

The mule packtrain was the other basic element of Chindit logistics. The two most important loads carried by the mules were the heavy radio sets and the crew-served weapons and ammunition. With the packtrains, the Chindits were able to deliver a much harder punch than the classical, historical guerrilla, and it gave them substantial staying power in the more protracted battles. Furthermore, both Galahad and the Special Force used the animals as mounts for leaders.

The Chindits did make some effort to use indigenous supplies when they could. The Special Force carried silver rupees to buy food and information from the Burmans and native tribes. During its battles near Shaduzup, one Galahad outfit, after running off the enemy, ate the rice and fish breakfasts the enemy had prepared and then changed into the fresh underwear they found on a supply truck.<sup>51</sup> Some consumption of natural jungle foods also occurred. On the whole, however, the Chindits depended on their air lifeline for the bulk of their supplies.

The food provided the Chindits during the war is a sore point to most surviving Chindits.<sup>52</sup> Galahad subsisted on the following rations: 80 percent K rations, 5 percent C rations, 5 percent 10-in-1 rations, and 10 percent B rations. The K rations were survival rations intended to keep men alive but not to sustain them, especially for the arduous campaign endured by the 5307th. K rations were used because they were lighter, they did not spoil, and they were easy to supply. But these rations lacked bulk and energy. Constant reliance on K rations ultimately produced exhaustion in the men and caused their stomachs to shrink to the point where they could no longer tolerate fresh solid food during the rare times it was available. These effects were easy to predict. They were, in fact, accepted on the expectation that Galahad would be in the field no more than ninety days. But this was an expectation that was not met. The Special Force also relied almost entirely on K rations, but their diets were supplemented with an occasional issue of bully beef or some other more filling fare. In retrospect, reliance on K rations was a grave mistake. More attention could have and should have been given to a more nutritious food supply.<sup>53</sup>

### *Leadership and Morale*

High levels of morale and esprit were developed in the Special Force and Galahad. These were generated, in part, by the arduous training these units endured. The skills they acquired in training produced in the men supreme confidence in their abilities to succeed. Further improving their morale was their assurance that they would be evacuated by air should they be wounded or hurt. Morale was also strengthened by the Chindits' trust in their capable tactical leaders: the men were willing to place their lives in their leaders' hands. Finally, the Chindits' self-confidence was reinforced by their knowledge that they were participating in a unique and dangerous operation that they alone were fit to conduct. Beyond these common factors, however, there were other marked contrasts between Galahad and the Special Force regarding the quality of their leadership and morale.



Troops of Merrill's Marauders resting on a mountain trail

The British soldiers, on their part, enjoyed the special cohesion inherent in the individual regiments, a cohesion based on a common heritage, personal friendships, and a common racial, social, and ethnic background. Furthermore, the British brigades had a strong personal faith in the abilities of Wingate. They were also convinced that he was concerned about their care. As long as Wingate was at the helm, the Chindits believed that the good ship Special Force might transit rough water, but it would always keep sailing. Wingate's premature death three weeks into the operation shook them.

The British officers of Wingate's command, however, continued his high standards. They were men who traditionally led by the force of example. Their personal bravery in leading charges, in willingly exposing themselves to fire, and in remaining calm during moments of rising panic and terror strongly impressed their men and produced some of the most exhilarating examples of courage in the war. Calvert, in particular, gained the reputation as one of the most courageous warriors in the theater.

