

# **The Atomic Bomb Debate**

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## Statement of Purpose

Oral history is defined as the recording, preservation, and interpretation of historical information, based on the personal experiences and opinions of the speaker. When compared to the history one finds in a text book, oral history adds personality and tangible emotion to historical events more effectively than any written work can. Through personal testimonies such as those gathered through the World War II Living History Project, future generations will be better equipped to understand the horrors of war and be in a better position to prevent such horrors from occurring again. History in any form is important because it not only provides clues and information about the past, but enables people today and in the future to learn from previous mistakes. It is impossible to understand war no matter what era it is being studied, but eye-witness accounts provide a deeper understand than a text book or a history website. Humans relate most to emotion, and only when a person hears of the tragedies suffered by another, of the scars and the memories that person will carry forever, will true empathy and a hint of understanding begin to occur. The purpose of this project is to analyze the decision of President Harry Truman to drop the atomic bomb, based on the lingering doubts of former Marine Corporal Ralph Leinoff.

# Biography

Mr. Ralph Leinoff was born in Manhattan on January 28<sup>th</sup>, 1923, the oldest of three boys. He grew up in the Bronx, his family switching apartments quite often when landlords would offer incentives to attract new tenants. His father operated a small factory that manufactured winter garments for children, and his mother often worked at the factory as well. Growing up during the Great Depression, Mr. Leinoff and his two younger brothers were all expected to help at the factory, and his introduction to a salaried job was working for his father.

Mr. Leinoff was out of high school when the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor. As a member of a Jewish family, Mr. Leinoff was aware of the atrocities committed by Hitler in Nazi Germany, and understood that eventually he would probably be a part of the conflict. Each state was constructing its own National Guard, and Ralph enlisted first in the New York State Guard. However, as the fighting grew fiercer overseas, Mr. Leinoff was working as a lithographic printer when, in 1942, he and his good friend Stuart decided to join the Marines. Unfortunately for Ralph, the New York State Guard refused to discharge him, and he lied on the application for enlistment into the Marines. As a member of the 4<sup>th</sup> Marine Division, he played a very active role in the Pacific theater, taking part in the battles for Kwajalein Atoll, Saipan, Tinian, and Iwo Jima. He was on base in Maui preparing for the invasion of Japan in August 1945 when the atomic bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. He returned to the United States in November 1945.

While serving overseas, Ralph received mail from his childhood friend, Lillian. They had known one another since infancy but had been separated for about ten years when Lillian's family moved to Massachusetts, but had since moved back to New York City. Upon returning home in late 1945, Ralph and Lillian reunited and were married about six months later on May

19<sup>th</sup>, 1946. They have two sons together, Larry and Stuart, and were married for sixty-one years when Lillian died of melanoma in 2007.

Mr. Leinoff found another job with a different lithographic printer after the war, and was simultaneously working part-time as a sales representative for a company from Wisconsin. When the lithographic printing company folded because it couldn't keep up with developing technology, Mr. Leinoff also worried about his job as a sales representative because one of the managers told him he wasn't making enough revenue for the New York area. A friend of Lillian's suggested that he consider looking into the fire department. Once Larry and Stuart finished college, Ralph took a promotion exam and became a lieutenant in the NYFD. After an accident left him with a bum knee, Mr. Leinoff tried to work in the office at the fire department, but retired soon after with twenty-seven years of service.

While in retirement, he and Lillian—who became a school librarian after the war—traveled quite frequently to Asia, Europe, South America and Africa. He and his wife became involved in interfaith relations, living in a mixed neighborhood of Catholics, Jews and Protestants, and was involved with the Catholic-Jewish organization of Rockwell for twenty-two years.

When Lillian became ill, the couple moved upstate to the Glen at Highland Meadows in Queensbury, New York, to be closer to their son, Stuart, who was a professor at SUNY Adirondack. Mr. Leinoff has been a longtime lover of operas, and spends his days video editing, adding subtitles to various performances so the hearing impaired can still enjoy the concerts and shows.

## Historical Contextualization

In the early morning of August 6<sup>th</sup>, 1945, a single B-29 fighter plane dropped an atomic bomb over the unsuspecting city of Hiroshima, Japan. A mere forty-three seconds after pilot Paul Tibbets released the 9,700-pound uranium bomb nicknamed “Little Boy,” the *Enola Gay* was rocked by the resulting blast (“Manhattan Project: An Interactive History”). The clear, sunny sky was obscured by a mushroom cloud of radiation, and it is estimated that some 70,000 died from the initial blast, though once the cancers and long-term effects took the remaining population by storm, “the five-year death total may have reached or even exceeded 200,000” (“Manhattan Project: An Interactive History”). Just three days later, on August 9<sup>th</sup>, 1945, a second bomb exploded over Nagasaki. This plutonium bomb, nicknamed “Fat Man,” killed approximately 40,000 Japanese initially, with 70,000 dead by the end of 1946, and “perhaps ultimately twice that number dead total within five years” (“Manhattan Project: An Interactive History”). In 1945, with the devastation of Pearl Harbor and the horror of the Bataan Death March fresh in millions of minds, war-weary Americans celebrated President Harry Truman’s decision to unleash the fury of the atomic bomb on Japan. In the years since the bombings, however, younger generations have questioned and even doubted the wisdom of the president’s choice, despite historians insisting that, while some uncertainties about the true power of the bomb definitely existed, the choices President Truman made saved both American lives, and even the lives of the Japanese.

When President Franklin Delano Roosevelt died on April 12<sup>th</sup>, 1945, and Harry Truman was sworn into the office of the President of the United States, the secret project to develop the first atomic bomb before either Germany or Japan had been underway since 1939, so secret that, as vice president, Truman had no idea such a project even existed. With its roots in a letter

signed by Albert Einstein, expressing his fear that Nazi Germany might develop nuclear weapons, the Manhattan Project eventually employed more than 130,000 people from the United States, the United Kingdom, and Canada, and cost the United States nearly \$2 billion (“Wikipedia- The Free Encyclopedia”). The decision to drop the atomic bomb on Japan was easy in 1945. Over 2,000 Americans had perished at Pearl Harbor, a malicious, unprecedented attack on American soil. The details of the Bataan Death March were just reaching the papers, a horrifying display of Japanese cruelty. Residual anger toward those events, combined with the lists of the dead from bloody Okinawa “made Truman’s decision on the atomic bomb fairly easy” (Schweikart, and Allen 624). The government had spent almost \$2 billion to develop such powerful weapons, and Truman was relieved when he received the results of the bomb’s test, conducted on July 16<sup>th</sup>, 1945, approximately one hundred and sixty miles from Los Alamos, New Mexico (Schweikart, and Allen 626). The idea of spending such a large amount of war funding on such a large scale project that may or may not work was horrifying to all those involved, knowing that the money could’ve been used in other arenas to help with the war effort. To hear that the test had been a success, that he could save the lives of the 100,000 to one million soldiers projected to die in the invasion of Japan, strengthened the bomb in his eyes. Truman said he “regarded the bomb as a military weapon and never had any doubt that it should be used” (Schweikart, and Allen 627).

The United States Strategic Bombing Survey, established in 1944 by the War Department, studied the results of aerial attacks during World War II. The survey interviewed “hundreds of Japanese civilian and military leaders after Japan surrendered, and reported just after the war that...certainly prior to 31 December 1945, and in all probability prior to 1 November 1945, Japan would have surrendered even if the atomic bombs had not been dropped”

(Zinn 422). However, the issue at the time wasn't the simple surrender of the Japanese, but in fact the unconditional surrender stated in the Potsdam Proclamation. After years of conflict, millions of lives lost, the Allied powers couldn't imagine settling for anything less.

"Unconditional surrender was an objective too long established, too often proclaimed; it had been too great a rallying cry from the time of Pearl Harbor to abandon" (McCullough 436). The Nazis in Germany had been forced to accept such surrender, and to abandon the concept with the Japanese, after the large amount of blood that had been shed, would've been considered appeasement, a policy that tarnished the name of British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain in his efforts to avoid a war with Adolf Hitler in the late 1930s.

Historians have argued that Japan was already finished well before Truman became President. "The Japanese code had been broken, and Japan's messages were being intercepted" (Zinn 423). The Japanese ambassador to Moscow had begun peace negotiations with the Allies, stating that "Unconditional surrender is the only obstacle to peace" (Zinn 423). The only condition was that the emperor, a holy figure to the Japanese, remains in place. However, President Truman took the oath of office in April 1945, and three months later "American battle casualties in the Pacific were nearly half the total from three years of war in the Pacific" (McCullough 437). The United States had reason to doubt the sincerity of Japan's efforts to find peace, and reason also to deny those efforts. The Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor after American politicians had welcomed Japanese delegates to the United States—those delegates were on American soil when Japan unleashed the firestorm on the unsuspecting harbor. "And during the war, not a single Japanese unit surrendered" (McCullough 438). In fact, Japanese military leaders introduced Operation Decision to the civilian and military population in June 1945. It was "a massive defense plan of the home islands in which some 2.5 million troops, backed by a civilian



militia of 28 million, would resist the American invaders with muzzle loaders if necessary” (Schweikart, and Allen 625). The Japanese even trained women to “face the American tanks with bamboo spears” (Schweikart, and Allen 626). The warlords promised to “fight to the bitter end,” and the Potsdam Proclamation was treated with “utter contempt” (Schweikart, and Allen 626). Such actions didn’t encourage the Allies to believe in Japanese desire for peace. “We had 100,000 people killed in Tokyo in one night and it had seemingly no effect whatsoever” (McNulty). Even General George C. Marshall feared an invasion would still be necessary with the two atomic bombs, because intercepted cables from Japan’s ambassador to Moscow, Naotake Sato, “left the impression of a Japan unwilling to surrender and preparing to wage a bitter, suicidal resistance that might last for months if the nation was unable to get the terms it wanted” (McNulty).

