



**“BURY THE DEAD, FEED THE LIVING:” THE HISTORY  
OF CIVIL AFFAIRS/MILITARY GOVERNMENT IN  
THE MEDITERRANEAN AND EUROPEAN THEATERS  
OF OPERATION DURING WORLD WAR II**

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**PKSOI Paper**

**“Bury the Dead, Feed the Living:”  
The History of Civil Affairs/Military Government  
in the Mediterranean and European Theaters of  
Operation during World War II**

**U.S. Army Peacekeeping and Stability  
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## PREFACE

In his seminal book, Dr. Raymond Millen examines America's approach to the implementation of Civil Affairs and Military Government in the Mediterranean and European theaters during World War II. Starting from scratch, the Provost Marshal General's Office published the doctrine, created the organizations, trained the personnel, and managed the program, which culminated with the occupation of Germany. While the War Department held no illusions regarding the complexity of the mission, enormous challenges confronted Civil Affairs soldiers as the conflict unfolded. Each campaign—northwest Africa, Sicily, Italy, France, the Benelux, and Germany—presented unique and wicked problems which defied easy solutions. Whether working in devastated towns or cities, austere areas, or chaotic environments, Civil Affairs soldiers were instrumental in stabilizing rear areas. In the midst of political, economic, and even societal collapse, Civil Affairs teams restored governance, local economies, and order. Because of their professional backgrounds, competency, and solid judgement, Civil Affairs soldiers set the conditions for military success.

Due to the efforts of Civil Affairs, General Dwight D. Eisenhower was able to maximize combat power against the Axis forces, precluding the need to divert combat units for garrison duties and securing the lines of communication. Without these unsung heroes, Victory in Europe would have been more costly and extended by months.

Few people realize the extent of Germany's complete collapse at the end of the war. The devastation of

Germany was so extensive that the possibility of recovery and rehabilitation defied imagination. Here, Military Government diligently met the challenges and paved the way for a democratic, prosperous Germany. It is a history and source of pride for Civil Affairs. Dr. Millen's analysis is timely. Currently, the US Army is grappling with how to best prepare itself for large scale combat operation with a peer or near-peer competitor. Many of the challenges and Civil Affairs best practices gleaned from this World War II study are applicable today.

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## FOREWORD

*Bury the Dead, Feed the Living* is more than a history on Civil Affairs; rather, it is a detailed account of how the United States conducted Stability Operations from the shores of Morocco to the mountains of Germany. Dr. Raymond Millen's book serves as a primer on preparing, organizing and implementing Stability in the course of a conflict. Current doctrine has a litany of new terms for military occupation, Military Government, and security of rear areas, but for the Soldiers implementing stabilization-related activities, only the terminology has changed, not the tasks.

Of interest is the degree of friction between the Roosevelt administration and the War Department regarding the responsibility for the civil administration of occupied territories during World War II. Although the War Department and Supreme Allied Commander, General Dwight D. Eisenhower, were perfectly willing to have U.S. civilian agencies conduct civil administration of occupied areas, the agencies proved incapable, so the military assumed de facto responsibility. Further, one of the great insights from the war is that the military must be prepared to execute a host of tasks with no or contradictory policy guidance. When thousands of civilians are dying, the military must step forward. As Dr. Millen reveals, small teams of Civil Affairs specialists had an enormous, but little noted, impact on the lives of millions of Europeans.

Virtually every situation imaginable was encountered by Civil Affairs officers and teams. Thousands of villages and cities were utterly devastated, with the authorities and populations prostrated with shock.

Civil Affairs teams—sometimes single officers—appeared on the scene and spurred the sufferers into action. They mobilized the police to restore order, prompted fire departments to prioritize firefighting, prodded local authorities to resume governance, and managed labor details to rescue the injured, bury the dead, remove rubble from the streets, and provide food and medical support to the living.

Civil Affairs teams reacted swiftly to potential epidemics, managed the care of refugees and displaced persons, channeled the activities of resistance groups, restored local economies, curbed illicit activities, and restored a sense of normalcy to the local communities.

Of course, these Civil Affairs activities served a larger purpose. They permitted Allied forces to focus on the defeat of the Axis, minimizing distractions and rear area security requirements. The occupation of Germany is a complex story in itself, one which Dr. Millen covers intelligibly. For students of Civil Affairs and Stability Operations, *Bury the Dead, Feed the Living* is a compelling and authoritative resource. For practitioners and benefactors like my own immigrant family, this book reminds us that done well, stabilization activities have enduring, positive effects; outcomes for which we may all remain very grateful in light of the sacrifices made to attain them.

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## ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Lieutenant Colonel Raymond A. Millen (retired) is currently the Professor of Security Sector Reform at the Peacekeeping and Stability Operations Institute, Carlisle, PA. A 1982 graduate of the U.S. Military Academy, he was commissioned as an infantry officer, and later served as a Foreign Area Officer for Western Europe. He held a variety of command and staff assignments in Germany and Continental United States: 8th Infantry Division (Mechanized), 7th Infantry Division (Lt), the U.S. Army Infantry School Liaison Officer to the German Infantry School at Hammelburg, Germany; Battalion Executive Officer, 3-502d Infantry, Fort Campbell, Kentucky; and Chief of Intelligence Section and Balkans Team Chief, Survey Section, SHAPE, Belgium. At the Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, he served as the Director of European Security Studies, producing studies on NATO, Afghanistan, and counterinsurgency. Dr. Millen served three tours in Afghanistan first, from July through November 2003 on the staff of the Office of Military Cooperation-Afghanistan, focusing on the Afghan National Army and the General staff; second with Combined Security Transition Command-Afghanistan from August 2006 to August 2007 establishing police coordination centers in northern Afghanistan; and third from September 2008 to September 2009 as an MPRI Senior Mentor for the Afghan Assistant Ministry of Defense for Strategy and Plans. Dr. Millen has published articles in a number of scholarly and professional journals to include *Parameters*, *Military Review*, *Joint Special Warfare Journal*, *Small Wars Journal*, *Comparative Strategy Journal*, *Infantry Magazine*, and the *Swiss Military Journal*. The second edition of his book, *Command*

*Legacy*, was published by Potomac Books in December 2008. In December 2010, he published an historical novel on Afghanistan, *Burden of Command*. Professor Millen is a graduate of the U.S. Army's Command and General Staff College and is attending the U.S. Army War College's Distant Education course. He holds an M.A. degree in National Security Studies from Georgetown University, as well as an M.A. degree in World Politics and a Ph.D. in Political Science from Catholic University of America.

## INTRODUCTION

The U.S. War Department entered World War II with a definitive plan for the occupations of the Axis powers. While the United States had experience with Military Government from conflicts involving the American Indians, Mexico, the Confederacy, The Philippines, and various Central American countries, the occupation of the Rhineland after World War I provided the framework for Military Government planning. As such, the U.S. War Department apprehended that as an occupying power, the Allies would need to establish Military Government for the purpose of restoring law and order, governance, the economy, and other civil activities.

It was a prodigious undertaking, much more complex and extensive than the War Department had ever imagined. But, its proactive approach laid the groundwork which provided the Allies with the intellectual underpinnings to adapt to the strategic environment as the war progressed.

The U.S. Civil Affairs/Military Government training programs were sophisticated, reflecting a far-sighted vision of the resources needed for successful military occupations. As this study reveals, the heart and soul of U.S. Civil Affairs/Military Government lay in the quality and dedication of its soldiers. Without their demonstrated skills, judgement, and adaptability, the liberation of the Mediterranean and Europe would have been vastly more complicated.

Various policy decisions from President Franklin D. Roosevelt had a momentous impact on the conduct of Civil Affairs/Military Government. For the first two

years of the war, Roosevelt strenuously objected to the War Department taking the lead on civil administration, preferring U.S. civilian agencies instead. The War Department argued that military necessity – the actual prosecution of military campaigns – necessitated a unity of effort, under a unified command. Roosevelt deemed this approach as detrimental to the principles of civil authority, accusing the War Department of trying to impose military authoritarianism over affected populaces (*Gauleiters* as he called them). This issue did not reach resolution until it became evident in 1943 that U.S. civilian agencies proved incapable of managing civil administration of occupied territories.

Undaunted, the War Department's Provost Marshal General's Office (PMGO) wrote the doctrine for Military Government and established the training programs. The War Department's Civil Affairs Division (CAD) organized the effort, creating Civil Affairs staff sections (i.e., G-5) and interacting with the theater commands (i.e., Allied Military Government and European Civil Affairs Division).

The Provost Marshal General's Office established two training programs – the School of Military Government (SOMG) and the Civil Affairs Training Program (CATP). SOMG focused mainly on training Civil Affairs staff officers for the G-5 staffs, from division-level to theater-level headquarters. CATP was reserved for the training of Civil Affairs/Military Government detachments, which were to operate in local areas (i.e., towns, cities, and districts). Assignments were not a hard and fast rule – some SOMG graduates served in CA/MG detachments, and some CATP graduates served in G-5 staffs.

As the war progressed and experiences accumulated, Civil Affairs/Military Government organization evolved. Allied Military Government (AMG) in the Mediterranean Theater experienced significant growing pains, particularly the dissociation of Civil Affairs activities from military operations. Typically, combat units were oblivious of Civil Affairs detachments and often undermined their activities. Enlightened by these hard lessons, the European Civil Affairs Division (ECAD) in Northwest Europe sought to create greater synergy between Civil Affairs activities and military operations. On the whole, Civil Affairs detachments and tactical units enjoyed greater connectivity in France, the Benelux, and Germany than in the Mediterranean Theater. The evolution of these new organizations is confusing, so this book seeks to clarify the manner in which they evolved, the changes in their designations, and their responsibilities.

President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Winston Churchill's decision to invade Northwest Africa (Operation TORCH) in November 1942 threw a monkey wrench in Civil Affairs planning. The initial plan was to train enough personnel for the occupations of Germany and Japan—about 12,000. The sudden change added vastly more territory to control—Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Sicily, and Italy. Consequently, these campaigns forced the War Department and Allied Force Headquarters to increase substantially the number of Civil Affairs personnel, resulting in the diversion of some trained Civil Affairs personnel, the establishment of some rudimentary Civil Affairs schools, and the creation of an ad hoc military government organization (i.e., Allied Military Government). To add to the military *friction* of fighting the war, the western Allies found themselves

embroiled in the petty squabbles, deep rooted enmities, endemic corruption, civil incompetence, ramshackle transportation infrastructures, and deplorable living conditions afflicting the liberated territories. In all these cases, occupation demanded exorbitant amounts of supplies, equipment, manpower, and time.

As Allied Supreme Commander, General Dwight D. Eisenhower recognized and voiced, optimizing the requisite combat power at the front required secure rear areas – from the ports of debarkation, through the lines of communication, to the forward line of troops – ranging in length from hundreds to thousands of miles. If he had to contend also with potential widespread uprisings, pilferage of supplies, epidemics, and famine, he would never be able to mass superior forces to defeat the Axis forces. For Eisenhower, the existential threat of strategic attrition, the cause of so many campaign failures in military history, was no longer a theoretical problem blithely referenced in the Command and General Staff Courses and the War Colleges.

The extensive combat damage to urban areas, transportation networks, utilities, facilities, and so forth, was not just a military problem requiring engineers and construction resources; it was a humanitarian nightmare. The German military – ingeniously evil – exacerbated Allied occupation problems in liberated territories by engaging in wholesale scorched earth, driving hundreds of thousands of refugees into Allied lines, plundering civilian food stocks and medical supplies, and forcibly evacuating civilian medical specialists and technicians behind Axis lines.

The key Allied assumption was that provisional governments (i.e., governments-in-exile with

SHAEF military missions assigned) would assume civil responsibility for the liberated territories, thereby relieving the military of this heavy burden. Unfortunately, these provisional governments were incapable of exercising governance. In Morocco and Algeria, the Vichy colonial government was an exquisite mixture of corruption and incompetence. Finding someone to head the provisional government was daunting because the Petain government was the formal authority. Factions within factions vied for power, trusting none of the others. Thus, the lion's share of governance fell to Allied occupation. When Italy surrendered after the Allies invaded in September 1943, the Italian government in southern Italy comprised about four officials. Until the Allies liberated Rome on 5 June 1944, no government bureaucracy was available for the first ten months of occupation. Even more disconcerting, upon Belgium's liberation in September 1944, the populace rejected the government-in-exile's authority. Belgian resistance groups and labor movements were more interested in disrupting the provisional government than in contributing to the war effort. Luxembourg no longer existed as a country; the German government had incorporated it into the greater Reich and had removed its government bureaucracy. France was the lone exception, with de Gaulle's provisional government cooperating fully with the Allied occupation and assuming responsibility for governance. Thus, aside from France, Civil Affairs personnel were desperately needed to alleviate these burdens from Allied combat forces.

The preponderance of SOMG/CATP-trained Civil Affairs personnel were reserved for the eventual occupation of Germany. They received substantial

experience in both France and Belgium (Operation OVERLORD), which served them well for the invasion of Germany (Operation ECLIPSE). In many respects, Civil Affairs and Military Government activities reached their zenith of effectiveness from June 1944 to August 1945. Civil Affairs detachments were task organized in accordance with the local situation and community needs. For Sicily, Italy, France, Belgium, and Luxembourg, a number of detachments had pinpoint assignments, remaining in one town, city, or district for weeks or months. While initially focused on immediate stability and security activities, these detachments also provided essential services once they settled in. During fluid offensive operations, smaller detachments accompanied swift moving combat units, basically establishing immediate governance, law and order, and some essential services before moving on. Other detachments were detailed to assist with refugees and displaced persons as an expedient. For Operation ECLIPSE, the establishment of Military Government consisted of two phases: the offensive phase (Carpet Plan) and the final zone assignments phase (Static Plan). As the war entered the final stage, Military Government activities and combat unit operations began to merge . . . or clash depending on one's perspective.

The establishment of U.S. Military Government in Germany presented a unique set of problems, mostly resulting from wartime policy decisions of the Roosevelt administration. SOMG/CATP school instruction emphasized the principle of governing indirectly—that is, empowering local officials to assume administrative responsibilities under Allied supervision. Since Nazism had penetrated all of German society, a number of problematic questions

arose. How could Military Government personnel govern indirectly if Germans of all walks of life had past associations with the Nazi party? This policy was not reserved to politicians but also ordinary policemen, businessmen, jurists, educators, and so forth. Further, the Nonfraternization policy prohibited any informal interaction between Allied personnel and German civilians. How could Military Government personnel cultivate working relationships and democratic ideas with earnest Germans? Demilitarizing German industry was one thing, but a policy which rejected economic recovery was quite another. How would Military Government prevent massive famine, destitution, and fatality? These questions remained unanswered when the war ended in May 1945. The Potsdam Conference in July 1945 addressed some of these questions, but inertia had set in, which made the efforts of Military Government exponentially more difficult.

A number of books, studies, and documents informed this study. Harry Coles and Albert Weinberg's *Civil Affairs: Soldiers Become Governors* provides a treasure trove of primary documents, which reflect the tenor of Civil Affairs issues up to the invasion of Germany. Raymond Parrott's *An Education for Occupation* illuminates the training provided by the School of Military Government and the Civil Affairs Training Program. Robert Komer's *Civil Affairs and Military Government in the Mediterranean Theater* highlights Military Government organization in Northwest Africa, Sicily, and Italy. Norman Lewis' *Naples '44* furnishes a disturbing personal account of the Military Government in Italy. John Maginnis' *Military Government Journal* is a personal and illuminating account of Civil Affairs activities in France, Belgium, and Berlin. The U.S. European Theater General Board's report, *Civil Affairs*

*and Military Government Organizations and Operations*, while dry, repetitive, and sometimes confusing, fills in gaps on the organization of Civil Affairs and Military Government. Frank Howley's *Berlin Command* provides a personal account of dealing with the Soviets in post-war Berlin. Harold Zinks' *American Military Government in Germany* and Earl Ziemke's *The U.S. Army in The Occupation of Germany* are invaluable for understanding U.S. occupation policies and Military Government organization and activities in Germany. Lastly, Lucius Clay's *Decision in Germany* provides the most illuminating account of the economic and political rehabilitation of Germany. There are other sources, which the endnotes indicate, but essence of this study relies heavily on the above authors.

## CHAPTER 1

### PREPARING FOR THE OCCUPATION OF THE AXIS POWERS

#### **The Catalyst for Military Government**

While the United States Army had some experience with Military Government in past conflicts, the post-World War I occupation of the Rhineland (1919-1920) offered the most extensive information on the conduct of Military Government. As a planning figure, the Military Government Division of the War Department determined that 12,000 Civil Affairs personnel would be required for worldwide occupation duties in World War II.<sup>1</sup>

Several factors drove the War Department's proactive thinking regarding Military Government. First, it wanted trained Civil Affairs soldiers available to assume the duties of Military Government immediately, rather than waiting for senior civilian leaders to "thrust" the requirement on the Army at the last minute.<sup>2</sup> Second, the War Department viewed Military Government as an enabler for military operations (i.e., military necessity), ensuring urban nodes, lines of communication, and logistics in the theater communications zone remained secure.<sup>3</sup> Left unstated, perhaps implied, military campaign planners sought to prolong the culmination point of offensive operations as long as possible. To avoid strategic attrition and to optimize combat power at the front, Military Government detachments would stabilize the theater communications zone, precluding the need to use tactical units for wide area security.

Third, during active combat operations, the War Department did not want civilian agencies assuming control of Military Government, in order to retain unity of command and effort.<sup>4</sup> However, at the conclusion of active combat (i.e., the end of a campaign or the war), the War Department expected civilian agencies to transition Military Government to civil authority.<sup>5</sup>

While the War Department regarded Military Government as a matter of military necessity, the issue created a political storm. Upon learning of the initiative, an incensed President Franklin D. Roosevelt accused the War Department of military imperialism, “churning out ‘gauleiters’ [sic] that were designed to conquer nations, not liberate them.”<sup>6</sup> As a matter of policy, the Roosevelt Administration insisted that civilian agencies administer civil governance, not only in the post-war phase, but also in occupied territories where active combat continued elsewhere.<sup>7</sup> This dispute would continue until the invasion of Italy in 1943, where the experiences in North Africa and Sicily convinced Roosevelt that, as a matter of military necessity, the Army would need to administer Military Government for an indeterminate period.<sup>8</sup>

### **Doctrinal Development for Military Government**

Preparation for the Civil Affairs/Military Government mission began with the Provost Marshal General’s Office publication of Field Manual 27-5, *Military Government*, in July 1940, which addressed the authorities, legal frameworks and obligations, recruitment and training of Civil Affairs personnel, and activities for the establishment of Military Government in occupied territories. The manual defined Military Government as a “form of government which is

established and maintained by a belligerent by force of arms over occupied territory of the enemy and over the inhabitants thereof. In this definition the term *territory of the enemy* includes not only the territory of an enemy nation but also domestic territory recovered by military occupation from rebels treated as belligerents.”<sup>9</sup> The 1943 publication of Field Manual 27-5 expanded the definition slightly: “The supreme authority exercised by an armed force over the lands, property, and the inhabitants of enemy territory, or allied or domestic territory recovered from enemy occupation, or from rebels treated as belligerents.”<sup>10</sup> The theater commander exercised supreme authority as the military governor, delegating implementation to the senior officer in charge of Civil Affairs.<sup>11</sup>

Neither manual addressed the military occupation of liberated territories though. This was a politically sensitive issue since the term *Military Government* indicated complete Allied administrative control of the occupied territory, implying that no distinction existed between belligerent and liberated inhabitants.<sup>12</sup> To assuage political sensibilities, the Allies applied the term *Civil Affairs* for the occupation of liberated territories, with *Military Government* applied only to territory belonging to an enemy country. Hence, Civil Affairs of liberated countries sought “to aid and assist national governments in reestablishing civil administration.”<sup>13</sup> Regardless of which term applied, occupation required the establishment of control over the local inhabitants, with Civil Affairs officers supervising the activities of local government officials to the greatest extent possible.<sup>14</sup>

At the tactical level, Civil Affairs comprised those “activities of the government of the occupied area

and of the inhabitants of such an area. . . . 'Civil affairs control' describes the supervision of the activities of civilians by an armed force, by military government, or otherwise. The term 'civil affairs officers' designates the military officers, who, under the military governor, are engaged in the control of civilians."<sup>15</sup>

A November 1943 article on Military Government explained the intended purpose and dynamic nature of Military Government:

The first and controlling responsibility of an occupying force is to ensure safety of combat troops by stabilizing the area; the second is to guarantee the safety, health, and well-being of the civilian people. The United States Army divides military occupation into three separate phases. The first occurs from the moment of invasion, during which the principal functions of military government are hasty provision of relief and restoration of order. The second phase occurs after combat troops have advanced to other areas and the region under military government has become a "communications area." The final phase occurs after the fighting has ceased; it continues until the governor decides that a civil government<sup>16</sup> may be established with safety.

With experience gained from the North Africa and Sicily campaigns, Supreme Allied Commander General Dwight D. Eisenhower reiterated to the War Department that the Allies did not have the luxury of focusing all efforts and resources on the defeat of German troops, that the implications of occupation necessitated Military Government:

Military government takes over occupied territory immediately and must face the problems of re-establishing law and order, maintaining security of communications, suppressing elements of the population that might interfere with current or future operations, restoring facilities such as water, electric power, transportation and communications, seeing that food is supplied to the civil population. . . . Of necessity during this phase of military occupation, military government must also deal with other economic and financial and to some extent political problems that inevitably arise. . . . However, as soon as the military situation permits, the responsibility for dealing with fundamental, long-term economic, financial, social and political problems in occupied territory should shift to the appropriate agencies of government acting under control of the theater commander pursuant to directives and policies established in the case of an Allied theater, by the two governments.<sup>17</sup>

At least up to the invasion of Italy, the Roosevelt Administration continued to argue that even during active combat, civilian agencies should administer civil government while the military focused on defeating the enemy—a clear delineation of responsibilities. While this approach made sense theoretically, the War Department maintained that the principle of military necessity trumped all other considerations regarding occupation. According to the post-war study on *Military Government and Civil Affairs*,

Military necessity is the determining factor in the execution of Civil Affairs operations and the

practice of military government control. The authority for these actions is derived from international law. Since the military occupation of enemy territory suspends the operation of the enemy's civil government the occupying force must exercise, or supervise, the functions of civil government in the restoration and maintenance of public order.<sup>18</sup>

Aside from international law and humanitarian obligations of occupation, military necessity meant that all activities in occupied territories had to facilitate the successful prosecution of military operations and termination of the war. Whether under Military Government or Civil Affairs, control of the civil population was paramount.<sup>19</sup> The War Department believed Military Government was the most effective vehicle towards those ends.

The War Department asserted on numerous occasions that once hostilities ended, Military Government would transition to civil control as quickly as prudent.<sup>20</sup> While transition to civil authority remained a military goal, wartime and even post-conflict realities thwarted such attempts.

### **Civil Affairs Organization**

Once the United States entered the war in December 1941, the War Department began organizing for the task of Military Government. On 23 December, the Provost Marshal General's Office (PMGO), under the direction of Major General Allen W. Gullion, became the War Department's lead agency for Military Government.<sup>21</sup> To assert the Army's authority for Military Government, Major General Gullion established the

Military Government Division within the PMGO to integrate the “civilian agencies, both public and private . . . interested in the problem of military government.” Gullion appointed Brigadier General Wickersham as the chief of the Military Government Division, who also served as the commandant of the School of Military Government at the University of Virginia.<sup>22</sup>

Problems with the Civil Affairs effort during the North African Campaign prompted the War Department to revise its organizational approach to Military Government however. Eisenhower was clearly dissatisfied with the inefficiencies of overlapping jurisdictions created by the seventeen civilian agencies operating in the rear areas, but replacing the current arrangement proved daunting. The Military Government Division lacked the appropriate authority and capabilities to manage the entire effort, so it focused solely on the training programs. The War Department needed to integrate Civil Affairs fully into the Army command structure, with a single center responsible for Civil Affairs advising, liaison, planning, and deployment.<sup>23</sup>

Accordingly, the War Department established the Civil Affairs Division (CAD) in March 1943, subordinate to the Office of the Chief of Staff of the Army and under the leadership of Major General John H. Hilldring. The division’s primary responsibilities were to: “(1) advise the Secretary of War [Henry Stimson] concerning policies in areas occupied by United States military forces, (2) maintain close cooperation with United States and Allied combat forces, and with appropriate civilian agencies at Washington, and (3) represent the War Department in relations with inter-Allied boards concerning problems of military occupation.”<sup>24</sup> Acting as a clearinghouse for coordination, the Civil Affairs

Division function was, as Major General Hilldring explained, “to obtain complete synchronization through the Army on military government problems. . . . It is the function of the Division to conduct the planning, policy making, supervision and co-ordination of all matters concerning military government. A further function is to regulate, in the Army, all operation agencies concerned with military government.”<sup>25</sup> A few months later, the Combined Chiefs of Staff followed suit, creating the Combined Civil Affairs Committee in Washington D.C.<sup>26</sup>

In the European Theater of Operations (ETO), the War Department Civil Affairs Division interfaced with the Allied Military Government of Occupied Territory (AMGOT—later revised to Allied Military Government or AMG) in the Mediterranean and the European Civil Affairs Division (ECAD) and the Supreme headquarters Allied Expeditionary Force (SHAEF) G-5 staff section in Northwest Europe.

**AMG.** The Allied Military Government (AMG) was the first attempt to organize Military Government activities in support of the campaign in Sicily and Italy. As such, growing pains were inevitable. AMG Civil Affairs staffs were not integrated into military headquarters staffs. Additionally, Civil Affairs teams had little connection with military organizations. Hence AMG and Civil Affairs teams operated on a separate chain of command and channel of communications, thereby undermining unity of command. As author F. S. V. Donnison noted, “Military commanders below the Supreme Commander could exercise no control over Civil Affairs policy and the activities of Civil Affairs officers unless by the cumbrous procedure of addressing the Supreme Commander.” Separating Mili-

tary Government from normal military command and control also deprived Military Government detachments of supplies, engineers, equipment, etc. since tactical commanders bore no responsibility for Military Government and would not part with resources or feel responsible for Military Government activities.<sup>27</sup>

For the liberation of northwest Europe and occupation of Germany, the War Department's Civil Affairs Division sought to correct many of the structural and procedural shortfalls plaguing AMG. Hence, AMG, ECAD, headquarters staffs, and Civil Affairs teams continued to evolve and morph according to changes in the situation and the particular needs of the moment. Admittedly, the frequent changes and evolutions in Civil Affairs organizations and tasks are rather confusing, so this book goes into some detail to explain the changes.

**SHAEF Military Missions.** During the build-up in Great Britain for the invasion, the British Civil Affairs Division under Major General Sir Roger Lumley of COSSAC (Chief of Staff, Supreme Allied Command) initiated planning for the occupation of liberated and enemy territory in northwest Europe. The COS-SAC Civil Affairs Division transformed the heretofore "country houses" into military missions for designated countries (i.e., France, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Germany, Austria, and Norway). The Military Missions became the chief Military Government for each liberated country, headed by a Chief Civil Affairs Officer (CCAO). Specifically, when deployed into their assigned countries, they supervised the national governments, ensuring they bolstered military operations. For greater cooperation with tactical commands, the Military Missions fell under the highest military headquarters in the area of operations.<sup>28</sup> When in February

1944 COSSAC became the Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Force (SHAEF), the COSSAC Civil Affairs Division changed to SHAEF G-5 staff section.<sup>29</sup>

**G-5 Divisions.** In consonance with this change, the War Department Civil Affairs Division became the War Department G-5 Division and integrated G-5 staff sections into each army group, army, corps, and division under the SHAEF G-5 Division.<sup>30</sup> To correct the problems of coordination and cooperation between Civil Affairs and military operations as experienced by AMG, Military Government detachments were to report to the relevant G-5 staff sections; and tactical units operating in their geographical area of responsibility were to provide supplies and resources to the Military Government detachments as requested.<sup>31</sup> SHAEF Chief of Staff Lieutenant General Bedell Smith emphasized this relationship just prior to the invasion of France, "Civil Affairs detachments will work with local government representatives on the higher policy agreed between SHAEF and the governments concerned. . . . It is, however, the responsibility of subordinate commanders to insure that the Supreme Commander's policies are implemented by the Civil Affairs Staffs. SHAEF will relieve combat commanders of Civil Affairs responsibilities behind combat zones, at the earliest possible moment."<sup>32</sup>

The SHAEF G-5 Division comprised two components: the G-5 General Staff Division under an Assistant Chief of Staff, G-5 and the Special Staff Division under a Deputy Chief Civil Affairs Officer (DCCAO). The G-5 General Staff Division (or simply G-5) advised the Supreme Allied Commander on Civil Affairs policy, issued Civil Affairs policy directives, formulated Civil Affairs plans, reviewed the detailed plans, and

supervised implementation of plans and policies. The Special Staff Division organized and supervised the SHAEF Military Missions, established and supervised the training schools in Shrivenham (U.S.) and Eastbourne (UK), prepared detailed plans, and served as the rear echelon of the G-5 Division. The aggregate strength of the SHAEF G-5 Division was 128 officers and 214 enlisted.<sup>33</sup>

As SHAEF prepared to move onto the continent in September 1944, it organized into forward, main, and rear echelons. The forward G-5 consisted of 30 officers and 60 enlisted. The main G-5 comprised 114 officers and 139 enlisted. Staff organization for both echelons broke into six sections: Fiscal, Legal, Supply, economics, Civil Affairs Operations, and Staff Duties.<sup>34</sup>

**ECAD.** Due to this tactical arrangement, the War Department G-5 sought to relieve SHAEF of the administration (i.e., assignments, pay, and promotions) and the training of Civil Affairs personnel, activating the European Civil Affairs Division (ECAD) on 12 February 1944 in Shrivenham, England.<sup>35</sup> For command and control, ECAD fell under the G-5 Division of SHAEF. For administrative purposes (i.e., “supply, pay, personnel, and accounting), ECAD fell under the Civil Affairs Section in Headquarters, European Theater of Operations, U.S. Army (ETOUSA). During the build-up for the invasion in England, ECAD administered and trained Civil Affairs personnel and assigned them either to Military Government detachments or to the various G-5 staff sections. Military Government detachments were assigned to lettered companies within a Civil Affairs regiment, which in turn was attached directly to a numbered Army and later, an Army Group. Since CA/MG detachments remained in their

assigned areas of responsibility, they interacted with the various divisions operating or transiting through to the front. Once the numbered Army moved on, the CA/MG detachments fell under the Communications Zone (COMZ) or Theater Area Army Command.<sup>36</sup> Altogether, 8,263 Civil Affairs personnel served in SHAEF Military Missions, G-5 staff sections, and CA/MG detachments in France, Belgium, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, and Germany (Table 1).<sup>37</sup>

Organization	O	WO	EM	Total
Hq Supreme Allied Command	90	5	160	255
Hq ETOUSA	91	1	117	209
Operational, ETOUSA	2280	120	3600	6000
Instructional, ETOUSA	48	1	35	84
Administrative, ETOUSA	200	3	1512	1715
Total	2709	130	5424	8263

Table 1: ECAD Personnel Breakdown<sup>38</sup>

Initially, the Civil Affairs Center (used for Civil Affairs training and assignments) was attached to ECAD under one commander. However, on 4 April 1944, Headquarters ETOUSA formally integrated the center under ECAD. Accordingly, the Civil Affairs Center became the 6906 Occupational Reserve Unit on 22 April 1944.<sup>39</sup>

ECAD remained in operation until the end of the war (19 months) and comprised three European Civil Affairs regiments (ECAR). The 1<sup>st</sup> ECAR deployed with 14 Military Government detachments into Normandy under the First Army and nearly all its personnel were French specialists. The 2<sup>d</sup> ECAR Headquarters and five of its companies deployed with the Third Army

into the beachhead in early August 1944. During the breakout from the Normandy beachhead and liberation of northwest Europe, 2<sup>d</sup> ECAR Headquarters returned to England on 16 August to rejoin its remaining four companies. As such, ECAD attached the five 2<sup>d</sup> ECAR companies to 1<sup>st</sup> ECAR, which now provided general support to the newly organized 12<sup>th</sup> Army Group. In preparation for the invasion of Germany, ECAD deployed the rest of the 2<sup>d</sup> ECAR and attached the entire regiment to the 12<sup>th</sup> Army Group on 18 October 1944.<sup>40</sup> During this period, the 3<sup>d</sup> ECAR continued training in Manchester, England, moving to Chartres, France on 17 September 1944. On 29 December 1944, ECAD attached the 3<sup>d</sup> ECAR to the 6<sup>th</sup> Army Group, which was moving up from southern France. In May 1945, ECAD attached the 3<sup>d</sup> ECAR to the 12<sup>th</sup> Army Group for pinpoint assignments in the U.S. Zone of Occupation, to include “special detachments” for Berlin, Bremen, and Bremerhaven.<sup>41</sup>

Additional ECAD units included: 1) 6904 CA Detachment (Provisional) for administrative support to officers in UK CA/MG detachments (disbanded on 27 October 1944); 2) 6905 Transportation Company for vehicle issue and maintenance; 3) Detachments 6907 (Norway), 6908 (Denmark), 6909 (Holland), 6910 (Belgium), 6911 (Germany), and 6912 (France) were part of the SHAEF Special Staff Military Missions; 4) European Civil Affairs Medical Group for medical care of CA/MG detachments; 5) Civil Affairs Port and Supply Headquarters, France; 6) First European Civil Affairs Accounting Unit for civilian supplies; 7) Regimental Reserve Detachment (Utilities) for surveys and management; 8) European Civil Affairs Currency Section for currency management in Germany; 9) Berlin, Bremen, and Bremerhaven special detachments;

10) Regimental Reserve Detachment (Fiscal Survey) for G-5 staffs in Germany; 11) Regimental Reserve Detachment (Liaison) for administrative support to the Liaison School of the Office of Strategic Services (OSS); and 12) 6837<sup>th</sup> Civil Affairs Regiment for administrative support to civil affairs in southern France (Operation Dragoon). This was the former 2678 Civil Affairs Regiment and later reorganized as Company L, 1<sup>st</sup> ECAR.<sup>42</sup>

When the ECAD dissolved on 12 July 1945, the 2d ECAR and 3d ECAR were re-designated as the 2d and 3d Military Government Regiments, attached to the Seventh Army (Western District) and Third Army (Eastern District) respectively. Accordingly, a total of 295 Military Government detachments supervised all echelons of government in Germany.<sup>43</sup>

The U.S. Navy established a Civil Affairs Division (70 officers) in the Operations Division, U.S. Naval Forces in Europe in the spring of 1944, which later became the Military Government and Civil Affairs Section. While the majority of Navy personnel performed administrative and liaison officer duties, “some of them performed military government functions in ports which the Navy held.”<sup>44</sup> Accordingly, Navy Military Government detachments focused on law and order in the ports to include issuance of rules and orders and functioned almost exactly as Army Military Government detachments. In essence, port sustainment required the use of local labor (which the Army supplied), facilities, and local supplies. Navy staff officers also served in the planning sections of all the Military Government planning sections: the German Country Team, the French Mission, the U.S. Group Control Council for Germany (later the Office

of Military Government, U.S.), SHAEF G-5, USFET G-5, the Combined Civil Affairs Committee in London, and the U.S. Planning Committee of the European Advisory Commission.<sup>45</sup>

The Civil Affairs Staff Sections evolved over the course of the war, but generally assumed the following organizational functions:

- Internal Affairs: Local Government and Civil Administration; Public Safety; Education and Religion; Postal, Telephone, and Telegraph; Public Health; Information and Public Relations; and Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives.
- Economics: Food and Administration; Civilian Requirements and Allocations; Price Control and Internal Trade; Imports and Exports; Labor (manpower); Transportation; and Public Utilities.
- Displaced Persons, Refugees, and Welfare: Liaison Officers; and Welfare Agencies (UN Relief and Rehabilitation administration and the American Red Cross).
- Legal: Counsel; Courts; and Prisons.
- Finance: Public Finance; Financial Institutions; Currency; Foreign Exchange; Financial Intelligence; Accounts and Audits; and Property Control.
- Reparation, Deliveries, and Restitutions.<sup>46</sup>

## The Training Programs

Various schools in the United States, Algeria, England, France, and Belgium served to train Civil Affairs personnel for the European Theater of Operations. As the need for more trained personnel became pronounced, these schools conducted initial training and sustainment training for the purpose of providing highly qualified Civil Affairs professionals.

As Colonel Joseph Harris, a faculty member of the School of Military Government noted, instruction addressed the purpose of Military Government to the students. First, assisting in the attainment of military objectives and a successful defeat of the Axis governments. The obligations of international law dictated the establishment of law and order, providing sustenance and assistance to the population, medical care and disease prevention, resumption of essential services, and restoring the local economy in occupied territories. He concluded, "Our purpose is not to loot or to despoil, but to lay the groundwork for the eventual restoration of the political and economic life of the area under conditions which will provide the basis of a lasting peace."<sup>47</sup>

Colonel Harris also explained the "basic philosophy of the training programs," which served to guide the activities of Military Government personnel regardless of the local circumstances:

*Military government is best which governs least [emphasis added]. A cardinal principle which is always stressed is to utilize responsible local officials to the maximum extent possible, and to leave in their hands administration of*

government, reserving to the military authorities control and supervision which is necessary to protect and to accomplish the purposes of the occupation. The civil affairs is thus supervision rather than detailed administration, though at times detailed administration may be necessary. The cooperation and good will of the inhabitants is always sought.<sup>48</sup>

This principle of indirect governance remained the preferred approach in liberated territories for several reasons, as Cristen Oehrig notes: "First, in most of these areas the exiled government still held legitimacy with civilians and would therefore be most effective and efficient in governing their own localities. Secondly, the indirect approach was preferred so as not to create the perception that Allied liberators had taken over governance in a similar way to the totalitarian regime they had just abolished."<sup>49</sup>

Indirect governance worked reasonably well in Sicily and Italy, where Military Government commanders expunged collaborators, Nazi puppet officials, and Italian Fascist officials from positions of authority. However, the principle ran into trouble in Germany due to the U.S. Denazification policy, as this study will address later.

The Military Government Division, under Brigadier General Cornelius W. Wickersham, administered the School of Military Government (SOMG) located at the University of Virginia in Charlottesville, Virginia, as well as the Civil Affairs Training Program (CATP) from participating universities. The Provost Marshal General's Office (PMGO), commanded by Major General Allen W. Gullion, took charge of recruiting

candidates, selecting officers and civilians with specialized backgrounds suited for Civil Affairs duties.<sup>50</sup>

### **Candidate Recruitment.**

The Provost Marshal General's Office envisioned four categories of personnel for training:

- Top administrative commissioned officers (School of Military Government)
- Junior commissioned officers (Provost Marshal General's School)
- Technical and advisory personnel (Civil Affairs Training Program).
- Occupational or military police.<sup>51</sup>

The Adjutant General of the Army issued a directive looking for candidates with backgrounds suitable for Military Government: "administration, public works and utilities, transportation, public safety, fiscal, supply, economics, public health, public welfare, education, public relations, communications, legal, liaison, and cultural."<sup>52</sup> Additionally, the directive sought men of proper temperament:

Civil Affairs officers must have high personal qualifications and experience in handling men and affairs. Among the personal attributes desired are the ability to deal effectively with high civilian officials in difficult and complex situations; ability to get along with people in all walks of life; tact; diplomacy; imagination;

a broad social outlook; and adaptability to new and unusual customs; ability to analyze governmental, economic, and related problems and to formulate and carry into effect necessary policies; high professional standing in his own field; unquestioned integrity; and ability to assimilate a wide variety of complex subject matter in a short, rigorous training program.<sup>53</sup>

The response was overwhelmingly positive and enthusiastic. Some candidates were “several former governors of states, members of successful business executives, heads of state, city, and federal departments, city managers, university presidents, [and] deans of law schools.”<sup>54</sup> Others were “public health officers, social workers, forestry experts, agronomists, journalists, bankers, foreign service officers, public-office holders, engineers, public utility experts, policemen, firemen, postal authorities, transportation directors, teachers, lawyers, wholesalers, and retailers. The largest number had engaged in some business enterprise, with lawyers perhaps following next in order.”<sup>55</sup>

As a result of the recruitment criteria, most of the candidates tended to be older—the average age was 45—signifying a desire for people with good judgment, “requiring great administrative ability and experience, great wisdom, diplomacy, and qualities of leadership.”<sup>56</sup> The majority of these Civil Affairs officers, along with select junior officers and military police, would be earmarked to serve in Military Government detachments rather than in G-5 staff sections and hence, would attend the Civil Affairs Training Program.<sup>57</sup>

**School of Military Government (SOMG).** Approved by Secretary of War Henry Stimson in December 1941 and opened in May 1942, the SOMG was designed to train officers from the ranks of captain through colonel for principal headquarters staff positions, liaison duties, and higher administration functions in occupied territories (G-5 staff and country Military Missions). Graduates of the Civil Affairs Training Program (CATP) were intended to serve in Military Government detachments, which were to coordinate their activities with tactical units. In practice, this distinction was not always observed since graduates from either school served where needed.<sup>58</sup>

The four-month school had a modest staff of “12 officers and civilian instructors, 25 civilians, and one enlisted man,” which was augmented by visiting lecturers.<sup>59</sup> According to Colonel Harris, the curriculum focused on the following areas:

1. Army organization and procedure, including staff work, supplies, etc.
2. Principles of military government and the administration of occupied territories.
3. The law of land warfare applying to occupied territory, conduct of military commissions and tribunals.
4. Experiences in military government, including brief accounts of previous military occupations, and actual experience [in the] present war.
5. Training in the major Axis countries and special areas, geography, population, economic, political, governmental institutions, psychology, history, and recent trends.
6. Language training.
7. Miscellaneous training relating to economic, social, military other problems in occupied areas.<sup>60</sup>

Specific instruction on technical skills needed for Military Government included: “fiscal matters of far-reaching economic importance . . . control of local banking establishments . . . disentanglement of monetary systems from Axis-imposed regulations . . . occupational currency . . . [and] rates of exchange established.” Additional subjects included, “care and feeding of liberated peoples . . . public health and sanitation . . . the broad field of public utilities.”<sup>61</sup>

The SOMG (and CATP as well) assigned students into sections, each comprising eight to twelve students. Aside from instruction and lectures, the sections conducted practical exercises (“problem work”) for the establishment of hypothetical Military Governments. Accordingly, the sections prepared “plans, actions, orders, proclamations, and ordinances to deal with the situation, making use of instruction on military government and the special study.” These practical exercises gained greater realism as experiences in Sicily and Italy became available.<sup>62</sup>

While the program was designed to graduate 450 Civil Affairs officers per year, by January 1943 only 85 trained Civil Affairs officers were available.<sup>63</sup> Accordingly, Brigadier General Wickersham sought to increase SOMG graduation rates, from 100 to 150 per class and indeed succeeded in producing 1,000 graduates.<sup>64</sup> Wickersham calculated in February 1943 that increased graduation rates would not be enough for the estimated 6,000 Civil Affairs personnel needed for occupation duties in possibly a dozen countries.<sup>65</sup> Hence, other schools would be needed.

