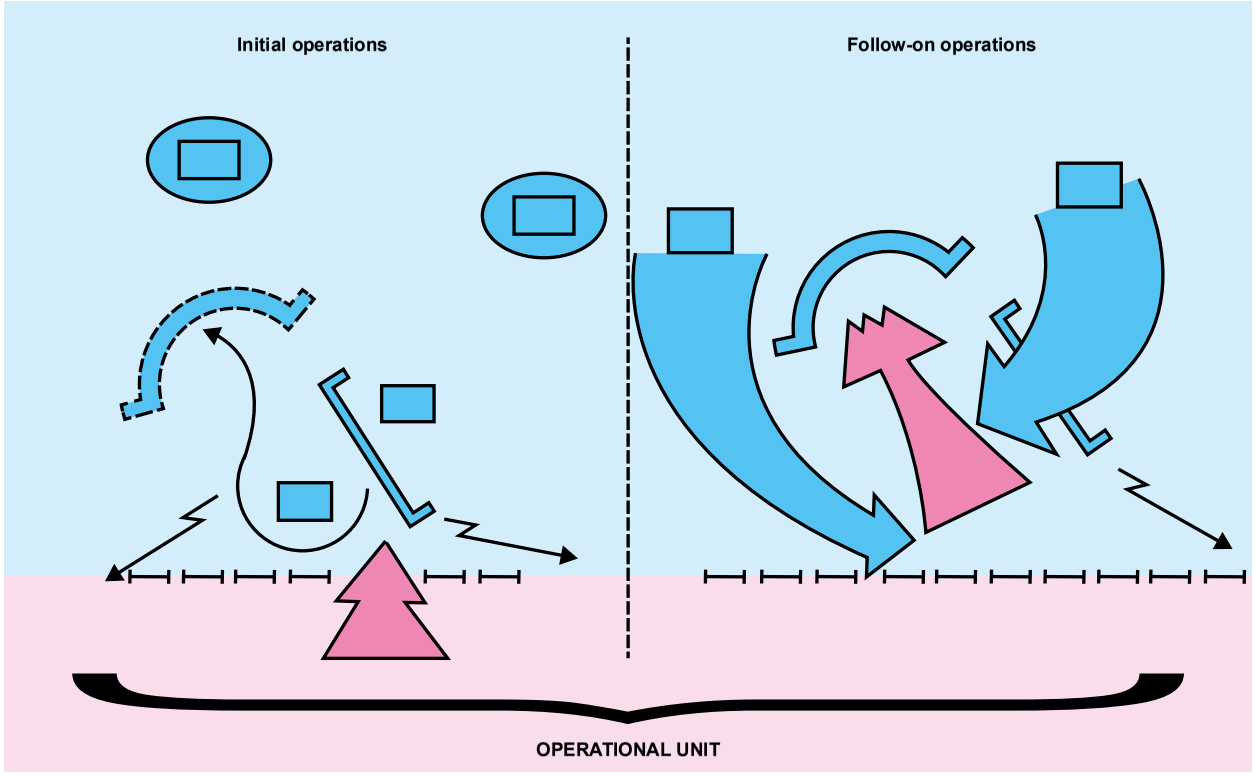
[22] BArch-MA, BH 7-2/ 1306, Annex B to Fü H VI 2 Az 09-10-80 of 02.12.1991, Fü S III 2/ Fü S III 1, Militärpolitische und -strategische Vorgaben und konzeptionelle Folgerungen für die Bundeswehr, 21.11.1991, pp. 6-7.

Figure 1: Defence operations



Source: BArch-MA, BH 1/30108, Fü H III 1 - Vortrag Ref.-Leiter an FüAkBw 21.1.91 „Begriff und Wesen operativer Führung von Landstreitkräften“.

Figure 2: Operational tasks in defence operations (1991)



Source: BArch-MA, BH 1/30108, Fü H III 1 - Vortrag Ref.-Leiter an FüAkBw 21.1.91 „Begriff und Wesen operativer Führung von Landstreitkräften“.

According to the ideas of Army Staff[23] Division III,[24] in the event of an operation in the Central Region, the German Army would have key tasks: 1. temporary defence close to the border in the main attack sections of the adversary; 2. extensive surveillance of less threatened areas outside points of main operational efforts; and 3. securing operations and maintaining freedom of operation.[25] For the immediate protection of the overall territory, operations were to begin as soon as possible and—drawing on the principles of the former forward defence—be conducted in due regard to damage limitation and with the objective of a speedy resolution of the conflict. In accordance with the initial deliberations considering military strategic and operational principles of the Armed Forces Staff of July 1990,[26] operations experts of the Army Staff proceeded on the assumption that only one or two main or secondary thrusts with limited operational width would be required and not an attack along the whole front. The time schedule included initial and follow-on operations.

Initial operations were generally understood as defensive operations close to the border. The initial disposition of forces would provide for only small contingents to be employed at the front to initially just monitor wide sectors to subsequently allow for a concentration of strong forces in places where the enemy would eventually attack. Thus, it would not be necessary to employ combat troops all along the line from the onset. Hostile attacking forces were to be reconnoitred at an early stage and worn down with fire, and their movements were to be channelled and contained in order to ultimately defeat them in a suitable area and regain lost territories. By creating a point of main effort in the main areas of attack, their employment was to be the basis for decision-making. If necessary, attack operations would have been conducted with purely German forces at first. Most of the formations would have been retained in rear areas in depth

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[23] The Army Staff was the top administrative command of the army and one of the five staffs at the Federal Ministry of Defence.

[24] Staff Division III in the Army Staff was responsible for introducing national ideas into the planning of NATO at the respective level and monitoring whether these were taken into account in the concrete planning.

[25] Bürgener, "GDP ade", p. 39.

[26] BArch-MA, BM 1/15804, GenInsp, Tgb.Nr. 1000/90 geh., part A, Fü S III 2, Skizze der militärpolitischen, militärstrategischen und operativen Grundlagen für die Planung künftiger deutscher Streitkräfte (Planungsskizze), 3.08.1990.

as a powerful assault-capable operational reserve to be employed in follow-on operations against hostile forces concentrated in the area of main effort with the purpose of forcing a decision.[27]

Highly mobile, flexible, sustainable and robust mechanised brigades were to be employed as core elements of the army and pillars of the operation in both initial and follow-on operations. Capable of engaging in combined arms combat, they were also intended for operations outside the Central Region. Airmobile formations were to provide support for mechanised forces and special operations.[28]

The task of wide-area surveillance of less threatened front sections would be continued simultaneously, *inter alia* to cover the deep flanks in the course of follow-on operations. In this context, wide-area surveillance does not mean the observation of sections between two positions, over a width of five to six kilometres; rather it is to be understood at an operational scale, in dimensions comparable to the former army corps sectors. The German armed forces needed a completely new approach to this task since the integrated forward defence with combat sectors for corps excluded this. It was intended to employ reconnaissance systems that could have reached deep into enemy territory. Drones, air force capabilities and space-based sensors, if required, were to detect enemy groups located throughout the area of interest. High-mobility light ground reconnaissance in close cooperation with helicopter reconnaissance would supplement the surveillance system.[29]

All planning and command and control processes focussed on the cooperation with the air forces to achieve common operational objectives. The joint position paper of the army and air force staffs on the Principles for Ground and Air War in Central Europe explicate this. The territorial forces were responsible for securing the operations. They were to ensure security throughout the territory of the German state by providing area and point defence, keeping lines of communication on the ground open and ensuring the personnel and material readiness of the armed

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[27] Bürgener, "GDP ade", p. 40; BArch-MA, BH 1/30108, StAL Fü H III, Vortrag vor der Clausewitz-Gesellschaft in Ulm am 14. November 1990 zu „Grundzüge zukünftiger operativer Führung", Bonn 9.11.1990, pp. 11-16.
[28] Ibid., pp. 22-23.
[29] Ibid., pp. 17-18.

forces.[30]

By adhering to the political principle of never being the first to use military force, the initiative would at first always be with the enemy. Accordingly, all operational considerations focussed on the idea that it was necessary to regain the initiative as early as possible. Retaking the initiative was, therefore, the core of all future action.[31]

3. Operational considerations by the I (GE) Army Corps for the 1990s

Since the late 1980s, various staff studies and seminars on operational thinking in the changing security environment were conducted not only at the level of command echelons but also at the Bundeswehr Command and Staff College and at corps headquarters. Several of them have been retained among the files at the Federal Archives-Military Archives in Freiburg.

A typical example is the I (GE) Army Corps where detailed ideas on the operational and tactical concept for the 1990s were developed as early as June 1990. The considerations in the I (GE) Corps are based on ideas according to which the military-strategic principle of deterrence and defence capability towards the Soviet Union continued to exist. The "classic" pre-nuclear conventional deterrence was to grow in relevance once again whereas the nuclear component in the short range and battlefield sectors would become insignificant. Conventional deterrence required defence-capable armed forces. In the event of a Soviet attack, considerations assumed an enemy whose offensive capability would be highly concentrated and echeloned in depth. Accordingly, NATO would need to be in a position to concentrate its own ground and air forces over large distances in points of main effort rapidly in order to launch an attack and defeat the enemy in a counterattack. The operational mobility of NATO's own formations was of paramount importance.[32] For the mobilisation, deployment and redeployment of

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[30] Bürgener, "GDP ade", p. 40.