Perhaps most influential to President Truman was the unprecedented carnage the American military would face in a direct invasion of Japan. “It occurred to me that a quarter of a million of the flower of our young manhood were worth a couple of Japanese cities, and I still think they were and are” (McCullough 439). With 25,851 casualties on Iwo Jima (“Iwo Jima”)—one in three were killed or wounded—and some 50,000 casualties on Okinawa (McNulty), the president was willing and ready to take whatever means necessary to prevent more American bloodshed. “Thirty divisions were on the way to the Pacific from the European theater, from one end of the world to the other, something never done before” (Truman 438). The soldiers coming from Europe were battle-weary and tired. Having fought the Germans to the bitter end in Berlin, having freed thousands of emaciated prisoners from various concentration camps throughout Nazi-occupied Europe, it was difficult for such soldiers to imagine surviving one fight, succeeding, and then being plunged into another bloodier battle. The Pentagon was predicting

that 20,000 American soldiers would die in the first month (Thomas), and the projected total ranged from 100,000 to one million soldiers. Truman had a responsibility to the young men who sacrificed themselves to the fighting in both the European and Pacific theaters, as well as to the soldiers preparing for the invasion of Japan and their families at home, and that was to limit the number of American casualties. “In August 1945, the GIs waiting to invade Japan had no doubt about the wisdom of obliterating Hiroshima and Nagasaki with nuclear weapons” (Thomas). Paul Fussell, a twenty-one-year-old second lieutenant leading a rifle platoon, remembered that “for all the fake manliness of our facades, we cried with relief and joy. We were going to live. We were going to grow up to adulthood after all” (Thomas). At the time most Americans seemed “undisturbed by the use of atomic weapons to end the war,” simply rejoicing in the safe return of loved ones from lands of unimaginable tragedy. The central and perhaps most important reason that justified the dropping of the atomic bombs on Japan was “the demand that the government do everything in its power to see that not one more American soldier or sailor died than was absolutely necessary, and the bombs ensured that result” (Schweikart, and Allen 630).

For those born after the war, unfamiliar with the true hardships faced by the men and women who had to endure years of suffering and bloodshed, it is easy to argue against President Truman’s decision, to find fault in his efforts to end the war quickly and save millions of American lives. In fact, by 1995, fifty years after the atomic bombs were dropped over Hiroshima and Nagasaki, many Americans believed that Truman had actually made the wrong decision. It was suggested that the leaders of that time were already looking past the conflicts of World War II, focusing instead on the potential threat on the horizon: Joseph Stalin, communism, and what would become the Cold War. Dropping the bombs on Japan would increase American power when it came to bargaining with the Russians later on. Those who

recognized the threat at the time, for example Secretary of War Henry Stimson and Secretary of State James Byrnes, understood the potential power in the atomic bomb concerning future international relations with the Soviet Union, and considered that yet another factor that made the \$2 billion spent on the development of the bombs a worthwhile investment (McNulty). However, while in Potsdam in 1945, President Truman did “casually mention to Stalin that [the United States] had a new weapon of unusual destructive force,” and Stalin seemed “neither surprised nor the least bit curious,” responding instead with little interest and massive indifference (McCullough 442-443). The world learned later that the Soviets had begun nuclear research in 1942, and naturalized British citizen Klaus Fuchs had been supplying the Russians “with atomic secrets for some time” (McCullough 443). Stalin understood perfectly what Truman was speaking of, and later on urged his own atomic project to “hurry up the work” (McCullough 443). President Truman’s interaction with Stalin proves that the U.S.S.R. wasn’t only unmoved by America’s weapon, but was in fact more aware of the bomb’s destructive power than anyone realized. Therefore, says Contemporary History Institute Director Chester Pach, “I would not rule out that influencing the Soviet Union was a factor for principal officials who were involved with the bomb, but I don’t agree that it was the primary consideration” (McNulty).

In 1995, on the fiftieth anniversary of the dropping of the bombs and the subsequent end of the war, the National Air and Space Museum was preparing an exhibit centered around the Enola Gay, the famous plane piloted by Paul Tibbets, that dropped the first bomb over Hiroshima on August 6<sup>th</sup>, 1945. President Truman established the National Air Museum as a Smithsonian Institution in 1946 (“Smithsonian National Air and Space Museum”), and the museum maintains the largest collection of historical air and spacecraft in the world, which is

why, in 1981, it was criticized for its “omission of the Enola Gay” (Gallagher). In 1988, however, preparations began to exhibit the refurbished Enola Gay, amid growing concern from the Air Force Association and the Japanese people, many who state that “they do not think it right that America should put [the] plane on display” (Gallagher). The museum’s plans for the exhibit evolved from three different proposals concerning Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the end of World War II, the beginning of the atomic age and the Cold War, as well as looking back on the atomic bombs fifty years later (Gallagher). In 1994, displeasure, anger, and controversy arose when the exhibit was charged with “focusing too much attention on the Japanese casualties inflicted by the nuclear bomb, rather than on the motivations for the bombing or the discussion of the bomb’s role in ending the World War II conflict with Japan” (“Wikipedia- The Free Encyclopedia”). In May 1994, the American Legion adopted Resolution 22, stating that the Legion “strongly objects to the use of the Enola Gay in an exhibit...which infers that America was somehow in the wrong and her loyal Airmen somehow criminal in carrying out this last act of war” (Gallagher). The exhibit was eventually cancelled, and museum director Martin O’Harwit’s resigning seemed “inevitable” for the effort he had exerted to preserve the integrity of the controversial exhibit. His reputation was tarnished beyond repair. However, the Enola Gay has been on display since late 2003 at the National Air and Space Museum’s Steven F. Udvar-Hazy Center in Chantilly, Virginia, with the signage around the aircraft providing only “the same succinct, technical data as is provided for other aircraft at the museum, without discussion of the controversial issues” (“Wikipedia- The Free Encyclopedia”).

It is impossible to answer for certain the reasons behind the growing controversy of the atomic bombs. Directly after the bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, individuals were exposed to high levels of radiation, and were subjected to severe burns from the blast and

the fires that resulted afterward. Research has proven that survivors, especially those who were children at the time, run a higher risk of developing such diseases as leukemia, essentially demonstrating that the effects of the bomb didn't end with Japan's surrender. A major debate today is the irresponsibility of President Truman and his advisors for even considering using such a weapon when they had no idea what the long-term consequences would be. Arguably, such ignorance didn't stop Adolf Hitler, nor would it have likely stopped the Japanese if they had been in possession of such a weapon. The Japanese soldiers weren't only a danger to American soldiers and prisoners of war, but had in fact wreaked havoc upon the Chinese and the other Asian populations long before the attack on Pearl Harbor. From the Rape of Nanking to the brainwashing of the native populations on the island of Saipan, the crimes of the Japanese were numerous and unprecedented in their cruelty, not unlike those committed by Nazi Germany. Neither power would've been easily persuaded to stop. It was only after excessive bombing in Germany and intense fighting and dedication by all Allied soldiers that the enemy was defeated. The difference between the conflicts in Germany and Japan was that, as the end was drawing near in Germany, the Nazi soldiers became leery of fighting for Hitler, with his promises dissolving and his "Thousand Year Reich" resting precariously on the edge of collapse. The Japanese, on the other hand, were making preparations to fight to the end, assembling young children and women and training them to use bamboo spears and other crude weapons, to die rather than succumb to surrender.

It cannot be proven statistically how many lives would've been lost in a direct invasion of Japan. For the Americans alone, predictions range from 100,000 to one million or more, with that factor probably doubling for the Japanese. In Hiroshima, 200,000 perished due to the atomic bomb. In Nagasaki, the accepted number is somewhere around 150,000. The majority of those

casualties were civilians, but so were the women brutally raped in Nanking, so were the brainwashed men on Saipan that threw their young children into the sea rather than surrender to the “barbaric” Americans. The Japanese started the conflict on December 7<sup>th</sup>, 1941 with the early-morning attack on Pearl Harbor, and it was up to the Americans to finish it. Veterans, historians, authors, and critics have said that World War II was the last “good war” the world has ever fought, a war motivated primarily by right and wrong, the gray areas small in comparison to the gross injustices being committed by the Axis leaders around the world. It was for the Jews and other minorities that the Allies fought for peace in Germany. It was for those lost at Pearl Harbor, for those brutalized in China and other Asian nations, and for the soldiers beheaded and tortured on the Bataan Death March, that the United States fought a vicious war against Japan in the Pacific. The war was about justice, and also about finding peace, creating a world where all men are created equal.

C.S. Lewis said, “If war is ever lawful, then peace is sometimes sinful.” In 1945, men and women around the world would agree that World War II was a necessary undertaking, and that the atomic bomb was essentially a lifesaver. As the voices from the “greatest generation” begin to fade, more controversy seems to arise. One factor closed to interpretation is the brutality that characterized World War II, and while such brutality was evident on both sides of the conflict, it is historically attributed mostly to the actions of the Germans, and also to the Japanese. President Roosevelt’s decision to provide funding for the atomic bomb, and then President Truman’s decision to utilize the weapon, was the only conceivable way to end the brutality, to stop the loss of life. C.S. Lewis argues that while war and the tragedies that personify it are rarely logical, sometimes peace isn’t, either, nor are the methods with which peace is sometimes achieved. It’s terrible that so many had to die for the war to end in peace, but those who argue against the

sensibility in the decision to use the atomic bomb seem to forget the millions that died before the bombs were even dropped, the millions that were projected to die without it. Theodore Van Kirk, the last remaining survivor of the Enola Gay crew, states, “We did what we had to do. Not only to save American lives, but Japanese lives as well...Would I do it all again? Yes, given exactly the same circumstance, yes I would.”