Aside from the low attendance record, Brigadier General Wickersham was concerned that Army commanders were not releasing qualified officers for the SOMG. His solution was to expand the Civil Affairs pool by commissioning “extraordinarily qualified” civilians “because of their experience in government or in public utilities or in sanitary or civil engineering,” and having them enroll in the Civil Affairs Training Program (CATP). The Army would assign these officers to the Specialty Corps in the Reserves.<sup>66</sup>

**Civil Affairs Training Program (CATP).**<sup>67</sup> As a planning figure, 2,500 commissioned civilians and selected active duty officers would attend basic training and some Military Government training for one month at Fort Custer, Michigan, followed by three month’s intensive study at one of ten universities. The original intent was for the graduates to proceed either to staging areas for deployment or return to civil life, subject to recall when needed.<sup>68</sup> However, as Professor Raymond Parrott notes, the Army retained a significant number of them to continue their education, language study, and work as “graduate cadre,” at their universities or the SOMG.<sup>69</sup>

Since graduates were mostly earmarked for duty in Military Government detachments, students ranked from second lieutenant to lieutenant colonel.<sup>70</sup> A good portion of the students had no previous military experience, while some, like Major John Maginnis were World War I veterans, and others were active duty officers released from their units. As such, basic training at Fort Custer (the J Course) featured accommodations in platoon-sized barracks, marksmanship, foot marches, physical fitness, and

tactics, as well as supplemental instruction on Military Government activities and area studies.<sup>71</sup>

The professors of the partnership universities were recognized experts in the “history, economics, geography, people, and institutions” of the assigned countries.<sup>72</sup> Thus, university instruction, lectures, and studies focused on the target countries: language (heavy emphasis),<sup>73</sup> culture, political system, legal system, economy, industry, and commerce of the assigned country.<sup>74</sup> Since these were civilian institutions, academic life was less regimented, more collegial, and less rank conscious than traditional military schools. As an exception, Military Government instruction at each university was provided by an officer, who was a graduate from the School of Military Government.<sup>75</sup> The intent of the curriculum was to prepare Civil Affairs officers for the governance of occupied towns and cities in specified countries.<sup>76</sup>

The universities took the opportunity to draw on the local ethnic communities, whose citizens had intimate knowledge of the intended country. As Colonel Harris explained,

These persons, usually former residents of the area, and in many instances its prominent officials, professors, or business men, are being utilized as special lecturers or consultants. A number of the universities are supplementing the customary historical, social, political, economic, and cultural instruction with practical information about the country and its institutions – highly useful to its future military administrators.<sup>77</sup>

At the Civil Affairs Training School at the University of Pittsburgh for instance, Civil Affairs officers received instruction on specific European countries (ranging from several days to several weeks depending on the relevancy of the country) and interacted with ethnic groups living in the Pittsburgh area to gain “insight into their national customs and political, social, and religious activities.”<sup>78</sup> These opportunities for cultural interaction gave Civil Affairs officers a greater understanding of the indigenous people they were to administer.<sup>79</sup>

Perhaps the most valuable advice which instructors emphasized to students, as Raymond Parrot notes, was the imperative to rely on their intuition and judgement to resolve immediate problems at their level of responsibility:

While instructors expected these duties to be subservient to the larger goals of American policy, instructors at the SMG made it clear that the men in their classrooms should not fear taking initiative “given the wide latitude within the limits of his responsibilities.” This attitude required a flexible mindset, one that should anticipate and prepare for problems whether orders existed or not: “in many cases, some of the policies that should come from higher authority will have to be recommended to them if their need has not been foreseen by that higher authority.” The leaders within the MGD and CAD, often civilians themselves, realized that answers did not always come from the top echelons; entrepreneurial policy on the ground often decided whether implementation

would fail or succeed. They attempted to train their students to be good soldiers, but soldiers that would take responsibility for a situation that might go beyond the limitations of existing military strategy.<sup>80</sup>

Upon graduation, Civil Affairs officers designated for the European Theater of Operations (ETO) reported to the Staging Area School at Camp Reynolds, Pennsylvania to await deployment orders. Since the stay could be as long as two months, instruction on Military Government and language training continued to prevent atrophy of skills.<sup>81</sup>

The Navy also sent officers to the various Military Government schools. "Fifty-four were graduates of the Naval School of Military Government and Administration at Columbia; nine had been trained at the Army School of Military Government at Charlottesville; and one was a graduate of both of the above schools. Forty-five officers received military government training in the United Kingdom, including 26 who had also been trained in the United States. Twenty-five naval officers participated in the Army military government training program at Shrivenham [England]. Other Naval officers received military government instruction in Scotland at a center set up by the Navy in a castle."<sup>82</sup>

**Provost Marshal General's School.** The remainder would comprise 2,400 junior commissioned officers, earmarked for a two-month company commander's course at Fort Oglethorpe, Georgia.<sup>83</sup> Presumably, the majority would serve in CA/MG detachments.

**Military Police Schools.** To assist in the Civil Affairs mission, the Military Police Schools agreed to “train per year 500 subordinate officers and 1,200 enlisted military police for special duties in military government.”<sup>84</sup>

**Military Government Schools in Algeria.** In preparation for the invasion of Sicily in July 1943, General Eisenhower’s Allied Force Headquarters (AFHQ) estimated the need for 400 officers and 500 enlisted soldiers for the Civil Affairs mission. With few Military Government trained personnel in theater and since the vast majority of graduates from the School of Military Government and the Civil Affairs Training Program were earmarked for northwest Europe, the newly established Allied Military Government of Occupied Territories (AMGOT) for the Mediterranean Theater, began recruiting in April 1943 American and British civilians, who were “specialists in public utilities, police, public health, public welfare, and other fields important in the administration of military government.”<sup>85</sup>

In late May 1943, AMGOT established a Military Government school in Chrea, Algeria (40 miles southwest of Algiers) under British Lieutenant Colonel A. D. Aitken and American Major Henry T. Rowell as its head instructor. The curriculum was limited to “language study, lectures on Military Government with particular reference to Sicily and Italy, committee work in specialist fields, and physical training.” The school also served as a staging area for its graduates awaiting assignment.<sup>86</sup>

For the invasion of Italy scheduled for early September 1943, AFHQ closed the school at Chrea and opened the Military Government School and Holding Center

at Tizi Ouzou, Algeria (60 miles east of Algiers) on 15 July, administered by AFHQ's Military Government Section. For the initial invasion of Italy, the Military Government Section drew up general plans and operations for Military Government in the U.S. Fifth Army's Region III in Italy (Campania). Since the Fifth Army was located in Algeria in preparation for the invasion of Salerno, Military Government planning at Tizi Ouzou was practical. Hence all Civil Affairs personnel from the United States and England earmarked for Fifth Army assembled and trained at Tizi Ouzou. In addition to intensive instruction on Italian, students received the fundamentals of Military Government and learned where they would serve, thereby giving them the opportunity to study their assigned areas. Given its proximity to the Eighth Army's Region II (Calabria and Lucania provinces), AMGOT in Sicily (later changed to Allied Military Government or AMG) conducted the Military Government planning and deployment of Civil Affairs personnel in Sicily to the toe of Italy.<sup>87</sup>

As the political and military situation in Italy changed, the school reorganized and changed its name to the Military Government Holding and Planning Center. The new organization comprised the Allied Commission Headquarters for Italy, the AMG Planning Section and the School and Holding Center. By the time the school had closed in January 1944, 2,600 Civil Affairs personnel had trained at the center.<sup>88</sup>

**ECAD American School Center, Shrivenham, England.** Civil affairs officers earmarked for northwest Europe reported to the Civil Affairs Center in Shrivenham, England, established on 1 December 1943. SOMG and CATP (about 3,700) Civil Affairs officers were joined by

excess or available personnel from the Mediterranean Theater as well as select personnel from Army units and the Field Force Replacement System. Since Civil Affairs officers were destined to spend months awaiting assignment to staffs and detachments, ECAD established a Military Government school similar to the one at Camp Reynolds, PA. The Civil Affairs Center in-processed, trained, equipped, assigned, and deployed Civil Affairs personnel into France either on G-5 staffs or as part of CA/MG detachments.”<sup>89</sup>

As practiced in the Mediterranean Theater, the ratio of U.S. and UK Civil Affairs personnel in detachments was two-thirds/one-third in accordance with the national armies to which they were attached. As such, during the spring of 1944, 953 U.S. officers, 107 warrant officers, and 3,607 enlisted reported to British Civil Affairs detachments in Eastbourne and Manchester. The U.S. officers attended the British Civil Affairs School at Eastbourne and British officers attended the American School Center at Shrivenham in order to become familiar with the respective procedures and terminology. Later, in anticipation of the inevitable occupation zones in Germany, SHAEF directed the “disintegration” of CA/MG detachments on 30 August 1944 with U.S. and British Civil Affairs personnel returning to their respective national Civil Affairs divisions.<sup>90</sup>

With the first contingent arriving on 27 January 1944, the students were to continue honing their language skills and area studies as well as tactical and technical studies. Since the school did not have the requisite faculty and equipment as enjoyed in the United States, student volunteers and former teachers from the SOMG conducted training sessions, supplemented by training

films. The school's training division comprised four training branches: 1) Military Instruction—"military administration and staff procedure, physical training, field exercises, military discipline and customs of the service, care and firing of weapons, and driving and first-echelon maintenance of motor vehicles;" 2) Regional Instruction—"specific areas and localities" and pinpoint assignments for Germany to include "government structure," the names of Nazi and non-Nazi officials, "utilities, geography, climate, industrial organizations, and fuel and other resources;" 3) Functional—"Fiscal and Economics, Public Health, Utilities, Transportation, Agriculture, and Civilian Supply;" and 4) Language Instruction—French and German. Of great interest to the students, veteran Civil Affairs personnel from North Africa, Sicily, and Italy, which were earmarked for duty in northwest Europe, assisted in the training and shared their combat experiences. The school also conducted practical field exercises with students forming into training Military Government detachments, which interacted with role players portraying German officials and Allied tactical officers.<sup>91</sup> For example, Major Maginnis noted that his assigned Civil Affairs/Military Government detachment (C2B1) participated in an occupation training exercise at Newton Abby, England in April 1944. Town authorities allowed the detachment to set up an office, locate office furniture, establish communications with the local telephone and military networks, and interact with local officials and citizens.<sup>92</sup>

As a component of ECAD, the school was responsible for assigning students to the Military Government detachments. Three boards were established for this purpose: one board interviewed personnel for

assignment in Military Government detachments; a second board interviewed personnel to work with the British Army (ultimately 600); and a third board assigned personnel to the G-5 staffs. Those not selected for immediate assignment were placed in a “specialist pool” for later assignment, which turned out to be a dreadful decision.<sup>93</sup> According to Military Government officers:

The series of pools in which military government officers were forced to stagnate for over a year was as vicious a system as can be conceived. There is hardly a man who has passed through it who has not given concrete evidence of demoralization in the most exact sense of the word. The long, sterile inactivity and the theoretical, half fish half fowl military training killed all enthusiasm in officers and men, and many became subject to a complete moral breakdown.<sup>94</sup>

Languishing in limbo as the war passed them by, many in the specialist pool transferred to the Psychological Warfare Division, the Surgeon General’s Office, and other assignments where they felt more appreciated.<sup>95</sup> This led to inevitable understrength Military Government detachments, and the ECAD exacerbated this deplorable situation by assigning personnel into positions for which they were not trained, thereby creating intense dissatisfaction with their mission.<sup>96</sup>

For the invasion of Normandy and breakout, the demand for more Civil Affairs personnel rose above authorization levels. While the tables of distribution and allowances authorized 2,709 officers, 130 warrant officers, and 5,424 enlisted, actual requirements were

4,438, 382, and 8339 respectively. Hence, a shortfall of 1,648 officers, 252 warrant officers, and 2,915 resulted. As more armies, corps, and divisions entered the continent and the Communications Zone retained a number of detachments, the shortfall became even more pronounced.<sup>97</sup>

To address these shortages, ECAD headquarters moved to Rochefort-en-Yvelines (southwest of Paris) in August 1944 and established a School of Military Government school. During late fall 1944, the First, Third, Seventh, and Ninth armies organized Military Government Centers in Verviers, Belgium, using G-5 officers as instructors, and established a pool of MG detachments earmarked for Germany. Sixth Army Group established similar training centers and pool as well. As the armies invaded Germany, they drew from the MG detachment pool for pinpoint assignments.<sup>98</sup> In March 1945, ECAD established a two-week Military Government course in Romilly-sur-Seine (east of Paris) and organized the graduates into Military Government detachments.<sup>99</sup>

The training programs were not without problems and criticism though. According to Harold Zink, as the weeks became months at Shrivenham, training became monotonous, and morale suffered when school officials subscribed to a basic training military routine (i.e., foot marches, drill and ceremony, etc.) that was not commensurate with the rank and background of many students. Hence, more emphasis on area studies and the impending Military Government mission would have held the interest of the students and kept morale up:

With military government officers in Germany having to cope with concrete problems of a highly complicated character in such fields as German political structure, legal system and courts, religious affairs, education, transportation, communications, trade, and industry, and food and agriculture, what was especially needed was areal [*sic*] instruction in these specialized realms rather than general knowledge of the history of the country.<sup>100</sup>

Whereas graduates of CATP praised their training at universities, the majority was dissatisfied with training at Fort Custer, Michigan. Most students shared Zink's unfavorable view of the training at Shrivenham as well. In view of the ad hoc training in France and Belgium, many students found the training disorganized, too short, impractical, irrelevant, and given by inexperienced instructors. Many felt that students with civil government and technical backgrounds were a great benefit since they shared their expertise with everyone. Generally, students believed instruction should have devoted more time to Army procedures, Military Government policies, political and government subjects, and language proficiency. Lastly, the Army's blanket demobilization policy meant that hordes of extensively trained and experienced Civil Affairs personnel returned to the United States soon after VE Day, depriving Military Government of an essential asset.<sup>101</sup>

Historian Earl Ziemke concluded that the weakness in the Military Government training was "in the World War II interpretation of [the Hunt Report], which insisted on equal preparation at all levels

and resulted in overtraining, overorganization, and underemployment.”<sup>102</sup>

**SOMG at Carlisle, Pennsylvania for Occupation of Germany.** With the closure of the School of Military Government in Charlottesville in February 1946, the War Department established a new school in Carlisle, Pennsylvania in April 1946. The intent of the four-week course was to provide an estimated Civil Affairs officer replacements for Germany. However, the school was short-lived, closing after a few months, to the consternation of staff and faculty.<sup>103</sup>

While the War Department’s organization and training of Civil Affairs and Military Government personnel was prescient and prudent, it could not account for all the challenges and difficulties encountered as the war unfolded. Ultimately, the burden of dealing with immediate problems fell on the echelons of command as well as the Civil Affairs personnel. The invasion of Northwest Africa (Operation TORCH) would prove the first test.



## CHAPTER 2

### CIVIL AFFAIRS DURING THE NORTH AFRICAN CAMPAIGN (OPERATION TORCH)

Military Government activities differed significantly from campaign to campaign because of the unique set of circumstances in each occupied territory. Further, as the Allies gained more experience in Military Government, its roles and responsibilities expanded beyond the initial doctrine.

The Roosevelt administration rejected the implementation of Military Government in Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia for three reasons. First, Allied policy sought French cooperation and hence they would retain administrative control of civil government. Second, the reduced deployment of trained Civil Affairs personnel limited their activities to headquarters staff functions. Third, Roosevelt insisted that the State Department administer civil activities in French North Africa.

**French Retention of Civil Affairs.** For Operation TORCH, Eisenhower's Allied Force Headquarters (AFHQ) sought to win over Vichy French<sup>104</sup> authorities in North Africa to the Allied cause.<sup>105</sup> General Eisenhower's General Order No. 4, written by his Civil Affairs staff section, underscored this objective:

It is the desire of the President of the United States to secure and maintain the good will and friendship of the French people in this undertaking. Therefore, every effort must be made by all of our personnel in their dealings

with the French and native people, as is consistent with the military mission of the Commanding General and the Task and Assault Force commanders, to win over to the Allies the maximum support and co-operation, both active and passive, of the French and native military, naval, and air forces, civil administration, and the general public, and to cause a minimum disruption to their normal lives.<sup>106</sup>

General Order No. 4 further stipulated the intent to rely on the French administrative system and the employment of French personnel:

Maintain existing form of government in territories under control. Retain civil governments and officers and employees in present positions, so far as consistent with military mission and policy of commanding general. To supplant persons not in accord with war aims of U.S. and Ally with local personnel or with military personnel in event there is hostile action.<sup>107</sup>

The allied approach was pragmatic, rather than legalistic or altruistic. If the French viewed the invasion as the initial stage in liberating France from German occupation or dominance, then the Allies would not need to impose Military Government in North Africa.<sup>108</sup> Hence, the French would continue administering civil governance, ensuring the rear areas remained secure, while U.S. civilian agencies focused on economic issues.<sup>109</sup>

In order to gain a sensing of French attitudes regarding an American invasion of Morocco and Algeria, Roosevelt employed the services of Mr. Robert D. Murphy, a State Department diplomat with extensive political connections in the Vichy French government. After discussions with senior policy and military leaders in Washington D.C. in late August 1942, followed by similar discussions with Eisenhower and his staff in London, Murphy met with trustworthy French officials in Algeria to gain French cooperation for the military campaign. Accordingly, Murphy promised the United States would preserve French civil administration of the protectorates, and pay, equip, and supply French armed forces which joined the coalition, to include death benefits and pensions. He emphasized that the invasion forces would be under an American command and that General Charles de Gaulle's Free French forces would be excluded.<sup>110</sup> Murphy's French interlocutor, Major General George Mast (commander of the Algiers Division) over-optimistically responded that with U.S. military assistance, the French would provide eight infantry and two armored divisions, as well as various other independent armored, artillery, and supply units, within 30 days.<sup>111</sup>

Despite the hopes and desires of the Allies in North Africa, several political-military, social, and economic challenges complicated Civil Affairs implementation after the invasion. Gaining local Vichy French acceptance of the Allied invasion and cooperation against the Axis forces required someone of government authority. Vichy French officials and military officers regarded General de Gaulle as a traitor, so he was unacceptable. While General Henri Giraud was the Allies' preference, he lacked political authority from Marshal Philippe Petain, head of the

Vichy government. Vichy French military officers took an oath of allegiance to Petain, so when Giraud came ashore, the military ignored his pronouncements and continued to resist the invasion. Fortunately, Admiral Jean François Darlan, the commander in chief of all French and ranking official in the Petain government, was in Algiers having learned earlier that the Allies intended to invade Northwest Africa. After negotiations with Eisenhower, he ordered the military to stop fighting and join the Allies on 10 November. He also named Giraud as the commander of French forces in North Africa.<sup>112</sup>

While widely criticized at the time, Eisenhower's Darlan Deal was one of military necessity because it preempted the need to occupy North Africa with substantial ground forces under a Military Government.<sup>113</sup> As analyst Robert Komer pointed out:

The task of ruling over this vast area was complicated by a number of factors: the combination of native hierarchies and the French administrative system in the protectorates of Morocco and Tunisia; the warlike character of certain of the tribes and the potential antipathy of the Arab population in general; the coexistence in the area of a French population of a million and a half including French Army forces, and of the great Arab majority; the necessity of adjusting legislation to native institutions and customs; difficulties of transportation; and the general economic poverty of the region, necessitating the import of many raw materials, manufactured products, and food.<sup>114</sup>

Without French cooperation, the North African campaign would have required substantially more military forces to secure the lines of communication and rear areas, would have deprived the Allied forces of extant French forces for the Battle of Tunisia, and would have likely extended the campaign for months.<sup>115</sup>

**Allied Force Headquarters Civil Affairs Staff Section.** Regardless of French consent, Eisenhower was obligated to serve as the military governor. While he expected to exercise general supervision of Civil Affairs, it would not be completely *laissez faire*. "Military necessity might require the imposition of certain controls over the civilian population to the end that unrest or subversive activity would not hamper operations, that military requirements from local resources could be met, and that the responsibility of occupying armies under international law for the security of the civil population within their zone of operations would be fulfilled."<sup>116</sup>

The AFHQ Civil Affairs Staff Section comprised the recent graduates from the School of Military Government.<sup>117</sup> Because Robert Murphy was thoroughly familiar with Vichy North Africa, Roosevelt appointed him as the Chief Civil Administrator of the staff section to oversee the fulfillment of Civil Affairs policies and directives.<sup>118</sup> The remainder of the staff consisted of "an Assistant Chief Civil Administrator, a Military Assistant Civil Administrator, and the heads of seven specialist departments – Public Works, Utilities, and Communications; Fiscal; Legal; Economics; Public Safety; Public Health; and Public Welfare Religion, and Education." As Operation TORCH approached, the Civil Affairs Staff Section gradually increased to fifty officers or so.<sup>119</sup>

Since the invasions of Morocco and Algeria comprised three task forces, each had a Civil Affairs section assigned to assist task force commanders in their duties as military governors. In essence, they served “technical advisers” and when necessary, formed into Civil Affairs teams to conduct indirect governance of local civil communities:<sup>120</sup>

The civil affairs section of each task force was to consist of nine officers: a deputy civil administrator, an assistant civil administrator, and seven specialist officers of the same categories as in the AFHQ Section. Teams for the three task forces, as organized in October [1942], included a foreign service officer as deputy civil administrator and a military officer as assistant civil administrator. It was planned that in addition thirty-two American officers attached initially to the British for liaison during the landing at Algiers would later become available for civil duty with the Eastern Task Force [i.e., The British First Army under Lieutenant General Kenneth Anderson].<sup>121</sup>

As planned, Civil Affairs staff sections assumed a hands-off policy regarding “police and fire services, local welfare organizations, public health installations, public works, utilities . . . the communications and educational systems . . . [and] the local legal system.” As promised, the U.S. government paid “the salaries and pensions of French civil servants and military personnel.” The economic and tax systems remained unchanged, but the Civil Affairs Section Fiscal Department used a portion of revenues to offset military and government administration costs.<sup>122</sup>

**State Department Responsible for Civil Affairs Activities in French North Africa.** Seeking to optimize Allied efforts on the military campaign in Tunisia, Eisenhower welcomed Roosevelt's decision to have the State Department assume "over-all responsibility for nonmilitary matters in French North Africa, including control of the Allied economic program."<sup>123</sup> In fact, as Eisenhower expressed it, the sooner the separation of civil activities from military operations occurred, the happier he would be.<sup>124</sup>

Shortly after the invasion, Roosevelt directed the use of the Lend-Lease program, supervised by the State Department (i.e., Robert Murphy), for the provision of food and other essential items for the populace.<sup>125</sup> With the State Department now in the lead, Murphy completely reorganized the AFHQ Civil Affairs Staff Section into Political, Economic, and Military subsections. Relieved of Military Government activities, Civil Affairs personnel were sequestered to the Military subsection and only performed liaison duties related to the distribution of civilian supplies and local labor.<sup>126</sup>

The Political subsection comprised mostly Foreign Service personnel, who established diplomatic ties with French authorities, worked on political issues, monitored political refugees, reported on prisoner of war camps, and supervised U.S. consular offices.<sup>127</sup>

To coordinate Civil Affairs efforts in North Africa, the State Department established several offices, boards, and committees in Washington D.C.<sup>128</sup> State also dispatched officials from the "State Department, Office of Lend-Lease, Board of Economic Warfare, Treasury Department, War Shipping Administration, and

Department of Agriculture" to Murphy's Economic section.<sup>129</sup> Due to the unexpected poverty in the French territories, the North Africa Economic Board (NAEB) became the most important agency, serving "primarily as a means of coordinating civilian supply with the supply and transport requirements of military operations."<sup>130</sup> While French North Africa had always relied on imports to support its economy, treaty obligations to the Axis war effort and other factors caused acute shortages in grain and other goods, thereby placing greater demands on Allied economic assistance than anticipated.<sup>131</sup>

Nevertheless, a number of deficiencies marred the civilian agencies' Civil Affairs effort. In the American historical experience, civilian agencies had never conducted Civil Affairs in wartime; rather, "it had been the almost unvarying American practice to leave control of Civil Affairs in the hands of the military for a very long time." Neither the State Department nor the U.S. Government's Board of Economic Warfare had an operational function in military matters, meaning they were not organized, resourced, or trained to support military operations. "On the other hand, the Army had had experience in doing the thousand and one things that a government must do; it fed men, it housed them, it guarded their health, it operated camps larger than many cities, and it maintained courts and dispensed justice."<sup>132</sup>

The existing capacity of French officials to administer the civil government in North Africa in support of the military campaign proved wanting as Eisenhower pointed out to the Office of War Information: "There is a great paucity of qualified men to fill the highly specialized posts in the civilian administration

of Morocco and Algiers. America further fails to consider the importance of a continuing orderly civil administration to our military operations. Abrupt, sweeping or radical changes, bringing into office little known or unqualified administrators, could create serious difficulties for us."<sup>133</sup>

More alarming to Eisenhower was the inability of the Lend Lease Administration to provide essential supplies to the civilian economy, which could create tremendous political instability and endanger "the long unprotected communication line – approximately 1,500 miles, Casablanca to Tunisia – the security of which in large measure is dependent on local military forces and civilian population."<sup>134</sup> Hence, Eisenhower urged an increase of shipping to a minimum of 30,000 tons per month to meet civilian supply needs.<sup>135</sup> Even here, the Lend Lease Administration could not meet this monthly quota and the North Africa Economic Board lacked the resources to unload and transport civilian aid. Hence, the military had to devote more resources than anticipated from the theater supply distribution for civilian needs.<sup>136</sup>

In terms of unity of effort, the elevation of Murphy from Eisenhower's political advisor to manage the State Department Civil Affairs effort undermined the ability of AFHQ to exercise command and control. Murphy proved incapable of controlling the 17 different civilian agencies, which roved independently throughout the rear areas – confusion reigned.<sup>137</sup> Even if it tried, AFHQ would be unable to reign in "highly placed American civilians" since they fell outside the established military chain of command. As military historian Earl Ziemke points out, "in any case the Army would have to maneuver carefully among several important

and numerous lesser governmental agencies already entitled to a voice in the administration of occupied or liberated territory."<sup>138</sup> It is little wonder that an exasperated Eisenhower complained, "I am having as much trouble with civilian forces behind aiding us as I am with the enemy in front of us."<sup>139</sup>

Clearly, the poor management of Civil Affairs in North Africa by the Department of State, Department of Agriculture, Board of Economic Warfare and Lend Lease Administration did not bode well for the successful prosecution of the war effort.<sup>140</sup> Due to operational security concerns, the War Department and Joint Chiefs of Staff did not want the civilian Committee of Combined Boards (COB) conducting planning for Civil Affairs since it would know where the planned invasions would occur.<sup>141</sup>

However, despite the War Department's growing clamor in early 1943 to place Civil Affairs, particularly civilian supply, under military authority, its Military Government program was still in its infancy.<sup>142</sup> Moreover, Roosevelt remained attached to a civilian agency-lead in Civil Affairs. Consequently, the military began taking incremental steps to convince the Roosevelt Administration that Military Government activities were integral to military operations.

By January and February 1943, the Army resolved to provide for the welfare of the affected population in its future campaign planning.<sup>143</sup> In a 5 February 1943 discussion, Major General Lucius D. Clay (Assistant Chief of Staff for Materiel, Services of Supply) and Major General Allen W. Gullion (Provost Marshal General) concluded that since occupation of territory was an inherent military activity, then civilian supply in

a theater of operations was a de facto military activity. They agreed to convince Roosevelt of this reality.<sup>144</sup>

In a 3 April 1943 memorandum to Assistant Secretary of War John McCloy, Lieutenant General Brehon B. Somervell (War Department liaison to the State Department) explained,

You cannot separate the handling of civil affairs from military operations in areas in which military operations are under way, and that an attempt to do so in a hostile country would be disastrous. Each Theater Commander contemplating active operations should have a Civil Affairs Division under an experienced officer selected for his administrative qualities to act for the Theater Commander in all civil affairs. This division would plan in advance the administrative procedure to be established in an occupied country, the supplies which must be brought into the country at an early date, and the staff which must be assembled to handle these affairs after occupation.<sup>145</sup>

Consequently, the Joint Chiefs of Staff rejected the role of civilian agencies in the planning and implementation of Civil Affairs, especially with economic and supply matters, since the occupation of enemy territory was a military operation under the authority of the theater commander. The Joint Chiefs of Staff wished to avoid a "dual chain of command" between "independent civilian agencies" and the military command, which would force the theater commander (i.e., the military governor) to report to a civilian chief in addition to the military chief. Moreover, civilian agency officials might experience "dual allegiance," with their agency

receiving priority over the theater commander's authority. To prepare for the anticipated transfer of responsibility from Military Government to civilian agencies, the Allies established in July 1943 the Combined Civil Affairs Committee, which conducted combined Civil Affairs planning and administration and coordinated American and British Civil Affairs activities.<sup>146</sup>

**CHAPTER 3**  
**CIVIL AFFAIRS DURING THE SICILY**  
**CAMPAIGN**  
**(OPERATION HUSKY)**

**Organizing for the Civil Affairs Mission**

For the implementation of Military Government in Sicily, AFHQ established on 1 May 1943 the Allied Military Government of Occupied Territory (AMGOT), which established an executive staff and a planning staff, recruited Civil Affairs officers, and ran the Military Government school in Algeria. AMGOT's planning staff was responsible for preparing the operational plan for Military Government. As the ground commander of the Fifteenth Army Group (U.S. Seventh Army and UK Eighth Army), General Sir Harold R. L. C. Alexander served as the Military Governor of Sicily, responsible to General Eisenhower as the administrator for occupied territory. Alexander appointed British Major General Lord Rennell as Chief Civil Affairs Officer and American Brigadier General Frank J. McSherry as the Deputy Chief of AMGOT.<sup>147</sup>

On 18 June 1943, AFHQ established the Military Government Staff (MGS) section under U.S. Colonel Julius C. Holmes and U.K. Lieutenant Colonel A. T. Maxwell as his deputy. The Military Government Staff served as Eisenhower's executive section for Military Government and political issues related to military operations. It served to provide "direction and coordination of Military Government planning

for future operations,” advice on civil affairs policy development, directives for subordinate headquarters civil affairs staffs.<sup>148</sup>

As the Chief Civil Affairs Officer (CCAO), Major General Rennell served as Alexander’s principal Civil Affairs adviser and Chief of AMGOT. Assisted by his deputy (McSherry), Rennell supervised the activities of the Civil Affairs staff section organized into “six specialist divisions—Legal, Finance and Accounting, Civilian Supply, Public Health, Enemy Property, and Public Safety.” The staffers advised Rennell and McSherry on issues which arose in their fields of expertise, as well as serving as technical advisers to the subordinate echelons of Civil Affairs staffs.<sup>149</sup>

The Fifteenth Army Group’s U.S. Seventh Army and UK Eighth Army each had a Senior Civil Affairs Officer (SCAO) to supervise the activities of the Civil Affairs Officers (CAO) in the field. Civil Affairs Officers did not command full-fledged Military Government detachments as envisioned later for Northwest Europe. Rather, they led small detachments of Civil Affairs personnel into towns and often operated by themselves initially.<sup>150</sup> Personnel requirements for the various headquarters Civil Affairs staff sections and CAO detachments were 390 officers and 469 enlisted soldiers. Additionally, Civil Police Officers, presumably from the military police, augmented CAO detachments to supervise local carabinieri. By arrangement, the Seventh Army would comprise two-thirds American and one-third British Civil Affairs personnel, and conversely for the Eighth Army. Until the Chief of Civil Affairs Officer established AMGOT in Sicily, the chain of command from the Military Governor to Civil Affairs Officers would run through

the tactical units. Thereafter, the Senior Civil Affairs Officers would establish headquarters in each of the provinces and supervise the CAO detachments.<sup>151</sup>

## **Planning and Preparations**

As a point of interest, the White House provided no policy guidance, so the Combined Chiefs of Staff (CCS) and the War Department provided guidance with input from the State and Treasury departments.<sup>152</sup>

The Civil Affairs objectives were to prevent civil unrest in order to protect the lines of communication and to control the spread of disease in order to preserve the health of troops.<sup>153</sup> Civil affairs tasks included the “Feeding the civilian population . . . Health of the civilian population . . . Housing for the civilian population . . . Maintenance of order and security . . . Acquisition of raw materials available . . . [and] Restoration of civil control over the area in question.” The AFHQ Civil Affairs staff section would supervise the execution of these tasks through the Military Government detachments. Ideally, these activities would maximize available combat power to the front, create stability in the rear areas, and promote efficient government in cooperation with military objectives.<sup>154</sup> As the Combined Chiefs of Staff stressed, “The first objective of the Military Government must be to create a smoothly functioning local government to relieve the Allied CinC [Commander-in-Chief] of any anxiety regarding the civilian population.”<sup>155</sup> Accordingly, the Army Service Forces under Major General Lucius Clay was responsible for the provision and stockpiling of “food, clothing, medical and sanitary supplies, shelter, barter goods, engineering equipment and such other items as may be required to meet essential civilian needs” for 90 days after D-Day.<sup>156</sup>

In accordance with Civil Affairs doctrine, training guidelines, and higher headquarters directives, CAO detachments were to administer indirectly and “benevolently,” that is supervising governance through local officials. Major General Rennell judged that local officials would enjoy greater cooperation with subordinates than Civil Affairs officials. Supervision would also provide an “opportunity to guide and improve the civil service and to encourage democratic local government.” In those cases where local officials were removed because they were Fascists, incompetent, or corrupt, civil servants would view their removal as an opportunity for advancement. Direct rule, on the other hand, would frustrate these opportunities, require the discharge of most civil servants, and leave the local governments unprepared to govern once the Allies withdrew.<sup>157</sup> Hence, other than the eradication of Fascism, the plan meant to preserve the existing “political, economic, social, and legal” structures.<sup>158</sup>

Also in accordance with Civil Affairs doctrine and international law, AMGOT prepared theater commander proclamations for local populace awareness. As Robert Komer explained, the effort included “proclamations defining war crimes and crimes against the Military Government, creating Allied military courts, annulling Fascist laws, dissolving the Fascist party, and promulgating general police and security regulations. Another series dealt with economic matters: currency, banks, exchange rates, wage and price ceilings, rationing, food collection, taxation, property control, and commerce.”<sup>159</sup> These proclamations had the benefit of dismissing rumors, countering enemy propaganda, reassuring the people regarding the intent of occupation, and establishing control measures on the population.<sup>160</sup> One shortfall of

the proclamations was a failure to manage expectations, which Allied propaganda had inadvertently raised to unrealistic levels.

As noted earlier, General Clay's Army Service Forces would provide food for the first 90 days until AMGOT restored the local economy or civilian agencies assumed responsibility. Planners assumed that local communities would remain self-sufficient with basic food requirements, especially in wheat, which accounted for sixty percent of Sicilian consumption. The chief concern was supplying food to the cities of Palermo, Catania, and Messina, particularly if the transportation system broke down.<sup>161</sup> To foster self-sufficiency in local communities, Civil Affairs staffs and Military Government detachments would *assist* with agricultural production, utilizing existing commodities and markets to the fullest extent. Hence, "direct relief" would be used only if "absolutely imperative." AMGOT was to take harsh measures against black marketers and hoarders. Finally, AMGOT would acquire available "strategic materials" needed for the prosecution of the war effort.<sup>162</sup>

AMGOT's Financial Division would supplant the central Bank of Rome with the Allied Military Financial Agency functioning as the banking institution. AMGOT would close all banks immediately, seize all "gold and foreign securities and currencies," and introduce invasion currency (with a fixed exchange rate to the Lire) before encouraging banks to reopen as quickly as possible. While keeping the basic tax system in place, AMGOT would need to control inflation, so it would increase taxes, revamp the tax system, institute price controls and rationing, and control wages. Further, AMGOT would control "all utilities and government monopolies, together with their resources."<sup>163</sup>

## Civil Affairs in Action

In the Seventh Army sector, 17 Civil Affairs personnel under the Senior Civil Affairs Officer (Colonel Charles A. Poletti), accompanied the headquarters of tactical units that invaded on D-Day (10 July) and D+1. As the front lines advanced, CAOs peeled off to their assigned areas of occupation. However, the second wave of 62 Civil Affairs personnel did not arrive until 28 July, so the initial Civil Affairs contingent was spread thin by the extent of occupied territory. In contrast, the Eighth Army sector took a different approach. 30 Civil Affairs personnel under group Captain C. E. Benson arrived over a three day period after the invasion and remained with the army and division headquarters in the rear area until dispatched forward. 50 more Civil Affairs personnel arrived over the next two weeks to assume their Military Government responsibilities. By the end of the Sicily campaign, over 250 Civil Affairs officers were involved in the Military Government.<sup>164</sup>

The gap between Civil Affairs planning assumptions and the reality on the ground was astounding. Upon arrival to their assigned sectors, CAOs found the towns utterly devastated by aerial bombings, artillery fire, and ground combat—chaos and paralysis were the predominate products:

In many towns there had been so much destruction by bombardment and shell fire and the people so frightened and paralyzed that no local administration existed. . . . There was no government, no police, no food supply, no water, no electric light, no transportation and no organized medical service. . . . Officials and populace alike seemed to be unable to do anything to help themselves. When told what

they ought to do by the military government personnel, they were perfectly willing to comply.<sup>165</sup>

One CAO found that “the City hall had been looted, tax receipts destroyed, ration cards torn. The city treasury had been bombed; all tax books, etc., lay in a pile of rubble. The City Hall itself was in shambles! Records, archives, papers scattered all over.”<sup>166</sup> Like other CAOs discovered, this officer realized he needed to improvise and establish priorities: “First things first. . . . No water—epidemic; no food—riots; corpses—plague! I decided to bury the corpses first.”<sup>167</sup> Hence, the adage drilled into SOMG students, “Bury the dead and feed the living” became the watchword for Civil Affairs officers.<sup>168</sup> Generally, Civil Affairs Officers established a set of immediate procedures upon entering a town:

- They established their headquarters in city hall, the former Fascist party headquarters, or some other prominent building with a U.S. or UK flag displayed.
- They posted the theater commander and military governor’s proclamations and orders at the headquarters, and they ordered town officials to post copies at customary announcement locations.
- They promptly abolished all Fascist organizations and annulled discrimination laws.
- They talked with local religious leaders to discuss pressing issues in the town, people of interest, and suitable candidates for government positions.

- They dismissed Fascist officials and interviewed the remaining town officials, explaining the essential elements of military government and their expectations of them. They then ordered them to continue their duties, and warned them that job retention depended on good cooperation. Except in extreme circumstances, *they only supervised civil activities, that is, governing indirectly.*
- They ordered town officials to consolidate all available civilian transportation into a pool for grain collection, shipment of food, and movement of dead.
- They informed town officials of the fixing of commodity prices (as existed the day prior to the invasion) and established food rationing.
- They directed the chief of police (i.e., carabinieri) to reestablish order and public safety, to include: provide police organization charts; cooperate with the military; prevent looting; post police guards at banks, post offices, insurance offices, and food storage points; assist the injured; search ruins to recover and bury the dead, and mark unexploded ordinance. If the police chief was unavailable or unacceptable (i.e., dead, fled, or Fascist), CAOs appointed the deputy chief.
- They directed the police and military police (when available) to collect civilian weapons, issue receipts, and maintain records on the owners.

