

REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE				Form Approved OMB No. 0704-0188	
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1. REPORT DATE (DD-MM-YYYY) 16-05-2006		2. REPORT TYPE FINAL		3. DATES COVERED (From - To)	
4. TITLE AND SUBTITLE Learning Lessons from Operation SHINGLE				5a. CONTRACT NUMBER	
				5b. GRANT NUMBER	
				5c. PROGRAM ELEMENT NUMBER	
6. AUTHOR(S) John Dumas Paper Advisor (if Any): N/A				5d. PROJECT NUMBER	
				5e. TASK NUMBER	
				5f. WORK UNIT NUMBER	
7. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES) Joint Military Operations Department Naval War College 686 Cushing Road Newport, RI 02841-1207				8. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION REPORT NUMBER	
9. SPONSORING/MONITORING AGENCY NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES)				10. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S ACRONYM(S)	
				11. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S REPORT NUMBER(S)	
12. DISTRIBUTION / AVAILABILITY STATEMENT Distribution Statement A: Approved for public release; Distribution is unlimited.					
13. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES A paper submitted to the faculty of the NWC in partial satisfaction of the requirements of the JMO Department. The contents of this paper reflect my own personal views and are not necessarily endorsed by the NWC or the Department of the Navy.					
14. ABSTRACT Was Anzio indeed the “greatest missed opportunity of the Second World War” as some would argue? No. The story of how this invasion, code named SHINGLE, came to be originated, planned and executed is one which makes for a enlightening case study regarding the operational art of war. Using the framework of the Operational Factors of Space, Time and Forces, SHINGLE can be seen as the undesirable product of several interrelations, most damagingly the Space-Time-Force interrelation which caused the Allies to rush insufficient forces to a beachhead that was too far removed from the front which it was supposed to be influencing. A further examination of SHINGLE, using the framework of the joint operational functions, can provide numerous operational lessons-learned for modern U.S. military planners - the most important of which pertain to operational maneuver and movement, and operational command and control. Time and hindsight may be able to spin SHINGLE into a strategic success, but there is no doubt that it was an operational failure at the time. As an operation, it was correctly identified by the man defending against it, German Field Marshal Albert Kesselring, as “doomed.”					
15. SUBJECT TERMS ANZIO, SHINGLE, OPERATIONAL LESSONS, WORLD WAR II					
16. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF:			17. LIMITATION OF ABSTRACT	18. NUMBER OF PAGES 29	19a. NAME OF RESPONSIBLE PERSON Chairman, JMO Dept
a. REPORT UNCLASSIFIED	b. ABSTRACT UNCLASSIFIED	c. THIS PAGE UNCLASSIFIED			19b. TELEPHONE NUMBER (include area code) 401-841-3556

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Learning Lessons from Operation SHINGLE

by

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A paper submitted to the Faculty of the Naval War College in partial satisfaction of the requirements of the Department of Joint Military Operations.

The contents of this paper reflect my own personal views and are not necessarily endorsed by the Naval War College or the Department of the Navy.

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16 May 2006

Abstract

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Was Anzio indeed the “greatest missed opportunity of the Second World War” as some would argue? No. The story of how this invasion, code named SHINGLE, came to be originated, planned and executed is one which makes for a enlightening case study regarding the operational art of war. Using the framework of the Operational Factors of Space, Time and Forces, SHINGLE can be seen as the undesirable product of several interrelations, most damagingly the Space-Time-Force interrelation which caused the Allies to rush insufficient forces to a beachhead that was too far removed from the front which it was supposed to be influencing. A further examination of SHINGLE, using the framework of the joint operational functions, can provide numerous operational lessons-learned for modern U.S. military planners - the most important of which pertain to operational maneuver and movement, and operational command and control. Time and hindsight may be able to spin SHINGLE into a strategic success, but there is no doubt that it was an operational failure at the time. As an operation, it was correctly identified by the man defending against it, German Field Marshal Albert Kesselring, as “doomed.”

Table of Contents

List of Figures	iv
INTRODUCTION	1
BACKGROUND	2
ANALYSIS	6
OPERATIONAL FACTORS	6
Operational Factor of Space	6
The Operational Factor of Time	8
The Operational Factor of Forces	9
OPERATIONAL FUNCTIONAL TASKS	12
OP1 - Operational Movement and Maneuver	12
OP5 - Operational Command and Control (C2)	12
CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	16
End Notes	18
Selected Bibliography	20
Appendix A: Figures	A-1
Appendix B: Main Forces and Personalities	B-1
Main Allied Forces	B-1
Main British Forces, Anzio	B-1
Main U.S. Forces, Anzio	B-3
Main German Forces	B-3
Appendix C: Selected Timeline	C-1

List of Figures

Figure	Title	Page
Figure 1:	The Operation Functions, from CJCSM 3500.04C	A-1
Figure 2:	The Allied Strategy in Italy, January 1944.....	A-2
Figure 3:	The Allied Landing at Anzio.....	A-3

INTRODUCTION

“They think it’s gonna be all love and nickel beer, but I don’t think it will be.”

-Remark by Colonel William O. Darby of the Rangers after the final SHINGLE planning conference, January 1944.¹

Colonel Darby’s observation about the Allied amphibious assault versus the Germans at the beaches of Anzio and Nettuno, Italy in January of 1944 was correct on two levels. First, it reflected the overly optimistic attitude of the operation’s planners - mostly British military staff members seeking to make Prime Minister Winston Churchill’s invasion goals a reality. Second, it correctly anticipated the difficult fighting which was to come during the next five months for over one hundred thousand Allied troops. Fighting that claimed 761 of 767 Rangers from Colonel Darby’s 1st and 3rd Ranger Battalions on 30 January (D-Day+8) in an attempted breakout towards the town of Cisterna. Fighting that was to rank among the most difficult that the combined Anglo-American forces would face in all of the Second World War, causing approximately 43,000 Allied casualties (killed, wounded or missing) and another 44,000 hospitalized from non-battle injuries and sickness during the months of the conflict on the Anzio beachhead.²

Was Anzio indeed the “greatest missed opportunity of the Second World War”³ as some would argue? No. The story of how this invasion, code-named SHINGLE, came to be originated, planned and executed is one which makes for an enlightening case study regarding the operational art of war. Using the framework of the Operational Factors of Space, Time and Forces⁴, SHINGLE can be seen as the undesirable product of several interrelations, most damagingly the Space-Time-Force interrelation which caused the Allies to rush insufficient forces to a beachhead that was too far removed from the front which it was supposed to be influencing. A further examination of SHINGLE, using the framework of the joint operational

functions,⁵ can provide numerous operational lessons-learned for modern U.S. military planners, the most important of which pertain to operational maneuver, and operational command and control. Time and hindsight may be able to spin SHINGLE into a strategic success, but there is no doubt that it was an operational failure at the time. As an operation, it was correctly identified by the man defending against it, German Field Marshal Albert Kesselring, as doomed: “As an offensive it was no more than ‘a half-way measure’; and with but two divisions at their disposal, ‘it would have been the Anglo-American doom to over-extend themselves. The landing force was initially too weak.’”⁶

BACKGROUND

“We took a chance on Churchill’s persuasive eloquence, his conviction that we could ‘slit this soft underbelly of the Mediterranean.’ It turned out to be not so soft.”