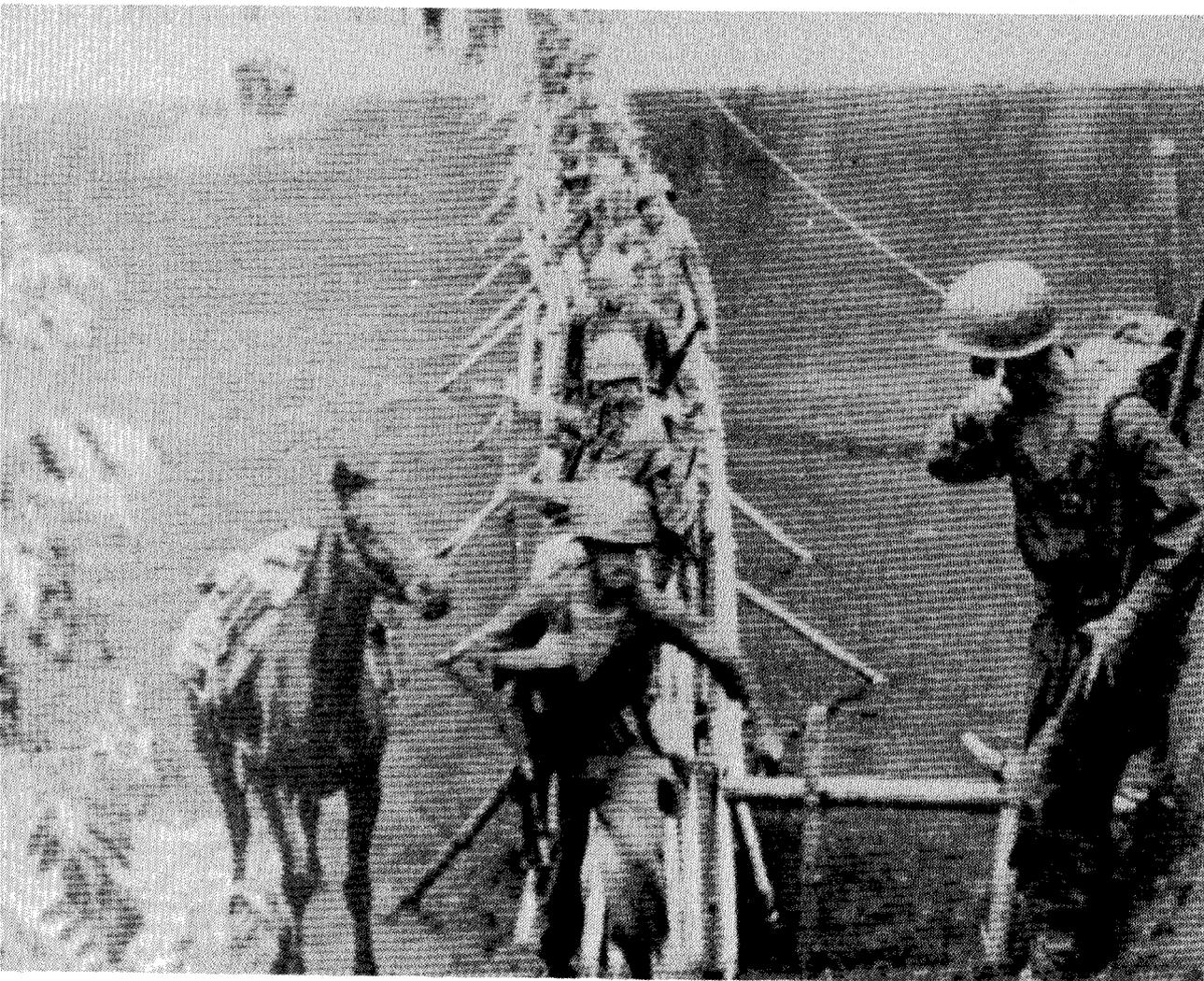
Several other leadership techniques of Calvert bear mentioning. For one thing, he rejected the idea that the Chindits were survivalists living at risk in a hostile sea of Japanese. Instead, he instilled in his men the idea that the Chindits were the kings of the jungle, who would boldly seek out the

Japanese in their lairs.<sup>54</sup> Let the Japanese come, he preached, if they were brave enough to meet their doom. Calvert also directed that each officer and noncommissioned officer account for every man in his command, alive or dead, in every action. Moreover, his officers were to take pains to explain new plans to their men, reviewing dangers calmly, in an effort to relieve their apprehensions. Understandably, these measures instilled confidence and kept morale high.

In contrast, Colonel Morris, in moving his column tentatively and over-cautiously, degraded the morale of his men. Not liking to take risks, he was never comfortable with the hit-and-run tactics of Wingate. The haphazard nature of Chindit operations disturbed him. The idea that the enemy could be anywhere caused him much apprehension. He communicated this uncertainty to his command, increasing its fears.<sup>55</sup>

But the Special Force was well looked after in a number of other ways. "To prevent unnecessary anxiety among the relatives of the Chindits, a special airgraph (air message) service was organized. At regular intervals, each man's family and close friends were notified whether he was alive and well. In addition, every man had made out a list of special dates he wanted remembered—birthdays, anniversaries, and the like—and as each date fell due, Chindit

The 2d Battalion crossing the Tanai River over a native bridge on the way to Inkangahtawng, March 1944



U.S. Army Signal Corps

headquarters sent the appropriate telegrams.”<sup>56</sup> The personal service of the Special Force support base has already been described; the laudatory effect on morale of the periodic luxury drops of comfort items—cigarettes, rum, chocolate candy—bears reiteration. Furthermore, some mail was delivered in every supply run and in every flight of the evacuation aircraft. The British also conscientiously awarded in-field promotions and decorations to deserving soldiers. In short, even though isolated from their parent command by 200 miles of enemy territory, the Special Force did not feel abandoned. Strong links to the main army, to family, and to the home island were maintained.

Galahad’s situation, on the other hand, took on a reverse image of that described above. Plagued from the start with the awkward title of the 5307th Composite Unit (Provisional), Galahad had no history, no colors, no patch, and no crest. When they designed their own crest, it was bureaucratically rejected. As a result, these diverse men gathered in from all over the world for a temporary mission had no symbol of unity around which to cohere.

Nor did they have a charismatic figure like Wingate on which to focus. Colonel Hunter trained them and led them as de facto commander until Brigadier General Frank Merrill assumed command on 4 January 1944. Even then, Merrill’s weak heart and his reliance on Hunter reduced his influence within the unit. His field leadership also was suspect, especially after he suffered two heart attacks and was evacuated twice during an operation. Hunter was the true commander of the unit in all but title. As for Stilwell, the soldiers of Galahad had no affection for him. In fact, many came to hate him for his callous treatment of the unit and for his bewildering refusal to recognize their contributions. Stilwell, unfortunately, lavished all of his attention on his Chinese divisions and all but ignored the valiant men of Galahad.<sup>57</sup>

Despite these handicaps, however, the 5307th was molded into a fearsome instrument of war. Brigadier Bidwell gave them very high marks, describing them as infinitely adaptable.<sup>58</sup> Another British participant in the campaign thought they were laconic and unemotional, perhaps “the most professional” of all the Chindit groups.<sup>59</sup> Any thoroughbred, however, can be bruised with rough handling; such was the case with Galahad.