- They instructed the town criers to announce an amnesty period of 24 hours for residents to turn in pilfered items to the police.
- They appointed an official to identify available food in nearby locales and draw on the transportation pool to distribute food where needed.
- They ordered the local health official to establish first-aid stations and provide them with an inventory of medical supplies.
- They directed the community engineer to inspect the water supplies and organize local labor for rubble clearance and road repairs on military routes.
- They visited banks, post offices, and insurance offices, closing them down, and placing under Allied control all currency and gold, records, and equipment.
- They provided funds from the banks to the appropriate officials to pay the standard salary for local labor (e.g., rubble clearance, road repair, and burials).
- Before departing for the next town, they explained to the town officials to expect the arrival of a “rear echelon civil affairs officer” to continue supervision of their town functions.<sup>169</sup>

At the end of the Sicily campaign, Eighth Army CAOs provided insights on the “Art of Governance:”

- “Talk to the population in extremely short and simple sentences.”
- “Inquire from time to time from people on the street how various things are in the town, as the people on whom the civil affairs officer relies may be unreliable and may try to take advantage of him.”
- “Scrutinize all complaints very carefully because complainers are opportunists.”
- “Build up the prestige of the local police force as quickly as possible. It is particularly desirable to get into the town early in order to keep them armed and to protect them from the possibilities of insults in the early stages.”
- “Irrespective of the confusion adherent [inherent] in the situation, it is of great value to have the personnel well and neatly attired.”
- “If it is found that the Chief of an office, such as the police, is corrupt and has to be removed, it is generally true that his subordinates are also corrupt and will have to be removed or closely watched.”
- “Don’t make promises to the population unless you are quite sure you can fulfill them.”
- “Impress upon the public officials that AMGOT does not come to take over the work of governing, but to supervise and direct the local people in that work.”<sup>170</sup>

For an excellent portrayal of a Civil Affairs officer in action, John Hersey's Pulitzer Prize winning novel, *A Bell for Adano*, is commendable. The main character, Major Victor Joppolo, epitomizes those leadership and personality traits that Civil Affairs training emphasized.<sup>171</sup>

### **Problems Experienced in the Civil Affairs Effort**

Throughout the campaign, Allied tactical units remained "ignorant of the purpose and existence of civil government."<sup>172</sup> Consequently, combat units frequently interfered with Civil Affairs activities, undermining the Civil Affairs mission. For example, some units disarmed the local police, which CAOs had directed to provide order and public safety. Other units released all inmates from prison without regard to their status. The Counter Intelligence Corps and the Field Security Police failed to release police records on criminals to Allied Military Government (AMG), the successor to AMGOT. Still more units conducted wanton damage to towns after occupation. Chief Civil Affairs Officer Major General Rennell recommended that for future campaigns, AMG inform tactical commands of the purpose and activities of Civil Affairs detachments as well as providing awareness to soldiers of expected behavior during occupation.<sup>173</sup>

Rennell argued that because the Seventh Army and Eighth Army headquarters staffs overly focused on combat operations at the expense of governance, AMG headquarters arrived late in Sicily and did not begin operations until 10 August, barely a week before the end of the campaign. The staffs also reserved priority of deployment almost exclusively to tactical units, so CAOs could not quickly establish security in the rear

areas. The resulting chaos which reigned in the rear areas convinced tactical commanders that the early introduction of Civil Affairs officers was imperative.<sup>174</sup>

With the exception of D-Day in the U.S. sector, CAOs were not attached to tactical units prior to the invasion, frustrating any early coordination and cooperation of tactical and Civil Affairs activities. CAOs did not accompany tactical units into towns and therefore could not help tactical commanders with civilian control and assistance. Until CAOs could restore order with the local police, tactical commanders were forced to divert soldiers for police tasks. CAOs did not have assigned transportation, "clerks, interpreters, and security to perform their duties;" nor did they have emergency medical supplies and equipment for civilians, who had to wait until local authorities set up medical facilities. CAOs also lacked preprinted "police arm bands, special police identity cards, vehicle permit cards and special passes for after curfew hours" to help them establish order. Once tactical units moved onward, CAOs had no access to subsistence rations. CAOs did not have priority of communications with higher command, thereby preventing timely coordination of Civil Affairs. Of all these deficiencies, the lack of transportation had the most serious impact on Civil Affairs activities since CAOs could not deliver civilian supplies from Allied stocks.<sup>175</sup>

The issue of civilian supplies, especially food, remained acute throughout the occupation of Sicily. Several factors disordered the Allied plan for food rationing (i.e., bread and pasta) and the control of inflation. A drought resulted in a poor harvest and the destruction of crops during military operations caused a grain shortage. Allied units commandeered all civilian

transportation (including mules and carts), which farmers, millers, and bakers needed for “amassment” (grain collection) and marketing. Farmers contributed to the food crisis by withholding the sale of grain at the fixed market prices for the more profitable black market prices – a practice which farmers had perfected after twenty years of Fascist mismanagement and corruption. The military’s relinquishing of civilian vehicles was a slow process, so AMG organized a centralized transportation pool, and SCAOs also formed provincial motor pools. To combat black marketing, AMGOT issued travel permits and set up checkpoints along commerce routes. Additionally, military courts severely punished those convicted of black marketing.<sup>176</sup>

The policy of Defascization resulted in few practical difficulties because the vast majority of Fascist officials had fled.<sup>177</sup> However, after more than two decades of centralized Fascist rule, local officials were accustomed to simply following orders from above and lacked the initiative to take responsibility.<sup>178</sup> Under these circumstances, the temptation for CAOs to take complete control was compelling. AMG warned CAOs to adhere to the principle of indirect governance to prevent local officials from overwhelming them with permissions to act and not taking responsibility, thereby creating an unhealthy dependence on Allied rule. One CAO noted the insidious way in which Italians “twine themselves around you and become a part of you.”<sup>179</sup>

AMG’s concerns were well founded since overzealous CAOs did become susceptible to illness due to overwork and fatigue.<sup>180</sup> Moreover, in those cases in which CAOs assumed too much responsibility, progress stalled and

difficulties accumulated. In contrast, the more CAOs placed responsibility on local officials, the faster local government progressed.<sup>181</sup>

AMG empathized with the CAO's plight of finding competent and cooperative officials, advising that they retain as many officials as practical and then replace those unsuitable slowly over time.<sup>182</sup> AMG also devised a questionnaire to help CAOs identify competent, non-Fascist civil servants and office holders.<sup>183</sup> The goal of maintaining existing administration achieved positive results. "Prominent officials and persons" served to advise CAOs and mayors. Enlisting private people, businessmen, and priests in the effort to "restore normal conditions especially in heavily damaged areas" also proved effective. "Retaining the Carabinieri as the nucleus of a local police force throughout the island and of allowing them to retain their uniforms and rifles (but not their revolvers)" quickly restored public safety and order. Senior Carabinieri officers cooperated in transferring or interring unsatisfactory police officers. While a great deal of looting and crime occurred early, the work of the Carabinieri through arrest restored government authority.<sup>184</sup>

While the Sicilians welcomed the Allies as liberators, over time resentment grew as a result of Allied propaganda raising expectations beyond reality. Food and other shortages in commodities were the main contributors to Sicilian perceptions of "false promises." Additionally, the undisciplined behavior of and ill-treatment by Allied soldiers soured Sicilian attitudes.<sup>185</sup> The implications on civilian morale suggested that CAOs manage expectations as part of their initial announcements and place towns off-limits to soldiers when military necessity was no longer a factor.

CAOs did not have the requisite financial and accounting skills to assist local government, so Finance Officers were needed in CAO teams. The financial and economic situation in Sicily did not improve until AMG established its headquarters in Palermo in early August. Thereafter, Finance Officers from the Allied Military Financial Agency provided loans to Sicilian banks, which reopened on 6 September. Finance Officers provided funds for local governments to pay the salaries of civil servants, firemen, policemen, and health officials as well as for other labor expenditures. Finance Officers also advanced funds to “amassing agents” to purchase grain, and they unlocked the baking accounts of millers and bakers ahead of the official reopening of the banks. In this manner, AMG jumpstarted both the economy and government.<sup>186</sup>

The public health situation was generally good, with sufficient medical supplies available until the end of year. AMG released military doctors from prisoner of war camps and urged civilian doctors to reopen their medical practices. AMG established preventive medicine programs to prevent epidemics, particularly venereal disease, malaria and typhoid. Lastly, AMG assisted displaced people, refugees, and children with food, shelter, and emergency medical care.<sup>187</sup> In November, AMG’s Order Number 9 established “the autonomous Provincial Departments of Public Health, with power to control and co-ordinate all organizations and materials concerned with the administration of public health within their particular provinces.” This initiative created greater centralization of the public health sector, including the “purchase and distribution of medical supplies.”<sup>188</sup>

AMG's legal officers swiftly restored Sicily's judicial system, vetting judicial officials and supervising the reopening of criminal courts on 19 August. In the interim, U.S. military courts focused on civilian offenses against Allied forces. A select committee of senior Italian judicial officials oversaw the establishment of the new Italian court system, including an "independent and democratic Bar Association." By the end of October, all criminal and civil courts were operating throughout Sicily.<sup>189</sup>

Between August and October, AMG officials supervised the resumption of telephone exchanges and post offices, including the mail service, with Italian personnel running these services.<sup>190</sup>

### **Civil Affairs Policy Changes Due to Wartime Realities**

Much to the frustration of the military, the transition of civilian supply to civilian agencies never materialized. Initial planning called for civilian agencies to assume responsibility for civilian supply three months after occupation. In reality, the military retained this responsibility throughout the war.<sup>191</sup> Moreover, this frustration extended to all areas of civil administration. While the White House and the War Department expected the U.S. Office of Foreign Economic Coordination and the Area Director Plan to assume responsibility for Civil Affairs at some point, the enterprise failed due to the lack of funding, an unwillingness to engage in interagency coordination, and an inability to ascertain the jurisdiction of the State Department. Further, the devastation of Sicily posed significant problems in acquiring office space, vehicles, and accommodations as well as procuring civilian relief supplies, resulting in the cancellation of

the Area Director Plan. Hence, the Army “received the assignment, and indeed a much larger mission in other Civil Affairs matters, simply by default.”<sup>192</sup>

According to historians Harry Coles and Albert Weinberg, the Sicily campaign and indeed beyond dispelled the notion that civilian agencies would assume the responsibilities of Civil Affairs, even in the post conflict phase: “The Army erred rather greatly on the side of underestimation. It did not foresee that in all major areas it would be compelled to carry the burden till virtually the conclusion of hostilities, that civilian agencies would be able to share the operative burden only in relatively small measure, that restored governments would cause complications largely offsetting their assistance, that the Army would be compelled to manage civilian relief in nonoperational as well as operational areas . . . that for years after the conclusion of active hostilities military governors would be unable to extricate themselves from Germany, Austria, Japan, and Korea.”<sup>193</sup>

In a 2 August 1943 cable to the Combined Chiefs of Staff, Eisenhower expressed his fixed views on the subject of civilian agencies conducting Civil Affairs operations:

The entire matter of civilian supply, economic developments, et cetera, would be handled by the Allied Military Government and that civilian agencies would not have anything to do with the territory until requested by the C in C [Eisenhower]. . . . It is our opinion that the civilian agencies or a team representing civilian agencies should not be called into enemy territory so long as operations continue therein

or so long as that territory is used as a base for other operations or until Military Government that is the suspension of local sovereignty, ends. It is not believed that Military Government and an organized team representing the civilian agencies can be mixed and have efficiency. To do so would duplicate personnel and complicate administration especially with respect to shipping and supply. During the period of Military Government we should like to be able to call on the technical services of any department or agency of either government to provide consultants or advisors on specific problems. These persons, however, should be considered as experts and not as representatives of their departments or agencies.<sup>194</sup>

President Roosevelt finally relented. The Sicily campaign, as well as the early stages of the Italian campaign, "convinced him that for good or ill the armed forces must have the administrative responsibility in all military theaters."<sup>195</sup> Confiding with Secretary of State Cordell Hull, Roosevelt put the issue to rest: "The thought that the occupation [of France, and most likely Germany] when it occurs should be wholly military is one to which I am increasingly inclined."<sup>196</sup>

## CHAPTER 4

### CIVIL AFFAIRS DURING THE ITALIAN CAMPAIGN

In a 19 July 1943 cable to the Combined Chiefs of Staff, Eisenhower's stated objectives were to eliminate Italy from the war and restore a democratic government to Italy. He anticipated several developments: that Germany would support the Fascist government to keep it in the war, so German and residual Italian forces would continue fighting; that Benito Mussolini's Fascist government would locate farther north, depriving liberated territory of government administration; and that the Allies would need to establish Military Government as the Allies liberated southern Italy up to and including Rome.<sup>197</sup>

Soon afterwards, a political opportunity arose, which promised substantial benefits for the Allied cause. On 25 July 1943, Italian King Victor Immanuel III dismissed and held Prime Minister Mussolini in captivity, appointing Marshal Pietro Badoglio in his stead. Secret and exhausting negotiations between the Badoglio government and Allied authorities ensued, resulting in an agreement for an armistice (not a surrender) and a declaration of war (belatedly on 13 October 1943) on Germany *once the Allies invaded Italy*.<sup>198</sup>

Italy's status as a co-belligerent was anything but clear-cut and straightforward. When the Allies invaded Italy in early September, the German military under the command of Field Marshal Kesselring reacted promptly, contesting southern Italy and dashing

Eisenhower's designs for a quick liberation. The Badoglio government fled to Allied controlled Brindisi, but it comprised only a handful of officials—the vast majority of Italian ministries remained in Rome—so, the Badoglio government had no capacity to administer liberated territory.<sup>199</sup> After the Germans rescued him, Mussolini installed a puppet government (the Italian Social Republic) in the north. Several dozen Italian divisions in German controlled territory surrendered in mass to the Germans, with about 600,000 Italian prisoners of war transported to labor camps. The Germans also seized tons of weapons, equipment, and supplies, as well as transportation and merchant ships, for their own use.<sup>200</sup>

In essence, the Germans controlled the wealthier portions of Italy while the Allies controlled the impoverished south.<sup>201</sup> Thus, despite initial hopes, the Allied command would need to administer national governance over Italian territory under an Armistice Control Authority—but publicly avoided the term “Military Government.”<sup>202</sup>

The Allies anticipated that once they liberated Rome, the Badoglio government would assume governance responsibilities.<sup>203</sup> The Armistice Control Commission would supervise the administration of the Badoglio government, assigning designated staff sections to the ministries. At some point in the future, the Armistice Control Commission would relieve the Allied command of Military Government responsibilities, assigning “control officers” to each province. The headquarters staff of AMG regional headquarters would serve as “troubleshooters.”<sup>204</sup>

## Planning and Preparations

While Eisenhower did not make the decision to invade Italy with the Fifteenth Army Group until 18 July 1943, the AMG staff continued planning and preparations in anticipation of occupation requirements. At the time, whether Italy would continue as an Axis partner, the extent of Italian governing capabilities if it switched sides, and the German reaction were unknowns, but AMG drew on the experiences gained in Sicily, to forecast manpower requirements for the occupation of southern Italy, including Rome.<sup>205</sup>

For the implementation of the Civil Affairs plan, AMG divided Italy into regional headquarters, with each region comprising several provinces, as Robert Komer recounted:

Region I (Sicily), Region II (Calabria, Lucania, Apulia), Region III (Campania), Region IV (Abruzzi and Lazio), Region V (Umbria and Marzia), Region VI (Sardinia), and Region VII, the Italian capital. The last would be the national headquarters designed to supervise the entire national as well as regional administration.<sup>206</sup>

The AFGH Military Government Staff (MGS), under Lieutenant General Julius Holmes, estimated that 1,490 Civil Affairs personnel would be needed for the occupation of southern Italy: 205 (Region I); 195 (Region II); 138 (Region III); 300 (Region IV); 135 (Region V); 100 (Region VI); and 417 Region VII). The personnel for Region II would come from Sicily. The national distribution of manpower for Civil Affairs personnel would comprise two-thirds American and one-third British.<sup>207</sup> For the occupation of Italy in its entirety,

MGS calculated that 2,176 Civil Affairs personnel would be needed to administer the nine regions (1,759 for the regions and 417 for the headquarters). In turn the Armistice Control Authority would comprise 1,317 personnel: 1,073 provincial control officers and 244 staff personnel.<sup>208</sup>

The Civil Affairs personnel earmarked for the UK Eighth Army invasion of Italy (Region II) came mostly from the pool in Sicily.<sup>209</sup> The 3 September 1943 invasion of Calabria (Operation BAYTOWN) included 45 Civil Affairs personnel with assigned vehicles, arriving over a three-day period. The remainder deployed as the front advanced.<sup>210</sup>

The Civil Affairs contingent earmarked for the U.S. Fifth Army (Region III) came from the Tizi Ouzou, Algeria training and holding center along with a small core of veteran Civil Affairs personnel from Sicily. Many of its officers were School of Military Government (SOMG) graduates, and subsequent contingents were graduates of the Civil Affairs Training Program (CATP), both of which commanded many of the Civil Affairs detachments. With their full complement of equipment drawn from Algeria, Civil Affairs teams landed at Salerno and Paestum (operation AVALANCHE) on 9 September. By 21 September, the Region III headquarters staff had arrived. Due to the ferocity of the German ripostes, Fifth Army's breakout of the beachhead and advance northward was delayed, preventing military Region III headquarters and Military Government detachments from administering their assigned territory. However, rather than marking time in the beachhead, Civil Affairs detachments went forth to available towns and gained experience until their areas came open.<sup>211</sup>

As exercised in Sicily, Fifteenth Army Group Commander General Alexander would be the military governor of occupied Italy. As the front advanced and the rear areas stabilized, AFHQ would transfer administrative responsibilities to the Armistice Control Commission/Badoglio government.<sup>212</sup> Once the Allies liberated Naples, AMG would relocate its headquarters in the vicinity of the city.<sup>213</sup>

AFHQ Military Government Staff's medical and nutritional sections estimated that about 2.4 million Italians south of Rome would require supplemental rations for the first 90 days and 1.6 million Italians for the second 90 days, in order to meet the minimum subsistence of 2,000 calories per person per day. To alleviate Allied shipping shortages, the supply planners sought to maximize the use of local resources.<sup>214</sup>

The MGS Finance Section planned to continue the financial policies from Sicily for Italy with the exception of using Allied Military lire in place of the U.S. Yellow Seal dollars and British Military Authority notes.<sup>215</sup>

As in Sicily, CAOs were to implement defascization policies to the greatest extent possible. They were to remove immediately all Fascist party leaders from civil administration positions but retain Fascist party members serving in important posts if their removal would result in a breakdown in government administration. AMG provided guidelines to allow CAOs sufficient latitude for retaining or removing officials: replace ardent Fascist officials in provinces with subordinates under CAO supervision; retain pro-Fascist civil servants, including mayors, if they remain cooperative; demobilize Fascist militias and

abolish the wearing of party and military uniforms; treat militia serving in a military capacity as prisoners of war; retain militia members working on “docks, railways and communications” pending good behavior; retain Carabinieri pending good behavior and treat uncooperative Carabinieri as prisoners of war; retain all other policemen pending good behavior; lastly, “It should be made clear to all administrative officials that their continuation is solely on the basis of satisfactory co-operation, performance and behavior. Officials whose performance is not satisfactory should be discharged and their pay will then cease. If they are influential and considered dangerous or suspect they should be apprehended.”<sup>216</sup>

As the invasion of Italy commenced, AMG provided additional guidance: “Where it is obvious that local officials are cordially disliked and mistrusted by the population, C.A.O.’s should take immediate steps to replace them. There appears to have been some misunderstanding in this matter, and C.A.O.’s, in some cases, appear to be under the impression that unless otherwise instructed they should retain the sitting mayor. They should, however, before recommending to me the removal of any mayor, have a candidate ready to replace him.”<sup>217</sup>

### **Civil Affairs in Action**

The combination of combat operations, German use of scorched earth and the departure of Fascist officials severely strained the resources of Civil Affairs detachments and substantially delayed the planned transfer of administrative responsibility to the Armistice Control Commission/Badoglio government. Irrespective of the Defascization policy,

Lieutenant General Holmes observed that “with the departure of the Fascist Party which has made the thing tick for twenty years, we shall find a dilapidated and creaking machine. . . . We shall probably have to give a substantial amount of direct assistance for some time to come.”<sup>218</sup>

The inability of the Armistice Control Commission/Badoglio government to administer governance upended the Civil Affairs plan for regional administration, meaning too few Civil Affairs personnel were available to take up the slack. Further, the devastation of the Italian infrastructure and transportation delayed the movement of sufficient Civil Affairs personnel to newly liberated towns. Lieutenant General Holmes (AFHQ MGS Chief) concluded that more Civil Affairs personnel were needed quickly.<sup>219</sup> The already strained Civil Affairs resources worsened when Fifth Army doubled in size as the fighting intensified, meaning the number of Civil Affairs personnel needed to coordinate with divisions would need to double as well. In light of the emergency, newly arrived Civil Affairs personnel lacked experience and the existing experienced Civil Affairs officers were spread thin.<sup>220</sup>

The port of Naples was essential to supplying 15<sup>th</sup> Army Group, and its devastation was indicative of the German practice of scorched earth. Upon liberating the port on 1 October 1943, the Allies recognized that the Germans would use any stratagem, irrespective of the laws of land warfare and morality, to gain a military advantage. Retreating German soldiers destroyed water reservoirs, sewer mains, pumping stations, viaducts, electric works, telephone exchanges, industrial factories, warehouses, and hotels. They

removed all food supplies and all transportation (i.e., vehicles, buses, trains, etc.). They planted time delayed explosives in buildings to terrorize civilians and Allied soldiers. Further, they blocked the harbors by sinking ships and damaged the railyards. In addition to repairing the damage, the Civil Affairs would need to care for the approximately 600,000 citizens.<sup>221</sup>

According to historian Rick Atkinson, Army engineers began immediate repairs, clearing the harbor of sunken ships, clearing the streets of rubble, and restoring the port facilities. Italian submarines supplied electricity for “pumping stations, hospitals, and flour mills,” and the sewage system was functioning by December 1943. Due to these tireless efforts, “within three months Naples would claim more tonnage handled than New York harbor.”<sup>222</sup>

AMG rushed in water purification supplies and posted notices and warnings in newspapers for citizens to adopt sanitary measures. AMG medical doctors conducted inspections looking for evidence of potential epidemics.<sup>223</sup> In February 1944, a Typhus epidemic erupted in Naples and parts of southern Italy due to crowded conditions, principally air raid shelters. Because of the risk to Allied troops, AMG Medical Services requested the delivery of DDT louse powder and coordinated with the U.S. Typhus Commission for prevention and immunization. The U.S. Typhus Commission assumed responsibility of Typhus control on 2 January 1944, establishing DDT delousing stations, organizing fact-finding services with Italian doctors and priests, creating mobile disinfection teams for homes and businesses, setting up dusting stations on streets, immunizing key personnel (e.g., medical personnel, police, priests, etc.), and

restricting troop access to Naples. By 20 February 1944, the epidemic was under control, and responsibility passed to the Armistice Control Commission, Public Health Subcommittee. In light of the health crisis, AMG medical personnel now possessed the authority to take preventive measures against potential health threats.<sup>224</sup> Due to the threat of starvation, quite a few Italian women turned to prostitution which of course led to a rash of venereal disease cases for troops.<sup>225</sup>

Aside from Naples, throughout the liberated areas in southern Italy, the problems besetting the Civil Affairs mission presented no quick or easy solutions. As Coles and Weinberg noted:

What was not foreseen was the degree to which, in Italy, war damage alone would bring the Italian economy to the brink of disaster. Even a minimum rehabilitation program presented a problem of staggering proportions. Allied bombings and the far more destructive German demolitions had reduced the Italian economy to a shambles. Industrial plants had been destroyed or damaged; transport and communications systems had been disrupted; agricultural machinery and farm animals had largely been seized by the retreating armies. Moreover, in their efforts to make the country as useless as possible as a base of operations the Germans had laid their knives at the jugular vein of the Italian economy: the hydroelectric system on which, since Italy is lacking in coal, 90 percent of the industrial system depended. Earlier efforts at recovery had to be made amidst active military operations, which compelled the Allied forces to hang on to such supplies, transportation,

and machinery as were available, as well as the relatively few large industrial buildings that remained intact. The physical devastation, bad as it was, was not as bad as the evils that came in its wake. Invasion, only the last in a train of misfortunes, led to a general shortage of basic commodities, serious inflation, and a shakiness in the financial position both of private banking and of the government.<sup>226</sup>

The food crisis in Sicily and Italy remained particularly acute. Assumptions on food supply proved inaccurate due to poor statistics. As experienced in Sicily, an abnormal poor harvest, the dearth of transportation, the collapse of the grain collection system, and the German wholesale destruction of crops created severe food shortages. Mass starvation was averted "by securing temporary loans from the French in North Africa and from the Middle East forces."<sup>227</sup> Since Italians were reserving two-thirds of collected grain for the black market, AMG instructed CAOs to spend four days per week, confiscating hoarded grain. Further, temporary checkpoints on roads at night were intended to catch black marketers transporting grain.<sup>228</sup> Eisenhower informed the War Department that these measures were a matter of military necessity:

It should be understood that our requisitions for food are not based on humanitarian or any other factor but that of military necessity. Conditions in Southern Italy and Sicily are such that unless reasonable quantities of food are supplied very promptly, we will experience sabotage, unrest, and a complete cessation of all those activities considered necessary to our advance.<sup>229</sup>

To supervise the supply and distribution of food to civilians, AFHQ established a Central Economic Committee with the Deputy Chief Administrative Officer as its director. Senior representatives from AMG 15<sup>th</sup> Army Group, the Allied Control Commission, and AMG Headquarters would comprise the committee. Still, the dearth of military transportation and the massive pilferage of military rations plagued the effort to provide even the minimum amount of food to the population. Moreover, food supplies intended for the population were shipped with military supplies, which were diverted to other areas, so accountability became problematic.<sup>230</sup>

Major General Lord Rennell, Chief Civil Affairs Officer of the 15<sup>th</sup> Army Group reported that Civil Affairs officers entering remote urban areas, unescorted, observed that “mob rule” and looting were rampant. While some Civil Affairs officers managed to calm the crowds, Rennell feared for their safety.<sup>231</sup> Nevertheless, rioting and violence had become so pervasive that CAOs needed to enter recently evacuated towns, escorted or not, as quickly as possible to arrest the chaos.<sup>232</sup>

Deputy Chief of AMG Brigadier General McSherry and Fifth Army SCAO Colonel Edgar E. Hume entered Naples ahead of U.S. troops and noted the Neapolitan enthusiastic welcome, but violent protests erupted when Civil Affairs officers posted the proclamations. Allied psychological warfare broadcasts stated that the Allies intended to liberate the Italians, but the proclamations conveyed the message that Italians were vanquished enemies. AMG quickly revised the proclamations to mollify Italian sensibilities.<sup>233</sup>

Under the direction of corps Senior Civil Affairs Officers, CAOs or CAPOs entered towns quickly to survey the situation: state of governance, number of inhabitants, available housing, number of people in need of medical care, available food and water, available medical supplies and so forth. If fighting was ongoing in the towns, they moved civilians to safe locations. Once fighting stopped, they arranged for emergency rations and medical supplies and awaited the arrival of the rest of the "team:" the Corps Medical Officer, the Red Cross representative, the Corps Evacuation Officer, the Civil Affairs Police Officer (if applicable) and the Civil Affairs Finance Officer. In severely damaged towns, CAOs established soup kitchens and food distribution centers. To control the distribution of rations, CAOs, the Red Cross representative or an appointed official supervised the issuance of ration tickets for people to redeem for food. Further, CAOs appointed committees under the supervision of town authorities to continue all these activities.<sup>234</sup>

The Corps Medical Officer submitted a report on noted diseases, sanitation, general welfare, and the condition of medical facilities. If necessary, he set up a medical station, enlisting available nurses and doctors, distributing medical supplies, and treating sick and injured people. He also arranged for medical evacuation of urgent cases. Medical care proved to be a daunting task. AMG had no organic ambulances and no civilian ambulances were available due to theft or damage. Hospitals were heavily damaged and looted of medical equipment. Worse, hospital staffs had either fled or were impressed by the retreating Germans. The Red Cross representative assisted with medical issues and the feeding of civilians, as well as assisting visiting Welfare Officers with administrative problems.<sup>235</sup>

After reviewing the Medical Officers' reports, AMG Transportation, Communications, and Utilities (TCU) representatives visited the towns to conduct water surveys. They arranged for the repair and sanitation of water utilities and arranged for Army water deliveries in the interim.<sup>236</sup>

Despite the best attempts to restore law and order, Civil Affairs teams were beset by the poor conduct of Allied soldiers, who engaged in rampant "drunkenness, assault, looting and rowdyism." Soldiers blatantly stole personal property under the pretext of "requisitions," and were immersed in the massive black-marketing of "large quantities of cigarettes, rationed foodstuffs and Army petrol." As in Sicily, soldiers continued to disarm Carabinieri and release criminals held in jail.<sup>237</sup>

The black market, already endemic before the Allied invasion, continued to flourish during occupation and was never fully brought under control. Rampant pilferage, banditry, and government and police corruption resulted in the loss of vast amounts of military supplies and equipment. While minor criminals were jailed, much to the disapproval of the hoi polloi, major crime bosses operated with impunity, due to lack of evidence, bribes, and high-level connections. If British Field Security Officer Norman Lewis' diary observations are accurate, "sixty-five per cent of the *per capita* income of Neapolitans [derived] from transactions in stolen Allied supplies, and one-third of all supplies and equipment imported continued to disappear into the black Market." Even Allied Military Government officers at all levels, according to Lewis, either became active participants or turned a blind eye to black marketing. Aside from the corruptive influences of a kleptomaniacal society,

curbing the black market appeared to be beyond Civil Affairs and the Allied military.<sup>238</sup>

Insufficient numbers of Military Police were available to arrest soldier misconduct, so AMG took a number of measures to instill discipline and prevent abuses: all military barracks posted notices reminding soldiers that looting undermined civilian trust in the Allies; restrictions on drinking hours and curfews were established; specific locales were marked off-limits; soldiers on rest and recreation as well as other business in the rear areas could not carry weapons; unit commanders were directed to warn their soldiers of the threats of venereal disease and bootleg liquor; Military Police conducted joint patrols with Carabinieri in Naples; and arrests of soldiers engaged in black market liquor sales were publicized.<sup>239</sup>

**Defascism Policy.** During the initial period of occupation, AMG left the retention of Fascist or suspected Fascist officials to the judgement of CAOs simply because the need to maintain stable governance overrode a blanket policy on Defascistization. However, to assist CAOs in making a final determination, AMG created a Political Intelligence Section to establish criteria for retention or removal. A detailed questionnaire of 50 questions in a Yes or No format (under oath) for CAO use helped establish the status of officials.<sup>240</sup> Due to the “extreme shortage” of CAOs and Civil Affairs Police Officers (one CAO responsible for 20 communes and one CAO responsible for five provinces), one province established a “committee of highly respected known anti-Fascists” under the supervision of the CAO to evaluate citizen complaints on local Fascists. Publicized throughout the provinces, this action helped quell demonstrations and wanton acts of violence.<sup>241</sup>

Denunciations of “Fascists” required a degree of skepticism since they were often a product of revenge or riddance of a rival. Whether they were Fascist or blatantly corrupt, many “old gang” government and police officials remained in power simply because they had always been there, and while the lower social strata were embittered, they seemed resigned to that reality. For Allied officials, overwhelmed by their workload, this too was a reality to live with.<sup>242</sup> As Lucian Truscott observed, “Except for the more important party members, no great effort was made to eliminate Fascists from positions in government and industry.”<sup>243</sup> Still, it appeared that corruption within political circles and the police forces, whether Fascist or not, was so pervasive even before the war, that criminal activities and black marketing were a cultural norm in Italian society.

**Managing Refugees and Displaced Persons.** The Germans added to Allied military difficulties by forcing tens of thousands of refugees through the Allied lines.<sup>244</sup> Logically, civilian agencies, such as the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA), the International Red Cross, and the State Department, should have assumed responsibility for refugees, but they lacked the manpower, resources, skill-sets, and organization to provide the requisite water, food, shelter, and medical support. Not only did refugees congest the roads, interfering with military traffic to the front, but also provided opportunities for the infiltration of spies into the Allied rear areas. Consequently, near-by Civil Affairs detachments added this burden to their list of responsibilities.<sup>245</sup>

Initial efforts were of an expedient nature. Civil Affairs Police Officer units established control points to interview and provide identification passes.<sup>246</sup> In the British Eighth Army sector, refugees were evacuated on returning supply vehicles immediately from the front to division rear areas. From there, Movement Control personnel moved them to rail depots for transportation to corps rear areas because buildings and tents as well as medical support were unavailable. Some refugees were distributed to local villages but these competed with corps troop billeting and scarce food supplies.<sup>247</sup>

In January 1944, the Fifteenth Army Group AMG decided to establish an Army Refugee Section in the Fifth and Eighth Army headquarters as well as the AMG regional headquarters, using existing and incoming staff personnel.<sup>248</sup> Procedures for processing refugees became systemized. In the Fifth and Eighth Army sectors, refugees were loaded on returning supply transports from the front to small staging camps in the corps rear areas, utilizing local buildings (i.e., Italian army barracks, schools, and convents). Refugees were provided medical care, sheltered, deloused, and provided with refugee rations during their stay. From here, they were trucked to the Fifth Army Base camp for rail movement to southern Italy. While this system resulted in bottlenecks in view of the limited transportation, it was the best arrangement under the circumstances.<sup>249</sup> Overtime, these camps became more sophisticated with greater holding capacity, medical facilities, and work, social, religious, and educational facilities for refugees to use.<sup>250</sup>

In February 1944, The Armistice Control Commission created a Refugee Branch to address the refugee problem in a comprehensive manner through the

Italian government.<sup>251</sup> While Italian government officials initially balked at caring for refugees, the ACC Refugee Branch pressured them to enlist the assistance of Italians to help run the refugee camps. Additionally, the ACC sought to establish the Italian Red Cross to assist with the refugee problem.<sup>252</sup> Lastly, as the front advanced north, the ACC Refugee Branch encouraged refugees to return to their homes, but the flow required strict controls to ensure they did not interfere with military logistics.<sup>253</sup>

When the war ended on 8 May 1945, the Allies began repatriating about 170,000 enemy prisoners of war (mostly German) and millions of Italian prisoners of war in Germany back to Italy, the latter under the supervision of the Joint AFHQ-SHAEF Committee for Inter-Theater Repatriation Movement Coordination.<sup>254</sup> However, as Coles and Weinberg noted,

75,000 displaced persons, mostly “stateless persons,” remained. These stateless persons consisted of Yugoslav royalists who did not wish to return to Communist Yugoslavia, Polish patriots who did not desire to return to Communist Poland, persons from eastern Poland and the Baltic States under Soviet rule, and homeless Jews. Among the humanitarian decisions of military authorities was that of SACMED and the CCS in June 1945 to use no force in returning to Russia, or any of the territories incorporated by the Soviet Union, displaced persons who did not wish to return and did not claim Soviet citizenship.<sup>255</sup>

Despite the formal policy not to repatriate Soviet citizens against their will, it appears that a number were forced to return once Soviet commissars assumed control of them.<sup>256</sup> Of interest is the situation in the Russian displaced persons camp, as observed by an American officer:

I had no idea what the assignment was about, but I found out soon enough. They had several hundred thousand Russian prisoners of war in a camp on the outskirts of the city. Conditions there were chaotic, with at least two murders every night. There was no Russian-speaking American officer there. Lieutenant Colonel Warren and I were ordered there to straighten out their camp.

I found that there were two elements among the Russians. Half of them had been captured early in the war and had fought for the Germans. They very definitely didn't want to return to Russia, for they knew what would happen to them. We were shipping them from Taranto to Odessa, and dozens of them would jump overboard and drown rather than return to Russia.

The other Russians hadn't switched sides in the war, but they were a little hesitant about returning, because they had been captured instead of fighting to the death, and the best they could hope for on their return was forced labor. But they were sufficiently good Reds to really have it in for the deserters, and that was the source of the strife in the camp.

There was a road through the middle of the camp, a former drill ground, and we separated the sheep from the goats and put an armed guard between them. Conditions improved immediately. Pictures of Stalin went up on one side of the road, as the commissars took charge, and the sanitation improved immensely on the other side.<sup>257</sup>

By November 1945, Allied repatriation efforts of Italians were complete, though a large number of “stateless” persons remained in displaced persons camps for some time awaiting final determination<sup>258</sup>

**Economic and Financial Affairs.** AMG economic and financial experts continued the economic recovery and financial measures employed in Sicily. While AMG expected civilian agencies to assume responsibility of these activities at some point, that was never realized, so AMG remained saddled with the burden. As in Sicily, “the basic economic problem was control of inflation. The roots of the evil went back to the Fascist regime, which had spent lavishly to finance Mussolini’s military exploits. The already weakened system of price and rationing controls collapsed with the invasion and, though the Allies continued all of them, the system could never be rebuilt. Nor did the reduction of controls to a few basic foods work much better. The inflationary spiral continued, wage increases were allowed and then disallowed, and farmers preferred to hoard wheat rather than sell at official prices.”<sup>259</sup>

**Judicial Affairs.** As conducted in Sicily, AMG continued its judicial justice procedures in regards to the establishment of courts and proceedings.<sup>260</sup> Judicial proceedings in the Naples province were severely

hampered by a dearth of vehicles for legal officials though, so much so that a backlog of cases occurred. The suggested remedy was to transfer responsibility to the Italian judicial system, but few were available. AMG then canvassed prisoner of war camps for Italian judges and lawyers to remedy the problem.<sup>261</sup> Still, Italian-administered courts were notoriously slow and lenient in prosecuting cases, much to the frustration of AMG legal officers.<sup>262</sup>

### **Civil Affairs Reorganization.**

Due to coordination problems between AMG Headquarters and the AMG headquarters in the armies, AFHQ approved General Alexander's reorganization of Civil Affairs on 24 January 1944, in order "to bring civil affairs throughout Italy under his headquarters . . . to make one and the same authority, directly subordinate to him, responsible for supervising both the Control Commission and Military Government, and at the same time to place the Control Commission in charge of co-ordinating civil affairs throughout liberated Italy." Likewise, he sought to centralize food supply and other pertinent policies. General Alexander would continue as Military Governor as well as the Representative in Italy of the President of ACC (i.e., the Allied CinC), "with the right to act in his behalf in all civil affairs matters except certain subjects requiring high-level political guidance or involving issues not confined to Italy." Accordingly, he appointed General Mason-MacFarlane as "Deputy President and Chief Commissioner of ACC, and also as Chief Civil Affairs Officer of occupied territory under Military Government. Further, [he] disbanded Headquarters AMG, and placed Fifth and Eighth

Armies AMG under technical control of headquarters ACC; Military Government in rear territory.”<sup>263</sup> Coles and Weinberg noted:

The most important organizational change was the establishment of a Regional and Military Government Section to co-ordinate policy and procedure in operations. . . . [Operations were categorized as follows]: ACC/AMG operations in Army areas, where civil affairs personnel formed part of the staff of the Army Commander but followed as far as possible ACC’s policies; ACC operations in military government rear territory, divided into regions, where regional teams, both administrative and technical, advised Italian local officials in full conformity with Headquarters ACC policy; and ACC assistance to higher Italian officials in Italian Government territory.<sup>264</sup>

## **Lessons Learned**

In view of the critical relationship between Civil Affairs and civilian supply, the Supply subcommittee of the Combined Civil Affairs Committee (CCAC/S) recommended the recruitment of Civil Affairs officers with “knowledge of and preferably experience in the Army Technical Services, and experience in civilian occupation concerned with agricultural and industrial production, control and distribution.” Likewise, the Army Technical Services would need to expand its responsibilities to include civilian supply issues (i.e., “transportation, warehousing and engineering maintenance.”). Greater coordination and attention to reviving the civilian economy would contribute to military necessity.<sup>265</sup>

The nexus of military necessity and Civil Affairs activities had expanded beyond the traditional approach to Military Government and written doctrine. The Allies did not make a concerted effort to utilize local resources, resulting in a severe strain on logistics for civilian supply. Civil Affairs responsibilities expanded beyond military necessity; here efforts were of a “political, economic, and humanitarian” nature at the national policy level.<sup>266</sup>

By mutual consent and Roosevelt’s agreement, civilian agencies would remain in Washington D.C. and focus on occupation policies from afar rather than becoming involved in theater operations. While this decision simplified military command and control of Civil Affairs issues, it also meant civilian agencies would not have a realistic appraisal of conditions in the field. Thus, policy directives and military implementation of those policies would prove problematic.<sup>267</sup>

With the liberation of Rome in June 1944, the Italian government assumed greater governance responsibilities, which aided Civil Affairs. Heretofore, the occupation of Italy was a netherworld of not-quite-Military Government and not-quite-liberated territory. A cynic might conclude the Allies made southern Italy safe for organized crime. But for Civil Affairs, the driving force was military necessity, ensuring the populace interfered with military operations to minimum levels and leaving the problem of organized crime to the Italian government once the war ended. Nonetheless, the Allies were unprepared for the enormous problems of fighting in Italy while taking care of the population. On a positive note, the experiences gained in Italy would prove extremely beneficial for the occupation of Germany.

## CHAPTER 5

### THE CAMPAIGN FOR NORTHWEST FRANCE (OVERLORD)

Unlike the ad hoc nature of Civil Affairs in the Mediterranean region, Civil Affairs in liberated France was clearly successful. The formal training, preparation, and organization of Civil Affairs/Military Government (CA/MG) detachments and staff sections paid big dividends for the campaign for France.

SHAEF established the G-5 Civil Affairs Staff Division on 6 February 1944, charging it with the following responsibilities: Military Government policies and directives, comprehensive long range planning, and general coordination. Lieutenant General A. E. Grassett served as Chief of the G-5 staff. To serve as his deputy, Brigadier General Julius C. Holmes (US) transferred from AFHQ.<sup>268</sup> For a brief period, another veteran of AFHQ, Brigadier General Frank J. McSherry became the Deputy Chief Civil Affairs Officer (Special Staff) in charge of the Shrivenham (US) and Eastbourne (UK) training centers as well as the Country Teams (i.e., Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, France, and Germany). Accordingly, this organization served as the SHAEF G-5 rear echelon.<sup>269</sup>

On 1 May 1944, SHAEF G-5 Division organized into the following branches: Operations, Supply, Displaced Persons, Legal, Economics, Financial, Public Health, and Administration. The division was to integrate Civil Affairs policies with the Allied Expeditionary Force in addition to absorbing ECAD's responsibility for "mobilizing, training, and assignment of Civil

Affairs personnel.” Brigadier General Holmes would supervise the activities of the Country Teams, which would become the Military Missions in occupied countries. Brigadier McSherry became the G-5 Chief of Operations.<sup>270</sup>

## **Organization and Planning of Civil Affairs**

To avoid the problems experienced by AMG, SHAEF G-5 determined that it was necessary to integrate G-5 staff sections into the military chain of command, to include divisions, corps, armies, army groups, communication zone echelons, and the Continental Base Sections. Command channels would run from SHAEF headquarters to the echelons of military commanders, who in turn would confer with their G-5 staffs on Civil Affairs policies and technical issues.<sup>271</sup>

Each ECAR had an organic “headquarters and headquarters company, a medical detachment, and lettered companies.” The 1<sup>st</sup> ECAR had nine administrative companies (i.e., A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, and I), the 2<sup>d</sup> ECAR had nine administrative companies, and the 3<sup>d</sup> ECAR had eleven administrative companies. With the exception of 1<sup>st</sup> ECAR, each company contained one A detachment, one B detachment, two C detachments, eight D detachments, and one specialist reserve detachment.<sup>272</sup> The ECAR I Companies were regimental reserve units for “specific problems.” The reserve companies had an assigned strength of 56 officers and 118 enlisted organized into a headquarters section, two B detachments, two C detachments, two D detachments, and a “specialist reserve detachment of 40 officers.<sup>273</sup> Altogether, 2<sup>d</sup> ECAR contained 112 detachments, and 3<sup>d</sup> ECAR contained 101 detachments.<sup>274</sup>

For the Normandy beachhead, CA/MG detachments occupied liberated towns and remained in the assigned area pending further orders. By 26 June 1944, a total of 58 CA/MG detachments were deployed along with two administrative company headquarters. Since *Civil Affairs was a command responsibility*, detachments interacted with combat units operating in their area of operation but were not attached to them per se. Instead, detachments were temporarily attached to divisions, corps and armies.<sup>275</sup> CA/MG detachments had basic geographic designators commensurate with their expected responsibilities (Table 2).