-Remark of Lieutenant-General Mark Clark, Commander U.S. 5th Army, regarding Anzio⁷

In the fall of 1943, the United States and Britain were under tremendous pressure to open a second front in Western Europe in order to remove some of the burden felt by the Soviet Union. This second front was the main item of discussion at the Tehran conference (November 28- December 1, 1943) of the “big three” – the Soviet Union’s leader, Joseph Stalin, the American president, Franklin Roosevelt, and Britain’s Prime Minister, Winston Churchill. The essential outcome of the conference was that the Allies had agreed to the cross-channel landings into Normandy, scheduled for early the following summer and code-named Operation OVERLORD. It was their agreed-upon number one priority.

There was, however, still the Italian campaign to be won - and General Dwight Eisenhower, the Supreme Commander of Allied Forces in the Mediterranean at the time, had ordered on November 8th that General the Hon. Sir Harold Alexander, Commander of the 15th Allied Army Group, must take Rome. Alexander’s plan, SHINGLE, was to break the deadlock

on the Italian peninsula and take Rome via an amphibious landing on the Italian west coast - flanking the Germans and cutting their communications with the north. The plan was to land a single division near the beaches of Anzio to support the U.S. 5th Army, once they had crossed the German's southern front along their defensive "Gustav Line" near Cassino and advanced to the town of Frosinone (see Figure 2)- hopefully by 20 December. Due to a combination of the incredibly strong German resistance and difficult winter campaigning weather, the 5th Army was nowhere near Frosinone on December 18th, and SHINGLE was cancelled.

Another result of the Tehran conference was that the Allies had selected General Eisenhower to be the Supreme Commander of Allied Forces in Europe, requiring his relief at that position in the Mediterranean Theater. When this command was given to the British General Sir Henry Maitland Wilson, the Mediterranean was now very much a British-run theater, giving Churchill much more say in the conduct of the Italian campaign, and who thought that "the stagnation of the whole campaign on the Italian front is becoming scandalous."⁸ "We must have the big Rome amphibious operation"⁹ he wrote on December 23rd. On Christmas Eve he had a meeting with Wilson and Alexander, and all agreed on the new SHINGLE target date of around January 20 but increasing the landing to at least two-division strength.¹⁰

Despite having only three weeks to plan the invasion, and terrible rehearsals, the assault itself began smoothly. The sea was flat and calm. The night was clear, warm for the season, and the visibility was not bad. At 0150, just ten minutes before H-Hour, two rocket ships from the Allied naval assault task force opened fire with almost 800 rockets each, targeting German machine-gun positions which aerial reconnaissance showed to be covering the beach approaches. A minefield along "Peter" beach (see Figure 3) caused the first Allied casualties and slowed the arrival of reinforcements. Had the Germans opposed the landing, the massed troops could have

easily been targeted and stopped, but there was no opposition. At “X-Ray” beach the Americans had the assault battalions of three regiments ashore and were well on their way inland within one hour of the initial landing. By dawn, the gathered ships could be seen in the harbor under the cover of barrage balloons, moving troops and supplies ashore with monotonous and peaceful regularity. The Rangers had moved quickly as well and by 0930 they had captured the town and port. The landing had been a complete surprise to the German defenders. By 0800 on D+2 the convoy had been totally unloaded and was returning to Naples for reinforcements, but by then the seas had begun to build and reinforcements would be badly delayed - and still the beachhead was not being advanced.

General Schlemm of the German 1st Parachute Corps assumed command of the area and troops began to rapidly form in accordance with their well-planned script. By 1800 on D+3 there were ten divisions under the 1st Parachute Corps, and General Schlemm began to assign them to defensive sectors. When Kesselring visited the front that day he felt the Allies had missed “a uniquely favorable opportunity”¹¹ and felt justified in his gamble of leaving the majority of his troops on the southern front. Once he saw that the Allies had not pushed aggressively inland, he was sure that “time was our ally.”¹²

The period of 24-26 January saw a series of engagements, most notably around the building complex known as “The Factory.” Control of some areas changed hands several times as the enemies felt each other out. What was becoming clear to the Allied headquarters was that the Germans were building up forces much more rapidly than they had anticipated, and that the troops were coming from places like northern Italy, Germany, France and Yugoslavia – not by weakening the Gustav Line. By the time the Allies attempted to break out of the beachhead on 29 January, there were elements of twelve German divisions opposing them. After three days of

fighting, the 3rd U.S. Infantry Division had taken approximately 3,000 casualties and lost one-third of their tanks. The British managed a bit better, pushing out four miles, but with heavy casualties and along a front that stretched only a few hundred yards wide in places. By the morning of February 2nd, Major-General Lucas, Commander of the 6th U.S. Corps and in overall command of the landing forces, was forced to issue new orders: hold the beachhead against the imminent counter-offensive.

Overall German command of the Rome area, to include Anzio, was given to the 14th Army's Colonel-General Eberhard von Mackensen, headquartered just north of Rome. Adolf Hitler was taking a keen interest in the ongoing operation and personally called for a counter attack to lance the "abscess south of Rome."¹³ It would not be until February 3rd that they could attempt to do so, due to delays forced by bad winter weather and increasing Allied air attacks. By the 5th of February, the Germans had retaken the "thumb" of ground in the west that the British had previously held, and they prepared for a more general assault on the British positions. When the Germans were halted on the 19th at the "battle of the Flyover (a British term for an overpass crossing the Via Anziate)," the tide had turned for the final time in the favor of the Allies. The Germans had expended their men and material too greatly in the previous month of fighting and they were unable to stay on the offensive.

On March 1st, von Mackensen reported that he was unable to break the Allies with the troops he had available. Kesselring accepted the report and ordered all large-scale offensives to cease. The beachhead was safe, but the 6th Corps was too weak to mount an offensive itself. What followed was the two-month "Stalemate" as both sides experienced an operational pause. Anzio began to turn into a battlefield filled with small to medium tactical actions, "a static and peculiarly bloody battle of attrition,"¹⁴ not unlike those of World War One.

The final push on the main Italian front, Operation DIADEM, commenced during the night of May 11th. With the German southern front collapsing, the 6th U.S. Corps began its final breakout from the Anzio beachhead. By May 25th elements of the 2nd U.S. Corps had fought their way along the coast far enough to meet up with the 36th Combat Engineers of 6th Corps. “After 124 days and some of the most savage and costly fighting of the Second World War, Anzio had ceased to be a beachhead.”¹⁵

ANALYSIS

“What we want is good weather, reasonable beach expectations and a measure of surprise, guts and sound judgment.”

-Diary entry of Major-General W.R.C. Penney, Commander 1st British Infantry Division, prior to Operation SHINGLE.¹⁶

OPERATIONAL FACTORS

Operational analysis of the Anzio landing and subsequent five-month campaign should begin with an examination of the three Operational Factors of Space, Time, and Forces, their inter-relationships within the European Theater of Operations, and their relation to the Allied objectives. Using this framework, SHINGLE can be seen as the undesirable product of several interrelations.

Operational Factor of Space

Space is the fundamental element behind the decision to execute an amphibious assault. When the Allies were slowed in their advance up the Italian peninsula, they looked to maneuver their forces behind the German Gustav Line and cut German communications with the north. Clark repeatedly stated that the invasion would outflank the line and “exercise a decisive influence on the operation to capture Rome.”¹⁷ The terrain of Italy along the Gustav Line included rain-soaked valleys, marshes, and rivers, and greatly favored the defense. It was

especially not conducive to armored warfare or the mechanized movement of the Allied 5th and 8th Armies.