## Historical Analysis

When Ralph Leinoff, a Marine in the 4<sup>th</sup> Marine Division, landed on Tinian in July 1944, he had no idea what his efforts on that island would mean. Over a year later, on August 6<sup>th</sup>, 1945, the Enola Gay took off from Tinian Island en route to Hiroshima, Japan, carrying aboard the most devastating weapon the world had ever seen: the 9,700-pound uranium bomb ironically nicknamed “Little Boy,” the first of the two atomic bombs to be dropped over Japan.

I’ve had the privilege of personally interacting with many World War II veterans and survivors over the last four years. However, after meeting with and speaking to Mr. Leinoff, he is different than the others in that he has questioned President Harry Truman’s decision to drop the atomic bomb on Japan. After serving overseas in the Pacific from 1942-1945, Mr. Leinoff—a corporal in the United States Marines, a machine gun squad leader—fought on the islands of Kwajalein, Saipan, Tinian, and Iwo Jima, and was at base on Maui in August 1945 when it was announced that the bomb had been dropped on Japan.

Mr. Leinoff wouldn’t consider himself a hero, but from my point of view, listening to him talk of his experiences was nothing short of heroic. I’m not sure I’d ever be enlightened enough to offer forgiveness to the Japanese had I experienced what they were unleashing on men like Mr. Leinoff, essentially young boys who at the time were the same age as I am. On February 19<sup>th</sup>, 1945, Ralph Leinoff landed at Iwo Jima as a member of the 4<sup>th</sup> Marine Division, and as machine gun squad leader, led seven men ashore. “By the end of the day,” he said. “I had three—there were only three of us left.” Iwo Jima was such a tragic battle because those in charge believed it wouldn’t be. The operation was only supposed to take a few days, but it wasn’t until mid-March that the fight was considered to be won.



Before Tinian and Iwo Jima came Saipan in June 1944, and Mr. Leinoff described the island to me perfectly as “an upside down monkey wrench.” Most poignant to me throughout his sharing the story of Saipan was imagining entire families dying in such gruesome ways in an effort to avoid capture by the Americans. According to Mr. Leinoff, the Chamorros—the native population on Saipan—had been under Japanese control for many years, “and they were fed a lot of propaganda about how they should not surrender to the Americans, the American troops are barbarians.” If watching fellow Marines die at the hands of the Japanese wasn’t bad enough, to see the effects of their propaganda, to watch as hundreds of young lives were lost senselessly is as devastating as it is horrifying. The Japanese were ruthless, cruel, and listening to stories such as these, I cannot imagine witnessing such a thing and feeling any empathy towards the civilians lost in Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

At the time the bombs were dropped, Mr. Leinoff had four landings in the Pacific and “wasn’t looking to do a fifth one.” He stated at that point, he didn’t care about what happened to the Japanese. I wasn’t expecting what followed: “That was then. Since then, I have questioned—I don’t have answers—I have questions about the way it was done, why we had to do it.”

Approximately 200,000 lives were lost in Hiroshima, about 150,000 in Nagasaki. I don’t really have a concrete opinion concerning this event in history. Do I agree with killing 350,000 civilians? No. But do I agree with doing whatever was necessary to end the war, so honorable men like Mr. Leinoff could return home safe? Yes, without a doubt. Mr. Leinoff described a “catch-22” in my interview with him, though it was concerning a different aspect of his story. In my opinion, that’s what the atomic bomb was, a catch-22. In 1945, it was evident that the only way to save lives was to take them. It was a just a matter of discerning whose lives were going to be lost, and after listening to Mr. Leinoff’s story, and to the stories of other veterans and

survivors of the Holocaust and World War II, I believe President Truman made the right decision. All these stories would've been lost forever. I can't imagine what the world would be like if that had happened, if no one had been around to share the devastation that characterized World War II, as well as the triumphs. If men like Mr. Leinoff hadn't told their stories, what would've prevented something similar from happening all over again?

Near the end of our conversation about Japan and the atomic bomb, Mr. Leinoff said about the Japanese, "They're human beings...they're good people." If I can only remember one thing from this interview years from now, I wish it will be that statement. Maybe if people everywhere were able to think in such ways, to find the humanity in the enemy as Mr. Leinoff has done, there wouldn't be any more war, anymore death or dying. It is for that reason I describe Mr. Leinoff as a hero, because when it comes to the wars I've grown up with, forgiveness has no part in them. It takes a special person to find that forgiveness amidst such scars and terrible memories, and I respect and admire Mr. Leinoff very much for his ability to do that.

Oral history isn't valuable simply because of what we can learn about the past, but also because of what we can take from the past and bring with us to the future. "War is hell," Mr. Leinoff said. "It really is, and if you try to describe it, it just...it just can't be done." No one today can truly understand the national cohesiveness brought about by World War II, the patriotism and the nationalism that ran through the veins of every American, a life source stronger than blood. Nor can we understand the nightmare experienced by the men in uniform. However, through projects like this we can keep the story alive so that generations ahead won't suffer through such tragedies as did the men and women that lived through World War II.

## Key Quotes from the Transcription

- “The native population [on Saipan], the Chamorros, had been under Japanese control for many years, and they were fed a lot of propaganda about how they should not surrender to the Americans, the American troops are barbarians and everything. And rather than surrender—they believed this stuff—and we tried to get women and children down because it was a manufacturing town, too. It had a sugar mill and they had agriculture. It was a very beautiful island, actually. But the people were so indoctrinated that rather than surrender they jumped from the cliffs with...with the babes.” page 30
- “The next one was supposed to be a very small island which is really—it cut the distance between the Marianas and Japan—Tokyo—in half, because as I said it was about fifteen hundred miles from the Marianas Islands to Japan. So they had this little small island, had an airfield on it, a place called Iwo Jima. Now we figured we were gonna hit that, and that should take about four or five days, because that’s a very small island, it’s maybe only about six or seven miles in length.” pages 32-33
- “So I took seven men ashore; [clears throat] by the end of the day I had three men—there were only three of us left. So a lot of bad things happened [on Iwo Jima].” page 34
- “War is hell, it really is, and if you try and describe it—it just...it just can’t be done.” page 37

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**Ralph Leinoff**  
**Interviewed by Jillian Casey**  
**Glen at Highland Meadows**  
**December 7<sup>th</sup>, 2010**

Jillian Casey: My name is Jillian Casey. Today is December 7<sup>th</sup>, 2010. I'm here with Ralph Leinoff at the Glen at Highland, and how are you today?

Ralph Leinoff: Not as good as I was fifty years ago!

JC: [Laughing] Okay, are you ready to start?

RL: Yes, yes.

JC: Okay. Could you just tell me when and where you were born?

RL: I was born in, uh, Manhattan, in New York City. Manhattan, the borough of Manhattan.

JC: Okay. And what was your date of birth?

RL: I was born on January 28<sup>th</sup>, 1923, which means that next month, on January 28<sup>th</sup>, 2011, I will be eighty-eight years old.

JC: Eighty-eight years young.

RL: Young. [JC laughs]. Thank you.

JC: What type of education did you have before you went into the war?

RL: I had a high school education. I was a high school graduate, and I had been working—been out of high school maybe...maybe two years or so—and I was working for a lithographic printer.

JC: What did that involve? At the...

RL: Lithographic printing?

JC: Yes.

RL: Well, the industry is...is highly technical in that it requires a lot of chemistry and a lot of printing presses and a lot of camera work, big gallery-type camera work. And my last position with them was as an apprentice...a lithographic printing plate maker.

JC: Oh wow.

RL: Yes.

JC: Wow. Okay, what was it like growing up, for you, during the Great Depression?

RL: Well, when you're young, you take everything in stride. And I knew that...that these were hard times. My parents struggled. My father worked seven days a week; my mother had to contribute, too. She had to work, and we...we were having a rough time in that money was always tight and we could never even think of college or anything like that at that particular time.

JC: Okay.

RL: So...I had a good childhood. I had a...I don't have any regrets about the years. As I said I took it in stride. I figured this is the way things...were, this is the way things are, this is the way things are going to always be. Because when you're young, you feel, well, that that's the way the world is.

JC: Right. What did your parents do?

RL: My father was...he had a small factory where he was manufacturing children's garments, winter garments for children. And he had a factory in Manhattan, and our summer time vacations were not really all play. We were expected to work. I had two brothers—

JC: Okay.

RL: —and we were all expected in the summertime to come in and help at the factory. And my mother, too, helped at the factory. So [slaps hands on thighs] my first introduction to work, getting a salary job, was for my father, in about...then it was about the 1930s.

JC: Right. And you said you had two brothers?

RL: I'm sorry?

JC: You had two brothers?

RL: Yes, I have two brothers, younger brothers.

JC: Any other siblings, or just...?

RL: No, no.

JC: No, okay. Do you remember where you were when you heard about the attack on Pearl Harbor, on December 7<sup>th</sup>?

RL: Yes we were frequently moving [chuckles] around the city. Although I was born in Manhattan, we lived in the Bronx, and we used to change apartments when they were so plentiful that the landlords were offering all kinds of inducements to make you move from one place to the other, so we kinda hopped around. And at that time I was living in the West Bronx, and [Pause] it was a nice apartment building in those days.

JC: Right.

RL: It's not there anymore, but in those days...we had a good life there, right.

JC: What was going through your mind when you heard that the United States had been attacked?

RL: Well...I had a strong feeling—at that time, I was...that's about, let's see...about eighteen. Yeah, eighteen, nineteen, in there, and I had a strong feeling that I was going to be involved in this war.

