

# DESPERTA FERRO

CONTEMPORÁNEA

N.º 12 - 7€

## LA ESTRATEGIA ALEMANA Y EL PROGRAMA DE CONSTRUCCIÓN NAVAL

por Michael Epkenhans - Militärgeschichtliches Forschungsamt (MGFA)

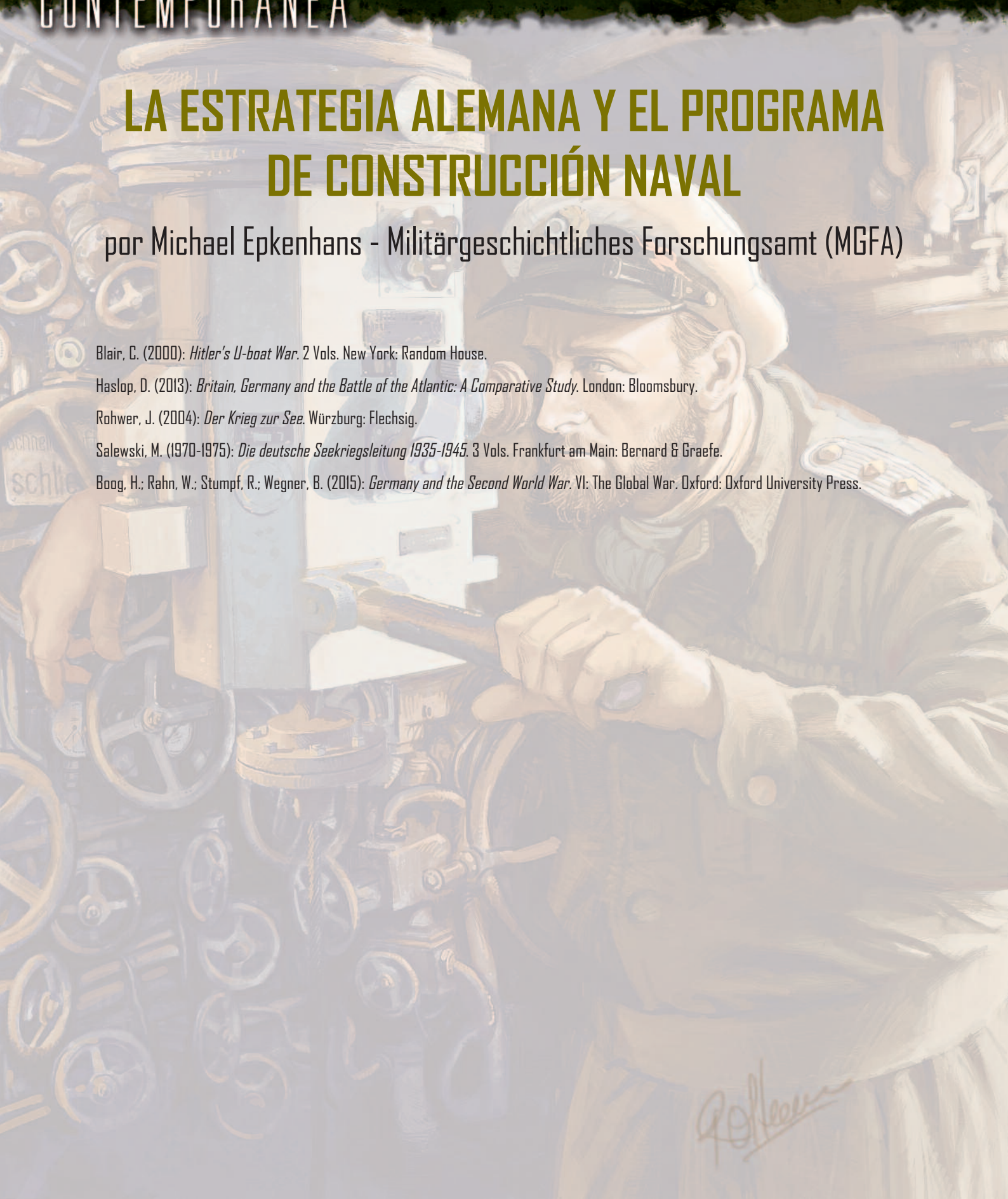
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## LA BATALLA DEL ATLÁNTICO DESDE UN COMITÉ. GUERRA ECONÓMICA Y ESTRATEGIA BRITÁNICA.

por Christopher Bell - Dalhousie University

Christopher M. Bell, *Churchill and Sea Power* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