Faithfully performing every tactical mission given them, Galahad received no comfort or luxury supplies and almost no mail. One unit in the 5307th went two months without mail.<sup>60</sup> Moreover, unit officers and men received no decorations until after they had captured the Myitkyina airfield (and then only sparingly) and no promotions at all until they were withdrawn from the area. Inquiries into this matter were received with disdain and scorn.<sup>61</sup> Stilwell visited them several times in the forward area, but only after the capture of the Myitkyina airfield. Even then, he made no attempt to greet the men or assess their condition. Without a doubt, this kind of treatment produced widespread feelings that the unit was a bastard organization, unloved and unrecognized. Years afterward, the thoughts of this abysmal leadership rankled the memories of the survivors.<sup>62</sup> No heritage, no colors, no crest, infrequent mail, no decorations, no promotions, no comfort supplies, no recognition: it is a wonder and a cause for admiration that Galahad performed as well as it did.

## *Operational Leadership*

At a higher level, the senior commanders of the Special Force and Galahad failed their men in an operational sense. Wingate failed, in the first instance, by not focusing the Special Force on a single operational goal. He employed the force piecemeal and frequently changed their objectives. Slim, by his own admission, failed to see the flaw in Wingate's deployments. When he sent in the 14th Brigade and the 3d West African Brigade (after Wingate's death), he ordered them to be flown in to operate in the north where they were no longer needed rather than to the west. "I was wrong. I should have concentrated all available strength at the decisive point, Imphal. I fell into the same error as so many Japanese commanders. I persisted in a plan that should have been changed."<sup>63</sup>

Stilwell and his staff also committed serious operational failures, two of particular moment. The first occurred as the 5307th was in the process of blocking the Japanese lines of communication near Shaduzup. Alerted that the Japanese were trying to outflank his main formations in force by moving on an unguarded jungle approach, Stilwell's staff ordered Galahad to move by forced march and to take up a fixed defensive position at Nphum Ga to block the Japanese. Hunter characterized this change as "a new role for Galahad, one not contemplated when it was organized."<sup>64</sup> An official Army history described the mission as a radical change in concept. As a result, the 2d Battalion spent 11 days in a 400-meter-long defensive perimeter under almost constant artillery attack and ground pressure from the Japanese, while the 3d and 1st Battalions struggled manfully to relieve it. In the end, the Japanese withdrew—Galahad had won—but the fighting edge of Stilwell's most obedient and mobile troops had been worn dull.<sup>65</sup>

Stilwell's second error was his failure to take advantage of Galahad's coup de main at Myitkyina airfield. Despite having directed Galahad to the objective, Stilwell apparently had no well-thought-out plans on what to do after the airfield was in his hands. This mental lapse enabled the Japanese to build up the Myitkyina garrison to the point where it could only be taken after a three-month siege, not by storm. Stilwell's error nullified Galahad's heroic effort.

Tragically, Stilwell and the senior leadership failed to comprehend the full nature of the type of war in which they were engaged. Stilwell neither understood his men's frightening hardships nor their limitations.<sup>66</sup> The most obvious product of Stilwell's misunderstanding was his refusal to observe the ninety-day limit on the employment of the Chindits. Instead, Stilwell insisted that all the Chindits stay in the fight as long as there were men to bear arms. As a result, several of the brigades saw their strength fall to a fraction of their original strength. Naturally, as the individual Chindits became aware that the ninety-day limit was not going to be observed, their morale fell sharply. Stilwell's misunderstanding of the Chindit War also led him to misuse the Chindits grossly. For example, he assigned them conventional tactical missions far beyond their capabilities, the best example of which (and there are many to choose from) was the order to Calvert's 77th Brigade to take the fortified town of Mogaung in a frontal attack. Calvert succeeded, but he virtually had to sacrifice his command to do so.

Galahad had no one to protect it from Stilwell. By a twist of fate, the same was true of the Special Force. Not long after Wingate's death, Slim assigned the Special Force directly to Stilwell. Wingate's successor, Brigadier Lentaigne, however, had neither Wingate's stature nor his will. Consequently, he proved incapable of standing up to Stilwell to protect the Special Force from his deadly intentions. John Masters, acting commander of the 111th Brigade, described the failure of the high command to realize the strain that warfare in the enemy's rear had on the Chindits as the outstanding mistake of the campaign.

### *Costs and Problems*

The most serious problem of the Chindit War was the misuse of forces. While Galahad was used properly in early operations, at the defensive battle of Nphum Ga, it was employed for tasks inappropriate to its training and capability. Later, at the long siege at Myitkyina, despite its heavy losses and exhaustion, Galahad was again rudely used in static defensive and offensive roles against the fortified Japanese garrison—roles for which it simply was not suited.

