CHAPTER 7

THE FLIGHTS OF 16-17 AUGUST 1944

7.1 INTRODUCTION

During the previous two large-scale sorties to Warsaw, 31 Squadron of the SAAF had lost five Liberators, 178 Squadron RAF had lost three Liberators and 148 Squadron RAF had lost one Halifax.¹ This was an enormous loss to these relatively small squadrons. On 15 August, 31 Squadron SAAF, as well as 178 Squadron RAF, were once again ordered to prepare their Liberators for sorties that evening. Shortly afterwards, they were informed that only 178 Squadron would be sent on the mission that evening. The reason for this was a decision that 31 Squadron and 178 Squadron would operate on alternate nights, and not jointly.² The Allied forces could simply no longer afford the many losses.

From then onwards, supplies would also no longer be delivered to the city itself, but to the Warsaw-Lodz area, where a reserve division of the Polish secret army was hidden in the Kampinos woods.³ The woods were situated approximately ten kilometres west of Warsaw, just north of the railway line crossing the city. Two alternative air-supply zones were demarcated, which would be indicated by a ground-to-air identification system as soon as the Liberators approached the drop-zone.⁴ The aircraft had to drop the supplies from an altitude of approximately 150 metres and at a speed of 224 kilometres per hour.⁵

During these flights, each Liberator would transport specific supplies in metal containers, including 40 Sten guns, 360 000 rounds of ammunition, 160 hand

¹ See chapter 10, Table 5.
⁴ A.E. van Jaarsveldt, "Die Warskoudebakel", Militaria, vol. 7, no. 4, 1977, p.34. The signals that applied at the supply zones was described in chapter 4.
grenades, two anti-tank rockets as well as 30 fuses and two sub-machine guns.\textsuperscript{6} It was calculated that ten Liberators would be able to provide an entire Polish battalion with supplies.\textsuperscript{7}

The previous night 178 Squadron succeeded in dropping their supplies in the Warsaw-Lodz area without much interference from the enemy. The crew members of 31 Squadron were enjoying a well-deserved rest.

Then, Bor-Komorowski ordered all units attached to the underground army to advance to Warsaw. German counter-insurgency measures were, however, so effective that the city was completely isolated and could not be penetrated.\textsuperscript{8}

During the briefing of the afternoon of 16 August, Brigadier Durrant again stressed the importance of the air-supply. According to him, it would be much less dangerous to drop supplies in the woods than in the city itself. He also pointed out that 178 Squadron had not sustained any losses during their flights over the woods the previous night.\textsuperscript{9}

The Poles in Warsaw were acutely aware of the high price of the Allies' operations, yet once again requested the air-supply operations to be extended. Living conditions in Warsaw were desperate and the destruction of the city was continuing unabatedly.

\section*{7.2 DETAILS OF THE INDIVIDUAL FLIGHTS}

\subsection*{7.2.1 31 SQUADRON SAAF}

At approximately 19:30 on the night of 16 August, six Liberators attached to 31 Squadron at Celone, departed for Warsaw. The first part of the route was in daylight. Over the Yugoslavian coast darkness fell. East of the Danube, the flight changed direction to the north. Fairly good weather conditions were experienced. Storms occurred sporadically and forced the pilots to fly at an

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{6} H.J. Martin & N.D. Orpen, \textit{Eagles Victorious}, p.258.
\item \textsuperscript{7} N.D. Orpen, \textit{Airlift to Warsaw: The Rising of 1944}, p.128.
\item \textsuperscript{8} J. Garlinski, \textit{Poland, SOE and the Allies}, p.191.
\item \textsuperscript{9} J.T. Durrant, Personal Interview, Johannesburg, 14 June 1983.
\end{itemize}
altitude of up to 6,000 metres. These electric storms and lightning caused the men some anxiety.

The weather improved considerably near Cracow, an area regarded as a danger zone because of the local German Luftwaffe fighter training centre. From here, the aircraft followed a zig-zag route to Warsaw, which was still burning, with smoke billowing hundreds of metres into the air.\textsuperscript{10}

The Liberators headed directly for the supply zones, dropped their supplies and immediately began their return flight. The more favourable situation of the previous night did not exist any longer.\textsuperscript{11} German fighter squadrons were waiting for them above the woods. Some dropped illuminating flares on the target areas while others attacked the Liberators. German Army units occupying parts of the woods tried to confuse the pilots by flashing signals themselves, attempting to prevent the dropping of supplies in the correct zones.