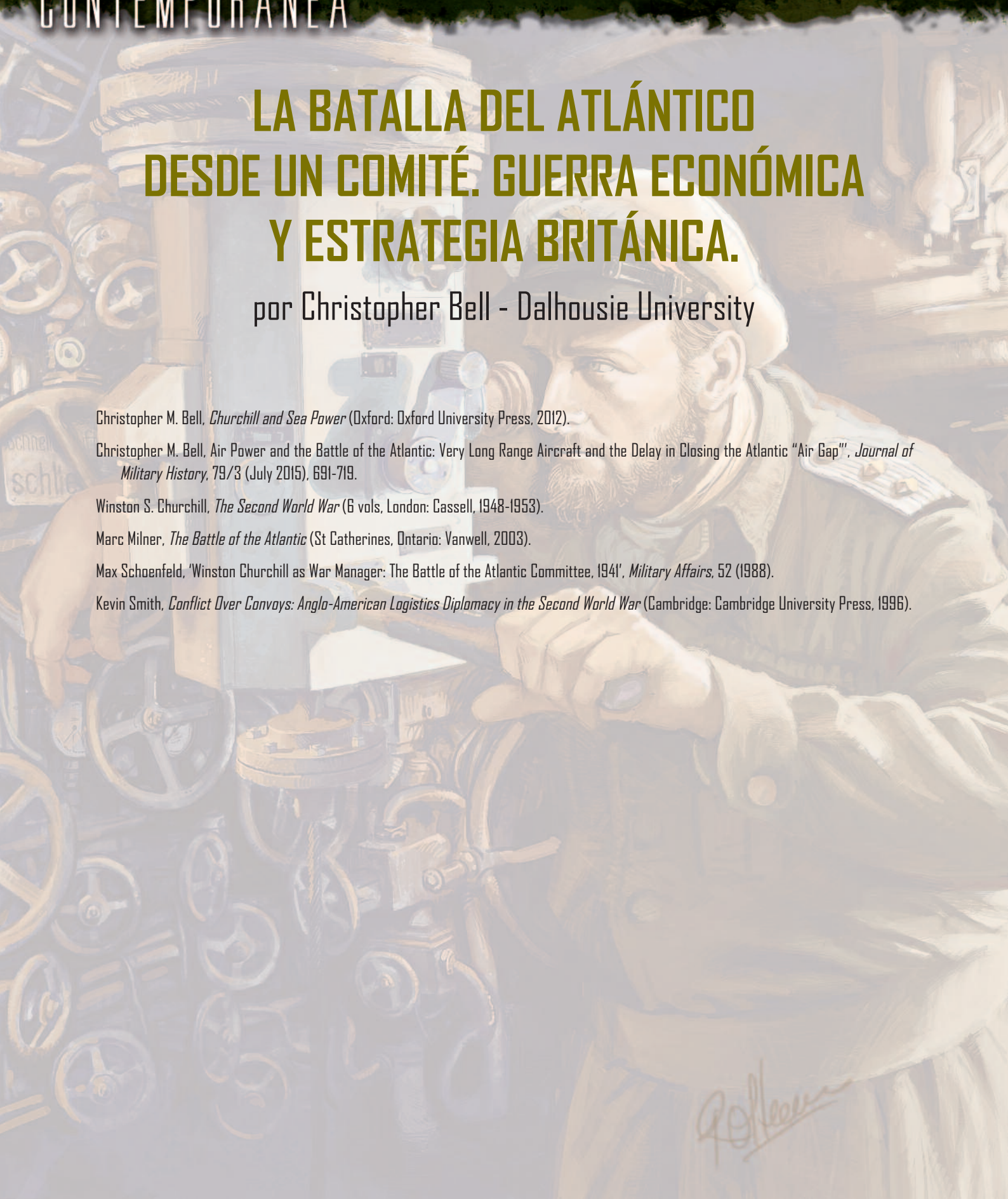
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### DEL ASDIC AL FIDO. EL DESARROLLO TECNOLÓGICO ALIADO EN LA BATALLA DEL ATLÁNTICO.

Por Roberto Muñoz Bolaños

Instituto Universitario General Gutiérrez Mellado (UNED)

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## AUGE Y CAÍDA DE LAS BASES ATLÁNTICAS ALEMANAS DE SUBMARINOS.

por Lars Hellwinkel

Karl Dönitz, Zehn Jahre und zwanzig Tage. *Erinnerungen 1935 - 1945*, Bonn 1991.