The Special Force, on the other hand, suffered from the start from an operational concept that consciously included a mix of conventional and unorthodox guerrilla tactics. While the Special Force demonstrated beyond doubt that it could perform both styles of warfare when required, the point is that when it used conventional tactics (à la White City), it failed to make maximum use of the special Chindit skills inherent in long-range penetration tactics. Any good infantry regiment could have held the White City block. But few regular-line infantry units could have moved through the jungle with Chindit speed and secrecy, struck the enemy with Chindit shock, or faded away with Chindit evasiveness. Holding territory was not a proper Chindit mission, because it did not take advantage of the Chindits' unique strengths.

The worst examples of misuse of the Special Force came at the hands of Stilwell, who continuously employed it as ordinary infantry. In addition to the previously mentioned attack on Mogaung by the 77th Brigade, one can also cite the urgings of Brigadier General Boatner, Stilwell's chief of staff, to the Morris Force to have its decimated force of Chindits and Kachin irregulars assault Myitkyina, a task impossibly beyond its capability. Brigadier Morris deserves only praise for his refusal to accept this mission from Boatner.<sup>67</sup> The horrible experience of the 111th Brigade at Blackpool is yet another example of misuse of the force. In this case, the blocking site was too shallow, too close to the front. Bombarded almost ceaselessly by artillery and within reach of heavy Japanese reinforcements, the 111th lay mercilessly exposed to the pounding of a much superior enemy force. With no choice other than obliteration, the 111th abandoned the position, much to Stilwell's disappointment.

Unfortunately, Stilwell's mishandling of the Chindits occurred at the worst possible time—during the last part of the campaign when the Chindits were already weakened by disease, exhaustion, and combat losses. Untrained and unequipped for such tasks, the Chindits found themselves ordered into

battle when they were already on the verge of ineffectiveness, having approached and passed the ninety-day window that defined the limits of their utility. Stilwell seemed determined, however, to squeeze every last drop of blood out of this magnificent light infantry force—a force that he never seemed to understand or appreciate.

The costs of such misuse were ghastly. “Crucified” by Stilwell (according to historians Raymond Callahan and Louis Allen), Galahad eventually suffered 80 percent casualties. Most of these 2,400 casualties came from nonbattle sources. Nonetheless, many of the casualties could have been avoided through humane treatment of the men. Stilwell’s staff even went so far as to roust still unrecovered soldiers of the 5307th out of their hospital beds in the rear to be flown in for the grist mill at Myitkyina.

Calvert’s 3,000-man brigade numbered only 300 by the end of the battle for Mogaung. To avoid further commitment to combat, Calvert shut down his radios intentionally and marched his remnants to safety. Two other British commanders signaled that their battalions could no longer be counted on to obey an order to attack.<sup>68</sup> When the Morris Force was finally evacuated, its numbers had dwindled from 1,350 to a mere 50. Perhaps the most startling example of casualties belongs to the 111th. At the conclusion of his last directed tactical encounter, the British demanded that Master’s brigade be evaluated by a team of doctors. Stilwell acceded to the request. Over 2,200 men were examined; only 118 were deemed fit for further service.<sup>69</sup> Incredibly, Stilwell then ordered this remnant to assume the defense of a Chinese artillery battery.

This last statistic starkly demonstrates that disease and exhaustion, not battle casualties, struck down most of the Chindits. Malaria, dysentery, diarrhea, undetermined fevers, naga sores: at least one of these ailments afflicted almost every Chindit. Not long into the campaign, another deadly disease made its appearance—scrub typhus. Galahad’s casualties are strikingly illustrative of the imbalance between battle and disease losses. At Walawbum, Galahad lost 8 killed and 37 wounded; however, 179 other soldiers were evacuated—the victims of malaria (19), fevers (8), combat shock (10), injuries (33), and other illnesses (109). Galahad’s losses at Nphum Ga were 57 killed in action, 302 wounded in action, and 379 incapacitated due to illness and exhaustion.<sup>70</sup> After the capture of the Myitkyina airfield, Galahad lost up to 100 men a day even though it was seeing much less action than before (see table 2).<sup>71</sup>

All the Chindit commanders watched with mounting horror and inner despair as their commands disintegrated before their eyes. Several of the brigades were ruined beyond help. Later, as Hunter recalled the loss of effectiveness and will to fight in the men, he stated one of the simplest and most important lessons of the campaign: “Sick men have no morale.” In a similar vein, Calvert noted that he and his fatigued men began to avoid contact, to veer away from Japanese units, even when his unit was the superior force. Thus, the corollary to Hunter’s dictum is Calvert’s observation that exhausted men have no courage.

Table 2. Galahad Casualties

	<i>Casualties</i>	<i>Percent</i>	
		<i>Actual</i>	<i>Preoperational Estimate</i>
Battle Casualties:			
Battle deaths	93		
Nonbattle deaths	30		
Wounded in action	293*		
Missing in action	8		
SUBTOTAL	424	14	35
Disease Casualties:			
Amoebic dysentery	503		
Typhus fever	149		
Malaria	296**		
Psychoneurosis	72		
Miscellaneous fevers	950		
SUBTOTAL	1,970	66	50
TOTAL	2,394	80	85

\*These are the official Adjutant General statistics. Many light battle casualties were treated on site and not evacuated, thus not reported. Complete statistics are not obtainable. The actual number of wounded at Nphum Ga exceeded the official total for the entire campaign.