Liberator KG938 H, captained by Major G.A.P. Greindl, had already successfully delivered supplies to Warsaw during the night of 13-14 August.\textsuperscript{12} Fairly good weather conditions were experienced during this second flight, though storms occurred sporadically. On their way to Warsaw, light anti-aircraft gunfire was seen and evasive action was taken. It was a very dark night and visibility was very poor and hazy. At midnight, a flare, fired by an enemy fighter aircraft, was noticed south-east of Cracow. Cracow, and especially the industrial area at Mielec, were brightly illuminated. From Cracow to Warsaw, approximately five beacons were noticed on the starboard side and three on the port side of the aircraft. Some time later, another beacon, as well as a flare strip, were noticed. Upon their arrival over Warsaw, seven lights, forming the letter "T", with a red light at its centre, were identified in the vicinity of the target area. The aircraft headed straight for the red light at a speed of 300 kilometres per hour, in a south-easterly direction.\textsuperscript{13}

\textsuperscript{10} L. Isemonger, \textit{Target Warsaw: The Story of South Africa's First Heavy Bomber Squadron}, p.98.

\textsuperscript{11} L. Isemonger, \textit{Target Warsaw: The Story of South Africa's First Heavy Bomber Squadron}, p.98.

\textsuperscript{12} D DOCS, Pretoria, SAAF, War Diary, container 44, File 1, p.54238.

\textsuperscript{13} D DOCS, Pretoria, SAAF, War Diary, Container 44, File 1, p.54238.
The 12 metal containers were all released and, according to the crew’s calculations, the containers landed directly north of the lights in the target area.

No anti-aircraft guns or searchlights were observed in the vicinity of the target area. On their return flight, number three engine was very noisy and ran unevenly. Problems were also experienced with the magneto. A stationary large red light was seen and an enemy fighter aircraft firing a flare. The flare showed about 28 kilometres north east. After this, a rocket was spotted which moved at an angle of 43°. An explosion, causing a mass of flames, followed. Apparently it was a Liberator that had been hit. The crew saw how it crashed in a sea of flames once it struck the ground. Later, a Liberator was seen caught in the beams of searchlights in the Cracow area. Intensive and accurate heavy anti-aircraft fire riddled the bomber, which then burst into flames, crashed and exploded. Approximately 30 electrically controlled red lights, which were dimmed when the aircraft approached the area, were also observed. Home base was reached safely.14

Liberator KG974 J with Captain F.C. Serfontein as pilot, left on its third successive flight to Warsaw.15 The flight to Warsaw went well and, in general, good weather conditions were experienced. Between the Scutari lake and the Danube river, two enemy aircraft displaying red lights, were observed. It was assumed they were enemy aircraft, but no shots were fired. Light anti-aircraft fire was observed about 16 kilometres to the port side as well as a flare-strip which was switched on for a moment. A red flare was fired. An enemy aircraft with a red light in its nose was noticed. However, no attack took place. Near the Cracow area several search-lights, pointing upwards, were seen. No attempt was made, however, to trap the aircraft in the beams of the searchlights. A large number of German fighter aircraft operated in the area with the aid of flares fired from the ground. When they arrived at Warsaw, the woods, where the supplies were to be dropped, were clearly identified. The supply strip was clearly indicated by lights forming the letter "T" pointing in the direction of Warsaw. The metal containers were dropped on the target area. The Letter "K" was flashed from the ground to indicate that the containers had been received by the partisans. Three to four flares were fired

14 D DOCs, Pretoria, SAAF, War Diary, Container 44, File 1, p.54253.
15 D DOCs, Pretoria, SAAF, War Diary, Container 44, File 1, p.54254.
over the target area. At the same time several enemy night fighters harassed the aircraft. Air-to-air firing took place and another aircraft was observed crashing in a blaze. A clear light, which could probably have been a burning aircraft or a bogey, was observed, as well as one way air-to-air firing.