[31] BArch-MA, BH 1/30108, StAL Fü H III, Vortrag vor der Clausewitz-Gesellschaft in Ulm am 14. November 1990 zu „Grundzüge zukünftiger operativer Führung", Bonn 9.11.1990, p. 14.

[32] BArch-MA, BH 1/14725, Annex 2 to G3 I. Korps, Erste Überlegungen zum operativ-taktischen Konzept der 90er Jahre, 12.06.1990, p. 1.

the Soviet forces, the planners of the I (GE) Corps expected a warning time of 30 days for military preparations in June 1990.[33]

The operational and tactical concept derived from these considerations provided for a flexible, mobile defence in depth, which can best be described as "containment". For this purpose: 1. at an early stage present reconnaissance forces of the corps would reconnoitre the enemy in a depth of up to 150 kilometres; 2. screening forces would monitor the attacker on a broad front, and—reinforced by multinational air mobile forces—contain them in depth, where necessary; and 3. mechanised formations would delay enemy forces in the point of main effort by abandoning ground while retaining suitable terrain areas as cornerstones in order to destroy the attack forces in decisive counterattacks with deeply echeloned thrusts into the enemy flank with reserves brought up from the depth with a high degree of flank protection and support from air forces. American and French army formations would form the core of the reserves.[34]

As the considerations of the I (GE) Corps show, the military leadership continued on the assumption that a military conflict would be the result of a large-scale conventional aggression from the East. Considering that according to information of the Armed Forces Staff Division II[35] in December 1990 the Soviet forces stationed in Central Europe comprised 464,000 military personnel with 373,900 of them belonging to the ground forces,[36] these plans were not without cause.

A letter of the Commanding General of the I (GE) Corps, Lieutenant General

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[33] Initial situation according to the plans of the I (GE) Corps in extracts: "X-30 mobilisation of Soviet forces of categories B and C, beginning of moving forces forward into the western military districts; X-10 beginning of moving Soviet forces forward (2 armies of category A) through Poland, deployment at ODER [river] or NEISSE [river]; X-3 mobilised covering forces begin march through Poland. Soviet troops in the GDR in assembly areas close to the border; X-0 Soviet Union marches with covering forces into the former GDR and moves them north and south of Berlin forward to the former inner-German border. Berlin is not touched, 2 attack armies (2nd echelon) still remain east of the ODER. No combat action yet, this includes border forces". The Soviet Union names the action, "Reinforcing present forces". Cf. BArch-MA, BH 1/14725, Annex 1 to G3 I. Korps, Erste Überlegungen zum operativ-taktischen Konzept der 90er Jahre, 12.06.1990, p. 3.

[34] BArch-MA, BH 1/14725, Annex 2 to G3 I. Korps, Erste Überlegungen zum operativ-taktischen Konzept der 90er Jahre, 12.06.1990, pp. 1-2, 4.

[35] The Staff Division II is responsible for military intelligence.

[36] BArch-MA, BW 2/32476, Annex Personaldaten Sowjetunion to Fü S III 6, Streitkräfteumfänge der Bündnispartner, 15.11.1991.

Klaus Naumann, to the Chief of Staff, Army, General Henning von Ondarza reveals the rough draft of operations planning. General Naumann proceeded on the assumption that in the event of an aggression against the Federal Republic of Germany, his corps would be situated with an operational focus of defence and seek a decision with consolidated forces in a counter concentration east of the Lübeck-Leipzig line.[37]

4. NATO's new Strategic Concept from 1991

With the formal dissolution of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation on 1 July 1991, NATO had lost its powerful opponent of old. The huge military potential of the former Soviet Union, however, had not disappeared and continued to pose a serious threat to transatlantic security.[38] The NATO strategy at the time, which until November 1991 was still based on MC 14/3 *Flexible Response* of 1968, no longer met the military and political requirements. In view of shrinking resources of the Alliance, as well as of restrictive arms control agreements, a fundamental reform of the Alliance was necessary to ensure a militarily and politically credible and reasonable collective defence capability.

This reform process, which began as early as July 1990 at the London NATO Summit and continued in the NATO Summit in Rome, was to provide a wide legal basis for the Alliance in its new security political role. The required adaptation of mission and structure was clearly reflected in the new *Strategic Concept* adopted by the heads of state and government of the NATO member nations on 8 November 1991. The strategic concept that was defined in a published umbrella document strongly emphasises the main purpose: the collective defence of these members. Security for Europe was to be improved and expanded through partnership and cooperation with the former member states of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation.[39]

In December 1991, the documents MC 400 (*Directive for Military*

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[37] BArch-MA, BH 1/14725, letter Commanding General I. (GE) Corps Lieutenant General Naumann to Chief of Staff Army Lieutenant General von Ondarza, 12.06.1991, pp. 1-2.

[38] BMVg, Verteidigungspolitische Richtlinien (VPR - (Defence Policy Guidelines)), p. 12.

[39] Meiers, *Zu neunen Ufern?*, pp. 177-178; Rühle, *Das neue Strategische Konzept*, pp. 2-3; BArch-MA, BW 2/53281, Generalmajor Naumann, Beitrag für den Mittler-Brief: „Erwartungen an die neue Strategie der NATO", 18.03.1991, pp. 1-2.

Implementation of the Alliance's Strategic Concept) and MC 317 (*NATO's Force Structure for the Mid Nineties and Beyond*) were brought into force to accompany the concept. With regard to the radically changed military situation, the MC 317 met the requirement for reduced overall sizes, reduced levels of operational readiness, high flexibility and mobility.[40] Based on the London Declaration, the Alliance's new armed forces structure was restructured into three separate areas: *Reaction Forces* (RF),[41] *Main Defence Forces* (MDF)[42] and *Augmentation Forces*. Their national subordination was defined already in peacetime, but it would only take effect in an actual operation based on national and international decisions.[43] MC 317 defined the overall need of the armed forces for the defence of the Central Region to be about 40 divisions.[44]

The new *Strategic Concept* of the Alliance for Central Europe changed from static near-border forward defence (MC 14/3) to a concept of area defence with counter concentration. The military strategic principle of counter concentration runs through all key documents of NATO at the time[45] and is defined in MC 400 as follows: "Counter concentration is the massing of significant military force at a particular time and place with sufficient capability to counter an aggressor's force concentration".[46]

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[40] Summit Guide, Lisbon Summit, 19-20.11.2010, p. 17; BArch-MA, BH 1/27987, Annex 1 to Fü H VI 2, Ableitung des V-Umfangs des Heeres, 25.11.1993, p. 4; Rühle, *Das neue Strategische Konzept*, pp. 2-3.

[41] Reaction forces are fully available NATO-assigned response forces for NATO-wide employment that are modularly assembled in accordance with operational requirements. They are divided into Immediate Reaction Forces and Rapid Reaction Forces. In addition to their task of extended national defence within the framework of alliances, they were to contribute to contain existing conflicts outside of Europe. BArch-MA, BW 2/32476, Fü S III 6, Gedanken zum Aspekt Multinationalität anhand des Beispiels multinationaler Streitkräfte, 19.04.1993, p. 7.

[42] Main Defence Forces were primarily intended for the protection of national territory. They consisted of various national division-strength formations under the command and control of a corps. Main Defence Forces were subject to strong cadreing and thus dependent on mobilisation. In order to ensure the sustainability and survivability of the initially employed multinational reaction forces in long-term conflicts, contingents of the Main Defence Forces were to be used to reinforce, support or replace the reaction forces. BArch-MA, BW 2/32476, Fü S III 6, Gedanken zum Aspekt Multinationalität anhand des Beispiels multinationaler Streitkräfte, 19.04.1993, p. 9.

[43] BArch-MA, BW 2/32476, Fü S III 6, Gedanken zum Aspekt Multinationalität anhand des Beispiels multinationaler Streitkräfte, 19.04.1993, pp. 2-3, 5-6, 9.

[44] BArch-MA, BH 1/27987, Annex 1 to Fü H VI 2, Ableitung des V-Umfangs des Heeres, 25.11.1993, p. 12.

[45] Millotat, "Die operative Dimension", p. 103.

[46] Cf. ibid.

