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U.S. ARMY MILITARY HISTORY INSTITUTE

RESTRICTED

CIVIL AFFAIRS STUDIES

Illustrative Cases
from
Military Occupations
TRAINING PACKET No. 8

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LETTER OF PROMULGATION

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Navy Department.
Washington 25, D. C.
10 June, 1944.

CIVIL AFFAIRS STUDIES

I. *Illustrative Cases*

from

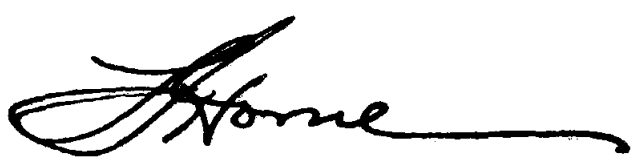
Military Occupations

OPNAV 50E-10

1. OPNAV 50E-10 is a non-registered RESTRICTED publication. It is intended to provide useful information for civil affairs officers, but the material contained herein may be of value to other officers and for other purposes.

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Vice Admiral, U. S. Navy
Vice Chief of Naval Operations.

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1. GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

Past and present military occupations indicate that there is no set pattern for the planning and establishment of Political Government and Administration in areas now occupied or to be occupied. Occupying forces with dissimilar national traits have adopted measures as widely varied as their respective backgrounds. In addition, variations in the psychological attributes and accustomed institutions of subjected peoples have required different methods of government and control, even though in many instances the forces in occupation have been those of a single power.

Purposes of Military Occupation.

The purposes behind military occupation have often influenced the type of government established by occupying forces. So, also, has the status of the territory involved.

Enemy Territory.

California, 1847. When the United States occupied Upper California, General Kearney, pursuant to the orders of President Polk, set up a military government which almost from the beginning took on a peculiar form, because it had been decided to incorporate the territory into the United States. A government by the people was established and they were encouraged to elect their own local officials and a legislature. Further, they were allowed to formulate and adopt a constitution by virtue of which California was admitted into the Union as a state without ever having had the territorial form of government.

Rhineland, 1919. During the Allied occupation of this area in the last war, France, having failed to obtain the formation of a separate Rhenish state under terms of the Versailles Treaty, fostered a Separatist movement in her own zone of influence and sought to extend this encouragement to the

American zone. General Mangin sent a colonel of his staff to the American General Liggett to ask permission for a revolution to be held there with the object of proclaiming a "Rhineland Republic", independent of Germany. Liggett refused to countenance the proposal, President Wilson backed him up, and strong Allied pressure forced the French to abandon the project, with the result that the whole movement collapsed.

Non-Enemy Territory.

French North Africa, 1942. Occupation of territory of neutrals or allies frequently presents delicate governmental problems. When the invasion of North Africa took place, General Eisenhower and Mr. Robert Murphy of the State Department had been instructed to find a French government there and deal with it instead of setting up a military government.

In line with these instructions, Mr. Murphy made an agreement with General Giraud, then in France, by which "American authorities would not intervene in such affairs as are solely within the province of French sovereignty." President Roosevelt himself in a radio message in November of 1942 to the French people stressed the idea that French sovereignty would be preserved and that the occupation was to be temporary. Consequently, as the U. S. State Department pointed out on December 3, 1942, there was no military government in French North Africa, although there was military occupation.

Naturally, the retention of civil affairs control in many respects by the French created difficulties for the occupying forces, because the latter had to waste time in persuading the French to meet their requests since they could not demand compliance.

Iceland, 1940-1941. When Denmark was occupied by German forces the Iceland parliament resolved on April 10, 1940, to confer upon the Iceland Government the powers of the King of Denmark with respect to Iceland. On May 10, 1940, the British forces occupied Iceland. On July 1, 1941, the prime minister of Iceland and the President of the United States ex-

changed messages to the effect that the United States shall undertake the protection of this country for the duration of the war and the American troops shall be withdrawn from this territory on conclusion of the present war.

Korea, 1904. On the other hand, when Japan landed forces in the then independent and neutral Korea, three days before attacking Russia, Japan forced upon the former a protocol validating the invasion, and establishing a Japanese protectorate. The King of Korea was imprisoned by the Japanese army and the "agreement" was forcibly extorted. Japan controlled the existing Korean administration "with gently enforced advice," induced the appointment of Japanese advisors in all government departments and bureaus, and finally obtained a complete change in the Korean ministry, the existing cabinet being replaced by one of conspicuous pro-Japanese tendencies.

Political Divisions of Occupied Areas.

The maintenance of pre-existing political divisions in occupied areas by the occupying command generally has appeared advisable unless reasons of high policy dictated otherwise.

France, 1871. Both in 1871, when the Germans continued to administer a large number of French *Departments,* held as security for indemnity payments, and since 1940 when they again occupied France, they have scrupulously avoided any radical changes of French political divisions.

Rhineland, 1919. During the American occupation of the German Rhineland, however, tactical formations of the American Third Army were used as units of military government. The Hunt report on this occupation comments:

"In using the tactical formations, the American army committed its first grave mistake. This mistake was due entirely to inability, in the time at our disposal, to grasp thoroughly the importance of the German governmental system, and the facility with which our military government could be adapted to it. German government is more minutely and carefully organized than that of any country in the world. Each German political subdivision was provided with its civilian commander and its

quota of officials. Both the French and British armies, possibly due to their better knowledge of German local government, never committed our mistake, and modelled their military government from the outset along lines paralleling the civil system."

Axis Occupation, 1941-43. During the present war the Axis did not respect the pre-war political divisions in certain countries. Yugoslavia for example has been divided in ten political units as follows: 1. Northern Slovenia, 2. Ljublana, 3. Dalmatia, 4. the puppet State of Croatia, 5. Prekomurje Medzumurje Barania and Backa, 6. Dibrano, Struga, Pristina, 7. puppet Serbia, 8. The Banat, 9. Moravia Skoplie Bitolia Macedonia, 10. The Governorship of Montenegro. France has been divided in five political units, Poland also in five. Belgium in two. The purpose of these divisions was to crush resistance by separating large groups of the population in sealed areas on one hand and also to realize certain policies of the so-called "New Order."

Administrative Personnel.

There has been a great degree of unanimity among occupants of many nationalities in the use of pre-existing governmental personnel when they have been available, particularly in the lower echelons. This, of course, affords economy in their manpower, and where reasonable cooperation is secured, usually assures a more peaceable administration.

France, 1871. In the German occupation of certain French *Departments* in 1871, the French were allowed to reinstall their prefects, sub-prefects, mayors, and other administrative agents, as well as personnel of civil and criminal courts, the police and constabulary, although Germany reserved the right to establish where necessary German Civil Commissioners to execute French matters. All civil service employees of both upper and lower grades were utilized, even to the extent of releasing certain key men who were prisoners of war in Germany.

Ponape, 1907. It has been shown many times that overhasty attempts to revolutionize native social systems bring unfortunate results. A German example on Ponape in 1907 is pertinent. Social and economic feudalism prevailed and the chiefs, by ancient right, collected annual tribute from their vassals. Dr. Hahl, the German Imperial Governor, seeking to modernize the system by decree, summoned the chiefs, announced that feudalism was abolished and, although he proposed no substitute for the lost tribute, required all to sign an agreement that they would remove no vassal from a fief. The government lost prestige by its empty gesture, for the chiefs soon fomented costly revolts by starting rumors of tolls and taxes to come and by encouraging passive resistance against construction of new roads which threatened their isolation.

Kusaie, 1914. When the Japanese took over Kusaie, even they realized the importance of maintaining the hereditary tribal rulers of the people, and made them *soncho* or district leaders, employed and paid a small amount by the government. These rulers thus remained as buffers between the Japanese and the natives.

Eritrea, 1943. A letter from the American consulate at Asmara, Eritrea, dated January 12, 1943, indicates British procedure in that area:

> "The existing Italian organizations in control of railways, postoffice, public works, medical services, etc., have been left intact as far as possible, and military government officers have been placed at the head of these various services to control them and to carry out general policy as dictated by the General Administration from the C-in-C at Cairo. Thus all lower branches of these services are still filled with experienced Italian personnel. To me, it is a subject of astonishment to find how few British are necessary to do this work."

Sicily, 1943. In the recent Sicilian occupation, General Sir Harold Alexander, Military Governor, in his first proclamation dated July 18, 1943, ordered all incumbent administrative

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anc judicial officials of provinces and communities, and all State and municipal functionaries of public services, except political leaders, to continue to perform their duties. Although most of the formerly important Fascist officials had fled, some anti-fascists were found and placed in key positions, while the *Carabinieri,* the federal "civil service" police, constituted the strongest and most stable working factor. In Palermo, it was estimated that 98 percent of local administration and services continued to be manned by nominal Fascists, The Allied Military Government having a very small staff in Sicily. However, it was the lesser local officials and *Carabinieri* who carried on.

Checks on Local Personnel.

It is necessary, of course, to guard against non-cooperation, or worse, on the part of local officials retained. Experience has shown that close supervision by civil affairs or intelligence officer, is the best solution to this problem.

Belgium, 1914-18. The Germans in their Belgian occupation of 1914-18 required the retained Belgian officials to make the following declaration of loyalty: "I herewith promise to continue to administer my office conscientiously and loyally, in accordance with the Hague Convention of October 18, 1907, and not to perform or omit any acts which could be harmful to the German administration in the occupied Belgian territories." During the present German occupation of Belgium, when it was found that older civil servants, who occupied the higher administrative posts, were likely to be obstructionist, the German governor-general reduced to 60 the age limit for the retention of civil service posts, placing them automatically on the retired lists.

Samoa. During the United States' administration of Samoa, county chiefs who failed to cooperate sufficiently or who were inefficient were replaced by members of the *Fitafita* guard, a native naval unit, which demonstrated exemplary conduct and ability.

Military governors have been faced many times with the problem of building up a local administrative personnel with persons who have had little or no previous administrative training or experience.

Cuba, 1898. Such was the problem confronting General Wood in Cuba during the American occupation of 1898. Virtually all that native Cubans had known of civic duty under previous Spanish rule had been subjection, obedience and taxes. Hence, after the occupation, they remained apathetic, obeying orders but doing nothing to help except under compulsion. General Wood organized in Santiago a number of projects to bring as many of the substantial Cubans as possible in touch with the life and government of their city. He made various groups from the Chamber of Commerce and Bar Association his official advisers; in every ward he appointed leading householders as members of committees to find out whether anyone lacked food or medical care. As these people demonstrated their fitness and understanding, Wood gave them more power.

In one town where Wood was particularly anxious to have a capable Cuban in control, he was told that no suitable person would dream of taking the post. "By the way," he said casually to the town's leading merchant, "Is it true, as I have been told, that Cuban gentlemen are very indifferently educated and are afraid of accepting civil offices, thinking that they might appear to disadvantage beside the Spanish employees?" The merchant roared with indignation. It was all an abominable Spanish lie. He bubbled for several minutes. "I merely wanted your opinion," Wood remarked, "and I'm much obliged. You'll consider this conversation private of course." The merchant agreed and then rushed away to tell everybody in town. The Cuban whom Wood subsequently appointed for the post accepted with alacrity.

On other inspection tours, Wood found that local politicians in some towns had elected many more officials than were needed.

Furthermore, they had voted themselves aggregate salaries far in excess of total local revenue. In one small town, there were three mayors, each of whom had appointed some subordinate officials. Each mayor, it appeared, intended to spend some $10,000 a year on himself and friends out of $4,000 total annual revenue. Wood asked if there were not a man in the town sufficiently patriotic to serve as mayor without salary. A man who had not been in the revolution volunteered and Wood appointed him mayor. Wood, thereupon, abolished all other offices except for those of two policemen and a municipal doctor on small salaries, leaving everyone content except the three ex-mayors.

Wood found that in Santiago many Cubans were thoroughly indoctrinated with the policy of corruption in public office. He met this problem by appointing fifty prominent Cubans on a selection committee to fill the town's municipal offices. The choices, he said, must be unanimous and presented to him in writing. This plan presented him with officials whom he could use, instruct and direct, but for whose good behavior the leading Cubans themselves were responsible. But it did more. It stirred those Cubans to the depths of their pride. They had been outsiders all their lives, and, as far as public activities went, pariahs. Wood gave them the first genuine recognition they had ever received as a responsible element in society, so they became his allies, and their friends and henchmen, his supporters.

Relations with De Jure Sovereign.

Rhineland, 1919. Relations of occupants with a *de jure* sovereign can be cited in the Allied Occupation of the German Rhineland in 1918-19. The problem of liaison between the Allies and Germany was met by the German proposal for "the appointment of a representative of the German government for the occupation." This was accepted by the Allies with some reluctance and with encumbering reservations. From the beginning, however, the Allies had permitted high German

officials to come from unoccupied territory and address the local population. When some of these officials used the opportunity to launch intolerable attacks upon the Versailles Treaty, steps had to be taken to prevent such conduct without preventing entirely the entry of these officials into occupied territory. Protests were lodged in Berlin, notification of such impending visits were required, and upon their arrival visiting officials were cautioned. As conditions improved visiting German ministers were put upon their own responsibility and permitted to exercise their duty and make contact with their constituents in full freedom.

Political Parties.

Cuba, 1908-09. Relations of occupants with political parties and factions, pre-existing or newly constituted in occupied areas, have been varied. When Charles E. Magoon was acting as United States Provisional Governor of Cuba in 1908-9, three major political parties were competing for positions under the provisional government. To establish a clearing house for job-seekers in which all three parties would cooperate, Magoon appointed a patronage committee which gave equal representation to each. The committee named the party to receive an appointment and the party itself selected a candidate for official designation by the provisional governor.

Rhineland, 1919. Although the Allies, in their German Rhineland occupation, desired the regeneration of Germany under democratic influences, they had in the first instance to consider the practical needs of occupation. Trained and responsible officials could transmit and execute orders better than newly appointed representatives of Workmen's Councils, so the former were continued in their positions because it also was recognized that, if factions began to tamper with established institutions, an atmosphere charged with tension inevitably would be created.

Sicily, 1943. During the recent Sicilian occupation by the United Nations, in Syracuse and apparently throughout most towns of the islands, delegations called regularly on

Allied Military Government officers to demand the independence of Sicily and permission to create new political parties. Allied Military Government rejected all such requests on the ground that it was a non-political, custodial organization, informing the Sicilians that later they could seek independence through the processes of local law.

Holland, 1940. When the Germans occupied Holland in late 1940, they found 36 political parties. Although the present German political structure is composed of only one party, with all others outlawed, they made no immediate attempt to impose this system on Holland. Instead they dissolved eight parties and threw their support and encouragement to six Dutch parties which favored some degree of cooperation with Germany and some modified features of National Socialism. These parties have gradually gained greater power because they are supported by the German army and police. Although the Germans did not outlaw immediately the other 30 parties, meetings and demonstrations of all political groups were forbidden during the first six months.

Liaison with Allies.

When territory is occupied jointly with an ally or allies, coordination is of paramount importance.

Rhineland, 1919. Even after the division of separate spheres of influence and occupation in the German Rhineland, problems of collaboration presented themselves to the Americans, French, and British. On July 30, 1919, representatives of the French Commission approached General Allen, Commander of the American forces, with the suggestion that the control of Coblenz be divided between them. Allen, using the convincing argument of probable friction between American and French troops in the same town, was able to counter this proposal gracefully. The French also requested Allen to turn over the Fortress of Ehrenbreitstein to them. Allen pointed out of the window to the American flag flying over that fortress and said: "Your country has much sentiment, for which I

admire it. We Americans also have some sentiment. That flag was hoisted on our arrival and we attach sentimental importance to seeing it remain there as long as we are on the Rhine. Moreover, I am convinced that it is of more importance for you that it fly there than for us. Do you think it would be well for us to take it down even at the solicitation of a friendly power?" The matter was not pressed.

Ruhr, 1923. At the time of the French extension of the occupation of the Ruhr in 1923, permission for French troops to cross the intervening British zone in their movement to the Ruhr was withheld. To meet this problem, the French laid a railroad line around the British zone. After the line was completed it was discovered that it cut across a corner of the British area. To resolve this embarrassing situation, the British agreed to a redefining of zone limits so that the new rail line would be completely within the French zone.

North Africa, 1942. The handling of the German Rhineland occupation is in sharp contrast to Anglo-American occupational policy in the present war to date. Although there was no military government in French North Africa, many civil affairs functions, especially those having technical aspects, have been performed with outstanding success by Americans and British. Technically under General Eisenhower and on his staff, but in the last analysis responsible to the President, has been Mr. Robert Murphy, while Mr. Harold Macmillan has been Mr. Murphy's counterpart representing the British and responsible to the Prime Minister. These two, with ministerial rank, have coordinated American and British participation in civil affairs in North Africa. In Sicily and Italy, the British and American civil affairs staffs have been fused into Allied Military Government under General Alexander as military governor.

Relinquishment of Control by Military Government.

Although relinquishment of control by a military government is not decided by Civil Affairs Officers, their opinions and recommendations are often of value. Mr. Noyes, the American delegate to the Interallied Rhineland Commission, perhaps

best expressed American sentiments pertaining to the early relinquishment of military government when he said:

> "The quartering of an enemy army in a country as its master in time of peace and the billeting of troops on the civil population will ensure hatred and ultimate disaster. I have discussed this matter at length with the American commanders of the Army of Occupation; men who have seen military occupation at short range for six months. These officers emphatically endorse the above statements. They say that an occupying army, even with the best intentions, is guilty of outrages and that mutual irritation, in spite of every effort to the contrary, grows apace. Force and more force must inevitably be the history of such occupation long continued."

2. MAINTENANCE OF LAW AND ORDER

The maintenance of law and order has been called, properly enough, a major function and even the primary responsibility of the Civil Affairs Officer. Experience has shown that without civil observance of law, the administrator scarcely can hope to perform successfully any of his numerous secondary duties. Yet, accomplishment of this prime task may require the surmounting of countless obstacles, particularly in an area where the population not only is hostile to the occupying forces but also is divided into factions hostile to each other. Such situations have demanded almost invariably a delicately balanced combination of ingenuity, tact, patience and firmness.