At one stage, a fighter aircraft began following them but the captain took evasive action and lost it. Later a control searchlight and anti-aircraft guns were observed, but once again no shots were fired. This Liberator reached its home base at Celone safely.16

Lieutenant P.A. Rautenbach and his crew departed with Liberator KG958 R on their first flight to Warsaw. The flight went smoothly and the weather conditions were fairly good. Air-to-air firing was observed east of Cracow and the crew saw an aircraft crash in a blaze and later burn itself out on the ground. At Cracow, the lights of the town were shining and the searchlights were operating in full swing. Flares appeared over a wide area. From Cracow to Warsaw a few light beacons on the ground, indicating the flying path for the aircraft, were observed. Sporadic air-to-air fire and the lights of the industrial area at Mielec were noticed. Because of an orange glow, caused by fires, the city of Warsaw was already visible at a distance of 55 kilometres. At Warsaw, three lights, flashing letters, were seen. Between Kampinos and Leszmo, as well as north of these two places, the letter "K" was flashed. In a north-easterly direction, two other lights were flashing the letter "Z". When they reached the target area, no signals were visible and they began circling. Then the code letter "K" started flashing continuously. Seven metal containers were dropped over Bozegin and landed in the woods. Five metal containers were dropped just to the north of where the containers were dropped and the crew saw all 12 parachutes opened. The Liberator returned safely to its home base.17

A sortie report indicated that Liberator EW248 P left on 16th August on its second flight to Warsaw, but did not return to its home base. Another source18

16 D DOC S, Pretoria, SAAF, War Diary, Container 44, File 1, p.54254.
17 D DOC S, Pretoria, SAAF, War Diary, Container 44, File 1, p.54255.
18 L. Isemonger, Target Warsaw. The Story of South Africa's First Heavy Bomber Squadron, p.107.
reported that this Liberator, captained by Major J.J.M. Odendaal, one of the most experienced pilots and who had just been promoted to Flight Officer commanding, exploded in the air when the aircraft was hit by artillery fire from Warsaw. All the crew members, except Lieutenant J.C. Groenewald, were killed instantly.

Groenewald was the co-pilot of this Liberator. Of all the narrow escapes during the sorties to Warsaw, his experience certainly was one of the most surprising and dramatic.

Their Liberator reached Warsaw just after midnight. During their flight over the burning city, the aircraft was caught in the beams of searchlights and was engaged by anti-aircraft fire. After it had been hit several times by artillery, the aircraft was totally in flames. Odendaal immediately ordered the crew members to abandon the aircraft. When Groenewald took his parachute in his hand, the Liberator was once again hit by anti-aircraft fire and virtually exploded immediately. Groenewald was hurled outside by the violence of the explosion, and found himself in the air, with his parachute like a suitcase in his hand. Fortunately he kept his presence of mind and, as he was falling, fastened the parachute to his harness and pulled the rip-chord for the parachute to open. He landed uninjured, except for burns to his face and arms. He used the parachute as a blanket to keep himself warm and spent the rest of the night in the German-controlled area, at the spot where he had landed. At day-break he succeeded in stumbling to a farmstead, about two kilometres away. Here, a sympathetic Pole took care of him and took him to a doctor to treat his burns. The Germans usually thoroughly searched the areas where aircraft had been shot down during the night, looking for survivors. It was therefore necessary for Groenewald to leave the area as soon as possible. The Pole hid him under some hay and took him by horse-cart to a little town, Nagorzany, about 16 kilometres away. Here, on a farm, there was a well-

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19 Major Odendaal was the son of Captain D.C. Odendaal from the farm Verkykerskop in the district of Harrismith; L. Isemonger, Target Warsaw. The Story of South Africa’s First Heavy Bomber Squadron, p.107.