\*\*This is the number of malaria cases evacuated. Nearly every member of Galahad had malaria in a more or less severe form.

### *Operational Costs*

One of the questions that most historians have raised in their discussions of the Chindits is whether or not the second expedition was worth its heavy costs. Beyond a doubt, Chindit II required a huge diversion of resources in two main areas, infantry and air support. This expenditure of resources can be measured easily. What is not so easy to clarify, however, is the degree of benefit that the Chindits produced. Could they have been put to better use as conventional formations fighting at Imphal and Kohima?

The diversity of opinion on the last question is extensive. Several distinguished historians believe that the Chindit operations had no impact on the Battle of Imphal-Kohima. Raymond Callahan has written that the Special Force never drew half as many Japanese into battle with them as they numbered themselves. He also criticized the Special Force as a misfit, a force too large to be a guerrilla force and too light to be a stronghold or assault force.<sup>72</sup> Field Marshal Slim has also discounted the influence of the Chindits, and even Brigadier Bidwell doubted whether or not the Chindits "paid their way," so to speak. On the other hand, Masters and Calvert have gone to some length to substantiate their claims that their brigades made significant contributions to the overall theater strategy. The testimony of the defeated Japanese commanders tends to support this view.<sup>73</sup>



Courtesy of the Trustees of the Imperial War Museum

Brigadier Calvert, in Chindit garb, at Mogaung

In a review of arguments concerning the Chindit operations, three conclusions have strong support. First, it is clear that Galahad's operations were indispensable to the advance of Stilwell's Chinese. In the Walawbum battle alone, Galahad's appearance in the rear of the 18th Division led Tanaka to fall back farther in one week than he had in the previous three months.<sup>74</sup> Without Galahad, Stilwell would never have made it to Myitkyina in 1944. There is no question that Galahad had more value in the enemy rear than it would have had attacking from the front. Moreover, had the First Chinese Army or Chiang's army been bolder and more aggressive in their advances, Stilwell could have achieved even more than he did and probably at less cost to Galahad.

Second, a Special Force composed of six brigades was undoubtedly a larger force than that required for its stated objectives. Two or three brigades, properly used, would have been sufficient to cut lines of communication to the 18th Division.<sup>75</sup> The 16th Brigade spent most of its time marching 450 miles to Indaw to attack a questionable objective that it ultimately did not take. It was then withdrawn. The 14th Brigade wandered fruitlessly from one area to another and saw little action, yet it still suffered significant casualties to disease and fatigue. The West African Brigade saw more action than the 14th, but it, too, produced questionable benefits overall. The 23d Brigade was never employed as a Chindit brigade; instead, it fought at Kohima in a conventional role. Only the 77th and the 111th Brigades carried their weight fully (though no criticism of the other brigades is intended). In retrospect, the 70th Indian Division should not have been broken up into Chindit brigades. It would have had a much greater impact on line as a division at Imphal.

Third, the Chindits could have been effective had they been used properly and directed at single goals commensurate with their capabilities. Slim's own self-criticism for misemploying the 3d and 14th Brigades supports this view. The concept of long-range penetration retains validity regardless of whether or not the Chindits implemented it perfectly in 1944. The question for historical analysts to resolve is not *whether* the Chindits were appropriately effective, but rather how they *could have been* employed optimally.

## Conclusions

The Chindit War has great value to military historians and analysts because of the many conclusions that can be drawn from it regarding light infantry operations in an enemy's rear. Foremost among these is the observation that light infantry forces can be employed at the operational level of war. However, the caveat must be attached that effective light infantry operations must be coordinated directly with conventional operations by the main armies. Failing this, light infantry forces will meet an unhappy doom. It is also clear that conventional forces must be willing to take high risks on occasion, if they are to exploit fully the achievements of the light infantry. Stilwell failed to take such risks, particularly at Myitkyina.

The importance of air superiority to light infantry forces like the Chindits must also be considered. The Chindits depended utterly on their air lifeline, and the air lifeline depended utterly on air superiority. Had the Japanese been able to contest control of the airspace, it is unlikely that the Chindits would even have been committed. Beyond a doubt, air superiority enabled the Chindits to operate deeper, with more secrecy, and over a longer period of time than would have been possible otherwise. Mounting a similar operation today, in mid-intensity war, would require a similarly ingenious method of sustaining the force in the enemy's rear. Supply by air would be difficult to achieve.

Another significant conclusion of the Chindit War is that light infantry can perform both light infantry tasks (long-range penetration) and conventional tasks, but that the latter poses risks to light infantry and fails to take advantage of its special skills. Moreover, the mere existence of a large light infantry force in a theater increases the likelihood that it will be misused. Commanders are loath to leave a force uncommitted when there are so many objectives to be taken.

