

Notes

CHAPTER 1

1. Winston Churchill, *The Hinge of Fate*, vol. 4, *The Second World War* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1950), p. 468.
2. Desmond Young, *Rommel, the Desert Fox* (New York: Harper and Row, 1950), pp. 8–9.
3. B. H. Liddell-Hart, introduction to *The Rommel Papers*, ed. B. H. Liddell-Hart, trans. P. Findlay (New York: Da Capo Paperback, 1953), pp. xiii–xxi. See also Young, *Rommel*; David Irving, *The Trail of the Fox* (New York: Dutton, 1977); and David Fraser, *Knight's Cross: A Life of Field Marshal Erwin Rommel* (New York: Harper Collins, 1994). Even though he offers nothing new about Rommel, Keith Hammond keeps alive Rommel's image as the personification of a fighting soldier and honorable warrior in "Rommel: Aspects of the Man," *The Army Quarterly* 112 (October 1982), p. 476.
4. Full text in Young, *Rommel*, p. 7.
5. Paul Carell, *Foxes of the Desert*, trans. M. Savill (Atglen, PA: Schiffer, reprint 1994), p. 228.
6. Barrie Pitt, *The Crucible of War: Year of Alamein 1942* (New York: Paragon, 1990), p. 178.
7. *Rommel Papers*, p. 244.
8. Pitt, *Crucible of War*, p. 133.
9. *Rommel Papers*, p. 249.
10. I.S.O. Playfair, et al., eds., *The Mediterranean and the Middle East*, vol. 3; *Official History of the Second World War* (London: HMSO, 1960), pp. 331–60.

11. See Philip Warner, "Auchinleck," in *Churchill's Generals*, ed. John Keegan (New York: Grove, Weidenfeld, 1991), pp. 130-47; and *Rommel Papers*, p. 71, n. 3.
12. Quick studies of Montgomery include Michael Carver, "Montgomery," in Keegan, *Churchill's Generals*, pp. 148-64; and Correlli Barnett, *The Desert Generals* (New York: Viking, 1961), pp. 235-83. For varying interpretations see Bernard Montgomery, *The Memoirs of Field Marshal the Viscount Montgomery of Alamein* (New York: World, 1958); Lord Alun Chalfont, *Montgomery of Alamein* (New York: Atheneum, 1976); and R. W. Thompson, *Churchill and the Montgomery Myth* (New York: Evans, 1967).
13. Pitt, *Crucible of War*, pp. 193-94.
14. Montgomery, *Memoirs*, p. 103.
15. Thompson, *Churchill and the Montgomery Myth*, p. 72. For a contrasting view see Nigel Hamilton, *Monty, The Making of a General, 1887-1942* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1981).
16. See also Playfair, *The Mediterranean and the Middle East*, vol. 3, pp. 379-91; Hamilton, *Monty*, pp. 673-711; Pitt, *Crucible of War*, pp. 211-35; and *Rommel Papers*, pp. 276-81, or in the original German version see Erwin Rommel, *Krieg ohne Hass* (Heidenheim, Germany: Heidenheimer Zeitung, 1950), pp. 199-223.
17. *Rommel Papers*, pp. 96-97.
18. *Ibid.*, pp. 272-75.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 273.
20. Tank figures are from Carell, *Foxes of the Desert*, p. 257; pages following to p. 262 present a German account of the battle.
21. Bryan Perrett, *Desert Warfare* (Wellingborough, England: Patrick Stephens, 1988), p. 153.
22. Pitt, *Crucible of War*, p. 235. Figures in other studies vary a little.
23. Carell, *Foxes of the Desert*, pp. 260-62. See also Heinz Werner Schmidt, *With Rommel in the Desert* (Newport Beach, CA: Noontide, reprint 1991), pp. 70-71.
24. All figures are from Denis Richards and Hilary St. G. Saunders, *The Fight Avails*, vol. 2, *The Royal Air Force, 1939-1945* (London: HMSO, 1954), pp. 228-31. 201 Group flew a variety of bombers to include Wellingtons, Hudsons, Baltimores, Marylands, Swordfish, and two squadrons of Bristol Beauforts and two more of Bristol Beaufighters.
25. Schmidt, *With Rommel in the Desert*, p. 173.
26. Barnett, *The Desert Generals*, p. 249.
27. *Ibid.*
28. *Rommel Papers*, pp. 298-99.
29. Churchill, *Hinge of Fate*, p. 346. He wrote Roosevelt on 8 July 1942 that no responsible senior British officer was ready to recommend Operation Sledgehammer for 1942. *Ibid.*, p. 343.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 588.
31. Irving, *Trail of the Fox*, pp. 210-11.
32. Walter Warlimont, "The Decision in the Mediterranean," in *Decisive Battles of World War II: The German View*, ed. H. A. Jacobsen and J. Rowher, trans. E. Fitzgerald (New York: Putnam's Sons, 1965), p. 196.
33. *Rommel Papers*, p. 292.
34. Perrett, *Desert Warfare*, p. 159.
35. Pitt, *Crucible of War*, pp. 276-78.
36. *Rommel Papers*, pp. 302-3. See also Michael Carver, *El Alamein* (London: Batsford, 1962); Pitt, *Crucible of War*, pp. 263-415; John Strawson, *El Alamein: Desert Victory* (London: Dent, 1981); and Playfair, *The Mediterranean and the Middle East*, vol. 4, pp. 31-79.
37. Carell, *Foxes of the Desert*, p. 292.