Italy, 1943. The surrender of Italy, followed by the Italian declaration of war on Germany and the acceptance of Italy as a co-belligerent, raised many novel questions. An interesting problem in this connection arose on the occupation of Naples. The population had been wildly enthusiastic in welcoming all Allied soldiers entering the town. When General McSherry and Senior CAO's arrived bringing proclamations and flags, a difficult question presented itself. On looking out the window of the "Municipio", where the AMG officers had spent the night, it was noticed that a large Italian flag was flying from one of the only two flagpoles on the b uilding. (The whole

city was bedecked with Italian and some Allied flags.) Standing in front of the "Municipio" was a large crowd, which broke into loud cheers when Col. Hume stepped out on the balcony. He had just given instructions to raise the British and American flags. When he saw this situation, it became immediately apparent that the good will of the population would be rudely destroyed if the Italian flag were first hauled down and then replaced by the American and British flags. After a hasty consultation, no directions having yet been received except a semi-official rumor that the Italians had been granted a status of co-belligerency, it was decided that the only practical solution in the absence of a third flagpole, was to drape all three flags from the balcony in front of the building. That met with great applause. Unfortunately, several weeks later it was decided by higher headquarters that Italian flags should not be permitted to fly from any official buildings in occupied territory. No doubt this was a correct decision, but not a happy one so far as the particular flag on the Naples "Municipio" was concerned. In any event, Col. Hume's action had launched civil affairs in Naples in happy circumstances by tactful evasion of an untoward incident.

Use of Civil Police.

The use of local police to maintain order among the occupied population has become a standard procedure in military government. Such a policy offers definite advantages, the most important of which is economy in the use of the occupant's military personnel. Experience has demonstrated, furthermore, that most purely civil matters are controlled better by local police thoroughly familiar with the people, laws, and customs. To attempt to do otherwise would require more personnel than can usually be diverted from military operations. It would also be an ever-present source of friction.

Rhineland, 1918. When German soldiers were returning to their homes in the Rhineland, friends and relatives met them at the station. These gatherings might easily have turned into demonstrations, possibly riots, and particularly if Allied troops had been present attempting to maintain order. Re-

sponsibility was placed directly upon the local German police, thus avoiding the friction that would have resulted from the German soldiers' coming into contact with Allied troops.

Solomon Islands, 1942. In the case of natives in undeveloped areas, it is even more important that they be dealt with by personnel and methods to which they are accustomed. In the Solomons an elderly native appeared one morning in an almost complete GI marine uniform. He was turned over to the native Chief by the British Resident Commissioner. The former, with a great show of indignation, upbraided the offender and punished him. There was no further difficulty; and most important, no disturbance of relations between natives and administrators.

Paris, 1871. The remnants of local police forces are usually willing to serve the occupants. If the leadership is acceptable, it is good practice to retain it; if not, a new chief is appointed. Even though a local police force is almost a necessary part of military government, administrators must exercise extreme caution before allowing it to retain arms. Failure to disarm the Garde Nationale in Paris in 1871 led to the seizure of power by that group, and civil war followed.

Sicily, 1943. In Sicily, on the other hand, the Carabinieri Reali were permitted to retain their arms and became, in many areas, the main reliance of Allied Military Government for the maintenance of order. The Carabinieri were cooperative enough, but lack of attention to many details made them less effective than they might otherwise have been. Nominally paid 15 cents per day, they frequently failed to receive even that. They were ill-equipped, ill-fed, and not properly supplied with either transportation or equipment to carry out their duties. CAPO's were forced to resort to many devices—frequently contrary to declared AMG policy—to care for the policemen under them. Some officers even bought food for them in emergencies at their own expense!

Policy without Local Police.

Occasionally, no police may be found upon occupation. In other cases it may be impossible to make effective use of the

remnants without considerable reorganization. Under these circumstances stop-gap measures are required and changes must be made.

Sicily, 1943. Traditional policy has limited the authority of civilian police to matters involving the civil population. MP's and SP's have always been provided to handle military personnel. While the latter may, in cases affecting military security, arrest civilians, the former are never permitted to interfere with the military. Despite the soundness of this policy, it failed to work in Sicily insofar as the prostitution problem was concerned. When local police attempted to raid unlicensed houses, the military personnel, so intimately involved, were disinclined to regard the arrest of the "lady" concerned as a purely civilian matter. Many policemen were roughly treated and utterly unable to control the situation. Public safety officials thereupon assigned MP's and civilian police to this duty in teams of two, preserving the basic distinction between military and civilian authority in a technical sense at least. It produced the desired results.

Iraq, 1914. The British in Iraq found that the former Turkish governors had used their own police and, when the Turks withdrew, the police departed with them. The population, although cautiously friendly, were afraid to serve with the British for fear of savage Turkish reprisals should the Turks reconquer the area. The British brought in Moslem troops from India to serve as police until it was clear that the Turks would not return again. Then a local police force was instituted.

Cuba, 1899. In Cuba, General Wood used local police to maintain order only to find that there was trouble between the police and the citizens. Investigation revealed that the root of dissatisfaction was that the police were wearing the uniform of the defeated and discredited Spanish regime. Wood put them into khaki and the trouble ended immediately.

Vera Cruz, 1914. When the United States occupied Vera Cruz in 1914 it was necessary to organize a native police force. To increase the efficiency and military bearing of this force daily drill and instruction were given under an American

Army officer. "The best instructed, best set up and neatest policemen were assigned the choicest beats in accordance with his recommendations."

Philippines, 1899. Prompt and sound policy decisions are the basis for restoring law and order. Failure on the part of the Military Governor to announce his policy led to a revolt in the Philippines. One of the main grievances of the Filipinos against the Spanish regime was the feudal control of the Catholic Church. The church, after the War with Spain, sent to Manila an American Archbishop to protect its property. The American General extended to the Archbishop all of the courtesies due his rank. A Filipino journalist published an alleged interview with the papal delegate in which the Archbishop was made to say the friars would be sent back to their parishes and sustained by the military government. Although the general had decided that the friars would not be sent back he did not proclaim it or deny the newspaper allegations. Revolt broke out and many American lives were lost.

New Guinea, 1942. The speed and apparent ease with which the Japanese won the collaboration of northern New Guinea natives when they occupied the territory early in 1942 was very disturbing to the British. It was not until district officers, trapped by the invasion, escaped that the mystery was solved. The returning D.O.'s cited the natives' belief that the "next world" lies beyond the river's mouth and over the horizon far out to sea. It is here that their ancestors dwell. The peace and well being of their forebears means much to the New Guinea native and taboos govern any course of action that would harm them. Very cleverly, the Japanese pointed out that they came from "beyond the river's mouth and over the horizon far out to sea," implying that they controlled the natives' "heaven," thus effectively making their ancestors hostages for their good conduct.

New Orleans, 1862. The military administrator may adopt a solution to a problem which, although having desirable immediate effects, brings unwanted long-range consequences. Such was the case with General Butler, military governor of New Orleans during the Civil War. The women of the city

were guilty of insulting behavior toward the Union forces even to the extent of spitting on them. The General knew that if he arrested the women this would lead to more serious outbreaks, but realized that he could not allow the condition to continue.

Seeking a solution to end this insulting behavior without being obliged to resort to arrest he issued his famous general order No. 28 under which, "when any female shall, by words, gesture or movement insult or show contempt for any officer or soldier of the United States, she shall be regarded and held liable to be treated as a woman of the town plying her avocation." Rather than face possible arrest under this statute and thus be classed as prostitutes, the women of the city changed their conduct toward the Union soldiers.

Not one arrest was necessary. A hue and cry was raised, however, that by this order General Butler had authorized his troops to outrage and ravish any woman they thought had insulted them. This charge spread throughout the South and even into the Northern press.

Cuba, 1898. Remnants of troops and guerrillas are a frequent source of trouble as are revolutionary leaders. After the defeat of the Spaniards in Cuba, General Wood was faced with the necessity of disbanding the Cuban Army, which was turning to brigandage. In addition to the fact that they were a group of non-producers in a land whose welfare depended on production, these armed men constituted a direct threat to the security of our military government. General Wood met this problem by an attractive demobilization offer. Each soldier was given a bonus of $75 when he turned in his gun and was demobilized.

Cuba, 1908. General Guerra was a leader of the revolution which brought about the American intervention in Cuba in 1908. In order to remove him as a possible source of trouble, he was made Commander-in-Chief of the Cuban Army, an act which won him over to the cause of law and order. It then was decided that he should be sent to the United States and France to study modern military methods. This move kept him away from Cuba until pacification was complete.

Sicily, 1943. Civilian possession of firearms was handled in the usual manner upon the occupation of Sicily; proclamations and ordinances made their possession an offense and required that they be turned in immediately. This was accomplished although without adequate facilities for safe stowage and accurate record-keeping, consequently much of the equipment became "souvenirs" for allied troops. As time passed the possession of firearms was again suspected. House-to-house searches turned up much material all of which had been picked up on battlefields. Slow salvage methods were responsible. The population, at first afraid to take such equipment, became bolder as time passed, and then systematically began salvage operations of their own.

Control Measures.

Control measures may be of two principal types—restrictive and conciliatory. Of the restrictive types, the most effective is that based on advance information. If the Civil Affairs Officer has a competent intelligence staff and acts promptly on its reports many incipient uprisings can be nipped before they break out.

Manila, 1899. In Manila, reports were received of a revolt to take place on a certain date. A few days before the time set, 8,000 American troops marched through the streets of the city. The uprising did not occur.

Rhineland, 1919. During our occupation of the Rhineland a request was made by the Germans for permission to hold a parade on Labor Day (May 1, 1919). Cognizant of the German feeling during the concluding days of the Peace Conference and noting that the request mentioned banners to be flown, the American Officer ordered the banner inscriptions produced for preview. Fourteen of the banners contained propaganda against the acceptance of the peace terms. The permit was promptly refused.

Iraq, 1915. When the British were in Iraq, Arab nationalists in Bagdad began to foment trouble. The Political Officer waited until it was obvious to the population that public security and private property would be endangered if the movement

continued. He then arrested the leaders, forbade meetings and parades and imposed a 2200 curfew. As a result the town returned to normal and few criticisms were voiced that the Political Officer was trying mainly to suppress nationalist sentiments.

North Africa, 1942. Prompt action with ample force checked what might have led to serious consequences in Algeria in the North African invasion in the present war. It was reported that an entire Arab village near Oran was armed and was raiding nearby villages for booty and women. French and American troops threw a cordon around the village. Although prepared for a large-scale battle, the troops found that the Arabs did not resist. They came out of their huts, giving up their rifles and shells without a murmur. One soldier said, "The poor guys looked like we had taken their candy from them."

Czechoslovakia, 1939. Still, repressive measures do not always work. In the occupation of Czechoslovakia in 1939, a German police officer was murdered in the streets of Kladus. The Germans immediately took the following steps:

1. The mayor and municipal council were deposed and a German Commission appointed.
2. The Czech police were disarmed and marched to Prague (25 miles away).
3. All schools were closed.
4. Public meetings were banned, cinemas, theaters and places of amusement closed.
5. Curfew was enforced from 2000 to 0500. All windows were ordered closed; German patrols fired through open windows.
6. The population warned that unless the murderers surrendered by 2000 the next day more drastic measures would be imposed.
7. Reward of 30,000 kc was offered.

The murderer did not surrender and the following measures were taken:

1. Reward increased to 100,000 kc.

2. Fine of 500,000 kc imposed on town "to fall most heavily on Jews and the followers of Benes."
3. Gates of town shut and no one permitted to enter or leave.
4. Arrest of private citizens began. Two hundred and sixty-three were detained and questioned; many died during the interrogation.

These measures had an effect opposite to the one intended. It is said that some Czechs regard this affair as the turning point in the relations between them and the Germans. From that day on open strife was waged against the occupying forces.

Rhineland, 1919. The imposition of a curfew often has been an effective weapon in the hands of military administrators. In the town of Kell, during the American occupation of the Rhineland, American soldiers had rocks thrown at them on three successive nights. It was impossible to discover the culprits. All inhabitants were ordered to be in their houses by 1900 and to remain there until morning. After two weeks there was no further trouble.

Rhineland, 1918. Early in the occupation of the German Rhineland by the British in 1918 a curfew was instituted. Many Germans believed this to be an experimental gesture and decided to test it. The British met the test by strict enforcement. On Saturday night some 200 violators were rounded up promptly and fined. Shortly thereafter several hundred more were arrested and held for trial. This dispelled the illusion that curfew orders were a "mere formality."

Iraq, 1918. In the British occupation of Iraq in 1918 a Civil Affairs Officer was murdered by conspirators financed by enemy gold. Since the city contained one of the most holy Moslem shrines it was not feasible to shell and assault it. The British therefore placed a cordon of troops to cut off the water supply of the city until the conspirators were given up.

California, 1846. On occasions it has been found that a policy of conciliation and restraint has brought order when force might have failed. When California was occupied by our forces in the Mexican War and after law and order apparently were established, a full-fledged revolt broke out. The revolt was partly quelled by military action. Then the leaders at-

tempted to negotiate, but word was sent that they would be shot as rebels if caught. Resistance continued. Later a new leader of the Californians sought to negotiate, this time with better results. All who had participated in the uprising were pardoned, including certain Mexican officers who had violated their paroles. In return the insurgents gave up their arms and assisted in placing the country in a state of peace and tranquillity.

Tsingtao, 1915. When the Germans surrendered Tsingtao to the Japanese in World War I, the Japanese postponed their triumphal entry into the city for two weeks after the surrender to give the inhabitants an opportunity to recover from the siege before the troops marched in.

Sicily, 1943. It is axiomatic that prompt seizure of all public buildings and securing of records found therein is essential. Nevertheless, this is not always done and is due in most cases to a lack of understanding of the problem on the part of the operational troops. In Sicily, for example, the first troops to enter a fallen city descended upon the post office which had been designated as one of their headquarters buildings. They cleared the premises of undesired equipment and destroyed many valuable records in preparing the structure for occupancy. Shortly thereafter the theater commander directed the SCAO to resume postal services! The difficulty of so doing was of course greatly increased and caused a delay which could have been obviated by proper advance instruction to the troops.

3. COURTS AND LAW

Although international agreements provide generous latitude for administration of justice by military occupants through introduction of new law and innovations in court procedure, experience has emphasized that local systems, when not inacceptably repugnant to the accustomed code of the occupying force, should be retained for trying and punishing crime. Totally new conceptions of right and wrong have confused local populations. Successful administrators have avoided them, at least

in early stages, except when they have appeared essential to the maintenance of military security.

Recognition of Local Customs.

Gilbert Islands, 1943. It was found when the U. S. Marines re-occupied Tarawa, Makin and other islands of the Gilbert group in 1943 that some native chiefs had collaborated with the Japanese far more fully than circumstances required. There was thought of exacting the death penalty. Upon advice of a British civil administrator familiar with local laws and customs, it was changed to a 3 months' prison sentence. Results were excellent. The shame and humiliation of this punishment, which was the customary treatment of petty criminals, pleased the natives. It represented in their eyes the return of the good old days of law and order to which they were accustomed.

Iraq, 1915. In the occupation of Iraq by the British in World War I, the local custom in murder cases of requiring in addition to other punishment the giving of a virgin by the murderer's family to that of the deceased party's, was found to be extremely practicable. The resultant intermarriage between the families provided a community of interest and prevented blood feuds.

However, before applying these so-called usual types of punishment, the Civil Affairs Officer should be sure that they are the accepted practice. Two experiences of the British in military government clearly illustrate this.

New Guinea, 1914. In the occupation of New Guinea by the Australians in 1914 the military governor decreed that certain Germans who had attacked a British missionary should be flogged. The consequence of this punishment was that the press in Australia, and later in London, published many objections; it was made the subject of parliamentary inquiry and the incident was extremely useful for propaganda purposes by Germany against Great Britain in the United States.

Eritrea, 1941. On the other hand a British Civil Affairs Officer in Eritrea in 1941 imposed flogging with excellent results. This officer was in Cessenei and was obliged to leave

to follow the advancing of the army. He had in custody some thirty natives, arrested for pilfering and looting. He had the men publicly flogged. Since this was the accepted custom in the community the punishment had the desired results.

Knowledge of Local Laws and Psychology.

The Civil Affairs Officer should be thoroughly familiar with the local law, particularly if it becomes necessary to take over the local courts.

New Orleans, 1863. In the occupation of New Orleans in the Civil War by the Union forces the courts were operated by military personnel. In a case before the provost judge a landlord was claiming the right under the local law to seize the property of a negro tenant for delinquent rent; the delinquency was not on the part of this negro but by another tenant. Knowledge of the local law enabled the judge to prevent the application of this harsh statute. He inquired if the negro was a slave and ascertaining that he was called the landlord's attention to another statute which required the written consent of the owner before a property could be let to slaves and demanded that the landlord produce the written consent. This the landlord was unable to do. Faced with possible prosecution under this statute the landlord withdrew his claim and returned the property to the man.

Sicily, 1943. Similarly, any action taken must first be considered in the light of local rather than one's own traditional procedure. In Sicily in 1943 the prisons were investigated promptly. Conditions generally were bad. Records were inaccurate or lacking in many cases but, nevertheless, political prisoners, those who had already served more time awaiting trial than their offenses merited if they had been convicted, etc. were released. So also were a large group of "confinos" when it was discovered that they had been imprisoned solely on the authority of the chief of police, no charges having been preferred against them. Subsequently it developed that these "confinos" were mafia—the very element the AMG wished to confine—and it was necessary to round them up again. Many, of course, managed to avoid recapture.

knowledge of the local law but likewise he must know the psychology of the people in order properly to administer justice.

Marshall Islands, 1885. The Germans in their occupation of the Marshall Islands found a tendency on the part of natives to falsify in court. A native was charged with chicken stealing and glibly denied the charge. The judge cunningly said:

"You not only stole the chickens on this occasion but in earlier cases, too, it was you who committed the thefts."

The native replied:

"No judge, this was the first time."

Cuba, 1899. When General Wood succeeded Brooke as military governor of Cuba he soon faced a problem that created considerable controversy. Under the Spanish law marriages could be performed only by the Church. The fees charged by priests were so high that many Cubans resorted to common law marriages without benefit of clergy. To remedy this situation Brooke had decreed that henceforth marriage would be a civil contract and could be performed by judges. The majority of the Cubans favored this new legislation but there was a great protest not only from the Catholic church in Cuba but also from the Church in the United States. Wood met this problem by allowing either a civil or religious ceremony at the option of the contracting parties. This satisfied both the Cubans and the Church.

Cuba, 1898. Another problem in the occupation of Cuba was that of prison inmates. Court records were so inadequate that in many instances no one knew how long a prisoner had served or when he should be released. Wood provided for an army investigation of each prisoner's record and freed so many that his move amounted to a general amnesty. Although some real criminals may have been freed, Wood felt this the lesser evil. For future cases Wood ordered the keeping of records by duly appointed court clerks.