The experience of the Chindits shows that if light infantry is used conventionally, it must be augmented with heavy weapons. If blocks are established, the safety of the blocking force is enhanced if there are strong floater elements nearby to attack the enemy in its rear or flank.

Tactically, the Chindits demonstrated that a properly trained unit in the rear of an enemy can have an effect far out of proportion to the actual numbers of men involved. Furthermore, a small force can defeat a larger force if it achieves surprise and attacks the enemy where it least expects an attack. Chindit operations also show that enemy rear objectives must be sufficiently deep to guarantee against enemy reinforcement. Choosing objectives that are too shallow (for example, Blackpool) risks the engagement of light infantry by the enemy's main forces.



*Courtesy of the Trustees of the Imperial War Museum*

Four days' rations for a Chindit: biscuits, cheese, meat or "spam," sugar, salt, chocolate, tea, matches, powdered milk, cigarettes

Clearly, rear area operations require some knowledge of native and enemy languages. Chindit operations were materially enhanced by the Nisei speakers in their units and by the support received from the native populations, particularly by the Kachins. The tremendous Kachin support illustrates how valuable indigenous resources can be to light infantry, provided they are ready to take advantage of the resources. In short, light infantry forces must be trained to use whomever and whatever the environment offers.

The high value of the individual skills and special tactics of light infantry is borne out by the Chindit War. The Chindits proved themselves superior in jungle craft to the Japanese, because they had trained hard and adapted themselves to the environment. They modified their tactics to exploit the terrain better than the Japanese. Galahad operations exhibited a number of tactics that remain a model for light infantry: a swift approach march along an unguarded route; the retention of surprise; a hasty, accurate reconnaissance, followed by a bold attack against the enemy's weakness; and the employment of well-aimed, disciplined fires. The Chindits also demonstrated the power of the highly trained individual soldier and the necessity for his expertise in the basic skills of marksmanship, land navigation, stealth, scouting, and endurance. Chindit work, however, was young man's work; the old and infirm quickly became casualties. The experience of the Chindits also demonstrates that good infantry soldiers can be converted into good light infantrymen if given the proper training.

The Chindits were not supermen. Eventually, strain, stress, and fatigue affected them all. A limit exists as to how long a unit can be expected to remain effective in the enemy's rear. Evacuation of such men after ninety days seems to be right on the mark. Of course, under different circumstances, the period could be shorter or longer.

Finally, the Chindits demonstrated the psychological impact that a light infantry force can have against the enemy and on their own forces. The Chindits shocked the Japanese. The superior tactical mobility of the Chindits surprised them at first, but they were also stunned to meet Allied units that could stand, fight, and defeat them. Eventually, the predatory actions of Galahad and the Special Force led to an erosion of confidence among the Japanese troops.

Conversely, the Special Force boosted the morale and confidence of their own army. They demonstrated that the Japanese could be defeated, and they showed how it could be done. They showed that any good soldier could use the jungle to his own advantage. In short, they infused new life into the Fourteenth Army and fostered a winning spirit in it. Perhaps, the highest compliment paid to the Chindits came from Lord Mountbatten. Explaining by letter to Calvert that he intended to dissolve the Chindits, Mountbatten wrote, "It was the most distasteful job in my career to agree to your disbandment, but I only agreed because by that time the whole Army was Chindit-minded and therefore there was no need for a Special Force as such."<sup>76</sup> By this, he surely meant that the entire army had overcome its apprehension about the jungle and about the Japanese. Taking a lesson from the Chindits, the Fourteenth Army went on to defeat the Japanese Army in Burma in the Chindit style of boldness, aggressiveness, and confidence.

---



# NOTES

## Chapter 1

1. Stewart Alsop and Thomas Braden, *Sub Rosa: The O.S.S. and American Espionage* (New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, 1946). The exploits of the Kachin levies are explored vividly in this book.
2. Christopher Sykes, *Orde Wingate: A Biography* (New York: World Publishing Co., 1959), 432.
3. William Slim, 1st Viscount Slim, *Defeat Into Victory* (New York: David McKay Co., 1961), 135.
4. *Ibid.*, 224.
5. The diversion of one column of the 111th Brigade to the Morris Force had not been planned. The column was diverted because of the delay in its deployment. The main body could not wait in the Chowringhee area for the column to assemble and join up, so it was sent east to join the Morris Force. This change in plan shows the flexibility of the Chindits—their ability to react prudently to unforeseen situations.
6. Wingate had announced widely that the Chindit brigades would be withdrawn after ninety days of operations. All the Chindits, including Galahad, accepted this limit as an article of faith. Events subsequently proved Wingate to be absolutely correct about the disastrous effects of leaving a Chindit unit in the field beyond this time limit.
7. Michael Calvert, *Prisoners of Hope* (London: Leo Cooper, 1971), 40.
8. Charles James Rolo, *Wingate's Raiders* (New York: Viking Press, 1944), 195.
9. Sykes, *Orde Wingate*, 372, 432. A higher percentage of older men was lost in both the training and combat phases.
10. Shelford Bidwell, *The Chindit War: Stilwell, Wingate, and the Campaign in Burma, 1944* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1979).
11. Ian Fellowes-Gordon, *The Magic War: The Battle for North Burma* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1971), 32.
12. Charles Newton Hunter, *Galahad* (San Antonio, TX: Naylor Co., 1963), 2. See also Charles F. Romanus and Riley Sunderland, *Stilwell's Command Problems*, United States Army in World War II (1956; reprint, Washington, DC: Office of the Chief of Military History, United States Army, 1970), 34.
13. Louis Allen, *Burma, the Longest War, 1941—1945* (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1984), 319.
14. David Halley, *With Wingate in Burma* (London: William Hodge and Co., 1946), 7.
15. Calvert, *Prisoners of Hope*, 17; and John Masters, *The Road Past Mandalay* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1961), 193.
16. Rolo, *Wingate's Raiders*, 46.
17. Halley, *With Wingate in Burma*, 31.
18. U.S. War Department, General Staff, *Merrill's Marauders (February—May 1944)*, American Forces in Action Series (Washington, DC: Military Intelligence Division, U.S. War Department, 4 June 1945), 15, hereafter cited as *Merrill's Marauders*.
19. Masters, *Road Past Mandalay*, 188—89. Masters states, for example, that it only took fifteen minutes for a column to organize a night defensive position.