CHAPTER 2

1. Erwin Rommel, *The Rommel Papers*, ed. B. H. Liddell-Hart, trans. P. Findlay (New York: Da Capo Paperback, 1953), p. 321, in which Rommel gives an abbreviated version of the message. Liddell-Hart gives the full text on p. 321, n. 1 therein.
2. British figures are from Bryan Perrett, *Desert Warfare* (Wellingborough, England: Patrick Stephens, 1988), p. 166.
3. *Rommel Papers*, pp. 339-41. See also David Irving, *The Trail of the Fox* (New York: Dutton, 1977), p. 238.
4. *Rommel Papers*, p. 338.
5. R. W. Thompson, *Churchill and the Montgomery Myth* (New York: Evans, 1967), pp. 148-49.
6. Lord Alun Chalfont, *Montgomery of Alamein* (New York: Atheneum, 1976), p. 191. A lengthy narrative of the withdrawal is in Nigel Hamilton, *Master of the Battlefield: Monty's War Years 1942-1944* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1983), pp. 11-121. See also *Rommel Papers*, pp. 337-58; Paul Carell, *Foxes of the Desert*, trans. M. Savill (Atglen, PA: Schiffer, reprint 1994), pp. 303-29; Heinz Werner Schmidt, *With Rommel in the Desert* (Newport Beach, CA: Noontide, reprint 1991), pp. 179-94; and I.S.O. Playfair, et al., eds., *The Mediterranean and the Middle East*, vol. 4; *Official History of the Second World War* (London: HMSO, 1966), pp. 81-109 and 215-38.
7. Correlli Barnett, *The Desert Generals* (New York: Viking, 1961), p. 272.
8. Barrie Pitt, *The Crucible of War: Year of Alamein 1942* (New York: Paragon, 1990), p. 428.
9. Bernard Montgomery, *The Memoirs of Field Marshal the Viscount Montgomery of Alamein* (New York: World, 1958), p. 129.