Sicily, 1943. Sicily's courts were blocked and the jails filled to overflowing as the result of the generally confused con-

situation was further aggravated by two factors:

(1) Too many arrests by too many persons (tactical officers, M.P.'s, A.M.G. personnel, etc.) for trivial offenses based on misunderstanding rather than deliberate attempts to thwart A.M.G.

(2) Local police personnel's unfamiliarity with the Anglo-American court system which afforded more protection to the accused than did the Italian system.

Hence, they, too, detained many individuals without properly preparing their cases.

An "Arrest Report Form" was developed. Its filing was made a necessary part of formal arrest. Including such data as the charge, witnesses, etc., in addition to the usual name, age, address, etc., it not only confined arrests to bona fide cases but also served to speed up court activity and reduced the number of cases dismissed for lack of evidence.

Wire cutting was one of the few hostile acts against the Allied forces in Sicily. Actually no hostile intent was involved, however, because the farmers, who stole the wire to use for binding crops, thought the wire they found lying on the ground had been abandoned. Nevertheless, their action seriously impaired communications and the offenders had to be dealt with. At first light sentences, many of them suspended, were meted out; later one of 20 years was handed down when it became necessary to make an example that would stop these incidents. In all trials of wire-cutting cases, which so vitally involved the tactical forces, the court was made up of two operational officers for every civil affairs officer sitting on the court. This procedure made the lack of hostile intent obvious to the forces concerned and avoided criticism which might have been leveled at civil affairs because of the generally light sentences given.

Italy, 1943. Another case of lack of sufficient coordination between tactical forces and civil affairs occurred in Southern Italy. The Civil Affairs Officer was in the court building, instructing a group of public officials and jurists in their duties under A.M.G. The meeting was interrupted by a small force of American troops who burst into the room, announced they

were taking over the premises for military purposes, and insisted, over the protest of the A.M.G. officer, that the place be vacated. The loss of prestige suffered by A.M.G. as a result of such an incident is obvious. Though the matter was rectified later, it placed an obstacle in the path of Anglo-American-Italian relationships.

Personnel Problems.

Palestine, 1917. While most Civil Affairs Officers are prepared to supervise the local bar the situation of the British in Palestine in 1917 went beyond supervision. The Senior judicial officer found that almost all of the qualified Turkish advocates had fled the country leaving only a number of local practitioners who were in general quite unqualified. In order that the community might not be deprived of all professional assistance in legal matters, he licensed those of the local practitioners who were able to pass an elementary examination in law.

Rhineland, 1920. If it is necessary for the court to rely on local interpreters a word of caution is in order. The experience of the British in their occupation of the Rhineland subsequent to the Armistice in World War I, was that many persons were wrongfully convicted by inaccurate interpreting, particularly by subservient interpreters who would interpret the testimony to bring about a conviction lest they might get themselves in trouble.

4. CIVILIAN DEFENSE

Civilian defense problems confronting an Administrator may be heavy or light depending upon how close his area is to enemy air fields. His control will depend upon the organization and supervision of any existing local groups or the creation of new ones to handle such problems as air-raid warnings, blackout control, shelters, fire-fighting, evacuations, and rehabilitation.

Reorganization of A. R. P.

As air raids can be expected in any area recently occupied, civilian defense organizations must be formed or reorganized as soon as possible.

Algeria, 1942. The United States and Great Britain, in going into Algeria in 1942, found a complicated problem in that the French had made no plans for post-air-raid activities. There was an absence of any adequate local civilian organization, and a shortage of many essential materials for repairing air-raid damage. Anglo-American officials solved the problem by prodding the local French authorities into active organization, but only part of the program was outlined to them at first so as not to discourage them by the immensity of the job. Algeria was sub-divided into coherent defense units. New sources of food, clothing, coal and materials for reconstruction work were sought and found. Civilian defense personnel were given uniforms to raise their morale.

From this first combined occupation it was found that comprehensive air-raid defense plans should be worked out in advance of an invasion. A maximum use of native personnel should be made, even though there is a temptation to import experienced organizers and technicians.

Registration and Control of Population.

Hawaii, 1941. It has been found important to register and classify the local population as soon as possible, but lack of personnel to accomplish it is generally a problem. When martial law was declared in Hawaii in 1941, it was necessary due to the threat of invasion to register, check and classify the entire population of the Islands. Since all the schools were closed, the entire teaching force (upon a volunteer basis) was used by authorities to perform this task.

Naples, 1943. It was necessary, as a measure of safety, to evacuate a large part of Naples before resuming electric utility service. Before turning on the power, the authorities ordered a half-million persons out of the lower part of the city as a precaution against the explosion of undiscovered mines which the Germans might have connected to the power circuits. As if by magic, Naples, in a half hour, became almost a dead city, guarded by Allied soldiers and Italian carabinieri.

Groups of ambulances were stationed in the principal squares and firemen, fully equipped, were placed on the alert. Soldiers

and military police alone walked the streets. At twelve o'clock the master switches were turned on, district by district. In the tense forty-five minutes that followed everyone waited expecting houses to fall; but fortunately no explosions occurred. The incident illustrates the precautions which may be required in newly conquered areas, as well as the effectiveness of a well-publicized plan of demolition protection.

Policing Problems.

General policing problems sometimes enter the field of civilian defense.

Hawaii, 1941. The attack on Pearl Harbor was followed by intense activity upon the part of the civilian defense authorities and the entire population in digging air raid shelters. Upon completion of the shelters, it was found that they were being used by some of the population of Oahu as rendezvous for love-making and loitering. The problem was how to confine the use of these shelters for purposes of air raid protection. Frequent police patrols were ordered; doors were built to the dugouts and the keys entrusted to defense workers who lived nearby. In thickly populated districts, civilian guards were placed at the entrances.

Java, 1941. In Java a similar situation arose in 1941 after construction of shelters in the city of Batavia. The natives found these trenches to be convenient latrines, and they soon became unfit for defense use. The Dutch placed the responsibility on the householders living nearest the trenches, requiring them to clean the ditches and announcing that fines would be imposed for further violations. This was effective.

5. CIVILIAN SUPPLY

Some of the most vexing dilemmas of occupational governments of the past have resulted from the necessity of attempting to satisfy the enormous demands of the civilian population for long-absent consumer goods without compromising in any way the paramount service of operational supply. Obviously, where preemptive political considerations did not prevail, civil affairs requirements have yielded priority to operational logistics.

Advance Information.

Adequate pre-invasion or pre-occupation intelligence respecting the needs of territories has proved its worth.

Coblenz, 1918. Before American forces moved into Coblenz in 1918, five officers preceded the troops. The burgomaster and the *Oberpräsident* of the Rhine Province faced a number of difficult problems, the foremost being fear of revolution and disorder. Against this possibility the Germans requested an advance unit of 1,000 American soldiers. Food was scarce; the system of distribution had been broken down and severe limitations had been imposed on transportation by the Armistice.

The first step of the Americans was to call on German authorities for detailed statements "showing the supply and requirements for food and coal in the occupied territory." The American army, as it moved in, was instructed to furnish similar information.

The results of the pooled information received meant the gradual reduction of the limitations on transportation, the commandeering of coal to run the utilities from shipments coming up the Rhine destined to less essential consumers, and the clarification of policy towards requisitioning of food.

Another problem is that of adapting relief supplies to the basic diet of the area involved, because a population under occupation usually has food habits quite different from those of the occupants. Experience has proved that once people overcome direct starvation, at which time they will eat almost anything, they crave their accustomed diet with its familiar seasoning.

North Africa, 1942. In preparation for meeting the problem of food scarcity in North Africa in 1943, the American administrators found it necessary to decide upon the most economical and effective kinds of food to be imported. There were two principal considerations: food habits of the natives and availability of foods in terms of distance. On the basis of surveys, experts recommended for shipment the nutritive foods which would supplement available materials and at the same time accommodate themselves to the local diet with little extra

preparation. Thus dehydrated soup stocks sent to North Africa for relief distribution could be transformed by the Arabs into their favorite dishes by the addition of small amounts of native foods already at hand.

Distribution of Relief Supplies.

Tripoli, 1943. It is essential that relief food supplies arrive on time. In the occupation of Tripoli by the British in 1943 it was known in advance that a food problem would exist. The question of how quickly on the heels of the occupying army civilian supplies should be distributed was resolved in favor of immediate action. The day after the occupation the British authorities distributed such essentials as flour. Soon after, at the request of the occupying officials, an American Red Cross relief convoy arrived, having actually left for Tripoli before the occupation. This convoy carried 115,000 pints of milk along with other vital foods. It was expected that the Red Cross relief would be confined to the initial stages, after which the elaborate British plans for continuance of emergency relief would take effect.

Cuba, 1899. Distribution of supplies has been carried out with reference to the people, the country, and the problems confronting the administrators. During the American occupation of Cuba in 1899 a devastating hurricane destroyed homes and crops, leaving almost complete paralysis of effort on the part of the planters and peons in its wake. Free rations had to be supplied to prevent starvation.

The Board of Charities, an organ of the American Government of the island, furnished food to the planters for the peons and their families who were needed to restore and cultivate the farms, in return for which the planters signed a written agreement to provide a small parcel of land and a hut to each family. The planters, in turn, were to see that the land was prepared and seeded with food crops, and that the laborers gave a full day's work for their rations. By this plan 800 plantations were restored and 8,000 plots of ground sown.

Rhineland, 1919. During the American occupation of the German province in 1919, American foodstuffs were distributed

at cost through commercial channels to reduce food scarcity, and a rationing system employing coupons issued to heads of families was operated by civil officials. But even at "cost" which was computed at American dollar rates, the final price of the food in marks to the German civilian was such that the poor population experienced hardship. The City of Treves was the first to distribute special "bonus" tickets to a limited circle of poorer people to be used in part payment for food stuffs. In the case of flour, the tickets were worth 55 *pfennigs*, reducing the cost of this commodity to one mark per pound. Recipients of such tickets were limited in number because of the expense involved.

Algeria, 1942. Here it was found that some of the milk intended for children was taken home by the Arabs and sold in the black market. The problem was met by the requirement that children drink the milk at the distribution stations. Distribution centers in five major cities, formerly used by the French Red Cross, were taken over by the American Red Cross for this purpose. A glass of lend-lease milk per day was issued to under-nourished children in this manner.

Algeria, 1942. Tons of general supplies and fuel were sent from the United States. What was not issued free went through commercial channels of two sorts. One was the North African Economic Board, a joint agency attached to Allied headquarters, which transferred goods to the governments of Algeria and Morocco acting as agents for the French African administrative authorities under General Giraud. These two governments then distributed the goods to wholesalers, and they in turn to retailers in quantities proportionate to past volumes of business.

The other means was the special commissary established to make staple commodities, such as sugar, tea, and cloth, available to native labor employed by the Allied forces, and at prices to match levels prevailing in the many localities where the commissaries were set up. Firms were required to sell the goods at agreed prices. If found selling in the black market they were to be placed on the blacklist.

Rhineland, 1919. It has been found that hoarded supplies often can be forced into the market by supplying essentials at fixed prices and profits. This was illustrated in Germany during the American occupation of 1919. In the American sector the distribution was to be made through commercial channels in part because "it is the belief of the military authorities that when food is placed on sale it will bring from the farmers' stock and dealers' cellars a large quantity of food hoarded up to this time by persons who evaded the government authorities in the hope of reaping a still larger profit." It also was believed that the very arrival of stocks of food would contribute to restoring order in disturbed areas. The main problem of distribution through commercial channels appears to have been that of establishing a sound policy regarding prices and profits.

It was decided that food would be distributed from two points (Coblenz and Treves) to German wholesalers "who would apportion it to authorities, who will decide the place where it is most needed. The retailers will sell it at a price to be fixed by the American authorities. Retail dealers in the Coblenz areas will be allowed a price representing the cost of the food plus the cost of transportation to Coblenz plus 20 per cent profit, this profit to be divided between the wholesalers and retailers. Retail dealers in the Treves area will be allowed to charge this price plus the cost of moving food from Coblenz to Treves." This method was successful, failing in only one Kreis.

Financing Food Supply.

Rhineland, 1919. The unstable condition of the German government in 1919 created a financing problem since no credit could be granted to it. For a time, payment by cash in advance was required; and later by partial advance with balance on delivery. But the greatest problem lay in the confusion which resulted from each of the 16 separate Kreise (districts) under American occupation attempting to estimate and finance individually its own requests.

Toward a solution the *Oberpräsident* of Rhine Province initiated the formation by a group of public-spirited citizens of a central purchasing and distribution agency known as the "Food-Distributing Company, Ltd." All profits of the Company, after writing off appropriate sums to reimburse the stockholders, were to be used for the "public interest." The duty of the company was "to finance the transfer of foodstuffs from various sources to the civil population. On the whole, the system worked very well."

Free Distribution of Relief Supplies.

Manchuria, 1905. The Japanese in their occupation of Manchuria in 1904-05, to gain the sympathy of local officials and the Chinese population as well as to facilitate military administration, broadened the custom of the Chinese Emperor and distributed free rice on the anniversaries of both the Chinese and the Japanese Emperors to all inhabitants who were reduced to famine by the war.

A Liao-yang communal official was ordered to report on the number of poor. Aid from men informed in such matters was requested from the Chinese military and civil governors and from the council of merchants. A proclamation announcing the event was posted and tickets were distributed to the selected poor. Ticket holders were grouped by villages and, with the Japanese flag floating overhead, rice was distributed to them in exchange for their tickets. The result was that the inhabitants became friendly.

6. PUBLIC HEALTH AND SANITATION

Public Health and Sanitation embrace all the techniques of maintaining a healthful area—techniques varying from the highest skills of the medical profession to the normal sanitary precautions practiced in western societies. Sanitation rehabilitation and restoration of necessary services is recognized as essential not only for the preservation of general health but also for the protection of the occupying forces. Prompt action upon occupancy greatly reduces the danger of epidemics.

Sanitation.

Santiago, 1898. General Wood's experience soon after the surrender of Santiago in 1898 is a case in point. Having taken the city after a long siege, he found it strewn with corpses and indescribable filth. There was a great deal of sickness among the American troops. Within 24 hours Wood requisitioned laborers, carts and draft animals. Paying fair wages, he compelled the workers to gather the dead, rubbish, and filth, haul them to the outskirts of the city and burn them. When "respectable" citizens disobeyed his proclamations on sanitation by using thoroughfares as sewers Wood inflicted proper punishment.

Cuba, 1906. It has been the policy in military occupations to turn the sanitation services back to the local government as soon as practicable. This procedure was modified somewhat, however, in 1906 during the occupation of Cuba. Local sanitation officers had been appointed subject to municipal authority. In general they were ineffective in preventing recurrent outbreaks of yellow fever. A decree by the American commander nationalized the sanitation service. A National Board of Sanitation was established; its duties included the appointment of officers for each municipality. The agency was financed by the municipalities which were required to pay one-tenth of their revenues to the National Government. "The plan for making sanitation a national matter worked well, and in general the health of the people of Cuba was good during the occupation."

Philippines, 1914. The disposal of garbage is generally a troublesome problem in tropical cities. A successful solution was found by the American authorities in the Philippines in 1914. First a law was passed requiring every householder in Manila to provide himself with a garbage can of approved type, but impoverished natives were unable to purchase the tins. The administration finally adopted a plan of furnishing the receptacles to the householders at a small yearly rental. It also contracted with a private company for collection and disposal.

Fiji Islands, 1934. Hookworm, one of the serious diseases of the tropics, is contracted through the feet from stepping on soil contaminated by feces. During the Administration of

the Fiji Islands in 1934, the British solved this problem by digging pits, covering them with a concrete cover similar to that used by the Dutch, on their bore-hole latrines in the Netherlands Indies. It was found that the bore-hole latrine could not be used satisfactorily in the Fijis.

Epidemic Controls.

Military occupants have controlled epidemics and contagious diseases among primitive peoples in various ways, the methods employed sometimes requiring the utmost ingenuity.

New Guinea, 1922. In Papua, New Guinea, in 1922, when a smallpox scare arose, it was necessary to vaccinate the natives. There was difficulty because they were afraid of the needle. To counteract this fear the population was told that there was a dangerous sorcerer in the west who had conjured up a bad sickness which might strike at any moment. Yet, although the sorcerer was strong, the government was stronger still and would safeguard all those who claimed its protection.

A mark would be put on the arm for all to see; the sorcerer, when he came, could see the government mark, and recognizing that he was powerless, would retire baffled and beaten to his home in the west. But for those who would not receive the sign, the administrators of course, could do nothing. The "Government mark" became very popular, not only medically, but socially as well, and to be without it was to confess oneself the rankest outsider.

Philippines, 1906. Betel nut chewing is deeply ingrained among the islanders in the Far East. The purchase of the ingredients is done in an unsanitary manner which may well be the means of spreading an epidemic rapidly through a community. In the Philippines in 1906 the purchase of buya leaves (used in chewing) was done by dipping the hand into a jar, carefully feeling all the moist leaves before making a selection.

To limit the possibility of buyer-carriers' spreading disease during epidemic stages the market places were roped off, with only one entrance. A guard was stationed beside a barrel filled with a weak solution of bichloride of mercury, and persons entering the market were made to dip their hands in it. The

Filipinos regarded this procedure as a childish American practice which hurt no one. But the method was effective in stopping the spread of cholera at the market places.

Philippines, 1908-10. Yaws, another disease prevalent in the east, may be treated easily, if the natives can be induced to visit the doctor. In the Philippines during the American occupation (1908-1910) five primitive mountain tribes suffered from the malady. The problem was to get the natives to a white doctor and allow him to inject "606". Since the natives believed in the hocus-pocus of medicine men, impressive ritual was devised. The patient was given a stick with 15 loops of string tied to it, and instructed to get up early every morning, and, as he saw the first rays of the sun, to cut off one loop. He was warned carefully not to look at his skin or to take off his blanket. Upon cutting the 15 loops, he was told to report to the doctor who gave him an injection of "606" with beneficial results.

Rhineland, 1919. In Germany during the American occupation, a typhoid epidemic broke out in Bruck, which ultimately affected 10 per cent of the population. The infection was traced to two of three public sources of water. These sources were closed over the protests of the townspeople, who as a result, were deprived of an adequate supply. The military authorities assumed responsibility for developing a water supply found in the neighboring hills and piping it into town.

Meanwhile, the seriousness of the situation prompted a move to have the whole civil population immunized by inoculations. Local German officials opposed the move. Despairing of any cooperation on the part of the civil authorities, the Officer-in-Charge of Civil Affairs issued an order to the *Regierungsprasident* to assemble the entire population on an appointed day to be vaccinated. The vaccinations were performed by the *Kreisarzt* under the supervision of a military officer. Within three weeks the epidemic came to an end.

Preventive Measures.

