

ATINER CONFERENCE PAPER SERIES No: ART2013-0445

**Athens Institute for Education and Research**

**ATINER**



**ATINER's Conference Paper Series**

**ART2013-0445**

*Through Hard Rain:*  
**The Most Controversial Battle of  
WWII and its Representation in  
the Magazines of the Time**

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URL Conference Papers Series: [www.atiner.gr/papers.htm](http://www.atiner.gr/papers.htm)

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**ISSN 2241-2891**

24/07/2013

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Dr. Gregory T. Papanikos  
President  
Athens Institute for Education and Research

This paper should be cited as follows:

**Bucarelli, V. (2013) "*Through Hard Rain: The Most Controversial Battle of WWII and its Representation in the Magazines of the Time*" Athens: ATINER'S Conference Paper Series, No: ART2013-0445.**

***Through Hard Rain: The Most Controversial Battle of WWII  
and its Representation in the Magazines of the Time***

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**Abstract**

The Battle for Cassino, from January to May 1944, cost over 100,000 lives, destroyed several villages in the Lazio Region in Italy and caused the demolition of Cassino's sixth century abbey, believed to be one of the most sacred monuments of Christian civilization. The bombing of the abbey has been the subject of fiery and passionate disputes, and caused a raging controversy which started immediately after the battle and continues to the present.<sup>1</sup>

A few media from different political sides represented this historically prominent event, not yet analyzed in this context. This paper will make special reference to the comparison between, on one hand, the American *Life*, the British *Illustrated* and *The Illustrated London News* magazines, and, on the other hand, the German *Signal* and the Italian *La Domenica del Corriere*. Every publication assigns space to the Battle and to the bombing. But specifically concerning the hot topic of the destruction of the Abbey, surprisingly most of them show a diffused reluctance in picturing it. Magazines of both parties seem to prefer to avoid as much as possible any record of the vanishing of a monument of inestimable value that intimidated media of both parts, more than expected.

**Keywords:**

**Corresponding Author:**

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., 236.

## Introduction

Considered “the most controversial battle of WWII”,<sup>1</sup> the Battle for Cassino, a series of fights between the Allies, the Germans and the Italian forces, lasted from January to May 1944. It cost over 100,000 lives, destroyed several villages in the Liri Valley, in the Lazio Region and, on February 15, caused the demolition of Cassino’s sixth century abbey, believed to be one of the most sacred monuments of Christian civilization, built on a revered, strategic and spectacular location. Founded by St. Benedict of Nursia himself in 529,<sup>2</sup> it housed frescoes and paintings by Leonardo, Raphael, Titian and Tintoretto, thousands of ancient books and 1,400 manuscript codices - treasures of an inestimable value. In *The Wilson Quarterly*, the review of David Hapgood’s book *The Battle of Monte Cassino* mentions the bombing of the 529 A.D. Benedictine abbey as “one of the war’s most controversial decisions.” It has been the subject of fiery and passionate disputes. A raging controversy about military operations in the region and, in particular, the bombing of Monte Cassino Abbey— military necessity, crime or blunder – began two days after the event and continues to the present.<sup>3</sup> The controversy arose at different moments and with different degrees of intensity, depending on the parties involved. Italy, Germany, or the Allied Forces, which included the United States, England, Poland, New Zealand, Canada, and France.

The different media represented this historically prominent event, assigning different space and relevance to the Battle for Cassino and to the bombing. But specifically concerning the hot topic of the bombing of the Monte Cassino Abbey, surprisingly most of them show a diffused reluctance in picturing it. In this context, an analysis and a comparison between, on one hand, the American *Life* magazine, the British *Illustrated* and *The Illustrated London News* magazines, and, on the other hand, the German *Signal* and the Italian *La Domenica del Corriere* are especially important and raise a new and compelling discussion.

During the Battle for Cassino – with the town of Cassino and its medieval Abbey as focal points - the Allied Forces found themselves on the Gustav Line, built by the Germans in the narrowest point of the Italian peninsula. The intention was to create a breakthrough to Rome, still in German hands.

From January 3 through June 5, 1944, *Life* published six main photo-essays on the fights. The first five page article is illustrated with drawings; but the second and third photo-essays, published in the January 31 and February 14 issues, in the middle of the first battle (January 12 - February 12), are by

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<sup>1</sup> David Hapgood and David Richardson, *Monte Cassino: the Story of the Most Controversial Battle in the World War II*. Cambridge, Mass: Da Capo Press, 2002.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. The first monastery founded by St. Benedict, Monte Cassino is considered the source of the Benedictine Order, established in 529.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 236.