10. Ibid., p. 127.
11. Chalfont, *Montgomery of Alamein*, p. 193.
12. *Rommel Papers*, p. 345.
13. Ibid., pp. 344–46.
14. Ibid., p. 345.
15. Personal conversation, July 1992.
16. *Rommel Papers*, p. 345.
17. Ibid., p. 348. See also Hans von Luck, *Panzer Commander* (New York: Praeger, 1989), pp. 103–4; and Carell, *Foxes of the Desert*, pp. 310–11.
18. Francis Mason, *The Hawker Hurricane* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1962), p. 110.
19. See Bruce Allen Watson, *Desert Battle: Comparative Perspectives* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1995), ch. 6; and Barnett, *The Desert Generals*, pp. 19–63.
20. Erwin Rommel, *Krieg ohne Hass* (Heidenheim, Germany: Heidenheimer Zeitung, 1950).
21. Luck, *Panzer Commander*, pp. 98–102.
22. Irving, *Trail of the Fox*, p. 240.
23. Ibid., p. 241; and *Rommel Papers*, p. 349.
24. Hamilton, *Master of the Battlefield*, pp. 54–56.
25. Chalfont, *Montgomery of Alamein*, p. 193. See also Watson, *Desert Battle*, pp. 123–26.
26. Montgomery, *Memoirs*, p. 129.
27. Ibid., p. 130.
28. Ibid., p. 132. Italics added.
29. *Rommel Papers*, pp. 355–56.
30. Chalfont, *Montgomery of Alamein*, p. 193.
31. Barnett, *The Desert Generals*, p. 275.
32. *Rommel Papers*, pp. 265–69, or Rommel, *Krieg ohne Hass*, pp. 307–13 for the original German text.
33. *Rommel Papers*, p. 372.
34. Bernard Montgomery, *El Alamein to the River Sangro* (New York: Dutton, 1949), p. 53.
35. *Rommel Papers*, p. 375.
36. Ibid., p. 384. See also Montgomery, *El Alamein to the River Sangro*, pp. 58–59.
37. *Rommel Papers*, p. 391.
38. Ibid.

CHAPTER 3

1. For political background see A. L. Funk, *The Politics of Operation Torch* (Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press, 1974); Dwight D. Eisen-

hower, *The War Years*, vol. 1; *The Papers of Dwight David Eisenhower*, ed. A. D. Chandler, Jr. (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1970), chaps. 3, 4, and 5; and Keith Sainsbury, *The North African Landings* (London: Davis-Poynter, 1976), pp. 81–148.

2. See also Walter Karig, with Earl Burton and Stephen Freeland, *Battle Report: Atlantic* (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1946), pp. 163–73; and Charles Kirkpatrick, “Joint Planning for Torch: The United States Army,” MS from Ninth Naval History Symposium, Annapolis, MD, 19 October 1989.

3. See also William Breuer, *Operation Torch* (New York: St. Martin’s, 1982), pp. 17–18, 54–55, and 60–63; and Norman Gelb, *Desperate Venture: The Story of Operation Torch* (New York: Morrow, 1992), pp. 147–52.

4. See also Robert Murphy, *Diplomat among Warriors* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1964), pp. 99–143. For a French version see Marcel Spivak and Armand Leoni, *La Campagne de Tunisie, 1942–1943*, vol. 2, *Les Forces Françaises dans La Lutte Contre L’Axe en Afrique* (Chateau de Vincennes: Ministère de la Defense, 1985), pp. 101–4.

5. Walter Warlimont, “The Decision in the Mediterranean,” in *Decisive Battles of World War II: The German View*, ed. H. A. Jacobsen and J. Rowher, trans. E. Fitzgerald (New York: Putnam’s Sons, 1965), pp. 204–7; Walter Warlimont, *Inside Hitler’s Headquarters*, trans. R. Barry (New York: Praeger, 1964), pp. 270–73; and Anthony Cave Brown, *Bodyguard of Lies* (New York: Harper and Row, 1975), pp. 98–100 and 231–35.

6. For a detailed narrative see George F. Howe, *Northwest Africa: Seizing the Initiative in the West. The United States Army in World War II* (Washington, DC: Center of Military History, U.S. Army, reissue 1991), pp. 89–252. See also I.S.O. Playfair, et al., eds., *The Mediterranean and the Middle East*, vol. 4; *Official History of the Second World War* (London: HMSO, 1966), pp. 131–64; and Spivak and Leoni, *La Campagne de Tunisie*, pp. 73–121.

7. Howe, *Seizing the Initiative*, p. 65, n. 15.

8. On the “Darlan Deal” see *ibid.*, pp. 262–69. See also Murphy, *Diplomat*, pp. 128–43; and Mark Clark, *Calculated Risk* (London: Harray’s, 1951), pp. 90–137.

9. Kenneth Macksey, *Crucible of Power: The Fight for Tunisia, 1942–1943* (London: Hutchinson, 1969), pp. 87–102.

10. For an example of Northwest Frontier fighting in 1852 between the British and Mohmund tribes of Swat see Bruce Allen Watson, *Desert Battle: Comparative Perspectives* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1995), pp. 55–79.