During an emergency, proof of inoculations and vaccination may be required of the civilian population by occupation authorities.

Hawaii, 1943. In Hawaii in 1943 the Army ordered all people to register at the nearest schoolhouse. Identification cards with thumb print were issued, and as each person was vaccinated and inoculated proof was placed on his card. Possession of an identification card in good order was required at all times. As a result no typhoid or smallpox broke out.

Philippines, 1905-12. In the years 1905 to 1912, during the American occupation, epidemic outbreaks of plague recurred constantly. The common carrier, the rat, lived in bamboo fences, in bamboo houses and under the floors of wooden warehouses. American authorities organized flying squads of rat-catchers, clad in flea-proof clothing sprinkled with kerosene or naphthalene around the openings for neck, arms, and feet. The men went through an infected area, examining all rats caught, then killing them. Rat nests were sprayed with insecticide to kill the fleas. Bamboo ends were plugged with cement. Fox terriers and ferrets were brought in. Usually this procedure made an area thoroughly ratproof.

North Africa, 1943. Airplane transportation has introduced the problem of protecting an area from mosquitoes brought in quickly from great distances. In the American and British occupation of French North Africa in 1943, health officers of the Army and OFRRA initiated a system of de-insectization of aircraft entering the region. This technique represents great progress in the control of certain diseases. The same procedure is being used to control the spread of malaria in the South Pacific.

Rhineland, 1919. Prostitution and resultant venereal diseases long have been a problem of occupation. During the American occupation of the German Rhineland an alarming venereal disease rate developed among the troops. Regulations by the Germans under their own laws proved inadequate. Measures such as (a) medical examination of women, (b) hospitalization of women suffering from venereal disease, (c) prophylaxis for men, and (d) anti-fraternization regulations, all were relatively ineffectual. The best control was found to lie in making prostitution a crime and establishing of a vagrancy court to make proof of actual prostitution unnecessary.

Papua in 1920, encountered unforeseen by-products of their attempts to curb venereal disease. Missionaries had made it illegal for the plantations to permit prostitutes to operate among the men. The result was that homosexuality became rife and native boys would "weave their hips and ogle at the workgangs going by." The plantation owners came to the conclusion that the lesser of the two evils was women, and consequently, allowed them to return as "wives," furnishing them their ration of trade tobacco, rice and tinned goods.

Language barriers and ignorance of native cultures, especially in eastern areas, often have hindered effective control of public health problems. Other factors include the limitations on financial aid and the need for a large European staff which is willing to live away from the large urban centers.

Suva, 1899. The British in 1899 certified eight young men to go to the hospital at Suva, as native student medical practitioners. Following a three-year course they returned to their homes and carried out the functions of the European medical man. This practice has proven so successful that even native women are now under instruction. Their success lies in the fact that they fit closely into the native setting, can negotiate native taboos and wear native dress to gain confidence. "They have proved amazingly competent."

7. CENSORSHIP

The control of messages sent from or into occupied territories has constituted a problem of considerable importance for occupying forces.

Communications.

France, 1940. During their occupation of France, the Germans have allowed the French Ministry of Posts, Telephones, and Telegraphs to continue its administration of these communication facilities, to which radio broadcasting subsequently has been added. A large number of German women telegraph and telephone operators were included in the French

organization, however, and telephone conversations, in particular, are controlled by this German personnel.

Belgium, 1914. In their occupation of Belgium during World War I, the Germans, in reestablishing postal and telegraphic communications within the occupied area as well as with Germany, ordered that letters posted should be unsealed, with sender's name and address thereon, and that such letters were to be mailed at certain designated postoffices only. Telegrams between Belgium and Germany had to be written in plain language of not more than fifteen words.

At the same time, the Germans did not overlook the possibility of pigeons being used for the exchange of information injurious to them, and all pigeons, without distinction as to type, were ordered caged by their owners. Detailed descriptive lists of pigeons owned, including number of footrings, were required and the mayors of the various towns were held responsible for the accuracy of data submitted as well as for every pigeon still flying at large. Any violation of this regulation was punishable with a fine of two thousand francs or a month's imprisonment or more. Additionally, a charge of espionage could be brought against the offender.

Rhineland, 1918. During the American occupation of the Rhineland, communications were at first under the strictest censorship. These restrictions, however, were gradually relaxed until two months after the signing of the Versailles treaty they were lifted almost entirely. Some supervision was still considered necessary for the protection of the occupying forces however; and to supplement telegraphic facilities, previously limited to one wire, five trunk telephone lines were opened for business traffic between occupied and unoccupied Germany, it being clear that American officials would listen in "with instructions to break communication at the slightest indication of improper use of the line."

The High Commission authorized "a special censorship over the mail of a particular person . . . whenever a necessity for it was shown to exist." "Spot checking," conducted at irregular intervals by groups of American censorship personnel who went from town to town to censor telegrams and telephone con-

versations during their stay, was a method used in the early days of occupation. It obviated the necessity for the tremendous numbers of personnel which complete coverage of censorship would necessitate.

Publications.

The important problem of censoring local public informational media (without reference to communications) is one which virtually all occupying forces confront. The greatest difficulty is presented by the need for a trained staff of censors and readers to safeguard both against breaches of security and dissemination of unfriendly views and sly commentaries.

Rhineland, 1918. Only moderate restrictions were imposed by American authorities in the Rhineland in 1918. Copies of all publications were delivered to the local military commander immediately on issue and appearance of inimical matter opened the way to suppression or suspension. Control of publications originating outside the occupied zone was effected by making newsdealers and booksellers responsible that nothing which they sold contained offensive matter. British officials found it desirable to bar certain periodicals altogether from their zone of occupation.

Norway, 1940. Attempting direct censorship but lacking an adequate staff, the Germans in Norway in 1940 finally were compelled to confiscate the facilities of the larger newspapers and to hand some of them over to the Quislings. A like difficulty was encountered in Denmark where, at first, a German or Danish Nazi censor was designated for each paper to exercise prepublication control; but it later became necessary to hold the editors themselves responsible for obeying regulations and to require them to submit in advance all doubtful materials. Even so, the Germans continued to be plagued in this "model protectorate" by skillful evasions and indirect slurs.

North Africa, 1942. American and British newspaper correspondents in North Africa protested vigorously against measures of censorship and against the mechanical delays in transmission of news homeward. Censorship was not overly harsh, but writers complained that they could scarcely mention

certain political questions even when security was not at all involved. Even greater irritation resulted from the fact that press dispatches, cleared subject to military priority traffic, often remained untransmitted for periods of days.

Concerted protests led authorities early in 1943 to place one of the six radio channels of the Army Signal Corps in Algiers at the complete disposal of correspondents 24 hours a day. The news was censored in Algiers and went to the War Department in Washington for final clearance and national distribution. The daily file then rose to a daily average of some 6,000 words.

Censorship or threats of suppression may not control obstreperous editors, as well as a personal approach based on the specific.

Cuba, 1898. General Wood demonstrated this in Cuba in 1898 after one editor, in his campaign against American rule, had insisted several times that the government in Santiago was so inadequate that it was unsafe for civilians to walk the streets day or night. General Wood summoned the editor and the chief of police, instructing the latter to detail a policeman to act as personal bodyguard for the writer at every moment when he was not at home. The editor protested vigorously against having a policeman at his coat-tails all day long. The General then graciously offered to compromise by withdrawing the special protection provided the editor sign a statement which Wood would dictate, "that the city *was* safe for civilians to walk the streets during the day and night." The matter was closed.

Treves, 1919. Experience indicates that an excess of zeal sometimes reacts as unfavorably on the purposes of the occupant as does exaggerated liberality. A well-intentioned young officer was made censor of theaters and motion picture houses when American troops were in Treves in 1919. A fairly good opera company was playing in the city-subsidized theater and a senior officer asked one night why there was never a repetition of *Madame Butterfly*. The censor explained: "I have forbidden it, because in that opera an American naval officer is represented as having two wives." Perspective, common sense and

humor are needful. If censorship exceed the bounds of reason it drives native propaganda media underground.

8. TRANSPORTATION

Successful conclusion of military operations, as well as the economic rehabilitation of occupied territories, is largely dependent upon the early restoration of transportation facilities—road, rail, and water.

North Africa, 1943. Allied entry into North Africa afforded an example of what may be expected in other areas, subsequently to be occupied. Since the fall of France rolling stock on the railroads had not been replaced and was almost worn out; skilled railway workers, who had been recalled to France, had never returned; trucks and buses were suffering from a scarcity of spare parts; gasoline had practically vanished and nearly all vehicles in use had been converted to charcoal-burning equipment or were using alcohol for motive power.

The result of such a seriously handicapped transport system was that people in the interior were actually suffering want, which could be allayed only by the importation of trucks, spare parts, gasoline, lubricants, locomotives and tools from America and England. Trucks and buses not urgently required for military use had to be thoroughly overhauled and Italian war prisoners were drafted as drivers and other transport labor requirements.

Railroads.

German West Africa, 1915. During their occupation of West Africa in 1915, the British found a number of derelict locomotives near the station of Windhuk. While the British urgently required these engines, they were unable to use them because the Germans in abandoning them had removed and hidden a number of small but vital parts. The British met this problem by offering the liberal wage of a pound a day to such German engineers as would come forward and operate the locomotives. As money was scarce at the time, Germans reported for work, bringing with them the missing parts. The

fact that the Germans were dismissed soon thereafter scarcely detracts from the shrewdness shown by the British in the transaction.

France, 1940. Effective control of railways includes the skilled labor problem, maximum use of freight rolling stock, as well as restrictions on both passengers and freight to be hauled. During their current occupation of France, the Germans have used the minimum of their own personnel for railway operation by releasing and returning French war prisoners who were former railway employees. For supervisory purposes, a German official is in charge of each railway station in France, another travels on every train, and German military police guard stations, trains, and freight yards. They have also put limits on the time which freight cars may remain stationary for loading or unloading. A decree of December 16, 1940, doubled the charges for stationary cars and prescribed penalties of fine or jail for occasions when time limits are exceeded.

Rhineland, 1919. When the Allies occupied the German Rhineland, passenger travel was limited, and only designated essential commodities could be shipped by rail. Railway ticket agents were held responsible that tickets were issued only to persons who could present permits from the authorities. Freight trains were inspected by allied officials at specified control points to assure that only proper raw materials were under transportation.

Other Transport.

Iraq, 1915. During World War I, the British in Iraq faced a shortage of river craft and pack animals. Wooden barges previously rented in the open market and manned by Arab towing crews disappeared from the river after a convoy of these craft had been captured by the Turks and their crews mistreated. The British Political Officer solved this problem by appointing another British officer as "Controller of Native Craft." All existing craft—some 2500 of them—were sought out and registered. At the time of registration, all craft were classified and licensed, permits for their use being issued only at standard rates for craft and crew, the British of course receiving priority.

Three veterinary officers were selected to take over the animal scarcity problem. They assumed supervision of all the horses, mules and donkeys in the area, inspecting them systematically. A free clinic for treating ailing animals was established and the confidence of Arab owners won by propaganda skillfully disseminated by a few Arab dealers brought from India for this purpose. Animals examined and found unfit were quarantined or destroyed, but compensation was always paid the owner.

Italy, 1943. Solving supply problems caused by lack of transportation facilities often requires great ingenuity on the part of civil affairs officers. An example: Salt was badly needed in Calabria provinces. The civil affairs officer in Bari had several freight car loads ready for dispatch to the area when troop movements required use of the rolling stock involved. The cars were taken to a number of nearby ports, unloaded, and used in troop trains to the front.

Shortly thereafter another officer came to the civil affairs officer for help in requisitioning coastwise shipping. Help was extended and several old schooners were turned up in the very ports where the salt shipment had been stored. In return for his assistance, the civil affairs officer was able to arrange for these vessels to carry the much-needed salt to its destination, a point en route to Naples, for which the ships were bound.

Rights of Way.

Rights of way for strategic roads are sometimes difficult to obtain, particularly in the East, due to religious objections.

Iraq, 1915. During the occupation of Iraq, the British faced the necessity of constructing a new road at Ashar either through a Moslem cemetery or, at much greater cost, through the crowded bazaar. The leading local *Mullah* was obdurate in his opposition to the former proposal. Shopkeepers in the bazaar also resisted the proposed route through their domain. Finally, one of the leading shopkeepers went to the British officer-in-charge and suggested a solution of the impasse.

His suggestion was that the proposed route through the bazaar be changed by a few yards so that it would necessitate demolition of the objecting mullah's house and other property

of the same priestly family. This was done. Next day a deputation of *mullahs* arrived and assured the British officer that the first proposal for the road to be routed through the Moslem graveyard was quite in order and that their religious susceptibilities would not be hurt.

9. PORT DUTIES

Port control and the division of responsibilities therein have differed widely according to the nationality of the occupying forces and are strongly influenced by joint allied occupation.

Administration.

Micronesia, 1914. When the Japanese took over Micronesia from Germany during World War I, the functions of port director and captain of the port were combined in the person of the Chief of the Civil Administration Station.

Eritrea, 1941. The British, after taking Massawa in the Eritrean campaign of the current war, established a Naval officer as captain of the port. He and his staff sections dealt with the movements of ships within the harbor area, assignment and movement of tugs, communications and intelligence in the port area. When U. S. Army Engineers came into the port of Massawa to take over the reconstruction job, a U. S. Army Engineer officer was designated as Port Superintendent. He had charge of all loading and unloading of ships, all dock labor, both native and Italian, all military dock forces, including guards, and all material handling equipment.

Stevedoring.

The swift turn-around of ships is dependent on speedy and efficient unloading and loading.

North Africa, 1942. During the North African campaign, some forces operated out of Algiers, and others out of Oran. Although Algiers had far superior berthing facilities, Oran was able to unload more quickly and in larger quantity, because troops, both white and negro, were used as labor battalions. Algiers depended upon native labor, which was far less efficient.

It was observed also that U. S. Army Engineer forces were found to be better trained for handling material than Navy forces, and were often able to get special equipment which it had been difficult for the Navy to obtain. It has been noted that in conquered territory efficiency problems of port maintenance and ship handling are more easily solved than in allied or liberated territory, where many local officials insist on continuing their usual functions in the normal way.

Aids to Navigation.

Philippines, 1899. Port duty problems sometimes may be aggravated by international incidents. In the Philippines in 1899, the U. S. Occupation had been made effective only as far as Jolo, the capital of the province of Sulu. The Cape Melville light on Balabac, vital to sea routes from Singapore and Batavia to the Philippines, China and Japan, was put out of commission by pirates. Whereupon the British Secretary of State sent a warning to the U. S. State Department, subsequently forwarded to the American authorities at Manila, that:

> "If the light on Balabac were not speedily placed in operation * * *, Her British Majesty's government would feel themselves obliged to reestablish and operate the light in order to save British vessels from probable stranding and destruction."

American authorities at Manila, realizing that British occupation of Balabac might lead to deplorable consequences, acted quickly, sent the warship "Maila" to the island, wiped out the pirates and reestablished the light.

Port Security.

Danger of sabotage and espionage activities is ever present in port areas during time of war. Port security is a highly specialized phase of occupational policing.

Norway, 1941. Since their occupation of Norway began, the Germans have taken stern measures to insure the security of all important ports in that area. All civilians have been completely evacuated from many coastal towns in the Arctic

Circle near Russia. At other ports farther south, where civilian evacuation has not been affected, Norwegians are forbidden to approach within 500 yards of port or harbor installations. Fishermen and seamen have been warned that they will be shot if they fail to obey all harbor control orders. All important ports are closed during the hours of darkness.

10. PUBLIC UTILITIES

Restoration of public utilities, especially those dealing with water supply, electricity and gas, always has been one of the first things on the agenda of forces occupying enemy territory.

Restoration of Facilities.

During the current war in Europe, Germany has had a special army branch known as "Technical Troops," commanded by a general officer, one of whose functions has been "to put into immediate operation all those industrial installations and public utilities that are necessary to carry on military activity." Sections which restore destroyed utility services are organized locally into "economic commands" and function both in the zone of operations and in the "army rear."

They appear to operate primarily in the first phase of operations before military government is firmly established. While their first aim is supply of the fighting troops they also deal with problems affecting the civil population insofar as the well-being of the latter affects vital production. In the Netherlands, for instance, the Germans organized vocational training and German-language courses for Dutch workers.

In addition to the Technical Troops Germany has utilized an organization known as "Technical Emergency Help," which prior to war was already functioning within Germany and which organized special "field sections" for service outside the Reich as soon as war began. One of these sections was used for the "operation . . . of plants of vital importance, especially public utilities." During the Polish campaign such units, under army command, "advanced with combatant forces into enemy territory and were charged with restoring destroyed or dam-

aged plants, especially utilities, immediately after cessation of fighting."

Administration.

After repair or restoration of public utilities has been completed a question arises regarding their administration and management.

Belgium, 1914-18. In Belgium during the German occupation of World War I, gas and electric plants which could be utilized for the German army were placed under a regime of "compulsory administration," i.e., a German technical management had control with positive powers to see that they worked for the occupying army. Where possible, Belgian personnel and resources were used under German direction but "in several cases the personnel of establishments placed under compulsory administration had to be wholly or in part replaced because the original staff refused to work under these conditions." On the other hand, compulsory administration was sometimes imposed at the request of the plant, the owners believing they would be shielded thereby from the reproach of their countrymen.

Rhineland, 1918. When the Americans occupied the Rhineland in 1918, they debated whether to take direct control of public utilities or to administer them through the German civil authorities already in charge. The advantages of the latter system included (a) economy in the use of military personnel, (b) facilities and benefits to be derived from an already established organization, and (c) placing of responsibility on officials accountable to their own government.

This system was adopted. "Directors of public utilities were informed that they would be held responsible for the efficient operation of these plants, but that they would be given reasonable aid by the (American) army in procuring coal, oil, etc., also in adjusting difficulties which might arise from the extra burden placed on their plants. . . . The proof of the wisdom of the adopted policy is shown by the fact that every effort was made by the directors of public utilities to please the military

authorities, and that no insurmountable difficulty was ever encountered."

Eritrea, 1941. The British in Massawa at the present time are running the local power plants under the supervision of their engineer officers but using the entire pre-existing Italian operating personnel, including the manager.

Rationing of Power.

Due to scarcity of fuel, or to assure that occupying forces obtain their full requirements of electricity, gas, and water, it has been necessary on several occasions to ration the civilian supply, and also to reduce use in other than essential services.