In military strategic counter concentration one's own forces would be concentrated in the region of the Alliance where a threat was expected to develop. The MDF stationed in the threatened region formed the core of the defence forces. Since they needed several weeks or months to establish operational readiness, it was intended to use RF for immediate operations since they were able to operate in the relevant crisis region within one or two weeks and were to ensure the build-up of the MDF as so-called shield forces. MDF from neighbouring regions could be used as reinforcements.[47]

Both the MC 400 and the MC 317 formed the basis for the future German defence concept of the 1990s and determined the size of the required armed forces. The German contribution consisted mainly of operational forces, at a strength of about eight divisions that were available for the purpose of national defence within the context of the Alliance.[48] The employment of German armed forces in a state of defence remained under NATO command.[49]

5. Soviet/Russian occupation forces in Central Europe

Equipped with the most advanced military technology, the 360,000 strong[50] Western Group of Forces (WGF) was considered an elite formation. Although there was no expectation of an indirect aggression, until their complete withdrawal the WGF continued to be a German security hazard since it was essentially still capable of strategic offensives against Western Europe during the first years of its redeployment.[51] No later than in June 1991,[52] the WGF had stored nuclear warheads for surface-to-surface missiles and nuclear artillery munition of the ground forces[53] at more than 20 sites. In addition to extensive nuclear weaponry,

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47 Ibid., pp. 104-105.

48 BArch-MA, BH 1/27987, Annex 1 to Fü H VI 2, Ableitung des V-Umfangs des Heeres, 25.11.1993, pp. 4-5, 9.

49 BArch-MA, BH 1/28328, Fü H IV 1, Az 10-30-03, Die Führungsorganisation des Heeres, Grundsatzvortrag zur Informationsveranstaltung KdoBeh/Stäbe, 30.08.1993, p. 2.

50 In December 1990, the armed forces of the WGF comprised the following: ground forces 295,600; air forces/air defence forces 46,000; naval forces 300; central military agencies 18,100. BArch-MA, BW 2/32476, Annex Personaldaten Sowjetunion to Fü S III 6 of 15.11.1991, Streitkräfteumfänge der Bündnispartner.

51 BMVg, Verteidigungspolitische Richtlinien (VPR - (Defence Policy Guidelines)), p. 13.

52 Gunold, "Schüsse in Altengrabow 1991", p. 17; Bange, *Sicherheit und Staat*, pp. 491-494.

53 Gunold, "Bilder vom sowjetischen Nuklearwaffenlager", p. 28.

according to Russian sources, they also had more than 4,209 tanks, 3,692 artillery systems, 8,209 armoured vehicles, 691 aircraft, 683 transport and combat helicopters as well as 677,032 tons of munition at their disposal. The units were fully motorised and of high operational mobility.[54]

Although the WGF was no longer permitted to conduct large-scale exercises and manoeuvres like during the Warsaw Pact period,[55] until September 1993, intensive combat training with fully manned and equipped units took place at the numerous training areas. In addition, the WGF air forces made an average of some 2,300 sorties with combat aircraft and combat helicopters per day, at peak days even up to 4,500. In addition to airspace intensive training units, they also held flight exercises at very low altitudes. Due to a lack of personnel and supply, from 1992 full strength exercises were conducted only below division level. Exercises involving more than 13,000 troops were prohibited. Nevertheless, the WGF intensified staff exercises at higher command echelons, which served to further train the senior leadership corps.[56] The downsizing of the WGF Air Forces was accompanied by a marked reduction of its exercise and training activities. In early 1993, flight operations had already decreased to below 100 sorties per day. Flight exercises at very low altitudes and airspace intensive training units were transferred to the Russian Federation.[57]

The downsizing of the WGF forces was carried out in accordance with operational principles. The withdrawn formations were originally intended to establish a new "western bloc" with the point of main effort in Ukraine and Belarus.[58] The disintegration of the Soviet Union and the resulting conflicts regarding national affiliation and disagreements on the new stationing of the formations resulted in a temporary delay in the withdrawal. On 4 March 1992, Russian President Yeltsin issued a decree to place the armed forces of the WFG

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[54] Foertsch, "Der Abzug der russischen Streitkräfte", p. 466.
[55] "In the treaty between the Federal Republic of Germany and the USSR on Conditions for the Temporary Stay in and Modalities for the Phased Withdrawal of Soviet Forces from Germany". In: *Aussenpolitik der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, Dok.-Nr. 246, p. 734.
[56] Foertsch, "Der Abzug der russischen Streitkräfte", p. 469; Panian, "Sie gehen als Freunde", p. 324.
[57] Klein, "Dokumentation des Zeitzeugenforums", p. 234, 236; Panian, "Sie gehen als Freunde", p. 324.
[58] Foertsch, "Der Abzug der russischen Streitkräfte", p. 465.

under his direct authority,[59] and redeployed them to the Russian Federation to reinforce the Moscow Military District in particular. According to the overall withdrawal plan of the WGF, the formations stationed in the southern region were the first to leave the former GDR; they were followed by the forces from the northern region. The units on the line Magdeburg-Berlin-Frankfurt/Oder would withdraw in the last phase.[60]

The Central Group of Forces (CGF) was stationed in Czechoslovakia with 73,500 Soviet military personnel. It comprised in June 1990 a tank division (1,220 tanks) as well as three motorised rifle divisions, one artillery brigade, two tactical rocket brigades, one airborne battalion, a combat helicopter regiment and 70 combat aircraft of the air force.[61] The last joint tactical exercise of the allied troops in Czechoslovakia with the participation from the CGF took place from 1 to 4 March 1990. Due to the rapidly changing political framework, it had already lost its actual sense.[62] Based on the Agreement of 26 February 1990 on the withdrawal of the Soviet armed forces, the last troops left Czechoslovakian territory for good on 27 June 1991.[63]

As a result of the withdrawal of the CGF the danger of a possible direct advance of troops stationed there through the Bavarian Forest or the Austrian Alps into Southern Germany evaporated.[64] The Soviet threat to the II (GE) Army Corps had vanished. From an operational perspective, the withdrawal of Russian armed forces from Czechoslovakia opened the left flank of the armed forces of the WGF remaining on the territory of the former GDR; their formations now found themselves in an exposed curve.

On Polish territory, there was the Northern Group of Forces (NGF) of the former Soviet armed forces at a strength of 56,000 military personnel. In 1991, it comprised a mechanised rifle as well as a tank division (600 tanks), 90,000 tons of ammunition as well as tactical missiles for launching nuclear warheads. In

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[59] Hoffmann/Stoff, *Sowjetische Truppen in Deutschland*, p. 287.
[60] Foertsch, "Der Abzug der russischen Streitkräfte", p. 465.
[61] IISS, *The Military Balance 1990-1991*, p. 39; Range, "Neue Töne von der Moldau", p. 40.
[62] Tomek, *Gemeinsame Übungen*, p. 117.
[63] Pejčoch, "Kernwaffenträger in der tschechoslowakischen Armee", pp. 153-154; Range, "Neue Töne von der Moldau", p. 40; Sieber, "Die Tschechoslowakische Volksarmee", p. 78.
[64] Cf. Hammerich, "Die geplante Verteidigung der bayrischen Alpen", pp. 252-260.

addition, the forces of the NGF had an air army with 200 aircraft and a helicopter regiment at their disposal.[65] Originally, the full and final withdrawal was to be completed by 15 November 1992,[66] but was delayed by the Russian military leadership such that 20,000 NGF military personnel were still in Poland in June 1992.[67] The last Russian armed forces left Poland on 17 September 1993, exactly 54 years after the Red Army had invaded the Polish eastern territories at the beginning of World War II.[68]

The three Baltic States as well as the territory of the Russian enclave around Kaliningrad formed the North-western Group of Forces (NWGF). The district of Kaliningrad itself posed a not inconsiderable threat to European security. In 1992, two tank, two mechanised rifle and an artillery divisions as well an airborne and an air defence brigades, two brigades with tactical missiles for launching nuclear warheads, a combat helicopter regiment and the headquarters of the Baltic Fleet were stationed there.[69] In addition, elements of Russian formations withdrawing from Germany, Poland and the Baltic states were redeployed to Kaliningrad, thus further increasing the military presence in the region.[70] Lithuania and Poland, in particular, were afraid of the military presence of Russians in the immediate vicinity[71] to which Peter Scholl-Latour referred as the "iron Russian fist in the neck". In 1992, about half a million military personnel were deployed around the former Königsberg.[72]

With the ongoing withdrawal of Russian armed forces from the states of Central Europe, the conception of warfare changed considerably. The military threat to the existence of the Federal Republic and Western Europe through superior conventional armed forces oriented towards offensive action and seizure of land no longer existed. The stationing of additional troops in the Kaliningrad military district, however, created an increasing threat to the security in the strategic

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[65] IISS, *The Military Balance 1990-1991*, p. 39; "Der Tag an dem die Sowjets Polen verließen". *Deutsche Welle* of 17 Sep 2018.
[66] Gießmann, "Aufbruch zu alten Mythen?", p. 197.
[67] IISS, *The Military Balance 1992-1993*, p. 98.
[68] "Der Tag an dem die Sowjets Polen verließen". *Deutsche Welle* of 17 Sep 2018.
[69] IISS, *The Military Balance 1992-1993*, p. 96, 98.
[70] Krohn, *Eine neue Sicherheitspolitik*, p. 94; Range, "Zwischen Memel und Masuren", p. 108.
[71] Ibid.
[72] Scholl-Latour, *Eine Welt in Auflösung*, p. 265.

environment. The increase in military presence along the new eastern border gave rise to security concerns, in particular for Poland.[73] Polish Prime Minister Jan Olszewski declared in an interview on 29 January 1992, "Our Eastern border gives rise to particular concern".[74] During a visit of former Minister of Defence Stoltenberg to Warsaw from 22 to 24 March 1992, the Polish ministry of defence demanded equipment aid in view of the "dramatic danger from the East".[75] At the joint press conference, Poland's Minister of Defence Jan Pary announced that Poland counted on support from Germany in the event that "it was threatened by unrest in the former Soviet Union" and expected that "in a difficult case some kind of cooperation would be possible".[76] A reasonable request in light of Russian agitation within its western sphere of interest.