JC: Right.

RL: When it happened that Sunday, which is...today's date...

JC: Yes, the anniversary.

RL: ...Yes. [JC clears throat] I knew I was gonna be involved, but just when and how hadn't occurred to me.

JC: Right.

RL: I had a job, I was contributing to the...contributing to the family income, and as I say I—I knew that ultimately I would be, well...Europe was already at war...

JC: Okay. [Clears throat]

RL: ...and we were trying to stay out of it as best we could.

JC: Right.

RL: But so many things were going wrong, and we realized that the...the enemy wouldn't be very kind to us if he got the upper hand...

JC: Right.

RL: ...and we knew that it was going to have to be an all-out effort.

JC: Right.

RL: Which it was. In those days, when we went to war, the whole country knew we were at war.

JC: Yes.

RL: Not like today. We're at war, we have two wars going, and most of the people don't even know about it [chuckles]. You don't feel anything.

JC: Yes, it's different. [Clears throat]

RL: In those days when we went to war we had all kinds of rationing and restrictions about showing lights out at night, you know.

JC: Right.

RL: And we had marshals who used to come around, you know, and give advice. We were collecting fat, you know, lard, to help our troops, and...it was a case of everybody in the country putting their shoulder to the wheel.

JC: Right.

RL: Yes. Stuff like today, God, I feel sorry for the poor guys today. They don't have all that [unintelligible] behind them.

JC: Right.

RL: They're very disgusted with the war, and...

JC: Yes. How did your family feel about the attack?

RL: Yes, well...

JC: Your brothers?

RL: Well we all, I think, had the same idea, that this war was for real. Now, we're Jewish...

JC: Okay.

RL: ...and we knew what was going on. We got word from Europe what was going on in Hitler's Germany, and we knew that sooner or later his ambitions were to dominate, actually, the whole planet if he could.

JC: Scary.

RL: That was his favorite expression: Deutschland über alles [Germany over all]. I can't give you an exact [unintelligible], but it was saying today we have Germany, tomorrow the world.

JC: Right.

RL: Heute Deutschland, morgen die Welt [Today Germany, tomorrow the world]. It means today it is Germany, tomorrow the world. We knew that the man had to be stopped.

JC: Yes, is that why you wanted to join the service?

RL: Well I wanted to join the service because I felt our way of life was being threatened.

JC: Okay, right.



RL: So you can...yes, you can say that, because the man was a maniac and I knew we were—if we don't defeat this man, we knew sooner or later that he would come marching down this street.

JC: Yes.

RL: So we had to, we had to go to war.

JC: And when did you join the Marines?

RL: I joined the Marines in...it was December...it was about a year later...December 1940...December 1942, I believe. Yes, 1942. Yes. Well, what happened was the...the services were being swamped with people joining up and all. They couldn't take all the people at once. They...to absorb them they had to build camps and barracks and facilities to house the men and to feed the men and...and arm them and clothe them and do everything. So even though I was sworn in, in 1942, the end of 1942, I was not called to active service until early January some time, when there was room for me.

JC: Why did you choose to join the Marines?

RL: Well in those days I was a pretty...pretty much footloose and fancy-free guy, and I didn't have any strong ideas about which service to join or not. I had a friend who convinced me that we're gonna go in together and we're gonna join a real fighting outfit. We're gonna get into the Marines. So I went along with my friend, Stuart, and my folks did not like—I still had to have my folks' okay on it...

JC: Right, their permission.

RL: ...at that time eighteen was not old enough. But I convinced them that it's gonna happen sooner or later, I'm gonna be drafted one way or another, and [it] took a lot of agonizing, but I decided I'd go in with my friend, Stuart. My friend Stuart, he said his parents would give him an okay, they didn't. So I went in without Stuart [chuckles].

JC: [Laughs] By yourself.

RL: Stuart joined later on in the war. About a year and a half later he also went into the Marines, but we didn't go in together.

JC: Okay.

RL: And...it was a strange set of circumstances under which I was enlisted. At the time I figured that, with the war on our hands and the National Guard being called up—we had no National Guard left at home, really—New York State and many other states formed its own state guards, and we had a New York State Guard. So I joined that...that military organization, got a uniform and everything, went to training and all that, training as an infantry man, and when things were getting closer and closer and I knew that I had to enlist, I said, "Well, I'm gonna get out of the

Guard, I'm gonna join the Marines." So the first thing I did, going down to join the Marines, was asked on a questionnaire, "Are you now a member of any military organization?" Being a very truthful guy—which I'm no longer, but at that time I was [chuckles]...

[JC laughs]

RL: ...I said, "Yes, I belong to the New York State Guard. That's a military organization." The Marines said, "Well we can't take you until you go get a discharge from them. We're not going to take a soldier on active duty with the state." I went back to my company commander and said I was trying to join the Marines, and before they'll take me I have to be discharged from the state guard. The commander said, "No way, Jose!" He said, "You gotta show us that you're enlisted. We're not letting you go just for that."

JC: Oh my Gosh!

RL: So, you know what the expression "catch-22" is?

JC: Yes.

RL: Well that was a catch-22. [Ringing, buzzing in the background] So I didn't know what to do, it was a dilemma. The Marines wouldn't take me, and they wouldn't let me go, the Guard. What I finally did was I waited a couple of weeks more, and I went down to reenlist again...

JC: Okay. [Laughs]

RL: ...start out from scratch. And this time I lied on the application.

JC: [Laughs]

RL: I said, no, not a member...

JC: Learned your lesson.

RL: ...of a military organization. So, yes, they took me.

JC: Where did you go for basic training?

RL: We go to where all the Marines on the eastern part of the United States go, to Parris Island, boot camp. And we had about—normally there was about an eight-week training period—at that time they were cutting things shorter, and we spent about six weeks in training, in North Carolina. That's...that's in Buford, South—South Carolina. Parris Island is South Carolina. It just borders on North Carolina. And from there we went up to Camp Lejeune after we got out of boot camp. I was assigned to an infantry outfit. We went into Camp Lejeune, and that's in North Carolina.

JC: Which infantry outfit were you assigned to?

RL: No, the...at that time there were just beginning to form division-based units.

JC: Okay.

RL: [clears throat] There was—the 1<sup>st</sup> Marine Division was already in existence, been in Guadalcanal and Bougainville and down in south Pacific, and they were organizing at that time what was called the 4<sup>th</sup> Marine Division.

JC: Right.

RL: So my unit was part of the 4<sup>th</sup> Marine Division.

JC: And when did you go overseas?

RL: Okay, well, we did about six month or so in North Carolina.

JC: Right.

RL: And they shipped up to a new base that had just opened up in California, uh, in Pendleton, which was about half-way between San Diego and Los Angeles. In nice sunny, southern California, and it's a nice place, all brand-new barracks and everything.

JC: Okay.

RL: We did some training there for about another six months or so, whatever, and then we were shipped overseas to go into combat directly from the United States. It's kind of a first for our organization as a Marine division. It had never sent out a unit from the United States to go directly into battle, into the...the Marshall Islands. Our first operation was Marshall Islands. We went right from San Diego, we stopped a few days—didn't get off board—we didn't leave the ship in Hawaii, just to resupply.

JC: Okay

RL: We stayed aboard ship a couple of days, and then we proceeded to the operation. We were prepped for it pretty well. We were a pretty well-trained organization by the time we got out. It was about a year between my being taken into the Marine Corps and then the first operation. I had a good year of training.

JC: Right.

RL: So that's where we went. We went to Marshall Islands, and the Atoll, and Kwajalein, and the two islands in the Atoll. We... [unintelligible].

JC: Right.

RL: Yes.

JC: How did you keep in touch with your family back home?

RL: Mail. It was either e-mail or v-mail or something. Not—not e-mail, v-mail. It was a written letter, a written letter with special paper. You fold it up [demonstrates with hands]. Yes, there were no telephones, no cell phones...

JC: [Laughs] Yes.

RL: You could not communicate, uh, any other way than by mail, and all mail, of course, was being censored.

JC: Okay. How long did it take a letter to get from where you were...?

RL: Well I'm not sure exactly, but I would say it took at least a week, ten days.

JC: Oh wow.

RL: Yes.

JC: So you were all over the place before you got replies.

RL: Before I got what?

JC: Before your family wrote back to you.

RL: Well yes. So I'd have to wait for the family to write back. You wouldn't hear from them for maybe a month. A month would go by.

JC: Okay.

RL: But I got mail from...from various people. Including my wife to be—at that time I was single, of course. And we were infants together. Our parents were friends, we had lived close together, but her family moved to Massachusetts and my wife was raised in Massachusetts. And we hadn't seen each other for many years.

JC: Right.

RL: But my mother induced my wife, Lillian, to send me some letters overseas. So we kind of reunited. We knew each other from infancy, but we separated for about ten, twelve years or so.

JC: Wow.

RL: So yes, we got mail. Everybody looked forward to getting letters and everything, and we wrote back and, yes. We made the best of it.

JC: What did—did Lillian do anything during the war?

RL: Yes. My wife Lillian worked for the government as an inspector for parts that were being sent overseas—particularly to Europe—for mechanized tank wars. She had a job; she was living at that time in the borough of Brooklyn. The...the job she had required her to go from Brooklyn to New Jersey—Edgewater was a Ford plant at that time—and they were producing truck parts for shipping overseas. And there were problems with the way things were being crated and shipped and all, and as an inspector she was trying—she had to go through training and all—and she had to inspect random...random crates. She would select crates at random, open them up, and then check the inventory, if it was correct. Many times she found that a crate wouldn't have a full set of brakes to replace an apparatus, or something. It would have four left brakes and [chuckles] no right brakes. And she said it was not an easy job for her because they were anxious to get things out, move just [snaps fingers] move things out as fast as possible. And because she was delaying the operation [ringing, buzzing in the background] by insisting that they put in the right materials, the materials that were supposed to be in there, she said they even threatened her...