20 L. Isemonger, Target Warsaw. The Story of South Africa’s First Heavy Bomber Squadron, p.107.

21 He was a mine chemist at the Oos-Geduld mine near Springs; L. Isemonger, Target Warsaw. The Story of South Africa’s First Heavy Bomber Squadron, p.107.

equipped little hospital, run by an old professor who had earlier been a lecturer at Warsaw University. Nurses, disguised as farm labourers, manned the hospital. Groenewald was treated here for ten days and during this period several skin grafts were performed on him by a Polish surgeon. After he had completely recovered from his wounds, a couple of his Polish friends met at the little hospital to decide how to plan his future. They provided him with a false identity document and he was disguised as an old Polish farm labourer who was too old for military service. He would work on a farm as a foreman. His new name was Jan Galles.

Shortly afterwards, Groenewald learnt of the tragic death of the rest of the crew. The Germans located their bodies near the burnt-out Liberator and covered them with loose soil. Although it was explicitly prohibited and the Germans often confiscated all the cattle in an area as punishment, the Poles put flowers on the graves of the South Africans. After the Germans had left the area, the Poles placed the bodies of the South Africans in separate coffins and a proper funeral was held. The propellers from the wreck of Liberator EW248 P were placed at the heads of the graves to serve as tombstones. In the meantime, Groenewald had joined the Polish partisans and fought with them against the Germans. These were difficult days and he often went hungry. Meat was unobtainable and they had to live mainly on potatoes. In February 1945, six months after his Liberator had been shot down, Russian divisions reached the area where Groenewald fought and they took him back to Moscow. During this period, he was continuously guarded by a Russian soldier and only had uncooked pork and black bread. They reached Moscow on 10 February, where he was handed over to the British Military Legation from where he was able to


26 L. Isemonger, Target Warsaw. The Story of South Africa's First Heavy Bomber Squadron, p.108.
send a cable to his wife. His wife at that stage had already been receiving a pension from the widow's fund for six months.27

Liberator KG941 Q, with Captain L.C. Allen as the pilot, who succeeded in dropping supplies in Zone B28 during their previous flight, departed on its second flight from Celone to Warsaw at 19:30. The sorties report of 16-17 August only indicated that this Liberator and its crew did not return to its home base.29 It had succeeded in delivering its supplies. On its return flight, the aircraft was hit by anti-aircraft fire near Kalvaria, in the vicinity of Cracow, and crashed in a blaze. All the crew members were killed.30

Lieutenant Eric Impey31 kept a diary of events and an entry made on 16 August, after he had packed the personal belongings of his two tent-fellows, shot down during the flights of 13-14 August, reads as follows:

God only knows how lonely I am. My hymn and Bryan's, 'What a friend we have in Jesus', was more help to me last night than it has ever been before. Yet I let Him down so often. It's all very wonderful to me.32

Eric Impey also composed a poem, "An Airman's Prayer",33 which served as inspiration to many of his friends. This poem was learnt by heart by most of the crew members and recited when they found themselves in dangerous circumstances.

27 L. Isemonger, Target Warsaw. The Story of South Africa’s First Heavy Bomber Squadron, p.108.
28 D DOC S, Pretoria, SAAF, War Diary, Container 44, File 1, p.54245.
29 D DOC S, Pretoria, SAAF, War Diary, Container 44, File 1, p.54257.
31 Eric Impey from Cape Town, was occasionally an observer in Liberator KG941Q. He composed the poem "An Airman's Prayer"; L. Isemonger, Target Warsaw. The Story of South Africa's First Heavy Bomber Squadron, p.103.
32 L. Isemonger, Target Warsaw. The Story of South Africa's First Heavy Bomber Squadron, p.103.
33 L. Isemonger, Target Warsaw. The Story of South Africa's First Heavy Bomber Squadron, p.ii.
AN AIRMAN’S PRAYER

My God, this night I have to fly,
And ere I leave this ground,
I come with reverence to Thy throne,
Where perfect peace is found.

I thank Thee for the life I’ve had,
For home and all its love.
I thank Thee for the faith I have
That cometh from above.

Come with me now into the air,
Be with me as I fly.
Guide Thou each move that I shall make,
Way up there ... in the sky.

Be with me at the target, Lord,
When danger’s at its height.
Be with me as I drop my load
And on the homeward flight.

And should it be my time to die,
Be with me to the end.
Help me to die a Christian’s death,
On Thee, God, I depend.