Belgium, 1916. When Belgium was suffering from fuel shortages in 1916, the German occupants put into effect the following regulations: (a) Stores must close at 1900 in summer, at 1800 in winter, and other early closing hours were fixed for cafes, theatres and places of amusement, (b) lighting of stores, cafes, etc., during "open hours" was strictly limited, (c) street lighting and tram car operation was reduced, (d) continuous use of lights in halls of houses was prohibited after 2100 and (e) no new light or power installations could be established without special permit from the occupation authorities.

Rhineland, 1918. After the Armistice, when American forces entered the Rhineland, they faced a similar problem of fuel shortage at Coblenz and, having a precedent in a verbatim order of German military authorities, in 1916, they accordingly made effective a measure which reduced by half the electricity available for the civil consumption of the Coblenz population.

Further, when the American authorities felt that a privately-controlled gas plant outside Coblenz was not contributing its share of gas to the Coblenz supply, probably due to lack of cooperation of German directors, they closed down the press-works of this plant, where car wheels were manufactured. As soon as the required quantity of gas was again forthcoming, the press-works were re-opened. Further difficulties with the directors were experienced, however, and they were informed that if the city suffered through their negligence, they would be prosecuted before the Military Commission.

11. MONEY AND BANKING

In the initial stages of occupation, invading armies frequently have faced the problem of the currency to be used by their forces and the exchange rates to be established between this currency and others circulating in the occupied territory, pending some subsequent decision towards monetary stabilization. Common practice on both sides during the present war has been to use a special occupation currency, or "spearhead" currency, or both.

Occupation Currency and Exchange Rates.

Belgium, 1940. When the Germans invaded Belgium in 1940, on the first day of occupation a decree established a special occupation mark as legal tender at the exchange rate of ten Belgian francs to one mark. On July 22 the rate was changed to 12½ francs per occupation mark. Such marks were not allowed to be imported into Germany from Belgium, and regular German marks were not allowed to be used in Belgium.

After 1940 the use of occupation marks was discontinued and they were retired by the Issue Bank of Brussels, which exchanged Belgian francs issued by the Belgian National Bank for them, the former bank still holding the retired occupation marks as part of its assets. The periodic payment by Belgium of occupation costs in francs gave the Germans sufficient quantities of this currency eventually to discontinue the occupation mark.

France, 1940. During their present occupation of France, on the other hand, while the Germans introduced the *Reichskreditkassen* mark for payment of their army, purchase of supplies for local use or for shipment to Germany, they do not appear to have discontinued its use. They fixed a rate of exchange at 20 francs to one mark, the marks bearing no signature or promise to pay. Their use or exportation outside Occupied France was prohibited. French merchants and banks were forced to accept these *Reichskreditkassenscheine* (certificates of the Reichskredit Institute), but the German authorities received them from the French against the German bill of occupation costs.

Sicily, 1943. It had been decided by the governmental authorities in Great Britain and the United States that their military forces would use "spearhead" currencies. These were yellow-seal dollar notes in the case of American forces, and British Military Authority notes (BMA notes) in the case of British forces. The Governments further decided that both armies as well as the military government would use a newly designed military currency, called Allied Military Government lire, as soon as such currency became available in Sicily.

Reasons of security made it inevitable that AMG lire would not be available for use in Sicily for some time after the initial landings. These notes were printed in Washington and an initial quantity (two plane loads) was flown over, the remainder going by surface ship. As soon as these notes had arrived in sufficient quantity, they were employed for all Allied expenditures and it then became the policy of the Military Government to withdraw from circulation the "spearhead" currencies, replacing them with Allied Military lire.

When Sicilian banks were without currency, but had records intact, Allied Military Government supplied them with invasion money up to limits which had been previously determined as being warranted by their financial condition, and by the type of credit these banks proposed to extend.

There soon developed, in the United States and perhaps in Britain, some criticism of this issue of military currency. The U. S. Treasury was assailed for its secrecy in issuing money, "which if not properly redeemable," would be merely aping Axis fiat money. War and Treasury Departments then joined in an explanation that the money was legal tender exchangeable against local currency at par, that soldiers could remit it home, that use for normal military purposes would be deductible against War Department appropriations, and that such lire used in financing local administration would be charged to the account of occupation. It also was announced that the notes were issued in accordance with "international rather than United States law."

Allied Military Government may have been responsible for other supporting explanations such as that in the *London Times*

which assured that Allied Military Government was taking every precaution for the acceptability of the "Amlire" at par with local lire, pointing out that any armistice or peace arrangement would take note of that circumstance, the same paper's comment that Sicilians appeared confident of their bank savings, and, finally, the American weekly *Time's* remark that "the money is being cheerfully accepted by Sicilians."

The establishment of exchange at rates inconsistent with those for the same currencies elsewhere has brought confusion and dissatisfaction.

North Africa, 1942. During the Allied occupation of French North Africa in 1942, it was found that the franc had been selling in Tangier at 136 to the dollar. To set a realistic note, the Allied governments chose an exchange rate of 75 to the dollar. This set a new problem because the franc in "Free French" colonies, such as those in French Equatorial Africa, Tahiti and New Caledonia, remained at the old pegged rate of 43.9 francs to the dollar.

Solomon Islands, 1942. Currency problems may vary widely, even in backward areas. In a part of the Solomons a tribe—unlike most natives—had been accustomed to paper money. Their whole economy and sense of values were built around the 1 shilling note, the smallest unit of paper money. For example, the charge for a week's laundry was one shilling. When the Americans appeared with dollar bills, they still wanted one of them for that service. It was impossible to convince them that the dollar was worth four times as much as the shilling—the fact that it was the smallest unit of paper money was all that concerned them.

Elsewhere, prices have tended to rise to the level of the smallest commonly available currency unit. It is a mistake to go into undeveloped areas without plenty of small change. Failure to do so causes a definitely inflated scale of prices even though other causes are missing.

Banking Controls.

Belgium, 1940. During their present occupation of Belgium, the Germans have followed a carefully planned control

system of banks and financial transactions decidedly more comprehensive and stringent than during their occupation of the same territory in 1914, at which time the Military Commandant of Brussels signed an agreement with the Bank of Belgium, reading:

> "The German Government of the place of Brussels guarantees to the National Bank of Belgium, for the duration of the German occupation, the free exercise of its functions in Brussels as a *private* bank in charge of regulating monetary circulation and economic life, without there being any interference either with its assets or its issuing of bank notes as long as the National Bank does not accept in Brussels as deposits funds belonging to the State of Belgium."

Decrees of the occupation authorities in 1940 provided for a German office for banking control and for appointment of a commissioner to the National Bank. The same individual, a German banker from Cologne, became head of the bank control office, as well as commissioner to the National Bank, appointed by the German Theater Commander. All banking institutions were ordered to register with the control office, which had the right of inspecting all books and documents of banks.

No "important business" could be concluded without the control officers' approval. The control office could further prohibit any operation, order any bank to "deposit or transfer assets", dismiss personnel and appoint their successors. Fines and imprisonments were to be imposed for transgressions of orders or regulations. A later decree of September 2, 1941 empowered the control office to regulate all payments by check and to prescribe that such payments could be made only through designated banks. Banking institutions subject to this German control included the Central Bank, commercial banks, savings banks, investment banks, mortgage credit institutions and holding corporations.

Under an additional series of decrees, foreign exchange and foreign securities could be dealt in only by banks authorized by the control office. Authorization was also required for the

payments to inhabitants of foreign countries or to foreigners living in Belgium, disposal of claims on persons in foreign countries, export or import of currency (foreign or national), dealings in foreign securities or Belgian securities whose values were listed in foreign currency, and also for the export of securities or bills of exchange.

All Belgians were required to report and offer for sale to the Issue Bank of Brussels all foreign currency, claims in foreign currency, foreign securities and bills or checks drawn on foreign countries. The bank could buy any of these items and foreign securities not bought had to be deposited in an authorized bank. Participation in foreign corporations had to be reported whether or not represented by security holding therein. As a means of control, all safe deposit boxes in banks were opened in the presence of a representative of the *Devisenschutzcommando* (Detachment for protection of currency.)

Tunisia, 1943. United Nations techniques in handling banking problems have been shown in their occupation of Tunisia. The first step of the Allied forces on entering Tunis, May 7, 1943, was to close all banks, put a (Giraud French) finance director in charge and plan immediately the unfreezing of deposits under controls. On May 11 the banks were reopened, inhabitants were required to convert all outstanding currency notes in excess of 20 francs into Bank of Algeria notes. All persons except enemy nationals were allowed to take out limited amounts per person or per family. The banks were allowed to release up to 50 per cent of any deposit, on their responsibility to prove that such release was essential, and it is not strange that little was released under this proviso. Other provisions were made for the gradual and equitable unfreezing of assets in general.

Initially the accounts of certain classes of individuals were favored, such as public officials, annuitants, and wage earners. Accounts of public and semi-public enterprises also were treated liberally. The basis for withdrawal allotments was the balance held during the November preceding the German occupation, as the Germans had purposely tried to break down the economic system by flooding the country with Bank of France

occupation expenses. Although eager for normal business to be resumed as soon as possible, the Allies and Free French wanted to prevent unjust enrichment of Nazi collaborators.

North Africa, 1942. A particularly vexing problem facing Allied representatives after their occupation of Tunis and Bizerte concerned forced loans which had been extorted from Jews by the Germans. Many of the Jewish victims had to borrow from banks, giving mortgages on property as security. Banks were found to be heavily laden with such mortgages among their listed assets. As numbers of the buildings so mortgaged had been destroyed in ensuing military operations, many of the listed assets were now of doubtful value.

The Allies faced three alternatives. First, the loans could be nullified by decree, on the theory that they were created by unlawful action of the previous military occupant. Second, Allied representatives could make loans to the banks concerned, in the amount of the doubtful assets, taking the Jews' notes as security. Third, the obligations could be frozen and settlement of the problem left until war's end.

The first solution was obviously unjust, as it would penalize the banks concerned heavily. The second would penalize the Jews, or if they failed in payment, the penalty would be on Allied taxpayers. The third would handicap the banks involved and militate against early restoration of normal business activity. The American Civil Affairs Staff acting through the French Director of Finance, chose the third way out.

12. PUBLIC FINANCE

The fiscal problems of occupation, while generally ranging themselves into one highly technical field, frequently offer as great a range of possible administrative decisions as do the questions of a broader sociological character.

Budgetary Problems.

Netherlands East Indies, 1942. Since their occupation of the Netherlands East Indies, the Japanese are reported to have approached budgetary problems cautiously. For the first

eight months of their administration, the budget was planned and adopted on a monthly basis. In October 1942, with the adoption of a tax plan, the budget forecast was extended to a six-month period. Finally, in April, 1943, one year after the fall of Java, Tokyo announced the establishment of an annual budget for the military administration of Batavia.

Stating that it had been the practice of the Dutch to allot 50 per cent of the budget for military expenditures, 10 per cent for pensions and only 40 per cent for general administration, Tokyo said that military appropriations would not be included in their budget and that "all appropriations will be directed toward constructive projects in Java."

Taxation.

The problem of occupation taxation has been handled diversely by different occupants of conquered territory.

Iraq, 1914. When the British took possession of Southern Iraq in 1914, they found that the Turks in evacuating Basra had carried away or destroyed all recent customs and tax records. Further, all the previous Turkish officials had departed, leaving behind only Arabs who had very little experience with customs or taxation systems.

The political officer of the British occupying forces appointed a local British business firm to assess and collect customs duties. When imports grew too great to be handled by this private firm an officer of the Indian Imperial Customs Service was appointed to take over. In their tax collection efforts, the British followed the old Turkish custom. The grass crop of each village was gathered into heaps—the government taking 10 per cent. To avoid transportation and other difficulties, the government's 10 per cent was put up at auction on the spot, a minimum price being fixed so that no collusion could be arranged for low bidding. If this minimum price was not bid, it was collected from the village and thus taxes always were realized eventually in money.

Micronesia, 1914. The Japanese, in taking over former German islands in Micronesia in 1914, also followed pre-existing customs of taxation there. The only tax previously in effect

was a poll tax on each male adult native, the minimum being the equivalent of 10 yen. A figure was fixed for each native tribe by the civil administration, on the basis of wealth and custom. The maximum tax was the equivalent of 20 yen. Natives were allowed to pay this tax in cash, produce, or labor, the last not to exceed 20 days a year.

Poland, 1939. In Poland, during the existing occupation, the Germans have maintained the Polish tax system in the Government-General, and added a new head tax. Polish tax officers have been allowed to retain their positions, although under German inspectors as supervisors. All appeals against taxes in excess of 500 *zlotys* are decided by the supervisors.

Belgium, 1914. On the other hand when the Germans occupied Belgium in 1914, a number of "new" taxes were imposed—surtaxes on net income from land above a certain yield, an occupational tax on those engaged in agriculture and forestry, a progressive tax on patents above certain income levels, and a supplementary personal tax on corporation executives, all taxes designed to reach those strata of the population to which war conditions had brought a higher income.

Costs of Occupation.

Rhineland, 1919. Collection of occupation expenses was made initially simple by the American Army of Occupation in the German Rhineland. They merely requisitioned cash from the Berlin Government to pay for goods and services they needed. This procedure enabled bills of inhabitants to be paid promptly and encouraged cooperation on their part.

Eritrea, 1941. Lack of the means to pay for essential services, before the establishment of military government, and the solution of the problem has been related entertainingly by Lieut. Col. (now Brigadier) Blackley, concerning the British occupation of Eritrea in 1941:

> "One of the first problems I had to face was the problem of payment for services rendered. . . . First, we had the services of the volunteer police, whom I had promised to pay. Second, there were rewards to various people who had assisted the occupying forces by showing the where-

abouts of mine fields. Third, there was the payment of laborers, who had assisted by repairing roads and bridges where they had been blown up by the Italians. All these charges normally fall upon Military Government; and Military Government, as I say, did not exist there to pay them. However, I assumed that Military Government in some form would soon appear and so I gave them all checks on the Military Government for settlement when it did appear. There was no alternative I could think of, to this day."

Colonel Blackley later ascertained that his informal "checks" had been honored by the somewhat bewildered auditor of a subsequent Military Government.

13. COMMODITY CONTROL, PRICES AND RATIONING

The introduction of price and commodity controls and rationing of basic food-stuffs usually has been necessary in occupied areas because of the declining purchasing power of money and the disappearance of goods from the market. Other contributory factors have included:

A. Action of the enemy in leaving behind large sums of money to be used by agents to sabotage the economy of the area.

B. The enemy's having paid high wages and high prices for goods, at the same time leaving the people with an inflated paper currency.

C. The amount of goods available for sale in the area constantly diminishing because economic conditions discourage production.

D. Diversion of goods from one local market to another.

E. Absence of imports which would offset the decline of local production.

In most occupied areas the tendency toward inflation of prices and shortage of consumer goods is a natural phenomenon of wartime conditions. At best, the military governments can take only those steps which will slow the upward spiral of

prices. These measures have included attempts to restore public confidence, revive internal economic activity and regulate the expenditures of the civilian and military governments.

Price Control and Rationing.

More direct action includes systems of both price and rationing controls.

Sicily, 1943. A pertinent illustration is the experience of Allied Military Government in Sicily. Food shortage was the greatest immediate problem throughout the occupied area. This was due largely to farmers' hoarding of grain for sale on the black market—a result of the Fascists' having fixed low ceiling prices to encourage the fiction of consumers' well-being. Allied Military Government raised the price of wheat from 360 to 500 lire a quintal, while announcing that punitive measures would follow if hoarding continued. In addition Fascist subsidies were continued. On another occasion civil affairs officers borrowed 500,000 lire from Sicilian banks to buy wheat and dispatched 30 trucks to take it to the mills for ultimate sale through commercial channels. As a further measure to improve the general food situation Allied Military Government authorized resumption of fishing within designated off-shore limits.

Italy, 1943. Bari's fishing fleet took on added importance during the food shortage experienced in that city during the Allied occupation of Southern Italy. The problem was twofold: To increase the catch on the one hand, and to keep it out of the black market, on the other.

Local civil affairs officers realized that diesel fuel, controlled by the army and issued for essential requirements through military government, was absolutely essential to the industry; without it they could not operate. Hence rations of such fuel were issued to each vessel solely on the basis of fish caught and sold under the supervision of the Sezione Provinciale dell'Alimentazione (Provisional Food Bureau). It was a case of no fish—no oil. Result: the catch increased and black market channels were effectively cut off from their source of supply.

Holland, 1943. A second type of commodity control is the distribution of scarce commodities by occupation and age

groups. In occupied Holland in March, 1943, the Germans proclaimed:

A. A reduction in the weekly meat ration from seven to four ounces including bones.
B. An allowance to heavy workers of 10½ ounces of meat a week; to those in a special classification, who do the heaviest labor, 3½ ounces extra; to those on part-time night work, 1¾ ounces extra.

In enforcing the rationing system in Holland the Germans have been accused of using an elaborate scheme to pillage any surplus food beyond the barest minimum. For example, Holland formerly produced 124,000 tons of cheese and exported 58,000 tons. Today, although rationed, it is unavailable. It is implied that the Germans are exporting the entire production of this commodity to Germany.

In the course of the present war the Germans introduced racial discrimination in rationing in several countries especially in Poland. The highest rations are allocated to Germans (Volksdeutsche). Next to them came the Poles and the smallest rations are allocated to Jews. In the protectorate of Bohemia-Moravia an order of the Minister of Agriculture dated October 23, 1941 provided:

"Any delivery to Jews, either free of charge or for payment of fruit of any kind, fresh, dried, or otherwise preserved, including nuts; of marmalade, jams, cheese, sweets, fish and fish products of any kind and of poultry and game of any kind, including canned, is forbidden. This prohibition applies with equal force to cultivators, producers, processors, manufacturers and consumers."

Sicily, 1943. In Sicily fuel for the fishing fleet was obtained by an alert U. S. Coast Guard officer who surveyed Army fuel depots. After learning that the army proposed abandoning one of the depots he went to the army and ascertained that they would not object if he applied for a requisition for the fuel in this depot. His application was approved and the fuel obtained.

Tunisia, 1943. German units during the course of their occupation of Tunisia needed the collaboration of the local population, their particular needs being labor and food. The problem was to acquire the lion's share of the latter without appearing to deny it to the civilian population. The policy followed—successful for the short period required—included these features: (a) all vehicles were requisitioned. This not only satisfied the normal military requirements but also effectively blocked potential black market contacts between city consumers and country producers of food stuffs. (b) Price control and rationing was instituted. The Germans established low ceiling prices (20 francs a kilo for potatoes) and by placing a representative on each local board exercised strict supervision. (c) At the same time, the German military paid 35-40 francs for the potatoes, purchased direct from the growers who were quite effectively cut off from their markets. The low legal price was good public relations in the cities and the high price in the country created good feeling in the agricultural districts. But the good effects could last only so long as the people did not understand the game.