JC: Oh no. [Laughs]

RL: [chuckles] ...threatened her life. Yes, I think they had a union or something like that. It was pretty, pretty threatening thing. But she survived. She...she went through the war working for them, yes. And so, that's where we are. I'm overseas, she's over here, and we...we went into our first operation, as I said at Kwajalein Atoll. It lasted about five, six days. Comparatively speaking, for what was yet to come, it was a...kind of like a push over. We lost men, there were losses, of course, but the last time the Marine Corps engaged in an operation, it was the island of Tarawa. Tarawa was an atoll island, also.

JC: Right.

RL: I don't know if you're familiar with a map of the Pacific, but it consists of a lot of underground mountains in all which are really—above the water become atolls, little islands, and all. And [clock chiming in the background] the operation before us was Tarawa, and we took heavy losses on Tarawa, because we were using Higgins boats, which were not able to negotiate the coral reefs. They got hung up on the coral reefs, which meant that the men all had to get to shore; they had to wade through hundreds of yards of water to get through. It's very shallow water in the coral reefs. And of course the coral is very sharp. It would tear your shoes, and they were sitting ducks, there was no place to get cover. So they took an awful beating on Tarawa. At that time, then, it was decided that we have to do something else. We can't use the Higgins boats—Higgins boats were good in that they were very, very fast.

JC: Right.

RL: They moved right along. But we needed a tract vehicle, like a tank that could float. And they invented the...the half-track, which was a true carrier, an open-top, true carrier, and that could ride right over the coral. If you got in it moved very slow, it didn't have propellers on it. The

cleats on the treads, the tank treads, were the propulsion device. It would push the water back and the vehicle would go forward. And it held maybe about ten men or so, but it was very, very slow moving, and we had a few casualties. Luckily the Navy and the Naval Air Force had bombarded that island quite thoroughly. Kwajalein was a...a flat island. It was of strategic value because it had an airfield on it.

JC: Right.

RL: And there were no place for the Japanese to really dig in deep. They had their pill boxes, but they were able to...were able to resupply their own ships from Kwajalein, and we had to take it. And we wanted that airfield. So the Navy Air Force did a very good job of bombing the island so when we got there it was comparatively light resistance. As I say we had losses, but...but not on the scale with what was coming up.

JC: Right, and that's...

RL: So we took that, yes.

JC: Right. And coming up for you, that was Iwo Jima, correct?

RL: Well, no, before that we had two more islands. In between we had the islands of Saipan and Tinian, which were in the Marianas. Now that's getting close—they were about fifteen hundred miles south of Japan, and they were fortified for a much longer period than Kwajalein was, and they had growth, they had hills. It was like a washboard, up and down, up and down, valleys up and down Saipan. And it was very hard to find out where we were being shot at, so we took a lot more losses on Saipan. But again we had vehicles which were able to get us to shore. These are not coral islands, now. The Marianas, they were actually sandy beach islands, and we were able to get in with faster vehicles, but of course the amount of fire that we took was enormous compared to what happened at Kwajalein. We lost a lot of men there, getting on that island, and that took more than five days. Saipan took about...I'd say about thirty days. Now the island is only about eighteen miles long. It's shaped something like an upside down monkey wrench. You know what a monkey wrench looks like?

JC: Yes.

RL: You turn it upside down you got an idea of what Saipan was like. The native population, the Chamorros, had been under Japanese control for many years, and they were fed a lot of propaganda about how they should not surrender to the Americans, the American troops are barbarians and everything. And rather than surrender—they believed this stuff—and we tried to get women and children down because it was a manufacturing town, too. It had a sugar mill and they had agriculture. It was a very beautiful island, actually. But the people were so indoctrinated that rather than surrender, they jumped from the cliffs with...with the babes. There are movies—you might've seen them, I don't know—showing people who were trying to get them down and

they wouldn't trust us. So it was a very long operation, it was about a month or so, and we finally got it secured. And then from there, there was a second island, a sister island, which was about three, four miles to the north of Saipan. It was called Tinian, and Tinian was also populated by Chamorros, and Tinian was not as mountainous as Saipan, but it was pretty—maybe it was about fifteen miles long or so. And that was pretty well fortified.

JC: Right.

RL: We hit Tinian...we did something which was a little unusual for Marine Corps invasions. Normally we plan a whole beach landing; a whole wave would attack on shore, land on a beach like they did in Europe...

JC: Right.

RL: ...You know you have a long beach. On Tinian, the Marine Corps decided they would make a feign maneuver at what they called Tinian City, which is somewhere down in the lower southern...southwest part of the island. Tinian City had good beaches, and the Japanese knew we were coming, and they had all their troops and materials down there, ready. And we had ships out there that looked like we were getting ready to invade. But the real invasion, we land on a very narrow, rocky beach, where you would never think to put a division. We put a division ashore in the northeastern end of the island, which took the Japanese completely by surprise.

JC: Right.

RL: There were defenders up there; they had machine guns and everything. Machine guns took their toll and everything, but we were able to land with a minimum of casualties. They landed ten thousand men in a few hours, but the small arms fire did manage to stop us, and we weren't that—weren't strong enough, really, to just push in. We had to wait for reinforcements, too. Well the Japanese waited for reinforcements, too, and the Japanese came, too. Down in Tinian [City] they got word that the invasion was up north. That night they sent—they sent I don't know how many men, I guess hundreds of men, came up to do a banzai attack, and...we were dug in, we were all set. At least the perimeter that we had was a very small perimeter. We dug in, we expected an attack in the morning, that they would come up and look for us. And if you dug in, they come to you. A banzai attack is an act of desperation. Very rarely do you accomplish anything with a banzai attack. It was a banzai attack on Saipan. We never experienced it, but the New York 27<sup>th</sup> Division did experience an attack by Japanese who, at that time, were reduced to, instead of weapons, they had [chuckles] broomstick handles with nails in them. They were fighting desperately because we had managed to bomb all their supplies and equipment, and about the third week of the battle they were down to nothing, so they tried a banzai attack. But it's...as I say it's an effort in futility.

JC: Right.

RL: On Tinian they came at us, and they had tanks, too. The only thing is the tanks were no match for the—for our tanks. Our tank, in the Pacific, was like the cream of the crop, where in Europe our tanks [laughing] were not the cream of the crop, because the Germans had better tanks than we had.

JC: Right, yes.

RL: But against the Japanese tanks we did pretty good. We had bazookas, and we were able to...to break the back of that Banzai attack on the second day, and from there it was just a steady plodding march, rough weather, and you would have intermittent machine gun fire here and there. They took a toll, but it wasn't as bad as it might have been. If we had attacked where they expected us to attack, we would've been met with a lot more fire...

JC: Right.

RL: ...cannons, and machine gun fire, mortars and whatnot. So we did Saipan and Tinian...maybe about—there was maybe, maybe about a week apart. We hit Saipan in forty...'45...no, 1944, in June. Finished that up, I guess it was in July we were in...on Tinian, and we finished that up. Now, the 4<sup>th</sup> Marine Division had established a base, an advance base, in a very nice place called Maui. I don't know if you know Maui...

JC: Yes.

RL: ...Maui is in the Hawaiian Islands, it's a beautiful island, beautiful place. We all hated it because we were there...

JC: Right, not to...

RL: ...not to, not for the scenery...

JC: Right.

RL: ...but it was truly a beautiful island, and we had established a base. And the routine was we would plan our operations to leave from Maui, go into the operation, and then after the operation come back to Maui. And then we'd start getting ready for the next one.

JC: Okay.

RL: So we crossed the Pacific, the International Dateline, maybe about...four, six times, something like that...

JC: Wow.

RL: ...and we did that after Saipan and Tinian, we went back to Maui. We...we were getting ready for the next. The next one was supposed to be a very small island which is really—it cut the distance between the Marianas and Japan—Tokyo—in half, because as I said it was about



fifteen hundred miles from the Marianas Islands to Japan. So they had this little small island, had an airfield on it, a place called Iwo Jima. Now we figured we were gonna hit that, and that should take about four or five days, because that's a very small island, it's maybe only about six or seven miles in length. The only problem is that it had high scaling walls of which the Japanese dug in cannons and all kinds of pill boxes all over the place. They had held it for many years—I think it was about forty years, and they had fortified it, thinking eventually that we would be coming there. Well they guessed right, there was no ploy here. To hit Iwo Jima they sent a tremendous naval force, and there the beach—they had only one good beach—there was no place you could find shelter on either side of the island. It was shaped like a pork chop.

JC: Okay.

RL: So the 4<sup>th</sup> Marine Division and some of the units from the 3<sup>rd</sup> were with us, and a couple from the 5<sup>th</sup>, but the main assault was handled by the 4<sup>th</sup> Marine Division. The plan was—we found out later on, we didn't know it then at that time—we would take Iwo Jima, and then go directly to Okinawa. The plans for Okinawa were already set up, with the 2<sup>nd</sup> Marine Division—which my friend Stuart was now in—and I get to see my friend Stuart on the island of Okinawa, which is a [chuckles] tremendously long island.

JC: Right.

RL: Well, when we got through with Iwo Jima there was not much left of us, and they said, "We're gonna send you back to Maui."

JC: Okay.

RL: So five weeks on that little pork chop island, and, the casualties—they said were the worst Marine Corps battle, ever, because they were ready and waiting for us...

JC: Right.