11. Spivak and Leoni, *La Campagne de Tunisie*, p. 389. The secret memo is reproduced on pp. 339–93. See also André Truchet, *L’Armistice de 1940 et L’Afrique du Nord* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1955).

12. Spivak and Leoni, *La Campagne de Tunisie*, pp. 114–19. For a full

narrative see Georges Barré, *Tunisie, 1942-1943* (Paris: Berger, Levrault, 1950).

13. Playfair, *The Mediterranean and the Middle East*, vol. 4, p. 177.
14. Freeland Daubin, Jr., "The Battle of Happy Valley," photocopy of MS from Instructor Training Division, Armored Training School, Fort Knox, KY, 2 April 1948, p. 10.
15. *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17.
16. *Ibid.*, pp. 22-24. See also Howe, *Seizing the Initiative*, pp. 299-301.
17. Daubin believed he saw Mk IVs, mounting the long-barreled 75mm gun. See "Battle of Happy Valley," p. 26. Playfair, *The Mediterranean and the Middle East*, vol. 4, p. 180, n. 1, states that the tanks were Mk IIIs. Macksey, *Crucible of Power*, p. 98, brings both Mk IIIs and Mk IVs to the battle.
18. Howe, *Seizing the Initiative*, p. 320.
19. Playfair, *The Mediterranean and the Middle East*, vol. 4, pp. 184-85.
20. Howe, *Seizing the Initiative*, pp. 320-22.
21. A. B. Austin, *Birth of an Army* (London: Gollancz, 1943), pp. 50-52.
22. See Howe, *Seizing the Initiative*, pp. 376-83; Playfair, *The Mediterranean and the Middle East*, vol. 4, pp. 278-82; and Macksey, *Crucible of Power*, pp. 125-31.
23. Howe, *Seizing the Initiative*, pp. 38-91; and Martin Blumenson, *Kasserine Pass* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1967), pp. 87-111.

CHAPTER 4

1. Kenneth Macksey suggests that Kesselring's deference was based on his awareness of the class differences separating him from von Arnim, which, in reverse, led to Kesselring's suppression of Rommel, who was lower on the class ladder than he was. See *Crucible of Power: The Fight for Tunisia, 1942-1943* (London: Hutchinson, 1969), p. 144. This is an intriguing idea, but von Arnim did not always get his way with Kesselring, and Kesselring gave significant support to Rommel's forthcoming offensive plans.
2. I.S.O. Playfair, et al., eds., *The Mediterranean and the Middle East*, vol. 4; *Official History of the Second World War* (London: HMSO, 1966), p. 268.
3. Macksey, *Crucible of Power*, p. 140.
4. George F. Howe, *Northwest Africa: Seizing the Initiative in the West. The United States Army in World War II* (Washington, DC: Center of Military History, U.S. Army, reissue 1991), p. 370, and n. 1 for the German documentation upon which these figures are based.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 371. The *Luftwaffe* Brigade was not welcomed by Rommel. He thought Göring was trying to gain personal laurels by taking over the