Robert Capa, whom Stephan Lorant had called “the greatest war photographer in the world.”<sup>1</sup>

What first captures our attention is that in both essays, Capa focuses not on panoramic scenes of battle but on the stories of the men at war, the soldiers. Instead of bomb-lit-up skies or rolling tanks, as seen in Margaret Bourke White’s photo essay “Artillery and Infantry in Italy” published in the same February 14 issue, Capa captures the soldiers’ work and fatigue. He shows their struggles and suffering through days of little sleeping, harsh weather conditions, no bathing. They face death, unimaginable pain, lifetime injuries, trauma and shock, and, in the worst case scenario, the ultimate sacrifice: death. The world-renown photographer here first and foremost focuses on “the tragedy of man,” as he did in Spain.

When, in January 1944, *Life* published “It’s a Tough War,” a title that Capa chose, American readers were shocked. “We need stories like [this] to slap us in the face and keep us awake to realities”<sup>2</sup>, one civilian wrote the magazine’s editor. We can easily understand what it meant for Americans, people who never experienced a war at home after the Civil War.

In *Slightly Out of Focus*, about these days of battle, Capa wrote, “The bodies of those who dared to leave their holes were blocking my path. Their blood was dry and rusty, blending with the color of the late autumn leaves fallen about them.”<sup>3</sup> He published other two stories, but at the end of the first week of February, he left Italy. He headed at once for Naples and right afterward departed Italy for London.

*Life* published nothing by Capa between late February and early June. On the other hand, on March 18 and 25, the British *Illustrated*, published, enlarged, though much delayed, versions of the stories that had appeared in *Life*, titled “Through the Valley” and “Action in the Mountains.” The first one includes one image from “It’s a Tough War” and five images from “The Queen of Battles” (*Life*, February 1944). More than the essays in *Life*, it emphasizes the devastation of the area after the military campaigns of those days, and includes one image of the wounded being transferred from jeeps to ambulances, against the backdrop of San Pietro in ruins. The second story includes four images from “It’s a Tough War,” but the different narrative explores the fighting action through panoramic images, presented on the first page, and the interaction between the soldiers and the Italian refugees. The British stories seem to cover different aspects of war rather than focusing on the men’s story with an intensity that is unique in *Life*.

In the meantime, in Italy, the second battle began. In particular the New Zealand’s General Bernard Freyburg asked to bomb the Monte Cassino Abbey, even though, at this point, different opinions arose within the Allied Forces. American General Mark Clark did not agree with the bombing and he did not

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<sup>1</sup>Founding editor of *The Picture Post* on Dec. 3, 1938. See Alex Kershaw, *Blood And Champagne: The Life And Times Of Robert Capa*, Da Capo Press; Reprint edition, 2004, 68.

<sup>2</sup>Alex Kershaw, *Blood And Champagne: The Life And Times Of Robert Capa*, Da Capo Press; Reprint edition, 2004, 62.

<sup>3</sup>Robert Capa, *Slightly Out of Focus*, New York: Modern Library, 2001, 111-116.

wait to declare the bombing of the abbey a mistake, while British generals agreed with the New Zealanders and supported the attack. In their view, the Abbey that prevented the breach of the Gustav line. Indeed both the British and the United States press wrote frequently of German observation posts and artillery positions inside the abbey.<sup>1</sup> The *New York Times* wrote on February 15, 1944, about

*America's regret at the necessity for bombing the Abbey of Monte Cassino on the road to Rome [that] was voiced by President Roosevelt today [Feb. 15] at a press conference at which, he said grimly, that it had to be done because the Germans had been using the monastery as a point from which to shell Americans.*

Those in favor were convinced that German forces relied on the monastery as the main vantage point for artillery spotting, on the theory that it was so perfectly situated for the purpose, no army could refrain from using it. At 9:30 am February 15 the bombing started. 230 planes dropped 380 tons of bombs on their target. Between February 15 and 17, the monastery crumbled and disappeared, destroyed by Allies.