RL: ...and there was no shelter. The only shelter you had are the...the holes that our naval gun fire created on the beach. The bombardment, you know, created holes, craters [slaps hands together] and that was the only shelter you had, no vegetation, nothing. And I took a machine gun squad to shore on that D-Day, February 19<sup>th</sup> [1945], and we had—I can't remember for sure, memory doesn't serve me very good, because at various times I was supposed to have either seven men or eight men.

JC: Okay.

RL: There's what they called a table of organization. According to the manual, a machine gun squad consists of eight men, but I think at that time we might've had only seven because guys get sick, you know, things happen. You're dealing with people, things happen. Well they transfer their shortages here, there, so they shift things around. You were constantly in a state of flux. So

I took seven men ashore; [clears throat] by the end of the day I had three men—there were only three of us left. So a lot of bad things happened. I don't—I don't think you want me to go into all the details. We'll just say we were under heavy fire...

JC: Right.

RL: ...and we took heavy casualties. At the end of the first day, our object was—as I say we thought it was going to be a very easy operation with the naval bombardment and aerial bombardment that went on for weeks before we landed, and it was felt that it shouldn't take more than a few days to get it done. And our objective on the first day was to get up that beach, that black sandy beach, up to the airfield, which of course we needed, mainly because our bombers were coming back from Japan, [clock chiming in the background] many of them were disabled, and forced to ditch at sea before they could land. There were too many airfields that they were taking off from. One was Guam, which was south—a couple of hundred miles south of the Marianas, Saipan and Tinian. And the other was Tinian...we had the B-29 bombers, and as you know the Enola Gay took off from Tinian. And they were coming back badly shot up.

JC: Right.

RL: And they were ditching at sea, and we were losing pilots at sea. So we needed Iwo Jima because that was only about 750 miles away from Japan. We needed the island to give the bombers, crippled bombers, a chance to land before going all the way back to the...to Tinian. Well, even as the island was still—we were still fighting on the island, it took several days to get that airfield...

JC: Okay.

RL: ...but once we got it, and [unintelligible] it wasn't secured yet, there were B-29s landing there. And the object was to protect the crews and everything and...in fact one of the residents here at...here at the Glen, Helen [unintelligible] her husband was a machine gunner on a B-29. I was doing something like you're doing now. I did her life story. I made a DVD of her life story...

JC: Right.

RL: ...and she was telling me about...about her husband being in the Air Force, over Japan, bombing Japan, and did I know that we had an island [chuckles] that had to be taken to save the bombers who were crippled at a place called Iwo Jima? I just said no, I didn't know about that! [RL and JC both laugh]. Anyway, we...we're on Iwo Jima for five weeks, and we have very heavy casualties, and we had—usually military organizations travel with a supply of reserve people that can fill in because they know they're gonna have casualties. So using our reserve and all, we were still down pretty low...

JC: Right.

RL: ...and they said, "You're not gonna go to Okinawa. You're going back to Maui, gotta get ready for the invasion of Japan." That would have been my fifth invasion.

JC: Okay.

RL: I had been four—I made four landings up until that time, and I had bad premonitions because everybody was saying, "*That's* gonna be the tough one, the really, really tough one."

JC: Did you...on Iwo Jima, did you see the American—the five American soldiers raise the flag?

RL: Well I didn't see them at the moment they—they raised the flag.

JC: Okay.

RL: But on the airfield—now we were about two miles up from Mount Suribachi, where the flag was raised. We were put into a reserve condition until we could get man power. Other units took over the front line, and we were put on reserve. While I was up on the airfield—now that's two miles high, looking down at Suribachi—I could see the mountain, I thought I spotted a little fleck of color up there at the top. I was like, "What the hell is that?" Because you were still seeing smoke coming up. We didn't think that they had gotten up there. And I borrowed one of the officer's field glasses. I took a look and I said, "Son of a gun, there's an American flag flying—they're up there!" But what happened was they bypassed a lot of pillboxes to get up there. They got up there as fast as they could. They took a tremendous beating going up and they went by a lot of Japanese machine gunners and all.

JC: How did you feel when you saw it? What went through your mind?

RL: Well, I said, "I'm glad that they're up there, but we're up here—we're not gonna have anything to do with Suribachi. We have to go north, the hardest part." Suribachi was at the bottom of the pork chop, and the north part had the greatest land mass, and that was all craggy slopes. It was a—a volcanic island, and if you dug down two feet you could feel the heat in the earth. So I—I was glad that we got that part secured, and that hopefully when they're finished they'll send up people to help us. At about two weeks into the operation, we started to get mail, and one of the letters I got was a postcard from the New York State Guard, threatening me with a court marshal because I had been missing the drills.

JC: Wow. I'm sorry that...

RL: Yeah. So I told my sergeant, I said, "Sergeant, I'm sorry to tell you this but I have to get back. I'm—I'm missing the drills in New York State Guard. They want me back there. Can I go back?" [Both chuckling] His expression was, "Get back to your foxhole." [Both laughing] So anyway, we started to get mail, and one of the things I got that was distributed by the Navy was a little small edition of Time Magazine. You know Time Magazine?

JC: Yes.

RL: Well in World War II they had printed a...a small edition of Time—it's a news magazine—just for the servicemen overseas. They can get it over there and you can see what's going on in Europe and all—just see how the war is going, just keep you informed. And as I sat there eating a sandwich I was going through this small magazine, and I came upon a picture, photograph—it was all black and white, no color. It was a silhouette. I said, "Son of a—look at this silhouette. There's five guys here trying to raise a flag on Mount Suribachi?" I said, "This is—this is the most interesting composition I've ever seen in my life." I had some—I'd always liked drawing, doing things, fooling around with pencil and paper, and I said, "This is a masterful composition." I said, "You know, when I get back, I'm gonna try and draw a picture. I'm gonna enlarge this picture and do it." So I started drawing. We had nothing else to do; we were in reserve until we got up there. I had letterhead, I had a pencil, so on—on the letterhead I was using this, I was drawing it. And I kept the drawing, and finally when we got back to our base in Maui, I was serious. I said, "I'm gonna go get me some paper and some paint—some watercolors. I think this picture is gonna...it's a great picture!" At that time it just came out, nobody really knew what it was.

JC: Right.

RL: So, I started painting it on the camp—at Camp Maui. I laid—I got a bigger piece of watercolor paper, I bought some supplies. They weren't very good, but I started drawing and I started painting. You know, during the day, you had things to do. It was only at night I had time, under the incandescent light, and I started to paint it. And I'd roll it up, put it under the—the cot, and suddenly I start seeing this—this picture, it's getting recognition all over the world. I says, "There are artists who have turned it into a full-scale watercolor—oil painting, used for magazines and whatnot." So I was gonna throw my picture away. Instead I—it got ripped on the right edge and the left edge—I trimmed it down, trimmed it down, I said, "I'll put it away, and I'll finish maybe some time when we have more time, I'll—I'll try and finish it." I never did finish it. Well about sixty years later, my son—one of my sons—had seen the picture many years ago. It was in a portfolio, [claps hands together] never—never really came out. And I think it was Clint Eastwood had come out with the picture *Flags of our Fathers*...

JC: Yes.

RL: ...and he mentioned to some of his coworkers at Met Life, that his father had tried doing a painting of it. There was some curiosity about it, so he dug the picture out. And he showed it, it raised some interest. And then my other son, Stuart, he says, "You know, that doesn't belong in a portfolio." He said—my son Stuart has a woodworking shop—he said, "I'm gonna make a frame for that picture." So he made a frame for the picture, and there it is. [Points to a painting above the mantle]

JC: Wow. You made that—you drew that?

RL: Well, I—that's as far as I got. It's not a finished picture, but the kids thought it was worth something.

JC: Yes. I think it's beautiful.

RL: So they...they made a picture of it, and just a—a, it's not a great painting. The paintings that the artists made afterward with the oil, of course, were much superior. But I'm not an artist, I'm not a professional artist, but yes. I used to try to paint pictures of some of the men who were killed. I would try to make a picture and send it home to the...

JC: Okay.

RL: ...to the family. I didn't do too many because some of the letters I got back in appreciation were really heartbreaking...

JC: Right.

RL: ...and they wanted a when, how and why, they wanted all the details how men got killed, and well it's...

JC: Yes.

RL: ...you know, war is hell, it really is, and if you try to describe it, it just...it just can't be done, can't be done. So after Iwo Jima, back to Camp Maui.

JC: Were you at Maui when you heard that the war had ended?

RL: We were getting ready—we were out in the field, we were training. We were making practice landings, and we were setting up how—how to advance over terrain which was supposed to be similar to where we—we are now. And all of the sudden somebody said, "You know, they dropped a bomb on Japan [Hiroshima], that...that wiped out a whole town. And wouldn't that be great if we had it for our invasion?" And people said, yes, it would be, God—but that's crazy, because we had known that the Japanese had such capabilities of digging tunnels and deep into mountains, that no bomb could get them.

JC: Right.

RL: And we could not believe the suggestions that that might end the war. And about three—three days later, I think they hit Nagasaki. And we heard this, that the Japanese were suing to talk peace. They were ready to talk peace. We couldn't believe it, because they were the most tenacious fighters, they'd rather die.

JC: Right.

RL: We had the kamikaze fighter planes, we had Japanese soldiers which would just throw themselves right into machine gun fire. You know, and it would—they were very tenacious. The

Japanese soldier, as we felt it, really believed that he was going to get rewarded if he died for the cause of his country.

JC: Right.