- ground war with such units. See the comment by Fritz Bayerlein in *The Rommel Papers*, ed. B. H. Liddell-Hart, trans. P. Findlay (New York: Da Capo Paperback, 1953), p. 366, n. 1.
6. Bernard Montgomery, *The Memoirs of Field Marshal the Viscount Montgomery of Alamein* (New York: World, 1958), pp. 141-42.
 7. Harold Alexander, *The Alexander Memoirs, 1940-1945*, ed. John North (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1961), p. 58.
 8. Correlli Barnett, *The Desert Generals* (New York: Viking, 1961), p. 277.
 9. *Rommel Papers*, p. 397. See also Howe, *Seizing the Initiative*, pp. 321-22.
 10. See Howe, *Seizing the Initiative*, pp. 405-11; Playfair, *The Mediterranean and the Middle East*, vol. 4, pp. 287-89.
 11. Dwight D. Eisenhower, *Crusade in Europe* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1948), pp. 141-42. Martin Blumenson concludes that Eisenhower was satisfied with conditions. See *Kasserine Pass* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1967), p. 125.
 12. Eisenhower, *Crusade in Europe*, p. 141.
 13. For Sidi Bou Zid see Howe, *Seizing the Initiative*, pp. 419-22; Playfair, *The Mediterranean and the Middle East*, vol. 4, pp. 289-92; Blumenson, *Kasserine Pass*, pp. 113-72; and Macksey, *Crucible of Power*, pp. 144-48.
 14. Playfair, *The Mediterranean and the Middle East*, vol. 4, p. 291; and Howe, *Seizing the Initiative*, p. 411.
 15. Howe, *Seizing the Initiative*, pp. 411-12.
 16. *Ibid.*, p. 415.
 17. Playfair, *The Mediterranean and the Middle East*, vol. 4, p. 292, n. 1.
 18. *Ibid.*, p. 292.
 19. Wolf Heckmann, *Rommel's War in Africa* (New York: Smithmark, reprint 1995), p. 242; also, Heinz Werner Schmidt, *With Rommel in the Desert* (Newport Beach, CA: Noontide, reprint 1991), p. 162; and Paul Carell, *Foxes of the Desert*, trans. M. Savill (Atglen, PA: Schiffer, reprint 1994), pp. 180 and 344.
 20. Schmidt, *With Rommel in the Desert*, p. 198.
 21. Denis Richards and Hilary St. G. Saunders, *The Fight Avails*, vol. 2, *The Royal Air Force, 1939-1945* (London: HMSO, 1954), p. 262. The exact number of aircraft destroyed varies, depending on the author, from fifteen to sixty—the U.S. official history citing that eighteen were burned. See Wesley Craven and James Cate, *Europe: Torch to Pointblank*, vol. 2, *The Army Air Force in World War II* (Washington, DC: Office of Air Force History, reprint 1983), p. 156.
 22. *Rommel Papers*, p. 401.

23. Winston Churchill, *The Hinge of Fate*, vol. 4, *The Second World War* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1950), p. 731.

24. *Rommel Papers*, p. 402. For the original German version with its own emphasis see Erwin Rommel, *Krieg ohne Hass* (Heidenheim, Germany: Heidenheimer Zeitung, 1950), pp. 353–54.

25. *Rommel Papers*, p. 402.

26. Howe, *Seizing the Initiative*, p. 441. See also Giovanni Messe, *La Mia Armata Italiana in Tunisia*, rev. ed. (Milan, Italy: Rizzoli, 1960), pp. 130–36; and Albert Kesselring, *Kesselring: A Soldier's Record*, trans. L. Hudson (New York: Morrow, 1954), pp. 180–81.

27. A comprehensive topographical description is given by Howe, *Seizing the Initiative*, pp. 444–47.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 443.

29. See also Blumenson, *Kasserine Pass*, pp. 232–37; for Blumenson's complete narrative of the battle see pp. 213–300. See also Howe, *Seizing the Initiative*, pp. 438–64; Macksey, *Crucible of Power*, pp. 152–62; Charles Whiting, *Kasserine: First Blood* (New York: Stein and Day, 1984), pp. 159–238. For an Italian account see Messe, *La Mia Armata Italiana*, pp. 137–53. For a French view see Marcel Spivak and Armand Leoni, *La Campagne de Tunisie, 1942–1943*, vol. 2, *Les Forces Françaises dans La Lutte Contre L'Axe en Afrique* (Chateau de Vincennes: Ministère de la Defense, 1985), pp. 229–36.

30. Schmidt, *With Rommel in the Desert*, pp. 203–15.

31. *Rommel Papers*, p. 403.

32. Playfair, *The Mediterranean and the Middle East*, vol. 4, p. 298.

33. Macksey, *Crucible of Power*, p. 161.

34. *Rommel Papers*, p. 404.

35. *Ibid.*

36. Blumenson, *Kasserine Pass*, pp. 230–31.

37. David Irving, *The Trail of the Fox* (New York: Dutton, 1977), p. 275. Kesselring considered Messe to be a traitor who gave information to the Allies. See Kesselring, *A Soldier's Record*, p. 181. See also Messe, *La Mia Armata Italiana*, pp. 115–118 and pp. 150–53; and Montgomery, *Memoirs*, p. 142, in which he mentions that Alexander contacted him on 20 February, requesting some action to distract Rommel.

38. *Rommel Papers*, p. 404.

CHAPTER 5

1. I.S.O. Playfair, et al., eds., *The Mediterranean and the Middle East*, vol. 4; *Official History of the Second World War* (London: HMSO, 1966), pp. 298–99.