The landing itself was to take place on the beaches near the towns of Anzio and Nettuno, chosen for their good, sandy beaches and proximity to Rome and the Gustav Line, about 30 and 70 miles away, respectively. It was within effective range of fighter aircraft operating from airfields in the Naples area and, at only 100 sea-miles from Naples, it could be reached by even the slowest of naval transports in less than one day. Good roads were not far from the coast, specifically the Via Anziate which went to the Alban hills and then to Rome, and the two main German supply routes, which were objectives: the Via Latina (Highway 6) and the Appian Way (Highway 7). The main crossroads were located in the towns of Campoleone and Cisterna.

“It can be said that Lucas was the victim of fundamentally misleading topographical Intelligence.”¹⁸ The ground to the west of the Via Anziate appeared to be flat and good for tanks, but this was to prove incorrect as there were a series of steep canyons, or wadis, running throughout the area. The wadis looked like flat ground by aerial reconnaissance, but proved to be extremely difficult for infantry to navigate, and impossible for tanks. On the Cisterna flank the ground looked good, with neat hedges, but the high water table turned the area into a bog and the hedges were twenty-foot irrigation ditches filled with scrub that made for very difficult going. The beachhead was dominated by the Alban Hills, approximately twenty miles inland. It was ambiguity about the capture of these hills, discussed below in the Operational Command and Control (C2) section, that directly led to much of the subsequent Allied difficulty.

Author and historian Martin Blumenson cites Space, the nearly seventy miles physically separating Cassino and Anzio, as the “basic flaw in the maneuver. Anzio, as it turned out, but also as it was foreseen, had no tactical influence on Cassino. Neither front could support the

other.”¹⁹ Yet on this point I am not so certain. It has been learned that Kesselring had to quiet those in his staff who wished to pull troops from the southern front to repel the invasion, so it is not inconceivable that a more forceful and threatening landing at Anzio could have influenced the fighting at Cassino.

The Operational Factor of Time

Time is the only operational factor that cannot be regained once lost. For this reason it is often thought of as the most important of the three. There were two periods where Time was a critical operational factor regarding SHINGLE. The first was during the planning phase, when every move had to be weighed against the timetable for OVERLORD. This was primarily an interaction between Time and Forces, and is described more thoroughly in that section below. The second was during the execution of the operation itself when it appeared the Allies could have moved inland, yet remained consolidating their forces on the beachhead.

Time and Planning: There were only three weeks to plan the landing at Anzio, but that was considered long enough. The truth behind such a deadline is that weaknesses are often brushed aside so that the time can be allotted to the portions of the plan which are easier to handle. If the staff had time to examine the question “What if the Germans don’t take forces from the south to reinforce Anzio?” then it probably would not have continued forward with only two divisions, whose main armor force was to be unloaded on D+5. Fear of losing planning time, or slipping a deadline, was surely a formidable obstacle to the success of SHINGLE.

Time and the Invasion: It was late into D-Day before the Germans mounted any kind of organized defense, and several days before they were strong enough to counter-attack. D-Day had passed with only isolated and very light fighting, with the loss of 154 men to the Allies. The landing was nearly perfect, but the troops ashore were spending the hours consolidating instead

of moving inland toward the Alban Hills, giving the Germans the time they needed to mount their defense. It wasn't until fifty hours after the initial landings that Lucas ordered the first armored reconnaissance in an attempt to gain contact with the German defenders.

Very few people now believe that the Allies should have raced to Rome. They probably could have made it, but the Germans would assuredly have cut their supply line from the sea and then destroyed them within a matter of days. Kesselring agrees that "it would have been the Anglo-American doom to over-extend themselves."²⁰ But once the initial landing force was ashore and the Allies did not advance to certain key strategic locations, like Campoleone and Cisterna, the two vital road and rail centers in the area, time was on the side of the Germans.

In his book, *Anzio: An Unexpected Fury*, author and historian Peter Verney summarized the effect of Allied mismanagement of time:

"In many instances it is clear that the Germans were calling the tune and that 6th Corps reacted only after the enemy had shown their hand. Time was lost and ground was lost, and much of this must be laid at the door of the tactical handling of his troops by the corps commander."²¹

The Operational Factor of Forces

The main question to answer in a study of the Allied forces is: "Was the 6th Corps ever strong enough or organized correctly to take on the task given them?" If they were expected to race inland and sever the German communication lines, then why didn't they have more mechanized infantry and armor in the initial forces? If they were not going to move inland, but consolidate on the beachhead, then why not use a larger force? Why did Clark remove the U.S. paratroops that the British had asked for? The staff accurately estimated there was no place on the west coast "where a full enemy division cannot be concentrated against us in twelve hours,"²² and that the Germans would have at least two divisions available for immediate response, an additional division by the third day of the invasion and another two divisions within the next two

weeks. The answer lies in understanding both the planned German response and the divided nature of the Allied staff.

By October of 1943, Hitler had ordered Kesselring to continue his fighting withdrawal to the north, but to hold the Cassino [Gustav] line in strength.²³ The Allies knew that in addition to holding the Gustav Line, the Germans had to plan against anticipated Allied landings in the five most likely sectors of Italy. “Case Richard” was the plan for the defense of the Rome area, including Anzio. Under this Case, the Germans could rush reinforcements to the Anzio area using pre-planned logistics tables. The quandary that the Allies hoped Kesselring would face was whether to trust that the Richard reinforcement schedule would be sufficient. Should he risk a successful Allied landing in order to keep more forces at his hard-pressed southern front, or should he risk defeat in the south by taking troops from the Gustav Line to more decisively oppose an Allied landing. Kesselring decided to trust Case Richard and “had been assured by their superiors that an amphibious assault would not take place during January or February.”²⁴ Further, German Intelligence categorically stated on 20 January that no invasion is imminent.²⁵ Unfortunately for the Allies, Kesselring managed to get troops from elsewhere.

For the British, SHINGLE was conceived as a Space-Force bluff. In fact, according to Alexander, the entire Allied plan was based on the premise that Kesselring would indeed pull his forces back from the southern front when the invasion began. Alexander told historians after the war that “It was a bluff to scare the Germans into pulling back...all would depend on whether or not the Germans were fooled by our bluff.”²⁶ Further evidence that the operation was being conducted as a bluff can be seen in Churchill’s remark that the Anzio invasion will “astonish the world and certainly frighten Kesselring.”²⁷ This optimism never had any factual basis. The Americans seem to have had no confidence in the bluff and guaranteed its failure when they

performed the operational flanking maneuver, yet never intended to carry it through to its objective.

Author and historian Carl D'Este writes, "The main flaw of SHINGLE was its logistical restrictions, which severely reduced its scope to a size far too small to achieve its basic aim of cutting the German lines of communication with Cassino."²⁸ In other words, the Force-Time interaction reduced the size of the Allied invasion, and the Force-Time interaction prevented this small force from acting effectively.

Force-Time Interrelations: This is the primary obstacle for all of SHINGLE. Of primary concern to most Allied planners towards the end of 1943 was the availability of troops for OVERLORD, and the amphibious landing vehicles, principally the Landing Ship Tank (LST), which would carry them to the beaches of France. By British staff estimates, it would take a minimum of 88 landing craft to execute the Anzio assault with two divisions, and once the LSTs for OVERLORD were redeployed to England, there would be only 37 left in the Mediterranean Theater. It took a personal letter from Churchill to Roosevelt to get permission to delay the redeployment. SHINGLE was to proceed, but not later than by January 20th so that the LSTs could still leave the Mediterranean theater on or before 3 February to make their OVERLORD timetable.