<i>Detachment</i>	<i>Officers</i>	<i>Warrant Officers</i>	<i>EM</i>	<i>Total</i>
A (Regional Capitals)	16	3	20	39
B (Departmental Capitals)	9	2	14	25
C (Provinces)	6	1	7	14
D (Cities)	4	0	5	9

Table 2: Composition of CA/MG Detachments<sup>276</sup>

Specialist reserve detachments had a complement of four officers and eight enlisted men and were designated to serve as technical experts to supplement CA/MG detachments or as temporary replacements for detachment personnel. Note, for the occupation of Germany, the geographic detachment designators were E, F, G, H, and I to denote different or broader responsibilities.<sup>277</sup>

For specific town/city assignments, CA/MG detachments had assigned alpha-numeric designators (e.g., D6B1 for Saint Mere Eglise), so each detachment

knew beforehand from which town it was to operate. Once settled, the detachment would expand its jurisdiction to cover other towns.<sup>278</sup> Once the front moved onward, most of the CA/MG detachments remained in their assigned areas, “reverting to Corps, Army, and Communications Zone control.”<sup>279</sup>

Technical expertise within detachments varied, depending on the characteristics of the occupied territory: “mining, forestry, oil refining, fisheries, and various technical fiddles, along with specialists on public safety, public health, government and administration, food, agriculture, public finance, banking, insurance, public works, public utilities, courts and legal system, education, religious affairs, intelligence, transportation, communications, monuments, fine arts and archives, and trade and industry.” Little thought was given to religious affairs, so the education officer attended to this as an extra duty. Only a few experts were recruited for monuments, fine arts, and archives, suggesting this was a low priority.<sup>280</sup>

In slight contrast, British Civil Affairs organizations were called Basic Detachments comprising ten personnel: commander, two General Administration officers; police officer or Public Safety Officer; clerk, interpreter; two drivers; cook; and batman (commander’s servant), relying on two trucks and two motorcycles for transportation. Detachments relied on tactical units operating in the area of operations for supplies (i.e., rations, POL, medical support, etc.). Additional personnel, “Specialist Increments,” (i.e., legal, finance, supply, trade and industry, etc. were added as needed.<sup>281</sup> Prior to assignment in the field, Basic Detachments staged in Civil Affairs Groups, comprising up to 30 Basic Detachments, along with a

pool of 120 specialists and 180 other ranks (total—240 officers, 360 other ranks). A Civil Affairs Group had a headquarters consisting of four officers and six enlisted. Similar to the ECAD, Civil Affairs Groups provided administrative control of detachments and formed Civil Affairs Pools for administration.<sup>282</sup>

Supreme Allied Commander, General Eisenhower personally provided his guidance to Civil Affairs officers less than a month before D-Day in order to stress the importance of their mission:

You have got to get the rear areas organized—electric lights, roads, and supply—and you must keep them working and get them restored as quickly as possible to some semblance of peacetime standards, so that they can support to the utmost the armies that are fighting at the front. You must take that responsibility for dealing with civilian affairs, whether it is restoring public utilities or helping a nursing mother who cannot get milk, and if you don't do your job, the armies will fail. A modern army is of great depth in the field. The fighting front of an army is a fringe of a tremendous organization . . . . You are part of an Allied team. Always remember that. Because your section of the army is called "Civil Affairs" you must not make the mistake of thinking you are politicians.<sup>283</sup>

To promote awareness and cooperation between tactical commanders and CA/MG detachments, SHAEF published the "Basic Principles for Combined Civil Affairs Operations:"

- The conduct of Civil Affairs operations is the responsibility of each Commander in accordance with the policies laid down by the Supreme Commander.
- The discharge of this responsibility may require the employment of all agencies at the disposal of each Commander.
- Civil Affairs Staffs are provided for planning and coordination. Civil Affairs Detachments will be assigned commanders from time to time for duties in the field.
- The command and staff channel runs from SHAEF to subordinate Military Commanders, with direct communications between Civil Affairs staffs of Commands on matters peculiar to Civil Affairs.
- Civil Affairs operations are limited, except as future directives may otherwise prescribe, to the areas affected by military operations. Within these areas each commander is responsible for Civil Affairs operations in his own area.
- The primary objective is to ensure that conditions exist among the civil population which will not interfere with operations against the enemy, but will promote those operations.
- Relief, except as otherwise directed, is limited to that required by military necessity.

- Civil Affairs operations in a liberated territory are mobile and temporary and continue only until the situation permits the assumption of control by the Allied National Authority.
- Consistency of interpretation and application of policies will be secured, with respect to each of the countries affected, by country manuals.<sup>284</sup>

Eisenhower's intent was to establish a sense of teamwork between tactical units and CA/MG detachments in order to avoid working at cross purposes. Tactical commanders were held responsible for the actions of their troops, and CA/MG detachment commanders had the authority to enforce law and order in their geographic areas.

Eisenhower's SHAEF proclamation to the French highlighted the Allied intention of liberation from German tyranny, *asking* for their cooperation and compliance with orders. The proclamation recognized the sacrifices of French citizens, taking a regrettable but necessary tenor for the collateral damage wrought by the aerial bombing, naval bombardment, and ground operations. It promised the return of traditional democratic institutions, reassuring the populace that existing civil administration would remain in place and expressing confidence French citizens would maintain law and order for the sake of troop security. The proclamation implied that the Allies and de Gaulle's provisional government would bring justice to German collaborators and Vichy authorities, perhaps as a way to discourage vigilantism and revenge.<sup>285</sup>

After the breakout of Normandy in July 1944, 1<sup>st</sup> ECAR experienced administrative problems as

military operations became fluid, with corps and above headquarters assigning CA/MG detachments to towns and areas in support of the offensive operations. As such, numbered Armies formed CA/MG detachment pools to feed detachments into areas where needed. Hence, detachments became widely separated from their parent company headquarters by hundreds of miles, making it nigh impossible to provide administrative support. Thereafter, ECAD established a territorial basis for companies and their detachments. Even this solution was short-lived for the invasion of Germany. While the 2<sup>d</sup> and 3<sup>d</sup> ECARs received their pinpoint assignments for Germany by September 1944, they too would experience the fluidity of military operations for the Carpet Plan and before Operation ECLIPSE (both addressed later in this study) was enacted, so keeping ECAR companies near their detachments became moot.<sup>286</sup>

### **Civil Affairs in Action**

CA/MG detachments accompanied the 82d Airborne Division (and presumably the 101<sup>st</sup> Airborne Division) on gliders into Normandy the night of 6 June 1944. Upon landing, Civil Affairs officers of one detachment met with local mayors to procure local labor for the burial of civilians, assisted the Provost Marshal with traffic control, interrogation of prisoners, arranged for the clearance of unexploded ordinance at the St.-Mère-Eglise hospital for its use, turned over discovered documents from the German commander of the 91<sup>st</sup> Infantry Division for intelligence exploitation, arranged for the feeding and welfare of local refugees, and assisted in the recovery of dead paratroopers.<sup>287</sup>

The Senior Civil Affairs Officer for First U.S. Army, a CA/MG detachment, and select personnel of the G-5 staffs of each corps and division ashore arrived at Omaha Beach on 9 June. Since 90 percent of French civilians remained in their villages and suffered few casualties, law and order had not broken down. Nonetheless, Civil Affairs personnel reestablished local police forces and even enlarged them for the time being. On 12 June, the First Army's Civil Affairs Supply Echelon section arrived with twelve officers, along with two French liaison officers of Charles de Gaulle's provisional government (i.e., French Committee of National Liberation—FCLN). The Senior Civil Affairs Officer briefed the officers of the G-5 staff sections and the CA/MG detachments on the general situation on 13 June and coordinated his daily visits with them. He also directed G-5 specialists to conduct frequent surveys of the zone of operations and the supply situation.<sup>288</sup>

The After Action Report of CA/MG Detachment A1A1 provided insights on Civil Affairs activities in the port of Cherbourg. Due to the logistical importance of Cherbourg for the campaign, A1A1 was exceptionally large, comprising 22 U.S./UK officers and 22 enlisted soldiers. Attached to the 9<sup>th</sup> Infantry Division, A1A1 entered Cherbourg two days prior to its formal surrender on 29 June and was organized into twelve sections: "Supply, Civil Defense, Public Safety, Public Health, Public Utilities, Public Works, Finance, Legal, Relief, Economics and Labor, Communications and Transportation." A1A1 established its headquarters in the Chamber of Commerce and held a meeting with the mayor and key city officials. The detachment sections paired off with their local counterparts to gain an appreciation of the situation: key personalities,

food sources, economic conditions, general census, government administration, and so forth.<sup>289</sup>

A1A1 focused its immediate attention to public security, meeting with the four separate and independent police organizations and issuing proclamations under the mayor's imprimatur.<sup>290</sup> The first order of business was establishing order:

- Curfew-between 2200 hours and 0500 hours
- Blackout
- Surrender of firearms
- Surrender of pigeons
- Prohibiting carrying of cameras, binoculars, etc.
- General Eisenhower Proclamation.<sup>291</sup>

The confiscation of pigeons was to prevent German or Vichy spies from sending intelligence on courier pigeons. Likewise, the prohibition on cameras and binoculars served to curtail espionage. Civil Affairs Public Safety Officers noted that greater cooperation and coordination with the Provost Marshal and Counterintelligence Corps (CIC) were essential, so establishing a relationship among the three would have been beneficial prior to deploying into Cherbourg. While only minor looting occurred during the fight for the city, with the succession of units transiting through the port, the "unlawful requisitions of property" began to rise precipitously. In response, the Public Safety Officers contacted incoming commanders to prohibit the removal of property without command approval.<sup>292</sup>

In the meantime, A1A1 sought to restore essential services. A quarter of the city sustained heavy damage, but the remaining police maintained law and order. A1A1 repaired the badly damaged water system, and there was enough food for 30 days. Only 5,000 of the original 38,000 inhabitants remained (though they would return once it was safe). The detachment enjoyed the full cooperation of the mayor, city administrators, police and port authorities, as well as the bankers, judicial officials, and other functionaries who returned to their offices immediately. By 3 July, the local newspapers and radio stations were operating, and the courts were trying cases by 7 July. On 21 July, the hospital was back under French administration, and public health flourished. Lastly, by the end of July, the detachment permitted the resumption of fishing.<sup>293</sup> Due to military necessity, the detachment assumed control of the regional phone system, apportioning 800 lines for military and 200 for civilian use.<sup>294</sup>

A1A1 noted that the constant turnover of various Army units caused turmoil as incoming senior commands brought forth different military policies and orders. The large numbers of troops and returning displaced persons caused problems with billeting. Here, the detachment served as a liaison and mediator between the city authorities and the assorted military commands. In the process, the detachment earned the trust and thanks of the local officials for its advice, information sharing, and diplomacy in resolving issues.<sup>295</sup> The detachment found that the Public Safety Officers were best suited to manage billeting since the police provided city blueprints. For example, the Public Safety Officers knew of the German barracks in the city and could have assigned these to incoming units without undue turmoil. Except for billeting and

procurement of civilian labor, Civil Affairs personnel only supervised governance and essential services, empowering the French officials to take charge.<sup>296</sup> It might have proven useful to post direction signs at the docks and main thoroughfares indicating the billeting office location for incoming units.

In addition to locating lawyers, judges, and clerks and the resumption of the court system, the Legal Section advised the military commands on legal issues regarding soldier behavior, "French law of requisition and booty," and Army policy and directives on "real and personal property."<sup>297</sup> The Legal Section served to remind military authorities that while soldiers felt the towns they liberated belonged to them, they needed to respect French property rights. They wanted to avoid leaving the impression that the Allies were no better than the Germans.

Due to the large amount of abandoned German supplies and material, the detachment observed the need to establish a central collection point and request units assist in the collection of such items for the detachment's disposition.<sup>298</sup>

By the end of the second week, A1A1 had the rail and streetcar systems functioning. In view of the six kilometer movement restriction, the detachment needed to manage movement requests, presumably for farmers, laborers, fishermen, etc. to reach their place of work. To enforce the movement restrictions, six joint military police and French police control points were established outside of Cherbourg (later extended to the six kilometer limit, supplemented with roving patrols) as well as mobile check points within the city to catch infiltrators. The detachment placed some areas off-

limits and issued passes for French civilians working there once the Counterintelligence Corps (CIC) verified their status.<sup>299</sup>

Through the French transportation authority, the detachment established a vehicle motor pool, recovering abandoned and stolen German vehicles for the purpose of re-establishing essential services. The transportation authority conducted a census of civilian vehicles and issued permits for travel, managed fuel distribution, and supervised cargo transportation. A portion of civilian vehicles was allocated to the vehicle pool as well.<sup>300</sup>

A1A1 issued food ration cards and registered the populace, thereby gaining an accurate account of the population. For violations of Allied proclamations, ordinances, etc., the French police issued fines, which curbed such behavior. Since the carrying of weapons was prohibited, the local French resistance joined the National Police, which served to bring them under control.<sup>301</sup>

Two Civil Affairs fiscal officers superintended Cherbourg's financial affairs, reopening banks and safeguarding currency. Some funds were used for business transactions while others provided temporary relief payments (three weeks) for workers unable to work due to the fighting.<sup>302</sup>

As an exception to remaining in place once the front moved on, A1A1 moved to the vicinity of Paris upon its liberation, serving as the headquarters for 23 CA/MG detachments. Thereafter, the detachment moved to Berlin at the end of the war, becoming the G-5 Section Berlin District Headquarters (BDH).<sup>303</sup>

Major John Maginnis, commander of CA/MG Detachment C2B1 in Carentan, provided a personal account of his experiences from his diary. Maginnis' experiences illustrated that each detachment was presented with unique challenges, so no cookie cutter approach was possible. C2B1 comprised five US/UK officers and 9 enlisted soldiers. The detachment divided the workload as follows: Major Maginnis—commander, administration, government; Captain Berkeley—supply, transportation, labor, industry; Captain Walker (UK)—legal, fiscal, claims; Captain Kerman (UK)—welfare, utilities, communications, public health, education; and First Lieutenant Duryea—public safety, police, fire, civil defense, billeting. Additionally a Colonel Marcus from the War Department's Civil Affairs Division was attached as an observer.<sup>304</sup>

Leading a forward party on 12 June, Major Maginnis contacted the new mayor (the original mayor was killed). His first priority was extinguishing the fires using hand pumps since the Germans had destroyed the water system and removed the fire hydrants. The local hospital was still serviceable. 1LT Duryea directed the police chief to deploy policemen into the streets to establish law and order. He also contacted some U.S. engineers to clear and repair the roads for military traffic, placing a detachment noncommissioned officer as the liaison with the engineers to assist them. Colonel Marcus made a survey of the city, while Maginnis remained at the town hall to be available to military and civilian authorities. Since the 506<sup>th</sup> Parachute Infantry Regiment was still fighting the Germans in the city, the detachment returned to nearby Marie du Mont for the first two nights.<sup>305</sup>

On 14 June Maginnis and the full detachment returned to stay, establishing his headquarters at the town hall, posting directional signs to his headquarters, arranging for the detachment's billets and a garage for its vehicles, and establishing wire communication with the 101<sup>st</sup> Airborne Division. The immediate tasks were as follows: conducted a survey of public utilities and communications facilities (i.e., Post, Telephone, and Telegraph); established a curfew from 2200 to 0600; located an area for the burial of dead animals and placed a Red Cross official in charge of their disposal; provided the U.S. Signal Corps with 35 civilian laborers; and obtained a list of all local police by name, grade, and age. Throughout the day and for several weeks thereafter, Maginnis met with local officials to resolve problems and visiting senior officers, to include General Maxwell Taylor, commander of the 101<sup>st</sup>, to provide situation updates and his Civil Affairs plan.<sup>306</sup>

During the rest of June, the detachment expanded its Civil Affairs activities to other villages in the district, posting the Supreme Allied Commander's liberation proclamation and ordinances, as well as establishing road checkpoints, manned jointly by U.S. military police and local police. The detachment controlled billeting for transiting headquarters and units, ensuring no squatting in villages occurred (this prevented units from arbitrarily pushing French civilians from their homes and places of work). Through the mayor's office and supervision, Maginnis set up a labor bureau by gender, age, and skills. Various U.S. military units hired laborers for military projects, and the mayor provided the salaries. Initial labor activities included the burial of cattle, civilian and German bodies, recovery of dead U.S. soldiers, and various military support elements. As the military operational tempo increased, the need

for civilian laborers also increased to include work on road maintenance, railway work, movement of supplies, and various other activities. While the mayor provided the labor, a Civil Affairs officer established the priorities.<sup>307</sup>

The detachment established a routine to promote public safety, essential services, and order in their assigned area: contacting military commands of soldier misconduct; investigating looting by soldiers; establishing prohibition of alcohol to soldiers; removing unexploded ordinance; acquiring food stuffs, coal, etc. for town use; providing medical support to wounded civilians; establishing a system for war damage claims; inspecting water and sanitation systems; and getting from police the census as well as numbers of refugees and displaced people.<sup>308</sup>

On 29 June, Maginnis went to the rear and shared his experiences with Civil Affairs detachments, which had arrived in the expanding beachhead. He reduced his experiences to a set of Civil Affairs principles:

- Your primary job is to be helpful to the army. Don't think that the commanding general in the area doesn't appreciate having civilian matters taken off his hands. He does.
- Let city officials run the city. Let them work. It's their city. Don't try to make all the decisions for them. Just don't let them interfere with military operations.
- Know what reports you must submit before you go in. Send them in on time. The staff back at corps or army wants to know what's going on

so they can help you. Prompt, efficient reports will also help you personally.

- Keep your foot in the door on all matters that affect [*sic*] you. Help the civilians in every way. By so doing you are helping the army. Know what is going on.
- Have a clear understanding of your functions and responsibilities—and those of others such as MI [Military Intelligence], MP [Military Police], [and the] town major. Don't let people give you jobs that don't belong to you, and don't let others try to take over your responsibilities.
- You have a definite duty to lift the morale of the civilians. Do this by your personal example, by sympathetic understanding of their troubles, and by playing fair with them.
- Get interpreters—as many as you need. If you can't communicate, you can't act.
- Watch certain areas closely. Recognize your most pressing trouble areas and stay close to them. Keep a weather eye on the relationship between troops and civilians, especially in matters of police relationships and liquor, for these are potential trouble spots.
- Get into your town or location at the earliest possible moment, even if fighting is still going on, and get your CA location signs up at the earliest moment. Only then will you be on top of the job from the first moment.

- Watch the welfare of your unit closely. This is hard work, but overwork will ruin your effectiveness. If you have a square peg in a round hole, don't hesitate to ask for a replacement.
- Although your time may be limited for such matters, learn all that you can about your area – its history, points of interest, and such. It will bring you closer to the civilians and make them more responsive to you.<sup>309</sup>

On 14 June 1944, de Gaulle established his provisional government (FLCN) in Bayeux, France (27 miles due east from Carentan), which began providing commodities to the liberated towns. A French liaison officer also arrived in Carentan to assist, but Maginnis considered him a bit of a nuisance.<sup>310</sup> Still, as an historical note, the French, to include the local officials, French Forces of the Interior (FFI—the resistance), the Free French forces, and the FLCN rendered invaluable services to restoring order in the rear areas. The FFI assisted “in traffic control and public safety functions. They gave information of enemy stragglers and concentrations, enemy supplies, [and] native collaborationists.” Furthermore, “French officials at all levels with whom Civil Affairs Detachments were required to deal, quickly resumed ordinary functions, and demonstrated initiative in meeting extraordinary problems. Public safety, relief, money and banking required a minimum of aid and supervision by Civil Affairs personnel. The movement and care of refugees, anticipated as a difficult problem, was satisfactorily handled by local officials and agencies in the main.” To be clear, the French did not act helpless, but rather comported themselves as partners with the Civil Affairs efforts.<sup>311</sup>

For the rest of the summer and into the fall, Maginnis and his detachment focused on restoring the local economy and managing civilian supplies. Maginnis' goal was "shoring up the local economy by providing it with necessary supplies so that could fill its own civilian needs. Naturally, the more self-reliant the civilian economy became, the lighter would be the logistical burden for the military."<sup>312</sup> He held a meeting on 22 July with all the mayors in his district, discussing the supply situation, explaining the reasons behind Allied directives, and *asking* for their cooperation in resolving issues.<sup>313</sup>

The detachment salvaged undamaged railroad cars for military logistical use. Acting on a tip, it recovered hoarded German supplies (in particular food and fuel) and distributed some to the Army and the remainder to the mayors. In support of military necessity, the detachment made a determined effort to find German war supplies to augment Army supplies.<sup>314</sup> Accordingly, Maginnis established a policy for the handling of captured German supplies and equipment. Whatever the Army did not need, Maginnis sold to the local French authorities, with the First Army determining the amounts and prices beforehand. For example, the detachment sold automotive equipment for the purpose of establishing essential services (i.e., public health, food distribution, etc.) and captured German war supplies, such as "fodder, farm equipment, oats, and hay." For other commodities not available, such as "gasoline, flour, soap, chocolate, biscuits, and shoes," the Army provided for the local market. The detachment then sent all the proceeds to the United States.<sup>315</sup> As soon as the security situation permitted, the detachment began issuing fishing permits.<sup>316</sup> Maginnis' economic policy served several purposes.

First, by selling captured materials and commodities, the policy created value to the users. Second, it served as a catalyst to the local economy, diminished hoarding, and curbed the black market. Third, it enhanced local economic self-sufficiency, lightening the burden on Allied logistics. Compared to the economic situation in Italy, the contrast was stark.

Other Civil Affairs sectors also experienced similar cooperation with French authorities. In the British sector, a Civil Affairs officer recorded that there was no need to establish order in the towns and that local governments "continued to function." He also found the town officials willing to follow the authority of Civil Affairs detachments. Civil Affairs detachments acted more as liaisons and a "clearing house" for law and order issues, passing these to "the mayors, the Sub-Prefect, or the gendarmerie" for action.<sup>317</sup>

Ironically, despite SHAEF headquarters' policy directives to subordinate commands on Civil Affairs activities, Maginnis noted,

Our relationship with the tactical units was, in many respects, not clearly defined. These units in most cases had only a dim idea as to the function and place of Civil Affairs. We realized this and took pains to see that they understood that we were there to help them by taking civilian problems off their shoulders. We managed to set up a workable relationship between the military forces and civilian authority, one which gave the army the help it needed and also protected civilians from undue hardships.<sup>318</sup>

The lesson for Civil Affairs is not to assume tactical units are well informed of their activities; instead, Civil Affairs personnel must patiently explain who they are and what the Civil Affairs plan entails. This would require that Civil Affairs personnel make immediate contact with newly arrived units in their area of responsibility.

During the rapid liberation of France and Belgium, many combat divisions used their CA/MG detachments as “spearhead” detachments, which entered towns ahead of the division headquarters, served as the military mayors, established security and communications, identified facilities for command posts, and gained control of civilians and displaced persons.<sup>319</sup>

**Interacting with the French Forces of the Interior (FFI).** Maginnis assumed command of another detachment (B1D1) near the Belgium border and came into contact with the French Resistance or Maquis as commonly described. He regarded the FFI as somewhat of a nuisance, acting above the law and upsetting the local populace. In contravention to Allied ordinances, the FFI regarded abandoned German supplies as its own and hunted down German stragglers, executing some.<sup>320</sup> Maginnis met often with FFI leaders, patiently explaining the military authority of the U.S. First Army (as well as the civil authority of the French department representative). As such, Maginnis urged the groups to confer with him for “guidance and assistance,” to include turning in captured material. Still, the FFI continued to ignore military and civil authority, which led to on-going tensions. To Maginnis’ relief, Colonel Pettetin of the French Army arrived on 15 September, smoothing out authorities among the U.S. Army, the French Army, and French civil authority. He also assisted Maginnis with the recalcitrant FFI.<sup>321</sup>

Maginnis made special note of the *Franc Tireur et Partisans Francais* (FTP), which was a communist resistance organization, operating on its own in the area. No one could control it, and it was well organized and hence dangerous. Of interest, 70 Russians were part of the FTP under the command of a Captain Marius, a Russian commissar. They looted at will and remained troublesome. After weeks of trying to persuade the FFI and the U.S. provost marshal to disarm and disband the FTP, Colonel Pettetin neutralized the FTP in October, dissolving all FFI headquarters and recruiting many of the resistance members into the Free French army.<sup>322</sup>

**Refugee Control.** Prior to D-Day, the G-5 Section, SHAEF determined that Civil Affairs/Military Government detachments would be generally responsible for the “care and control of refugees and displaced persons.” This appeared to be more presumption than policy since Maginnis thought combat divisions were responsible for establishing refugee camps in their sectors but tried to pass this task to the local Civil Affairs/Military Government detachments. Maginnis noted that his detachment at Carentan (C2B1) inadvertently caused refugee congestion of the roads with its travel restriction policy and road checkpoints, interfering with military traffic as well as having no plan to shelter and feed them. Rising to the occasion, C2B1 assumed responsibility for several refugee camps while the battle for Normandy raged. Maginnis established a policy to return refugees to their homes quickly in order to keep camp numbers manageable, processing over 7,700 refugees.<sup>323</sup>

Meanwhile, the G-5 Section, SHAEF sought to remedy the confusion by tasking eight Civil Affairs/Military Government detachments with running refugee and

displaced persons centers. To provide specialized personnel, augmented these centers with “American Red Cross personnel, Mission Militaire Liaison Administrative Welfare teams (MMLA) and Allied Liaison Officers for repatriation.” Over a period of six months, the number of assistance teams increased as the number of refugees and displaced persons from various countries streamed into liberated territory.<sup>324</sup>

After the breakout from Normandy, hundreds of thousands of refugees (many expelled by the Germans) flooded the roads. In response, Detachments C112 and D212 coordinated with G-4 traffic Control, the SHAEF G-5 Refugee Officer, a French liaison officer, the French Red Cross, and French authorities to establish dedicated routes, each with posted signs *Route Autorisée Aux Civils*, so as to preclude interference with military traffic. Along these routes, the French established temporary centers with accommodations and food distribution.<sup>325</sup> In one instance, “Detachment C112 provided emergency hard rations, which included soap, codfish, pulses, biscuits, meat, milk and chocolate. . . . A total of 24,000 refugees were cared for without interference to military operations or supply.”<sup>326</sup>

**Displaced Persons Control.** As the Allied forces surged across France in September 1944, thousands of displaced persons (Polish forced labor comprising women and children) as well as French, Allied, and Italian prisoners of war fell into Allied hands. As an expedient, First Army charged Maginnis’ Detachment B1D1 with managing their care. Accordingly, Maginnis tasked specific Civil Affairs/Military Government detachments to establish displaced persons camps and prisoner of war repatriation centers with the assistance of French welfare teams, using former German

POW camps and army casernes throughout France. At the end of September, French authorities began assuming responsibility for managing the camps and repatriation centers (excluding Allied POWs). This arrangement proved beyond the French capabilities and competency.<sup>327</sup> If the refugee and displaced persons experiences in Italy and France served as a prelude to the occupation of the Third Reich, a much larger effort would need to be made.

Accordingly Eisenhower conferred with the Director General of the UN Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) on 25 November 1944 to begin recruiting UNRRA teams “in Belgium, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, and France” to lead the effort with displaced persons.<sup>328</sup> Conceptually, the plan was to broadcast appeals to displaced persons to stand fast and wait for food, shelter, and transportation back home.<sup>329</sup> As events transpired, even this effort would prove daunting in the aftermath of Germany’s collapse.

## CHAPTER 6

### THE CAMPAIGN FOR SOUTHERN FRANCE (OPERATION DRAGOON)

A number of features in planning, organization, and execution distinguished Civil Affairs operations from their brethren in northwest France. First, by the time of the invasion of southern France on 15 August 1944, the French Committee of National Liberation (FCNL) in general and the French local authorities in particular had proven both capable and prompt to assume the burden of civil administration. As such, Civil Affairs detachments established an immediate close liaison with French civil authorities, to include the formulation of policies. Second, since the invasion occurred in the Mediterranean Sea, AFHQ remained the authority for the Civil Affairs Headquarters. AFHQ delegated more authority to Seventh Army than that enjoyed by their OVERLORD counterparts. The fact that units from French Army B participated in the invasion accounted for this willingness to delegate greater “political responsibility.” Third, far fewer Civil Affairs personnel were available for DRAGOON than for OVERLORD.

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#### **Planning for Civil Affairs**

In light of the uncertainties regarding the actual invasion of Southern France, planning was slow and somewhat disjointed. In January 1944, Colonel Harvey S. Gerry from AFHQ Military Government Section gathered a small team of Civil Affairs planners at burgeoning headquarters in Algiers. By March, the Civil Affairs Unit moved to La Bouzaréa, Algeria as part of Force

163, which would become Seventh Army. At the same time, the unit established a Civil Affairs Training Center at Courbet-Maine, Algeria for 80 officers and 80 enlisted dispatched from Italy. Oddly, The Civil Affairs Training Center in Tizi Ouzou, Algeria had just closed in January 1944, so why it was not used is a mystery. Regardless, once training was completed, this training center closed on 22 August 1944.<sup>331</sup>

When SHAEF announced on 1 July 1944 that Operation Dragoon was approved, The Civil Affairs Group still had “no organized unit, no table of organization, no authorized equipment, no CA manual,” and only a small staff and 80 trained Civil Affairs officers. To straighten out the disarray, Colonel Henry Parkman Jr. became the Chief of the newly formed Civil Affairs Headquarters (CAHQ) and formed the 2678<sup>th</sup> Civil Affairs Regiment (Overhead) to support the Seventh Army with Civil Affairs teams. In effect, the regiment replicated the functions of ECAD for southern France. To fill out the regiment, he brought in 90 trained Civil Affairs officers and 250 enlisted men from England on 1 July 1944.<sup>332</sup> In view of this extemporaneous approach, Allied Civil Affairs activities were conducted on the fly.

Supreme Allied Commander, Mediterranean, Field Marshal Sir Henry Maitland Wilson’s Civil Affairs guidance to Major General Alexander Patch, the commander of Seventh Army stressed that Military Government would not be established in Southern France. Instead, FCLN French authorities would conduct civil administration. Accordingly, FCLN officers would procure “civil labor, billets, and supplies and use of lands, buildings, transportation, and other

services for military needs." Moreover, The French would be responsible for tribunals for civilians acting against Allied forces. Hence, Allied tribunals would address non-French Allied forces only. To these ends, Civil Affairs personnel would assist the French with "the presentation of public order . . . . The restoration of supervision of public services. . . . The maintenance of public order. . . . The supervision of economic institutions, practices and controls including those relating to banking and other financial functions. . . . The regulation of the movements of civilians within whole of your area and . . . . The protection and preservation of archives, historical monuments and works of art."<sup>333</sup>

Negotiations with General Henri Cochet, the FCLN Military Delegate for the Southern Zone, identified the need for 73 officers and 167 enlisted men to support Civil Affairs activities for Dragoon (i.e., designated for the local governments). Cochet's plan envisioned an additional number of French liaison officers evenly distributed between Patch's Seventh Army and General Jean de Lattre Tassigny's French Army B. While de Gaulle initially rejected the diversion of French Civil Affairs officers for liaison duties, generals Cochet and Koenig persuaded him to assign 89 officers. Still, AFHQ deemed this number as insufficient but accepted de Gaulle's final decision as better than nothing.<sup>334</sup>

### **Organization of Civil Affairs**

Soon after forming the 2678<sup>th</sup> Civil Affairs Regiment, Colonel Parkman assumed command as the Chief Civil Affairs Officer (CCAO), with a total of 196 officers and 398 enlisted men now assigned. After studying the ECAD organization, Parkman organized the regimental headquarters into five branches—

“Operations; Service and Supply; Law, Public Safety, [and] Fine Arts; Economics and finance; Welfare, Displaced Persons and Public Health, [Public Health became a separate branch after the invasion].”<sup>335</sup>

Below the headquarters, Parkman established “five regional teams of five officers each, one city detachment of eleven officers, three port detachments, one follow-up team and four specialist teams.” Additionally, Civil Affairs officers were attached to the combat divisions (i.e., 3<sup>d</sup>, 36<sup>th</sup>, and 45<sup>th</sup> divisions, and the 1<sup>st</sup> Airborne Task Force), the Civil Affairs Group of the Continental Base Section for port and supply support to combat units, and small liaison teams, ranging from one to four officers, to the French.<sup>336</sup>

AFHQ instructed Civil Affairs teams to rely initially on local supplies and resources before requisitioning Civil Affairs supplies to approved French authorities from the French Committee of National Liberation (FCNL). Accordingly, French authorities were to use local labor for the distribution of Civil Affairs supplies, but Civil Affairs teams were authorized to employ local civilian labor if necessary.<sup>337</sup>

The Civil Affairs Headquarters (CAHQ) initially operated in Saint Maxim, France on 15 August, then on to Marseilles and Lyon subsequently. Because CAHQ acted in an autonomous fashion, duplication of policy and friction with the Seventh Army G-5 staff section arose as each claimed the other was intruding in its affairs.<sup>338</sup> Sixth Army Group settled the dispute on 15 September by placing the 2678<sup>th</sup> Civil Affairs Regiment under its immediate control and designated the 2678<sup>th</sup> as the premier Civil Affairs headquarters.<sup>339</sup>

## Civil Affairs in Action

Civil Affairs personnel and French liaison officers accompanied the combat divisions and the airborne task force during the invasion and advanced into liberated towns and ports. While the Civil Affairs teams conducted their surveys, the French liaison officers addressed local political issues and emplaced FCNL-designated mayors and department administrative officials. The local French Forces of the Interior (FFI) were well organized and assisted in the establishment of political order. Fortunately, urban areas experienced little damage, looting, and refugee flows, so Civil Affairs teams determined the most immediate problems were the lack of food supplies and transportation.<sup>340</sup>

The rapid advance of Seventh Army northward made it impossible for Civil Affairs teams Division G-5 Civil Affairs officers to render only cursory attention to local assistance. Local authorities and the populace accepted this state of affairs, thankful for their liberation, and relied on their own resources without hindering military operations. Corps G-5 Civil Affairs officers assumed responsibility for the rear areas, while the Civil Affairs teams focused on forward areas of the advance. Civil Affairs Headquarters attached Civil Affairs liaison officers to French divisions to report on supply and transportation issues as well as FFI replacements of local officials.<sup>341</sup>

Civil Affairs teams in the forward areas adopted the following procedures as the front advanced rapidly:

- Information-collection and transmission to higher headquarters.

- “First aid” assistance to civilians where it is requested and necessary to relieve the distress immediately following combat, and
- Assuring certain measures necessary to the operation of the Divisions and Corps (including control of civilian traffic, provision of labor, enforcing the curfew and blackout, and the like). In this latter connection, it is to be observed that in many cases the Germans had removed the Gendarmerie from the smaller to the bigger towns so that they are short in the former. However, no difficulty exists as yet from this situation.<sup>342</sup>

American and French liaison officers provided an invaluable service to Civil Affairs during this dynamic period. U.S. liaison officers attached to French Army B kept tabs on “civilian supplies and transport, all political, public safety and other specialists problems being handled locally with the Maires [mayors] and Sécurité Militaire [military intelligence].”<sup>343</sup> They effectively served as Civil Affairs officers, establishing liaison offices in the regional capitals and major cities and serving as “clearing houses for all local Civil Affairs problems.” They managed and reported weekly on “political, economic, public safety, legal and other activities in their areas.” Their headquarters were in city center hotels or office buildings, and they “hired civilian interpreters and secretaries, civilian cooks and servants.” Local U.S. units supplied liaison officers with rations until they moved on; thereafter, CAHQ provided the rations. While they had one or two military vehicles, they supplemented their car pool with civilian cars. CAHQ couriers provided

the exchange of correspondence and administrative support every couple of days.<sup>344</sup>

Liaison officers traveled throughout southern France, assessing civilian supply needs and monitored the distribution of Allied supplies to local authorities. They served as the intermediary between U.S. units and local authorities, and conducted surveys of utilities, industry, public works, transportation, infrastructure, mines, and so forth. Accordingly, CAHQ specialists came forward to coordinate repairs and resolve problems.<sup>345</sup>

French liaison officers, attached to G-5 staffs in the divisions, VI Corps, and Seventh Army, ensured the cooperation of local officials and the population as well as reporting on the attitudes of both. They accompanied Civil Affairs officers into newly liberated towns, introducing them to the proper local authorities, department officials, and local resistance leaders quickly and rendered advice on thorny political issues.<sup>346</sup>

**Civilian Supply Operations.** In contrast to northwest France and Italy, civilian supplies were “a separate and distinct Civil Affairs operation,” thereby segregated from G-4 supply shipments. As such, the Service and Supply Branch of CAHQ managed the Base Sections through which civilian supplies earmarked for the French flowed:

Ships arrived solidly loaded with Civil Affairs supplies and a section of the docks at Marseille was designated for the unloading of these supplies. All Civil Affairs supplies were turned

over to the French at the port, on official receipts, for the French to distribute. . . . The vehicles brought in for transportation of Civil Affairs supplies were issued to the French to take care of necessary transportation and to supplement the indigenous transport. This procedure placed the responsibility of allocation, transportation, and distribution solely on the indigenous authorities and relieved the Allied armies of transportation, storage and accounting for supplies except at dockside.<sup>347</sup>

Officers from the Services of Supply Branch traveled extensively conducting agricultural surveys to ascertain projected harvests. Because the dearth of vehicle transportation and fuel were acute, Services and Supply Branch officers requisitioned Allied trucks for French use as well as drawing sufficient fuel from Allied and captured stocks.<sup>348</sup> As the largest section of CAHQ, the Services and Supply Branch managed “such functions as labor, communications, public works, utilities and solid fuels. . . . The army urgently required skilled stevedores for the docks, mechanics for ordnance shops, common laborers for railheads and depots as well as scores of other classifications. It needed thousands upon thousands of men but, unfortunately, the local labor market was both limited and of poor quality.” Few laborers were available because they were either in German forced labor or prisoner of war camps. Others had joined the FFI. Hence, the available labor force was small and inept. Germans had either impressed them into force labor or placed them into prisoner of war camps. The invasion disrupted government labor relations, and the Army had no guidance for labor policy. Although the French authorities and CAHQ worked together to establish

labor policy (i.e., wages, work hours, etc.), the pace was slower than military necessity demanded. By 17 September, the Army had only 7,000 civilian laborers on the payroll.<sup>349</sup> Vexed by the problems with recruiting dock workers and meeting their work demands at Marseille, CAHQ resolved the issue by using 28,700 Italian prisoners of war as stevedores.<sup>350</sup>

**Interacting with the French Forces of the Interior (FFI).** While the French Forces of the Interior rendered effective service to the Allies during the initial stages of the invasion, they also attracted criminals and young hoodlums, which lacked fire discipline and often took the law into their own hands. The local police were unable to establish order because the Germans and FFI took their weapons and vehicles. Consequently, as elsewhere, FCLN authorities disarmed and disbanded the FFI and incorporated FFI volunteers into French Army, the Republican Forces of Security, and the regular Territorial Army.<sup>351</sup>

**Black Market Activities.** While combat troops innocently traded cigarettes for wine only (and moved on as the front advanced), Base Section and Port soldiers began stealing and black marketing PX items (i.e., cigarettes, rations, gasoline, etc.) on a large scale. CAHQ attempted to counter these activities through arrests, road blocks, and increased guard details posted at depots and ports. Generally, legal action against civilians proved ineffective because the French courts issued only light sentences. After four years of war rationing, the French regarded the black market as a normal activity for their subsistence, so attitudes remained unchanged with the arrival of the Allies. French police at road blocks were prohibited from searching military vehicles, and few military police

were available for such duty. The Provost Marshal, pressuring the local authorities and police, managed to curtail black marketing on a large scale by publishing a memorandum to dissuade soldiers from selling military supplies, and the French authorities used the memorandum as a “warrant to confiscate” military items found on civilians or on their property. Further, the local police at Toulon used “four plainclothesmen” to uncover black market activities. By October, CAHQ concluded that the black market was more or less under control.<sup>352</sup>

**Organizational Changes Resulting from the Formation of the Sixth Army Group.** When Patch’s Seventh Army linked up with Patton’s Third Army in eastern France, SHAEF assumed operational control on 15 September and operationalized the Sixth Army Group, commanded by Lieutenant General Jacob L. Devers.<sup>353</sup> On 25 October, the Allied governments formally recognized de Gaulle’s national government, which established the French Zone of the Interior. With the passing of control from AFHQ to SHAEF on 1 November, ETOUSA re-designated the 2678<sup>th</sup> Civil Affairs Regiment as the 6837<sup>th</sup> Civil Affairs Regiment. On 25 November, Lieutenant General John G. H. Lee, the Commanding General of the ETO Communications Zone assumed responsibility for all Civil Affairs activities in southern France, designated now as the Delta Base Section, Communications Zone, ETOUSA. Accordingly, ETOSA disbanded the 6837<sup>th</sup> and renamed it L Company, 1<sup>st</sup> ECAR, with its Civil Affairs personnel assigned to ECAD G-5 staff sections and detachments.<sup>354</sup>

## Lessons Learned in Southern France

Colonel Parkman assessed that the 2678th Civil Affairs Regiment effectively managed the administration of Civil Affairs in a timely and efficient manner. As the CCAO, Parkman had sufficient authority to interact with the echelons of G-5 staff sections, General Patch, and the Army Echelon in a centralized manner. Moreover, his control over the pool of Civil Affairs personnel permitted him to address problems which arose in a dynamic environment quickly. He recommended that the consolidation of the CCAO and Chief of the Army or Army Group G-5 staff section for unity of command. To avoid confusion, the senior Army headquarters should vest CAHQ with sole policy authority for the Base Sections. In turn, officers in the Base Sections should have a Civil Affairs background and have the authority to resolve supply issues which most effectively meet the needs of commanding generals. Lastly, Parkman contended that Civil Affairs officers in the first waves of the invasion should be generalists rather than technical specialists.<sup>355</sup>

Perhaps due to the dearth of Civil Affairs teams, a Seventh Army G-5 report in November 1944 barely touched on Civil Affairs teams and liaison officers conducting Civil Affairs. For the most part, it described how military units conducted Civil Affairs and mentioned Civil Affairs personnel only in regards to public health supply activities.<sup>356</sup>

The G-5 report validated the wisdom of having local authorities of liberated territories conduct civil administration. This approach not only allayed civilian concerns but also checked enemy propaganda. While the report mentioned the use of French liaison officers

interacting effectively with local communities, how they did so remained unwritten.<sup>357</sup>

The G-5 report regarded public health as an activity for Civil Affairs personnel. Accordingly, it recommended they include medical supply kits in their basic load and earmark essential medical supplies from the Army supply chain at D-Day to D+3. For southern France, the health assessment concluded that sufficient numbers of doctors, nurses, and medical people were available, so medical supplies became the urgent commodity. As such, medical supply officers and sanitary engineers needed to arrive within a couple of days after the invasion. Water purification and materials to repair civilian health facilities should follow next in the supply chain.<sup>358</sup>

The G-5 report noted that local commanders assumed several Civil Affairs responsibilities. Requisitions of local supplies, property, and labor in support of military necessity required formal procedures in order to avoid acrimony. As such, at the behest of senior commanders, local authorities were at the forefront. In rear areas, Army Engineers assisted senior commanders with the requisition of real estate and billeting, appointing an officer as the "Town Mayor" of towns. This approach preempted Allied units from competing for and occupying buildings and homes without authority. Further, Army Engineers and local authorities restored communications and utilities. With the exception of Civil Affairs personnel procuring local labor, the report concluded that "except for special problems, use of Civil Affairs Detachments in towns and villages, is not necessary nor, in our experience, welcomed by local officials." Paradoxically, the G-5 advocated the assignment of a Civil Affairs officer in "any city, town,

or village” in which the Seventh Army headquarters was located to deal with local issues, so as to forestall civilians from bothering the headquarters staff.<sup>359</sup>

G-5 also regarded supplies for civilians and economic recovery as Civil Affairs tasks. The report emphasized that Civil Affairs should focus on reestablishing local economic services and optimize local food sources in order to minimize the impact on Army logistics and military necessity. As such, sufficient truck transportation for civilian supplies and telephone services were needed to ensure the local communities were self-sufficient when the armies moved on. The report stressed that “regional and local officials should solve their own supply problems with minimum assistance from Civil Affairs. Such independence ensures a much speedier return to normalcy and fuller use and exploitation of local resources, makes minimum demands upon military resources of supply and transport.”<sup>360</sup>

Because port operations were critical to the Seventh Army’s (later 6<sup>th</sup> Army Group) logistical effort, the G-5 report stressed the need to insert Civil Affairs port detachments as soon as ports were seized. In this regard, the detachments needed “to work out the innumerable attendant details of storage, accounting, transport, distribution, local needs and all that goes into a smooth-working supply organization.”<sup>361</sup>

The Chief of the Public Safety Branch, Major Russell Kennedy, was highly critical of Seventh Army’s neglect of public safety. Public Safety officers were not allowed to debark until D+10, so in the interim, “the FFI, FTP, Milice Patriotique [communist militias] and other extra-legal organizations” ran roughshod

over the local police, seizing their weapons, vehicles, and other equipment, sowing mayhem in the process. Without the early presence of public safety officers, the avoidable loss of lives and theft of military supplies resulted.<sup>362</sup> Specifically, Kennedy contended:

Whenever the Army goes into a new area, enemy or otherwise, disturbances among the civil population, and thefts of military supplies and equipment, will be in inverse ratio to the number and efficiency of Public Safety officers present in the initial stages. The Public Safety Branch's recommendation for this operation was for 45 officers, 60 enlisted men and 40 vehicles, preferably civilian type, equipped with radio. We received 4 officers, 3 enlisted men and no equipment of any kind. It was estimated by competent officers on the scene that as high as 20 percent of the cargo which came ashore in ducks at Marseille was diverted and sold by the drivers. An adequate complement of public safety personnel, on the scene early, could have so organized the civilian public safety agencies as to have prevented a large part of this, and would have saved many hundreds of thousands of dollars of losses. The tremendous and thriving Black Market in Marseille in American rations, cigarettes, gasoline and other supplies got its start through the lack of Public Safety officers-and continued to thrive because of the shortage of both Public Safety officers and military police.<sup>363</sup>

On one hand, the Civil Affairs effort did prevent civilians from interfering with the invasion and onward offensive up the Rhone Valley. Since southern France

was experiencing a famine during the invasion, the distribution of food on dedicated trucks helped avert a humanitarian crisis. On the other hand, poor planning regarding the use of local labor caused delays and inefficiencies; and inadequate attention to displaced persons caused turmoil in the rear areas.<sup>364</sup> Ultimately, the rapid advance of Seventh Army and later 6<sup>th</sup> Army Group, in what historians call “The Champagne Campaign,” obviated the need for a substantial Civil Affairs presence in southern France. Since the ports of Marseille and Toulon were critical to SHAEF as the Army Groups closed on the German border, it is understandable that logistics would receive the greatest attention.