2. George F. Howe, *Northwest Africa: Seizing the Initiative in the West*.

The United States Army in World War II (Washington, DC: Center of Military History, U.S. Army, reissue 1991), p. 465. See also Martin Blumenson, *Kasserine Pass* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1967), pp. 268–69.

3. Howe, *Seizing the Initiative*, p. 467; also Blumenson, *Kasserine Pass*, p. 270. Rommel stated that they took 700 prisoners, in *The Rommel Papers*, ed. B. H. Liddell-Hart, trans. P. Findlay (New York: Da Capo Paperback, 1953), p. 406.

4. Howe, *Seizing the Initiative*, p. 458.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 460–64. See also *Rommel Papers*, pp. 406–7.

6. Dwight D. Eisenhower, *Crusade in Europe* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1948), p. 145. See also Wesley Craven and James Cate, *Europe: Torch to Pointblank*, vol. 2, *The Army Air Force in World War II* (Washington, DC: Office of Air Force History, reissue 1983), p. 160.

7. *Rommel Papers*, pp. 407–8.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 398.

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 404 and 407. For the original German see Erwin Rommel, *Krieg ohne Hass* (Heidenheim, Germany: Heidenheimer Zeitung, 1950), p. 362.

10. Albert Kesselring, *Kesselring: A Soldier's Record*, trans. L. Hudson (New York: Morrow, 1954), pp. 180–81.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 181.

12. Quoted in David Irving, *The Trail of the Fox* (New York: Dutton, 1977), p. 276.

13. *Rommel Papers*, pp. 410–12.

14. Quoted in Wolf Heckmann, *Rommel's War in Africa* (New York: Smithmark, reprint 1995), p. 350.

15. *The Rommel Papers*, p. 408.

16. Irving, *Trail of the Fox*, p. 275.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 278.

18. Kesselring, *A Soldier's Record*, p. 181.

19. *Rommel Papers*, p. 409; see also Blumenson, *Kasserine Pass*, pp. 298–99.

20. Armament figures vary slightly between sources. Both British and German numbers are taken from Playfair, *The Mediterranean and the Middle East*, vol. 4, p. 325; and from Howe, *Seizing the Initiative*, p. 516.

21. *Rommel Papers*, pp. 414–15. See also Paul Carell, *Foxes of the Desert*, trans. M. Savill (Atglen, PA: Schiffer, reprint 1994), p. 351.

22. Giovanni Messe, *La Mia Armata Italiana in Tunisia*, rev. ed. (Milan: Rizzoli, 1960), pp. 143–46.

23. Bernard Montgomery, *El Alamein to the River Sangro* (New York: Dutton, 1949), p. 75. For the influence of ULTRA see Anthony Cave Brown, *Bodyguard of Lies* (New York: Harper and Row, 1975), p. 132.

24. *Rommel Papers*, p. 415.

25. From a conversation, August 1987.
26. Playfair, *The Mediterranean and the Middle East*, vol. 4, p. 325.
27. 7th Armoured Division War Diary, 6 March 1943, Kew, Richmond, PRO WO 169/8738.
28. Playfair, *The Mediterranean and the Middle East*, vol. 4, p. 326; and Howe, *Seizing the Initiative*, p. 519. The British losses are given by Montgomery in *The Memoirs of Field Marshal the Viscount Montgomery of Alamein* (New York: World, 1958), p. 143.
29. Quoted in Arthur Bryant, *The Turn of the Tide* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1957), p. 482.
30. Carell, *Foxes of the Desert*, p. 353.
31. *Rommel Papers*, p. 418.
32. Eisenhower, *Crusade in Europe*, p. 156.
33. Irving, *Trail of the Fox*, pp. 283–84. For a more balanced view see Desmond Young, *Rommel, the Desert Fox* (New York: Harper and Row, 1950), pp. 160–61.
34. *Rommel Papers*, p. 418.
35. *Ibid.*
36. *Ibid.*, p. 419.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 420.
38. See Montgomery, *El Alamein to the River Sangro*, p. 82.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 86.
40. Hans von Luck, *Panzer Commander* (New York: Praeger, 1989), p. 115.
41. *Ibid.*, pp. 120–21.