20. Hunter, *Galahad*, 7.
21. *Ibid.*, 20.
22. Charlton Ogburn, *The Marauders* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1956), 92.
23. *Merrill's Marauders*, 94—98.
24. Ogburn, *Marauders*, 229—31.
25. Calvert, *Prisoners of Hope*, 282—83.
26. Bidwell, *Chindit War*, 256.
27. Masters, *Road Past Mandalay*, 178—205; and Calvert, *Prisoners of Hope*, 100.
28. Calvert, *Prisoners of Hope*, 39.
29. Bidwell, *Chindit War*, 142.
30. *Ibid.*
31. *Merrill's Marauders*, 14.
32. Fellowes-Gordon, *Magic War*, 83; and *Merrill's Marauders*, 32.
33. Ogburn, *Marauders*, 141.
34. James Baggaley, *A Chindit Story* (London: Souvenir Press, 1954), 154.
35. *Merrill's Marauders*, 74.
36. *Ibid.*, 69. Ogburn, *Marauders*, 197, reports making 100 river crossings in a 5-day, 70-mile march.
37. Ogburn, *Marauders*, 194—96.
38. Ogburn gives one of the best examples of this type of attack. *Ibid.*, 168—71.
39. Calvert, *Prisoners of Hope*, 40.
40. Ogburn, *Marauders*, 113.
41. Hunter, *Galahad*, 13; and Fellowes-Gordon, *Magic War*, 66.
42. One notable exception to this practice occurred in early April when Stilwell's staff ordered Galahad out of its blocking positions near Shaduzup and Inkangahtawng into a defensive position at Nphum Ga. There, Galahad withstood an eleven-day siege by two Japanese battalions. Galahad suffered over 700 casualties during the siege.
43. *Merrill's Marauders*, 43.
44. Calvert, *Prisoners of Hope*, 142, 163.
45. Alsop and Braden, *Sub Rosa*, 198. According to this source, the Kachin Rangers killed 5,447 Japanese, captured 64 enemy soldiers, rescued 217 airmen shot down behind the lines, at the cost of 70 dead Kachin Rangers and 15 dead U.S. advisers.
46. *Ibid.*, 193.
47. *Ibid.*, 189.
48. *Merrill's Marauders*, 25.
49. Rolo, *Wingate's Raiders*, 63.
50. *Merrill's Marauders*, 26.
51. Ogburn, *Marauders*, 168—71; and *Merrill's Marauders*, 56.
52. Virtually every personal account of the campaign complains bitterly about the inadequate supply of food. Ogburn, *Marauders*, 153, describes the fantasies and the rituals associated with eating food. Occasionally, Chindit columns missed their resupply airdrops. When this happened, they often went without food until the next drop could be coordinated. A few men resorted to stealing food from their comrades; when discovered, they were severely punished.
53. *Merrill's Marauders*, 25. See also James H. Stone, *Crisis Fleeting: Original Reports on Military Medicine in India and Burma in the Second World War* (Washington, DC: Office of the Surgeon General, Department of the Army, 1969). This source vividly describes the medical history of the Chindits and Galahad.