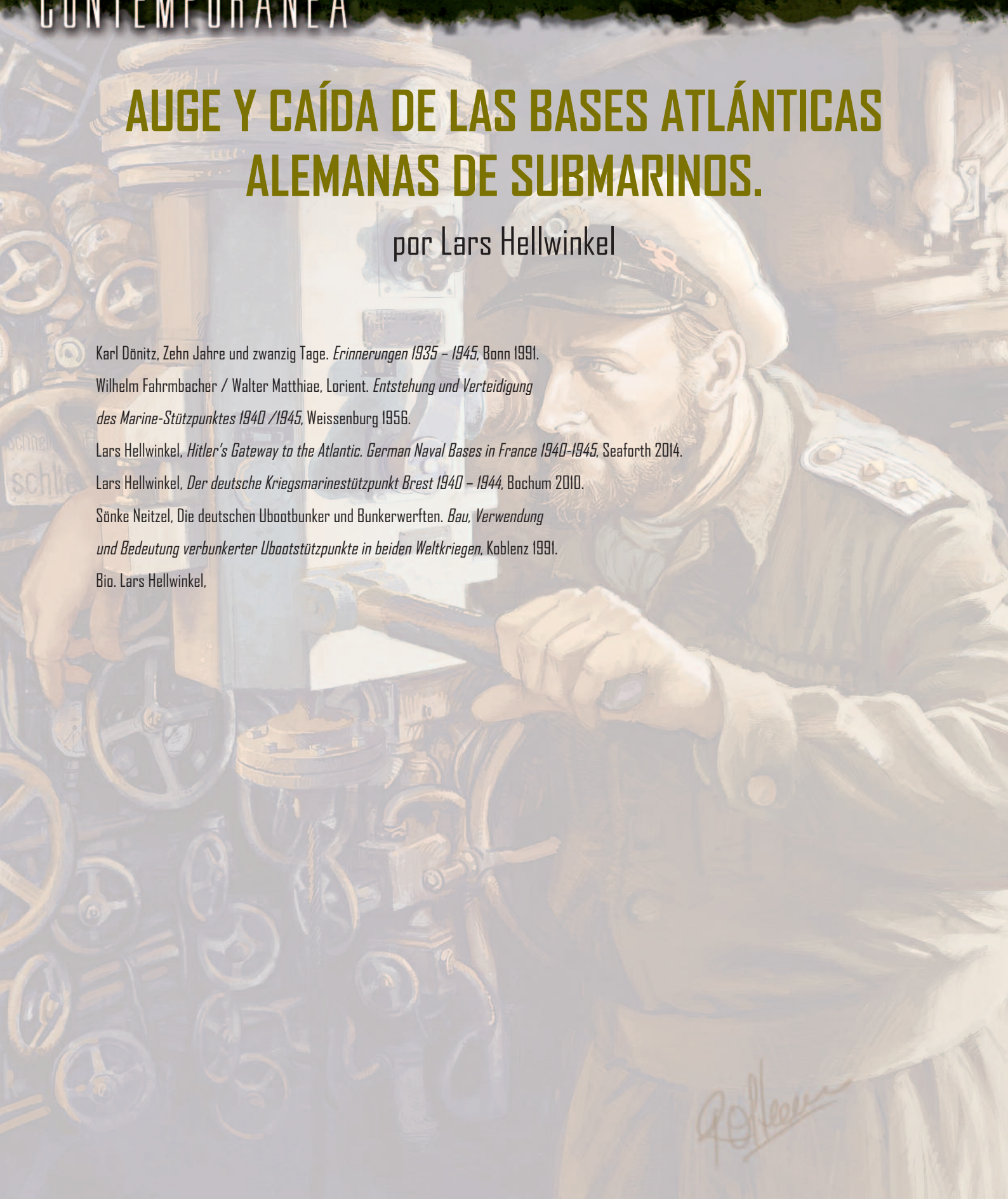
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Lars Hellwinkel, *Der deutsche Kriegsmarinestützpunkt Brest 1940 - 1944*, Bochum 2010.

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Bio. Lars Hellwinkel,



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### EL "MAYO NEGRO". LA DERROTA DE LOS SUBMARINOS.

por Duncan Redford – University of Portsmouth

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#### Notas

1. C. Barnett, *Engage the Enemy More Closely* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1991), pp. 597-600; S. W. Roskill, *The War At Sea* vol. 2 (London: HMSO, 1956), p. 486; J. Rowher, *The Critical Convoy Battles of March 1943* (London: Ian Allen, 1977), pp. 210-3; J. Terraine, *Business in Great Waters* (London, Leo Cooper Ltd), pp. 558-569.
2. TNA, ADM 199/2060, Monthly Anti Submarine Report, December 1943, p. 3
3. D. Macintyre, *The Battle of the Atlantic* (London: Pan Books, 1961) p. 181.
4. P. Beesly, *Very Special Intelligence: The Story of the Admiralty's Operational Intelligence Centre 1939-1945* (London: Greenhill Books, 2000), p. 174.
5. TNA, ADM 199/2060, Monthly Anti-Submarine Report, March 1943, dated 15 April 1943, p. 3; TNA CAB 86/3, AU (43) 97, 31 March 1943, tables 1 and 2; D. Redford, 'The March 1943 Crisis in the battle of the Atlantic: Myth and Reality', *History*(2007), p. 67. The global shipping shortage is covered by the excellent C. Behrens, *Merchant Shipping and the Demands of War* (London, 1955) and equally good Smith, *Conflict over Convoys*.
6. Barnett, *Engage the Enemy More Closely*, pp. 602-3; D. Syrett, *The Defeat of the German U-Boats* (Columbia: SC, 1994), pp. 25-62; Terraine, *Business in Great Waters*, pp. 588-593.
7. Syrett, *The Defeat of the German U-Boats*, p. 72.
8. M. Milner, *The Battle of the Atlantic* (Stroud: History Press, 2011), p. 160; Terraine, *Business*, p.597; J. Winton, *Convoy* (London: Michael Joseph, 1983), p. 275.
9. D. Thomas, *The Atlantic Star 1939-45* (London: W. H. Allen & Co Ltd, 1990), p. 207.
10. Barnett, *Engage the Enemy More Closely*, pp. 606-9; Syrett, *The Defeat of the German U-Boats*, pp. 63-95; Terraine, *Business in Great Waters*, p. 594.

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11. Terraine, *Business in Great Waters*, p. 597.
12. TNA, ADM 223/15 ff. 194-6.
13. Syrett, *The Defeat of the German U-Boats*, p. 130.
14. A. Price, *Aircraft Versus Submarine* (London, 1980), pp. 105-110, 138; D. Syrett, 'The Safe and Timely Arrival of SC130, 15-25 May 1943', *American Neptune*, (1990), pp. 219-227; Syrett, *The Defeat of the German U-Boats*, pp. 96-144.



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### FREIKORPS DÖNITZ. VIDA DIARIA E IDEOLOGÍA DEL CUERPO DE SUBMARINOS.

por Keith W. Bird.