Then as I leave this mortal frame,
From human ties set free,
Receive my soul, O God of love,
I humbly come to Thee.

Liberator EW166 Z flew on its second flight to Warsaw on 16 August. During the first flight to Warsaw it had succeeded in delivering supplies to the partisans.34 No further details are indicated on the sortie report of 16-17 August, except that the Liberator with Captain G. Lawrie and his crew did not return to their home base.35 Other sources indicate that Liberator EW161 W had been shot down after air combat over Lysagora in the south of Poland. All the crew members were killed.36

A total of 18 aircraft participated in the flights to Warsaw on 16-17 August.37 They dropped a total of 84 containers.38

34 D DOC S, Pretoria, SAAF, War Diary, Container 44, File 1, p.54233.
35 D DOC S, Pretoria, SAAF, War Diary, Container 44, File 1, p.54258.
37 See chapter 10, Table 9.
Since the start of the Warsaw Airlift 31 Squadron had undertaken a total of 23 flights and had lost a total of eight aircraft. 178 Squadron had lost 4 Liberators, 148 Squadron 2 Halifaxes and Polish Special Duties Flight 1856 had lost 4 Liberators. This represents a total loss of 18 aircraft.39

Air Marshall Sir John Slessor now ordered the Warsaw operations to be called off because of the heavy losses sustained by squadrons like 31 Squadron SAAF.40 Another reason why the sorties were withdrawn lies in the fact that Churchill had familiarised himself with the Warsaw affair and was reconsidering the practicability of the whole operation. On 18 August, Churchill wrote to Roosevelt and admitted that the Warsaw action represented a reckless adventure by the Polish partisans.41 Had they consulted with the Russians from the beginning, he declared, this situation would never have arisen.42 However, the decision to call off the sorties to Warsaw was heavily protested by the Polish government-in-exile.43

From then on, 1586 Polish Special Flight was to carry out further operations on a much smaller scale. However, several of these sorties were affected by adverse weather.44

After 31 Squadron SAAF had been withdrawn from the Warsaw operations on 17 August, they were used for tactical objectives.45 Targets were usually planned with the aim of disrupting enemy lines of communication in Northern

38 See chapter 10, Table 8.
39 See chapter 10, Table 10.
41 This matter has been discussed in chapter 3; F.L. Loewenheim, et al., Roosevelt and Churchill: Their Secret Wartime Correspondence, p.563.
42 F.L. Loewenheim, et al., Roosevelt and Churchill: Their Secret Wartime Correspondence, p.563.
43 Slessor was later forced to retract his earlier decision and the operation was continued from 10 September when aircraft were once again ordered to drop supplies to the partisans; British Ministry of Defence, London, Air Historical Branch, File 13: Air supply for Warsaw, n.d.
45 The aircrews were not involved in the flights to Warsaw for only a short period of time; D DOC S, Pretoria, SAAF, War Diary, Container 44, File 1, p.53976.
Italy.\textsuperscript{46} Owing to the losses of the squadron during the Warsaw sorties, initially only two, but later six Liberators could be made available per operation.\textsuperscript{47}

### 7.2.2 178 SQUADRON RAF

Three Liberators of 178 Squadron RAF were detailed to drop supplies on Warsaw during the flights of 16-17 August. Weather and visibility during these flights were fairly good.\textsuperscript{48}

No details are available on the sortie report of Liberator KG933, except that the aircraft and its crew did not return to base. It was presumed to have been shot down.\textsuperscript{49}

Liberator KG938 took off from Brindisi but, because of electrical trouble with the generators and with the intercom system, the captain, Pilot Officer J.W. McDonald, and his crew decided to return to base. All the containers of mixed supplies were brought back.\textsuperscript{50}