Anti-Inflation Measures.

North Africa, 1943. A somewhat more fundamental approach to the problem of limiting price inflation and remedying the acute shortage of goods was demonstrated by the activities of the United States and Great Britain in French North Africa. Inflation was due primarily to the chronic shortage of goods, but was made worse by vast new expenditures of the Allied forces when they arrived in strength. At first the Allied Civil Affairs Staff (North African Economic Board) tried to solve the problem by imports of "incentive goods," such as hardware, housewares, tools, etc. But this did not discourage hoarding by the local population. People tended to buy and hold goods they did not need. Then the policy was shifted to one of importing second-hand clothing, green tea, piece-goods, etc. This was not entirely successful. Finally the North African Economic Board turned to the fundmental need—the

policy of rebuilding transport and encouraging production. Anti-inflationary tactics on other fronts included:

A. Minimizing the expenditures of Allied Armed forces by encouraging remittances home.

B. Promoting budgetary economies in the various units of government in North Africa.

The Japanese have also attempted to encourage the production of copra, cotton, rice and other products as a means of expanding production. Incentives included the privilege of a special increased ration of miscellaneous daily necessities.

Tripolitania, 1942. That any attempt to fix prices must first be considered in the light of practicability is a platitude. To illustrate drastic action having a negative effect, a British Civil Affairs officer tells of his attempt to freeze the price of eggs in Tripolitania by proclamation. Not having any machinery to enforce price regulations, the result was that all supplies of this commodity flowed to the next town where there was no price fixing. He further indicated that it is essential to decide in advance whether and how foodstuffs and necessaries will be made available for occupied territory.

The necessity for an intelligent over-all view of the problem is illustrated by the following:

Italy, 1943. A young civil affairs officer in a rural area was approached by gleaners who informed him of their woes: They couldn't get the grain they gleaned by long, hard hours of labor milled except at exorbitant rates—if, indeed, the mill-owners would process their grain at all. There were likewise complaints from farmers who claimed they could not afford to raise grain within price ceilings established by the AMG.

The civil affairs officer was extremely sympathetic. He knew the people in his district, and their problems were his problems. He was always ready to help them to the best of his ability. When he took the problem up with his superior in the provincial capital he was considerably shocked to find out that the "poor gleaners" were actually violating an ordinance requiring all grain to be turned into the consorzio agrario and were actually furnishing flour to the black market!

He was somewhat sobered in his enthusiasm for his own dis-

tricts' people when he was reminded that price ceilings were designed to help protect the far greater number of poor in the cities. He returned to his district a sadder but wiser man—wiser in his over-all knowledge of the problem of the area as a whole.

Most difficult is the problem of apprehending the principals responsible for organized black market operations. Clever detective work on the part of a civil affairs officer is illustrated by the following instance: A young Italian, wishing to secure a job with the civil administration, attempted to ingratiate himself by alluding to a large cache of tires. Upon inquiry, he became vague as to their whereabouts and claimed that the information was third or fourth-hand and that he actually knew nothing about it.

At this juncture the "Questura" (local detective bureau) was called in. The boy paled and pleaded that to accompany the officer to his informants would mean certain death. Realizing that his fears were probably well-founded and that such a course was unlikely to reveal either the goods or the racketeers, the civil affairs officer agreed to let the youth go, provided he returned in a week with full information as to the cache and the individuals guilty of violating hoarding ordinances. The informant, unable to flee the area, decided to cooperate with the AMG rather than face the wrath of the racketeers.

14. AGRICULTURE

Any general agricultural program for an occupied territory is clearly a matter for civilian specialists qualified to conduct careful surveys, institute long-range planning, and supervise year-to-year readjustments. Yet, even in the first stages of occupation following active combat, the Civil Affairs Officer may contribute to reestablishment and even expansion of the agricultural economy by providing measures designed primarily for immediate application to pressing needs. His first concern is the production of subsistence crops.

Emergency Measures.

North Africa, 1943. Quick, practical aids to meet emergency demands in areas where agricultural activities are basic-

ally sound but disrupted temporarily by war conditions were provided by American forces in French North Africa in 1943. Fields were cleared of hidden mines by Army engineers through recourse to maps obtained from the Germans at the time of surrender, and Arab farmers thus were enabled to resume work. Captured Axis trucks were made available for transporting grain at harvest time, while gasoline and oil for harvesting machinery were obtained from Army supplies. The OFFRA provided binder twine and like minor needs. To supplement farm labor forces, Italian war prisoners were detailed temporarily to work in the harvest.

Middle East, 1942. Another example of stop-gap bolstering the food supply, while awaiting the fruits of planning, occurred in 1942 when a swarm of locusts and the Sunn pest swept through Asia Minor and threatened a large part of the area with famine. The Middle East Supply Commission succeeded in shipping 600,000 tons of wheat. It then organized a tractor board for Syria, persuaded Egypt to divert one-third of its normal cotton acreage to food crops and established an anti-locust organization. British, Indian and Persian experts cooperated in pest-prevention efforts.

Cuba, 1899. Another illustration of positive action to expand agricultural activity can be cited in the American occupation of Cuba. To give homeless, landless persons productive labor which would make them self-supporting, the military government purchased oxen, plows, wagons and other farm equipment. These were divided into groups and placed in charge of hired managers at four central stations.

In succession, the stations prepared for planting a small part of each family's land and continued to rotate until every unit had enough land prepared to grow crops sufficient for its support. In addition, the natives were given rations for three months, at the end of which the crops began to come in. To further the program with minimum paternalism, supplementary farm equipment was sold to the natives on easy terms for reimbursing the government.

France, 1940. There arises sometimes the difficult problem of instituting production quotas accompanied by the grant

of special favors to those who attain their goal, a procedure generally necessary only when the population is apathetic or hostile. During the German occupation of France in 1940 a decree was issued in each community imposing specific acreages of wheat, sugar beets and rape seed. Hogs were another "must," each region being given a quota of increase. In the amount by which a peasant extended his production above the figure imposed he was given special consideration in the purchase of rationed supplies. Horses were not requisitioned at that time (although this was to come) and growers were permitted to keep the animals which had been released by the French army.

France, 1941. In the present war the Germans have found it desirable to establish in some areas a systematic census of cattle and to impose slaughtering regulations with a view to conserving livestock. Until midwinter of 1941 they had not made any requisitions of animals in Normandy. The occupational authorities took a careful census, however, and no peasant was allowed to slaughter without a special permit. There was little opportunity to evade regulations because informers were used extensively.

Long-Range Planning.

Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. The British administration of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan felt the necessity of introducing cotton as a crop in the El Gezira area. Though the land was suitable (upon the advent of irrigation) no cotton had ever been grown there. The native population had always raised millet, the staple food of the district and, when approached regarding the introduction of cotton, said, "We can't eat cotton. We and our forebears have always eaten millet, and furthermore, how will our animals live? They feed on millet stalks. Can these animals eat cotton?"

Clever propaganda was called for. As an experiment 5,000 acres of land was expropriated and irrigated by pump from the Blue Nile. The tract was divided into 30-acre tenancies and re-assigned to the original owners as tenants. On each tenancy was planted 10 acres of millet and 10 acres of cotton,

while 10 acres remained fallow. The millet remained the absolute property of the tenant, and as a result of irrigation, he grew far more than would ever have been possible under rainfall. The cotton was divided proportionately between the tenant, the Government, and the Sudan Plantation Syndicate which performed management and marketing functions.

The government took pains to send into the area a district commissioner in whom all natives had confidence and who could allay fears set up by this novel procedure. The scheme was an immediate success and justified extension to the large Gezira area and the building of the Sennar dam and canalization necessary to irrigate it.

British Malaya, 1942. When the Japanese occupied British Malaya, also in 1942, they found it necessary to import food for the natives because the territory had not been self-sufficient. Moreover, Malaya could no longer export to Europe and America, and Japanese-controlled areas could not absorb the normal Malayan output of rubber, minerals and oil. Determined to reshape the entire economic structure of the country, the Japanese soon launched an agricultural campaign designed to induce or force the natives to concentrate on raising foodstuffs as a measure of conserving ocean shipping space.

Japanese Mandates. Another example of an occupant's agricultural planning on the longer range is provided by the Japanese practice in the Mandated Islands:

> "The policeman was a pleasant fellow, quite different from the ordinary Japanese policeman. He was a graduate of an agricultural college. His chief task was not to apprehend criminals, but to teach agriculture. The mild-natured Kanakas commit few offenses. They do not need punishment so much as guidance. Therefore, the South Sea policeman is trained in first aid, treatment of simple diseases, sanitation, and the construction of better houses, road-building, educational methods, Shinto principles of morality and chiefly farming.
>
> . . . It is the policeman who wins, not by force, but by travelling from one native's farm to another, carrying seeds

and tools; by bending his back and showing by example what new methods can accomplish."

15. INDUSTRY AND MANUFACTURE

In general the most effective industrial policies of the past have been aimed at making the occupied territory as nearly self-supporting as possible in order to save shipping space, and at reorienting quickly any surplus production and resources to the practical needs of the armed forces. Positive action has done much to hasten business revival and will relieve the armed forces of much of the burden of maintaining law and order behind the lines. The importance of this phase of an occupation sometimes is underestimated, and the resulting lack of planned controls has an adverse effect on the occupation economy.

Controls.

Belgium, 1914-18. In the occupation of Belgium, 1914-1918, a generally unfavorable situation confronted the Germans. The Belgian Government had declared a moratorium on debts, the population had fled, factories were destroyed, raw materials were confiscated, sources of supply gone, and communications at a standstill. The German Economic Commission (Civil Administration) considered it imperative to the security of the German troops and the procurement of material assistance from the Belgians to reestablish local economic life immediately. A proclamation was issued, ordering all factories, stores, services, etc., to begin operations forthwith or be punished severely.

The Germans set up a complete system for the control of production and distribution of coal. Collieries resumed work before any other industry because their output was vitally important to the maintenance of the German war machine. A special bureau, the Kohlen-Zentrale, had authority for:

A. Forcing all mines to sell their entire output to it at a fixed price.

B. Declaring void all previously concluded contracts, and outlawing all suits instituted for failure to fulfill such contracts.

C. Rationing and selling coal to the civilian population and to the army and for exporting it to Germany and to neutral countries including Holland, Switzerland and Scandinavia.

Profits obtained from the sale of coal in neutral countries were used as German war loans. While it is highly desirable for occupational authorities to maintain production in an essential industry, possibly even to the extent of finding foreign markets to restore full operations, it appears certain that given similar circumstances the American civil affairs officer would credit the occupied area with the proceeds from foreign sales, in excess of occupation expenses.

France, 1940. What may be considered alternative methods were the German procedures for obtaining control of French industry in the present war. A special commission was set up in Paris, with a representative in charge of each major industry. The smaller plants were placed under central regional committees to which each manufacturer was obliged to report periodically for instructions and orders. Other measures included:

A. As soon as the occupant moved in, a German commissar was placed in each bank. He quickly went through the books, noted demand loans outstanding and immediately forced the French bank directorate to call in the loan. The debtor corporations obviously could not pay and usually pleaded for time. The German commissar accordingly suggested that stock issues be floated to obtain financial assistance. Usually these issues were bought by Germans through their intermediaries. Once given a toehold in an industry the Germans promptly "offered" to buy additional securities. The French stockholders usually sold.

B. An alternative method of control was the German attempts to bully a publication into selling "legally." If unable to force the owners to sell the Germans either denied it permission to resume or published a good imitation of their own. This occurred when *Confidence*, a French version of *True Story Magazine*, was duplicated after the owners refused to sell 60 per cent of their stock; and again when the owners of *Vogue* requested permission to resume publication and the request was

lost in a web of German bureaucratic red tape. In the meantime a German *Vogue* appeared as a substitute.

C. A further method of obtaining financial control of an industry was to foster informal stock exchanges and buy shares in key industries.

Belgium, 1941. The matter of obtaining sufficient stocks of raw materials to maintain industrial activity often becomes a major problem. In the occupation of Belgium, on assuming initial control, the Germans seized the raw stocks of tin, nickel, lead and rubber,—all badly needed. As these stocks were inadequate, the authorities developed a program designed to obtain more of them in the form of finished articles containing these raw materials. A decree in October 1941 demanded that every individual whose income was taxed in 1939 or 1940 and every person or corporation engaged in business deliver a certain quantity of the materials. Other decree provisions were:

A. Deliveries had to be made by surrender of finished articles containing these metals.

B. Credits of 3 francs would be allowed for each 100 points surrendered, the metals having a point value per pound.

C. For business firms: penalty of a fine of twenty francs for every ten points lacking was provided. For individuals: a fine varying from five to fifty francs for each ten points lacking, depending upon incomes. In addition, anyone deliberately concealing metals or attempting to keep metals and simply paying the fine, was subject to imprisonment.

The technique was not successful as individuals preferred to pay heavy fines rather than hand over the metal which might be manufactured into bullets for use against their allies.

Poland, 1940. It has been recognized repeatedly that some forms of industrial activity have to be limited or even prohibited. Governor Frank in the occupation of Poland in 1940 declared "no national organization of Polish economy is henceforth permissible. . . . Polish industry is to be bled in order to supply the military requirements of the Reich. . . . All plants which do not serve the military needs of the Reich are to be destroyed." The deliberate destruction planned is wanton and far beyond normal military requirements.

Libya, 1942. A constructive incident in industrial rehabilitation can be cited in the American-British occupation of Libya. The fishing industry, upon which many native North Africans depended for a livelihood, was paralyzed by the war and consequent destruction of equipment. The British and Americans decided it was essential to help reestablish the fishing industry. This involved two primary measures:

A. Providing boats, nets and other equipment to replace that destroyed.

B. Arranging with naval authorities and coast guard units to permit free movement of fishing vessels to their customary waters.

The availability of shipping space becomes an especially important consideration connected with the development of island areas. It is therefore possible that the Civil Affairs Officer, pending ultimate aid from civilian groups, will have to set up an organization to license exports and imports and prevent, through the same control measures, either the development or transporting of raw materials, semi-manufactured goods, etc. which would not be conducive to the over-all rehabilitation program.

Personnel.

Some military governments have experienced difficulty in determining to what extent civilian experts will be used in aiding in the industrial rehabilitation of an occupied area.

Manchuria, 1934. In the Japanese occupation of Manchuria in 1934 army control was dominant in both economic and political matters throughout the period of the occupation. All industrial activity had to be approved by the commander-in-chief of the Japanese army in Manchukuo. He frequently vetoed acts of the civilian government and even controlled industry. For example, a Japanese-American company received permission from the Government of the Kwantung Leased Territory to erect a plant in Dairen for assembling automobiles. Preliminary work had begun when the Government informed the company that by order of the Japanese army at Hsingking the permit had been withdrawn.

Java, 1943. Since that time foreign broadcasts, monitored in this country, reveal that in Java in 1943 the Japanese military administration has transferred many industries to civilian management in order to utilize fully the experience and technical ability of experts sent from Japan. Similarly, newspaper accounts indicate that particularly in the "second" and "third" phases of occupation the United Nations have used civilian experts extensively.

16. COMMERCE AND TRADE

The stimulation of wholesale and retail trade in order to restore normal movement of essential civilian goods from producer to consumer is important. In addition to decreasing the economic burden of an occupation, restoration of commerce and trade, from a purely military aspect, adds to the security and pacification of the occupied areas behind the lines. Past history indicates that this initial stimulus for revitalizing the economic life rests largely with the occupant.

Stimulation of Trade.

France, 1941. A recent illustration of this principle was indicated when the Germans occupied Paris in 1941. Upon entrance all stores, trading establishments and commercial life were at a standstill. Many of the business men had fled south and the rest had closed their doors to prevent looting, and because of general uncertainty as to what the occupant would do. The Germans felt that restoration of trade would reduce unemployment, provide basic necessities for the inhabitants and also assist the occupant in obtaining financial assistance. Accordingly decrees were issued stating that factories, stores, etc., were to open immediately subject to such restrictions as the Germans might establish. Those houses which failed to obey the decrees were placed in the hands of administrators appointed by the Germans. This technique, used by the Germans in the first World War and again in Paris, seems to have been reasonably successful.

German Practice, 1942-3. The Germans have organized

a special device of forced borrowing. In every occupied country a clearing institute was established in order to carry on trade with Germany, and specifically with the German clearing institute called *Verrechnungskasse.* The equivalent of goods imported to Germany from the occupied countries is not transferred in cash to the occupied countries but entered as a credit item in favor of the latter at special accounts with the *Verrechnungskasse.*

The German banking supervisors in the occupied countries compel the clearing institutes to provide for cash advances in terms of local currency to the exporters of goods to Germany. Thus the banks of the occupied countries finance the trade with Germany. This system amounts to forced borrowing and the sums in question already amount to billions of dollars.

It is desirable to direct trade revivals into predetermined channels which will react to the advantage of the occupant.

Indo-China, 1941. Japan has used this technique successfully in French Indo-China and the Netherlands East Indies in the present war. By the force of various "accords" French Indo-China will send to Japan all its surplus agricultural products, coal and ore. To facilitate this movement of raw materials the Japanese arranged for credits through the Bank of Indo-China, and sent small quantities of paper, piece goods, hardware, etc., into the occupied area. In addition they restricted inter-country trade by establishing Japanese clearing houses in which each transaction had to be approved by the military before it was concluded.

Similar controls were used by the Americans in the occupation of the Rhineland, the measures including "The right to issue export and import permits and the power of summary decision to alter any of the arrangements for the duties and the tariffs." These controls were entrusted to the Rhineland High Commission, a joint agency set up to facilitate and control trade in the area.

Eritrea, 1942. One of the most important factors in dealing with the problems of commerce and trade is that of considering all ramifications which may arise out of a seemingly simple situation. A British Civil Affairs Officer tells the story

ing the early stages of the British occupation in 1942. He was requested to allow the caravans to reestablish their routes, importing grain, tea, and sugar from the Sudan. He acquiesced without full analysis of the problems involved. To his surprise, this seemingly innocuous action led to the following consequences:

A. The Sudan Supply Board became angered because it had a quota on the products involved.
B. The Eritrean exporters dumped Singer Sewing Machines on the Sudan market, there already being a surplus of this product in the Sudan.
C. A protest from the British Foreign Office was received.

Controls and Safeguards.