Space-Force-Time Interrelations: The most damaging interrelation, which caused the Allies to rush insufficient forces to a beachhead that was too far removed from the front which it was supposed to be influencing. Blumenson summarizes, "Impatience on the part of a few frustrated commanders and the great persuasive power of a political leader overrode the technical objections of career soldiers who were uncomfortable with a gamble of such magnitude."²⁹

Verney writes bluntly, “It was an adventure which could never succeed, given the prevailing circumstances, the forces and the landing craft available.”³⁰

OPERATIONAL FUNCTIONAL TASKS

The broad Operational Functional Task areas provide an excellent framework for analyzing the operational lessons learned from Operation SHINGLE. While analysis of all the tasks can provide lessons, focus will be given to Operational Maneuver, and Operational C2.

OP1 - Operational Movement and Maneuver

As discussed above, an amphibious assault is the ultimate form of a joint operational maneuver. In this case, Allied forces were committed to executing a “left hook” behind the German lines, but then failed to continue their maneuver inland to accomplish their objectives. The British believed the landing force would cause a German reaction favoring the Allied attacks near Cassino. The American operational leader of the landing force, Lucas, never a believer in the plan, decided to consolidate his forces on the beachhead and prepare for a counterattack rather than risking any advance. He had studied Salerno and Gallipoli and concluded that to push ahead and over-stretch himself before he was strongly ashore would be fatal. The Operations Order of the 5th Army reinforced his opinion, uncompromisingly asserting that the ‘Advance was not to take place unless it can be synchronized with the operations of the remainder of 5th Army in close vicinity of the beach-head’³¹

OP5 - Operational Command and Control (C2)

“Never far from anyone’s thoughts was the near-disaster of Salerno.”³² On the fifth day of the Salerno invasion, the Germans almost succeeded in driving the Allies off of the beaches, but the beachhead was held and the Germans began their fighting withdrawal up the Italian

peninsula. The Germans were concerned about the surrender of the Italians, and sought to ensure the safe withdrawal of forces from the southern Italy to the Rome area. “Despite the victory, the Salerno landing left the Allies with a legacy that hung like a dark cloud over the entire Italian campaign.”³³ Despite this setback, progress was generally good: Italy had surrendered in September, and the Allies were maintaining constant pressure on German forces.

For SHINGLE, American General Lucas commanded the 6th Corps, which included one British and one U.S. division, fighting in support of the 5th U.S. and 8th British Armies, all under the 15th Army Group, commanded by British General Alexander. The combined staffs proved to be too much.

Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Manual 3500.04C includes in its definition of Operational C2 the requirement to provide “operational guidance, direction and vision to assigned forces.”³⁴ Probably the single most significant reason for the operational failure of SHINGLE was the lack of guidance and vision from the operational commanders, primarily due to the friction that developed at higher levels between British and American officers. As previously described, the British saw the operation as an elaborate bluff, requiring great risk. The Americans saw it as an unwise use of resources and sought to minimize the risk. To solve this discrepancy they frequently chose to simply not communicate. This C2 problem can be illustrated by some examples:

Starting at the strategic level - the British saw the Mediterranean as a vital part of the war against Germany. It would lead to the “soft underbelly” of Europe, as Churchill described it. They were not against OVERLORD, but they believed that fighting a prolonged Mediterranean action could sufficiently weaken the Germans so that the inevitable cross-channel invasion would be assured success. The Americans, who were also taxed by a war in the Pacific against

the Japanese, looked for a decisive attack against the Germans to end the war more quickly. They had been working since the third month after the attack at Pearl Harbor on an operation designed “to get troops across the Channel and into a major battle on the classic invasion routes into Germany.”³⁵ The differences of the two nations were embodied in their principle military advisors. General George C. Marshall, the U.S. Army Chief of Staff favored a direct thrust into northwest Europe, while General Sir Alan Brooke, Chief of the Imperial General Staff, favored the indirect, or peripheral, strategy. Marshall advised Roosevelt bluntly in May of 1943 that “The Mediterranean is a vacuum into which America’s great military might could be drawn off until there was nothing left with which to deal the decisive blow against the Continent.”³⁶

Ten days before the assault, an important difference emerged between Alexander’s and Clark’s visions regarding the Alban Hills. Alexander repeated to Clark that the objective of the landing was “to cut the enemy’s main communications in the Colli Laziali [another name for the Alban Hills] area Southeast of Rome, and to threaten the [German] rear.”³⁷ As Clark interpreted this directive, the 5th Army was “(a) To seize and secure a beachhead in the vicinity of Anzio and (b) Advance on Colli Laziali.”³⁸ Clark, who had commanded at Salerno, expected to see the same pattern of German opposition and turned his emphasis to securing the beachhead, digging-in, and holding a large reserve force to face the counter attacks. By Alexander’s plan the Anzio forces were to move inland and take the critical Alban Hills. Clark saw the 5th Army capturing them as part of its drive north.

In the event that the German resistance was slight, the 6th Corps, the invasion force under Lucas, was expected to advance “on” the Alban Hills, but it would be the personal decision of the corps commander whether to attack or defend. Lucas admitted that he had no faith in the plan; he wrote in his diary, “in fact, there is no military reason for SHINGLE.”³⁹ He also must

have had in his mind the advice he received from Clark, just before the convoys were to sail from Naples; “Don’t stick your neck out as I did at Salerno.”⁴⁰ It seems clear that he went ashore determined not to advance to the hills and never communicated his intentions to his British subordinates.

Major-General W.R.C. Penney, commander of the British 1st Infantry Division - one of the two divisions to make the amphibious assault - had been pressing for weeks to get any details about the invasion plan after the initial landing. He received the reply:

“This directive does not include plans for an advance from the beachhead to or towards the final objective. Such plans are extremely tentative: this advance is not likely to take place unless it is synchronized with operations of the remainder of the Fifth Army in close vicinity of the beachhead.”⁴¹

By the middle of February, the Allied commanders were feeling the strain of sustained combat operations. While both Lucas and Penney had written in their diaries before SHINGLE that they had a “mutual confidence, trust and liking of one another,”⁴² there was now a sense of mutual frustration and dissatisfaction. On the evening of 10 February, Penney wrote a letter which was a “formidable indictment of Lucas as a field commander.”⁴³ On 16 February, Major-General Truscott and Major-General V. Eveleigh were both appointed as Deputy Corps Commanders to Lucas in an effort to smooth inter-Allied relations. Aside from the international aspect of command, Lucas did not seem to give clear and decisive guidance, and his conferences were likened by some to “an inefficient company’s meetings.”⁴⁴ On 23 February, Clark made Lucas his deputy army commander and command of the 6th Corps went to Truscott. “Johnny Lucas was ill – tired physically and mentally from the long responsibility of command in battle...I...had for some time been considering a change”⁴⁵

Verney correctly grasped the problem that a combined C2 structure mixed with differing commanders’ visions were to produce, “It was unsatisfactory to have both nations involved;

either an all-British effort or an all-American operation would have solved many problems of administration and command.”⁴⁶

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

“I felt like a lamb being led to the slaughter”

-Remark by Major General Lucas, Commander U.S. 6th Corps, regarding Anzio.⁴⁷

Conclusions about the Anzio landing have changed somewhat as the years since its execution pass. There are those, including Churchill, who view it as a strategic success in that the German forces expended in Italy were unavailable in France. But that is not the point. SHINGLE was planned as an operation, and as such it failed. The U.S. Army Center of Military History makes this clear by writing, “The operation clearly failed in its immediate objectives of outflanking the Gustav Line, restoring mobility to the Italian campaign, and speeding the capture of Rome.”⁴⁸ If it was indeed an operational failure, then there must be blame, but where to assign it?