RL: We couldn't believe it, couldn't believe it. In fact our captain, our captain, Snowden, the company commanding officer, after Nagasaki, gathered us together, and he said, "Listen men, there is word out that the Japanese are talking surrender, that we may not have to..." First we get a pep talk on how this is gonna be a tough battle. We think Iwo Jima was bad; we could lose like [chuckles] a million people on—on the invasion of Japan. We know how tenacious they are, and how bad we have to really knuckle down and train seriously. We cannot have people just slubbing off. We want you to make believe whenever you're in training that this is the real thing. Dig your fox holes deep, don't [chuckles] dig them shallow, and make sure your weapons are clean, everything is just right, because this is going to be a tough battle. And then he gets us together, he says, "Listen men. There's rumors here that Jap—Japan is suing for peace. But we know better. We want you to get out there and do your best. Don't make—this is not make believe. We're still gonna do these landing exercises as if it's the real thing." And, yes, but it didn't take too long—maybe within two weeks or so afterward—it was for real, the Japanese were talking peace.

JC: Right.

RL: They want to sign something with MacArthur aboard the battleship *Missouri*, and at that time we said, "This is unbelievable! We don't have to do that landing!" So we're very grateful, I was very grateful. I have to say this, I think, in all fairness. [Pause] I was very happy to see the end of the war. I did not concern myself with any after-effects of an atomic bomb. I was not interested; all I knew was that I want to go home. I had three years...

JC: Right.

RL: ...and I had four landings, and I wasn't looking to do—to do a fifth one, and I didn't care about what happened to the Japanese at that point. That was then. Since then, I have questioned—I don't have answers—I had questions about the way it was done, why we had to do it, and...if we had known more about what the atomic bombs will do to peoples' lives...

JC: Right.

RL: ...down the years, throughout the years, to—hundreds of thousands of people suffered. We could not know it at that time, so at the time I said the decision was the right one. But I just wish that we could've done something else. I mean...

JC: Yes.

RL: ...right now, I feel—I feel terrible. My grandson is going with a very nice Japanese girl, and I think it's serious, and...they're human beings [slaps hands on thighs]. Since the war ended, even Marine Corps and Japanese personnel who fought each other in 1945 have had reunions on the island. I haven't been there...

JC: No?

RL: ...but they...they both recognize that it was a madness, it was a crazy time. War is hell. But they were following their leaders, right?

JC: Right.

RL: They had this guy; Tojo [Prime Minister Hideki Tojo] had grandiose ideas of his dominating the Pacific. And we did what we had to do. And it's the ordinary soldier in the field who...who would just as soon not be there, who would be friends with them—any, anyone [slaps hands on thighs]. I've visited Japan; I've been there several times [clock chimes in the background], and I think the young people are lovely. I think it's a—a great society, and even our old commander who became a general—uh, Captain Snowden, who gave us the pep talk, he became a general—and he worked in Japan for many years as a...as an advisor.

JC: Okay.

RL: And he says they're good people, yes.

JC: When did you come back home, after the war ended?

RL: I was released from service—well, after...after the surrender thing was signed, there was a point system assigned for people going home. We had to have troops go to Japan.

JC: Okay, right.

RL: We weren't finished even though we signed the treaty. We had to send people to Okinawa, to Japan. And...but we didn't need that many now so we were sending people home. And it depended on how much service, what type of action you had during the war. And if you were married, you had family and all that counts, so it was a point system set up based on all these parameters, and you went back according to the number of points you won. Well, I didn't have enough points to go back home, so I figured I was going to Japan from here. I was a single guy; I had no—no commitments. But before long they reevaluated, and they said, "Well this guy's got four landings, and blah, blah, blah, we'll send him home." So they sent me home in...in November of 1945.

JC: Okay.

RL: They sent me back home and I received my discharge on the east coast. And that completed...I was just a couple weeks short of three years in service.

JC: Wow.

RL: And that was it.

JC: And when did you marry Lillian?

RL: Well, Lillian and I got together right away. By that time she—her family had moved back from Massachusetts, and she'd been working, as I said, for this...

JC: Right.

RL: ...Ford plant, she was from Brooklyn, and she was the only girl I knew at the time, and we dated a few times. She—she was going steady with somebody, and she remembered the old days and she said...well I told her I—I was serious, yes, I was very serious. She said, well, she likes me a lot, and we talked it over and talked it over, and finally she had to tell the other fellow that...she's making other plans. We married in 1946, May 19<sup>th</sup>, of 1946, and she passed away three years ago November, Novem...uh, we had sixty-one years together.

JC: Wow.

RL: Sixty-one years. Yes. [Pause]...

JC: And two sons?

RL: ...She's a great gal. [Chuckles]

JC: Two sons, you have?

RL: Do I what?

JC: You have two sons?

RL: Yes, I have two sons. I have two sons, I've got two grandsons. So we're not a very [chuckles] prolific family, but we get along great. We don't have any problems...

JC: Right.

RL: ...in our family, so...

JC: And what are the names of your sons?

RL: Well Stuart lives right here in Queensbury. We moved up here near—to be near Stuart because Lillian had developed melanoma—which is cancer—and we knew that we would sooner or later need to be near children. My other son, who is divorced, he's living in New Jersey, up over in New Jersey, and he—he kinda moves around a bit, too. So we didn't want to bother Larry—Larry is the, the older boy—so we moved up here to be close to Stuart, and Stuart has recently retired from ACC. He was the physics professor at ACC.



JC: Okay.

RL: Now it's called what, SUNY...

JC: SUNY Adirondack.

RL: ...SUNY Adirondack, yes. So he's retired from there, but it's not a good retirement. His wife, Linda, has pancreatic cancer, and it looks like she's going through...beautiful girl. When my wife was sick, Linda was a very, very caring solicitor [becomes emotional]. She took care of everything that Lillian needed done, and now she's not well herself. Well, that's the way it is.

JC: Yes.

RL: But I've very grateful. I...I came out more or less in one piece. I'm missing fingers here, not from the war. [Both chuckle] I did this to myself. No, I came out more or less in tact...

JC: Right.

RL: ...and they...I had a good life. What happened was— [rustling as Mr. Leinoff reaches into his pocket] excuse me. I get a little teary-eyed too, you know, what the hell. I'm an old man. So, when I came out, I just wanted to forget about it.

JC: Okay.

RL: I had nowhere to—I did get a job with another lithographic printer. And I was being...I was under...I was in line for an apprenticeship, again to become a lithographic plate maker. And I worked for them three years, but the company did not really stay up with technology. It advanced so fast—it was a big company, an old...it was a hundred-year-old company, a Germany, uh, company. And they had terrific—they did beautiful printing, and I was very happy to be with them because I felt I was going to have a good profession. It's—it's a good job, the...the union is very powerful and all [chuckles], but the company was facing bad times because they did not update their latest—we had new photographic processes coming in, which they did not keep up with, so...after I lost my job with them, they said, "We can't keep you anymore, we're folding." I...I had been working for another company that made type-setting equipment, and my hours were very good. Am I overtime here? Do you want me to start cutting it short?

JC: You're fine.

Mora Gray: You're perfectly fine. We have six minutes left on this tape, and we have a whole new tape, so...

RL: You're still using tape?!

MG: Yes. [Laughing]

RL: Shame on you. You don't have built in memory or flash cards?

MG: Well...

JC: This is an older camera...

MG: ...Yes, it's an older camera... [Laughing]

JC: ...it's Mr. Rozell's, so...

RL: Yes, oh you should've told me, I could've given you mine. [JC and MG laugh] Anyway, I'll try to rush up—so the company folded and I had this other job. I'd been working part-time as a sales representative—the company was from Wisconsin—and I...I worked for them selling in the New York area. I was doing pretty well for three years or so with them, and they got a sales manager said that I wasn't producing enough for the New York area and that we might have to get somebody else, you know, if I don't start doing better. And I got worried about my job and all, and a friend of my wife's in New York City Fire Department said, "Listen, you make your own hours, right?" I said, "Yeah, I do that a lot." He said, "Well why don't you take a job with the fire department? The test is opening up; you could work in the fire department. You get plenty of free time. You know, you work at nights. If everything's good, you have a good night, you go out and settle the next day, whatever. You can hold two jobs at one time." I said, "Really?" [Both chuckle] And I was worried about losing this job. So what I did was...he took me to take the physical exam, which I did—I did every well on the physical. And then the written test I did very well. And the first thing you know they're calling me to work as a fireman. And so I started working as a fireman and doing exactly what he said, I was working two jobs, and raising the kids. You know I had a mortgage, and I had [unintelligible] college, so I was going along fine for a while. And then I get a notice from the office in Wisconsin that they fired that sales manager. He was giving the same crap to all the sales reps.

JC: Oh.

RL: "You stay with us, you do what you do, don't worry about losing...losing your territory. You're gonna have your territory."

JC: Good.

RL: So I stayed, I was able to work for many years, two jobs. And then as the kids finished college I kind of backed off and I said, "I don't know what to do." And my wife said, "No, you've..." She was worried. There were...there were rough times in the fire department, too.

JC: Right.

RL: I took a promotion test—an exam. I became a lieutenant, and things went along very well. And then I had a little accident, I got a bum knee, and the department says, "You're not gonna be able to do duty anymore." I had twenty-seven years in already. They said, "You gotta make a choice. If you wanna stay you're going to have to work in the office." I—at first I didn't mind

working in an office. I'd never worked with women in my life and it was very interesting at first, but I still got a little tired of that. So they said, "Work in this office where you [chuckles] don't like..."

JC: Okay.

RL: "...or get out of the job." I said, "I think I'll get out."

JC: Right.

RL: So I retired, I had twenty-seven years there. And I've been in retirement. I keep busy; I do a lot of computer work, I do a lot of film editing, you know, and I've—we've managed to travel quite a bit, my wife and I.

JC: Yes, did you guys volunteer overseas in...I read somewhere that you guys did some volunteer work.