## CHAPTER 7

### CIVIL AFFAIRS IN BELGIUM AND LUXEMBOURG

#### **Belgium**

Civil Affairs planning, training, and organization for Northwest Europe began in February 1943, with the British establishing a 13-week Civil Affairs course at Wimbledon, England. In August 1943, the COSSAC Civil Affairs Division created the Belgium and Luxembourg Country Section (or Country House). Civil Affairs planners made several assumptions regarding the occupations of Belgium and Luxembourg. First, both would welcome the Allies as liberators and friends. Second, "minimum supervision" of civil administration would be required. Third, since local authorities would remain in charge, few Civil Affairs detachments would be needed. However, the situation in Luxembourg was unique due to complete German annexation. Additionally, the country houses relied on COSSAC's Operation Rankin to prepare contingency plans for the Allied occupation of Belgium and Luxembourg (i.e., Germany's political collapse and surrender, a military collapse, voluntary withdrawal, or determined resistance).<sup>365</sup>

Upon the establishment of SHAEF in January 1944, the country sections moved to the Civil Affairs Center in Shrivenham, England and began preparing country handbooks. Completing its handbook on 1 April 1944, the Belgium/Luxembourg country section moved to London where it began policy discussions in early May with the Belgium government in exile and later became

the Belgium Mission.<sup>366</sup> Since the Belgium government in exile would begin governing as soon as practical, SHAEF directed the 21<sup>st</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> Army Groups to forego Military Government and rely on the SHAEF Belgium Military Mission and CA/MG detachments to support military necessity. Additionally, SHAEF attached Belgium liaison officers to the army groups G-5 staffs.<sup>367</sup>

### **SHAEF Belgium Military Mission**

Of all the Civil Affairs challenges during the war, Belgium proved the most exasperating. As the Allies swept into Belgium, SHAEF activated the Belgium Military Mission, headed by Major General George Erskine, who arrived in Brussels on 10 September 1944. The next day, the Belgium government in exile, under Prince Charles as Regent and Prime Minister Hubert Pierlot, established the constitutional government.<sup>368</sup> While the food, water, and utilities situation in Belgium was generally good, the lack of transportation for food posed a critical problem, and coal production was disrupted. Ironically, the Belgium Military Mission got off to a slow start because it arrived without its assigned staff (i.e., G-1, G-2, G-3, G-4, and administration). As noted at the time, Belgium authorities exhibited an overreliance on the Allies to resolve their domestic problems; additionally, the Pierlot government lacked popular support and remained ineffective. Hence, the domestic situation became acute.<sup>369</sup>

From September to November 1944, the security situation, primarily due to the wanton activities of resistance groups, as well as the political and economic situation, deteriorated appreciably. Major General

Erskine was unable to convince Belgium authorities to take action on food distribution and the resumption of the coal industry, which was creating massive unemployment and turmoil. On 17 November, three ministers resigned over a government decision to demobilize the resistance, which prompted a government crisis. At this point, SHAEF prepared a contingency directive for the restoration of law and order and essential services with Allied forces—preferably at the request of the Belgium government for military assistance—but unilaterally if extensive unrest threatened military necessity.<sup>370</sup> This measure proved prudent because instability reached a boiling point at the end of November when mass demonstrations and armed civilians took to the streets. In response, Erskine, under the authority of Eisenhower, ordered the deployment of Allied troops to restore order and to arrest the troublemakers. This swift intervention served to stabilize Belgium sufficiently.<sup>371</sup>

No other issue created more turmoil in Belgium than coal production and distribution because it was essential for transportation as well as the heating of factories, bakeries and so forth.<sup>372</sup> At the end of December, SHAEF G-4 established the Coal Distribution Section (CODISEC) to manage coal production and distribution, using ECAD CA/MG detachments earmarked for the Ninth Army. CODISEC also instituted a ration system for the feeding of people and economic revival. Additionally, a Belgium liaison officer oversaw labor issues.<sup>373</sup> Nonetheless, The Communist Labor Union, *Committee de Lutte Syndicale* (CLS), called a general strike on 24 January 1945 for all the coal mines around La Louvière district. In spite of Allied rebukes to the CLS to end labor agitation, the coal strike spread to the industrial plants on 1 February, in protest of the Pierlot

government. The railroad workers staged a sympathy strike.<sup>374</sup>

Belgium civilians clamored for the SHAEF Military Mission to assume partial Military Government in view of the ineffectiveness of the Pierlot government, but SHAEF demurred, stressing it would not replace the established government. Finally, the Pierlot government fell on 7 February 1945, replaced by the more popular Achille Van Acker government, thus ending the coal strike.<sup>375</sup>

### **Civil Affairs Detachments in Action**

On 21 October, Maginnis' B1D1 arrived in Mons, taking over the Hainaut province (1.3 million people), the first detachment to run a province, placing D3D1, which had arrived on 6 Sep, and D4C1 in Charleroi under its supervision. After assessing the food situation, B1D1 held a meeting with the provincial governor, the Mons mayor and the Mons gendarme chief to coordinate law and order. Maginnis prioritized the problems for resolution—coal, labor, food, and transportation. B1DA then coordinated more equipment for the fire department.<sup>376</sup>

Like other Civil Affairs officers, Maginnis found the Belgium authorities too dependent on CA/MG detachments to get things done. Detachment B1D1 was responsible for the coordination of all emergency civilian requests for coal in the Hainaut province, which embroiled it in internal disputes. For instance, transportation for coal miners and coal distribution was a serious problem, as well as a coal miner strike over wages. Rather than ordering the miners back to work, Maginnis investigated and insisted that Belgium

authorities resolve the issue. Maginnis assessed that the strike was essentially political since the strike leaders were communists and hence ideologically opposed to the new Pierlot government. While the strike was cancelled, discord continued to simmer, so he mediated with strike leaders on 31 October, explaining that the strike weakened the Allied war effort. Moreover, he spoke with Belgium journalists on several occasions to stress that victory was not a foregone conclusion, so the Belgians needed to contribute actively to the Allied war effort. Because coal production was essential to the Belgium economy, The SHAEF Military Mission brought in a coal expert to oversee all coal issues and on 2 November, assigned a labor expert to B1D1 as a liaison officer.<sup>377</sup>

Still, Detachment B1DA struggled to manage the acute shortages in coal, food, and other essentials plaguing Belgium. On 27 January, Maginnis visited the SHAEF Military Mission to explain the impact the harsh winter and the dearth of coal was having on civilian food and health. With the reassignment of Detachment D3D1 to Rouen, France, Maginnis asked for a replacement detachment from the ECAD pool. In response, ECAD dispatched Detachment B1DA and Detachment H1D3 (four officers and seven enlisted men) on 4 February, the latter to administer the CODISEC for Mons district. They were most welcome because coal production had virtually stopped with 27,000 miners on strike in the province.<sup>378</sup>

If these problems were not enough, Maginnis noted the massive theft of Army supplies for the black market. While these supplies were meant for sale in stores, Allied soldiers were selling items directly to civilians for profit.<sup>379</sup>

**Resistance Groups.** As CA/MG detachments followed behind the Allied spearheads into Belgium, they noted the plethora of organized resistance groups roaming about without central control. Numbering around 70,000 fighters, these groups were more active than the French resistance and proved troublesome later. The principal resistant group was the *Armée Secrète* (or *Armée Blanche*), which was led by former Belgium officers and supported with weapons and equipment by the Allies during German occupation. The other resistance groups included the *Front de l'Indépendance* (mostly Communist) and the *Mouvement National Belge* (conservatives), both of which were political in nature. Additionally, village resistance groups sprang up everywhere as the Germans withdrew and only had parochial interests.<sup>380</sup>

Prior to liberation, the various resistance groups assisted the Allied advance with sabotage activities and capturing isolated groups of German soldiers. CA/MG detachments used the groups for security, military traffic control, and civil order. However, after liberation, with the exception of the *Armée Secrète*, the various groups engaged in mass arrests and retribution against alleged collaborationists, as well as wanton thievery. Numbering only 6,000 and lacking weapons and ammunition, the police and gendarmes were unable to establish law and order. Consequently, local communities throughout Belgium experienced significant consternation. In response, Detachment A1E1 under Lieutenant Colonel Albert A. Carmichael in Charleroi called a meeting with the local resistance leaders and explained they were undermining the war effort. Through the detachment's intersession, the resistance groups stopped mistreating the populace, ceased arbitrary arrests, and handed over their

prisoners to the Belgium legal authorities. Further, the resistance began requisitioning “food and supplies through official channels.”<sup>381</sup>

Maginnis found the resistance groups vexing, especially the *Front de l'Indépendance* (FI), which was stealing horses, vehicles, and food. Maginnis spoke with General Desclèe, the Belgian military commander in Hainaut about the need to demobilize the FI and the need to recruit men in the new Belgium army and gendarme. At the end of September, Eisenhower urged all resistance groups to turn in their weapons to the government, but the government did not enforce demobilization until November, with the turn-in to begin on 16 November, which prompted the FI to take to the streets in protest and led to the resignation of the three ministers.<sup>382</sup> As a result of Erskine’s intervention, the resistance groups agreed to turn in their weapons on 18 November.<sup>383</sup> Nevertheless, on 28 November, 88 armed FI members marched on Brussels to overthrow the government, but a gendarme checkpoint at Nimy Bridge (of World War I fame) disarmed and arrested them. Thereafter, disarmament and demobilization proceeded without difficulty, and the first battalion of former resistance fighters was formed on 14 December.<sup>384</sup>

In recollection, Maginnis had this to say about his experiences in Belgium:

I would characterize the Hainaut operation as my most important of any in Civil Affairs. We had the immediate task of bringing order and stability to a sizable province in area and population that had gone its own uncoordinated, uncontrolled way for seven weeks since its liberation. There

had been a high level of activity as evidenced by the turbulent problems in coal production, political activities, transportation, food, and agriculture and the Battle of the Bulge. Most helpful to us in tackling these problems was the cooperative attitude and cordial relationship which we had with the civil authorities and the population as a whole.<sup>385</sup>

## **The Grand Duchy of Luxembourg**

**SHAEF Luxembourg Military Mission.** SHAEF activated the Luxembourg Mission on 3 Sep 44, informing Colonel Damon Gunn, the G-5 of First Army that he was to head the mission and report as quickly as possible. The mission began inauspiciously since the V Corps commander, Lieutenant General Leonard Gerow, was unaware of mission or its purpose. After procuring supplies, including transportation from the captured enemy motor pool, SHAEF Luxembourg Military Mission, with the government-in-exile members (including Prince Jean and Prince Felix) arrived in Luxembourg City on 11 September. Paradoxically, the Fifth Corps commander viewed the mission members as interlopers, letting them know that he “would brook no interference from the Mission, or any other source.”<sup>1</sup> Specifically, the V Corps would control the CA/MG detachments, which began arriving on the same day.<sup>386</sup>

1 This brusque behavior of Gerow is indeed strange since he must have known about the SHAEF missions. He was a close personal friend of Eisenhower, a study partner in the Command and General Staff Course and a colleague in the War Plans Department from 1941 to 1942.

Irrespective of the cool reception, the SHAEF Luxembourg Mission began the onerous task of establishing a government from scratch. Annexing Luxembourg in 1940, Germany completely replaced all government offices and incorporated the duchy as part of the third Reich. Upon withdrawal from Luxembourg, the Germans evacuated around 50,000 people, mostly civil servants, out of a population of 250,000 inhabitants. Moreover, the Germans removed or destroyed all government records. Any former authorities remaining were of no use since they had been out of government since annexation and had no relevant administration files.<sup>387</sup>

The SHAEF Luxembourg Mission found the duchy completely shut down: all government offices, financial institutions, communications (i.e., “telephone, telegraph, radio, and postal), stores, restaurants, garages, repair shops were closed; no police force/gendarmerie remained; the electrical and war utilities barely functioned; and all public transportation and rail were inert. On the positive side, despite the scarcity of food, the populace was healthy, and public order was steadfast, partially due to the Union of Patriots resistance group.<sup>388</sup>

From September to October, the SHAEF Luxembourg Mission focused on establishing the inchoate government, law enforcement, armed forces, economy, and essential services. However, since Luxembourg would essentially remain in an active combat zone until the Allies invaded Germany, SHAEF decided to withdraw the mission for the time being and directed the V Corps commander 12<sup>th</sup> Army Group to assume control of civil administration through the CA/MG detachments.<sup>389</sup>

## **Ardennes Offensive (16 December 1944- January 1945)**

CA/MG detachments in southern Belgium and Luxembourg proved invaluable during the Battle of the Bulge. As U.S. units withdrew to delaying positions or desperate last stands, CA/MG detachments remained behind to curb the onset of panic among the local communities. Detachments maintained civil order to ensure civilians did not surge into the roads and interfere with military operations (i.e., logistics and tactical maneuver). In some cases, detachments held advancing Germans at bay and evacuated towns in a controlled manner. Detachments also arranged for temporary billeting of U.S. troops withdrawing from or advancing towards the German onslaught.<sup>390</sup>

In addition to maintaining order, CA/MG detachments provided food and shelter for local refugees, as well as medical evacuation and medical care for wounded civilians. In the chaos, detachments restored town governments, civil defenses, police forces, and fire-fighting capabilities. Of paramount importance, Civil Affairs officers exhibited courage and perseverance – calming jittery nerves – and often cut off from higher headquarters.<sup>391</sup>

In several cases, CA/MG detachments evacuated local government officials but remained behind to maintain civil order. In Luxembourg, CA/MG detachments enlisted the police and militia to direct military traffic, arrested or confined known German collaborators, enforced curfews and patrolled the streets. Remarkably, only one CA/MG detachment was lost (two officers and five enlisted), fighting to the end in Clervaux, Luxembourg.<sup>392</sup>

During the defense of Bastogne, The G-5 Staff Sections from the 10<sup>th</sup> Armored Division and the 101<sup>st</sup> Airborne Division ensured the military operations were not imperiled by civilian interference. Since the Bastogne's civil authorities had fled, including the mayor, gendarmes, and local resistance group, the G-5 sections selected a replacement mayor along with 17 auxiliary police. Working through these authorities, they oversaw the billeting of around 600 refugees, civilian burials, food distribution, and any resources the military needed, such as meat and fuel. With the encirclement of Bastogne on 18 December, electricity was severed, and the G-5 sections suspended the use of telephone and telegraph services as a security measure. Most important, G-5 personnel kept civilians from interfering with military traffic and imposed a curfew.<sup>393</sup>

As a result of the Ardennes offensive, the VIII Corps G-5 Staff Section provided some Civil Affairs principles for similar circumstances:

- Communications must be maintained. Liaison by messenger, when telephone communication is lacking. Report to next higher echelon frequently.
- CA detachments should be deployed in depth.
- *Prevent hysteria among civilians.* Spike rumors. Attitude and bearing displayed by CA personnel exerts powerful influence on population.

- *Prevent civilian circulation, except for only essential occupations (doctors, railroad workers, etc.).*
- *Establish rigid curfew on approval of tactical unit.*
- *Keep military routes clear of civilian traffic. Local police or Gendarmerie may be augmented for this purpose. Motorized road patrols by personnel speaking native tongue. Loud speaker systems excellent. Post routes with signs.*
- *Have critical bridges and utilities guarded.*
- *Make complete survey of billeting facilities.*<sup>394</sup>

Since such emergencies are rare (only the Chinese intervention in 1950 and Tet Offensive in 1968 come to mind), it is prudent for Civil Affairs to be ready to take charge of these activities when necessary.

**Synopsis of Civil Affairs Activities in Northwest Europe.** After the war, Colonel Damon Gunn, G-5 First Army, described the essential functions of CA/MG detachments as “maintaining order, promoting security of occupying forces, preventing interference with military operations, reducing active or passive sabotage, relieving combat troops of civil administration, mobilizing local resources in aid of military objectives, and carrying out predetermined governmental policies of the United States.”<sup>395</sup>

Gunn elucidated on how CA/MG detachments (based on his observation of Maginnis’ detachment) contributed to tactical operations:

*Information.* "A good Civil Affairs detachment office is an information center for the territory in which it operates. . . . An officer was designated to check the location and movements of all organizations, at frequent intervals, so that prompt and accurate information would be available for all inquiries. The loan of an interpreter, when the situation demands it, is very greatly appreciated by the person who cannot accomplish his business without one."<sup>396</sup>

*Billeting.* "Nearly all of the billeting work done in almost three months in Carentan was done by the detachment, locating the space and its owners and making amicable arrangements. Billeting requires a survey of the community, so that when a unit comes into town it can be placed in the best place available with the least delay. It is a tremendous help to the commanding officer of an organization, arriving any time of the day or night, to be able to call on a Civil Affairs detachment for help and guidance in establishing his organization in suitable billets."<sup>397</sup>

*Prisoners of War.* During the Ardennes offensive, "this detachment operated as an assembly point for enemy prisoners. . . . For the first month, batches of prisoners were continually being brought in to us; in some cases they were picked up in outlying districts by members of the detachment itself and brought in. They were secured, and when a group of sufficient size was assembled, they were turned over to the military police for transfer to a prisoner-of-war cage."<sup>398</sup>

*Security.* "A strict enforcement of circulation, curfew, blackout, and other security restrictions has always been regarded as of prime importance in a combat zone. It has always been felt in this detachment that

the strictest supervision in this field was of direct help to the tactical forces. This was especially true in the Ardennes because it is a Department of rugged terrain, on the frontier, and near to Germany. There is a considerable amount of work involved in the issuance of passes but it has always been done entirely by this detachment as long as it has operated under a tactical unit."<sup>399</sup>

*Dead and Casualties.* "When reports were received of places where such dead were buried or unburied, it was investigated and reported directly to the Graves Registration Service, if possible; if not, through G-5 Section, First U.S. Army. Papers and identity tags were safeguarded to make the work of the Graves Registration Service as easy as possible. . . . A close check is kept on all hospitalized military personnel, whether Allied or enemy, who are in civilian hospitals."<sup>400</sup>

*Captured Enemy Materials and Supplies.* "By judicious searching and with the aid of reports received from various sources, much material can be uncovered. Such stocks were individually surveyed and reported to First U.S. Army so that the location, kind, and amount of such materials could be brought to the early attention of using services. This search was further implemented by a questionnaire to the civil officials and by checking with the heads of the various services. By means of the press, the importance of securing enemy material was brought to the attention of the public at large, and from the public was received directly much information regarding enemy property. We discovered and made available to other army units for their use stores of such things as gasoline, electrical equipment, office equipment, mess equipment, medical and dental equipment and supplies, coal, sugar, wood, building

material, tools, and dozens of other items, all of which were of direct and immediate use."<sup>401</sup>

*Claims.* "Until a Claims Officer arrives in a town, the Civil Affairs detachment advises on and reports all claims against the U.S. Army. . . . [In Carentan] a system of passing all claims through the Mairie [mayor] for scrutiny and comment before turning them over to the Civil Affairs detachment was devised. This saved the Claims Section much time and effort when they processed the claims, and gave them a truer picture of the facts, enabling them to make prompt and equitable settlements."<sup>402</sup>

*Labor.* "From practically the first day in Carentan, local labor was supplied to the U.S. Army through the Civil Affairs detachment. An average of about 300 laborers per day was supplied to the various using services (some of them outside the Canton) who were in great need for such labor. At the direction of the detachment, a labor exchange was established, which provided the labor required. Only through such organization could the number of persons required for vital army operations have been obtained."<sup>403</sup>

*Sale of Enemy Material.* "Much equipment or supplies abandoned by the enemy is of no use to the army but can be of great use to the civil population. If prompt action is not taken to establish ownership and to sell those stores, they will disappear in a remarkably short time. This detachment has concentrated on the turning of such material into cash at the earliest possible moment. Only in this way can money be obtained for material belonging to the U.S. Army which otherwise would never be realized. We have sold such materials as condemned captured motor equipment, cement,

seed, oats, horseshoes, coke, and gasogene chips, horse-drawn equipment, domestic supplies, glass, and many others."<sup>404</sup>

**Realignment of CA/MG Detachments for the Invasion of Germany.** On 8 February, the U.S. First Army ordered "all echelons of Civil Affairs to start closing out all operation, so that they would be ready to assume Military Government functions in Germany." Probably no one was more thankful than Maginnis, who received orders on 6 February to command a detachment in Paris, earmarked for the occupation of Berlin.<sup>405</sup>

## CHAPTER 8

### GERMANY (OPERATION ECLIPSE)

#### Planning for Civil Affairs

As Chief of Staff Supreme Allied Commander (COSSAC), Lieutenant General Sir Frederick Morgan began planning in May 1943 for—in addition to the invasion of northwest Europe—the occupation of Germany. Initial planning for occupation considered three contingencies—Operation RANKIN A, B, and C. Whereas RANKIN A and B addressed Germany’s sudden political collapse or a military withdrawal to the Reich’s prewar borders respectively, RANKIN C focused on unconditional surrender, leading to the disarmament and occupation of Germany with 25 divisions.<sup>406</sup>

While Operation RANKIN did not transpire before D-Day, the planning process did raise a number of urgent issues requiring policy guidance. Unfortunately, detailed planning remained problematic since Washington D.C. had provided no policy heretofore, and planners prudently avoided getting ahead of policy. Instead, they nudged policymakers along by producing 72 staff studies on post-conflict issues requiring resolution.<sup>407</sup> In April 1944, The Combined Chiefs of Staff gave formal occupation authority for Germany to the Supreme Command in CCS/551, which also provided “basic principles for occupation” to the planners. After D-Day, planning continued under Operation TALISMAN, which inter alia outlined zones of occupation, terms of surrender, complete

disarmament and demilitarization, and general guidelines for Military Government.<sup>408</sup>

During the Second Quebec Conference (12-16 September 1944) and the Yalta Conference (4-11 February 1945), Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin acted on the European Advisory Commission's recommendations regarding the Allied Zones of Occupation for Germany and liberated Austria as well as the creation of the Allied Control Commission, and the draft surrender document.<sup>409</sup> Together, SHAEF had sufficient guidance to plan Operation ECLIPSE.

### **Operation ECLIPSE**

Fearing that the Germans might have compromised TALISMAN, SHAEF changed the codename to ECLIPSE on 11 November 1944 and continued to hone the plan.<sup>410</sup> ECLIPSE included the invasion of Germany and the establishment of Allied occupation zones once the German government or High Command formally surrendered. The plan envisioned the pinpoint assignments of MG detachments in the U.S. Zone of Occupation, and the substantial use of combat units to assist the MG mission and the displaced persons mission, as long as security was not at risk in the forward areas.<sup>411</sup>

The specific objectives for ECLIPSE were

- The “primary disarmament and control of the German forces, including para-military and police formations.”
- “The enforcement of the terms of surrender or . . . of the will of the Supreme Commander . . .

by the maintenance of a strategical and tactical air threat and by the occupation of strategic areas on the Continent.”

- “The establishment of law and order.”
- “The initiation of steps to complete the control and disarmament of the German forces.”
- “The redistribution of Allied forces into their respective National Zones in Germany.”<sup>412</sup>

In pursuit of these objectives, SHAEF would also liberate and evacuate Allied prisoners of war and displaced persons, as well as assisting UN organizations and the governments of liberated countries with “relief and rehabilitation” to the extent it did not impede military objectives. The plan recognized that military operations would not align with the final Allied zones of occupation, so a transition period would ensue upon Germany’s surrender for the movement of forces and MG detachments into their respective zones.<sup>413</sup>

### **The Carpet and Static Plans**

The execution of ECLIPSE would comprise two basic supporting plans—The Carpet Plan and the Static Plan. Planning for the Carpet Plan began in September 1944 in anticipation of the likely offensive spearheads into Germany. Ideally, along the routes of advance, MG detachments would deploy into predesignated towns and cities like an “unrolling carpet.”<sup>414</sup> The plan envisioned the use of 213 reorganized MG detachments comprising 1,428 functional Military Government officers administered by the 2<sup>d</sup> ECAR (12<sup>th</sup> Army Group) and 3<sup>d</sup> ECAR (6<sup>th</sup> Army Group) (Table 3).<sup>415</sup>

<i>Detachment</i>	<i>Officers</i>	<i>Warrant Officers</i>	<i>EM</i>	<i>Total</i>
E ( <i>Laender</i> [states], <i>Provinzen</i> [provinces], large <i>Stadtkreise</i> [cities])	26	3	35	64
F ( <i>Regierungsbezirke</i> [districts], large <i>Stadtkreise</i> [cities])	16	2	25	43
G (medium sized <i>Stadtkreise</i> , smaller <i>Regierungsbezirke</i> , some of the larger <i>Landkreise</i> [rural counties])	9	2	15	26
H ( <i>Landkreise</i> , small <i>Stadtkreise</i> )	5	1	10	16
I ( <i>Landkreise</i> , small <i>Stadtkreise</i> ) for populations up to 100,000	4	0	6	10

Table 3: Composition of MG Detachments for Germany<sup>416</sup>

ECAD's "First Static Plan" for the U.S. Zone of Occupation was based on the German Country Unit studies. Informally issued to the 12<sup>th</sup> Army Group in November 1944, it envisioned the deployment of 250 MG detachments, 16 administrative companies, 2 ECARs and service units. Because it required an additional 37 MG detachments than the Carpet Plan, the number of Civil Affairs officers rose to 1,757.<sup>417</sup>

### **Implementation of the Carpet Plan**

The Carpet Plan required great flexibility as the tactical situation changed. 12<sup>th</sup> Army Group borrowed D, E, and H companies from 3<sup>d</sup> ECAR in November and December for the newly arrived Ninth Army and another company from 3<sup>d</sup> ECAR for First Army to support military operations in northern Germany.<sup>418</sup>

The tactical situation resulted in rapid changes in Army and Army Group boundaries, with detachments detached from one Army or Army Group and attached to another frequently throughout the fall of 1944 and spring of 1945. These procedures affected 153 MG detachments and nine lettered companies, which created problems with pinpoint assignments for the Carpet Plan. Further, Civil Affairs officers already serving in a temporary pinpoint assignment were deeply involved in mission essential tasks and could not accompany their MG detachment when it was ordered elsewhere. Hence, affected MG detachments experienced personnel shortages.<sup>419</sup>

Combat operations in Germany required an increase in the size and numbers of MG detachments. Perhaps in an attempt to anticipate personnel shortages, Harold Zink noted that MG detachment strengths were slightly larger than authorized: E Detachments averaged approximately 30 officers and 50 enlisted soldiers; and F Detachments had 25 officers and approximately 50 enlisted soldiers.<sup>420</sup> These detachments comprised a commander, deputy commander, executive officer, and several administrative officers. Additionally, functional officers supervised German administrative agencies, some officers managed displaced persons, and other officers focused on securing enemy property.<sup>421</sup>

As the 12<sup>th</sup> Army Group overran Germany in the spring of 1945, 140 U.S. MG detachments were needed for military operations in areas that fell within the British Zone of Occupation and 96 U.S. MG detachments within the Russian Zone of Occupation. Further, as they moved eastwards, the First, Third, and Ninth Armies had to leave behind dozens of MG detachments

in the Rhine Province and Westmark Gau, which now fell into the Fifteenth Army area of responsibility. This situation necessitated the creation of 130 ECAD provisional MG detachments – requiring an additional 850 officers, 75 warrant officers, and 1500 enlisted from combat units – which 12<sup>th</sup> Army Group allotted to First, Third, and Ninth Armies.<sup>422</sup>

The advance into western Czechoslovakia and Austria demanded 35 more MG detachments. Since Czechoslovakia was not enemy territory, Third Army formed “Emergency CA detachments.” They were withdrawn once the national government assumed civil administration. The Austrian detachments and one detachment in Czechoslovakia were transferred to the Mediterranean Theater of Operations, U.S. Army (MTOUSA).<sup>423</sup> Originally, AFHQ 15<sup>th</sup> Army Group was to occupy southern Austria, but the final zone moved to northern Austria, so 24 MG detachments and two lettered companies were transferred to ECAD and attached to Seventh and Third Armies with assignment to Vorarlberg, Tyrol, Salzburg, and Oberdonau in May 1945.<sup>424</sup>

At the end of March, 150 MG detachments were operating in Germany. By 30 April 1945, the number rose to 207, but slightly less than 96 were at their pinpoint assignments. About this time, ECAD concluded that the planning number of 250 MG detachments would not suffice for the Static Plan, so it received permission to increase the number of provisional MG detachments to 200 by the end of June. By 20 June 1945, 286 CA/MG detachments were operating in Germany, Austria, and Czechoslovakia, rising to 346 by 15 July.<sup>425</sup> Hence, at its height, the total strength of MG personnel was 11,346 Civil Affairs personnel: 3,713 officers, 198 warrant officers, and 7,435 enlisted.<sup>426</sup>

## Implementation of the Static Plan

By 8 May 1945 (V-E Day), 61 U.S. divisions, comprising 1,622,000 soldiers, occupied Germany, with another 1,455,000 Allied soldiers operating elsewhere in Europe. To assume complete control of the German populace for Military Government to proceed, U.S. divisions permeated Germany over vast areas of responsibility. Hence, battalions enjoyed substantial independence with their companies spread far and wide in order to secure adequate billets, command posts, and checkpoints. Earl Ziemke noted that “single platoons and squads were [frequently] deployed at substantial distances from their company headquarters.”<sup>427</sup> In the process,

The occupation troops manned border control stations, maintained checkpoints at road junctions and bridges, sent out roving patrols to apprehend curfew and circulation violators, and kept stationary guards at railroad bridges, Army installations, DP camps, jails, telephone exchanges, factories, and banks. In the first months troops were plentiful and almost everything of importance—and some not so important—was guarded. In effect, the combat forces became the military government security troops.<sup>428</sup>

Since MG detachments were spread far and wide, a period of transition was needed for the occupation of the U.S. Zone. The Intermediate Final Zone Plan (or Intermediate Status)—roughly May to early July—involved the relief of U.S. MG detachments in the British, Russian, and French Zones of Occupation, the dissolution of all provisional MG detachments

and some MG detachments, and the movement of the remaining MG detachments into the U.S. Final Zone of Occupation. It also entailed the reconfiguration of wartime organizations into occupation structures.<sup>429</sup>

From 15 May to early July 1945, the First, Ninth, and Fifteenth Armies withdrew from Germany, transferring their MG detachments to the Third and Seventh Armies. MG detachment consolidation into the final U.S. Zone of Occupation required weeks because the British relief of the Fifteenth Army in the Rhine Province and Westmark Gau took about a month (June to early July), and the French occupation zone in southern Baden and Wurttemberg (carved out of the U.S. Zone) was not finalized until 10 July.<sup>430</sup> The Russians moved into their zone of occupation between 1 and 4 July, prompting the removal and dissolution of all provisional detachments. On 5 July, U.S. Forces Austria came into being, assuming responsibility for the MG detachments. By 10 July, all U.S. forces, except Czechoslovakia, had completed the move into the U.S. Zone of Occupation.<sup>431</sup>

The Final Plan covered the period 10 July to 15 August 1945, with 269 MG detachments assigned to their pinpoint locations by 15 August. The small I Detachments were disbanded, and the strength of the remaining MG detachments was increased. Accordingly, officer increases in F Detachments rose to 50-75, in G Detachments to 30, and in H Detachments to 10. This resulted in an overall increase of MG officers in the U.S. zone from 2,600 to 2,887 as the Military District Headquarters reorganized the various German subnational governments. During the Intermediate Plan, the Eastern Military District numbered 158 and the Western Military District numbered 118 MG detachments.<sup>432</sup>

Due to MG detachment experiences in France and Belgium, SHAEF reduced the span of authority of an MG detachment to a single political entity. In addition, damage in the U.S. Zone of Occupation was more extensive than anticipated. Consequently, more MG detachments were required to administer geographic areas, with larger cities having three or more detachments. To alleviate detachment shortages, SHAEF transferred MG detachments from France, Belgium, and the Netherlands.<sup>433</sup>

On 14 July 1945, U.S. Forces European Theater (USFET) replaced both SHAEF and ETOUSA, combining their staffs into the new U.S. Military Government Headquarters. In turn, G-5 SHAEF became G-5 USFET, which later became the Military District Headquarters, U.S. Zone. In addition to being the Military Governor of the U.S. Zone of Occupation, Eisenhower was the U.S. representative on the Allied Control Council in Berlin, which provided policy directives and instructions to the Military District commanders (i.e., Third Army under Patton and Seventh Army under Patch).<sup>434</sup> Including assigned and attached personnel, by 30 August 1945, G-5 USFET Headquarters comprised 393 officers, 13 warrant officers, and 558 enlisted soldiers.<sup>435</sup> In turn, the G-5 sections in the Eastern and Western Military Districts became the Office of Military Government for Bavaria and Baden-Wurttemberg respectively.<sup>436</sup>

The start of the Static phase on 15 August 1945 signified the beginning of permanent occupation. The U.S. Zone of Occupation comprised the Eastern and Western Military Districts, the Bremen and Bremerhaven enclaves, and the Berlin sector. With the establishment of the Military Districts, USFET dissolved ECAD on 29 August and 1<sup>st</sup> ECAR by August 1945. USFET also

disbanded excess MG detachments, assigning their personnel to other MG detachments, the G-5 Section USFET, and the Eastern and Western Military District headquarters. The remainder deployed back to the United States. Additionally, any remaining CA/MG detachments in France and Belgium were withdrawn.

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USFET assigned the Eastern Military District to the Third Army (four divisions) located in Bavaria with its headquarters in Munich. The 3<sup>d</sup> ECAR was re-designated as the 3<sup>d</sup> Military Government Regiment (headquarters in Augsburg) with eight administrative companies (A-H), the 3<sup>d</sup> Military Government Medical Detachment, and the Headquarters and Service Company assigned.<sup>438</sup> With the dissolution of excess and augmentation of larger MG detachments, the Eastern Military District numbered 150 MG detachments with pinpoint assignments to *Provinzen*, *Regierungsbezirke* (counties), *Stadtkreise*, *Landkreise*, and important *Gemeinde* (towns). The E Detachment (augmented) assigned to Munich consolidated with the Third Army G-5 to control the five E and F Detachments (augmented) in the *Regierungsbezirke* capitals.<sup>439</sup> By 6 September 1945, the 3<sup>d</sup> Military Government Regiment comprised 1,534 officers, 64 warrant officers, 3,080 enlisted.<sup>440</sup>

The Seventh Army's Western Military District (three divisions) consisted of Hessen, Hessen-Nassau and parts of Baden and Württemberg with its headquarters in Heidelberg. The 2<sup>d</sup> ECAR was re-designated as the 2<sup>d</sup> Military Government Regiment with five administrative companies (A-E), the 2<sup>d</sup> Military Government Medical Detachment, and the Headquarters and Service Company assigned.

After the dissolution and augmentation of MG detachments, the Western Military District numbered 112 MG detachments (excluding Bremen Enclave). In view of the fractured nature of districts, three E Detachments (augmented) administered the provinces of Hessen-Nassau (HQ Marburg), Hessen (HQ Darmstadt), Baden Wurttemberg (HQ Stuttgart); five E and F Detachments (augmented) administered the *Regierungsbezirke* capitals of Kassel, Wiesbaden, and Frankfurt (location of HQ SHAEF/HQ USFET), and the *Landeskommisarbezirke* Mannheim and Karlsruhe.<sup>441</sup> By 6 September 1945, the 2<sup>d</sup> Military Government Regiment comprised 1,264 officers, 61 warrant officers, and 2,486 enlisted soldiers.<sup>442</sup>

In May 1945, ECAD deployed six MG detachments to Bremen (one regiment) and Bremerhaven (to include the Wasarmunde, Osterhotz, and Wesermarsch *Landkreise*) administered by the 2<sup>d</sup> ECAR. One E Detachment controlled Bremen, while one G, one H, and two L Detachments controlled the *Stadtkreise* and *Landkreise*.<sup>443</sup> By 6 September 1945, their total strength was 90 officers, 3 warrant officers, and 169 enlisted.<sup>444</sup>

For the U.S. Sector in Berlin (one division of two regiments), the G-5 Section, Berlin District Headquarters (BDH), comprising 77 officers and 150 enlisted, began arriving on 5 July and assumed complete control of its sector on 12 July from the Russians. Major General Floyd Parks was the BDH commander and Brigadier Paul Ransome was the deputy commander. Colonel Frank Howley headed the G-5 Section.<sup>445</sup> The BDH main staff sections dovetailed with the city's departments (i.e., "Economic Affairs, Public Safety, Public Works and Utilities, Education and Religious Affairs, Communications, Finance,

Justice, and Public Health”), adding three special staff sections (i.e., “Displaced Persons, Intelligence, and Information Services Control”). Of the 20 boroughs (*Verwaltungsbezirk* – VBK) in Berlin, each with its own *Buergermeister*, the U.S. sector comprised six. BDH assigned a “V Team” comprising four officers and five enlisted to each borough to cover “government, public safety, legal-fiscal, and economics.”<sup>446</sup> The governing of the city as a whole fell to the Kommandatura, which comprised four Allied commandants from Russia, Britain, France, and the United States, rotating the chairmanship monthly.<sup>447</sup>

Because Military Government had disarmed German police, as part of Denazification, and because combat units experienced a diminished tactical capability, cohesion, and discipline, Military Government officials recommended the formation of occupational police battalions as more relevant for Military Government. Military units were more focused on security than policing, so the recommendation made sense. Nonetheless, SHAEF refused to consider the suggestion.<sup>448</sup>

As an added measure of security, SHAEF established a mobile strike force consisting of one airborne and one armored regiment.<sup>449</sup> In view of the complete demoralization of German society, this force was unnecessary and there is no instance of its use.