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- Hadley, M. L. (1995): *Count Not the Dead: The Popular Image of the German Submarine*. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press.
- Hartwig, D. (2010): *Großadmiral Karl Dönitz: Legend und Wirklichkeit*. Paderborn: Schöningh.
- Mulligan, T. P. (1999): *Neither Sharks Nor Wolves: The Men of Nazi Germany's U-Boat Arm, 1939-1945*. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press.
- Sutter, N. (2013): *Der U-Boot Mythos in Deutschland: Ursachen, Gründe und Folgen*. Hamburg: Disserta.
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#### Notas

1. The most useful of the many studies for this topic include the superb monographs of by Michael L. Hadley, *Count Not the Dead: The Popular Image of the German Submarine* (Annapolis, 1995) and Timothy P. Mulligan, *Neither Sharks Nor Wolves: The Men of Nazi Germany's U-Boat Arm, 1939-1945* (Annapolis, 1999). Cf. French L. MacLean, *Dönitz's Crews: Germany's U-Boat Sailors in World War II* (Atglen, PA, 2009). See Nico Sutter's *Der U-Boot Mythos in Deutschland: Ursachen, Gründe und Folgen* (Hamburg, 2013) for an excellent summary of the evolution of the U-Boat myth in Germany. Jak Mallmann Showell's popular well-written books are also useful sources for many different aspects of the U-Boat war.
2. Given wartime and post-war data issues, losses of personnel and U-Boat losses have varied. See <http://uboat.net/> for details. The figures cited here are from the revised and corrected edition of Alex Niestlé's *German U-Boat Losses during World War II* (London, 2014), pp. 1-4. During some periods between 1943 and 1945, one out of two U-Boats failed to return.
3. See in particular, Dönitz's *Zehn Jahre und Zwanzig Tage* (Bonn, 1958) and Raeder's *Mein Leben*, 2 vols. (Tübingen, 1956-1957). Both memoirs are available readily in English and supported by a "solid phalanx" of the post-1945 memoirs and papers written for the British and Americans for their analysis of the naval war (see G.H. Bennett and R. Bennett, *Hitler's Admirals* (Annapolis, 2004). Cf. Wolfram Wette, *The Wehrmacht: History, Myth, Reality* (Cambridge, MA, 2006), pp. 229-235, for how the former leaders of the Wehrmacht wrote the history of World War II from "their point of view."
4. Churchill, *The Second World War*, 2 (London, 1949), p. 529. At the same time, Churchill insisted that the air offensive against German should receive the highest priority and he was "optimistic that the situation at sea would never become critical" because of the U.S. shipbuilding capacity and the ability to quickly divert air resources to the Atlantic if necessary. See Christopher Bell, "Air Power and the Battle of the Atlantic," *The Journal of Military History*, 79 (July 2015), p.697. Cf. Alan J. Levin's "Was World War II a Near-run Thing?," *The Journal of Strategic Studies*, 8 (1, 1985), pg. 41, who argues the vulnerability of England without outside help to secure the resources to avoid an "inevitable, if not quick and easy" defeat. Clair Blair's two-volume detailed research of the U-Boat war agrees with Hadley's *Count Not the Dead* that the U-Boat

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was the most mythologized weapon of both world wars. Those histories written after 1945 reflected a combination of German and Allied propaganda, the embargo on the Allied code-breaking successes, and a lack of understanding for the technology and limitations of submarine warfare. For Blair, the U-Boat peril...has been vastly overblown: threat inflation on a classically grand scale." *Hitler's U-Boat War* (New York, 1996), I, pp. xi-xiii.