The Vatican secretary of State, Luigi Maglione, bluntly told Harold Tittmann, the senior US diplomat to the Vatican, that the bombing was “a colossal blunder ... a piece of gross stupidity.”<sup>2</sup> The ensuing investigation determined that the only people killed by the bombing were Italian civilians seeking refuge in the abbey. There was no evidence that the bombs dropped on the Monte Cassino abbey killed German troops that were not hiding inside. Later it became known that the Germans had an agreement with the monks to not use the Abbey for military purposes as long as they remained. Following its destruction though, paratroopers from the German 1<sup>st</sup> Division occupied the ruins, which turned into a strategic observation post for the German troops and paradoxically became a serious problem for the attacking allied forces.

General Henry Maitland Wilson, supreme commander of the Allies, said that “... the military authorities on the spot have irrefutable evidence that the Cassino Abbey was part of the main German defensive line.”<sup>3</sup> For the next few years, “irrefutable evidence” or some similar phrase was the position of both the American and British governments in response to questions about the bombing. On the May 28, 1953 issue, *The New York Times* reported that a delegation of Polish WWII troops who participated in the Battle of Cassino gave President Dwight Eisenhower a painting, made by Polish artist and veteran Feliks Topolski, depicting a scene from the battle. Evidently, Cassino was still a motif of undisputable pride at the time.

The United States government began to move slowly in small steps away from the certainty of “irrefutable evidence,” until in 1964, the Office of the Chief of Military History reported that “It appears that no German troops,

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<sup>1</sup> David Hapgood and David Richardson, op. cit., 161.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.



except a small military police detachment, were actually inside the abbey” before the bombing. Finally, in 1969 the army’s official history concluded that “the abbey was actually unoccupied by German troops.”<sup>1</sup>

On the March 6 issue, *Life* published “US Destroys the Abbey of Montecassino” with an especially dramatic image by George Rodger, Capa’s friend and colleague. Compared with the original series taken by Rodger in the *Life* archive, the published image shows a partial cropping that further emphasizes the mountain and the bombing of the monastery on its top. Judging by the archive series, Rodger had photographed the soldiers, the wounded, and the medical staff as well, but this was the powerful image that the magazine was interested that day.

Published in *Life* on April 10 – shortly after the third battle infuriates (15-24 March) when the town of Cassino was bombed and burned to the ground - the photo-essay “They Stopped Us at Cassino” open with a large photograph of the bombing. The caption says “This is a great aerial and artillery bombardment of Cassino preparatory to the third and biggest attack on town and hills which dominate road to Rome”. The text summarizes major events in the area around Cassino, starting in January. It reports some criticism of the Allies’ strategy, saying that “it is only partly right”, but in terms of the success of the operation, no mention is done in terms of the bombing. The caption continues saying that in order to criticize we should know the full story. A spread of two large images follows. They are evidence of the strength and force of the Allies’ attack. The foreground shows a lifeless ghostly terrain punctuated only by tree skeletons and ruined walls, followed in the middle ground by opaque traces of crumbling buildings and what was left of the town. The background which occupies more than a half of the entire surface, is dominated by an ever-growing, dilating cloud of smoke where only portions of ruins or portions of ruins of Cassino emerge.

“Smoke Rises from the Rubble of Cassino” is the title of the caption which reads “This magnificent action picture was made by an Army Signal Corps photographer from low-flying reconnaissance plane a few minute after the last wave of bombers had left its target. It shows what a small town (7,300 population) looks like after 1,300-1,400 tons of bombs have been dropped on it. All the houses are ruined but some of the walls are still standing.” If the images were not enough, the text emphasizes the strength of the military action.

The monastery is mentioned only in the text, not in the caption. *Life* does not emphasize the bombing of the monastery. The last two pages of the essay conclude with George Rodger’s photographs. One page assembles a few images. The second one shows the road to Cassino with a line of jeeps ready to move on. Only if one looks more carefully does one notice that the jeeps bear Red Cross flags and are waiting to evacuate the wounded. The photo essay is still somehow celebratory but it also shows the battle’s higher and higher costs. Rodger’s words are included in a powerful text, about being under fire. “Here

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., 237.

the Allies learned what the German learned at Stalingrad; that a wrecked town is harder to capture than one untouched by bombardment.” He concludes “.... I left Cassino and I left in a hurry.”

From May 11 to 18, the fourth battle took place. The Polish army seizes control of the ruined abbey. *Life* June 5 issue has an army image on the cover. Inside, the story’s text emphasizes the “strip of desolation.... The string of little Italian towns were crumbled ruins from the long shelling and bombing. At Cassino where the most intensive battles have been fought, nothing remained but piles of stones ... and a few splintered walls.”