As a snapshot, the total strength of USFET headquarters staff and Military Government personnel stood at 10,751 in September 1945.<sup>450</sup>

Nevertheless, the American demobilization policy robbed Military Government of its most valuable

resource—trained Military Government personnel—by the fall of 1945 (Army troop levels had declined to 614,000 by December 1945). By October 1945, between 50 and 80 percent of trained MG enlisted personnel had departed. The demobilization point system, poor promotion rates, frustration with tactical commanders intruding in their affairs, and the lure of civilian jobs back home were the principal reasons for the early departures. Fortunately, the Military Government detachments had made substantial progress in setting up local government functions under German administration. Hence, the practice of Military Government detachments supervising local officials rather than direct administration was prudent.<sup>451</sup> Moreover, the majority of graduates from the School of Military Government and the Civil Affairs Training Schools remained. Many continued as detachment commanders in cities, moved to higher staff positions, or became civil servants when the U.S. Military Government became “civilianized” in mid-1946.<sup>452</sup>

Civilianization of Military Government was not a decision born on desperation. Eisenhower had intended that a civilian agency (i.e., State Department) assume responsibility at some point, resulting in the dissolution of Military Government. Thus, when the State Department did take over the administration of Germany, “most of the Military Government officers who had been trained by the Army were absorbed into the civil organization.”<sup>453</sup>

## **Occupation Policy**

ECAD’s German Country Unit began the planning for Military Government in early 1944. Composed of 150 American and British officers and a comparable

number of enlisted soldiers, the German Country Unit's organization corresponded with the German government ministries.<sup>454</sup> Repeatedly rebuffed by Washington D.C. for policy guidance, the staff relied on its best judgment as it worked on the *Handbook for Military Government in Germany* and other manuals addressing occupation issues.<sup>455</sup> The lack of State Department participation in the German Country Unit, despite its occupation policy responsibilities, further hampered clear direction.<sup>456</sup>

In handbook drafts, the Germany Country Unit attempted to address the issues of democratization, economic recovery, and Denazification but neither Washington D.C. nor SHAEF G-5 showed any interest in the rehabilitation of Germany. Reviewing the third draft with Secretary of Treasury Hans Morgenthau, President Roosevelt publicly decried references to a daily subsistence level of 2000 calories for Germans and the revival of "agricultural and light industry, with such medium and heavy industry as would be required to keep the Germans self-supporting and European economy on a reasonably even keel." Consequently, Roosevelt directed the removal of the handbook and the dissolution of the German Country Unit.<sup>457</sup>

Washington D.C. thereby disbanded the Germany Country Unit in the fall of 1944 and reassigned its officers to the newly created U.S. Group Control Council (U.S. GCC) for Germany, which was to implement Military Government in the U.S. Zone of Occupation. Revision of the handbook fell to the SHAEF G-5, which lacked the expertise and staff to address issues like "regional and local government and civil service and only token facilities in public safety, education, and certain other areas." Apparently, bootleg copies of the handbook

remained in circulation among MG detachments until superseded by the December 1944 final publication, so they had something to work with.<sup>458</sup>

Aside from SHAEF, the U.S. GCC received policy guidance from the European Advisory Commission's<sup>2</sup> (EAC) Agreement on Control Machinery in Germany and JCS Directive 1067.<sup>459</sup>

The U.S. GCC initially consisted of 150 officers and 250 enlisted soldiers and continued the work of the German Country Unit for Military Government in Germany. Ironically, the Joint Chiefs of Staff disregarded ETO recommendations for U.S. GCC organization to correspond with German government structures. Instead, in accordance with the EAC agreement, the U.S. GCC Control Staff adopted a functional structure: "military; naval; air; transport; political; economic; finance; reparations, deliveries, and restitution; internal affairs and communications; legal; prisoners of war and displaced persons; and manpower. To these divisions were added an intelligence section in the headquarters staff, a public relations service, and an information control service." Myopically, the U.S. GCC produced no essential policy guidance for regional and local governments and civil service. These organizational missteps plagued the U.S. GCC throughout its tenure.<sup>460</sup>

As the defeat of Germany approached, the U.S. GCC grew to 250 officers and 400 enlisted, with a "fairly sizable number of foreign service officers and

2 Created in October 1943, the EAC was a consultative body which made recommendations on the terms of surrender, the creation of zones of occupation, and disarmament, each of which was ratified by the Big Three Conferences. McCreedy, 33-34; Goldberg, 183-186.

civilians.” While limited in size, the personnel were able to transact business with little bureaucratic red tape. After VE Day, the U.S. GCC moved to Hoechst, Germany (near Frankfurt). There, a horde of senior grade officers and civilians joined the council, swelling it to 2000 officers and 4,000 enlisted. Unfortunately, the organization became unwieldy, and few officers had any knowledge of German institutions and language. The newcomers tended to ignore the previous work of the German Country Unit and the U.S. GCC. Worse, they operated the U.S. GCC as a military headquarters rather than the intended civil administration of the German government, supervised by civilian agencies.<sup>461</sup>

JCS Directive 1067 was the most influential policy guidance for the occupation of Germany.<sup>462</sup> Due to wrangling among the State, Treasury, and War departments, JCS 1067 underwent numerous revisions before President Harry S. Truman’s imprimatur after VE Day.<sup>463</sup> In view of similar wording and intent, early drafts of JCS 1067 undoubtedly provided policy guidance for the *Handbook for Military Government in Germany*.<sup>464</sup> It is important to note that JCS 1067 was not to be regarded as a permanent policy directive, but for “the initial post-defeat period. As such it is not intended to be an ultimate statement of policies of this Government concerning the treatment of Germany in the post-war world.” The directive gave the Commanding General of the United States Forces of Occupation in Germany (i.e., Eisenhower) the authority to revise the directive when “economic, industrial financial, social and political conditions” in the U.S. Zone required it.<sup>465</sup>

Paradoxically, the initial U.S. occupation policy in every respect was decidedly more punitive than

the 1919 Versailles Treaty, which many historians aver contributed to World War II. To be clear, this interpretation has little basis of fact. Adolf Hitler and his Nazi henchmen were responsible for waging a war of aggression, committing crimes against humanity and genocide, and inflicting unparalleled destruction on Europe. U.S. policy objectives correctly sought to make clear to the Germans that they were decisively defeated, were solely responsible for their fate, and would be held accountable for reparations.<sup>466</sup> The eventual rehabilitation and remilitarization of Germany by 1955 was not a cynical reversal of occupation per se; rather, the occupation policies achieved their objectives, and the Germany, which entered NATO and the UN, was thoroughly democratic and peaceful.<sup>467</sup>

JCS Directive 1067's Denazification policy had the dual objective of eliminating Nazism and militarism in Germany, with the "eventual reconstruction of German political life on a democratic basis. All Nazi and militaristic organizations, associations, affiliations, clubs, and activities were prohibited, as well as their imprint on education, media, business, policing, legislation, judiciary, and sports. Moreover, top Nazis and military officers were to be prosecuted for war crimes. In short, German society was to be cleansed of any vestige of Nazism and militarism.<sup>468</sup> Specifically, JCS 1067 stated that "all members of the Nazi party who have been more than nominal participants in its activities, all active supporters of Nazism or militarism and all other persons hostile to Allied purposes will be removed and excluded from public office and from positions of importance in quasi-public and private enterprises."<sup>469</sup>

Historian Earl Ziemke recorded that U.S. Military Government operationalized JCS 1067's Denazification policy with Military Government Law No. 8 (27 September 1945), "which prohibited employment of Nazi party members in business in any capacity other than common labor. The law applied not only to executives and managers but also to private owners, including owner-operators such as grocers, barbers, bakers, and butchers."<sup>470</sup>

The challenge of Denazification was the extent Nazism had penetrated German society, affecting between 66 and 90 percent of the German population. Nazism had pervaded every political, social, and economic strata of Germany. Teachers, doctors, lawyers, artists, laborers, and civil servants, as well as railway, steamship, postal, and communications workers were folded into Nazi organizations. Children, teens and women were also compelled to join Nazi groups and organizations. Even those businessmen who eschewed Nazi affiliation had to conduct business with Nazi officials if they wanted to remain solvent.<sup>471</sup>

JCS 1067's Nonfraternization policy was intended to establish in the Germany minds that the Allies were occupiers and not liberators, advising U.S. leaders to "be just but firm and aloof," as well as "strongly [discouraging] fraternization with the German officials and population."<sup>472</sup>

JCS 1067's economic policies focused on industrial disarmament and economic demilitarization. U.S. leaders were to limit German economic goods and services at the subsistence level "to prevent starvation . . . disease and unrest." Economic reparations to victim countries were to ensure Germans did not enjoy a higher

standard of living vis-à-vis other Europeans. Beyond subsistence, occupation authorities were prohibited from rehabilitating or strengthening the economy. In carrying out their tasks, occupation authorities were authorized to administer essential German agencies and officials as long as they were divorced of Nazi associations. Lastly, occupation authorities were to “decentralize the structure and administration of the German economy to the maximum possible extent . . . [in order to] ensure that the action required to maintain or restore essential public utilities and industrial and agricultural activities is taken as far as possible on a local and regional basis.” Hence, they were to dismantle the command economy of the Nazi regime.<sup>473</sup>

Irrespective of Truman’s authority to grant revisions, Earl Ziemke noted that “JCS 1067 continued as the statement of U.S. policy, as much as for any other reason, because no one wanted to tackle the job of organizing the jigsaw pieces of subsequent policy and practice into a new directive. [As occupation continued, the] United States was committed to reconstruction, currency reform, and economic reunification in Germany; and to accomplish these goals, [Deputy Military Governor] Clay would offer, on 20 July 1946 in the Control Council, to enter into agreements with any or all of the other occupying powers.”<sup>474</sup>

### **The Total Collapse of Germany**

During the final year of the war, the Third Reich’s rallying cry was *Alles für den Sieg* (Everything for Victory), which became palpable when Germany collapsed. The devastation wrought on Germany defied adequate description. The combined bomber offensive destroyed twenty percent of dwellings alone,

rendering 18 to 20 million Germans homeless. Major cities resembled broken skeletons surrounded by detritus. In Berlin, fairly representative of the damage to major cities, 55 percent of buildings were completely destroyed and 25 percent were partially destroyed. Essential services (i.e., water, electricity, gas, sewage, etc.) ceased to exist. Consequently, epidemics, famine, and deaths rose precipitously.<sup>475</sup>

Lest the reader feel sorry for Germany's plight, it sowed the wind and reaped the whirlwind. The German military utterly devastated or *obliterated* hundreds of European cities, hundreds of thousands of villages, transportation infrastructure, farming communities, and so forth, not only from combat but also using scorched earth. And of course, there was the Holocaust. Perhaps as egregious, during the war, the Third Reich lifted the lid on hatred, resulting in wholesale atrocities which continued years after the end of the war.<sup>476</sup> Of the 30 to 40 million people killed in the war, Germany lost 4.5 million military personnel and 1.5 million civilians. As author Keith Lowe aptly framed the loss, the human mind cannot truly grasp deaths as a statistic as much as the vacuums created in nearly all families, friends, and professions.<sup>477</sup> For millions of survivors, years of destitution and famine instilled hopelessness and desperation as a way of life.

Upon liberation, approximately eight million slave laborers—representing twenty percent of Germany's work force—abandoned their assigned factories, mines, quarries, and farms—ignoring SHAEF requests that they remain in place. Farm equipment, work horses, and fertilizer were unavailable due to their diversion to the war effort. Seeds were in short supply. Vast amounts of farm land were minefields. The

devastation of the transportation system—especially trains and trucks— paralyzed the distribution of farm supplies and food products. Further, the regime had conscripted German farm hands, who were now prisoners of war, leaving the work of cultivation and harvest unattended.<sup>478</sup>

Adding to the economic collapse, the Soviets and French dismantled factories, removing equipment and machinery on a national scale. Specifically, the Soviets removed 95 percent of industrial machinery in its sector in the name of reparations. Additionally, the Soviets engaged in wholesale looting taking everything of value. For their part, the French removed everything in their sectors before moving into their assigned zone of occupation.<sup>479</sup>

Although SHAEF imported 650,000 tons of grain in June 1945 to prevent starvation in Germany, it became apparent that averting mass starvation would prove one of the most daunting tasks for years. While agricultural output stood at 90 percent of the norm, planting had begun late. Military Government responded by delivering tons of seeds, establishing farm machinery repair shops, protecting food sources in urban areas, and starting up food production facilities. However, the ability of the Western Allies to meet minimum subsistence levels was inadequate for the following reasons: the Soviets refused to provide food from its zone (even to Berlin), which normally produced 40 percent of Germany's needs; the need to feed millions of displaced persons in camps; the exodus of slave laborers had cut farm production in half; and the Allied bombing campaign had destroyed processing machinery and disrupted the transportation distribution system. Hence, all of western Germany

became a “food deficit area.” To mitigate the food crisis, SHAEF authorized the resumption of “agriculture machinery, fertilizer, and insecticide industries,” as well as the release in June 1945 of all German farm laborers in prisoner of war camps.<sup>480</sup>

Agricultural recovery would take some time, so in the interim, U.S. Military Government set subsistence levels for Germans between 900 to 1,000 calories per day (1,000 calories below the minimum). Of course, Germany was also obligated to provide food for millions of displaced persons in camps, amounting to 2,000 calories per day; and German subsistence levels could not be higher than other European levels. Paradoxically, Germany’s fall harvests in 1945 could have raised subsistence levels to 1,500 calories per day, but the outcry from other countries prompted American officials to keep them at 1,180 calories in May 1946 (though they quietly raised them to 1,225 calories in June).<sup>481</sup>

In Berlin, food shortages were particularly severe, with civilians subsisting on 600 to 800 calories per day. In response, the Berlin Headquarters District G-5 issued ration cards with calorie allowances determined as follows: heavy-labor workers—2,482; manual workers—1,993; employees—1,601; children—1,385; and all others—1,248 calories.” Berlin’s lord mayor office (*Oberbürgermeister*) assumed responsibility for food distribution, under the oversight of a G-5 liaison officer. After persistent complaints from the western Allies, the Soviets begrudgingly permitted Berliners to venture into the countryside to scavenge food.<sup>482</sup>

The harvest in 1946 was poor due to persistent shortages of fertilizer, agricultural machinery, and farm laborers.

To make matters worse, farmers began hoarding food for sale in the black market, and former white collar workers refused to perform manual labor on farms. The food situation was not improving appreciably. Military Governor General Joseph McNarney and Deputy Military Governor Lieutenant General Lucius Clay were dismayed because food shortages were hindering progress in other areas. The process of democratization and economic recovery could not make headway as long as people were devoting "all their thought and effort to the daily search for food."<sup>483</sup>

No quick remedies were available. U.S. Military Government specialists estimated that four million tons of food imports would be needed annually to meet the daily 2,000 calorie goal. However, the world-wide shortage of grain persisted, and other countries had a higher priority than Germany. Plus, the American Zone needed to share its food stocks with the British and French zones, where food rationing was even more dire.<sup>484</sup>

In response, President Truman asked former president Herbert Hoover to assemble a team of agricultural and food experts to survey the food situation in Europe – a wise choice.<sup>485</sup> As expected, Hoover concluded the food situation in Germany was worse than in the other European countries. Aside from humanitarian reasons, Hoover averred that if the food shortage continued, Germans would flock to the Soviet banner out of desperation. To apprise the American people of Germany's plight, American publishers made a visit and provided widespread coverage.<sup>486</sup>

In January 1947, Lieutenant General Lucius Clay championed the Bizonal fusion agreement (i.e., the

economic, financial, and administrative merging of the British and American zones) in an effort to pool resources. Unfortunately, the harsh winter of 1946-1947, followed by a drought in the summer of 1947, exacerbated food shortages. After a second visit to Germany, the Hoover team gained congressional support to increase importation of Army rations and to initiate a food program for children. In order to cultivate more land for farming, U.S. Military Government initiated a land reform program, which appropriated large German estates, Wehrmacht property, and Nazi holdings. These relief efforts helped turn the corner. By April 1948, daily subsistence levels rose to 1,550 calories. Later that year, subsistence levels rose again to 1,990 calories per day due to an abundant harvest, the end of the world food shortage, and increased imports, thereby signaling the end of the food shortage.<sup>487</sup> At last, Germany's political and economic recovery could progress in a predictable manner.

## **Refugees and Displaced Persons**

Refugees and displaced persons remained one of the most acute problems for Military Government.<sup>488</sup> Of significance, they became an immediate law and order problem. After years of incarceration and mistreatment, thousands of displaced persons began exacting revenge on Germans—looting, murder, rape, and arson were rampant. Since German police were disarmed, they could offer no assistance and were often victims of the mobs themselves. Aghast at the mayhem, Allied soldiers had to use force, sometimes lethal, to establish order.<sup>489</sup>

As Operation ECLIPSE progressed, a total of 2,758,318 refugees and displaced persons fell under Western

Allied control, and the numbers continued to grow substantially after VE Day.<sup>490</sup> For those from France, Belgium, and the Netherlands, repatriation occurred immediately, utilizing “21 reception centers, 5 supply depots and 4 rail transit centers.”<sup>491</sup> According to a 30 June 1945 ETOUSA report:

By V-E Day approximately 800,000 Western Europeans had been repatriated, of which one half million were French. They came by plane, by train, by truck convoy, on bicycles and on foot, carrying or pushing their poor pitiful possessions accumulated through the years of slavery and confinement by the Nazis. At the border control stations each individual was registered, photographed, screened for security, bathed, X-rayed, disinfected, given ration cards, identity papers and money for immediate need; if ragged he was clothed, if sick, he was hospitalized. The border control stations, working around the clock cleared a repatriate and started him toward his home within a few hours.

This has been due in great part to the expert seconding by the Civil Affairs liaison teams; thus the French were able to accomplish the gigantic task of repatriating a million and a quarter men and women in three months' time (as of June 30 1945). Hundreds of thousands of Belgians and Dutch have, in like manner, been returned to their homelands.<sup>492</sup>

Nonetheless, millions of refugees and displaced persons remained in Germany and needed immediate care. In response, Military Government established

displaced persons camps, using various “German military barracks, prisoner-of-war camps, and other mass housing projects.”<sup>493</sup> When these arrangements proved inadequate, Military Government detachments moved thousands of Germans out of their homes and sick/wounded German soldiers out of hospitals to accommodate the influx of displaced persons.<sup>494</sup> Still, a shortage of space persisted, so Military Government turned former Nazi labor and concentration camps into displaced persons centers. For administrative and cultural purposes, Military Government organized camps by ethnicity and nationality.<sup>495</sup> Thus, by the end of May 1945, 85 percent of displaced persons were collected in displaced persons camps.<sup>496</sup>

The status of displaced persons varied substantially. For example, 4.2 million former slave laborers collected in the U.S. Zone immediately became displaced persons.<sup>497</sup> 5.2 million Allied prisoners of war (excluding 275,000 U.S. and British POWs) and millions of concentration camp survivors also became displaced persons. During the first year of occupation, half a million eastern European refugees escaping communism poured in the U.S. Zone. Further, 4.5 million ethnic Germans, brutally expelled from East Prussia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary, flooded into western Germany from 1945 to 1946.<sup>498</sup> Unlike the western European counterparts, U.S. Military Government could not repatriate or find homes for these displaced persons quickly.

The SHAEF plan was for the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) to manage displaced persons. However, The UNRRA had difficulty arranging passage to the continent from England for its teams, vehicles, and equipment. In

March 1945, only seven UNRRA teams had made the passage, so Military Government H and I detachments assumed responsibility, incorporating into the effort doctors, U.S. and French welfare workers, and Allied liaison officers.<sup>499</sup> In all, U.S. Army Groups converted 51 Military Government detachments (now called Displaced Persons detachments) and various combat and service support units to manage displaced person camps and assembly centers respectively. The largest assembly areas were located in Brand (Aachen) and Trier (Kemmel Caserne), and later Baumholder, Germany.<sup>500</sup>

In view of the urgent problem of displaced persons, the UNRRA's response was inadequate. At the end of April 1945, approximately 40 "spearhead" UNRRA teams, each comprising 7-8 partially trained personnel (out of an assigned strength of 13), deployed to the 12<sup>th</sup> Army Group. By 20 June, the number of teams rose to 150 and increased to 332 team by July, employing 2,656 personnel. While the UNRRA teams assumed the lion's share of administering displaced persons camps, Military Government remained in charge of the overall effort. As Colonel Maginnis duly noted, although the policy was for civil authorities to manage displaced persons, they could not manage it, so the Army had to provide the care.<sup>501</sup>

The Army Groups' G-5 sections assumed the burden, supervising the UNRRA teams, Mission Militaire Liaison Administrative Welfare teams, American Red Cross Civilian War Relief, and Displaced Persons detachments. Additionally, 421 Liaison officers from France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Czechoslovakia, Poland, the Soviet Union, Norway, Luxembourg, Yugoslavia, and Italy assisted with repatriations.<sup>502</sup>

To administer liberated concentration camps, the G-2 (Counterintelligence Corps) and G-5 shared responsibility. Accordingly, the G-5 Public Safety and Displaced Persons branches divided responsibility.<sup>503</sup> As a result of this superb teamwork, the U.S. Military Government had repatriated 2,700,000 displaced persons from the U.S. Zone by 10 July 1945.<sup>504</sup> While millions remained, U.S. Military Government now had a system in place to manage them.

The issue of food remained an on-going concern. To meet the subsistence level of 2,000 calories per day for displaced persons, the Army immediately supplied 400,000 tons of rations to the camps, as well as ordering German communities to offset food deficits. This requirement and the aforementioned factors account for German subsistence levels dropping to 900-1,100 calories per day.<sup>505</sup> Food shortages thereby remained one of the principal drivers for repatriation.

The repatriation of eastern European and Balkan displaced persons remained problematic. Scores of these citizens, specifically from Poland, Russia, the Baltic States, the Ukraine, and Yugoslavia, stridently resisted repatriation efforts due to their mistrust of Communism and their fear of punishment. In view of numerous instances of suicide and pandemonium, U.S. Military Government decided not to force everyone's repatriation, though it continued to encourage and provide transportation for those willing to return. As a snapshot, at the end of September 1945, 915,000 displaced persons were in the U.S. Zone, but multitudes continued to flow in.<sup>506</sup>

Not all displaced persons were model residents either. The Poles and Russians were the most unruly,

responsible for wreaking havoc on local German communities. Until camp authorities imposed control measures and curfews, these hooligans left the camps to plunder towns, rob and murder Germans with illegally obtained weapons, commit rape, and engage in other criminal behavior. Resentment within the German populace grew to such an extent that Eisenhower worried it might lead to widespread unrest and retaliation.<sup>507</sup> Continued depredations prompted Military Government to arm German police forces in September 1945. While Military Government began vetting and retraining German police in late summer 1945, they were only permitted to carry nightsticks and hence vulnerable to armed criminal gangs.<sup>508</sup> This onslaught on law and order induced Military Government to establish a Constabulary in mid-1946.

Another challenge ensued. Large numbers of Jews, Poles, and Yugoslavs settled down in the camps as permanent residents, consuming huge quantities of food and refusing to maintain their billets. Camp authorities noted that drunkenness, filth, and sexual orgies were commonplace, requiring the imposition of discipline. In reply, the residents claimed that upkeep was the camp authorities' responsibility and that their treatment was dehumanizing—implying the camp authorities were no different than the Nazis.<sup>509</sup>

Earl Ziemke diagnosed the larger threat of permanent displaced persons camps:

Among all categories of DPs, uncertainty about the future, free rations and lodging without having to work for them, privileged status under the occupation, and virtual immunity from the German police bred indolence, irresponsibility,

and organized criminality. Their access to Army, UNRRA, and Red Cross supplies made them potent operators in the black market; the camps provided havens for black market goods and bases for criminal gangs; and the Army-issue clothing that most of them wore was excellent camouflage for the criminal elements and an effective means of intimidating the Germans. The 100,000 or more DPs who did not live in camps or who drifted in and out of them at will constituted the nucleus of a kind of Army-sponsored underworld.<sup>510</sup>

Liberated concentration camp inmates added their own set of headaches for displaced persons camps. "Many persisted in wearing their convict uniforms and were willing to regale any newspaper reporter who would listen with supposed new atrocities being inflicted upon them by the Army. Some were trying to make their privileged status permanent by having official-looking documents drawn up and badges made."<sup>511</sup> Since the vast majority of Jewish displaced persons were located in Bavaria, their care and relocation to new homelands remained a "thorny" issue for U.S. Military Government. Lieutenant General Lucian Truscott noted that due to their special status as victims of Nazism and world sympathy, Military Government was particularly sensitive to any publicly made charges of poor camp conditions. While investigations proved these accusations unfounded – Jewish accommodations were in spacious casernes with plentiful food – the bad publicity brought down political pressure. Consequently, UNRRA and Military Government devoted greater attention and resources to accommodate Jewish displaced persons. Due to endemic anti-Semitism in Europe, numerous Jewish

displaced persons refused repatriation—justifiably so—and instead immigrated to Palestine on clandestine routes (akin to an underground railroad) or openly to the United States.<sup>512</sup>

While the exigencies of the humanitarian crisis provided few alternatives, using Military Government detachments to administer the displaced persons camps was the wrong instrument due to the psychology of the former Nazi inmates. Chiefly, these victims resented all authority, regardless of its source and benevolent intentions. They tended to be apathetic, suspicious, and unmotivated to improve their living conditions. Military authorities viewed displaced persons as a “logistical rather than a humanitarian problem,” thus a problem to be solved not a human being. Displaced persons regarded the military’s efforts to establish hygiene, order, and discipline as no different as their former Nazi tormentors—creating resentment and suspicions.<sup>513</sup>

Once the UNRRA began administering the camps, the dynamic changed. UNRRA workers approached displaced persons with kindness and empathy. The UNRRA established schools and religious facilities, as well as allowing some self-governance and self-policing. The administration was not without flaws—some displaced people took advantage of the lax discipline to engage in black marketing and a certain amount of corruption in the elected councils existed. However, the majority regarded the UNRRA as angels of mercy.<sup>514</sup>

On the whole, Military Government and UNRRA’s management and care of displaced persons was a notable achievement. In the face of substantial food

consumption, acts of lawlessness, and growing recalcitrance among displaced persons, the decision of Military Government to resettle them quickly cleared a major obstacle to Germany's recovery.<sup>515</sup>

## **German Prisoners of War**

Seven million German soldiers surrendered to the Western Allies as the war ended, of which three million were in U.S. captivity (250,000 had surrendered to the U.S. Fifth Army in Italy). Another 1.5 million prisoners of war held in the United States, Britain, and France awaited eventual transportation and discharge.<sup>516</sup> As surrendering German soldiers entered captivity in April 1945, SHAEF established sixteen major compounds in the western part of Germany, each designed for 100,000 prisoners. SHAEF detailed fifty American officers and 4,000 enlisted soldiers as a guard force, which it supplemented later with thirteen antiaircraft battalions. Nonetheless, the influx of prisoners resulted in overcrowding, and none of the compounds had sufficient accommodations, thereby exposing prisoners to the elements.<sup>517</sup>

Feeding the German soldiers taxed the U.S. supply system, particularly since the Geneva Convention required a subsistence level of 2,000 calories per day for the general population and 2,900 calories per day for working prisoners (both unattainable as it turned out). In addition to feeding displaced persons, German communities were expected to feed the prisoners, which clearly became impossible. In attempt to meet the feeding requirements, the U.S. Quartermaster of the Communications Zone had to dip into rations stocks and reduce rations for American servicemen by ten percent. Moreover, insufficient supplies of clothing,

water, and camp equipment were available to care for prisoners.<sup>518</sup> Obviously, SHAEF could not sustain this effort for long.

General Omar Bradley recommended the complete release of German prisoners in mid-May 1945, but Eisenhower reasoned that releases would need to occur in controlled stages in order to permit gradual reintegration into the Military Government administration and the economy.<sup>519</sup> Consequently, SHAEF issued five disbandment directives between May and June 1945 releasing about 30,000 prisoners per day as follows: #1) "agricultural workers, coal miners, transportation workers, and others in key occupations;" #2) females; #3) males over 50 years old; #4) "Belgians, French, and Dutch who had served in the *Wehrmacht* to their governments;" and #5) "general discharge of German nationals."<sup>520</sup> Maginnis mentioned that released soldiers either had to acquire civilian clothes or dye their uniforms as part of demilitarization.<sup>521</sup> Directive Number One was the most important since it released the most essential workers for German society.

In view of the U.S. policy to identify and prosecute war criminals, the disbandment process was methodical. The process required former soldiers to undergo physical inspections, superficial medical examinations, and counterintelligence interviews after completing a questionnaire. The physical inspection looked for SS blood-type tattoos in order to separate them from *Wehrmacht* soldiers. Former SS soldiers remained in captivity or were immediately arrested if they were senior officers. The medical examinations separated the very ill for extended medical treatment. The counterintelligence interviews determined whether

the prisoner was subject to immediate arrest (i.e., war crimes, Nazi officials, high ranking SS, etc.), continued captivity (i.e., SS, *Waffen SS*, and General Staff officers), or release. Those selected for release provided their names, home of residence, and names of immediate relatives, receiving in turn their pay book (*Soldbuch*), some food, and transportation back home.<sup>522</sup> Consequently, this process was slow, with 140,000 disarmed soldiers remaining in U.S. captivity in 30 June 1946, though they were scheduled for release on 30 November 1946.<sup>523</sup>

To alleviate the overcrowding in the compounds and to help rebuild war torn Europe, SHAEF employed approximately two million disarmed German soldiers as labors in France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg and Germany.<sup>524</sup> Former General Staff officers as well as active and retired generals remained in captivity as part of demilitarization. Seizing an opportunity to capitalize on German general officer experiences, the War Department's G-2 Historical Branch and the ETOUSA Historical Division employed them as late as 1959 to provide historical studies on German military operations.<sup>525</sup>

### **National Military Government Organization**

Following Germany's surrender on 8 May 1945, the Allied Control Council (ACC) assumed supreme authority in Germany on 5 June 1945, issuing the following proclamation:<sup>526</sup>

The Governments of the United States of America, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United Kingdom, and the Provisional

Government of the French Republic, hereby assume supreme authority with respect to Germany, including all the powers possessed by the German Government, the High Command and any state, municipal, local government or authority. The assumption, for the purposes stated above, of the said authority and powers does not affect the annexation of Germany.<sup>527</sup>

The Potsdam Conference Protocol of 1 August 1945 provided the Allied Control Council with legal authority through its charter and mission.<sup>528</sup> Holding its initial meeting in the American sector of Berlin on 30 July 1945, The ACC comprised the senior Allied commanders – Eisenhower (U.S.), Montgomery (UK), Zhukov (RU), and Koenig (FR) – developing general policy and supervision of the Allied occupation of Germany through unanimous decisions. Below the ACC, the Coordinating Committee composed the Allied deputy military governors (Lieutenant Generals Lucius D. Clay [U.S.], Ronald Weeks [UK], Vasily Sokolovsky [RU], and Louis Koeltz [FR]). The governmental directorates formed the third level, with committees, subcommittees, secretariat and special groups providing administrative support. While the governing body for Berlin – the Kommandatura – fell under the Coordinating Committee, it had the authority to bring issues up to the ACC for resolution.<sup>529</sup>

Harold Zink described the functions of these ACC bodies. The Coordinating Committee addressed the more immediate problems of occupation, avoiding policy making or major political decisions. It met more frequently with longer sessions, devoting more time to quotidian issues. The secretariat performed

house-keeping tasks and compiled reports. It maintained the headquarters building, recruited staff interpreters and assistants, and prepared the agendas for the ACC and Coordinating Committee. The twelve directorates produced reports on occupation matters: "military, naval, air, economic matters, finance, legal, manpower, internal affairs, communications, political affairs, prisoners of war and displaced persons, and reparations." Staffed by experts in functional areas from each of the Allied military headquarters, they conducted preliminary discussions, resolved policy differences on minor issues, and prepared reports for recommendation to the Coordinating Committee, which forwarded the reports to the Council for decision. In turn, the directorates were responsible for implementing the decisions. Under the directorates were about 60 working committees, focused on handling problems like "health, education, religious affairs, housing, courts, and sports."<sup>530</sup>

Berlin and Vienna had a Kommandatura as a governing body. The Allies divided each capital into four sectors with each sector comprising two or more *Bezirke* (boroughs).<sup>531</sup> Established on 10 July 1945, the Berlin Kommandatura headquarters was located in the U.S. sector with meetings held each Thursday to discuss occupation policies and resolve problems. Chairmanship among the four commandants rotated monthly. The Deputy Commandants met every Monday to dispense with routine issues. As with the ACC, specialist committees provided the Kommandatura with technical support.<sup>532</sup> According to Colonel Frank Howley, the Kommandatura functioned well until the Russians began obstructing efforts and waging a propaganda campaign against the West.<sup>533</sup> Maginnis "found the Russians to be a

baffling combination of childishness, hard realism, irresponsibility, churlishness, amiability, slovenliness, and callousness.”<sup>534</sup> They were not alone in their assessment. Lieutenant General Lucius D. Clay noted that by 1946, it was clear the Russians were intent on spreading communism in addition to looting Germany. The Western Allies in Berlin became the pawns, and Berlin was the chess board.<sup>535</sup>

Administering the occupation of Berlin and Vienna deserves special attention because Soviet wanton behavior seriously endangered law and order. Since all Allies were permitted to move across sector boundaries without restrictions, Soviet soldiers frequently roamed into the U.S. and British sectors, robbing, raping, kidnapping, looting, and murdering German civilians. American and British authorities spent an inordinate amount of time, manpower, and resources investigating and stopping such activities. Consequently, the Soviets proved to be the single-most problem for occupation in both cities.<sup>536</sup>

At the end of April 1945, Lieutenant General Clay assumed command of the U.S. Group Control Council (U.S. GCC), which moved to Berlin in July. As the Deputy Military Governor, Clay supervised the Berlin Headquarters District as well as the G-5 activities in the U.S. Military Districts.<sup>537</sup> Over the next six months of occupation, the U.S. GCC became increasingly *civilianized*, meaning civilians slowly replaced military personnel in the various Military Government staffs, reaching 429 by November 1945. However, these numbers did not match the number of military departures, so Clay instituted a civil service program to convert Military Government personnel (apparently demobilized volunteers) into civil servants.<sup>538</sup> Hence,

by August 1946, two-thirds of the Military Government staffs consisted of civilians.<sup>539</sup>

In November 1945, the U.S. GCC was re-designated as the Office of Military Government for Germany (OMGUS).<sup>540</sup> A conspicuous feature of the U.S. GCC/OMGUS efforts to set up the Military Government in the U.S. Zone of Occupation was the lack of positive policy guidance from Washington D.C., from the summer of 1944 to well past the Potsdam Conference in July 1945. It appeared the focus of senior policy makers was on winning the war, with little time for post conflict matters. According to Harold Zink, "The net result of this involved situation was that we arrived at our policy in Germany the hard way through trial and error." Hence, Military Government activities with democratization, education, economic recovery, and so forth became a de facto policy.<sup>541</sup> It cannot be overemphasized that the driving force behind the political and economic rehabilitation of Germany (and hence Europe) was Lieutenant General Lucius D. Clay.

The Allied Control Council dissolved in acrimony on 20 March 1948 due to Soviet political and economic machinations to subvert German autonomy.<sup>542</sup> Within a couple of months, the Soviet blockade of Berlin began, signaling the beginning of the Cold War.

### **Military Government in Action**

U.S. divisions entered Germany in late September and October 1944, establishing Military Government in and around Roetgen, Monschau, and Aachen. In accordance with their training, Military Government detachments immediately established their

headquarters in a prominent building, raised the U.S. flag, posted Eisenhower's proclamations and ordinances, established governance and public safety, and inspected utilities for damage.<sup>543</sup>

Detachment I4G2 (2 O/1 WO/6 EM) accompanied the 9<sup>th</sup> Infantry Division into Monschau on 29 September 1944, while German units contested the areas east of town. After registering the civilians, the detachment presided over summary courts, investigated reports of soldiers looting, repaired utilities, facilities, and infrastructure damaged by artillery, evacuated civilians, requisitioned supplies for civilians and fodder for livestock, and conferred with a Military Government police detachment to secure facilities. Of interest, 24 Military Government detachments operated in the area for training and observation while awaiting for Operation ECLIPSE to begin.<sup>544</sup>

Entering Aachen on 22 October 1944, Detachment F1G2 (35 O/48 EM) found 85 percent of the city destroyed with only 14,000 out of the original 160,000 population present. German SS units had evacuated all policemen, firemen and fire equipment, utilities repairmen, and public records, which exacerbated occupation tasks. Finding qualified city administrators was difficult since eligible candidates feared reprisals on their relatives in Germany proper.<sup>545</sup>

Generally, Military Government detachments found the Germans readily compliant with ordinances, helpful to Military Government, and desirous to get on with their lives. Essential services were mostly disrupted in cities, but the Germans had already adapted as a result of Allied bombings. They had already stocked their

cellars with food and coal, so their survival was not of immediate concern.<sup>546</sup>

During the rapid advances under Operation ECLIPSE, I Detachments (3 O/5 EM in two jeeps with trailers) were omnipresent and invaluable to creating immediate stability in the wake of the offensive. Moving with their assigned divisions, I Detachments (with pinpoint assignments deeper into Germany) passed through towns, stopping “long enough to post proclamations and ordinances, issue circulation and curfew orders, and remove the most obvious Nazis. They sometimes appointed an acting *Buergermeister* who would then frequently have to be left to struggle with the new rules on his own until the next unit came along and, as often as not, dismissed him for incompetence.”<sup>547</sup> Moreover, “They arranged for the dead in the streets to be buried, restored rationing, put police back on the streets, and if possible got the electricity and water working. They provided care for the displaced persons and Military Government courts for the Germans. If troops needed to be billeted, they requisitioned the houses. If the army needed labor, they secured it through the labor office.”<sup>548</sup>

### **Denazification.**

Because Aachen was the first major German city to fall to the Allies, Military Government operations received widespread media scrutiny. In the absence of any definitive Denazification policy guidance, Detachment F1G2 accepted the advice of the local clergy regarding acceptable government officials (a common practice among Military Government detachments). Though the selected *Buergermeister* was a businessman, he, along with chosen key city officials, had past Nazi

associations. The resulting negative press reports caused a firestorm of protests from the American public and served as an example to other detachments to avoid public censure. In reaction, the Joint Chiefs of Staff issued an ambiguous directive excluding Germans with Nazi associations from civil positions at all levels. This directive paralyzed Military Government plans to organize a capable system of civil administration. While Military Government detachments accepted the preference of untainted Germans, finding them was another matter.<sup>549</sup> According to Earl Ziemke, "Competent non-Nazis were among the rarest commodities everywhere in Germany, not only in Aachen; in the managerial and professional groups they were practically nonexistent."<sup>550</sup>

Military Government detachments found it difficult to find and empower officials to run local governments. Experienced non-Nazi officials were few and recruiting competent officials with "physical and mental vigor," leadership qualities, and willing to work for the Americans narrowed the field. Few American Military Government officers were familiar with "German psychology, German political institutions, or German language," other than the basic instruction they received. While Military Government officers accepted the principle to select the senior government official (i.e., mayor), leaving the selection of subordinates and civil service personnel to his own discretion, the exigencies of the moment and pressure from higher headquarters prompted many to select the lower-level personnel as well. Even those Germans with local government experience were accustomed to traditional centralization of decision making, so they avoided taking responsibility for decisions or taking the initiative. Often, they harried American

officers to decide routine matters. Given the plethora of tasks to accomplish and to show progress in their reports, Americans stepped in and managed the tasks themselves. "Having established this pattern it was easy to continue it, with the result that less progress was made in establishing effective German governments in some localities than was desirable."<sup>551</sup>

Because the Third Reich kept meticulous records on party membership and associations, Allied occupation forces had a comprehensive picture of just how deep Nazi penetration of German society delved. U.S. Denazification policy took a Manichean view of individual's affiliation with Nazism—either completely untainted or completely complicit. So, as Military Government personnel searched for Germans to restore civil service, essential services, the economy, etc., "the number of political acceptables between the ages of twenty and fifty who were also trained and competent was exceedingly small."<sup>552</sup> Earl Ziemke noted the irony confronting Military Government:

Frequently the Nazis had training, experience, energy, affability, and not a bad political record. The Americans respected efficiency and trusted the men who seemed to be friendly. In the words of one detachment commander, if "all the Nazis had been exceedingly unpleasant and rude, denazification would have been easy." Moreover, the man who was individualistic enough to have stood out against the Nazis was probably not going to fit in easily with the Americans either. . . . Non-Nazi and anti-Nazi were not necessarily believers in democracy or even, to the American mind, very different from the Nazis in their thinking. A recurring

suspicion among military government officers – acquired probably from the Germans they had talked to – was that many so-called non-Nazis were people who had wanted to join the party and been rejected, which made them worse in a sense than those who had joined out of expediency or under compulsion.<sup>553</sup>

The Joint Chiefs of Staff recognized the logic flaw, so the last revision of JCS directive 1067 stated that Denazification only applied to “active Nazis,” an ambiguous term at best.<sup>554</sup> Earlier attempts to define what “nominal” Nazi affiliation meant, such as joining the Nazi party after 1937, met such public and media outrage, that the Joint Chiefs of Staff dropped the issue, so definitive guidance was not forthcoming.<sup>555</sup>

Army bureaucracy added to the confusion. Rather than disseminating JCS directive 1067 directly to Military Government detachments, command channels (i.e., Army Groups to Armies, to Corps, to Divisions) integrated it into their own directives, which led to considerable delays in transmission and variations in content. Operating in limbo, some Military Government detachments executed Denazification with alacrity, whereas others paid it lip service.<sup>556</sup> War correspondents quickly reported on the uneven implementation of Denazification, which inflamed public opinion and created tremendous political pressure to redouble Denazification efforts. Hence, discretion was taken out of Military Government hands.<sup>557</sup>

Deputy Military Governor Lucius Clay’s July 1945 report to General Eisenhower explained the dilemma for the Military Government officer:

*His mission is to find capable public officials . . . at the same time, he must seek out and remove the Nazis. All too often, it seems that the only men with the qualifications . . . are the career civil servants . . . a great proportion of whom were more than nominal participants (by our definition) in the activities of the Nazi Party.*<sup>558</sup>

Clay pointed out that German civil servants accounted for more than 300,000 in the U.S. Zone alone, with many more employed in “schools, churches, hospitals, and places of prominence in private enterprise.” While Clay agreed with the exclusion of “real Nazis” from leadership positions as well as interning “dangerous Nazis,” repealing Nazi laws, seizing Nazi property, blocking Nazi bank accounts, and disbanding Nazi organizations and affiliation, he believed at least 12 million Germans had been associated with Nazism to some degree and “could not be kept forever from political and economic life.” Clay cautioned that taking Denazification too far could turn the real Nazis into martyrs and believed that ultimately, the Germans would need to settle the issue of past Nazi affiliation themselves.<sup>559</sup>

General George S. Patton, the Eastern Military District commander, was equally perplexed by the draconian measures of Denazification on the one hand, and the need to reestablish civil government on the other. In an 11 August 1945 letter to Eisenhower, he complained that Military Government would become infinitely more complicated if it relied on “inexperienced or inefficient” people to perform the functions of government. However, Patton overstated his case by observing, “It is no more possible for a man to be a civil servant in Germany and not have paid lip service

to nazism than it is for a man to be a postmaster in America and not have paid lip service to the Democratic Party or Republican Party when it is in power.”<sup>560</sup> Eisenhower reminded his long-time friend that Denazification was a major U.S. policy objective, plus a hypersensitive domestic issue. Unfortunately, Patton expressed his sentiments publicly shortly thereafter, which led to his relief in October 1945. As a result, Eisenhower appointed Lieutenant General Lucian Truscott as Patton’s successor as commander of the Eastern Military District.<sup>561</sup> In defense of Eisenhower’s decision, Truscott observed, “General Patton’s mistake had not been in remarking that denazification removed all of the best trained individuals from government, but in failing to appreciate that the fundamental objective of the occupation necessarily had to be the training of more democratic-minded officials to take their places.”<sup>562</sup>

In the wake of the public storm following Patton’s statements and relief, USFET directed the Military District commands to implement JCS directive 1067 to the letter. Further, the Office of Political Affairs in the U.S. Group Control Council (U.S. GCC) provided Military Government detachments with expansive lists of Nazis to arrest, remove from public office, and to keep an eye on.<sup>563</sup> Upon replacing the U.S. GCC in November 1945, the Office of Military Government of the United States (OMGUS) established a Denazification board in its Legal Division. In turn, Military Government detachments added Special Branches for Denazification to the Public Safety staff sections. Public Safety officers dutifully produced questionnaires (*Fragebogen*) to unearth any Nazis in workplaces.<sup>564</sup>

According to Earl Ziemke, “The *Fragebogen* required the respondent to list all his memberships in National Socialist and military organizations and to supply a variety of other information concerning his salary, associations, and employment back to the pre-Hitler period. With the information in the *Fragebogen* Military Government expected not only to be able to detect overt Nazis but also sympathizers, militarists, and individuals who had benefited materially from the Nazi regime.” Ironically, since the Special Branches had limited personnel to conduct investigations, they employed German nationals to help them verify the information.<sup>565</sup> By 1 June 1946, Special Branches had investigated 96 percent of the 1,613,000 *Fragebogen*, removing 373,762 Germans from the workforce.<sup>566</sup>

Astoundingly, the U.S. Zone had over 100,000 suspected Nazis interred in camps by the end of 1945, which dipped slightly to 66,500 by September 1946—all held indefinitely without due process.<sup>567</sup>

Paradoxically, only the Americans pursued Denazification as a crusade. The Russians exterminated those Germans they deemed dangerous, but they were not interested in a Denazification program per se. They were more interested in using Germans to advance their political agenda, regardless of past Nazi affiliation. Since the British and French were not subject to the same domestic pressures as the Americans, they only pursued higher echelon Nazis and viewed smaller associations as a way for individuals to cope (i.e., self-preservation and livelihood).<sup>568</sup>

Lucius Clay began taking steps as early as October 1945 to transfer the adjudication of Nazi affiliation to the German legal system—step by step.<sup>569</sup> Through

the work of OMGUS lawyers, the *Laenderrat* (Council of States) ratified the “Law for the Liberation of National Socialism or Militarism” in March 1946, which transferred adjudication of offenses to German Denazification tribunals (under American supervision). The law listed five categories for trial: “I major offenders, II offenders, III lesser offenders, IV followers, and V non-offenders and exonerated after trial.” The Minister Presidents appointed a Ministers of Denazification board to supervise investigations, 316 local tribunals, and eight appellate tribunals.<sup>570</sup>

The transition to German responsibility was not without controversy and challenges though. Contrary to the U.S. approach to Denazification, the German judicial process sought to erase the stigma of Nazism on individuals and their reintegration into society.<sup>571</sup> While the hearings began on 15 May 1946, too few German judges, prosecutors and legal clerks were available. According to Earl Ziemke,

The law required tribunal members to be local residents, known opponents of nazism and militarism, personally beyond reproach, and fair and just. . . . Finding competent prosecutors and judges was impossible; no one, whether anti-Nazi or not, wanted to judge their own friends and the people they had lived with all their lives. . . . Men who accepted appointments as prosecutors or chairmen of tribunals would have trouble for the rest of their lives, and the local [Military Government] detachment recommended bringing in strangers who “could leave town after it was over.”<sup>572</sup>

Dissatisfied with the leniency of early court sentences, Clay gave the German courts two months to prosecute cases more rigorously, or OMGUS would assume responsibility. Clay's vocal displeasure had the desired effect.<sup>573</sup> With the German courts functioning as desired, OMGUS revoked previous Denazification directives on 14 June 1946 and passed the responsibility to the German authorities.<sup>574</sup>

Still, 2.5 million Germans were subject to prosecution. To ease the case load on the German courts, Military Governor Joseph McNarney granted a blanket amnesty to 800,000 category III and IV offenders in December 1946. Of the remaining Germans subject to prosecution, 887,252 were tried before German courts by the end of June 1948. Clay reported in February 1947 that 2,000 received prison terms, 4,000 were denied public office, and 16,000 received hard labor sentences.<sup>575</sup>

In the final analysis, the United States pursued Denazification too dogmatically, which proved impractical for Military Government activities.<sup>576</sup> Zink concluded that the United States invested too many resources and manpower on Denazification at the expense of more important long-term programs like "democratization, education, economic reconstruction, or food." Hence, the policy proved counterproductive to Germany's economic recovery and political rehabilitation.<sup>577</sup> As this study reveals, Deputy Military Governor Lucius Clay's democratic and economic initiatives had the most enduring impact on Germany's rejection of Nazism (or some other form of authoritarianism), militarism, and ultra-nationalism.