6. Stable instability – Russia's foreign policy in Central and Eastern Europe[77]

After the disintegration of the USSR, the preservation and consolidation of power in the Eastern and Central European region continued to be a prime objective of Russian foreign policy. Russia considered the Western "near foreign countries" its sphere of interest, a strategic glacis, and was willing to enforce its own security at the external borders of this zone.[78] With the exception of the Baltic States, all former Soviet Republics of Eastern Europe joined the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) in December 1991. In order to prevent the new democratic countries, which pursued their own political interests (e.g. accession to NATO and EU), from drifting off to Western spheres of interest, Russia tried to tie the CIS states more strongly to itself in terms of security policy.[79]

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[73] Gießmann, "Aufbruch zu alten Mythen?", p. 197.
[74] Ibid., p. 198.
[75] Ibid.
[76] "Polen rechnet auf deutschen Schutz". *Neues Deutschland* of 25 March 1992.
[77] Central Europe also includes the Baltic States, which depending on the definition classify as both Central and Eastern Europe.
[78] It is unclear in what borders the Western "near foreign countries" were included in the zone of Russian influence.
[79] Rahr, "Russland in Europa", pp. 122, 128-131; Wettig, "Rußland/GUS", p. 66, 69.

The 25 million ethnic Russians[80] who lived as minorities on the territory of Western neighbours were another political instrument for Russia to exert foreign influence. This became an increasingly difficult domestic problem for the new states as Russia felt responsible for the security of its compatriots beyond the new borders, and tried to force regulations on these countries that would grant the Russians living abroad citizenship of the Russian Federation in addition to the respective national citizenship. As a result, Russia would feel justified to intervene in favour of its citizens in those countries at any time. President Yeltsin declared the protection of Russians abroad to be the most important task of Russian foreign policy.[81] The fact that Russia had been willing to emphasise this point with military means is confirmed in an extract from the Russian daily newspaper *Izvestiya* of 5 June 1992 in which Russian Minister of Defence Pawel Grachev cautioned: "I would answer any infringement upon the honour and dignity of the Russian population in any region [...] with the most resolute measures, right up to the dispatch of armed units [...]".[82] The draft of the military doctrine of May 1992, which grants the Russian armed forces the general right to intervene in order to protect the rights of minorities wherever those are infringed upon in any part of the former USSR, proves that Grachev's threat was not simple rhetoric. Although this provision was removed from later versions, the high mobility and rapid operational capability of the Russian formations were important criteria for this kind of operation as before.[83]

As another leverage measure to demonstrate military power and to reverse territorial losses, Russia took sides in intra-state conflicts as the example of the Transnistria conflict in the summer of 1992 shows. The interference of the Russian 14 Guards Army under the command of General Alexander Lebed in support of the Russian minority resulted in the secession of the Dniester region from Moldova. Whether Lebed acted independently or by order of Moscow is a controversial issue given that Russian commanders were often willing to act on their own.

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[80] The number of 25 million Russians living outside Russian territory refers to the entire territory of the CIS in the early 1990s and not exclusively to Central and Eastern European states.
[81] Rahr, "Russland in Europa", p. 123, 131; Wettig, "Rußland/GUS", pp. 51-52.
[82] Cf. Holden, "Ein gespanntes Verhältnis", p. 144.
[83] Ibid., p. 12.

Such ambiguities suited the operational concept of the Russian leadership quite well as it allowed them to use such developments in their favour or even support them while maintaining plausible deniability.[84] This perspective was reflected in the draft of the Russian doctrine that had been published a few weeks before Lebed's intervention and included the "protection of the rights and interests of Russian citizens or people ethnically or culturally linked to Russia even outside its borders"[85] among the tasks of the armed forces. The subterfuge that the troops there served as protection force for the endangered Russian minority allowed Russia to realise its own objectives. General Lebed's intervention in violation of international law prevented not only the option of a unification with Romania it also led to Moldova's re-entering CIS.[86]

The border disputes between Russia and its Western neighbours after the end of the USSR were equally problematic and conflict-laden. One example were the disputes between Russia and Ukraine that held significant potential for an armed conflict or for the disintegration of Ukraine. Inflamed by Russian efforts to reverse the border, there was a real danger that the population in the east and south of the country, which consisted of a majority of ethnic Russians, could fall away from Ukraine and, supported by Moscow, seek an affiliation to Russia. Secession efforts of this kind would not only have destabilised large areas of the country and shaken the state order of Ukraine but probably also triggered an armed conflict. Since Russia refused to fully recognise the borders of Ukraine, the danger continued to exist. In addition, strong political forces in Russia made claims to the Crimean Peninsula and supported local efforts for an affiliation with the "mother country". There is no doubt that the conflict with Ukraine involved another case of international destabilisation in Eastern Europe, the effects of which could not be foreseen in the early 1990s.[87]

The unbundling of the former Soviet armed forces was also a very delicate matter in defence policy in 1992/1993 and even thereafter. The conflict between Russia and the successor states broke out over the stationing, command and power

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[84] Wettig, "Rußland/GUS", p. 52; Gießmann/Schlichting, "Schwierige Nachbarschaft", p. 130.
[85] Cf. Hagena, "Russische Streitkräfte", p. 675.
[86] Wettig, "Rußland/GUS", p. 52.
[87] Wettig, "Rußland/GUS", p. 52, 56, 52; Gießmann/Schlichting, "Schwierige Nachbarschaft", p. 125.

of control of the strategic nuclear weapons as well as over the distribution of the conventional armed forces of the former Soviet Union.[88] The Russian-Ukrainian conflict over the division of the Black Sea Fleet is once again exemplary of this. Ukraine claimed a share of the ships that were not equipped with nuclear weapons. In order to defuse the conflict and prevent an escalation, both sides agreed at first in June 1992 only to put the fleet under a joint command and postponed the definite division to 1995. In the long term, Ukraine adhered to its demands.[89]

The disposition of the strategic nuclear weapons was just as problematic and dangerous. Their withdrawal from Ukraine and Belarus to Russian territory had originally been intended to be completed by the end of 1994. However, due to ambiguities in the founding documents of CIS, it was unclear to whom the weapon(s) belonged in the meantime. Both states pursued different courses. Belarus recognised that the nuclear weapons stationed on its territory belonged to Russia. Ukraine, however, insisted on having strategic control of the weapons stationed on its territory and used the issue of nuclear weapons to obtain loans and extensive security guarantees from both the West and Russia in the event of Russian territorial claims, extortions or an attack.[90]

Against the backdrop of Russian agitation and aggression, it is understandable that especially Ukraine as a new sovereign state was interested in building autonomous armed forces, and put all units stationed in the country under its command with the objective of establishing a national force after the disintegration of the Soviet Union.[91] In the other successor states, the build-up of national armed forces proceeded much more slowly in 1992/93. This is primarily due to the status of Russian armed forces stationed outside of Russia and their actions (Moldova and the Baltic States) within those states.[92]

In the early 1990s, the relations between Russia and the Baltic states of Estonia and Latvia were also marked by severe tensions. They broke out over

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[88] *Die Sowjetunion 1953-1991*, p. 36.
[89] Gießmann/Schlichting, "Schwierige Nachbarschaft", p. 125; Wettig, "Rußland/GUS", p. 63; Holden, "Ein gespanntes Verhältnis", p. 142.
[90] Holden, "Ein gespanntes Verhältnis", p. 142.
[91] Ibid., p. 138; Wettig, "Rußland/GUS", p. 50; Manilow, "Nationale oder kollektive Sicherheit?", pp. 91-92.
[92] Holden, "Ein gespanntes Verhältnis", p. 143.

border disputes and the demand for a rapid withdrawal of Russian forces, which had originally been promised to begin in December 1991; however, because of disputes with Russia, they even came to a halt for a time. In order to emphasise the situation the two governments turned to the United Nations. Unlike Lithuania, however, Estonia and Latvia did not have a binding withdrawal agreement. Russia, in turn, linked the withdrawal of its armed forces by decree to requirements for the Russian minority living there[93] and threatened to delay the redeployment of the troops for seven to eight years if the two states failed to meet those requirements. In addition, military activities of the Russian armed forces aggravated the conflict in the Baltic States. Alone in 1992, up to 392 violations of Latvian airspace were reported to have taken place.[94]

In the first half of the 1990s, Russian great-power politics at its Western border provided new challenges to the European community and as a consequence also posed risks to German security policy. Not only the young states of Central and Eastern Europe, but also the Federal Republic felt increasingly threatened by Russian great-power rhetoric, the intervention in domestic affairs of former USSR republics and the ambivalent Russian policy of intervention. The Federal Republic of Germany was very concerned about the armed conflicts on the territory of the former Soviet Union (in the Caucasus as well as in Moldova) including the use of heavy weapons. The eastward enlargement of NATO, therefore, became one of the most pressing issues in restructuring the European security architecture.[95]

7. Germany as strategic hub for NATO

Based on MC 317, there were two general options for the Alliance's integrated defence of the Central Region. One of these was a defence against a direct

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[93] In 1993, approximately 40 percent of the Estonian and 48 percent of the Latvian population were of different nationalities, the majority of them ethnic Russians. Gießmann/Schlichting, "Schwierige Nachbarschaft", p. 133.