North China, 1939. Trade restrictions also may be used as a negative weapon as illustrated by the Japanese activities in North China. To enforce their economic policy of Asia for the Asiatics, the Japanese in 1939 passed exchange control measures which were approved by the Peking Provisional Government. They ruled that Chinese currency would be illegal in North China, that commodities could not be exported unless the equivalent foreign exchange was turned over to the Federated Reserve Bank, a Japanese institution.

Rhineland, 1919. A companion problem in reviving commerce is to provide sufficient safeguards to prevent trading with the enemy. Protective measures can go to extremes, however, as for instance in the American occupation of the Rhineland. The American military government passed an ordinance limiting the travel of businessmen from the occupied to the unoccupied zones in the Rhineland. Rather than serving as a security measure this procedure broke down, as eventually the numbers requesting passes became so great that adequate investigation was impossible and the stamping of passes became a perfunctory performance without benefit to the United States. Other regulations so hemmed in trade that instead of taking normal channels it tended to flow into subterranean ones.

North Africa, 1942. Military government may be called upon to expedite material exports from an occupied area. This aspect of the work of the civil affairs officer may be aided by the use of civilian war agencies—their facilities and personnel in the war zone, operating, of course, under the theater commander. In North Africa, American and British civilian agencies were requested by the Combined Raw Materials Board (at Washington) to study amounts of various materials available for export. Based upon these estimates the Combined Shipping Board (War Shipping Administration and the British Ministry of War Transport) was to assure suitable shipping space.

Rhineland, 1919. Once the limits of territory to be occupied have been determined, it is often requisite for the occupant to decide how to control the movement of goods in and out of the occupied zone. In World War I, the Rhineland High Commission established a customs line between the occupied and unoccupied territories. "The whole control of this new customs line, including the right to issue export and import permits and the power by summary decision to alter any of the arrangements for the duties and the tariffs, was entrusted to the Rhineland High Commission." To reduce administrative red tape and personnel, the American section of the Allied occupation passed on all rules and regulations issued to the Chambers of Commerce at Coblenz and Treves, thus placing responsibility for procedures on the business men of the area.

17. LABOR

Labor problems confronted by military governments most frequently in the past include those of finding, recruiting and organizing work forces (through registration or requisition), of determining appropriate incentives of monetary wages or other rewards, and of preventing or halting strikes and general unemployment. It has been considered especially important that Naval Civil Affairs Officers approach such situations with due regard for (1) the sensitivity of public opinion at home, and (2) the careful observance, when military conditions per-

mit, of international labor covenants even though the United States Government is not a signatory.

Procurement of Labor.

One of the biggest problems which an occupant faces is that of maintaining an adequate labor supply for essential repairs and non-military installations.

Eritrea, 1941. The British met this condition in Eritrea in 1941 by requiring all Italian residents to register. The registration rolls were used to obtain about 6,000 skilled and unskilled workers. Despite the opposition from loyal Fascist labor groups, the Italians in general preferred good wages and liberty to hunger and internment. Generous and fair treatment by the British reaped its rewards in the peace and tranquillity of the area.

Norway, 1943. The Germans employed a similar technique in Norway in 1943. Not obtaining full compliance with the registration decree, the authorities announced that men between 18 and 57 years of age who had not registered for National Labor Service would not be given food ration cards.

Rhineland, 1918. In the American occupation of the Rhineland the accepted policy of obtaining voluntary labor was not always effective. Consequently, a requisition for additional labor was served on the German officials. The only case of trouble encountered in this labor requisitioning program was a bureaucratic row between an Acting *Regierungspräsident* and *Oberburgermeister* as to who should furnish the labor. Upon arrest they complied fully within 24 hours. It also has been observed, however, that improper application of the requisition method may cause serious dislocations in the local economy. During the American occupation of Haiti the indiscriminate requisitioning of men working in the fields during the planting season led to revolts.

Incentive Payments.

The question of payment of laborers sometimes presents difficulties. Money wages often fail to provide a work incentive.

Tunisia in 1943. They soon decided on other rewards.

A. Finding the Arabs needed clothing, the British made arrangements to pay road laborers with dyed battle dress. Tents and other shelters were provided.

B. The United States set up native commissariats, paying the workers with coupons which entitled them to buy cloth, tea and sugar. The coupons were more prized than money and the native labor thus procured proved a valuable addition to Allied supply troops.

Frequently the CAO has found it necessary to get laborers to speed up their work.

Eritrea, 1941. This was done in Eritrea when native workers, who because of poor diet, chronic ailments, and lack of incentives, went through their tasks in slow motion, much to the exasperation of the American officers responsible for meeting a deadline. The American officer in charge promised the workers that if they finished the job before a set date, they would be paid for the full period. Thus, if a deadline were set at four days and the natives completed a job in three, they were to be paid for four days. The method was markedly successful.

Rhineland, 1919. A variant of this plan of offering incentive wages was used by the Americans in the Rhineland. They attracted laborers by offering high wages (9 marks per day) and included the additional incentive of half of the wage being paid in coupons which could be used to purchase scarce supplies.

Slovakia, 1939. The effectiveness of incentive pay has been demonstrated also by the Germans. In the occupation of Slovakia in 1939 higher wages were offered to workers who would migrate for work in Germany. The workers found to their sorrow, however, that the German government limited the number of marks which a worker could take out of Germany upon his return to Slovakia. In addition, the exchange rate was rigged to give the worker only seven Slovak crowns per mark, instead of the official rate of ten crowns per mark.

Unemployment.

The bad influence of unemployment on the morale of inhabitants has been recognized as an evil to be combated in the early phases of an occupation.

Coblenz, 1918. During the early days of the American occupation at the Coblenz bridgehead the authorities faced a growing problem of idleness. Efforts were made to restore discharged soldiers to their pre-war jobs, and in addition arrangements were made between Marshal Foch's headquarters and the German government permitting the flow of goods from the left to the right bank of the Rhine, something which had been prohibited by the Armistice.

Belgium, 1914. The Germans took harsher steps during the occupation of Belgium in 1914-1918. The closing of most of the factories had left almost 650,000 unemployed. Coincident with the large unemployment problem, "incidents" and general unrest tended to increase. Measures taken by the Germans included:

A. Reduction of the maximum number of working hours to 24 a week.

B. Proclamation stating that all those who were on relief and who refused work for the occupant were subject to fines and imprisonment.

C. In one area, the Etappen Zone, able-bodied workers capable of work, who due to lack of employment or other causes, were dependent upon relief were deported in large numbers to Germany to work in mines and factories.

Frequently these drastic measures, particularly deportation, brought world wide condemnation as being "acts of tyranny and contrary to all notions of humanity."

Strikes.

The Civil Affairs Officer may confront an even more serious aspect of labor relations, the problem of preventing or settling strikes.

Cuba, 1899. During the occupation of Cuba in 1899, American troops were faced with the problem of a general strike, largely fomented by labor leaders who aroused workers by a program of incendiary proclamations and speeches. Such a strike would have halted, among other important activities, the manufacture of bread at public bakeries, Havana's sole source of this foodstuff. General Ludlow, the military governor, arrested a dozen of the labor leaders and informed them that they would be held responsible for abandonment of the strike; that all men found idle on the streets without visible occupation would be held as vagrants. The strike threat disappeared.

Germany, 1918-19. A more notable solution, however, was achieved by the American occupational authorities in Germany. In consideration of the industrial conditions of Germany in 1918-1919, strikes were inevitable. In order to deal with them effectively, the military authorities divided strikes into two classes: (1) those purely industrial in character and not involving the army; and (2) those involving the Army, either (a) directly, when laborers were employed by the Army, or (b) indirectly, as in the case of public utility plants serving the Army.

No compulsion was exercised during purely industrial strikes, except to forbid picketing and labor agitation. The civil affairs officer instructed local officials to notify him of imminent strikes. Both parties were called to his office and encouraged to settle their difference amicably. The civil affairs officer continued to visit the plant to show his constant interest. When Army interests were concerned, not only were plants taken over, but the personnel also was requisitioned, thus making anyone who abandoned his post liable to courtmartial.

Rhineland, 1918. The British in their occupied portion of the German Rhineland, placed a definite time limit on arbitration of labor disputes. Cases were brought first before German courts of arbitration and if no settlement was reached there, they passed to British military authorities whose decision was binding on both parties. These methods for settlement were remarkably effective.

Labor Unions.

Sicily, 1943. When the United States and Britain operating through the Allied Military Government in Sicily found that the labor organizations were corrupt, that syndical dues were being misappropriated by the Fascist state and grafting officials, and that the workers had no voice in the management of their own affairs, the A.M.G. abolished all such organizations. In their place a free-labor movement was permitted. Syndical dues which formerly went to Fascist bureaucracy were partly discontinued and partly diverted to meet the existing Fascist social security plan, a progressive program which Allied Military Government endorsed.

Rhineland, 1918. Similarly, in the American occupation of the German Rhineland the question arose whether the military government should observe local laws requiring employers to collect social security taxes. Answering affirmatively, the American authorities paid the insurance premiums on their civilian employees and ultimately passed the cost on to the German government, along with other occupational expenses.

18. CUSTODY AND ADMINISTRATION OF PROPERTY

Trusteeship over some types of property in occupied areas and disposal of others often requires only the application of common sense. Again, unfortunately, they may lead the administrator into legalistic mazes from which only an expression of high national policy can extricate him. As complicated as this aspect of occupation may be at best, the problems become more formidable still when an occupation by one force follows closely upon that of another. International law alone does not provide a solution because various occupants in different periods have differed widely in their interpretations of law, and justice itself.

Enemy State Property.

Baltic States, 1941. When the Germans occupied the Baltic States in 1941 they found that the previous Russian

occupants had "nationalized" certain private properties, i.e., ownership had been assimilated to the Soviet Union. In answer to the former owners' requests for restoration, the Germans took the position that the property had belonged to an enemy state but now belonged to the Nazis because they were the legal successors to that state. A specially created holding corporation, Deutsche Grundstuchs Gesellschaft, ostensibly facilitated eventual return of the property to private ownership; but the only Baltic nationals who could qualify for restoration were those who accepted service in the German army, police, or labor corps.

Ethiopia, 1942. The British disposed of a somewhat similar problem in a contrasting manner in 1942 when they entered Ethiopia, where the Italian conquerors had made land grants and mineral concessions to their own companies and private subjects. By recourse to the doctrine of *postliminium* (which relates to the restoration of prewar status to captives and to the restitution of their property), the British and Ethiopians declared the grants and concessions invalid.

Private Property.

The sale of private property during an owner's enforced absence from an occupied territory has posed administrative problems. The United States Supreme Court has ruled that this is improper.

New Orleans. When a resident of New Orleans was expelled beyond the Union lines in 1864 some of his property was sold by foreclosure of mortgage while he was within Confederate territory. It was held that the sale was illegal.

Philippines, 1898. During the American occupation of the Philippines in 1898, a family which had been dispossessed by Spanish authorities in reprisal for disloyalty submitted a plea for restitution of property. When the military governor rejected the plea the United States Attorney General held to the contrary, ruling that "the military authority of the United States was under no obligation to sustain or support arbitrary proceedings for confiscation of property of Spanish subjects on the ground of disloyalty. . . ."

New Guinea, 1914-1921. An example of a method for the evaluation and permanent disposal of expropriated properties is provided by an experience of Australian forces in New Guinea in the period 1914-1921. Australians of farm and orchard experience replaced Germans for the administration of coconut plantations. Inventories of stocks and age of trees were taken, the leading German firms were amalgamated, and evaluation negotiations were opened. If negotiations failed the properties were placed on public sale, but buyers were limited to British subjects or affiliates of certain categories.

Requisitioning.

The scope of authority for requisitioning properties and possessions in occupied areas is virtually unlimited where the military needs of an occupying army are concerned, but the temptations for abuse are constant.

Belgium, 1914-18. Germany was called upon to indemnify for her seizure of cattle, guano, nitrates and machines in Flanders and Belgium for transport to her homeland in the first World War.

Rhineland, 1919. Later, during the occupation of the Rhineland, an American officer had to prevent a junior from requisitioning for his company "one piano, three guitars and five mandolins on the ground that they would add to the contentment of his organization." During the same period, United States officials felt justified in refusing the request of M. Paul Tirard, president of the Rhineland High Commission, that a hotel be requisitioned in Coblenz for use of French commercial representatives.

Art and Treasures.

Grave problems inevitably arise out of the obligation to safeguard, insofar as conditions permit, all public and historical records, books and manuscripts, and art treasures which are threatened by destruction or neglect.

Sicily, 1943. When Americans entered Palermo, Sicily, in July 1943, severe bomb damage had been inflicted on public buildings. The situation was urgent in the case of the National

Library whose precious medieval works were exposed as a result of shattered windows, breached walls and caved-in roofs. One rainstorm might be disastrous; and there was pilfering.

Allied Military Government officials used hired labor to board up holes and windows temporarily, but complained that the greatest single need was for roofing and window materials. These they requisitioned from the United States. As for the Archives of State, also at Palermo, the Allied Military Government assigned 25 laborers to the cooperative veteran Curator. That official supervised personally the search of rubble for treasured documents which had survived the bombs. The native official's custodial responsibility thus was reaffirmed and became an asset of the Allied Military Government.

Rhineland, 1918. Another illustration of the method of leaving local authorities responsible for the safekeeping of portable property is derived from the American occupation in the Rhineland in World War I. In prohibiting the civil population from possessing arms and ammunition, the United States authorities required that such objects be deposited with burgomasters and that these give receipts for their eventual return. The Americans provided the guards, but the "paper work" and the responsibility for the numerous losses which took place devolved upon the Germans.

Sakhalin, 1905. The Japanese took more radical measures in Sakhalin in 1905 with respect to native inhabitants wishing to remove to Russian rule. All emigrants were permitted to take away any property transportable by hand. Other property had to be disposed of and a statement rendered to the Japanese, freeing them of responsibility for its safety. One result was that the Japanese army came into possession of horses, wagons, and other bulky possessions at the port of embarkation.

19. PUBLIC RELATIONS

Squarely or obliquely, public relations cuts across every function of military government. That is because any impact made by any member or policy of the occupational force on any native inhabitant produces a definite psychological reaction. Whether

the reaction be good or bad would be relatively insignificant, perhaps, in the case of an isolated individual; but the matter becomes highly important when numerous individuals experience similar reactions, because "public opinion" has been formed.

When two or three or a dozen means are available (and there generally are several) for achieving a given aim, great or small, then a choice should be made carefully in accordance with the characteristics of the people and all other special local circumstances. A proper recognition of this simple principle has paid rich dividends in all branches of military government.

Behavior of Armed Forces.

The enlisted personnel of any occupying force always constitutes the front line of public relations contacts with native peoples. The practice of providing all occupying personnel with orientation pamphlets on conduct with relation to the social peculiarities of the native population has been widespread on both sides during the present conflict. Such instructions are of great value but alone cannot solve the public relations problem if the inhabitants are really hostile.

Denmark, 1940. German troops entered Denmark in 1940 equipped with psychologically-determined orders concerning their behavior *vis-a-vis* the Danes, including the injunction that the people be won over by friendliness, small attentions and personal recognition. But the Danes did not react according to plan. They stared through the Germans, walked through troop columns and appeared not to hear when Germans asked the way.

France, 1940. There is evidence, however, that for a time at least during the same year the Nazis fared better among the traditionally hostile French where small courtesies between individuals are specially welcomed. For example, German officers (and perhaps enlisted men) were careful always to salute smartly before addressing any woman, however humble her station. Women of all races and positions are pleased by personal masculine courtesy, and since they represent about half of any normal population, their opinions are transmitted speedily

to the other. It should not be forgotten either that the opinions of older women, say those of 40 years or more, often prevail in household or clan.

With reference to the outward manifestations of respect which may be required of the local population by the occupying forces, two examples from the first World War are closely complementary.

Rhineland, 1918. Upon occupation of their sector of the Rhineland in 1918, the Belgians ordered all male civilians to remove their hats to officers in the streets, and officers sometimes "found it necessary to knock off the hats of civilians failing to salute them. . . ." The Belgian occupation, like that of the French, was notoriously unsatisfactory. At the same time, Americans elsewhere in the Rhineland required no active sign of friendliness from the civilians. They demanded only the courtesies of common social usage and asked no one to uncover. There was a strict regulation, however, that all uniformed persons, including traffic policemen, salute Allied officers because they always had saluted German officers.

Fraternization.

The question of "fraternization" of occupant with inhabitant has presented difficulties throughout the history of warfare, as abundant examples testify.

Rhineland, 1918-20. American forces in the Rhineland in 1918-20 were subjected to anti-fraternization orders to assure that the men would be ready for combat at once should conflict be resumed, and that all U. S. personnel would receive appropriate respect. But certain exceptions soon were admitted.

When German girls became pregnant on promise of marriage, the couples were allowed to wed. (Pregnancy of the girl was proof that the soldier had violated nonfraternization orders of the command, but failure to rectify would have been discreditable to the armed force.) The soldier submitted a written acknowledgment of his responsibility and the girl a reliable medical certificate attesting to her pregnancy. Meanwhile, other complicated fraternization issues arose because Americans, billeted in friendly homes, found it impossible to remain aloof from their hosts.

Holland, 1940. The antithesis of the nonfraternization policy is illustrated by the German practice in Holland in the present war of encouraging marriage between Dutch girls and Nazi troops. Legal obstacles to wedlock were removed and courts-martial held for those Hollanders who threatened prospective native brides, in their zeal to prevent German-Dutch marriages.

Altogether, observers incline to the opinion that fraternization has a gravitational law of its own: the natural like or dislike of different peoples for each other. Official regulations have been outstanding in their failure to control natural reactions.

Dissemination of Information; Propaganda.

Plainly one of the first essentials for the successful occupation of a territory is that the local population be informed authoritatively of what is expected of it and that the home population of the occupying force be told reliably, and as quickly as operational security permits, what is taking place. This function necessitates an early restoration of the usual facilities for disseminating public information. Moreover, it implies that once information channels are reopened they must be subject to administrative control lest they be abused by unfriendly individuals.

Sicily, 1943. When Allied Military Government officials moved into devastated Palermo, Sicily, on July 23, 1943, they found that all the newspapers had suspended publication for causes political or mechanical. After struggling along for 12 days without benefit of the press as a prime information medium, officials succeeded around August 4 in pooling available resources and launching with local personnel the *Sicilia Liberata,* an Italian-language paper which contained in its first issue a personal message from the Commanding General.

Radio.

The radio is in certain countries the most effective instrument of public information immediately available. But if it is used solely for conveying proclamations, instructions and propagandistic pronouncements, the audience soon may lose interest.