## Nonfraternization

Like Denazification, the Nonfraternization policy went well beyond common sense and greatly impeded the activities of Military Government. Colonel John Maginnis viewed it as impractical and unenforceable.<sup>578</sup> According to the policy, Americans could not interact at all with German men, women, or children and were threatened with fines if caught fraternizing. Of course officers, much to the resentment of enlisted soldiers, often fraternized with women and could afford the fines.<sup>579</sup> Deputy Military Governor Lucius Clay noted the unintended consequences of prohibiting normal interactions between American men and women, since soldiers sought out prostitutes covertly, which led to an increase in venereal disease and disorderly conduct brought on by drunkenness.<sup>580</sup>

Military Government personnel were not permitted to engage with German counterparts in a conversational manner; even the simple act of shaking hands or giving candy to children was prohibited.<sup>581</sup> In contrast, the British, French, and Russians openly fraternized with all Germans, either viewing nonfraternization as unenforceable or an obstacle to cultivating a working relationship. Ironically, the aloofness of Military Government officers undermined efforts to enlist the services of well-meaning Germans and those most interested in learning more about democracy. "Brushing them aside," as Zink observed, "probably had the effect in many cases of driving them from a position of communist leanings directly into the arms of the Communists."<sup>582</sup>

Weighing the effect on soldier morale with U.S. domestic demands for strict adherence to nonfraternization,

General Eisenhower pursued a slow relaxation of policy: first permitting interactions with children; then permitting interactions of all ages in public; and then permitting interactions with Germans in their homes. By August 1945, Eisenhower rescinded the Nonfraternization policy completely, which the Allied Control Council ratified in September.<sup>583</sup>

## **Democratization**

Democratization offered the most effective way for the political and economic rehabilitation of Germany, which served to forestall the reemergence of totalitarianism and militarism. Yet, even this pursuit was not without challenges, paradoxically not from German resistance or apathy, but from American missteps. The general attitude among Americans was that Germans were incapable of embracing democracy given their propensity to follow blindly “false Messiahs promising the millennium.”<sup>584</sup> In view of this attitude, coupled with Nonfraternization, U.S. occupation troops made no effort to discuss democracy (i.e., self-government, freedoms, rights, etc.) with individual Germans or interested groups.<sup>585</sup>

While Germans viewed Americans as liberators and were initially impressed with the quality of U.S. equipment, food standards, informal manners, and egalitarian attitudes, their attitude soured within weeks due to the disheveled appearance of soldiers, ill-discipline, and disorderly conduct. Discipline among U.S. soldiers suffered as a result of the rapid demobilization and the breakdown of unit cohesion as individual soldiers departed under the discharge point system rather than unit redeployments (Of the three million troops in Europe on VE Day, two million had

departed by November 1945). The remaining soldiers became disgruntled with the slow pace of discharges and engaged in mass demonstrations. The breakdown in discipline resulted in a rash of wanton acts during the first six months of occupation, such as black marketeering, murder, rape, theft, robbery, looting, and so forth.<sup>586</sup>

Taking note of troop indiscipline, rapacity, and aloofness, Germans soon became disenchanted with Americans—hardly fertile ground for democratization. Paradoxically, German admiration of the Soviets increased substantially. Since the Soviets ignored Denazification and openly fraternized, they easily cultivated relations with the Germans. Their sophisticated propaganda portrayed life in the Soviet Zone as vastly superior and extravagantly praised German culture. They quickly opened schools without vetting teacher and books for Nazi association and placed factories into full operation, offering employment to all Germans regardless of their Nazi past. They placed great emphasis on cultural and entertainment activities (i.e., theater, movies, music, and art).<sup>587</sup> In contrast, the Americans initially made no attempt to counter Soviet propaganda, and their radio programs were dull, focused only on “transmitting instructions and information on restrictions imposed by the occupying powers.”<sup>588</sup>

JCS directive 1067 offered nothing beyond punishing Germany (i.e., dismemberment, deindustrialization, and demilitarization), thereby requiring an enduring occupation. The Truman Administration viewed this approach as impractical and expensive, so it concluded at the Potsdam Conference in July 1945 to pursue democratization—a repudiation of Morgenthau’s

agenda – in order to bring Germany into the comity of nations.<sup>589</sup>

Lieutenant General Lucius Clay was the driving force behind democratization. He embarked on a multi-pronged, mutually supporting strategy to instill enduring democratic institutions in the German psyche: constitutional political structures, freedom of expression, education, trade unions, and economic and financial renewal. Clay's reasoning was clear: "The bringing of a measure of self-sufficiently [*sic*] to the German people and the institution of self-government under democratic principles, if successful, will stand out in history and perhaps will bring a major contribution to the peace of Europe and the world."<sup>590</sup> On 8 December 1945, Clay articulated the change in occupation policy for Military Government personnel: "Let the Germans run their own affairs at the earliest possible moment; our job was supervision, not operation."<sup>591</sup>

## Constitutional Political Structures

The original intent of Military Government planners was to create democratic structures at the national level first. However, the division of Germany into zones in addition to Russian and French resistance to a national government made this approach moribund.<sup>592</sup> Accordingly, Clay believed the most effective approach was to establish democratic institutions at the lowest levels first and then expand them upwards.<sup>593</sup>

By July 1945, Military Government detachments had established administrations in the U.S. Zone at the city (*Stadtkreis*), county (*Landkreis*), and regional (*Regierungsbezirk*) levels. Administration above these

levels was troublesome since the zonal division of Germany did not correspond with traditional political boundaries. Hence, the United States combined Württemberg and Baden into one state (*Land*) with Stuttgart as its capital; Hesse-Nassau and Hesse became Hesse with Wiesbaden as its capital; Bavaria with its capital at Munich remained intact, albeit smaller; and the Bremen enclave became a state on 30 October 1946.<sup>594</sup>

Eisenhower started the political revival on 7 August 1945 by directing the Eastern and Western Military Districts to begin licensing political parties at the district (*Kreis*) level.<sup>595</sup> Consequently, the licensing of the Communist, Social Democrats, Christian Democratic Union, and Christian Social Union parties was completed by September 1945.<sup>596</sup>

On 5 October 1945, the U.S. Military Government established the Council of Ministers (*Laenderrat*), composed of minister-presidents representing the three states (Bremen joined later). To expedite the administration of common interests, the Council of Ministers created a permanent secretariat in Stuttgart. With political administration functioning sufficiently, the conditions for elections in 1946 were set.<sup>597</sup> Clay met with the Council of Ministers monthly in order to underscore U.S. policy objectives (i.e., Denazification and demilitarization) and democratic processes (self-government, free speech, religious freedom, and liberal education). Through these discussions, the minister-presidents understood, accepted, and assumed responsibility of vetting political candidates with Nazi affiliations.<sup>598</sup>

The Germans held the initial elections in January 1946 in villages (*Gemeinden* with a population less than 20,000) with an 86 percent voting turnout. Elections for county (*Landkreis*) councils and larger towns (*Gemeinden*, 20,000-100,000 residents) followed on 28 April with a 71 percent voter participation. The final elections of city (*Stadtkreis*) councils occurred in May with 80 percent of the populace voting. While former Nazis were not allowed to run for office and active Nazis ineligible to vote, the high voter turnout gainsaid the common belief among Americans that Germans would never embrace Democracy.<sup>599</sup>

In the meantime, Clay requested the minister-presidents begin the process of crafting a constitution for each state (*Land*), embodying the principles of a social contract in which sovereignty lay in the people through popular elections and at least two political parties; the rule of law would guarantee the universal rights of people; and the eventual federal constitution would enumerate the powers of the national government as agreed upon by the states. Additionally, the minister-presidents oversaw the election of the three constitutional assemblies on 30 June 1946 to study their respective constitutions. From July to October, the constitutional assemblies completed their study and submitted the three constitutions for OMGUS approval.<sup>600</sup>

Of import, OMGUS did not pressure the constitutional assemblies to adopt the framework of the U.S. Constitution, only democratic principles:

The three constitutions established parliamentary forms of government and guaranteed independent judiciaries with

judicial review of the constitutionality of legislation. They contained excellent provisions which defined and safeguarded the basic rights of the individual.<sup>601</sup>

The ratification of the constitutions followed suit in 1947 by popular vote. The Württemberg-Baden constitution was adopted on 24 March, followed by Bavaria and Hesse's on 1 December, all with overwhelming majorities. Simultaneously, the popular elections of state parliaments (*Landtag*) established almost full self-government, with an OMGUS directive establishing the powers which Military Government would retain.<sup>602</sup> According to Earl Ziemke, local elections in the spring of 1946 "spelled the end of local military government. The *Landkreis* [Military Government] detachments became liaison and security offices on 1 May [1946], and the *Stadtkreis* [Military Government] detachments were redesignated on 3 June."<sup>603</sup>

## **The Judicial System**

Until the German court system was purged of Nazis, U.S. Military Government courts assumed judicial authority. The courts had the dual responsibility of enforcing Military Government ordinances as well as instilling in the minds of Germans the democratic ideals of fair and impartial trials. The initial focus of the courts was eliminating the backlog of cases which had accumulated before VE Day (16,000 cases, mostly minor offenses). Since 80 percent of German jurists were former Nazis, Military Government legal officers were needed to preside over court cases. The Army courts martial system served as the framework using three levels of court: summary, intermediate, and general. Summary courts (one legal officer presiding)

handled lower cases, imposing sentences of less than a year in prison and fines of up to \$1,000. The intermediate courts (one or more trained lawyers as judges) adjudicated crimes with punishments of ten years in prison and fines to \$10,000. The general courts (three legal officers or more as judges) handled capital crimes, rendering judgements of death and unlimited fines. Apparently, general court cases were rare since the majority of Germans were law abiding.<sup>604</sup>

Despite the arduous task of vetting German lawyers and judges, Military Government supervised the operations of 25 German lower courts by the end of May 1945, which handled cases below the jurisdiction of Military Government courts. By mid-summer 1945, intermediate courts were established, and by March 1946, all German courts within the U.S. Zone were handling cases.<sup>605</sup>

### **Freedom of Expression and Enlightenment of German Minds**

In accordance with Military Government Law No. 191, occupation forces, under the direction of the SHAEF's Psychological Warfare Division and thereafter the Information Control Division, closed down all outlets of expression: "informational and educational, the magazines, the press, the radio, books, moving pictures, the theater, music, lectures, and town meeting; in the meeting halls of trade unions, in the schools, and in the churches."<sup>606</sup> A short period of time elapsed as Military Government vetted these venues and personnel for Nazi association, as well as repairing facilities.<sup>607</sup> Scrutinizing these mediums was necessary since Reich Minister of Propaganda Joseph

Goebbels had appropriated them for propaganda, racial, nationalistic, and ideological purposes.

In July 1945, The Psychological Warfare Division (PWD) oversaw the publication of newspapers, staffed by anti-Nazi journalists and editors, who presented features on political issues, music, cultural events, and world news. Almost immediately, PWD's successor, the Information Services Control Commission, began licensing German newspapers, so by mid-1946, the U.S. Zone had 38 licensed German papers in operation, which expanded to 56 newspapers by the end of 1948.<sup>608</sup> Publications expanded to periodicals and books, initially translations of American authors, but by 1948 there were over 500 German magazines. American libraries (*Amerika Haus*) served as cultural centers with American books, periodicals, movies, concerts, and guest lecturers, which proved immensely popular among Germans. By the end of 1948, 126 American libraries were in operation. The only obstacle to widespread publications was the paper shortage in Germany for a couple of years after the war.<sup>609</sup>

To inculcate the idea of "responsible, free, and independent information media," OMGUS hosted seminars between prominent U.S. newspaper editors and German publishers in September 1947. Additionally, in 1948 several German radio broadcasters visited the United States to study American practices, and "fifteen German editors attended a six week's course in journalism at Columbia University."<sup>610</sup> OMGUS did experience growing pains regarding legislation guaranteeing a free and independent media. State governments and political parties wanted to control information and avoid critical reporting. While Clay

made progress in this area, he was not entirely satisfied when he departed Germany in May 1949 – but he did lay the groundwork.<sup>611</sup>

Radio stations in Luxembourg, Frankfurt, and eventually Berlin (1 June 1947) provided entertainment and news – particularly Voice of America. With the Cold War apparent by 1947, OMGUS began to counter Soviet propaganda with factual reports and emphasizing the differences between Soviet authoritarianism and democratic governance.<sup>612</sup>

Similarly, the PWD reopened movie theaters, providing entertainment and documentary films and expanding to over 200 by November 1945.<sup>613</sup> After screening musicians and expunging musical pieces of Nazi influences, the PWD authorized the resumption of concerts.<sup>614</sup>

## **Education**

Until the end of the war, SHAEF G-5 gave little attention to reforming education, except in regards to Denazification.<sup>615</sup> For example, the U.S. Group Control Council Education Section numbered less than ten personnel. USFET G-5 paid meager attention to education as well. The Army Groups, Armies, and Military Government detachments only assigned one staff officer to education, who was also assigned additional duties, such as religious affairs. Whether a detachment officer was qualified in the field of education was irrelevant. Ironically, while plenty of professional educators were available in the G-5 sections, they were assigned other duties unrelated to education.<sup>616</sup>

Before its dissolution, the German Country Unit Education Section intended to supervise the school system in a decentralized manner. The first order of business was to accredit non-Nazi “administrators, professors, and teachers for German universities, trade schools, high schools, and elementary schools in adequate numbers.” At the same time, text books and curriculum would need to be cleansed of Nazi influence.<sup>617</sup> Accordingly, the German Country Unit Education Section discovered German textbooks from the pre-Nazi era at the Columbia University Teachers College. Unfortunately, these textbooks were infused with ultra-militarism and ultra-nationalism, so the reviewers expunged as much of the objectionable material as time and resources permitted. They sent microfilm copies of the textbooks to England for printing. However, printing presses and paper were too limited for mass production, so the plan was to use German printing resources during occupation.<sup>618</sup> With the German Country Unit’s dissolution, this effort became dormant.

After the war, the OMGUS Education Section continued the work of purging textbooks of Nazi and pre-1933 objectionable material, but the effort was time consuming. During the first year of occupation, it reviewed 53 new textbook drafts but found only 39 acceptable. Consequently, OMGUS decided to place the responsibility on German town councils and school supervisors to remove objectionable material in textbooks and library books. U.S. Military Government officials wished to avoid the appearance of banning books, akin to the Nazis burning books, so the solution was to dismiss German officials who failed in the task. The plan to use German printing resources proved misplaced. German printing facilities for textbooks

were beset by inadequate paper supplies and damage to printing facilities. Thus, only half of the required textbooks were available during the summer of 1946, and another two years would elapse before schools had sufficient textbooks on hand.<sup>619</sup>

In view of the poor preparation for education at high headquarters, Military Government detachments took matters in their own hands: removing occupation troops from school buildings, locating school supplies, and at times serving as teachers.<sup>620</sup> One silver lining to this situation was that Military Government detachments had no one looking over their shoulders, so some detachments certified German teachers, regardless of their Nazi past, just to get schools into operation (though this must have been short-lived). As occupation took hold, various Military Government Education Sections established teacher training institutes and temporarily assigned some of their personnel to fill the shortfall in teachers. Still, vetting sufficient numbers of teachers and repairing/rebuilding school facilities took years.<sup>621</sup>

Reopening schools was a matter of urgency due to the large numbers of German children and teenagers roaming the streets. Many were either orphans, displaced, or simply abandoned. While younger children represented no threat to security (generally “apathetic and disillusioned”), older teens were altogether different since they had assimilated Nazism.<sup>622</sup> Kindergartens opened immediately, followed by elementary schools on 1 October 1945. By mid-to late 1946, German youths were attending either secondary schools, vocational schools, seminaries, three medical faculties or universities. Moreover, larger cities were conducting adult education. Clay

emphasized that the mission was to inculcate into academia “progressive and democratic educational methods.” Greater parent interest in education was encouraged, and Education Services Centers were established for German educators and international academics to discuss modern teaching methods and introduce the latest in textbooks for adoption in German education.<sup>623</sup>

Further, to alleviate boredom and provide mentorship among German youths, OMGUS detailed soldiers to organize youth groups, featuring sports, music, and cultural activities. These programs proved highly popular and successful. By the spring of 1946, there were 2,500 youth groups with 300,000 members.<sup>624</sup>

## **Trade Unions**

Lieutenant General Lucius Clay averred that the development of “strong and healthy trade unions” were part of the democratic process in Germany. To assist in this effort, he brought in American labor union experts as advisers to OMGUS and the German labor unions. With OMGUS encouragement to establish autonomy from centralized government control, German trade unions elected “works councils,” which represented “employees in matters concerning production, unemployment, and grievances in their respective plants.”<sup>625</sup> The Bizonal economic fusion of the American and British zones in 1947 led the way for a Bizonal Trade Union Council and a Bizonal Trade Union Secretariat, which established greater economic unity and cooperation. By 31 July 1948, union membership rose to approximately five million,

followed in short order by the establishment of other unions.<sup>626</sup>

Clay recounted that relations between OMGUS and labor leaders were constructive and friendly, particularly their efforts to support Denazification and to combat the black market (which had created rampant inflation). Clay credited the union leadership with resisting the early temptation to demand higher wages until economic growth created price stability. Additionally, successive elections culled out communists from principal leadership positions and domination of the labor movement.<sup>627</sup>

By the time the establishment of Federal Republic of Germany in 1949, trade unions had matured so as to engage the federal and state governments through the consultation process. Clay believed that the development of labor unions not only accelerated Germany's economic recovery but also did so on a solid democratic basis.<sup>628</sup>

### **Economic and Financial Renewal.**

As previously mentioned, the Roosevelt administration had no intention of pursuing the economic revival of Germany, particularly its heavy industry. Military Government was to impress on the German people that the Allies came as conquerors, not liberators. In accordance with the Morgenthau Plan, the German economy would be based on agriculture. Of course, Britain and Russia had no intention of pursuing a similar policy, so presumably, only the U.S. Zone would be affected.<sup>629</sup> However, the Morgenthau Plan contradicted all the instruction on economics from the

School of Military Government. Principally, lecturers stressed that positive changes in German culture and an acceptance of democracy depended on economic stability, prosperity, and sufficient sustenance (i.e., a livelihood, food, and water). Without a prosperous economy, Germans would face political insecurity and deprivation, prompting them to embrace totalitarianism again out of desperation. Consequently, Military Government graduates viewed economic rehabilitation as writ.<sup>630</sup>

The School of Military Government also emphasized that Military Government should encourage and empower local officials to revitalize their economies under a democratic process. To achieve buy-in, the Germans must not perceive economic assistance as charity. This self-help tenet would preserve the dignity of the German people and minimize Military Government administration. Hence, economic revival at the local level was essential to engendering self-sufficiency.<sup>631</sup>

It came as no surprise then that the Potsdam Conference refuted the Morgenthau Plan and sought to reconstitute the Germany economy along democratic, peaceful lines.<sup>632</sup> Accordingly, as Earl Ziemke noted:

The conference protocol accepted economic unity as a principle and charged the Control Council with setting up central German departments for finance, transport, communications, foreign trade, and industry. . . . The conference gave the Control Council the second mission of establishing a level of industry for Germany, that is, determining how much of its existing

productive capacity the country would need to subsist without being able to threaten the peace again.<sup>633</sup>

Unfortunately, the division of Germany into four zones hampered economic recovery by staunching the domestic flow of trade. For example, Bavaria and the Rhineland depended on coal and steel from the Ruhr (British Zone) and Silesia (Soviet Zone) for their light and medium industries. Eastern Germany was the agricultural region for Germany, so once the Soviets cut access, the western zones were dependent on American and British food imports. Berlin became an acute concern for the British, American, and French sectors because the Soviets refused to provide coal, food, fuel, and other essential commodities. Moreover, without a national economic administration, coal and steel from the Ruhr, as well as manufactured goods, were unavailable for global export. In view of the variable value of the German Mark, transactions based on currency proved unfeasible, thereby creating an economy based on bartering and fueling the black market. Since the end of the war, U.S. and British subsidies to support the German economy stood at \$200 million and \$300 million respectively per year (a figure Britain could not sustain economically). These problems prompted the United States to propose that the Allies create an economic union until the Allied Control Council could establish a central German administration for food, trade, and industry in accordance with the Potsdam Agreement. Since the Soviet and French governments refused to participate, the United States and Britain formed the Bizonal economic fusion agreement in January 1947 (France joined later).<sup>634</sup>

In the meantime, SHAEF had established the Economic Control Agency in May 1945 to address “prices, rationing and distribution, imports and exports, agriculture, fisheries,” and other essential commodities. Additionally, SHAEF created the Production Control Agency, comprised of 1,400 officers and 5,800 enlisted soldiers from the various G-4 staff sections in order to jumpstart the economy.<sup>635</sup>

Economic recovery began on a low-level, incremental basis. Mail, telephone, and telegraph expanded slowly from the fall of 1945 to the spring of 1947, becoming a single system (*Deutsche Post*) under the Bizonal agreement.<sup>636</sup> Restoration of the transportation infrastructure depended on repairs of railways, roads, bridges, port facilities, and water transport craft—also incorporated into the Bizone. Accordingly, the United States sold 12,500 Army trucks and transferred 25,000 rail cars to Germany. German transportation repair facilities steadily increased the fleet of trucks, watercraft, and railroad locomotives/cars, which in turn spurred economic growth and reduced local shortages of food, coal, raw material, and other essentials. Despite the Bizonal merge, the harsh winter of 1946-1947 followed by the drought in the summer of 1947 brought the German economy to a standstill. The psychological impact on the German people was immediate, threatening to undermine their confidence in the burgeoning economy and democratic institutions. Consequently, Secretary of State George Marshall’s European Recovery Program sought not only an economic but also a psychological boost to the German people.<sup>637</sup>

As political responsibility increased, German officials assumed greater administration of economic matters (i.e., the German Economic Council) under British and American oversight and with American economic experts providing advice.<sup>638</sup>

Banking and currency reform progressed in parallel. In accordance with occupation policy, Military Government detachments had closed all banks as part of gaining control of all Nazi finances, property, and other holdings. Thereafter, the U.S. Zone began opening banks at the local level using couriers through the *Deutsche Post* to transact business among banks. Enlisting the services of Joseph Dodge, the president of the Detroit National Bank, OMGUS established a central bank in each state (*Land*), under nine German directors. Under the Bizonal agreement, the Anglo-American Finance Committee was established in Frankfurt to harmonize financial and banking matters. By August 1948, the Germans assumed responsibility for banking (i.e., *Bank Deutscher Laender*), though still under Allied supervision.<sup>639</sup>

German currency (*Reichmarks*) was absolutely worthless, which accounts for the bartering system and the rampant black market. The Allies brought plates for military currency but stopped printing occupation money for three reasons: First, a surfeit of *Reichmarks* was in circulation (over nine times the norm); second, the Soviets had acquired duplicate plates and began churning out invasion currency like sausages; and three, Russian and French resistance to currency reform undermined the effort. For these reasons, the Allied Control Council had to rely on *Reichmarks* for the initial two years of occupation.<sup>640</sup> Colonel John

Maginnis aptly described the nexus between worthless currency and the black market:

The black market might be anywhere—on a corner, in a park, in some ruins, in a home, or between two persons meeting on the street. The fundamental motivation being hunger, food was the commodity in greatest demand, with the probable exception of cigarettes. Money in large amounts was fed into the black market by military personnel, especially by Russian soldiers. There were untold millions of military marks in circulation in Berlin—the U.S. had printed a total of some six billion marks for ourselves, the British, and the French; and God only knew how much the Russians had printed on plates that we had turned over to them. This money was used to purchase food at many, many times its value under the rationing system, and obvious disadvantage for people who lacked money. Also there was an extensive amount of bartering or swapping. It was a common sight to see notes fastened to walls, trees, or fences, offering something for something else (a pair of shoes for serviceable bicycle tires, for example). It was believed that organized bartering might assist in reducing some of the black market activity, so an order was published today [24 August 1945] for the Oberbuürgermeister to proceed with the establishment of barter markets throughout Berlin.<sup>641</sup>

Undaunted, OMGUS set about laying the foundation for a sound currency. Military Government immediately eliminated the Third Reich's centralized tax system

in order to generate sufficient revenue for the state and local governments.<sup>642</sup> OMGUS established a fixed foreign exchange rate (i.e., price controls) to combat inflation. In early 1946, Joseph Dodge invited two noted economists to consult with European financial experts to study currency reform. Experts in the War, State, and Treasury departments studied and approved the U.S. economists' recommendations on currency reform in August 1946. Of note, OMGUS eliminated the Third Reich's national debt and transferred the debt to the states and their financial institutions in a smaller, more manageable manner. With the Bizonal fusion, OMGUS introduced a new currency in June 1948. General Clay believed that the banking and currency reforms were instrumental to Germany's economic recovery, which was boosted further by Marshal's European Recovery Program.<sup>643</sup>

## **Constabulary**

In view of the sweeping demobilization of the Army in Europe, as well as the attendant spate of soldier depredations on the German populace, Generals Marshall and Eisenhower discussed In October 1945 the formation of a police-type organization for law enforcement duties—reinforced by U.S. forces when needed.<sup>644</sup> Eisenhower immediately announced the formation of a 38,000-man constabulary (a ratio of one constable per 450 Germans) force with an activation date of July 1946.<sup>645</sup>

On 10 January 1946, Major General Ernest E. Harmon began the task of organization and training of the Constabulary. Harmon organized the constabulary on a cavalry model of three brigades, with three regiments

per brigade. Regimental squadrons operated out of smaller casernes throughout the U.S. Zone and the Berlin sector. Highly mobile and lightly armed, the squadrons would patrol in armored cars, horses, motorcycles, jeeps, and specially equipped cars, with light tanks in support.<sup>646</sup> To distinguish this elite, highly disciplined force from regular Army units, Harmon designed a special constabulary symbol with a distinctive blue "C" bisected by a red lightning bolt on a yellow background circle. Accordingly, its motto became "Mobility, Vigilance, Justice."<sup>647</sup>

Major General Harmon personally selected the training cadre personnel for their high physical and mental attributes, as well as tact, perspicacity, and moral character. The director of training and camp commandant, Colonel Henry C. Newton, was a "brilliant and tough administrator," who strove to instill esprit and essential policing skills in the soldiers.<sup>648</sup> Established in Sonthofen, Bavaria, the training center started operations at the end of February 1946 based on a five-week training program.<sup>649</sup>

The training curriculum and discipline and were rigorous for the students. While Harmon desired to have experienced soldiers with good records, most of the soldiers were conscripts, so some of the training was devoted to individual and collective military skills. The curriculum however focused on: German language, history, culture, customs; German laws and legal system; the presentation of evidence in court; geopolitics; criminal investigation and policing; arrest techniques; training German police; interacting with local authorities; liaison techniques between the U.S. military and local mayors; border control tactics,

techniques, and procedures; extensive radio training; and leadership skills stressing initiative and judgement. Additionally, specialized training included a "Special Investigations Course, an Intelligence Course, and a one-week Field Grade Officers Orientation Course."<sup>650</sup> Hence, the course resembled the School of Military Government in some ways.

The establishment of the Constabulary corresponded with the decline of U.S. military forces and the civilianization of Military Government. By the end of 1946, U.S. military forces in Germany stood at 200,000, with the vast majority of the conscript replacements lacking proper military training.<sup>651</sup> Lieutenant General Clay welcomed the Constabulary initiative since it coincided with the civilianization of Military Government, beginning in April 1946. The Constabulary also permitted Military Government to contract to 6,524 personnel by 1 July 1946, with a fixed ceiling of 5,000 personnel slated for 1 January 1947. As the Constabulary proved its worth and the West German government assumed greater administrative responsibility, Military Government shrank to 1,500 by the fall of 1949.<sup>652</sup>

For the first two years of its existence, the Constabulary was virtually the only police force in Germany. Through constant patrolling, including thousands of police raids (i.e., black marketing and smuggling) and dozens of special operations, the Constabulary established firm law and order throughout the U.S. Zone and Berlin sector. The Germans held the Constabulary in high esteem, calling it the *Blitzpolizei* (Lightning Fast Police) for its omnipresence.<sup>653</sup> The Constabulary ended in 1952 with the Federal Republic of Germany assuming the policing function.

In conception and implementation, the Constabulary provided a substantial contribution to Military Government through the establishment of law and order. Moreover, its training of German police along democratic lines provided the Federal Republic of Germany with a highly proficient law enforcement force dedicated to the protection of citizen's rights and freedoms.

## CONCLUSION

The U.S. Civil Affairs/Military Government effort represents one of the most successful and little-noted enterprises of World War II. Various explanations account for the scant attention paid to Civil Affairs and Military Government after World War II. First, the Roosevelt administration mistrusted the use of the military for civil administration of occupied territories and only begrudgingly yielded once it became clear that civilian agencies proved incapable. Second, military units generally remained ignorant—sometimes willfully—of Civil Affairs/Military Government activities, despite the efforts of senior commanders. Third, the mass demobilization of U.S. military personnel from Europe included Civil Affairs/Military Government personnel as well, so combat units assumed occupation duties within weeks of VE Day. Fourth, with the advent of the Cold War, the Army seemed less inclined to consider future scenarios regarding the occupation of territory. Hence, many Civil Affairs capabilities atrophied, and best practices disappeared into the footnotes of history.

The initial training of CA/MG personnel at the School of Military Government (SOMG) and the Civil Affairs Training Program (CATP) was outstanding. With the vast majority earmarked for northwest Europe, graduates were highly skilled and effective whether serving on G-5 staff sections or in the CA/MG detachments. Graduates were well versed on the language, culture, political system, economic system, history, and other relevant subjects for occupation duties in Germany. Perhaps as important, this training brought together experts from various fields (e.g.,

urban management, utilities, legal, medical, economics, education, etc.) to interact and bond.

The ECAD training center in Shrivenham, England was less effective in honing the skills of SOMG/CATP graduates though. Most students found the training repetitive, boring, and unnecessary. Nevertheless, students found guest lecturer experiences from the Mediterranean Theater of high value; and instruction dedicated to France and corresponding field exercises prepared them for immediate occupation duties in support of Operation OVERLORD. Students felt that greater attention to relevant training would have enhanced morale as they awaited deployment to the continent. On the whole, ECAD's personnel management system properly assigned qualified personnel to the various CA/MG detachments, the G-5 staff sections, and the CA specialty pool. Noteworthy, ECAD task organized CA/MG detachments for specific geographic areas and missions. Unfortunately, the bulk of CA/MG detachments languished in England awaiting deployment orders. Many CA/MG personnel, feeling the war was passing them by, departed and joined other deploying organizations (i.e., medical units and psychological warfare sections), creating a deficit in CA/MG trained personnel later on. ECAD could have deployed all of its CA/MG detachments into Normandy for the purpose of observing CA/MG detachments in action as well as providing additional assistance when needed (e.g., refugees/displaced persons).

Relatively few in numbers, deployed CA/MG personnel assumed the lion's share of Stability Operations, both on the front lines and rear areas. CA/MG personnel displayed superb critical and

creative thinking, interpersonal skills, and technical skills, as well as sound judgement. Conditions among towns, cities, and districts differed substantially, so CA/MG detachments needed to be comfortable with ambiguity and make independent, on-the-spot decisions. Detachments integrated well with tactical units, providing labor, captured supplies, and other essentials which lessened logistical burdens. From the Allied Military Government's experiences in Italy, CA/MG detachments and G-5 staffs were well prepared for the influx of refugees and displaced persons in France and Belgium (this would prove invaluable for the invasion of Germany). Moreover, due to the success of Stability Operations in the rear areas, the Supreme Allied Commander was able to mass sufficient combat forces against the German armed forces.

The Allied Military Government (AMG) schools in Algeria, however, were not as effective, primarily because the instruction was less structured and too short. Understandably, considerable numbers were needed quickly for the Sicilian, Italian, and southern France campaigns, but the vast majority lacked the essential skills to perform their duties promptly. For many, it was on-the-job training. Further, AMG teams or even individuals were assigned vast areas of responsibility, forcing them to circulate frequently from village to village without an enduring presence. Additionally, German scorched earth practices and expulsion of displaced persons into Allied lines overextended and frazzled AMG personnel. This situation likely accounted for military units having little knowledge of AMG activities. Still, despite the manifold encumbrances, they performed well above expectations.

By the time of the invasion of Germany in early 1945, Military Government operations were a well-oiled machine. Military Government detachments were ubiquitous, keeping the various lines of communication secure for the rapid thrusts deep into Germany, Czechoslovakia, and Austria. The small, highly mobile I Detachments proved invaluable in this regard.

The complete collapse of Germany presented the Allies with unimaginable challenges. Military Government detachments rose to the occasion, relieving tactical units of burdens that would have interrupted the closing phase of combat operations and the movement to the U.S. Zone of occupation. Principally, a large number of MG detachments cared for and returned millions of refugees and displaced persons before the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) assumed responsibility. Military Government detachments laid the foundation for Military Government in the U.S. Zone as combat units transitioned to occupation duties.

The organizational transition to Military Government was fairly smooth in view of the chaotic situation, though the U.S. Group Control Council (U.S. GCC) would have functioned more smoothly had President Roosevelt not dissolved the German Country Unit. Arguably, Roosevelt's occupation policies created unnecessary turmoil and delayed the rehabilitation of Germany. Unquestionably, the punishment, Denazification and demilitarization of Germany were proper. Nevertheless, the Roosevelt administration took the policies to the extreme in the U.S. Zone of occupation. The devastation and occupation of Germany were convincing testimony of punishment—no German had any doubt on that account. But the

Morgenthau Plan sought to reduce Germany to an agrarian vassal state under perpetual and expensive Allied occupation. While the Potsdam Conference prudently refuted this policy, Military Government could have worked on economic recovery from the outset. The division of Germany into four zones clearly undercut economic recovery, though it is unclear whether Russia would have accepted an occupied Germany without its own zone. Regardless, American and British authorities should have established economic fusion of their zones immediately.

U.S. Denazification policy went well beyond necessity. The defeat of the Third Reich, occupation of Germany, and the Nuremberg Trials (as well as numerous military tribunals) were sufficient to end the allure of Nazism among Germans. Whereas the British, Russians, and French limited Denazification to the top Nazi hierarchy, the Americans turned it into a witch hunt, seeking to deny a livelihood to anyone with a Nazi party affiliation, no matter how slight. Ultimately, U.S. Denazification policy failed because it was unrealistic. OMGUS tacitly admitted the futility of this policy when it turned the matter of adjudication to German courts in 1946, although it continued to monitor judgements. In the end, economic recovery, combined with democratic institutions, had a greater impact on the rehabilitation of Germany.

U.S. Nonfraternization policy was unenforceable and counterproductive to Germany's rehabilitation. Since the prohibition applied to Military Government personnel as well, the policy undermined the principle of indirect governance and hindered the building of rapport. Nonfraternization prevented curious Germans from interacting with ordinary Americans. It

served as a barrier, preventing Germans from learning about American democracy, culture, and mores. While short-lived, Nonfraternization made an initial bad impression on Germans.

The rapid demobilization of American forces in Europe had an immediate, detrimental impact on Military Government in Germany. At a point when they were most needed, highly trained and experienced Military Government personnel departed within months of VE Day. While many were caught up in desire to go home and felt senior Military Government officers did not appreciate their contributions, General Eisenhower and Lieutenant General Clay should have intervened. Military Government personnel understood they were specifically trained for occupation duties in Germany. A reminder of their obligations would have stayed the departure, and Eisenhower enjoyed significant prestige to persuade American politicians of the need. Furthermore, Eisenhower and Clay could have directed Military District commanders to uphold the authority of Military Government personnel regarding occupation issues, irrespective of rank.

The indiscipline of remaining soldiers during demobilization and the infusion of untrained conscripts into Germany severely hampered rehabilitation efforts. Germans became disenchanted with the image of Americans by the slovenly dress of soldiers, mass demonstrations of soldiers demanding to go home, criminality, and deprivations on civilians. Since Denazification policy disarmed German police, they were ineffectual in upholding law and order. The American image among Germans reached a nadir during the initial months of occupation.

The establishment of the U.S. Constabulary in 1946 not only established law and order but also improved the image of Americans in Germany. Their discipline, immaculate dress, and effective policing proved decisive. The Constabulary's meticulous training of German police, dedicated to protecting the rights of citizens, created a premier law enforcement institution for the new German republic. As such, the Constabulary remains a hallmark of the U.S. occupation of Germany.

Lieutenant General Lucius Clay deserves signal credit for turning the occupation in and rehabilitation of Germany into a success story. His pragmatism, tireless efforts, and dedication to the economic and political rehabilitation of Germany are laudable. In significant ways, he is the father of German democracy, worthy of study and emulation for future endeavors. He was the dynamic force behind the economic miracle that emerged years later in Germany. He gave hope to Germans and epitomized the reliability of the United States as a security benefactor. In German minds, the Berlin Airlift dispelled all doubts about America's dedication to Germany's security.

## ENDNOTES

1 The Occupation of the Rhineland required 213 Civil Affairs soldiers, or about .1 percent of the occupation forces. Thus, the Military Government Division eventually calculated that 6,000 trained civil affairs personnel and 6,000 personnel from tactical units would fulfill the occupation requirements. Harry L. Coles and Albert K. Weinberg, *Civil Affairs: Soldiers Become Governors, U.S. Army in World War II*, Center of Military History, United States Army (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1964), 12-13; Earl F. Ziemke, *The U.S. Army in The Occupation Of Germany, 1944-1946*, Center of Military History, United States Army (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1990), 8, 17; F. P. Huddle, *Military Government of Occupied Territory* (Washington, DC: CQ Press, 11 November 1943), 4; Rebecca Patterson, *Revisiting a School of Military Government: How Reanimating a World War II-Era Institution Could Professionalize Military Nation Building* (Ewing Marion Kauffman Foundation, June 2011), 8; For more in-depth information on the Rhineland occupation, see I.L. Hunt, *American Military Government in Occupied Germany, 1918-1920*.

2 The Hunt Report urged, "The Army . . . should not again wait until the responsibility was thrust upon it but should develop competence in civil administration among its officers during peacetime." Ziemke, 3.

3 U.S. War Department, *Basic Field Manual: Military Government*, Field Manual 27-5 (Washington DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 30 July 1940), 3; Joseph P. Harris, "Selection and Training of Civil Affairs Officers, *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, vol. 7. No. 4, The Occupation of Enemy Territory (Winter 1943), 697.

4 The War Department sought to avoid "the immense frictions between civilian and military leaders experienced during the Civil War and The Philippines." Coles and Weinberg, 16-17.

5 The interagency division of responsibilities would be as follows: the Army's mission for Military Government would be administrative; the State Department would determine political policy; the State Department and/or the Board of Economic Warfare determined economic policy; the Treasury Department and the Federal Reserve Board would determine fiscal policy. These policies would be administered by the technical specialists. Coles and Weinberg, 19-20; Ziemke, 11.

6 A *Gauleiter* was a Nazi political administrator of a district, charged with advancing the policies of the Third Reich. Raymond Joseph Parrott, *An Education for Occupation: Army Civil Affairs Training and Military Planning for Postwar Germany* (Thesis Submitted to the History Distinguished Majors Program, April 15, 2008), 14.

7 Parrott, 15; Coles and Weinberg, 22 n 20; Ziemke, 13.

8 Coles and Weinberg, 214 n7.

9 FM 27-5 (1940), 1.

10 U.S. Departments of the Army and Navy, *Military Government and Civil Affairs*, Field Manual 27-5 (Washington DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 22 December 1943), 1.

11 FM 27-5 (1940), 1, 5, 6-7; FM 27-5 (1943), 5.

12 John J. Maginnis, *Military Government Journal: Normandy to Berlin* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1971), iv.