5. Although the term "undefeated" was used by Dönitz in his final address to his men, Mulligan, *Sharks*, p.88, quotes a U.S. Navy's history of signals intelligence operations written at the end of the war that notes the U-Boat arm was not defeated at sea in May 1945 but had made up their losses and "reappeared in force." See Keith Bird, "Karl Dönitz-Der 'unbesiegte' Admiral," *Die Militärelite des Dritten Reiches* (Berlin, 1995) pp.129-152.
6. See the ensuing uproar against Michael Salewski's critical presentation on the ideology and reality of the "Maritime Third Reich" at the navy's 1985 conference on its role in the turbulent politics of the period 1848-1945 period. Given the challenge to the existing historical perceptions of the former *Kriegsmarine* participants, who took "at face value" the apologia of the wartime leaders and the "heroic literature" of the navy's "clean" war and considered Salewski to be attacking Dönitz and their own service. In a process that, would prove to be as painful as it was long, it was not until 1998 when the navy declared that its members were democrats of deep conviction and were worlds apart from the generations who served with conviction the Kaiser or "Leader Principle." See Michael Salewski, "Die unsichtbare Flotte. Deutsche Marinegeschichte—eine Randnotiz?" pg. 120, *Von den Historikern für die Flotte: Die 50. Historisch-Taktische Tagung fer Flotte* (Bochum, 2011), Salewski, *Marine und Geschichte—eine personliche Auseinandersetzung* (Bonn, 2011), pp. 131-132, Dieter Hartwig, "Von der taktischen Anweisung zum Bildungsprogramm-Geschichte und Entwicklung der HiTaTa im Spiegel ihrer Themen," *Von den Historikern für die Flotte*, pp. 107. Like Buchheim (see "Buchheim Controversy" below, scholars such as Salewski or top U-Boat commanders were attacked for "the fouling of their own nests." There is still evidence that this controversy persists to the present given those who see ideology or disrespect for the sacrifice of Germany's WWII veterans as playing a factor in the debate about the past. For the 'tonnage war' critique, see Werner Rahn's analysis of the failure of Dönitz and the U-Boat leadership in their failure to assess the Allied capabilities "Allied Sea Transport Capacity as a Strategic Problem of the German Naval War Effort," *Germany and the Second World War*, Vol. VI (Oxford, 2001), pp.326-341.
7. See Michael Salewski's *Von der Wirklichkeit des Krieges: Analysen und Kontroversen zu Buchheim's "Das Boot"* (Munich, 1976) who discusses the public perception of the book and how the war had been filtered by the "media." For the reality of the veterans, argues Salewski, it was the product of "their own existential and therefore subjective isolated, experience" as well as the idealized perception fostered by the idealized literature and documentaries. A disappointed Buchheim charged that the critically acclaimed film version was "another re-glorification and re-mystification of the U-Boat war, German heroism and nationalism." See Hadley's detailed account of Buchheim's critical response to the film and his subsequent publications and television and the publication of his photographs in his chapter, "Revising the past: The Buchheim Wave, 1973-88," in *Count Not the Dead*, p.165.
8. See Keith Bird, *German Naval History: A Guide to the Literature* (New York, 1985) for the new research that resulted from the accessibility of the naval archives to the mid-1980s.
9. See Kahn, David. *Seizing the Enigma: The Race to Break the German U-Boat Codes, 1939-1943*. Boston, 1991. J.W. C. Gardner's *Decoding History: The Battle of the Atlantic and Ultra* (Annapolis, 1999) provides a thoughtful analysis of the use of Ultra information and its limitations in the Battle of the Atlantic.
10. Hadley, *Count Not the Dead*, pp. 162-165.
11. See the protests of the U-Boat veterans against the government's refusal to allow any participation of any members of the armed forces in uniform at Dönitz's burial in January 1981 as well as documentation from a number of commentators and the press including the Minister of Defense as well as members of the veterans' associations. Walter Frank, ed. *Dönitz* (Wilhelmshaven, 1981).
12. Ruge, *In vier Marinen* (Munich, 1979), pg. 259-260.



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13. Erich Topp, *Fackeln über dem Atlantik: Lebensbereich eines U-Boot-Kommandanten* (Herford, 1990), pp. 95-97, 100-103. Hadley, *Count Not the Dead*, p. 168. Among the plethora of U-Boat accounts, in addition to Topp, the following are among the most illuminating and reflective: Peter Cremer, *U-Boat Commander Peter Cremer. A German Sub Commander's View of the Battle of the Atlantic* (Annapolis, 1984) Timothy P. Mulligan, *Lone Wolf: The Life and Death of U-Boat Ace Werner Henke* (Westport, CT, 1993)
14. Dieter Hartwig's *Großadmiral Karl Dönitz: Legend und Wirklichkeit* (Paderborn, 2010) represents the long awaited critical analysis of Dönitz's life and career and, in particular, his network of supporters and postwar defense of his wartime leadership. Dönitz's appointment as Commander-in-Chief replacing Grand Admiral Erich Raeder in January 1943 was a result of Hitler's rejection of Raeder's emphasis on capital ships and led to the navy becoming virtually "a U-Boat navy" after 1943.
15. See Wette, *The Wehrmacht: History, Myth, Reality*, pp. 257-297 for the shattering of the "clean war myth" as a combination of the ongoing research into the involvement of the military with National Socialism that resulted in a new "Traditions Decree" of 1982, ("an unjust regime such as the Third Reich cannot be a source of tradition"). This attitude, in spite of opposition from the conservative Christian Democratic Union, Veterans' Associations, and the "traditionalists" reinforced the government's rejection of the navy's former commanders as role models for Germany's new *Bundesmarine*. The "historians' quarrel" of 1986-1987 revived the discussions over the role of the Wehrmacht and the Holocaust—a debate that led to a much wider public discussion over the nation's "collective memory" of the war with the opening of the "Wehrmacht Exhibition" 1995-1999 and the documentation of the military's role in the crimes of National Socialism.
16. Jens Graul and Dieter Hartwig, Eds. "Themen und Referenten der 50 Historisch-Taktischen Tagungen 1957 bis 2010," *Von den Historikern für die Flotte*, pp. 141-183, especially 170-171 for the general conference themes of 1993 (the navy's image in the media) and 1994 (influence of motivation and operational readiness with a session on U-Boats in the Second World War.
17. In addition to the essential studies by Hadley, *Count Not the Dead* and Mulligan's, *Neither Sharks nor Wolves*, see Eric C. Rust's excellent *Naval Officers under Hitler. The Story of Crew 1934* (New York, 1991).
18. Ben Scott, "The Origins of the Freikorps: A Reevaluation," *University of Sussex Journal of Contemporary History*, pp. 1-10 and French MacLean, *Dönitz's Crews*, pp. See Keith Bird, *Weimar, the German Naval officer Corps and National Socialism*, pp. 54-55, 115-125 for the history and spirit of the naval brigades, many of whom joined the ranks of the new *Reichsmarine*. According to Siegfried Sorge, *Zeugenschrifttum, Nr. 1785, Institut für Zeitgeschichte* 2500 men of the Loewenfeld Naval Brigade joined the new *Reichsmarine* many as complete units while the members of the more radical Ehrhardt Brigade appear more evenly distributed throughout the navy. Ehrhardt, who led his troops in support of the abortive right wing abortive Putsch against the Republic in 1920, called upon his men "to plant our Brigade spirit in this navy."
19. See René Schiling, "Die 'Helden der Wehrmacht'—Konstruktion und Rezeption," *Die Wehrmacht: Mythos und Realität* (Munich, 1999), pp. 550-572 including the fallen U-Boat heroes Otto Weddigen (WWI) and Günter Prien (WWII). For the positive image of the navy in WWII in comparison to WWI, see Sönke Neitzel's thought provoking assessment of Donitz and the comparison between the status of the navy after 1918 and its dramatic reversal—even in unconditional surrender and defeat, "Der Bedeutungswandel der Kriegsmarine im Zweiten Weltkrieg: Das militärische und Politische Gewicht im Vergleich." *Die Wehrmacht: Mythos und Realität*, pp.245-266.
20. Mulligan, *Neither Sharks nor Wolves*, pp.153-171, analyzes the age of the crews and finds, contrary to accepted interpretations, it was not as young as portrayed and certainly not the "children's crusade" as Buchheim had charged. Moreover, age and training were not factors in the outcome of the U-Boat war given "Allied successes and German shortcomings."
21. Mulligan, *Neither Sharks nor Wolves*, pp. 131-152.
22. Kathrin Orth, "Warum weiterkämpfen? Einsatzbereitschaft und Motivation der deutschen U-Bootfahrer den letzten Kriegsmonaten 1944/45," *100 Jahre U-Boote in deutschen Marinen: Ereignisse-Technik-Mentalitäten-Rezeption* (Bocum, 2011), pg. 182.
23. Orth, "Warum weiterkämpfen?," pp. 178-179. See Topp's estimation of the value of Dönitz's personal contact with his men, *Fackeln über dem Atlantik*, pg. 101.