Once the blame would have been placed squarely at the feet of Lucas, as Alexander himself did when he stated “...Lucas, missed his opportunity by being too slow and cautious. He failed to realize the great advantages that surprise had given him. He allowed Time to beat him.”⁴⁹ Even mild defenders of Lucas acknowledge it cannot be denied that “for Lucas to lose contact with the Germans for two and a half days was wholly wrong.”⁵⁰ Churchill blames Clark and Lucas:

“In all his talk with me...Alexander envisaged that the essence of the battle was the seizure of the Alban Hills with the utmost speed, and to this end I was able to obtain from the United States their 504th Parachute Regiment...but at the last moment General Clark cancelled [it]...and the American General Lucas...seems to have had the idea in his mind that at all costs he must be prepared for a counterattack...the whole operation became stagnant.”⁵¹

Some now seek to distribute blame to Alexander and Churchill. Blumenson writes, “Alexander failed also. The concept was daring, but he was too much the gentleman to make it work;”⁵² and “Churchill’s Gallipoli of World War II, Anzio was not so catastrophic a failure, but was a blunder nonetheless.”⁵³ While Churchill may have been the unstoppable force to resurrect SHINGLE after it had been dropped in December of 1943, he shouldn’t be held to blame for its failure. It would be an extraordinary commander, in my opinion, who could directly influence the outcome of a major battle once it has begun. To blame one seems like a far too easy solution.

Kesselring himself seems to have hit the mark most accurately, noting that the operation was only half-attempted. It was doomed from the beginning as it was given insufficient resources and placed in an untenable timeline – the unfortunate product of a Space-Time-Force interaction.

Operation SHINGLE can offer today’s military planner several valuable lessons and bears examination. Immediate lessons from the campaign were applied during Operation OVERLORD five months after the landings at Anzio. The Allies had learned to send more strength ashore in the initial landing and to drive inland immediately to certain key points. They learned that a small force, once established on a beachhead, could survive in the face of severe difficulty if properly supplied by logistic lifelines from the sea. Issues of poor communication and C2 relating to combined forces were largely resolved. These are all important lessons for the modern U.S. planner to note as virtually every operation in which U.S. forces will be involved in the foreseeable future will involve coalition or alliance partners and take place within ever-tightening fiscal constraints. As the Allies were forced to discover at Anzio, not sticking one’s chin out too far may save an initial blow - but it can lead to catastrophic consequences if caution turns invasion to attrition.

ENDNOTES

- ¹ Colonel William O. Darbey, quoted in Peter Verney, Anzio 1944: An Unexpected Fury (London: B.T. Batsford, Ltd 1978), 26.
- ² 7,000 killed and 36,000 wounded or reported missing in action, taken from Carl D'Este, Fatal Decision: Anzio and the battle for Rome (New York: HarperCollins, 1991), 413.
- ³ Peter Verney, Anzio 1944: An Unexpected Fury (London: B.T. Batsford, Ltd 1978), 19.
- ⁴ The Operational Factors of Space, Time and Forces, and their interrelations are discussed in, Milan N. Vego, Operational Warfare. (Naval War College Publication (NWC 1004), 2000), 29-105.
- ⁵ Figure 1 is a chart showing the UJTL operational functions, taken from Joint Chiefs of Staff. Universal Joint Task List (UJTL). Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Manual (CJCSM) 3500.04C (Washington, DC: 1 July 2002) B-A-3.
- ⁶ Field Albert Marshal Kesselring, quoted in Christopher Hibbert, Anzio: The bid for Rome. (New York: Ballantine Books, 1970), 157.
- ⁷ Lieutenant-General Mark Clark, quoted in Carl D'Este, Fatal Decision: Anzio and the battle for Rome (New York: HarperCollins, 1991), 9.
- ⁸ Winston Churchill, quoted in William Allen, Anzio: Edge of Disaster. (New York: Elsevier Dutton, 1978), 27.
- ⁹ Winston Churchill, quoted in Martin Blumenson, Anzio: The Gamble that Failed. (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippencott Company, 1963), 46.
- ¹⁰ Martin Blumenson, Anzio: The Gamble that Failed. (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippencott Company, 1963), 48.
- ¹¹ Peter Verney, Anzio 1944: An Unexpected Fury (London: B.T. Batsford, Ltd 1978), 55.
- ¹² Field Marshal Albert Kesselring, quoted in Peter Verney, Anzio 1944: An Unexpected Fury (London: B.T. Batsford, Ltd 1978), 55.
- ¹³ Adolph Hitler, quoted in Fred Sheehan, Anzio: Epic of Bravery. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964), 71.
- ¹⁴ Peter Verney, Anzio 1944: An Unexpected Fury (London: B.T. Batsford, Ltd 1978), 153.
- ¹⁵ Peter Verney, Anzio 1944: An Unexpected Fury (London: B.T. Batsford, Ltd 1978), 240.
- ¹⁶ Major-General W.R.C. Penney, quoted in Peter Verney, Anzio 1944: An Unexpected Fury (London: B.T. Batsford, Ltd 1978), 29.
- ¹⁷ Lieutenant-General Mark Wayne Clark, quoted in Martin Blumenson, Anzio: The Gamble that Failed. (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippencott Company, 1963), 51.
- ¹⁸ Peter Verney, Anzio 1944: An Unexpected Fury (London: B.T. Batsford, Ltd 1978), 248.
- ¹⁹ Martin Blumenson, Anzio: The Gamble that Failed. (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippencott Company, 1963), 200.
- ²⁰ Field Albert Marshal Kesselring, quoted in Christopher Hibbert, Anzio: The bid for Rome. (New York: Ballantine Books, 1970), 157.
- ²¹ Peter Verney, Anzio 1944: An Unexpected Fury (London: B.T. Batsford, Ltd 1978), 176.
- ²² Peter Verney, Anzio 1944: An Unexpected Fury (London: B.T. Batsford, Ltd 1978), 19.
- ²³ Martin Blumenson, Anzio: The Gamble that Failed. (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippencott Company, 1963), 24.
- ²⁴ Clayton Laurie, Anzio, the U.S. Army Campaigns of World War II. CMH Pub 72-19 (Center of Military History United States Army, 1990), 3.
- ²⁵ Peter Verney, Anzio 1944: An Unexpected Fury (London: B.T. Batsford, Ltd 1978), 33.
- ²⁶ General the Hon. Sir Harold Alexander, quoted in Carl D'Este, Fatal Decision: Anzio and the battle for Rome (New York: HarperCollins, 1991), 401.
- ²⁷ Winston Churchill, quoted in Fred Sheehan, Anzio: Epic of Bravery. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964), 33.
- ²⁸ Carl D'Este, Fatal Decision: Anzio and the battle for Rome (New York: HarperCollins, 1991), 401.
- ²⁹ Martin Blumenson, Anzio: The Gamble that Failed. (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippencott Company, 1963), 201.
- ³⁰ Peter Verney, Anzio 1944: An Unexpected Fury (London: B.T. Batsford, Ltd 1978), 248.
- ³¹ Peter Verney, Anzio 1944: An Unexpected Fury (London: B.T. Batsford, Ltd 1978), 26.
- ³² Peter Verney, Anzio 1944: An Unexpected Fury (London: B.T. Batsford, Ltd 1978), 26.
- ³³ Martin Blumenson, Anzio: The Gamble that Failed. (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippencott Company, 1963), 14.