[94] Ibid.; Gießmann, "Aufbruch zu alten Mythen?", pp. 201-202; Cf. Range, "Hansische Hoffnungen", pp. 63-64, 66-67.

[95] Rahr, Alexander, "Russland in Europa", p. 129; Presse- und Informationsamt der Bundesregierung: Bulletin Nr. 83, p. 806; BArch-MA, BH 7-2/ 1306, Annex B to Fü H VI 2 Az 09-10-80 of 02.12.1991, Fü S III 2/ Fü S III 1, Militärpolitische und -strategische Vorgaben und konzeptionelle Folgerungen für die Bundeswehr, 21.11.1991, pp. 6-7.

strategic attack and all-out war against German territory—with Germany as the "combat zone". Depending on geographic factors, this would require ten divisions both north and south of the Thuringian Forest as well as another five to ten as operational reserves. Thus depending on the point of main effort of the hostile attack, up to 30 divisions would be employed in mobile warfare.[96]

The defence of Germany would (only?) be necessary however in the event of a strategic seizure of land with high war intensity. In view of the changed security situation, the Bundeswehr leadership estimated in the summer of 1992 that the risk of a military aggression against the Central Region no longer existed for the time being.[97] An operation was only feasible after an advanced warning time, estimated to be probably more than one year.[98] The stabilisation of the strategic environment, however, remained an unresolved issue[99] until deep into the 1990s; and this was accompanied by the latent danger of an aggression directed against the Central East European states. In the opinion of the Chief of Staff, Bundeswehr Naumann, the Russian highly mobile response force of 100,000 troops, which could be ready within seven days and was well suited for operations in the bordering Russian Federation, was a direct, albeit not acute, risk for Europe.[100]

For ensuring comprehensive defence capabilities of Central Europe, the second quite realistic option of MC 317 considered the request of the eastern neighbouring Visegrád states to include their defence into the Alliance. Although under these conditions, Germany would not have become the primary target of combat actions, as *strategic hub* it would have made a significant contribution to the deployment and transit of the mass of the allied armed forces as well as to their supply through wartime host nation support and host nation support. Military movement control, water crossing, transportation, ensuring freedom

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[96] BArch-MA, BH 1/27987, Annex 1 to Fü H VI 2, Ableitung des V-Umfangs des Heeres, 25.11.1993, p. 2, 10-11; BArch-MA, BH 1/27987, Fü H III 1, LVE InspH „Reduzierung V-Umfang Heer" on 06 December 1993, Reduzierung V-Umfang aus militärpolitischer Sicht, 30.11.1993, p. 7.

[97] BArch-MA, BW 2/28203, Fü S VI 3, Az 09-10-00, Konzeptioneller Grundkurs (Entwurf), 30.06.1992, p. 6.

[98] BArch-MA, BM 1/15804, Fü S VI 3, Az 09-10-10, Planungsleitlinie 1994 für die Erstellung der Planungsvorschläge und des Bundeswehrplans 1994, 17.09.1992, p. 17; BArch-MA, BW 2/28202, Fü S V 1, Az 32-12-00, Unterrichtung MFR durch StAL Fü S V, 09.09.1992, p. 1.

[99] BArch-MA, BH 1/27987, Annex 1 to Fü H VI 2, Ableitung des V-Umfangs des Heeres, 25.11.1993, p. 2.

[100] "Planerisch nicht mehr zu steuern". *Rheinischer Merkur* of 02 July 1993.

of operation and protection were other tasks in providing support for the allies. At the same time, far-reaching territorial tasks under national command like maintaining freedom of operations, area and object protection, protection of rear areas, sensitive installations and means of communication, military police tasks and wartime deployment would have to be ensured.[101]

In the opinion of the then Chief of Staff, Army, Lieutenant General Helge Hansen, in late 1993 the Russian Federation had basically three options: 1. stability through balance of the armed services; 2. capability of operational action against its neighbours—an *operational option*; as well as 3. capability of land seizure in a strategic framework—a *strategic option*. The Russian armed forces were incapable of a strategic seizure of land given the situation at the time.[102] The risk assessment of Armed Forces Staff Division II of November 1993 also confirms that Russia commanded armed forces that were capable only of "limited options against all immediate neighbours and neighbouring regions".[103] In their opinion, offensive options of strategic dimensions would only be available to Russia after a new build-up of relevant groupings of forces. This process would take several years and require resources that were not available.[104] According to General Hansen, the most probable option of Russian action was the operational option. In his opinion, in this case it was necessary to have a defence structure in place for the build-up of armed forces which was adequate to contemporary and future threats and would offer enough time for reconstitution in the most

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[101] BArch-MA, BH 1/27987, Annex 1 to Fü H VI 2, Ableitung des V-Umfangs des Heeres, 25.11.1993, p. 2, 4, 11-12; BArch-MA, BH 1/27987, Fü H III 1, LVE InspH „Reduzierung V-Umfang Heer" on 06 December 1993, Reduzierung V-Umfang aus militärpolitischer Sicht, 30.11.1993, p. 7; BArch-MA, BH 1/27987, Fü H III 3, Ableitung des V-Umfanges, Erarbeitung konzeptioneller Überlegungen, 02.12.1993, p. 2; BArch-MA, BH 1/27987, Annex 2 to Fü H III 3, Eintrittswahrscheinlichkeit bestimmter Lagen, 02.12.1993, p. 1; BArch-MA, BH 1/28328, Fü H III 3, Az 10-28-00, Wahrnehmung nationaler Aufgaben im Heer, Informationsveranstaltung KdoBeh/Stäbe on 08. September 1993, 31.09.1993, p. 2.

[102] BArch-MA, BH 1/27987, Fü H VI 3, Az 09-10-00, Durch InspH gebilligtes Protokoll des LVE V-Umfang am 06.12.1993, Reduzierung V-Umfang Heer in der Heeresstruktur 5 (N), 23.12.1993, p. 3.

[103] Cf. BArch-MA, BH 1/27987, Fü H III 1, LVE InspH „Reduzierung V-Umfang Heer" on 06 December 1993, Reduzierung V-Umfang aus militärpolitischer Sicht, 30.11.1993, p. 8.

[104] BArch-MA, BH 1/27987, Fü H III 1, LVE InspH „Reduzierung V-Umfang Heer" on 06 December 1993, Reduzierung V-Umfang aus militärpolitischer Sicht, 30.11.1993, p. 8; BArch-MA, BH 1/27987, Fü H III 2, Ableitung des V-Umfanges, 05.12.1993, p. 2.

dangerous event, the development from the operational to the strategic option.[105]

Due to this the crucial tasks for the German army were the obligatory task of protecting the territorial integrity of the State (or restoring national sovereignty), as well as contributing to the Alliance defence of the Central Region with operational forces that could be employed outside the territory of the Federal Republic of Germany and, in the event of a Russian aggression against its neighbours (operational option) to serve as deployment area of the allies including support tasks in the point of main effort.[106] Armed Forces Staff Division II also concludes that the contemporary national defence was able to restrict itself primarily to securing the "strategic hub Germany" because currently and in the coming years it did not envisage a "strategic offensive capability of the Russian armed forces which threatens German territory".[107]

In the event of Germany as a rear area of operation, Army Staff Division III rated the deployment of the 25 to 30 divisions via the poor infrastructure, in particular in the new eastern federal states, and possibly the few Oder River crossings as critical. Since a simultaneous deployment of all divisions was impossible, the coordination of the deploying formations constituted a challenge that was not to be underestimated. A densely occupied rear area would therefore be of considerable military interest to an opponent and would probably have to be protected against hostile attacks from the air with missiles as well as on the ground against command operations or terrorist harassing actions. Should all eight German divisions become involved in an extended national defence operation, the limited forces of the military district commands would have been left as the only operational army forces available to repel air and naval landings to protect German territory.[108]

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[105] BArch-MA, BH 1/27987, Fü H VI 3, Az 09-10-00, Durch InspH gebilligtes Protokoll des LVE V-Umfang on 06 December 1993, Reduzierung V-Umfang Heer in der Heeresstruktur 5 (N), 23.12.1993, p. 3.

[106] BArch-MA, BH 1/27987, Fü H III 1, LVE InspH „Reduzierung V-Umfang Heer" on 06 December 1993, Reduzierung V-Umfang aus militärpolitischer Sicht, 30.11.1993, p. 8.