Upon their arrival over Warsaw, the crew of Liberator EW233 saw a very faint signal in a field on the edge of the city, flashing the letter "A" four times. All the containers of mixed supplies were dropped and all the parachutes were seen to open. On their return flight, an aircraft on fire, coned in searchlights, was seen south east of Cracow at 4 500 metres. It fell to the ground in flames and exploded. Liberator EW233 landed safely at Brindisi.\textsuperscript{51}

\begin{footnotes}
\item 46 D DOC S, Pretoria, SAAF, War Diary, Container 44, File 1, p.53978.  
\item 47 A.E. van Jaarsveld, "Die Warskoudebakel", Militaria, vol. 7, no. 4, 1977, p.34.  
\item 48 Public Record Office, London, Air 27, Piece 1120, p.11.  
\item 49 Public Record Office, London, Air 27, Piece 1120, p.11.  
\item 50 Public Record Office, London, Air 27, Piece 1120, p.11.  
\item 51 Public Record Office, London, Air 27, Piece 1120, p.11.  
\end{footnotes}
7.3 CONTINUED EFFORTS

Flights were scheduled by 178 Squadron RAF for the following nights but owing to weather conditions, such as ground haze and fog, the aircraft stood down on 17, 18 and 19 August 1944.\textsuperscript{52} Crews of 148 Squadron RAF were detailed for targets in the other areas.\textsuperscript{53} They received a report on 18 August from the field that conditions were hopeless for dropping supplies to the partisans in Warsaw. On the 19th, all operations were cancelled.\textsuperscript{54} All the air crews were assembled during the afternoon and the following message of appreciation from Air Marshall Sir John Slessor was read to them:

I should like you personally and all concerned in 334 Wing, 148 Squadron and others to know how much I appreciate and admire your gallant efforts to help the Underground army in Warsaw. Even in peace conditions it would be a tremendous flight. With the addition of strong night fighter and flak defences it is one that could only be undertaken by crews with expert training and high courage. I deeply regret your heavy losses but hope some crews are safe and I know you realize that your sacrifices are not in 'vain'. Well done all!\textsuperscript{55}

The fact remained that all the squadrons which participated in the flights to Warsaw had suffered many losses and the question was raised again whether it would not be better to use the aircraft for other operations rather than allowing them to be shot down during reckless operations such as the Warsaw flights.

On 17 August, a follow-up\textsuperscript{56} meeting on the supply of arms to Polish resistance groups in Warsaw was held between the American and British Ambassadors

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{52} British Ministry of Defence, London, Air Historical Branch, File 13: Air supply for Warsaw, n.d.
\item \textsuperscript{53} British Ministry of Defence, London, Air Historical Branch, File 13: Air supply for Warsaw, n.d.
\item \textsuperscript{54} British Ministry of Defence, London, Air Historical Branch, File 13: Air supply for Warsaw, n.d.
\item \textsuperscript{55} Public Record Office, London, Air 27, Piece 996, p.4.
\item \textsuperscript{56} The previous meeting on 14 August 1944 is discussed in chapter 6.
\end{itemize}
and Molotov, the Russian People's Commissioner for Foreign Affairs. After a long discussion on this matter, an irritated Molotov suddenly threatened Harriman, the American Ambassador, that the Soviet Air Force was seriously considering revising the privilege granted to the Americans, during the summer, of using Russian airfields for their "Frantic" operations. Moreover, he now suddenly claimed that the Soviet Air Force had need of the airfields. Harriman pointed out that the fields had already been made available to the USAAF for the duration of the war, but Molotov maintained that the Airfields could be put to much better use by the Soviets, since only a single flight per month could be scheduled for the winter months by the USAAF.

Harriman was at pains to explain there had never been any question of abandoning operations and warned Molotov that the proposed Soviet action could seriously affect future American-Soviet collaboration, especially after the success attained by the Americans with the "Frantic" operations.

Molotov was not impressed at all and described the "Frantic" operations as small and insignificant; there was not much action and the fields were rarely used. Harriman did not agree and demanded another opportunity, at a later stage, to discuss the matter.

57 National Archives, Washington DC, Box 67, RG334: Memorandum, discussions on supplying arms to Polish resistance groups, p.7; National Archives, Washington DC, Box 67, RG334: Cable UX 66380.

58 National Archives, Washington DC, Box 67, RG334: Memorandum, discussions on supplying arms to Polish resistance groups, p.8.

59 National Archives, Washington DC, Box 67, RG334: Memorandum, Conversation on Frantic Bases and Exploration, p.2.