54. Calvert attempted to instill an aggressive spirit in his men. In addition to the points cited in this paragraph, Calvert also insisted that the Chindits should be extra cautious only when they were stalking their prey. Otherwise, he advised, they should persist in attacking the enemy to maintain a spirit of boldness. He said that no soldier inadvertently meeting the enemy would be wrong in shooting him. Calvert, *Prisoners of Hope*, 129.
  55. Terrence O'Brien, *Out of the Blue: A Pilot with the Chindits* (London: Collins, 1984). According to O'Brien, Morris frequently avoided contact with the Japanese and became distressed when he had no orders.
  56. Rolo, *Wingate's Raiders*, 242.
  57. For a discussion of Stilwell and Galahad, see Scott R. McMichael, "Common Man, Uncommon Leadership: Colonel Charles N. Hunter with Galahad in Burma," *Parameters* 16 (Summer 1986): 45–57.
  58. Bidwell, *Chindit War*, 83.
  59. Fellowes-Gordon, *Magic War*, 50.
  60. Ogburn, *Marauders*, 219.
  61. Hunter, *Galahad*, 86, 193–94.
  62. These bitter feelings are evident in the works by Hunter, Ogburn, and Stone.
  63. Slim, *Defeat into Victory*, 233. Masters agreed completely with this assessment. Masters, *Road Past Mandalay*, 280.
  64. Hunter, *Galahad*, 71.
  65. Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Command Problems*, 191.
  66. Bidwell, *Chindit War*, 254; and Masters, *Road Past Mandalay*, 281.
  67. Bidwell, *Chindit War*, 261.
  68. *Ibid.*, 19.
  69. Masters, *Road Past Mandalay*, 275.
  70. *Merrill's Marauders*, 45, 90.
  71. Fellowes-Gordon, *Magic War*, 124; and Ogburn, *Marauders*, 252. One combat group under Captain Tom Senff lost thirty-two men in two days just marching twenty miles to join the main body at Myitkyina.
  72. Raymond Callahan, *Burma, 1942–1945* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1978), 139.
  73. Various sources show that the Japanese diverted up to a division of troops to deal with the Chindit threat. The testimony of the defeated Japanese commanders is cited in Calvert, *Prisoners of Hope*, 297–99; and Bidwell, *Chindit War*, 173.
  74. Bidwell, *Chindit War*, 101, 284; and Fellowes-Gordon, *Magic War*, 87.
  75. Masters, *Road Past Mandalay*, 280. Masters insists that Wingate should have employed the Chindits in a more concerted fashion, rather than frittering them away against disparate objectives (particularly the 16th, 14th, and 3d Brigades). He also states that the Special Force should have been used against the Japanese lines of communication (LOCs) to the central front, not to the north. Galahad was sufficient to interdict LOCs to the north.
  76. Calvert, *Prisoners of Hope*, 15.
-



# BIBLIOGRAPHY

## Chapter 1

- Allen, Louis. *Burma, the Longest War, 1941–1945*. London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1984.
- Alsop, Stewart, and Thomas Braden. *Sub Rosa: The O.S.S. and American Espionage*. New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, 1946.
- Asprey, Robert B. *War in the Shadows: The Guerrilla in History*. Volume 1. Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Co., 1975.
- Baggaley, James. *A Chindit Story*. London: Souvenir Press, 1954.
- Bidwell, Shelford. *The Chindit War: Stilwell, Wingate, and the Campaign in Burma, 1944*. New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1979.
- Callahan, Raymond. *Burma, 1942–1945*. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1978.
- Calvert, Michael. *Prisoners of Hope*. London: Leo Cooper, 1971.
- Cruickshank, Charles Greig. *SOE in the Far East*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1983.
- Fellowes-Gordon, Ian. *The Magic War: The Battle for North Burma*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1971.
- Fergusson, Bernard. *Beyond the Chindwin*. London: Collins, 1962.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Wild Green Earth*. London: Collins, 1946.
- George, John B. *Shots Fired in Anger*. Washington, DC: National Rifle Association of America, 1982.
- Halley, David. *With Wingate in Burma*. London: William Hodge and Co., 1946.
- Higgins, William J., Major, et al. "Imphal-Kohima: Encirclement." Student staff group battle analysis. U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, KS, 1984.
- Hunter, Charles Newton. *Galahad*. San Antonio, TX: Naylor Co., 1963.
- James, Richard Rhodes. *Chindit*. London: John Murray, 1980.
- Masters, John. *The Road Past Mandalay*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1961.
- McMichael, Scott R. "Common Man, Uncommon Leadership: Colonel Charles N. Hunter with Galahad in Burma." *Parameters* 16 (Summer 1986):45–57.
- O'Brien, Terrence. *Out of the Blue: A Pilot with the Chindits*. London: Collins, 1984.

- Ogburn, Charlton. *The Marauders*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1956.
- Rolo, Charles James. *Wingate's Raiders*. New York: Viking Press, 1944.
- Romanus, Charles F., and Riley Sunderland. *Stilwell's Command Problems. United States Army in World War II*. 1956. Reprint. Washington, DC: Office of the Chief of Military History, United States Army, 1970.
- Slim, William Slim, 1st Viscount. *Defeat Into Victory*. New York: David McKay Co., 1961.
- Stone, James H. *Crisis Fleeting: Original Reports on Military Medicine in India and Burma in the Second World War*. Washington, DC: Office of the Surgeon General, Department of the Army, 1969.
- Sykes, Christopher. *Orde Wingate: A Biography*. New York: World Publishing Co., 1959.
- U.S. Army Air Forces. 10th Air Force. "Development of Close Support Techniques in North Burma." 5 September 1944.
- . "Development of Joint Air-Ground Operations in North Burma." January 1945.
- U.S. War Department. General Staff. *Merrill's Marauders (February—May 1944)*. American Forces in Action Series. Washington, DC: Military Intelligence Division, U.S. War Department, 4 June 1945.
-