[107] BArch-MA, BH 1/27987, Fü H III 2, Ableitung des V-Umfanges, 05.12.1993, p. 2; BArch-MA, BH 1/27987, Fü H III 1, LVE InspH „Reduzierung V-Umfang Heer" on 06 December 1993, Reduzierung V-Umfang aus militärpolitischer Sicht, 30.11.1993, p. 8; BArch-MA, BH 1/27987, Annex 1 to Fü H III 3, Eintrittswahrscheinlichkeit bestimmter Lagen, 02.12.1993, p. 2.

[108] BArch-MA, BH 1/27987, Fü H III 3, Ableitung des V-Umfanges, Erarbeitung konzeptioneller Überlegungen, 02.12.1993, p. 3, 5.

Due to an improved overall security situation in Europe, the extent of MC 317 was once again reviewed in late 1993. The adapted MC 317 "ACE Force Structure Review" provided for just 30 to 35 divisions for the defence of the Central Region after 1995. The territory of the Federal Republic continued to be vital as a strategic hub for NATO.[109]

8. Conclusions

With the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact and the ongoing withdrawal of the occupying forces from Central Europe, the strategic and operational options gradually disappeared. Since mid-1992, the remaining Russian troops no longer posed an existential threat to German security. Outside the range of a strategic seizure of land, Germany was no longer considered as a combat zone. New risks in the strategic environment emerged in connection with the hegemonic ambitions of Russia within its western sphere of influence; the implications for security policy continue to be relevant to this day. In some circumstances, NATO might have been drawn into the defence of the eastern glacis as early as in the 1990s. In such an event, Germany would have acted as a strategic hub for the deployment of the Alliance. This can be regarded as the point of intersection with the current security policy.

During the panel discussion on 1 July, the participants discussed to what degree the operational thinking and self-image of the Bundeswehr of the 1980s differ from those of today. The Chief of the Army indicated clear divergences.[110] Looking at the threat situation in the early 1990s, it turns out that this view of war has considerably more strategic parallels. The operational factors of forces, space and time are comparable as well.

This paper is intended to encourage a stronger inclusion of the conceptualization of war of the Bundeswehr of the 1990s into the considerations of alliance defence. It is not the analysis of "contained" operations of a static defence close to the

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[109] BArch-MA, BH 1/27987, Annex 1 to Fü H VI 2, Ableitung des V-Umfangs des Heeres, 25.11.1993, pp. 12-14.

[110] BMVg, Mediathek, Gespräche am Ehrenmal am 01 Jul 2021, Audio lecture by Lieutenant General Alfons Mais. URL: <https://www.bmvg.de/de/mediathek/audio-vortrag-von-generalleutnant-alfons-mais-5104158> (last accessed on 13 July 2021).

border of the 1980s but the idea of freedom of operation in the concept of area defence with counter concentration of the 1990s that give impetus to the conduct of operations of today. So far, an academic reappraisal of the topic from a historian's perspective has yet to be made.

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CHAPTER 13

Japanese-German Military History from an Archival Perspective[1]
Archive Situation in Japan and Germany

KÄSER Frank

If we disregard the relations between Germany and Japan before the Meiji period (beginning in 1868) and before the founding of the German Empire in 1871, the national archives in both countries are of particular interest for German-Japanese relations. While the Federal Republic of Germany is a federal state with 16 federal states, Japan is a central state with 47 prefectures. The prefectures function as the middle level of administration between the central government in Tokyo and the cities and municipalities, which are the lowest administrative level. This administrative structure is reflected in Japan's public archives landscape, as there are prefectural archives and city and municipal archives in addition to the National Archives of Japan.[2] In addition, public archives include archives of Japan's state universities, the archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the archive of the Ministry of Defense, the archive of the Imperial Household, and the archive of the National Institute of Japanese Literature. Currently, there are 103 public archives in Japan (as of 2019). Except for the Imperial Household Archives, founded in 1869, all of Japan's public archives are postwar creations: Japan Literature Archives founded in 1951; Japan National Archives founded in 1971; Ministry of Foreign Affairs Archives founded in 1971; Ministry of Defense Archives founded in 2001. Located in the Chiyoda district of Tokyo, with a second home in Tsukuba established in 1998, the National Archives is the central archive of the Japanese government and houses holdings of the Japanese governments from the Meiji (1868–1912), Taishō (1912–1926), Shōwa (1926–1989), and

[1] This study was supported by a grant from the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (JSPS) 2017-2018. The author would like to thank JSPS and Prof. Dr. Iokibe Kaoru for the supervision at the University of Tokyo.

[2] The following is taken from National Archives of Japan [Kokuritsu Kōbun Shokan], ed. by National Archives of Japan, 2017, <www.archives.go.jp.>; Zierer, Martin: Das Japanische Nationalarchiv. Eindrücke von einem Besuch im April 2007, in Der Archivar 3/2008, S. 298 f.

Heisei (1989–2019) periods and the ending Edo (1600–1868) period. In addition to these archival holdings, the National Archives of Japan still manages the Meiji era Cabinet Library, and serves as the final archive for the Cabinet, Ministry of the Interior, Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications, Ministry of Justice, Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism, Ministry of Defense, Ministry of Trade and Industry, and Ministry of Health and Welfare. The National Archives of Japan currently holds 72 shelf kilometers of records, 35 of which are located in Tokyo and 37 in Tsukuba. Records are appraised on a statutory basis (Public Archives Law (Archives Law) of 1987 and National Archives Law of 1999) in close consultation between the Cabinet and the National Archives. So-called transfer plans regulate the transfer of documents from the ministries to the National Archives. The Cabinet, and especially the Prime Minister, plays an influential role in this process, as the cassation of records after the expiration of the retention period in the ministries is possible in principle before consultation with the National Archives. Records worthy of archiving include written materials that provide information about the political actions of the state, legal documents that are of interest to citizens, written materials that concern nature, the environment and society, written materials that are important to the history, culture, science of Japan, and finally written materials that concern national events. In addition, the Cabinet may designate important documents to be archived. After disinfection, indexing and cataloging in a database, which is done at the record level, the archival materials are digitized and made available to the public within one year, unless special legal regulations prevent this. Storage in the stack area takes place at 55% relative humidity and a constant 22°C.

On a national level, Germany has the so-called Bundesarchiv, which is responsible for the historical records of the Federal Republic and its legal predecessors.[3] In addition to the Federal Archives as the national archive, there are 16 state or regional archives responsible for the records of the federal states and their territorial predecessor institutions. For the Japanese historian, who is not familiar with the federal system of Germany, a complicated situation arises, since the federal character of the German administration finds its counterpart in the

[3] Franz, Eckhart, Lux, Thomas: Einführung in die Archivkunde, Darmstadt9 2018, p. 25.

archival system.[4] In addition to the Federal Archives as the central institution for the records of the Federal Republic and its legal predecessors (the German Reich), there are the Political Archives of the Foreign Office as the old registry with final archival function for the Foreign Office and the Federal Archives Military Archives (BA-MA) as the archives for the records of the German military and the German armed forces in Freiburg im Breisgau. Two main sites (Koblenz and Berlin-Lichterfelde) and additional sites in Bayreuth (Lastenausgleichsarchiv) and at Fehrbelliner Platz (Filmarchiv) obviously make it difficult for the Japanese researcher to comprehend the structure of the German archival system when, in addition to the Bundesarchiv, there are other state archives of the federal states that come into question for sources for German-Japanese relations.

In Japan, as in Germany, there are national archives for the records of the federal and central governments, respectively, while in both cases it can be stated that the ministries of foreign affairs and defense each maintain their own archives. In terms of sheer quantity, the Federal Archives currently hold 7.6 times more shelf kilometers of files and 11.6 times more staff than the Japanese National Archives:

	Shelf kilometers of files (km)	Staff (person)
Japan	72	188
Germany	488	2,100

Archive History

Japan and Germany can look back on a long tradition of preserving cultural assets, which is reflected in a diverse archive landscape. In both countries, written records in archives and cultural heritage institutions date back to the beginning of writing. While in Germany the separation of administrative records and archives began gradually with the French Revolution,[5] in Japan this separation was not made until after 1945. For almost a hundred years, administrative records in Japan

[4] Iokibe, Kaoru: Doitsu Kōbun Shokan Hōrōki, in Rekishi Gaku Kenkyū 2/2017, pp. 19-23; Iokibe, K.: Donyoku no Mukui. Doitsu Shiryō kara mieru Jōyaku Kaisei Shi, in Rekihaku 209, 7 (2018), pp. 2-5.