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- ³⁴ Joint Chiefs of Staff. Universal Joint Task List (UJTL). Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Manual (CJCSM) 3500.04C (Washington, DC: 1 July 2002) B-C-C-96.
- ³⁵ Martin Blumenson, Anzio: The Gamble that Failed. (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippencott Company, 1963), 4.
- ³⁶ General George Marshall, quoted in Fred Sheehan, Anzio: Epic of Bravery. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964), 7.
- ³⁷ General the Hon. Sir Harold Alexander, quoted in Martin Blumenson, Anzio: The Gamble that Failed. (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippencott Company, 1963), 54.
- ³⁸ Lieutenant-General Mark Clark, quoted in Verney, Anzio 1944: An Unexpected Fury (London: B.T. Batsford, Ltd 1978), 55.
- ³⁹ Major-General John P. Lucas, quoted in Wynford Vaughan-Thomas, Anzio. (New York: Holt, Reinhart and Winston, 1961), 234.
- ⁴⁰ Lieutenant-General Mark Clark, quoted in Christopher Hibbert, Anzio: The bid for Rome. (New York: Ballantine Books, 1970), 158.
- ⁴¹ Wynford Vaughan-Thomas, Anzio. (New York: Holt, Reinhart and Winston, 1961), 37.
- ⁴² Peter Verney, Anzio 1944: An Unexpected Fury (London: B.T. Batsford, Ltd 1978), 147.
- ⁴³ Peter Verney, Anzio 1944: An Unexpected Fury (London: B.T. Batsford, Ltd 1978), 149.
- ⁴⁴ Peter Verney, Anzio 1944: An Unexpected Fury (London: B.T. Batsford, Ltd 1978), 148.
- ⁴⁵ Lieutenant-General Mark Clark, quoted in Fred Sheehan, Anzio: Epic of Bravery. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964), 117.
- ⁴⁶ Peter Verney, Anzio 1944: An Unexpected Fury (London: B.T. Batsford, Ltd 1978), 21.
- ⁴⁷ Major-General John Lucas, quoted in Carl D'Este, Fatal Decision: Anzio and the battle for Rome (New York: HarperCollins, 1991), 104.
- ⁴⁸ Clayton Laurie, Anzio, the U.S. Army Campaigns of World War II. CMH Pub 72-19. (Center of Military History United States Army, 1994), 26.
- ⁴⁹ General the Hon. Sir Harold Alexander, quoted in Wynford Vaughan-Thomas, Anzio. (New York: Holt, Reinhart and Winston, 1961), 234.
- ⁵⁰ Peter Verney, Anzio 1944: An Unexpected Fury (London: B.T. Batsford, Ltd 1978), 248.
- ⁵¹ Winston Churchill, quoted in Christopher Hibbert, Anzio: The bid for Rome. (New York: Ballantine Books, 1970), 156.
- ⁵² Martin Blumenson, Anzio: The Gamble that Failed. (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippencott Company, 1963), 199.
- ⁵³ Martin Blumenson, Anzio: The Gamble that Failed. (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippencott Company, 1963), 199.