On the British front, the *Illustrated London News*, a popular British magazine which ran during WWII published the April 8 issue, with a cover of the Cassino bombing and a story about the fight. In June 3 issue, it published a story about the Battle with probably the only photographs of the destroyed abbey—not the bombing—with Polish and British flags on top. This was a rare example of a display of the monastery’s devastation. Inside, the text said

*General Alexander, considering that the German troops were hiding inside the Abbey and using the monastery as observatory to use all their military strength against the Allied forces and its massive walls to strategically place their weapons, reluctantly were forced to start a siege on February 18th.*<sup>1</sup>

Finally, it is especially interesting to look at the German front, and at *Signal* in particular, considered the “masterpiece” of Nazi propaganda magazines. A joint product of the Wehrmacht propaganda office and the High Command of the German Armed Forces, it was published by Ullstein Verlag; owned by a prominent Jewish family, the company had been confiscated by the Nazis in 1937 and renamed *Deutscher Verlag*. Released from 1940 through 1945, *Signal* was a modern, even sophisticated, glossy illustrated photo journal meant for audiences in allied and occupied countries. It was published in different languages, including Russian and Arabic; it had complete Italian and French versions and was distributed in every European country except England, but also in Latin America and in some Middle Eastern countries. *Signal* had a circulation of 2,500,000. The magazine echoed *Life*’s design, especially in the cover’s red band which appeared vertically on the left border instead of horizontally, and the red title. It featured high-quality photographs, including a central double page in full color.

The 13th issue, published in June 1944, mentions the name of Cassino for the first time, and it does it in order to praise the military action of the paratroopers; the 14th issue, released in July 1944, refers to the fighting in Cassino in three different articles; and the third one comprises a story and a four-page photo essay titled “Breakwater Cassino,” with two images of the bombing of the Cassino site and a large ominous image of the Cassino ruins which show up under the skeleton of a building, also destroyed. The article’s

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<sup>1</sup> La Domenica del Corriere, (3 June, 1944).

first page shows a large cloud of smoke and the next one includes an image of the ruins of Cassino, with a caption reading, “This was (where once stood Cassino): Before the bombs and artillery repeatedly reduced it to a pile of rubble.” The third page has an image of the explosion along with many other images of German soldiers in various operations. The contrast with George Rodger’s spectacular single image in the photo essay *US Destroys Montecassino* is especially evident. *Life* provided different coverage of the bombing. Moreover, the *Signal* article does not discuss the destruction of the Montecassino abbey but emphasizes the story of the battle and reports that the German military forces were not defeated by the enemy. Here one would have expected exposure of the Allies’ barbaric act. But that did not happen.

*Signal*’s story entirely focuses on his heroic and always alert soldiers. Overall it celebrates them, starting with the images of the General and the Colonel focused on their military plan. It ends with a salutation of the Green Devils. The article’s author, Lieutenant Bruno Wundsammer, emphasizes the role of this “glorious” first division of parachutists. He mentions that the Montecassino Abbey was attacked “in vain” by Anglo-American forces and soon after, describes how the Green Devils, who are fighting back, find “fresh forces” day by day. The single last large image is dedicated to German troops, who are fighting because “Cassino is our duty,” the caption says, and their soldiers are standing unbroken in unity and in “high morale.”

While the popular Americans and British magazines did not devote their covers to the Battle of Cassino, the Italians put all their efforts in it. Two covers of their most important magazine of the time *La Domenica del Corriere* are in fact dedicated to it and for the first time to the destruction of the abbey.<sup>1</sup> The cover of the February 27, 1944, shows a dramatic bombing of the abbey’s precious cloister. A fire-red colored flash signifies the potent weapons of destruction and the complete disaster. The caption notes

*With no military reason and in hatred for the monuments of the European civilization, the Anglo-Americans bombed and destroyed the historical Montecassino Abbey, burying sacred buildings, the friars and the citizens living in the area under debris. Bombs destroy the famous Cloister of Heaven.*<sup>2</sup>

The same issue also has a story on page 4 with six photographs of the abbey, which traces the story of the legendary abbey since 589 and concludes, “now it seems unbelievable that a few hours of furious fighting have reduced it to a pile of rubble. ... But on those ruins ... the abbey will have to spring up again.”