[5] Eckhart, Lux, p. 20.

were managed by the authorities themselves in registries; a need for archiving was only recognized beginning in 1956, which then led to the establishment of the Japanese National Archives in 1971.[6] In the same year, the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs were established, followed by the construction of a new archive building as House II in Tsukuba in 1998 and the establishment of the archives of the Ministry of Defense in 2001. The year 1999 is significant for the Japanese National Archives because until that time it was under the Prime Minister's authority, and it was not until that year by legislation that it was recognized as an independent administrative institution. In addition, measures for a digital archive initiated in the 1990s were implemented with the opening of the Japan Center for Asian Historical Records (JACAR) platform in 2001. The reason for the establishment of a digital platform was the 50th anniversary of the end of the war in 1995, which Prime Minister Murayama took advantage of to make historical material available digitally to Japan's neighboring countries. However, the material available in JACAR is not "born digital material," but historical written material that is constantly being digitized. As of 2017, 2.1 million records over 30 million graphic units can be viewed there. JACAR's mission is to enable anyone interested in Japanese history: "to search and view materials anytime and anywhere for free. Users can print graphical contents and download data for free."[7]

The Federal Archives in Germany can trace its foundation back to the predecessor institution of the Reich Archives in 1919. The Bundesarchiv was founded in 1952[8] and took over records from the Reich and its predecessor institutions dating back to 1411. While Japan can be considered more advanced and progressive than Germany in digitization, archival legislation in both countries began in 1987: Baden-Württemberg was the first state to enact an archive law in 1987, while in Japan the so-called Kōbun Shokan Hō archive law was enacted in the same year. With the Federal Archives Act of 1988 (amended in 2017), Germany also has an archive law at the national level.[9]

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[6] National Archives of Japan [Kokuritsu Kōbun Shokan], ed. By National Archives of Japan, 2017, p. 29; Zierer, p. 298.
[7] National Archives of Japan [Kokuritsu Kōbun Shokan], ed. by National Archives of Japan, 2017, p. 25.
[8] Eckhart, Lux, p. 29.
[9] Eckhart, Lux, pp. 57-62; National Archives of Japan [Kokuritsu Kōbun Shokan], ed. by National Archives of Japan, 2017, p. 29.

In the Context of Military History

Various topics relating to Japanese-German relations until 1945 and illustrating the diversity of the mutual exchange that took place and the influence that was exerted, including some concerning military history, have been explored and studied in both Japan and Germany. In my paper, I will use these topics to expand on foci of research and use a comparison of archives and previously neglected topics to elaborate on research desiderata.

While the beginning of a joint development in the military histories of the two countries is marked by the foundation of the modern empire in Japan in 1868 and the foundation of the German Empire in 1871, their national histories are often paralleled against a backdrop of mutual exchange and influence and referred to jointly. Due to the primarily Anglo-American influence on it, historiographers have referred to both countries as "latecomers," whereas historians influenced by leftist intellectual thought have attributed Germany a "special approach" (Sonderweg) on its way to becoming a parliamentary-democratic society. These judgments are principally based on a teleological view whose emergence was facilitated by the knowledge of the histories of the two countries in the 1930s, the joint alliance with fascist Italy in 1940 (Tripartite Pact) and the end of the war in 1945 and the subsequent period of occupation. Especially Germany's role as an advisor of general staff officers on the modernization of the Japanese army, the Japanese general staff, the officer training and the top-level structure is said to have had an effect on German-Japanese relations. Particular mention should be made of the right of direct access of the general staff and the admiralty (Immediatrecht or Immediatvortragsrecht), which was introduced in the Japanese military on the basis of the Prussian-German model.[10] The following men worked as military advisors in Japan from 1885 to 1890:

- Jacob Meckel (1842–1906): 1885–1888
- Hermann von Blankenburg (1851–1922): 1886–1888
- Heinrich Emin von Wildenbruch (1842–1893): 1888–1890.

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[10] Krebs, Gerhard: Japan und die Preussische Armee, in Japan und Preußen, ed. by Krebs, Gerhard (Monographien, hg. v. Deutschen Institut für Japanstudien, Bd. 32), München 2002, pp. 125-144.

In literature, their activities are regarded as the origin of an "ill-fated affinity" (Verhängnisvolle Wahlverwandtschaft) between Japan and Germany,[11] which formed the basis of a particular closeness between the countries and, together with other factors, later facilitated a Japanese-German military alliance.

In the period before 1914, more than 450 Japanese officers underwent training in Germany, almost 200 of them later becoming generals and admirals.[12]

Japanese officers in Germany 1868–1914 (Person)	Those who later became generals or admirals (Person)
450	almost 200

As for the German side, no German officers underwent training in Japan prior to the Russo-Japanese War. It was only after what Japan saw as a victory in the Russo-Japanese War in 1905 that Germany felt the urge to send officers to the country. Compared to the number of officers Japan sent, the number Germany sent to Japan was low:

German officers in Japan after 1905 (Person)
17

These data can be verified today with the aid of holdings in German and Japanese archives. On the German side, the Political Archive of the Foreign Office (Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes – PAAA) and the Military Division of the Federal Archives (Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv – BA-MA) are the relevant institutes:[13]

[11] Martin, Bernd: Verhängnisvolle Wahlverwandtschaft: Deutsche Einflüsse auf die Entstehung des modernen Japan, in Deutschland in Europa. Kontinuität und Bruch, ed. by Dülffer, J., Berlin 1990, p. 97.

[12] Hartmann, Rudolf: Japanische Offiziere im Deutschen Kaiserreich 1870-1914, in Japonica Humboldtiana 11 (2007), pp. 93-158.

[13] All figures are taken from Hartmann, Rudolf, p. 157.

PAAA (Political Archive of the Foreign Office)	BA-MA (Military Division of the Federal Archives)
Japanese military and naval affairs (Militär- und Marineangelegenheiten) November 1882 to March 1920 Total: 25 volumes That is approximately 0.5 shelf meters of files	III Militaria Generalia 120: Files concerning the permission of Japanese personnel to enter military, education and training institutes on this side or to render service in or receive information at units on this side and the Imperial Navy. Vol. 1: January 1906–June 1911 Vol. 2: July 1911–September 1913 III Militaria Generalia 157: The admittance of Japanese princes to the German naval academy. Vol. 1: January 1887–January 1892 Vol. 2: May 1892–January 1896 IV Militaria 167: Files concerning the sending of Japanese officers, Jan 1887–Jan 1892. Total: 5 volumes

On the Japanese side, the holdings on Jacob Meckel are kept at the Archive of the Ministry of Defense, which makes its holdings available in digital form via the National Archives of Japan. Thirty-two file units bearing reference to him can be accessed by entering the search term "Meckel" into JACAR.

For the period before 1914, research also dealt with German policy on the Far East and its influences on Japan and the Boxer War as a "colonial war in China" in 1900/1901.[14]

Regarding World War I, the military confrontation over Qingdao and the protectorate (Japanese-German War) from August to November 1914 only played a minor role in Japanese-German relations compared to the treatment of German prisoners of war who went to Japan as a consequence of that war and were imprisoned there until 1920. The files on the German prisoners of war are distributed over the aforementioned institutes and the Archive of the Japanese Foreign Ministry:

[14] Wippich, Rolf-Harald: Japan und die deutsche Fernostpolitik 1894 – 1898. Vom Ausbruch d. Chines.-Japan. Krieges bis zur Besetzung d. Kiautschou-Bucht, Stuttgart 1987; Leutner, Mechthild, Mühlhahn, Klaus (eds.): Kolonialkrieg in China. Die Niederschlagung der Boxerbewegung 1900-1901, Berlin 2007.

PAAA (PAFO)
Military Division of the Federal Archives
Archive of the Japanese Ministry of Defense
Archive of the Japanese Foreign Ministry

There are other collections in both Japan and Germany that can be considered, but their nature does not allow them to be counted among archival holdings:

German Institute for Japanese Studies (Tokyo)	ドイツ日本研究所
The Naruto German House, Japan	ドイツ館
German Historical Museum, Berlin	ドイツ歴史博物館

At this point, I would like to compare the structural conditions of the archival landscape in Japan and Germany.

In both countries, the holdings mentioned are kept in public archives, i.e. the archives mentioned are publicly administered.

There are 103 public archives in present-day Japan; with the exception of the archives of the Imperial Household founded in 1869, they are all products of the post-war period:

Archive	Number	Year of Foundation
National Archives	**1**	**1971**
Court Archive	1	1869
Literary Archive	1	1951
Archive of the Japanese Foreign Ministry	**1**	**1971**
Archive of the Japanese Ministry of Defense	**1**	**2001**
Prefectural archives	40	Since 1959
City archives	11	1977–2014
Municipal archives	34	1967–2018
University archives	12	1963–2016
Archive of the Bank of Japan	1	1982
Total	103	

The archives were founded in the post-war period because the end of the war in 1945 and the end of the period of occupation in 1952 made it necessary for Japan

to archive official written material that had previously been kept at the authorities' record offices. A start was made at the prefectural level, with Yamaguchi founding a prefectural archive in 1959. This was followed at the national level by the foundation of both the National Archives and the Archive of the Foreign Ministry in 1971. The foundation of the National Archives resulted in the transfer of the file holdings of all the Japanese ministries but the Foreign Ministry, which maintains its own archive to this day, and the Japanese Ministry of Defense established its own archive in 2001. The website of the National Archives is the only medium that can be used to take a joint look at the holdings as long as they continue to be kept separately in different locations. As mentioned before, there is a similarity with Germany where the Federal Archives exist as a national archive while the Foreign Office maintains its own archive, and the records of the Federal Ministry of Defense are transferred to the Military Division of the Federal Archives.