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24. See Sutter, *Mythos*, pp. 80, 86, 88, 133. See Buchheim's photographs in *U-Boat War* (New York, 1978) and *Die U-Boot-Fahrer* (Munich, 1985). The fascination with the stealthy hunter (a predatory wolf or shark) circling its victims is not, of course, solely a German phenomenon—the motto for the *Sea Wolf* attack submarine class in the United States is *cave lupum* (beware the wolf).
25. Length of patrols depended upon a range of factors (e.g. distance to the assigned patrol sector) but a post war British study suggested an average of thirty-six days. Mulligan, *Neither Sharks nor Wolves*, pg. 15. For daily life, see Mulligan's excellent overview, pp. 15-23 and MacLean's *Dönitz's Crews*, pp. 14-16 and listing of key sources. Although Buchheim's books, fiction or non-fiction were mostly rejected by veterans as anti-war "distortions of history" for his view that the U-Boat war was a "war crime" and "Germany's youth had been wasted, cheated, and deceived," his descriptions of life aboard a war cruise (*Feindfahrt*) reflected accounts written by those who had served. See Hadley's well-done summary of the Buchheim controversy in *Count Not the Dead*.
26. Jak Mallmann Showell, *U-Boat Warfare: The Evolution of the Wolf Pack* (Annapolis, 2002), pg. 11.
27. Jürgen Rohwer, "The U-boat War against the Allied Supply Lines," *Decisive Battles of WWII: The German View* (New York, 1965), pp. 263-264. Mulligan, *Neither Sharks nor Wolves*, pp. 58-61, notes that the use of *Rudeltaktik* (group tactics or wolf packs) were not fully utilized until the spring of 1941 when sufficient U-Boats were available and reached its "zenith" in 1942; after May 1943, attacks were primarily carried out by individual U-Boats. See also Günter Hessler, *The U-Boat War in the Atlantic, 1939-1945* (London, 1989) published by the Ministry of Defence as a facsimile edition of Hessler's three-volume study of U-Boat operations written shortly after the war. Hessler was Dönitz's son-in-law, a former U-Boat commander and staff for the eleventh flotilla and Flag Officer U-Boat Staff.
28. Rahn, "Allied Sea Transport Capacity as a Strategic Problem of the German Naval War Effort," pp. 340-341.
29. Sönke Neitzel and Harald Welzer, *Soldaten: On Fighting, Killing, and Dying. The Secret World War II Transcripts of German POWs* (New York, 2012) pp. 199-200.
30. *Erlass gegen die Kritiksucht und Meckerei*, September 9, 1943, reprinted in Salewski, *Die deutsche Seekriegsleitung*, II, (Munich, 1975), pp. 638-639.
31. *KTB FdU, Nov. 13, 1943*, cited in Mulligan, *Neither Sharks nor Wolves*, pp. 188-189.
32. For the "trauma" of the mutinies and ensuing outbreak of Revolution (and the navy's response in its leadership training), see Keith Bird, *Erich Raeder. Admiral of the Third Reich* (Annapolis (2006) pp. 58-60 and Michael Salewski, "Selbstverständnis und Historisches Bewusstsein der Deutschen Kriegsmarine," *Die Deutschen und die See* (Stuttgart, 1998), pp. 170-190. See Topp's perspective on the effects of the navy's determination to avoid any repetition of 1918 and its impact on the naval justice system, *Fackeln über dem Atlantik*, pp. 252-253.
33. Mulligan, *Neither Sharks nor Wolves*, pp. 188-192. See Heinrich Walle, "Marineoffiziere im Widerstand gegen Hitler und das NS-Regime," *Aufstand des Gewissens. Militärischer Widerstand gegen Hitler und das NS-Regime 1933-1945* (Berlin, 1994), pp. 493-509. Compared to the military judges of the other services, their judgments were "harsher, without compassion and rigid." See Walmrath, Lothar. "Iustitia et disciplina": *Strafgerichtsbarkeit in der deutschen Kriegsmarine 1939-1945* (Frankfurt, 1998).
34. See Mulligan's assessment "The Crisis Mastered," *Neither Sharks nor Wolves*, pp. 192-193. Leave to a war-torn Germany living under the Allied air offensive or the savage fighting on land, particular the Eastern Front, put the dangers of U-Boat duty into perspective. See Orth, "Warum weiterkämpfen?," pg. 175.
35. See Bird, *Erich Raeder*, pp. 91-96 and Salewski, "Das Maritime Dritte Reich: Ideologie und Wirklichkeit 1933-1945," *Die Deutschen und die See*, pp. 228-245. Although Dönitz had denied being a member of the Nazi party, he had joined in February 1944 although political involvement was on hold while the soldier was on active duty. See Hartwig, *Karl Dönitz*, pp. 158-199. Hartwig concurs with the interpretation of Dönitz was a National Socialist (whom Salewski refers to as a "second-generation" Nazi) and shows how he falsely and manipulatively sought to deny any knowledge of the crimes of the party or the consequences of the war in which he had been so much a willing participant. Hartwig also reinforces the critique of recent studies showing Dönitz's refusal to admit any mistakes in his leadership in the navy that had led to such a