RL: Well, we...we became involved with interfaith relations.

JC: Okay.

RL: We lived in a mixed neighborhood. There were Catholics, Jews, Protestants and everything, and the priest there, Father Jack Kelly, he started—wanted to have an interfaith organization. And he started it, and he tapped me—I tried to resist him—but once he heard I was in retirement, he says, "You gonna represent the Jewish organization." I said, "No, Father, I don't have any experience with this."

JC: Right.

RL: He says, "You're gonna do it." And Father Jack was very stubborn, and I became involved for twenty-two years.

JC: Wow.

RL: I was in with the Catholic-Jewish organization of Rockwell, and my wife was involved in that, too.

JC: Yes.

RL: My wife was a librarian, a school librarian...

JC: Okay.

RL: ...and we were able—we were very fortunate. She had long vacations; I had long vacations for the fire department. We were very fortunate. We were able to travel to Asia, Europe, South America, Africa and all, and we...we had a lot of very...very good times together. It was a

wonderful sixty-one year go. My wife was very philosophical at the end, she was not sorry. She's a year younger—oh, a year older than me, and when she was hit with this, she said, “This—this is the way it is, we've had a wonderful life.” And she tried to talk me into—I think she was hinting we...we were gonna be divorced when she leaves, but she was wrong [becomes emotional]. There's no divorce. So I'm still married...

JC: Sure.

RL: ...and I have a lot of lady friends here. [JC laughs] It's warm, it's even affectionate...

JC: Right.

RL: ...but it's—it's not intimate. We don't have any intimate...

JC: Yes.

RL: ...nothing intimate going on. I'm too old, and I don't like... [Both laugh] So that's, so...here we are, and I'm very grateful to still be able to get around. I drive, and I'm able to help my son, Stuart, now, who's having a very difficult time, and I'm getting old, getting weak, knees are killing me, the hearing is a big problem. I'm not too social because of the hearing problem.

JC: Right.

RL: Because when you get into a crowded room—as long as I'm doing all the talking it's fine—but when I get into a crowded room where other people are talking...

JC: Right.

RL: ...I don't hear too well. So I do...do some things. You want to see something I do on television...

JC: Sure.

RL: ...on video? Well I have a number of projects. I have a...a website. I have a—a You...YouTube. There's a lot of junk I put out on YouTube...

JC: Okay.

RL: ...because YouTube is not fussy.

JC: Right.

RL: They'll take [chuckles]...

JC: Anything.

RL: ...any kind of junk!

## Appendix



Mr. Leinoff began drawing this picture while still in Iwo Jima, as mentioned in his interview. When he returned to base in Maui, he continued working on it until he noticed professional artists releasing personal renditions of this world-famous image. The painting was stored in a portfolio for years until one of his sons mentioned his father's history to a colleague at work not long after Clint Eastwood's film, *Flags of Our Fathers* was released. Mr. Leinoff's son made a wooden frame for the painting, and it sits over the mantle in his home.

## Commentary on your project-Jillian Casey

Your paper is one of the best I have received, ever.

The minute you came to my room to discuss what Mr. Leinhoff had said about the bomb, and that it was something that raised a cord of dissonance within you, I knew that this had to be your topic. Too often historical revisionists overlook what was really happening in the minds and on the fronts at the time. You did a splendid job trying to get to the bottom of it, and I gave you some wildly differing secondary interpretations for a reason- to see what you would do with them. Your paper supports your conclusions very well and I would have no problem using it as a model for others; in fact, I would even assign it to students to read in the future. Just a couple things, single B-29 fighter plane- of course, it was a heavy bomber pilot Paul Tibbets released the 9,700-pound uranium bomb- technically, it was the bombardier Thomas Ferebee. And I don't know if you had a chance to look at the book "Duty", which would have rounded things out nicely, but overall a great job. And the ironic thing that I did not tell you was that the Smithsonian has the Enola Gay on the outskirts of DC at that center, which I guess is nice, but too far off the beaten path for me to visit when I was in DC on Holocaust Museum business. It was like the only thing that I had wanted to see. Why is it in the middle of nowhere...?

It was a pleasure to have you in class, and all the best for you in the future. I know you will do great things. Mr. Rozell

Rubric code:	CASEY
B1 (5)	5
HC1 (5)	5
HC2 (5)	5
HC3 (5)	5
HA1 (5)	5
HA2 (5)	5
HA3 (5)	5
HM1 (2)	2
HM2 (2)	2
HM3 (2)	2
HM4 (2)	2
HM5 (2)	2
IT1 (5)	5
IT2 (5)	5
IT3 (5)	5
IT4 (5)	5
IT5 (5)	5
IT6 (5)	5
IT7 (5)	5
IT8 (5)	5
FM1 (5)	5
FM2 (5)	5
FM3 (5)	5
<b>TOTAL /100</b>	<b>100</b>

### THE FINAL PROJECT: 20% OF COURSE GRADE

#### SCORING RUBRIC

#### BIOGRAPHY/STATEMENT OF PURPOSE -5% OF PROJECT TOTAL: 5 POINTS

**B1)** Does the student provide the reader with a strong sense of the interviewee's background, using extended use of dates, details and anecdotes to provide context? Has interviewee's past been clearly established in the context of the interview period? Is purpose for the project clear?

#### HISTORICAL CONTEXTUALIZATION RESEARCH PAPER / HISTORICAL ANALYSIS- COMMENTARY ON INTERVIEW -40% OF PROJECT TOTAL (DOUBLE-SPACED, TIMES NEW ROMAN 12): 5 POINTS EACH

**HC1) Overall:** Does the student establish a strong historical background for understanding the interview,

drawing evidence from a minimum of three primary and secondary sources in approximately 4-6 pages?

**HC2)** Are dates used to insure historical context, and does student analysis consider contemporary views of the historical event or period that the interview covers?

**HC3)** Does the historical contextualization provide a clear context for understanding the interview (the "big picture")?

#### HISTORICAL ANALYSIS: 5 POINTS EACH

**HA1)** Does the student provide a competent discussion of the effectiveness of oral history that clearly establishes historical value, in approximately 2-3 pages?

**HA2)** Does the student employ the application of historical contextualization in order to assess where the interview fits into the historiography of the particular period of event (**how the “little picture” fits into the “big picture”**)?

**HA3)** Is the interview transcript used, through quotations, to support interviewer’s interpretations?

**HISTORICAL CONTEXTUALIZATION/ANALYSIS: MECHANICAL**  
**NOTES: 2 POINTS EACH**

**HM1)** Does introduction engage the reader in a dramatic fashion? Does conclusion reveal adequate student reflection on this learning activity?

**HM2)** Is it apparent that Miller, and sources beyond Miller, have been consulted? Have quotes from outside sources (besides interviewee transcript) been effectively incorporated into historical contextualization?

**HM3)** Is sentence structure varied and engaging, or is it choppy and repetitious? Are new thoughts developed in new paragraphs? Are student’s thoughts clear, and consistently conveyed through writing?

**HM4)** Is grammar (punctuation, spelling, and capitalization) adequate, or do errors distract reader and detract from overall quality of the historical background?

**HM5)** Are works cited properly, with appropriate parenthetical citations? Does the historical contextualization/analysis include a proper bibliography at the end?

**INTERVIEW AND TRANSCRIPTION- 40% OF PROJECT**  
**TOTAL (DOUBLE-SPACED, TIMES NEW ROMAN 12): 5**  
**POINTS EACH**

**IT1)** Is the interview a minimum of 40 minutes in length? Is the quality of the interview such that it is “watchable”, both visually and audibly, with a minimum of distractions?

**IT2)** Has the original signed release form been included with the hard copy?

**IT3)** Does the transcript reveal a minimum of ten open-ended questions that reflect thoroughness of research and an ordered plan for conducting the interview? Are

follow-up questions utilized to clarify points put forth by the interviewee’s responses?

**IT4)** Does the punctuation and spelling retain and convey the speaker’s meaning? Does the punctuation and spelling enhance the style and flow of the discussion? Have additional notations in brackets, [e.g., chuckles, laughs, shouts, whispers, or lengthy pauses] been added to clarify the transcription?

**IT5)** Have spoken contractions/“lazy words” been changed to proper written English or omitted, if it does not detract style and flow of the conversation? (Example: “yeah” to yes, “gonna” to “going to”, elimination of false starts, “uhhhhh”, “ummm”, etc.?)

**IT6)** Have words or phrases in question been identified **boldly** in the transcription text? Has the **transcriber sought instructor clarification** on ambiguous/unclear/ obscure statements or references before submitting? Does the transcription include informational footnotes, if necessary, that clarify ambiguous/unclear/ obscure statements or references, for the benefit of future researchers?

**IT7)** Are all tapes appropriately labeled, according archival instructions? Have all recordings been turned in?

**IT8)** Is the transcription properly spaced (**DOUBLE-SPACED**, Times New Roman 12), professional in appearance overall, and **ready for publication**?

**FORMATTING/MECHANICS OVERALL-15% OF PROJECT**  
**TOTAL: 5 POINTS EACH**

**FM1)** Is final project properly formatted and ordered according to final draft instructions for title page and contents? Does each section (as indicated in T of C) begin on new page with **appropriate heading, bold font**? Does appendix include appropriate archival information to supplement interview? Are pages numbered appropriately, in **one Microsoft Word** document?

**FM2)** Have all sources been appropriately credited, as outlined by the MLA Handbook?(please use Landmark Citation Machine at <http://citationmachine.net> for consistency)

**FM3)** Has student submitted all electronic data in appropriate format in **one Microsoft Word** document, as well as hard copy? Is hard copy in appropriately labeled manila folder?