Holdings on military history that are relevant to a joint Japanese-German military history are therefore kept at the national level at the following archives.

In Germany	In Japan
PAAA	Archive of the Japanese Foreign Ministry
Military Division of the Federal Archives (Freiburg i. Br.)	Archive of the Japanese Foreign Ministry
Federal Archives (Lichterfelde-West)	National Archives

The institutes mentioned contain the archival holdings that are kept in accordance with the principle of provenance. This is the crucial difference to the so-called collections concerning German prisoners of war in Japan in the period from 1914 to 1920. Collections at the German Institute for Japanese Studies (Tokyo), The Naruto German House (Naruto), and the German Historical Museum (Berlin) are not holdings that have grown naturally, but the result of a selection of aspects made by the collector or the collecting institute. Nevertheless, these institutes in Japan and Germany perform the archival tasks of assessing, sorting, classifying and preserving cultural assets.

Another difference between the so-called collection assets and archival

material lies in the legal regulations governing the two types of cultural assets. In Japan and Germany, archival material is subject to archival legislation, whereas collection assets are not covered by law unless they are in the possession of archives. The introduction of an archival act in Japan coincided with the first archival act in Germany, the state archival act in Baden-Württemberg of 1987. Although the National Archives in Japan was founded only in 1971, Japan was not late in passing archival legislation in comparison with Germany. As a result, a number of archives were founded in Japan (by 1996: 24 public archives) because the Japanese archival act of 1987 put public archives in Japan on a legal footing. A second wave of foundations can be seen to begin in 2009. This can also be explained with legislation because in 2009, the "Act on public records and their management" came into force (by 2016: another 30 public archives).

In the 1920s and until 1933, the relations between the armies of the two countries played only a minor role, whereas the German Navy sent training ships to Japan:[15]

the Hamburg in 1926,
the Emden in 1927 and 1931,
the Berlin in 1928,
the Köln in 1933.

My impression is that military history as well as political, diplomatic and cultural relations in the 1930s, with focus on their development into the 1940s, appear to be very well researched to this day. Bernd Martin, Gerhard Krebs and Theo Sommer, and recently also Hans-Joachim Bieber and most recently Daniel Hedinger are historians working in this field who are worthy of particular mention.[16]

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[15] Sander-Nagashima, Berthold: Die deutsch-japanischen Marinebeziehungen 1919 bis 1942, Hamburg 1998.

[16] Sommer, Theo: Deutschland und Japan zwischen den Mächten. Eine Studie zur diplomatischen Vorgeschichte des Zweiten Weltkrieges, Tübingen 1962; Bieber, Hans-Joachim: SS und Samurai. Deutsch-Japanische Kulturbeziehungen 1933-1945 (Monographien, hg. v. Deutschen Institut für Japanstudien, Bd. 55), München 2014; Hedinger, Daniel: Die Achse. Berlin-Rom-Tokyo 1919-1946, München 2021.

A topic in this context of Japanese-German military relations on which little research has so far been done is the role of Germany in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894/1895 and in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904/1905. German military observers were on the ground in both wars, but as far as I know, the holdings at the PAAA and Military Division of the Federal Archives have not yet been analyzed. Their holdings alone for both wars amount to more than 100 volumes of records relating to Germany, or approx. 5 shelf meters of documents.[17]

Political Archives of the Foreign Office (PAAA)
1 The Sino-Japanese War over Korea; Duration: 23 July 1894 to September 1916 Total: 64 volumes
2 The War between Russia and Japan; Duration: 01 January 1904 to August 1918 Total: 65 volumes
Military Division of the Federal Archives (BA-MA)
Grosser Generalstab I. Abteilung, Acta betreffend Japan. Militär (Great General Staff I Division, Files concerning the Japanese military) - Japanese reports Duration: 1903 ff.

Conclusion

Military history relations between Japan and Germany have been researched in many ways, but I hope that with this overview, I have been able to show where research is still needed. I can see possibilities for this with regard to the Sino-Japanese War of 1894/1895 and the Russo-Japanese War of 1904/1905. For example, the myth that Japan declared war on the German Empire in 1914 to counteract the so-called triple intervention of 1895, which largely traced back to Germany and led to the return of the Japanese-occupied Liaodong peninsula, still lives on. But it is primarily from the Russo-Japanese War that Germany probably gained new insights for future wars, and they can be expected to be found in the files I have mentioned.

[17] All figures are taken from PAAA.

Appendix I. List of Workshops

International workshop in ZMSBw (Potsdam, Germany) "The End of the Great War – its impact upon the military, military thinking, and military planning."

25th-27th July 2019

26th 1200-1245: ABE Shohei, NIDS

"The Impact of WWI on the Tactical Development of the Imperial Japanese Army."

1st Germany-Japan workshop (Tokyo, Japan)

4th-5th September 2019

4th 1330-1420: ISHIZU Tomoyuki, NIDS

"Japan and the First World War."

1420-1510: REICHHERZER Frank, ZMSBw

"Between War and Peace. The Totalization of Warfare and Society."

1530-1630: PÖHLMANN Markus, ZMSBw

"General Heinz Guderian and the Evolution of German Armoured Forces, 1935-1945."

1630-1700: Discussion

5th 1000-1050: EPKENHANS Michael, ZMSBw

"Maritime Strategies in WWII."

1050-1140: SHOJI Junichiro, NIDS

"The Termination of the Pacific War: A Japanese Perspective."

1140-1200: Discussion

2nd Germany-Japan workshop (Potsdam, Germany)

19th-20th November 2019

19th 1015-1115: TERRE Emilie, ZMSBw
Excursion/Visit German Armed Forces place for personal grief
"Forest of Remembrance: Coming to Terms with Death – How to Commemorate Fallen Soldiers Today."

1400-1500: HELDT Helene, ZMSBw
"Garrison City Potsdam – A City at War."*

1500-1600: HELMECKE Chris, ZMSBw
"What is Military Efficiency?"*

20th 0900-1000: WERBERG Dennis, Army Officers' School in Dresden
"The 'Stahlhelm' – A Right Wing Movement in 20th Century Germany."

1000-1100: SHIMIZU Ryotaro, NIDS
"'The North-Bound Theory' – The Strategies of the Japanese Army and the Intelligence Warfare in the Fareast."

1100-1200: KÄSER Frank, ZMSBw
"Japanese-German Military History from an Archival Perspective."

1400-1600: REICHHERZER Frank, ZMSBw (impulse and moderation)
Open Discussion: "Between the Local, the Regional and the Global Rethinking WWII."

* Not included in this book.

3rd Germany-Japan workshop (Online)

10th August 2021

10th 1605-1630 (0905-0930)*
SHINDO Hiroyuki, NIDS
"From the Offensive to the Defensive: Japanese Strategy during the Pacific War, 1942-44."

1630-1655 (0930-0955)*
HANADA Tomoyuki, NIDS
"The Soviet Military Leadership's Perceptions of Japan and Germany during World War II."

1730-1750 (1030-1050)*
KRAFT Ina, ZMSBw
"Multilateral Forces in Europe."

1750-1810 (1050-1110)*
REESE Martin, ZMSBw
"From *Contact Zone* to *Strategic Hub*
– The Transformation in the Conception of Warfare in the German High Command in the Early 1990s."

1830-1900 (1130-1200)*
Discussion

* German time

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[1] Alphabetical order, Information as of 10th December 2021

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Post-Script

Sharing experiences – the title of this volume is well chosen. In this collection of essays, researchers from the National Institute for Defense Studies (NIDS) and the Bundeswehr Center for Military History and Social Sciences (ZMSBw) "share" insights into the current projects of both institutes.

The book showcases both institutes' activities and a wide range of topics. But "sharing" also hints at another dimension: All participants of the workshops came into conversation with each other. And besides the different themes and approaches of the papers edited in this volume, there is an overarching pattern: We can discuss and contribute aspects and deliver new insights to each case. We can, for example, talk about the process of how the war in Asia came to an end in 1945. We saw many differences to the end of World War II in Europe – but similarities to Germany in 1918. Researchers from the ZMSBw became keen on the Japanese grand strategy and inner conflicts in the military about how Japan should fight World War II and started to link this with the strategic decision making of Germany and other belligerent powers. Even recent aspects of multinational force design were of interest for both sides. After every workshop, my colleagues and I realized that working with our Japanese friends helps us think "out of the box".

Hence "sharing" refers to the long-lasting relationship between Japan and Germany and decades, even centuries of "shared histories", which in its ups, downs and catastrophes are much more closely intertwined than a first glance would suggest. This volume shows the benefit of bringing Japanese and German history, European and Asian history, and current affairs together. On behalf of the ZMSBw (and even personally), I want to thank the contributors and our Japanese partners and friends from the NIDS. Thank you all for "sharing" your ideas. Thank you for your restless activity to bring life to this book. Thank you for providing abundant food of thought. Hence, this work makes us hungry, hungry for more!

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