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Appendix A: Figures

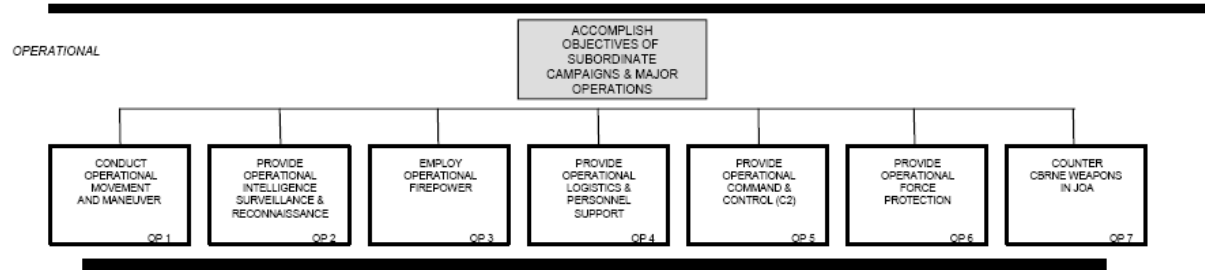


Figure 1: The Operation Functions, from CJCSM 3500.04C

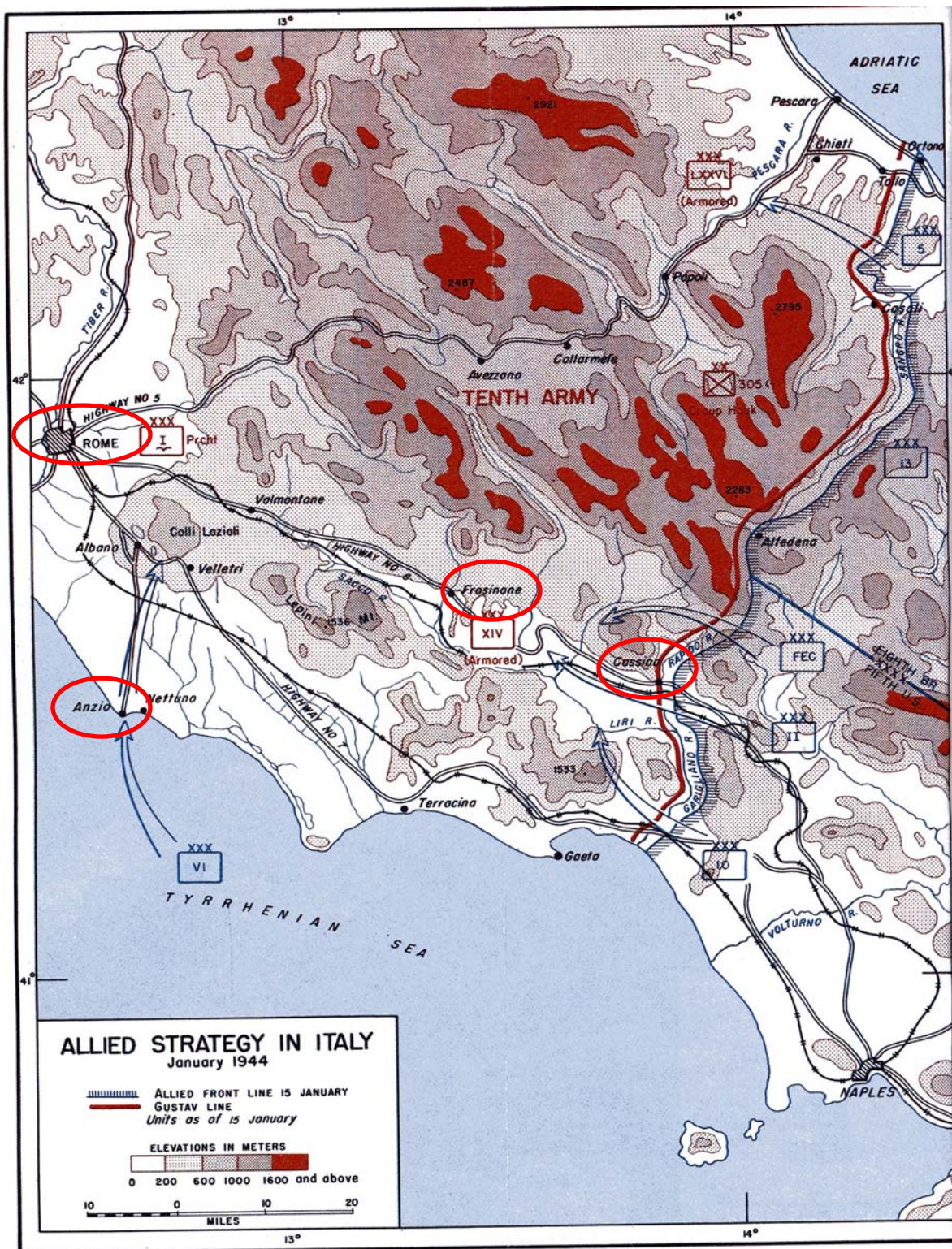


Figure 2: The Allied Strategy in Italy, January 1944

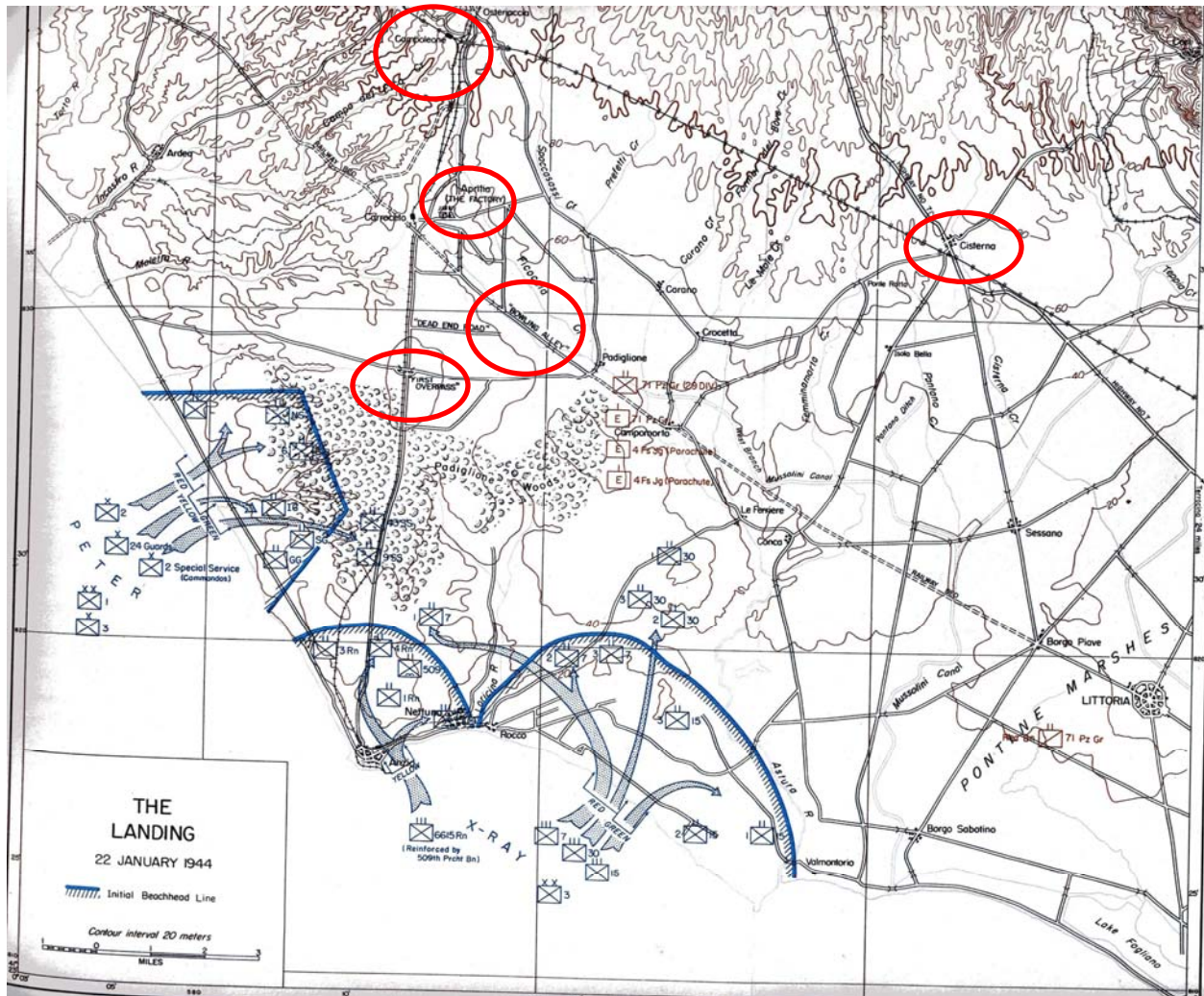


Figure 3: The Allied Landing at Anzio

Appendix B: Main Forces and Personalities¹

Main Allied Forces

Supreme Allied Commander, Europe - General Dwight D Eisenhower

Commander, Allied Forces Mediterranean – General Sir Henry Maitland Wilson

15th Army Group

Commander in Chief Allied Central Mediterranean Force (ACMF)

General the Hon. Sir Harold R.L.G. Alexander

5th U.S. Army – Lieutenant-General Mark Wayne Clark

Chief of Staff Major-General Alfred M. Gruenther

Included 10th British Corps on left of the 5th Army, later to be absorbed into the 8th Army

8th British Army – Lieutenant-General Sir Oliver Leese

from General Bernard Montgomery on 1 Jan 1944

6th U.S. Corps (SHINGLE HQ) – Major-General John P. Lucas (New since Salerno)

Major-General Lucian K. Truscott (after 22 Feb)

Deputy Commanders 17 Feb

Major-General Lucian K. Truscott

Major-General V. Eveleigh

Allied Naval Assault Task Force “X-Ray” - Rear-Admiral Frank J. Lowry

Naval commander in overall charge (374 craft)

Allied Naval Assault Task Force “Peter” – Rear-Admiral T.H. Troubridge

Main British Forces, Anzio

1st Infantry Division – Major-General W.R.C. Penney

Major-General J.L.I. Hawkesworth (Temp Commander, Diadem)

One of the 2 assault divisions – Peter Beach (Red, Amber, Green)

24th Guards Brigade – Brigadier-General A.S.P. Murray

5th Battalion Grenadier Guards – Lt-Col G.C. Gordon-Lennox DSO (wounded)

Lt-Col A.C. Huntington MVO (killed)

1st Battalion Scots Guards - Colonel David Wedderburn (killed)

1st Battalion Irish Guards –Colonel Andrew Scott DSO

-Captain D.M. Kennedy (No. 3 Company)

2nd Infantry Brigade

1st Battalion The Loyal Regiment– Lt-Col E. Fulbrook DSO

Spearhead of the British assault on D-Day
 Held the line against main German assault on 18 Feb
 2nd Battalion The North Staffordshire Regiment Lt.-Col A.J. Snodgrass
 6th Battalion The Gordon Highlanders – Lt-Col. J. Peddie DSO

 3rd Infantry Brigade – Brigadier J.G. James DSO
 1st Battalion The Duke of Wellington's Regiment – Lt-Col B.W. Webb-Carter DSO
 2nd Battalion The Sherwood Foresters – Lt-Col G.R.G. Bird
 1st Battalion The King's Shropshire Light Infantry (KSLI) – Lt-Col W.P. Careless