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waste of "human material" (Dönitz's term), either in the U-Boat War, the sending of ill-equipped and poorly trained naval personnel to the front lines). Rust agrees with Salewski's interpretation that Dönitz failed to "Nazify" the officer corps and notes only a small number of officers in Crew 34 were "convinced" National Socialists; *Naval Officers*, pp. 122-126. See Salewski, pp. 241-245, for his assessment of Dönitz's relationship with Hitler and National Socialism. See the standard work on the navy's relationship with the Hitler and the Third Reich, Charles S. Thomas, *The German Navy in the Nazi Era*, (Annapolis, 1990).

36. See Topp's evaluation of the situation and the German efforts in improving the technology, *Fackeln über dem Atlantik*, pp. 94-95, 103, and 109.
37. Orth, *Warum weiterkämpfen?*, pg.175-177.
38. For the navy's "honor code" and its impact, see Holger Afferbach, "Mit wehender Fahne Untergehen," *Vierteljahrshfte für Zeitgeschichte*, 49 (4, 2001), pp. 595-612. See Raeder's Directive to all commands 22 December 1939, Salewski, *Seekriegsleitung*, I, pp. 164-165. Dönitz reinforced Raeder's orders, see Hartwig, *Karl Dönitz*, pg.143. Dönitz made it clear in November 1942 that the honor of the flag is more important than the lives of individuals in the life, which, in the case of the U-Boats, could apply to an entire crew.
39. Orth, *Warum weiterkämpfen?*, pg.182. Cf. Orth, "Kampf und Einsatzbereitschaft in der Kriegsmarine 1945," *Kriegsende1945 in Deutschland* (Munich, 2002), pp. 138-155.
40. See Salewski's detailed analysis of the efforts to address Germany's technology and weapons for the new U-Boat War, *Seekriegsleitung*, II, pp. 467-528. He also points out the on-going inability of the naval command to address the necessary air support to provide support for the U-Boats. Bird, "Karl Dönitz-Der 'unbesiegte' Admiral," pp. 140-141, Topp, *Fackeln über dem Atlantik*, pg. 103 and Mulligan, *Neither Sharks nor Wolves*, pp. 189, 228. Dönitz's emphasis on "will" reflected the old adage from the first head of the Imperial navy, Albrecht von Stosch, that "men fight, not ships." This became a factor in both world wars to make up for German deficiencies in analytical operations research and technology innovation. See Salewski's detailed analysis of the efforts to address Germany's technology and weapons for the new U-Boat War, *Seekriegsleitung*, II, pp. 467-528. He also notes the significance of the on-going inability of the naval command to address the necessary air support to provide support for the U-Boats.
41. See Topp, *Fackeln über dem Atlantik*, pg. 102. See Orth's evaluation of the limited role of ideology, "Warum weiterkämpfen?" pp. 180-181. His continuance of the war in his misguided attempts to negotiate a separate peace with the West to fight the Russians only served to increase the loss of lives. The Naval Command placed military needs (and the U-Boat training) as higher priorities than the evacuation efforts—although he later took credit himself for the evacuation efforts—see Hartwig, *Karl Dönitz*, pp. 125-138.