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<sup>1</sup> *La Domenica del Corriere*, published every Sunday from 1899 to 1989 along with the major Italian newspaper *Il Corriere della Sera*, was especially famous for its cover drawings, largely signed by renowned artists. Its issues are still collected, eagerly sought after and jealously kept by amateurs and art patrons.

<sup>2</sup> *La Domenica del Corriere*, (27 feb. 1944).

Two months later, on April 2, in between the third and fourth battles, the magazine published another cover illustration that refers to the fights between the two armies surrounded by the ruins of the ancient abbey and its adjacent buildings. As mentioned, after the bombing of the town and the abbey of Montecassino, the ruins indeed worked as a strategic refuge for the German forces. On page 3 appeared a story about the latest fighting, with a photograph of a commemorative stone of the abbey which reads, “Jesus be merciful on us.” The caption adds, “striking ... in the middle of the abbey in ruins, destroyed by the Allied Forces. ... All that remains is a stone block... .” Finally, the April 9 issue includes on the back cover a very dramatic illustration of a heroic pair of brothers, Romolo and Angelo Vannini, who gave their lives during fighting at Cassino.

In conclusion, the battle that cost 105,000 casualties in only five months evidently had different meanings for the various participating nations—meanings that interestingly were represented in their publications. For the western Allies, monuments and inscriptions invoked God, the country, sacrifice and freedom.<sup>1</sup> *Life* and the British *Illustrated* published Capa and the other staff photographers’ photo essays about the battle, focusing in the first case on the soldiers’ stories, their quotidian life and their interaction with the Italian refugee population, and in the second case on scenes that support that military decision. Only a few times they pictured the bombing of the sacred abbey, which they rarely mention. The *Illustrated London* magazine was the only Allied title to print a photograph of the abbey’s ruins. For the Germans, Cassino represented “the courage ... of the soldiers defending against Allied materiel strength.”<sup>2</sup> ... And very importantly, “No crime stains the German record here –They are indeed able to save the treasures of Monte Cassino.” But the Germans also focus on the heroism of their troops and in *Signal* show just a few images of the bombing of the Cassino area, inside a four-page photo essay with several small images. *Signal* never shows the bombing of the abbey or even mentions it in the text. All of the titles portrayed the events according to their political and military agendas, but nevertheless, all of them show evident reluctance in portraying the ruins of the ancient abbey, where St. Benedict first established the rule that ordered monasticism in the West. The Italian *La Domenica del Corriere* is the only publication that does not spare its condemnation of the abbey’s destruction and strong emphasis on the preciousness of the universal treasure now lost forever.

This is a story of the horrors of war. But, even in this context, it also seems to tell us that, when, on every front, every moment men dealt with the most important matters of life and death, they also dealt with their relationship with the cultural and artistic production, with their own sense of civilization and sensibility for some of the greatest productions of the human mind and spirit. As Susan Sontag wrote, “Photography has kept company with death ever since cameras were invented in 1839. Because an image produced with a

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<sup>1</sup> David Haggood and David Richardson, op. cit., 253.

<sup>2</sup> Ian Gooderson, *Cassino*, London: Brassey, 2003.

camera is, literally, a trace of something brought before the lens, photographs had an advantage over any painting as a memento of the vanished past...<sup>1</sup> In this context it seems that magazines of both parties preferred to avoid as much as possible any record of the vanishing of the historical and artistic treasure of inestimable value – a cultural and artistic monument that intimidated media of both parts, more than expected. They wanted to avoid the memento, to elude any trace of it in this chapter of horror, destruction, rapacity, but also compassion, devotion and heroism within a story of a unique and terrible time.

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<sup>1</sup> Susan Sontag, "Looking at War: Photographic View of Devastation and Death", The New Yorker, (9 Dec. 2002), 90.

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Life, January 31, 1944, Photographs by Robert Capa



Vol. 16, No. 3

LIFE

January 31, 1944

FROM A HILLTOP OVERLOOKING THE LIRI VALLEY THREE INFANTRYMEN OF THE U. S.-CANADIAN MOUNTAIN TROOPS PROTECT AN ADVANCING PATROL WITH THEIR MACHINE GUN

## IT'S A TOUGH WAR

Photographs for LIFE by Robert Capa

For months the Fifth Army has inched ahead in Italy. Through mud and mountains it has ground nearer Cassino, chief bastion of the German winter defense line. On Jan. 22, in an amphibious attempt to outflank this line, it landed troops near Anzio northwest of the town of Cassino and only 30 miles short of Rome.