CHAPTER 6

1. B. H. Liddell-Hart, introduction to *The Rommel Papers*, ed. B. H. Liddell-Hart, trans. P. Findlay (New York: Da Capo Paperback, 1953), pp. xiii–xxi.
2. Wolf Heckmann, *Rommel's War in Africa* (New York: Smithmark, reprint 1995), pp. vii–ix.
3. John Keegan, *The Face of Battle* (New York: Viking, 1976), p. 47.
4. See especially Robin Williams, Jr., and M. Brewstersmith, "General Characteristics of Ground Combat," in Samuel Stouffer, et al., *The American Soldier*, vol. 2 (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1949), pp. 59–104.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 66, for a good list of variables; and Keegan, *The Face of Battle*, pp. 73–78, for a discussion of categories of combat.
6. For detailed discussion of the campaign see I.S.O. Playfair, et al., eds., *The Mediterranean and the Middle East*, vols. 1 and 2; *Official History of the Second World War* (London; HMSO, 1954). For brief descriptions see

- Bruce Allen Watson, *Desert Battle: Comparative Perspectives* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1995), pp. 109–35; and Bryan Perrett, *Desert Warfare* (Wellingborough, England: Patrick Stephens, 1988), pp. 105–32.
7. See Rodolpho Graziani, *Cirenaica Pacificata* (Milan: Modadori, 1932).
 8. Denis Mack Smith, *Mussolini's Roman Empire* (New York: Viking, 1976), p. 170.
 9. *Rommel Papers*, p. 127.
 10. *Ibid.*, p. 97. See also Smith, *Mussolini's Roman Empire*, pp. 169–73; and Desmond Young, *Rommel, the Desert Fox* (New York: Harper and Row, 1950), pp. 119–25.
 11. For details of the DAK battle order see Volkmar Kuhn, *Rommel in the Desert*, trans. D. Johnston (Westchester, PA: Schiffer, 1991), pp. 214–18.
 12. Omar Bartov, *Hitler's Army* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. 12–28.
 13. Quoted in John Keegan and Richard Holmes with John Gau, *Soldiers: A History of Men in Battle* (New York: Viking, 1985), p. 236.
 14. Dwight D. Eisenhower, *The War Years*, vol. 2; *The Papers of Dwight David Eisenhower*, ed. A. D. Chandler (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1970), p. 973.
 15. Dwight D. Eisenhower, *Crusade in Europe* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1948), pp. 148–49.
 16. *Rommel Papers*, pp. 285–86.
 17. *Ibid.*, pp. 264–66.
 18. *Ibid.*, pp. 267–68.
 19. *Ibid.*, p. 269 and n. 1 thereon.
 20. *Ibid.*, pp. 280 and 283.
 21. *Ibid.*, p. 422.
 22. Heinz Werner Schmidt, *With Rommel in the Desert* (Newport Beach, CA: Noontide, reprint 1991), pp. 226 and 236–38.
 23. Keegan, *The Face of Battle*, p. 71.
 24. Elliot P. Chodoff, "Ideology and Primary Groups," *Armed Forces and Society* 9 (Summer 1983), p. 571.
 25. There has been an argument in military history and sociology over whether ideology is more important than primary groups. See Bartov, *Hitler's Army*, chap. 2; and Morris Janowitz and Edward Shils, "Cohesion and Disintegration in the Wehrmacht in World War II," in Morris Janowitz, ed., *Military Conflict* (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1975), pp. 177–220. See also Stouffer, et al., *The American Soldier*, vol. 2, chaps. 1–4. Chodoff argues that the two factors are not mutually exclusive but often overlap in influence. See "Ideology and Primary Groups," pp. 570, 577, and 582. For a glimpse at the social and moral foundation of effective soldiering see Lord

Moran, *Anatomy of Courage* (London: Constable, 1945); and John Baynes, *Morale* (Garden City, NY: Avery, 1988); see also S.L.A. Marshall, *Men against Fire* (New York: Morrow, 1947).

26. For further discussion of ideology see Richard La Piere, *Collective Behavior* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1938), pp. 47–48. For a full definition of primary group see Charles Horton Cooley, *Social Organization* (New York: Scribner's, 1909), pp. 23–26.

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