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por Marc Milner – University of New Brunswick

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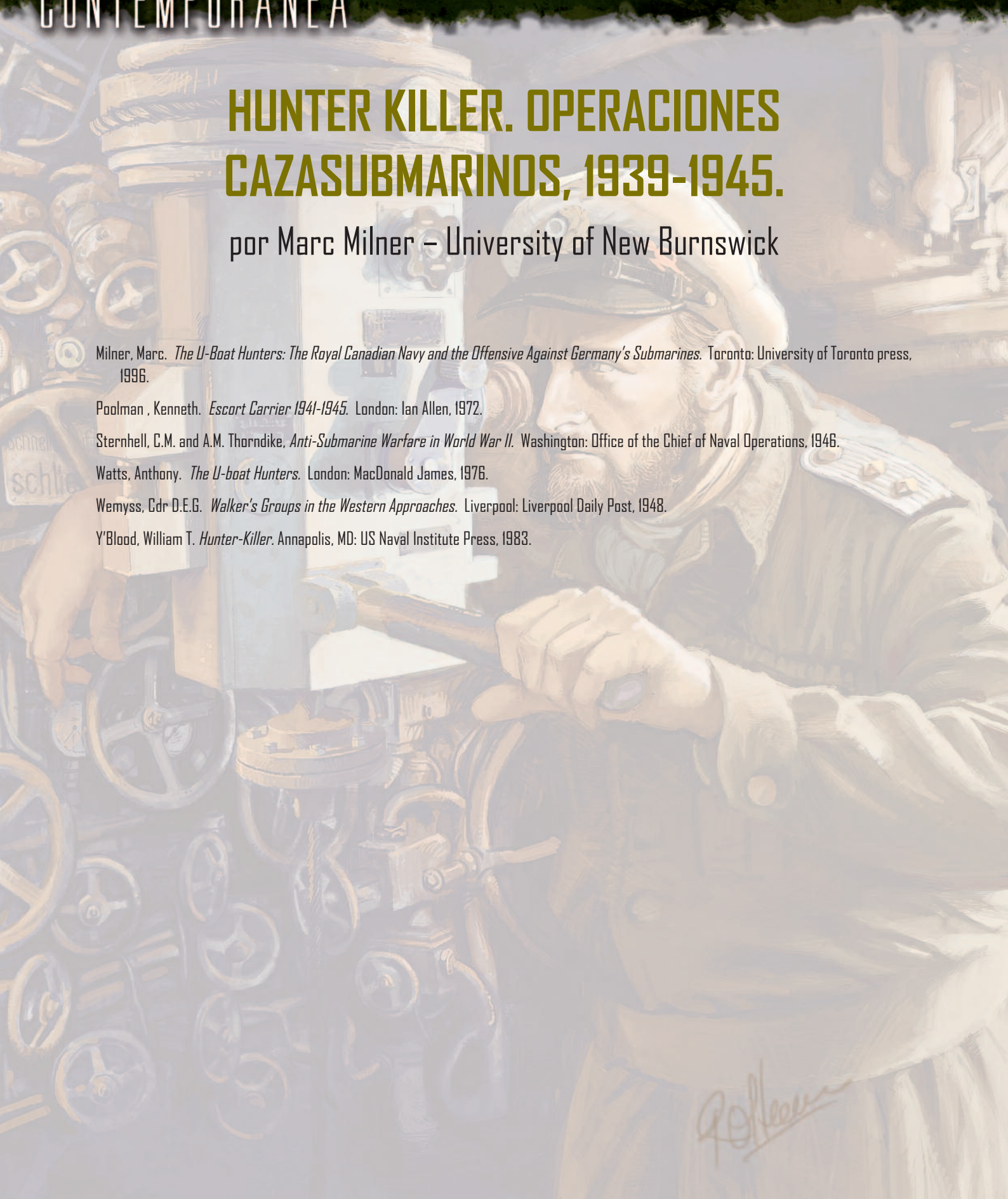
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Por Michael S. Neiberg – U. S. Army War College

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#### Notas

1. The story, although popular, is apocryphal. See Jay Winter's discussion of the myth in his *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).
2. Alistair Horne, *The Price of Glory: Verdun, 1916* (New York: Vintage, 1962).
3. Paul Jankowski, *Verdun: The Longest Battle of the Great War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014) and Robert T. Foley, *German Strategy and the Path to Verdun: Erich von Falkenhayn and the Development of Attrition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).
4. "Bombardment of the Cathedral of Rheims," Spencer Cosby Papers, Box 1, Folder 18, October 8, 1914, United States Army Heritage and Education Center, Carlisle, PA.
5. "Progress of the War," Spencer Cosby Papers, Box 2, Folder 19, June 3, 1915, United States Army Heritage and Education Center, Carlisle, PA.
6. "Progress of the War," Spencer Cosby Papers, Box 3, Folder 27, December 9, 1915, United States Army Heritage and Education Center, Carlisle, PA.
7. For more, see Robert Doughty, *Pyrrhic Victory: French Strategy and Operations in the Great War* (Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2008) and Michel Goya, *La Chair et L'Acier: L'Armée Française et l'Invention de la Guerre Moderne* (Paris: Tallandier, 2004).
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9. "Progress of the War," Spencer Cosby Papers, Box 4, Folder 12, May 31, 1916, United States Army Heritage and Education Center, Carlisle, PA.
10. "Progress of the War," Spencer Cosby Papers, Box 4, Folder 20, July 7, 1916, United States Army Heritage and Education Center, Carlisle, PA.