Netherlands, 1940. Recognizing the basic need for "entertainment," the Germans were well prepared when they invaded the Netherlands in 1940. They seized and used Dutch broadcasting stations even while military operations still were in progress. They took with them great quantities of admirable "sustaining programs" consisting of recordings of Dutch popular music—obtained quite simply by "pickup" on the part of German stations just before the invasion.

Posters.

France, 1940. It was only a few weeks later in France that the Germans demonstrated the effectiveness of the poster as an early-stage information-propaganda tool. Well executed three-color lithographs assured the Frenchman that he would not compromise his honor by accepting soup from the huge tureens which the troops soon set up for wandering civilians. The best poster showed a German soldier, strong, handsome, and beaming, holding a tattered urchin in one arm and giving a biscuit to another who clung to his knee. The text read: *"Populations Abandonnees—confiez-vous au soldat allemand."*

When the poster first appeared it was defaced or torn down, the commonest vandals being French school girls. But the Germans promptly substituted second and third copies to which were affixed a warning that interference with "advertising" was sabotage punishable by death. Eventually posters were unmolested. Some Frenchmen now in the United States concede readily that this form of propaganda served the Germans well.

Motion Pictures.

American Civil Affairs Officers may bear in mind one informational medium in which their country is outstandingly proficient: the motion picture.

North Africa, 1942. This fact was illustrated convincingly when United States forces entered North Africa where the Vichy French had kept Hollywood films under a strict ban ever since the Armistice of Bordeaux. After American productions had been shown in Algiers and elsewhere, one qualified observer commented:

"Movies were probably one of our best propaganda tools. . . . Not only did the Frenchmen and natives see the usual color and familiar faces of Hollywood, but specially prepared films as well as newsreels were brought in the first ships, showing something of American production and military strength. Attendance was good; it was probably a relief for Frenchmen to see something of what the other team was doing after two years of Axis propaganda."

Newspapers.

Meanwhile, the Office of War Information in cooperation with military authorities sent a team to North Africa to break the internal information jam. One newspaper produced a series of articles provided by Office of War Information simply to tell the population the true story of what had happened since France fell.

Use of Organized Religions.

Civil affairs officers must be strictly heedful of the obligation to foster religious liberty within the bounds of law and custom. But many military governments have found that organized religions of occupied territories often serve, cooperatively and even eagerly, as a supreme local instrument for disseminating information and for interpreting the purposes and requirements of the occupying force. The church, temple, mosque, pagoda, or other religious focus, if tactfully made aware of the problems of the occupant as they concern the status of the worshiping flock, may well achieve good will and understanding which are obviously unattainable directly through administrative channels.

Palermo, 1943. A recent illustration of this principle is afforded by the Allied occupation in July 1943 of devastated Palermo, Sicily, where destruction of communications facilities made difficult the transmission of information to the civilian population. One of Allied Military Government's first acts was to confer with the resident Cardinal and Bishop, who had not fled. Allied Military Government's policies, aims, and orders were explained carefully. The two church leaders agreed

to cooperate and, upon their order, all priests made the desired explanations to parishioners at subsequent church services. Many Sicilians thus received from trusted native stewards their first indoctrination respecting the benevolent aims of the invader.

Burma, 1942. The technique of utilizing local religious forces is little limited by creed or geography. The Japanese, in their present occupation of Burma, have recognized Buddhism as the strongest single propagandistic factor of the region. Colonel Mirami, one of the cleverest Japanese occupation officers, recently became an ardent Buddhist, taking the Burmese name *Mogyo-mogyo,* meaning *Thunder,* and speaking, dressing, and eating as a Burmese. Moreover, according to an ancient Burmese superstition, Burma would be occupied by foreigners but thunder would destroy the heretics.

Mexico, 1847. An example almost a century old is provided by the American occupation of Mexico in 1847. General Scott appreciated the enormous influence of the Catholic Church and took pains to establish cordial relations with the clergy Church property was protected and soldiers were ordered to salute Mexican priests. Although a Protestant, Scott attended mass in Vera Cruz. Instructed by the Bishop of Puebla, priests assisted Scott in drafting his proclamations at Jalapa and, knowing Santa Ana's aims, directed devastating shafts at highly vulnerable targets unknown to Americans.

In the same period, when the clergy in Mexico City became passively resistant and closed all churches five days after occupation, General Quitman seized upon a quick solution of the difficulty. He sent word that United States flags would be removed from their towers as a sign that the army had withdrawn protection. "No further hint was needed," says the account, "for millions in gold, silver and gems lay within their dark walls; and soon the relations became entirely satisfactory."

Shows and Entertainments.

Many occupational forces have recognized the desirability of providing public entertainment features for the diversion of civilian and soldier alike. Such devices often bring mutual par-

ticipation, direct or indirect, in an essentially pleasant enterprise; and joint pleasure undoubtedly promotes bonds of sympathy between alien peoples.

Algiers, 1943. American troops organized a public hog-calling contest in Algiers in 1943, for the diversion of Yankee soldiers and the edification of amazed civilians. They were but following in spirit the example of occupying units in the Rhineland in 1919. When the First Division's "circus" celebrated its opening day in Cologne by a street parade, "the crowd assembled along the line was the largest seen for some time."

Eritrea, 1943. British occupants in Eritrea in 1943 combined entertainment with education. With the aid of a mixed Eritrean and Italian committee, they arranged an agricultural show wherein photographic exhibits depicted farm life, work methods, and animals of Britain. Pedigreed bulls attracted most attention as being "truly animals of God," but the manner of plowing English fields also provoked comment and led to general discussion of improved agricultural techniques. Pictures of English women working in the fields and milking cows were a topic of conversation for many days. It is noted here that real-life photographs may be capable of surmounting the gravest lingual obstacles.

Peiping, 1938. A negative illustration of the effectiveness of public entertainment is afforded by the Japanese practice of organizing forced celebrations. In 1938, they compelled schools to take part in demonstrations in Peiping commemorative of Japanese victories at Paotingfu and Taiyuan. Students paraded sullenly and, the procession over, threw into a moat the Nipponese flags and legends which they had carried by order. The result was new bitterness.

Miscellany.

In addition to the more usual aspects of public relations contacts which are susceptible to common classifications and groupings, there are countless special local circumstances. These the Civil Affairs Officer in any area at any time must meet, appraise, and employ to the advantage of the occupying forces; or, failing that, he at least must dispose of them in the manner least prejudicial to good relations.

The range of special problems and cautions is limitless. It includes the experience of the French in the Rhineland in 1918-1923 when vigorous German opposition to the presence of colored occupation troops was countered by a gradual and hence dignified reduction in the number of such forces; or the practice of the Japanese in Manchuria in 1904-1905 of distributing free rice to the poor on the anniversaries of Japanese and Chinese sovereigns; or the effort of American officials in the Philippines in 1902 to prevent Manila newspapers from referring to natives as "niggers"; or the need for Americans in Haiti in 1915 to publicize at home the fact that whereas "atrocities" by Marines were extremely rare, their acts of kindness toward civilians were of frequent occurrence.

20. REPATRIATION AND RELOCATION OF DISPLACED PERSONS

Any recent military operations, a prior military occupation, various international political considerations, or a combination of all these, nearly always result in the presence, in a newly occupied area, of numbers of native and foreign refugees. There are also enemy and neutral noncombatants of many types, political prisoners and criminals, exiles, and other persons whose status requires special civil affairs attention. The present global war has "displaced" more populations than any other conflict in history and, consequently, has added new complications to old problems.

Ethiopia, 1941. The British in Ethiopia in 1941 found themselves responsible for the security, financial support, and general care of thousands of Italians. Large numbers were repatriated through arrangements made with their home government, although males capable of military service were placed in special camps in British East Africa. After Italy's unconditional surrender, however, about 34,000 Italian civilians still remaining in Eritrea and Somaliland in 1943 had no desire to return home to a battlefield. Local employment opportunities were dwindling, especially in Eritrea where 30,000 Italians had gathered, although the territory normally supported only some

10,000 white persons. The British were forced to prepare for billeting large numbers in former internment camps, meanwhile fostering prewar handicrafts and other occupations on a small scale.

North Africa, 1943. The Joint Commission for Political Prisoners and Refugees was able to report by June, 1943 that all but about 200 of more than 5,000 political prisoners held in concentration camps of French North Africa had been freed, placed in gainful employment, or, in a few cases, given relief. Most of them obtained work with the armies; more than 1,000 joined the British Engineer Corps; and some were repatriated to Russia. A group of physically incapacitated persons, reluctant to accept mere relief, came together in a "colony" near Algiers and soon was nearly self-supporting through operation of a truck garden and manufacture of fiber sandals.

Hawaii, 1941. Martial law officials in Hawaii in 1941 found an ingenious solution to a similar problem. They had to transport to the American mainland the many citizens who, while not contributing to the war footing which followed the Pearl Harbor attack, constituted a drain on an inadequate food supply. Numerous prostitutes went into hiding and declined to present themselves for removal. Recognizing that such persons' activities were transient in character, Army authorities classified them as tourists, thus qualifying them for evacuation without shame.

Sakhalin, 1905. A more serious problem involving the disposal of exiled criminals was pushed aside when the Japanese acquired possession of southern Sakhalin in 1905. The outcasts were taken across the Japanese Sea to Siberia under guard and the responsibility for them placed on Russia. At the same time, purely political prisoners were permitted either to remain in Sakhalin or to accept an American offer of haven.

Santiago, 1898. Some wars empty cities into the country, others force rural populations into the towns. It is public information that both England and Germany evacuated many urban noncombatants to the country. When American officials encountered difficulty in inducing Cuban peasants to leave Santiago in 1898 and return to the land, it was decreed that

food rations could be drawn only in the home community. That device repopulated the villages.

21. PUBLIC EDUCATION

Experience has shown that as a general principle it is highly desirable from the point of view of the occupying administrator to reopen existing school systems as soon as it is feasible. Schools in reasonably normal operation exert a stabilizing effect on the population at large. Problems which most often plague authorities in their attempt to resume or continue operations include the nonavailability of competent or trustworthy teachers, the presence of unfavorable propaganda in textbooks or in utterances of instructors, and the questions of language and religion. The more effectively these problems are met, the better do the schools become instruments of good will in the hands of the Civil Affairs Officer.

Textbooks.

The need for control of the political character of subject matter taught in schools has been recognized by most occupying forces. Fascist teachings were banned by the British when they entered Eritrea in 1941, and non-Fascist texts were produced. Similarly, books were revised by the Germans in Bohemia and Moravia in 1939 so that democracy was disparaged and Naziism exalted. But, far more drastic yet, the conquerors made the teachers personally responsible for the "attitudes" of the pupils, and an instructor could be dismissed if his student showed disrespect to a German leader. It is common knowledge that the Japanese substitute their own political texts and even natural science materials in the areas which they occupy.

Japanese Mandates, 1915-40. Japanese policies in the Pacific Mandates from 1915 onward deserve special mention. The problem had to be met with careful regard for the standard of living of the natives, their educational background, and their wide diffusion throughout the islands. Recognizing that model Tokyo schools were out of the question, authorities established "public school" teaching curricula adapted to the practical needs

of the islanders, placing emphasis on agriculture. Equipment and sometimes even living facilities were provided free. Children were selected from the 8-to-12-year range and given a three-year course, a supplementary two-year course being offered specially meritorious pupils. By 1932 there were 23 such schools accommodating some 4,000 children, or 56 per cent of the 8-14-year range. Native assistant teachers aid the Japanese staff.

Language of Instruction.

Changes in the language of instruction have been declared unlawful, but the practice is well known.

Belgium, 1914. The introduction of Flemish into the University of Ghent by the Germans during the first World War was attempted for the purpose of creating political disunity.

New Ireland, 1942. The Japanese in the present conflict have made their language compulsory in some areas, such as New Ireland, relying at the same time on high pressure instruction methods in other sectors, such as the Netherlands Indies and Malaya, where free books have been distributed. The teaching of English or Dutch is prohibited.

Louisiana Territory, 1803. United States officials themselves engendered unnecessary friction long ago (1803) when, upon purchase of the Louisiana territory, English was made immediately "official" and there was no gradual transition for the convenience of those who spoke only French or Spanish.

Eritrea, 1942. In modern contrast, the British, in their occupation of Eritrea mentioned above, were careful to preserve Italian as the language of instruction for Italian children and Arabic for indigenous pupils.

Religion.

Iraq, 1918. With reference to religion, the British found in Iraq in 1918 that instruction should be determined with regard to the majority sect of the area, but even then a period was set aside so that minority children might have recourse to private teachers of their own faith. It was also in Iraq during the same occupation that British authorities, urgently needing

teachers to replace the Turkish instructors who had fled, made a grant to an American Mission at Basra for the training of native teachers capable of supervising the primary system.

22. PUBLIC WELFARE

The problem of relief has generally resolved itself, at least after the opening phase of occupation, into the questions whether it will be direct or indirect, whether local systems will be maintained or discontinued, and whether public works will be initiated or expanded to provide self-support for the distressed.

Direct Relief.

Sicily, 1943. When the Allied Military Government entered Sicily in 1943 and found the Fascist machinery of pensions, social security, relief and the like to be highly corrupt (one family with five children had received funds for years on a schedule of 15 children). Yet, recognizing basic necessity and appreciating that elements of the Italian system were even more progressive than the American or British, occupation officials took care to preserve the poor, sick relief and social security benefits. At the same time, they halted administrative allowances to the dependents of Italian soldiers (then enemies). Though such was unquestionably a correct procedure it did not take care of the dependent families. Thus they became A.M.G. charges. Those in need as a result of this situation were considered on the same basis as others requiring relief. It was handled through usual channels.

Eritrea, 1943. Despite the employment of many Italian laborers by the British in Eritrea in 1943, many remained without work and in distress. Resort finally was had to direct assistance at standard rates of 40 shillings a month for the head of a family, 20 for a second member, 15 for a third, and down to 5 for a sixth, the maximum being six persons receiving 395 shillings.

The physical handling of relief itself is no small problem.

Sicily, 1943. Initially, all problems of relief—application, investigation, disbursing, etc.—were handled in the provincial

capitals. People flocked in and in one case "over 1500 women stood jammed in corridors and in long queues outside all night waiting for the disbursing windows to open, defecated in the street, some fainted." Frenzied effort on the part of the staff which worked all day, all night and the next day was necessary to handle the crowd. Thereafter, only original applications and investigations were processed by the provincial headquarters; all disbursing was decentralized throughout the communes.

Indirect Relief.

Cuba, 1899. American policy in the Province of Santiago, Cuba, during the occupation of 1899, illustrates the usefulness of public works in alleviating distress when local circumstances permit the procedure. Occupation officials diverted to work projects the principal provincial revenues, derived largely from customs receipts, and issued relief rations only in return for labor. Wrote General Leonard Wood:

> "We have been able to open up many of the main roads, put the towns in order and, in fact, scatter the people over the country in honest labor on public works, in return for which they have received either a daily wage of 75 cents, or 50 cents and a ration . . . by this method many laborers have been able to feed their families. Whenever we have heard of great destitution . . . officers have been sent there immediately with authority to start needed public works. The result has been that all through the province people have gradually gone to work in one way or another."

Tunisia, 1943. The most important feature of Allied relief activity in Tunisia in 1943 was the establishment of "relief stores" to provide outlets for food and clothing. Since scarcity rather than poverty was the prime problem, "relief goods" were sold by an American-type merchandising system to any family certified by a French *Contrôleur*. Outright doles were made in cases of genuine need. If French officials failed to certify distressed members of the large Italian minority population, the stores (supervised directly by OFRRO) simply closed their

doors; and closure resulted invariably in a change of policy by the offending Contrôleur.

Minorities have frequently been victimized by earlier occupants.

Tunisia, 1943. The position of the Jews was particularly difficult in Tunisia, large numbers having been made destitute by the Germans. They had been forced to pay large fines and their normal employment and businesses had disappeared. Assistance was imperative. Direct relief by NAEB, however, was deemed unwise because of the antagonism such a step would develop among the Arabs. Solution: Employment was offered destitute Jews in reconstruction work on the same basis as other races; those unable to work were taken care of by various Jewish relief organizations—the latter being assisted by NAEB indirectly as circumstances required.

23. MISCELLANEOUS

However well the functions and responsibilities of the military government of an occupied territory may be enumerated, there must inevitably remain a vast number of problems without precedent, tasks without pattern, administrative pioneering without blazed trails. Many historical principles repeat themselves, but many incidents occur but once. In consequence, the Civil Affairs Officer frequently must thread a way where guide posts are lacking, where common sense and native ingenuity, appreciation of a special environment, adaptability to unwonted concepts of life, all are paramount. This does not mean that intricate maneuvers are required to solve unexpected problems. On the contrary, the simplest and most direct actions often dispose of situations fraught with grave dangers.

Siberia, 1918. When Russian irregular troops deserted because of the alleged criminal acts of their leaders and sought asylum of the American General Graves in Siberia in 1918, he refused to hand them over either to their former commanders or to the Japanese, permitting each man to go where he wished on release. When the Japanese demanded the equipment of such troops on the grounds that Japan had supplied them to

the leaders (whom the troops had abandoned as murderers), General Graves required notification in writing that the property had not been paid for, and a policy was established that such material had to be identified and properly receipted.

Rhineland, 1918. Household billeting of troops often foments trouble. American forces in the Rhineland experienced little difficulty except for the fact that well-to-do families sometimes sought to conceal the number of rooms available, shifting the burden to poorer homes. In such cases, the billeting officer simply assigned definite rooms to civilians, commandeering the remainder for military personnel. It worked. In the notably successful occupation of northern France by the Germans in 1870, carefully detailed agreements were drawn in advance concerning the quartering of soldiers; and those understandings are credited with forestalling friction.

Italy, 1943. Billeting problems were even more complex under the co-belligerency status which existed in Italy upon the allied occupation. It was not politic to press the people too severely except in cases of extreme and obvious necessity. Ordinances had been published requiring the population to list all vacant houses, apartments, and rooms with the City Engineer and Town Major. Compliance not only was poor but many families "invited" aged and infirm relatives to stay with them. An unusual incidence of "guests" with infant children was also noted, another favored means of currying sympathy in the hope of avoiding eviction. The Bari air raid of 2 December 1943 resulted in an immediate exodus to the country. At this juncture an order demanding full and immediate compliance with the original ordinance was published. Response was complete; the necessary billets were obtained.

Rhineland, 1920. Occupation officials sometimes are obliged to take tactful precautions in view of designs which their co-belligerents may have of gaining commercial or diplomatic advantages for use in an ensuing peace and to the detriment of others. This was illustrated during the American occupation of the Rhineland when, in 1920, Marshal Foch began to show a special solicitude for the interests of French civil aviators in that territory.

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