 2nd, 19th, 24th, 67th Field Regiments, RA
 80th Medium Regiment, RA (The Scottish Horse)
 81st Anti-Tank Regiment, RA
 90th Light Ant-Aircraft Regiment, RA
 46th Royal Tank Regiment
 1st Reconnaissance Regiment
 2nd/7th Battalion the Middlesex Regiment (MG)
 2nd Special Service Brigade - Brigadier-General T.B.L. Churchill
 9th Commando
 43rd Royal Marine Commando
 Royal Engineers

 Additional British Forces
 56th (London) British Infantry Division (Black Cats) – Major-General G.W.R. Templer
 Reinforcements which began arriving 3 February
 MG Templer Commanded all British forces for six days during 16 February
 German "Fisch Fang" offensive when MG Penney was wounded
 167th Infantry Brigade - Brigadier-General J. Scott-Elliot DSO
 8th, 9th Battalions The Royal Fusiliers
 7th Battalion The Oxford and Buckinghamshire Light Infantry
 168th Infantry Brigade (International Brigade) – Brigadier-General Davidson
 First of the Division to arrive
 10th Battalion The Royal Berkshire Regiment – Colonel Baird
 1st Battalion The London Scottish Regiment
 1st Battalion The London Irish Rifles – Lt-Col I. R. Good DSO
 169th Infantry Brigade – Brigadier-General L.O. Lyne
 2nd/5th, 2nd/6th, 2nd/7th Battalions The Queens Royal Regiment – Lt-Col D.C. Baynes
 18th Infantry Brigade
 1st Battalion The Buffs
 14th Battalion The Sherwood Foresters (Foresters) – Lt-Col M. Redmayne
 9th Battalion The King's Shropshire Light Infantry (KSLI)

 5th British Infantry Division – Major-General P.G.S. Gregson-Ellis
 Relieved the 56th Infantry Division beginning 7 March

 13th Corps - Operation Diadem Forces

6th Armoured Division - Operation Diadem Forces

Main U.S. Forces, Anzio

3rd U.S. Infantry Division – Major-General Lucian K. Truscott (to 17 Feb)
Brigadier-General John W. O’Daniel (after 17 Feb)

One of the 2 assault divisions X-Ray Beach (Red, Green)

7th, 15th, 30th Infantry Regiments

504th Parachute Infantry Regiment (follow-up force) Lt-Col Leslie G. Freeman

509th Parachute Infantry Battalion

751st Tank Battalion

1st, 3rd, 4th Ranger Battalions (to take port in the first wave) Colonel William O. Darby

1st U.S. Armored Division (Combat Command ‘A’ only) – Major-General Ernest Harmon
Early reinforcement for the assault

1st Armored Regiment

6th Armored Infantry Regiment

Additional U.S. Forces

45th U.S. Infantry Division – Major-General William W. Eagles
Reinforcements arriving 28 January

157th, 179th, 180th Infantry Regiments

1st Special Service Force (Canadian/U.S.) – Brigadier-General Robert T. Frederick
Reinforcements arriving early February

1st U.S. Armored Division (Combat Command ‘B’) - Operation Diadem Forces

2nd U.S. Corps- Operation Diadem Forces - General Keyes

34th U.S. Infantry Division – Relieved 3rd Infantry Division 21 March

36th U.S. Infantry Division- Operation Diadem Forces – Major General Fred I. Walker

Main German Forces

Commander-in-Chief Southwest and Army Group “C” – Field Marshal Albert Kesselring
Responsible for all German forces in the Italian theater

Chief of Staff to Kesselring – Lieutenant-General Siegfried Westphal

10th Army – Colonel-General Heinrich-Gottfried von Vietinghoff
Controlling the southern front

Commander Anzio Area 22 (D-Day only) – Brigadier-General Schlemmer

14th Army – Colonel-General Eberhard von Mackensen
Italy north of a line through Perugia

Directly in charge of Battle of Rome, and Anzio after the 25th of January
15th Grenadier Regiment
725th Grenadier Regiment
735th Grenadier Regiment

1st Parachute Corps (CDR Anzio Area 22 > D-Day) – General Alfred Schlemm
West sector

76th Panzer Corps – General Traugott Herr
East sector

Hermann Goering Panzer Division

3rd Panzer Grenadier Division – Lieutenant-General Fritz-Hubert Gräser

29th Panzer Grenadier Division

65th Infantry Division – Major-General Helmut Pfeiffer

71st Infantry Division

362nd Infantry Division

715th Infantry Division
168th Brigade

Infantry Lehr Regiment

71st Panzer Grenadier Division

90th Panzer Grenadier Division

26th Panzer Division

4th Parachute Division
Activated north of Rome
11th Parachute Regiment

114th Jäger Division

¹ An amalgam of information, primarily taken from Peter Verney, Anzio 1944: An Unexpected Fury (London: B.T. Batsford, Ltd 1978) and Carl D'Este, Fatal Decision: Anzio and the battle for Rome (New York: HarperCollins, 1991).

Appendix C: Selected Timeline

3 Sep 1943	The Italian surrender is signed in Sicily
8 Sep	The unconditional surrender of Italy is announced to coincide with the Allied assault on Salerno (Operation AVALANCHE)
Oct	The idea for amphibious assault to break the deadlock begins in the face of stiff German resistance in Italy. Hitler orders Kesselring to hold the defensive line through Cassino in strength
8 Nov	Eisenhower orders Alexander specifically to capture Rome. The Allied staff subsequently plans for landing a single division at Anzio, 35 miles south of Rome, on 20 December 1943, code named "SHINGLE." This is to be concurrent with the Fifth Army reaching Frosinone.
Dec	It is announced in early December, at the conclusion of Anglo-American discussions in Cairo, that Eisenhower will be the Supreme Commander, Allied Expeditionary Force for the upcoming invasion of France, Operation OVERLORD.
18 Dec	Plans for SHINGLE are shelved as the 5 th Army has made insufficient progress on the western side of Italy.
25 Dec	Churchill telegrams Roosevelt, asking to keep the LSTs in theater for a few extra weeks.
28 Dec	Roosevelt agrees to the LST extension. Alexander and Clark agree that the invasion will include one American and one British division as well as paratroopers and Commandos, all under an American Corps headquarters. D-Day is set for 22 January.
8 Jan 1944	General Eisenhower departing soon for England and OVERLORD planning, turns over as Supreme Allied Commander, Mediterranean to General Sir Henry Maitland Wilson.
8 Jan	After the conclusion of the final high-level planning conference in Marrakesh, Churchill telegraphs Roosevelt that "unanimous agreement for action as proposed was reached by the responsible parties of both countries and of all services."
12 Jan	The U.S. 5 th Army mounts a series of major attacks on the Garigliano front, prompting Field Marshal Kesselring to send the 29 th and 90 th Panzer Grenadier Divisions south as reinforcements commencing 19 January. Further attacks are planned for the 15 th , 17 th , 19 th , and 20 th .

19 Jan	Allied bombers at Perugia put the main airfield for German long-range reconnaissance aircraft out of action
20 Jan	German Intelligence categorically states that no invasion is imminent
21-21 Jan	Naval forces sail from Naples, Torre Annunziano, Castellamare and Salerno
22 Jan	D-Day for Operation SHINGLE
24-26 Jan	Allies slowly advance and attempt to expand the beachhead
1-4 Feb	German counter-attacks begin a series of short offensives by both sides which last throughout February
Mar-May	Stalemate
11 May	Operation DIADEM begins
25 May	After 124 days and some of the most savage and costly fighting of the Second World War, Anzio ceased to be a beachhead