With the troops of the Fifth Army during the battle for the Liri valley on the approaches to Cassino was LIFE Photographer Robert Capa. His pictures, printed here, are grim and unromantic, but they tell something of what war is like in Italy. They prove that it is a tough war.

When the pictures were taken, the Fifth Army was advancing at the rate of about three miles a week. In terms of the thousands of miles still to go on the roads to Berlin and Tokyo, these miles were insignificant. But for the men who fought for those three

miles they were no mean distance. In the fight some of them died and their bodies lay in the snowy mountain passes near their foxholes. Others were wounded and were brought down steep mountain paths on stretchers to front-line hospitals. But most of these, British and French and American alike, lived somehow through the week. They were the ones who, in spite of their weariness, would fight this week's battles, and next week's, and the weeks' after that.

To these men it seems years ago that they were home. Now all they know and feel is the grinding monotony of war. Day and night they hear the rattle of guns, the explosion of mortars, the whine of machine-gun bullets. Their home is among the rocks and snows of the Italian mountains. They are usually wet and hungry, always tired. Most of them have not had a bath or slept in a bed for months. They grumble and they curse, and their only dream is of the day

when they will be finished with this chess on the front.

They worry, too, about the home they will return to. They want it to be the same home they left. Just week Secretary of War Stimson reported that those soldiers on the front line in Italy and the South Pacific were worried and sullen and even angry about what was going on at home. In urging adoption of a national service act, he said: "I can tell you today that the industrial unrest and lack of a sense of patriotic responsibility . . . has aroused a strong feeling of resentment and injustice among the men of the armed forces. If it continues it will surely affect the morale of the Army. It is likely to prolong the war and endanger our ultimate success. Unless we set forth boldly to stamp it out, the hot flame will destroy some of the great love of country which alone can make a man endure the hardship, the pain, and the death which service above all has offered him."

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Life, April 10, 1944



Vol. 18, No. 15

# LIFE

April 10, 1944

THIS IS GREAT AERIAL AND ARTILLERY BOMBARDMENT OF CASSINO, PREPARATORY TO THIRD, AND SUGGEST, ATTACK ON TOWN AND HILLS WHICH DOMINATE ROAD TO ROME

## THEY STOPPED US AT CASSINO

"The simple fact is that the Germans stopped us." In these words Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson last week summed up the Allied failure at Cassino. The fighting has subsided, he added, "without achieving the results for which we had hoped."

The battle for Cassino began Jan. 16. Last week, two and a half months later, the town and the hills behind it were still partly in enemy hands, in spite of three costly attempts to take them. In the first attack (Jan. 16-24) the Allies crossed the Rapido River but were driven back. In the second attack they tried to capture Monastery Hill above the town (upper left in picture) but never gained the summit. The third attack began with a pulverizing bombing and artillery barrage March 15. Through the resulting rubble

New Zealand troops tried to storm the town, capture the hills. They succeeded in occupying three-fourths of Cassino, but the Germans fought stubbornly and clung to their strong points in the town and to their artillery positions in the hills. Eventually the Allied advance stopped.

This was a tactical failure. Combined with the inability of Allied troops to expand their Anzio beachhead, it disillusioned many Americans at home about the whole Italian campaign. The Allies had moved only about 100 miles since the landing at Salerno in September, their losses had been high and military failures were costing prestige in Europe. Moreover, Anzio and Cassino highlighted inadequacies in Allied gear and Allied use of weapons and troops.

Such criticism of the Italian campaign is only partly right. It is still too early to judge it in its entirety. Important results have most certainly been achieved there. Italy and the Italian front are now out of the war. As long as the war in Austria and the Balkans has been avoided, some 30 German divisions are pinned down in Italy, thus making them unavailable for elsewhere. But to criticize strategy requires knowledge of many facts which are familiar only to the Allied High Command. Among such facts are the plans for the Second Front, the disposition of German troops, the quantity of Allied military resources, the relationship of the Italian front to a worldwide war. Without possession of this information nobody can call the Italian campaign a success or a failure.



Signal, Issue 14, July 1944



### „Wellenbrecher“ Cassino

Die alliierten Streitkräfte konnten am 11. Februar 1944 die von (rechts) und Oberst ...



Die Kampfstände der Fallschirmjäger ...

Am 18. Mai 1944 ...

*La Domenica del Corriere*, February 27, 1944