13 Maginnis, viii; Ziemke, 3, n. 2; Cristen Oehrig, *Civil Affairs in World War II* (Center for Strategic and International Studies, January 28, 2009), accessed from the Center for Strategic and International Studies at <https://www.csis.org/analysis/civil-affairs-world-war-ii>, 28 January 2016, 2; *Civil Affairs and Military Government Organizations and Operations*, The General Board, United States Forces, European Theater, Study # 32 (undated), 1.

14 FM 27-5 (1940), 5; FM 27-5 (1943), 3-4, 6.

15 FM 27-5 (1943), 1.

16 Huddle, 3.

17 Msg, Eisenhower to WD, 30 Aug 43, CAD Msg files, CM-IN 23159, cited in Coles and Weinberg, 215.

18 *Civil Affairs and Military Government Organization and Operations*, 3.

19 FM 27-5 (1943), 5; FM 27-5 (1940), 3.

20 Ziemke, 11; Huddle, 3, 7-8.

21 The War Department assessed that Major General Gullion was the most qualified to oversee the instruction on Military Government and liaison due to his “wide and varied experience, both civil and military” and his authorship of FM 27-5. Memo, Maj Gen Myron C. Cramers, JAG, for ACofS, G-1, 23 Dec 41, G-1 files, 16308-125, Tab C in Coles and Weinberg, 9.

22 Coles and Weinberg, 16-17; Huddle, 7.

23 Parrott, 58-59; Oehrig, 7

24 Huddle, 6; Coles and Weinberg, 67-68; The Civil Affairs Division reported directly to Assistant Secretary of War John J. McCloy. Robert W. Komer, *Civil Affairs and Military Government in the Mediterranean Theater*, Office of the Chief of Military History, DA (Fort Leavenworth, Kansas: 1950), II-6, n. 2.

25 Min, Mtg in CAD, 5 Jun 43, CAD files, 337 (4-14-43) (I) in Coles and Weinberg, 72.

26 The committee was formed in July 1943. Donnison, 15.

27 F. S. V. Donnison, *Civil Affairs and Military Government in North-West Europe, 1944-1946* (London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1961), 21-22.

28 Memo, Gen Smith to Lumley and Holmes, 14 Mar 44, SHAEF files, G-5, 16.01 SHAEF (SS), Organization and Plng cited in Coles and Weinberg, 677-678; Each of the missions were located in separate houses, hence the name. Their planned strengths were as follows: Norwegian house—83 (25 off); Belgian house—127 (39 off); Denmark house—102 (43 off); French house—240 (90 off); German section—269 (109 off). Donnison, 13-14, 18, 26; *Civil Affairs and Military Government Organization and Operations*, 50.

29 Donnison, 13-14.

30 The G-5 staffs at various commands (Army Groups—85 officers; Armies—33 officers; Corps—10 officers) controlled their assigned military government detachments through military command channels. Donnison, 21; Parrott, 58-59.

31 The G-5 staff sections integrated Civil Affairs plans into military plans and thus had access to military resources (i.e., vehicles, POL, communications, etc.) as part of a working relationship. Donnison, 22.

32 Memo, Gen Smith to Lumley and Holmes, 14 Mar 44, SHAEF files, G-5, 16.01 SHAEF (SS), Organization and Plng cited in Coles and Weinberg, 677-678.

33 *Civil Affairs and Military Government Organization and Operations*, 48-49, 51.

34 *Civil Affairs and Military Government Organization and Operations*, 48, 51-52.

35 Colonel Cuthbert P. Sterns was the original commander; Colonel H. McE. Pendleton became commander on 4 May 1944. *Civil Affairs and Military Government Organization and Operations*, 20, 24; Coles and Weinberg, 675, n. 3; Harold Zink, *American Military Government in Germany* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1947), 51. Zink was a member of the German Country Unit, and political advisor in SHAEF, as well as assisting in the publication of Handbook for the Military Government for Germany.

36 *Civil Affairs and Military Government Organization and Operations*, 25, 42, 48; "The chief functions of ECAD after 1944 were to provide administrative facilities for military government detachments through its [three] regiments, to train tactical officers for military government duties, and to compile a periodic military government report." Zink, 51; Maginnis, xiv.

37 *Civil Affairs and Military Government Organization and Operations*, 24-25.

38 *Civil Affairs and Military Government Organization and Operations*, 24, 87.

39 The 6906 Occupational Reserve Unit comprised all personnel from the Civil Affairs Center and the Divisional Reserve Company, which included 21 CA/MG "D" detachments and 200 additional officers. *Civil Affairs and Military Government Organization and Operations*, 23.

40 The initial designations for the three ECARS were the 6901 ECAR, 6902 ECAR, and 6903 ECAR respectively. *Civil Affairs and Military Government Organization and Operations*, 26-27, 107-108; Pendleton, 49-50. The First and Third armies formed the 12<sup>th</sup> Army Group under General Omar Bradley. During the summer and fall of 1944, the Ninth Army and Fifteenth Army joined the 12<sup>th</sup> Army Group.

41 Pendleton, 49-50; *Civil Affairs and Military Government Organization and Operations*, 25-27.

42 *Civil Affairs and Military Government Organization and Operations*, 28, 31-33, 35-36.

43 The German political divisions were the *Land*, *Regierungsbezirk*, *Landkreis*, and *Stadtkreis*. Pendleton, 50.

44 The Navy's role in military government was limited though, even in Bremen after the war because "in early 1947, the Bremen Enclave was organized as a *Land*, thus becoming the fourth state under American jurisdiction." Zink, 223-225, 225 n. 1.

45 Zink, 225-227.

46 *Civil Affairs and Military Government Organization and Operations*, 6-10.

47 In civilian life, Colonel Harris was a Professor of Political Science at the University of California. Joseph P. Harris, "Selection and Training of Civil Affairs Officers, *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, vol7. No. 4, The Occupation of Enemy Territory (Winter 1943), 700.

48 Harris, 700-701.

49 Oehrig, 5.

50 Harris, 697; Memo, Gullion for CG, SOS, 23 Jun 42, PMGO files, 321.19, MG, cited in Coles and Weinberg, 14-15.

51 *Civil Affairs and Military Government Organization and Operations*, 12-13.

52 "Several of these fields are further subdivided, as for example, the fiscal field is divided into the following subclasses: public finance, currency and exchange, banking, accounting, social insurance." Harris, 703.

53 Harris, 704.

54 Harris, 705.

55 Zink, 31-32.

56 Harris, 701; A large number were between 50 and 60 years old. Zink, 31-32; "In order not to take away from the war effort, an initial age range was established between 35 and 50 for any officer candidate." Parrott, 22, n. 45.

57 Huddle, 8; As the Army mobilization expanded, the Provost Marshal General's Office assigned some graduates of the CATP to the SOMG to train them as G-5 staff officers. Parrott, 35.

58 Patterson, 7; Huddle, 6; Zink, 7; Harris, 697-699.

59 Coles and Weinberg, 11, 11 n. 9; According to Colonel Harris, two "distinguished" British lieutenant colonels "with considerable experience as military government administrators in Africa" served as visiting lectures. Harris, 699.

60 Harris, 698.

61 Synopsis of WD Program for MG, 4 Sep 42, PMGO files, 321, PMGO & MGD, in Coles and Weinberg, 19-20.

62 Harris, 698-699.

63 The first course consisted of 49 students out of 100 slots and the second course in September-December 1942 appears to have had even fewer students out of 150 slots. Coles and Weinberg, 13; Ziemke, 18.

64 *Civil Affairs and Military Government Organization and Operations*, 14; The School of Military Government graduated 18 classes between May 1942 and February 1946. While the majority of graduates were Army officers, other services and nationalities also attended the school, "the Navy and Marine Corps, and from many of the United Nations, including Australia, Belgium, Canada, China, Czechoslovakia, France, Great Britain, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, and Poland." Patterson, 5.

65 Coles and Weinberg, 28.

66 Coles and Weinberg, 14-15; Wickersham and his staff also thought this would be a politically uncontroversial way to expand the specialty pool. Ziemke, 18.

67 The term Civil Affairs Training Schools (CATS) was often used for the same program. Having reached its peak in 1943, "the program of commissioning direct from civil life came to an end in September, 1943."

Zink, 7; According to Parrott, "The training would change in 1944 when the SMG and CATS merged, having students move through SMG to gain MG training and then to the various CATS for Far Eastern area studies. In this form, the training would last until the end of the war, replacing it with the almost wholly military School for Occupied Areas at Carlisle Barracks until 1946." Parrott, 39, n.102.

68 CATP would graduate 300 officers per month, commissioning 20 lieutenant colonels, 30 majors, and 2,450 captains or lieutenants. Memo, Gullion for the ACof S, G-3, 11 Jan 43, PMGO files, Hist of MG Tng, Tab 18 in Coles and Weinberg, 79; Yale, Harvard, Pittsburgh, Chicago, Michigan, Stanford, Northwestern, Boston, Wisconsin, and Western Reserve universities participated in the program. University study was later reduced to two months. *Civil Affairs and Military Government Organization and Operations*, 17; Ziemke, 18-20, n. 63, n. 70; Memo, Miller, Associate Dir, MGD, for Greenbaum, OUSW, 20 Jul 42, PMGO files, 014.13.MG in Coles and Weinberg, 17; Zink, 6-7; Parrott, 35; Oehrig, 7.

69 Parrott, 35; PMGO envisioned no more than 375 CATP graduates attending the School of Military Government. Memo, Gullion for the ACof S, G-3, 11 Jan 43, PMGO files, Hist of MG Tng, Tab 18 in Coles and Weinberg, 79.

70 Harris, 698-699.

71 Zink, 8; Parrott, 34.

72 Harris, 699.

73 According to Colonel Harris, "The Training Schools at the universities devote nearly one half to language instruction, utilizing the intensive method of conversation which has been developed by the American Council of Learned Societies. This method involves the use of assistants or 'informants,' who carry on conversation with small groups of students for two or more hours daily. These assistants, although they speak the language fluently, do not give instruction in grammar, which is given by a language instructor. The results have been very good, most students acquiring a considerable proficiency in the language during the short course of eight weeks." Harris, 700.

74 Zink, 9; Parrott, 31-32.

75 Parrott, 33.

76 Parrott, 33, 35; Patterson, 8-9.

77 Harris, 699.

78 Maginnis, 1.

79 Parrott, 32.

80 Parrott, 41.

81 Parrott, 35-36.

82 Zink, 228.

83 The original course was one month. *Civil Affairs and Military Government Organization and Operations*, 14, 16.

84 Memo, Miller, Associate Dir, MGD, for Greenbaum, OUSW, 20 Jul 42, PMGO files, 014.13.MG in Coles and Weinberg, 17.

85 AMGOT recruited a few soldiers from censorship and intelligence units in theater. By agreement, Military Government personnel were divided equally between Americans and British. Komer, II-28-29.

86 Komer, II-29-30.

87 The Acting Joint Chief Planners for Italy were UK Colonel R. B. Rathbone of the Holding Center and U.S. Lieutenant Colonel Henry Parkman, Jr. of MGS. Komer, III-5 – III-6, III-23.

88 According to Komer, "At its peak on 12 October 1943 the center comprised 640 officers and 916 enlisted men." The national breakdown was as follows: "700 American and 400 British officers and 800 American and 700 British enlisted men." Komer, III-24, n. 5.

89 Coles and Weinberg, 675, n. 4; *Civil Affairs and Military Government Organization and Operations*, 20; Parrott, 36, 61.

90 For the Rankin contingency plan of 1943, 2,500 U.S. officers and 5,000 enlisted were envisioned for British CA/MG detachments, and 2,500 UK officers and 4,500 other ranks were envisioned for U.S. CA/MH detachments if executed. *Civil Affairs and Military Government Organization and Operations*, 22-23, 86.

91 *Civil Affairs and Military Government Organization and Operations*, 20, 22; Zink, 13; Maginnis, 2; Harris, 700.

92 VII Corps planned to include a Civil Affairs coordination exercise with amphibious forces. Tragically, this was Exercise Tiger, which had a loss of nearly 1,000 soldiers due to a German naval attack during the amphibious rehearsal at Slapton Sands. Maginnis, 2-3.

93 *Civil Affairs and Military Government Organization and Operations*, 21; Ziemke, 311.

94 Cited in Ziemke, 311.

95 Zink, 15-16.

96 Ziemke, 136.

97 *Civil Affairs and Military Government Organization and Operations*, 89, 92.

98 Ziemke, 136; *Civil Affairs and Military Government Organization and Operations*, 92, 113.

99 Closing on 30 August 1945, the school had trained 1,353 officers. Pendleton, 50; Many of the recruits were Air Force and airborne officers. Ziemke, 194.

100 Zink, 11-12, 14-15.

101 *Civil Affairs and Military Government Organization and Operations*, 130-132.

102 Ziemke, 311.

103 Ziemke, 440-441; Parrott, 86, n. 225.

104 In the aftermath of the German defeat of France in 1940, Marshall Henri Petain assumed leadership of the new French government, with its capital in Vichy. Under the terms of the peace agreement, Vichy France would govern the southern part of France and all French colonies. Germany established a Military Government in the north but closely monitored activities in Vichy France and the colonies. Consequently, Vichy French authorities collaborated with German authorities on a myriad of issues, including the deportation of Jews to concentration camps.

105 George F. Howe, *The Mediterranean Theater of Operations, Northwest Africa: Seizing the Initiative in the West* (Washington D.C.: Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army, 1957), 31.

106 Allied Force Headquarters, General Order No. 4, 11 October 1942, paragraph 2, cited in Komer, I-7. See also Roosevelt's letter of appointment to Murphy as Eisenhower's "Operative Executive Head of the Civil Affairs Section and Adviser for Civil Affairs," underscoring those same points. Komer, Komer, I-9–I-10.

107 AFHQ GO No. 4, 11 Oct 42, Komer, I-12; Coles and Weinberg, 33.

108 Komer, I-2–I-3.

109 Coles and Weinberg, 63.

110 Komer, I-8, Coles and Weinberg, 32-33.

111 In the end, the French provided only a couple of lightly equipped divisions for the Battle of Tunisia. Howe, 80-81, 82, n. 69, 486; Komer, I-21–I-21.

112 The accepted but false story was that Darlan was coincidentally in Algiers visiting his ailing son. Peter Lyon, *Eisenhower: Portrait of the Hero* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1974), 161, 168; Until Darlan gave the cease fire announcement, French resistance was fierce in places, threatening to sour future Allied-French relations. Dwight D. Eisenhower, *Crusade in Europe* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, INC., 1948), 100, 103-107; Howe, 176; After Darlan's assassination, Giraud became the French Civil and Military Commander in Chief. Komer, I-19-I-21, I-28–I-29.

113 Darlan was intimately involved in the Vichy French government's willing collaboration with Nazi Germany. The public uproar over the Darlan Deal hounded Eisenhower for months. Public disapproval also stemmed from retaining Vichy French officials who were openly Fascist and anti-Semitic, and had confined scores of French resistance members (i.e., Gaullists, Jews, and Communists). Eisenhower, 108-110; Lyon, 114, 163, 165, 181-187.

114 Komer, I-1–I-2.

115 In Morocco alone, General George Patton, II Corps commander, informed Eisenhower that without French cooperation, 60,000 Allied troops would be needed to control the Arabs. Eisenhower believed this situation would have extended throughout North Africa without French administration. Eisenhower, 110, 112; Komer, I-21 – I-21.

116 Komer, I-3, I-7.

117 Though 60 Military Government graduates were planned for North Africa, they were not assigned due to the argument that Civil Affairs would be left to civilian agencies. Ziemke, 18; The initial group, headed by Col. Charles W. Rooth, consisted of four colonels, one lieutenant colonel, and one major. With this group as its nucleus, the Civil Affairs Section of AFHQ was officially activated on 15 September 1942." Komer, I-10.

118 Komer, I-7, I-12 – I-13; Coles and Weinberg, 31-32.

119 Komer, I-11.

120 As a contingency, if the French administrators failed to fulfill their administrative functions, Civil Affairs teams were prepared to replace them with competent administrators or with Allied military personnel. Komer I-14.

121 Komer, I-12 – I-13; Civil Affairs personnel for each invasion sector in Morocco were broken down as follows: Safi – 2, Fedala/Casablanca – 4, Port Lyautey – 4. Howe, 101, 122, 151.

122 Komer, I-14 – I-15.

123 Komer, I-15, I-29 – I-30; Ltr, Eisenhower to Marshall, 30 Nov 42, WDSCA files, 386, Africa, 1942 in Coles and Weinberg, 45.

124 Msg, Eisenhower to WD, 22 Dec 42, OPD Msg files, CM-IN 9542 in Coles and Weinberg, 47.

125 Paraphrase of Msg, WD to Eisenhower, 24 Nov 42, CAD files, 092.3, N. Africa (11-10-42) (I) in Coles and Weinberg, 38; Komer, I-30.

126 As Parrott points out, "With a steady flow of civilian experts and bueracrats [*sic*] flooding into North Africa, many of the SMG graduates were pushed into subservient roles, effectively convincing the War Department that it was unnecessary to deploy officers trained for high level planning." Parrott, 57; Komer, I-39.

127 Komer, I-9–I-40.

128 The salient organizations included the Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations, Office of Foreign Territories, Interdepartmental Advisory Committee, the Board of Economic Warfare, the War Shipping Administration and the Treasury Department, Committee of Combined Boards (COB), and Combined Committee for French North Africa (CCNA). Komer, I-31 – I-33.

129 Komer, I-37.

130 According to Komer, “As of 38 September 1943 the Civil Affairs Section and NAEB included 332 American, 44 British, and 13 French civilians, mostly under NAEB. Authorized military personnel comprised 34 American and 1 British officer plus 44 American and 10 British enlisted men—a total of 79.” Komer, I-40, I-43, , I-44, n. 20.

131 Komer, I-47.

132 Memo, LtCol Frederick B. Wiener, DJAG, for the JAG, 7 Dec 42, OPD files, 014.I, Civil Govt, sec. I in Coles and Weinberg, 56.

133 Msg, Eisenhower to Elmer Davis, Dir, OWI, 24 Jan 43, OPD Msg files, CM-IN 11349 in Coles and Weinberg, 49.

134 Msg, Eisenhower to WD, 9 Dec 42, OPD Msg files, CM-IN 4195 in Coles and Weinberg, 50, 50, n. 37; Komer, I-49, I-51. Since the port of Algiers was subject to frequent Axis bombing raids, Oran and Casablanca were the only available ports which could handle the required clearance tonnage.

135 Komer, I-51; Coles and Weinberg, 51, n. 38.

136 Ziemke, 15.

137 Parrott, 57-58; Komer, II-5.

138 Ziemke, 8-9.

139 Thijs Brocades Zaalberg, *Soldiers and Civil Power: Supporting or Substituting Civil Authorities in Modern Peace Operations* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006), 27.

140 Oehrig, 2, n. 8; Zaalberg, *Soldiers and Civil Power*, 27; Coles and Weinberg, 63; Komer, II-5.

141 Komer, II-6.

142 Coles and Weinberg, 63.

143 Ziemke, 15; WD Statement of Policy, 1 Feb 43, ASF, ID files, Basic Policy – Gen (1942-1943) in Coles and Weinberg, 64.

144 Telecon between Maj Gen Lucius D. Clay, ACofS for Materiel, SOS, and Gullion, 5 Feb 43, ASF, ID files, Basic Policy – Gen (1942-43) in Coles and Weinberg, 65.

145 Memo, Somervell, for McCloy, 3 April 43, OPD files, 014, Civil Govt, sec. I in Coles and Weinberg, 65; See also Komer, II-6 – II-7.

146 On 19 August 1943, the committee established the Combined Civil Affairs Committee for Supply (GCAO/S), “whose functions would cover the study and preparation of recommendations on questions of civilian supply, including relief requirements, sources of supply, and procurement responsibility.” Komer, II-7 – II-9.

147 In order to foster partnership in the coalition, Eisenhower ensured that American commanders would have a British deputy commander and vice versa. During the planning period the Fifteenth Army Group was code-named Task Force 141. Komer, II-10, II-27 – II-28; The code-names for the Seventh Army and Eighth Army were TF 343 and TF 545 respectively. Coles and Weinberg, 191, 191 n1.

148 Komer, II-32.

149 Komer, II-16.

150 Komer, II-16.

151 “Each of its provinces was administered by a SCAO and a staff of specialists in the fields of law, finance, supply, public health, public welfare, and public safety. A Civil Affairs Officer and a Civil Affairs Police Officer usually took charge of several communes, while a property control officer, a welfare officer, and a labor officer divided their attention among several provinces.” Komer, II-17, I-37.

152 Komer, II-21 – II-22.

153 Memo, Wright, Dir, ID, for QMG and SG, 2 Jul 43, ASF, ID, Hist of Civ Sup, DS-63 in Coles and Weinberg, 77.

154 WD Statement of Policy, 1 Feb 43, ASF, ID files, Basic Policy – Gen (1942-1943) in Coles and Weinberg, 64-65; Komer, II-12 – II-13.

155 Komer, II-22 – II-23.

156 Memo, Hilldring, Chief, CAD, for DCofS, 19 May 43, ASF, ID Files, Basic Policy – Gen (1942-43) in Coles and Weinberg, 76; Memo, Maj Edward M. Conklin, Jr., ASF, on Remarks of Clay, Dir of Materiel, ASF, at Mtg of 4 Sep 43, ASF, ID, Hist of Civ Sup, DS-125 in Coles and Weinberg, 78.

157 Komer, II-18, n. 4.

158 Komer, II-13, II-23.

159 Komer, II-13 – II-14.

160 Eisenhower and Alexander's proclamations are available in Coles and Weinberg, 190-191.

161 Komer, II-18 – II-20.

162 Komer, II-26 – II-27.

163 Komer, II-21, II-25 – II-27.

164 Komer, II-33-II-34, II-37; Maj Gen Lord Rennell, CCAO, AMGOT Sicily, Rpt to GOC 15<sup>th</sup> AGrp, 2 Aug 43 . . . CAD files, 319.I, AMG (8-17-43), sec. I in Coles and Weinberg, 195.

165 Ltr. Holmes to Hilldring, 18 Aug 43, CAD files, 319.I, AMG (8-17-43) (I) No. 126 in Coles and Weinberg, 198.

166 Ltr, Graduate, SMG (Irish, CAO, 1<sup>st</sup> Div, Seventh Army), 16 Jul 43, to SMG, Charlottesville, CAD files, 461.01 (4-7-43) (I), Bulky Pkg in Coles and Weinberg, 192.

167 Ltr, Graduate, SMG (Irish, CAO, 1<sup>st</sup> Div, Seventh Army), 16 Jul 43, to SMG, Charlottesville, CAD files, 461.01 (4-7-43) (I), Bulky Pkg, in Coles and Weinberg, 192.

168 Coles and Weinberg, 188.

169 Komer, II-35-II-36; Maj John D. Ames and Maj James H. Griffin, CAO's II Corps, Rpt, 25 Aug 43, Spofford Rpt; Lt Col George H. McCaffrey, CAO 3d Inf Div, Seventh Army, Spofford Rpt, ex. 3-A; Lt.

Comdr Malcom S. Maclean, Liaison, MGS, Naval Aviation Hq, 4 mar 44, Report on Information Obtained from Army CAO's Who Participated in the Assault Phase in Sicily, CAD files, 319.I, foreign (3-4-44), Bulky Pkg in Coles and Weinberg, 193-195.

170 The original was numbered. The author changed them to bullets for monograph continuity. Contemporary Summary of Views Expressed in Reports From CAO's Attached to the Tactical Units in Eighth Army, Spofford Rpt, ex. 3-A in Coles and Weinberg, 199.

171 John Hersey, *A Bell for Adano* (New York: A.A. Knopf, 1944). For those less assiduous, the 1945 film by the same title is also available.

172 Rpt, Gen Rennell, for August 1943, CAD files, 319.I, AMG (8-17-42 (I) in Coles and Weinberg, 200.

173 Rpt, Gen Rennell, for August 1943, CAD files, 319.I, AMG (8-17-42 (I) in Coles and Weinberg, 200; In the midst of the campaign, Eisenhower, under the pressure of the Combined Chiefs of Staff, changed AMGOT to AMG (Allied Military Government), which might have added to the confusion among tactical commanders. Komer, II-36 – II-37, II-43. It appears that both the AMGOT and AMG acronyms were used in both Sicily and Italy.

174 A limited AMGOT headquarters was initially established in Syracuse in the last ten days of July and then shifted to Palermo the first week of August, but was not fully functional until around 10 August. Thus, AMGOT and provincial CAO operations did not begin full until the second half of August. Rpt, Gen Rennell, for August 1943, CAD files, 319.I, AMG (8-17-42 (I) in Coles and Weinberg, 200; Komer, II-37, II-42.

175 Memo, Spofford fro Chief, MGS, 22 Sept 43, ACC files, 10000/100/697 in Coles and Weinberg, 198-199; Komer, II-43 – II-44.

176 Rennell Rpt, CCAC memo for Info No. 5; AMGOT Hq Rpt, Sep 43, ACC files, 100000/101/501; Rennell Rpt, 2 Aug 43 in Coles and Weinberg, 197, 203-204. AMGOT placed the bread ration into effect on 2 Aug, which limited individual subsistence to 135 grams of bread and 40 grams of pasta per day. In the cities, the ration was even lower. "By mid-September AMG was forced to request 15,000 tons of wheat monthly for the 6-month period beginning on 15 October. AFHQ, was able to promise only 8,000 tons a month, and even delivery of this amount was delayed by shipping shortages and other difficulties." Komer, II-38 – II-39.

177 "The CCS called for stringent measures to insure that all aspects of Fascism would be effectively rooted out. The Fascist party, its militia, and its youth organizations were to be dissolved, party leaders were to be dismissed from posts of authority and discriminatory laws revoked. Fascist and pro-Nazi leaders, as well as war criminals named by the United Nations, were to be arrested and interned." Komer, II-23—II-24.

178 Ltr. Holmes to Hilldring, 18 Aug 43, CAD files, 319.I, AMG (8-17-43) (I) No. 126; Rennell Rpt, CCAO, AMGOT Sicily, 8 Aug 43 to GOC 15<sup>th</sup> AGp CAD files, 319.1 AMG (8-17-43 (I), in Coles and Weinberg, 197-198, 212.

179 Some Reflections and Experiences of a CAO, in Coles and Weinberg, 213.

180 Rennell Rpt, CCAO, AMGOT Sicily, 8 Aug 43 to GOC 15<sup>th</sup> AGp CAD files, 319.1 AMG (8-17-43 (I), in Coles and Weinberg, 212.

181 Komer, II-45; AMGOT GAI No. I, 1 May 43, AGO files, AMGOT Plan in Coles and Weinberg, 211.

182 Rennell Rpt, 2 Aug 43 in Coles and Weinberg, 195.

183 Memo, Rennell, CCAO, Sicily, for SCAO's, 6 Sep 43, ACC files, 10000/100/693, in Coles and Weinberg, 212.

184 Rennell Rpt, CCAO, AMGOT Sicily, 8 Aug 43 to GOC 15<sup>th</sup> AGp CAD files, 319.1 AMG (8-17-43 (I), in Coles and Weinberg, 195-196.

185 Rpt, Gen Rennell, CCAO, 8 Aug 43, ACC files, 10000/100/688; Rennell Rpt in Coles and Weinberg 209-210; Komer, II-45.

186 Financial Div, AMGOT, Rpt for May 43-Nov 43, Spofford Rpt, ex. Y-II in Coles and Weinberg, 196-197; Komer, II-40.

187 Komer, II-41.

188 Hq AMG, Rpt, for Nov 43, ACC files, 10000/101/501 in Coles and Weinberg, 336.

189 Chanler, CLO, AMGOT, Rpt for Sep 43, ACC files, 10000/142/381 (referenced here as the Chanler Rpt) in Coles and Weinberg, 206-207; Komer, II-39.

190 Komer, II-41.

191 The Foreign Economic Administration did not assume this responsibility until the end of World War II. Komer, II-19, n. 5.

192 Coles and Weinberg, 91-95.

193 Coles and Weinberg, 141.

194 Msg, Eisenhower to CCS, 2 Aug 43, CAD Msg files, CM-IN 1229 in Coles and Weinberg, 214-215.

195 Secretary of War Stimson cited in Coles and Weinberg, 214 n7.

196 Roosevelt cited in Parrott, 59; Oehrig, 2-3; Zaalberg, 27.

197 Msg, Eisenhower to CCS, 19 Jul 43, CAD Msg files, CM-IN 13772, in Coles and Weinberg, 223.

198 Komer, III-13; Min of Mtg of Allied Officials at Home of the Br Resident Minister, 13 Oct 43, MTO, HS files, AFHQ papers in Coles and Weinberg, 245.

199 According to Eisenhower, the Italian government comprised the "King, Crown Prince Umberto, Badoglio, and a group of generals and admirals including Joint Chief of Staff Ambrosio and the Army Chief of Staff [Mario] Roatta." Msg, Eisenhower to CCS, 18 Sep 43, CAD msg files, CM-IN 13972 in Coles and Weinberg, 231.

200 Rick Atkinson, *The Day of Battle: The War in Sicily and Italy, 1943-1944* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2007), 243-244.

201 Atkinson, 245.

202 Komer cited the implications of the armistice and the responsibilities of the Allies regarding occupation: "The functions of the Armistice Control Authority will be to maintain conditions favorable to the use of Italy as a base of operations, to enforce conditions of the armistice, and to carry out such other policies as may be prescribed by higher authority. Whereas the powers belonging to a Military Government flow from general principles of international law, the activities of an Armistice Control Authority are restricted by the terms of the armistice. If, however, the Allied Nations reserve for themselves all the powers of an occupying power, they will have even under the armistice the same plenary authority they would have if they had simply driven out the Italian Government. Still, in post-armistice conditions even more than during Military Governments, it will be desirable to control

the administration and economy of Italy by indirect methods, through the Italian Government so long as adequate results are produced. Until further directives are given as to the organization, and methods of the post-armistice control, the Armistice Control Authority will do all that may be necessary to safeguard the interests of the United Nations, but will refrain from any avoidable anticipation of questions of major policy." MGS Paper No. 7, Outline Plan for the Control of Italy, 22 Aug 43, cited in Komer, III-17.

203 Ltr, Gen Julius C. Holmes, Chief, MGS, to Hilldring, 28 Sep 43, CAD files, 319.I, AMG (8-17-43), sec. I in Coles and Weinberg, 229; Komer, III-15.

204 Initially, the commission was called the Armistice Control Authority. Komer, III-20-III-21; Roosevelt directed that the Armistice Control Commission transform "as promptly as practical into an Allied Commission under the Allied Commander in Chief which shall be empowered to furnish guidance and Government on military, political and administrative matters." Msg, Roosevelt to Eisenhower, 23 Sep 43, Diary of the Office CinC, vol. VII., pp. 818-20 in Coles and Weinberg, 233.

205 Komer, III-1 – III-2.

206 Komer, III-4.

207 The CCS approved these estimates on 31 August. Komer, III-4 – III-5.

208 Komer, III-22.

209 Komer estimated that about 100 officers came from Sicily and 25 officers came from the Middle East. Komer, III-24

210 "Twelve officers were on the mainland on D Day, 25 officers with transport reached there on D+1 and eight additional officers with equipment on D+2." The initial regional headquarters was in Reggio and then shifted to Corigliano on 19 September as the front advanced. AMGOT Hq, Rpt for Sep 43, ACC files, 10000/101/50; Msg, AFHQ to WD, 19 Aug 43, OPD Msg files, CM-IN 14327 in Coles and Weinberg, 226, 228.

211 Msg, AFHQ to WD, 19 Aug 43, OPD Msg files, CM-IN 14327; AMGOT Hq, Rpt for Sep 43, ACC files, 10000/101/501 in Coles and Weinberg, 226, 228; Parrott, 60.

212 This plan was in accordance with a Combined Chiefs of Staff Political Directive on 6 August 1943. Komer, III-20-III-21.

213 Msg, AFHQ to WD, 19 Aug 43, OPD Msg files, CM-IN 14327 in Coles and Weinberg, 226.

214 These estimates were “based on the Basic Ration of Supplemental Foreign Feeding prepared by the Requirements and Subsistence Planning Board, Office of the Quartermaster General.” According to Komer, MSG “estimated that during the first ninety days 15 percent of the estimated 16,000,000 population south of Rome and 10 percent of the 24,000,000 north of Rome would require supplementary feeding; during the second ninety days, 10 percent in both areas.” Komer, III-8 – III-9.

215 Komer, III-11.

216 AMGOT GAI 2, 1 May 43, AGO files, AMGOT Plan in Coles and Weinberg, 382-383.

217 Instrs, Rodd to CAO's, 6 Sep 43, ACC files, 10000/100/647 in Coles and Weinberg, 383.

218 Ltr, Gen Holmes, Chief, MGS, to Hilldring, 28 Sep 43, CAD files, 319.I, AMG (8-17-43), sec. I in Coles and Weinberg, 237-238.

219 Msg, Gen Holmes, Chief, MGS, to Chief, CAD, 30 Sep 43, CAD Msg files, CM-IN 20825 in Coles and Weinberg, 240.

220 Brig Gen Edgar Hume, SCAO AMG Fifth Army, Rpt for Jan 44, ACC files, 10000/154/204 in Coles and Weinberg, 247.

221 Msg, AFHQ to CCAC, 2 Oct 43, CAD Msg files, CM-IN 1441; AMGOT Hq, Rpt for Sep 43, ACC files, 100000/101/501 in Coles and Weinberg, 240-241, 322; Norman Lewis, *Naples '44: A World War II Diary of Occupied Italy* (New York: Carroll & Graf Publishers, 1978), 25; Atkinson, 241-242, 245-246.

222 Atkinson, 247.

223 AMGOT Hq, Rpt for Sep 43, ACC files, 100000/101/501 in Coles and Weinberg, 322-323.

224 PHS/C (Public Health Subcommittee), AC, RPT, epidemic Typhus in Naples, 1943-44, ACC files, 10000/163/546, pp. 15-19; Msg, AFHQ to CCS, 4 Dec 43, AFHQ Msg files, CM-OUT 1156; Min, Conf to

Consider Typhus Contl Held by Deputy Military Surgeon, AFHQ, 25 Dec 43, ACC files, 100000/163/7; Memo, Deputy Chief Admin Officer, 15<sup>th</sup> AGp, for Hq 15<sup>th</sup> AGp, 3 Jan 44, ACC files, 10000/163/7; Msg, AFHQ to FLAMBO (AFHQ Adv Admin Ech, Naples), 29 Dec 43, ACC files, 10000/163/7; PHS/C, AC, Rpt, Epidemic Typhus in Naples 1943-44, pp. 50-51; Msg, PBS, Naples, to WD, 11 Feb 44, CAD files, 710 (8-13-43) (1), CM-IN 7399; Col Thomas B. Turner, Dir, Civil PHD, OSG, Rpt to The Surgeon General, 21 Feb 44, in MGS Rep 15, 18 Apr 44, CAD files, 319.1, Foreign (3-29-43), sec. 2 in Coles and Weinberg, 323-327, 325, n 10; Lewis, 47-48.

225 Atkinson, 247.

226 Coles and Weinberg, 340-341.

227 Telecon, Hilldring and Gen smith, CofS AFHQ, 10 Dec 43, CAD Msg files, WDTC-91 in Coles and Weinberg, 306, 315.

228 Italians despised the Fascist system for grain collection (*amassi*), so the grain black market existed well before the Allied invasion of Sicily and Italy. Clabaugh, Chief, Econ Branch, CAD, rpt to Dir of CAD, 28 Feb 44, CAD files, 319.1, Foreign (3-28-43); Ltr, Maj Alexander to RCAO, Sicily Rgn, 13 Nov 43 in Coles and Weinberg, 313-314.

229 Msg, Eisenhower to WD, 14 Dec 43, OPD Msg files, CM-IN 9014 Coles and Weinberg, 315.

230 AFHQ Admin Memo 92, 19 Dec 43, ACC files, 10000/105/360; Gen Hume, SCAO, AMG Fifth Army, Rpt for Jan 44, ACC files, 10000/154/204; Memo, Mason-MacFarlane to GOCinC, Hq AA1 [Allied Armies in Italy], CMF [Central Mediterranean Forces Group], 28 Apr 44, ACC files, 10000/136/116; Combined Sup Gp for CCAC/S, Rpt of Survey, Civilian Supply in Italian Theater, Mar-May 44, ASF, ID files, dr. 3424; Econ Sec, ACC, Rpt, Organizational Problems, 1 Sep 44, ACC files, 10000/154/328 in Coles and Weinberg, 316-317, 320-321.

231 Rennell, CCAO 15<sup>th</sup> AGp, Rpt, 10 Oct 43, ACC files, 1000/100/61, par. 18 in Coles and Weinberg, 241.

232 AMG Officer, Rpt, 7 Oct 43, ACC files, 10700/115/282 in Coles and Weinberg, 385.

233 Komer, III-13; Chanler, Chief, Legal Div, AMGOT, Rpt to Dir, CAD, 21 Dec 43, ABC, 014, HORRIFIED Govt, sec. 2 (CCAC Memo for Info No. 13), pp. 15-16 in Coles and Weinberg, 241.

234 Lt Col T. Parr, Sr PHO, AMG Fifth Army (Fld), Rpt, 30 May 44, ACC files, 10700/163/26 in Coles and Weinberg, 338.

235 Lt Col T. Parr, Sr PHO, AMG Fifth Army (Fld), Rpt, 30 May 44, ACC files, 10700/163/26 in Coles and Weinberg, 338.

236 Lt Col T. Parr, Sr PHO, AMG Fifth Army (Fld), Rpt, 30 May 44, ACC files, 10700/163/26 in Coles and Weinberg, 338.

237 Com of Public Safety, AMG Rgn 3, Report on Activities of Regional headquarters, Public Safety Division, to 15 December 1943, p. 9, ACC files, 100000/129/168 in Coles and Weinberg, 377, Lewis, 31.

238 Norman Lewis was a British Field Security Officer (akin to the U.S. Counter Intelligence Corps) working in Naples from September 1943 to October 1944. His observations and insights are noteworthy in understanding the milieu within which the Allies operated. He noted that American Mafia boss Vito Genovese used his position as interpreter in the AMG to appoint mayors and run a widespread crime syndicate in southern Italy. Lewis, 70, 82-84, 109-110, 116-117, 122-123, 125-130, 153, 164-166, 181; Atkinson, 246-247.

239 Com of Public Safety, AMG Rgn 3, Report on Activities of Regional headquarters, Public Safety Division, to 15 December 1943, p. 9, ACC files, 100000/129/168 in Coles and Weinberg, 377.

240 Memo, Maj Raffa, Chief, Political Intelligence Sec, for CofS, AFHQ, 1 Nov 43, CAD files, 319.1, Foreign (1), 1 Nov 43, Bulky Pkg in Coles and Weinberg, 383-384.

241 373-375, Coles and Weinberg; Hq AMG, Rpt for Oct 43, ACC files, 10000/101/501 in Coles and Weinberg, 384.

242 Lewis, 26, 61-62; Coles and Weinberg, 374.

243 Lucian K. Truscott, *Command Missions: A Personal Story* (New York City: E. P. Dutton And Company, Inc., 1954), Kindle e-book.

244 In November 1943, The Germans forced hundreds of Italian civilians into the Eighth Army lines. In January 1944, 14,000 refugees were flowing into the Fifth Army per month. By the spring of 1944, Fifth Army was caring for 200,000 refugees. Coles and Weinberg, 307.

245 Oehrig, 3, 6; AMGOT Hq, Rpt for Sep 43 in Coles and Weinberg, 328.

246 AMGOT Hq, Rpt for Sep 43 in Coles and Weinberg, 328.

247 Ltr, AMG Hq, 15<sup>th</sup> AGp, to Col Hume, SCAO, Fifth Army, 25 Nov 43, ACC files, 100000/164/121; AMG, Fifth Army, Report for Week Ending 12 December 1943, ACC files, 100000/100/1093 in Coles and Weinberg, 328-329.

248 Memo, Lush, DCCAO, 15<sup>th</sup> AGp, 8 Jan 44, ACC files, 10000/164/63 in Coles and Weinberg, 329.

249 There were several refugee camps in the Venafro province which accommodated between 200 to 450 refugees for their temporary stay. Memo, Col F. R. Hulls, Chief, Refugee Fld Sec, AMG Fifth Army, for DCCAO, 15<sup>th</sup> AGp, 21 Jan 44, ACC files, 10000/164/63; Refugee Fld Sec, AMG Fifth Army, Rpt for Feb 44, ACC files, 10000/154/204, app. A; Maj Raymond Kenny, Welfare Officer, Rgn IV, Rpt, 6 Mar 44, ACC files, 10000/154/204, app. D; Memo, Hulls, Dir, Italian Refugee Branch, ACC,, for RCAO, Rgn III, 6 Feb 44, ACC files, 10000/164/121 in Coles and Weinberg, 329-330.

250 Min, Remarks by Lt Col F. M. Brister at Conf of Regnl Cmsrs, 30 May 44, ACC files, 10000/101/443 in Coles and Weinberg, 332.

251 Memo, Hulls, Dir, Italian Refugee Branch, ACC, for RCAO, Rgn III, 6 Feb 44 ACC files, 100000/164/211 in Coles and Weinberg, 330.

252 Min, Remarks of Col Hulls at Conf of Rgnl Cmsrs, 4 mar 44, ACC files, 10000/136/162; Min, Remarks of Hulls at Conf of Rgnl Cmsres, 14 Apr 44, ACC files, 10000/101/443; Conclusions Reached at ACC Conf as Summarized in Memo, Exec Cmsr, ACC, for Admin Sec, ACC, 20 Apr 44, ACC files, 10000/164/212 in Coles and Weinberg, 330-331.

253 Doherty, Chief, Public Safety, AMG Fifth Army, Rpt for May 44; Memo, Hulls for Italian High Cmsr for Refugees, 9 Aug 44, ACC files, 10000/164/189 in Coles and Weinberg, 332-333.

254 Coles and Weinberg, 553.

255 Coles and Weinberg, 553.

256 For the stated policy see, Memo, Admiral Stone, Chief Cmsr, AC, for G-5, AFHQ, 6 Jun 45, ACC files, 10000/136/299 and Memo, Findlay, Dir, DPRSC, AC, to Subordinated Officials, 20 Jul 45, ACC files, 100000/164/2051 in Coles and Weinberg, 582.

257 Wellington A. Samouce, *I Do Understand the Russians* (Manuscript, Unpublished, 1949), 73.

258 Coles and Weinberg, 553.

259 Coles and Weinberg, 340-342.

260 Coles and Weinberg, 376.

261 Memo, LO, ACC, Naples Province, for Provincial Cmsr, Rgn III, 22 Apr 44, ACC files, 10000/109/1577; Msg, Mason-MacFarlane, Chief Cmsr, ACC, to MGS, AFHQ, 13 May 44, ACC files, 1000/136/108 in Coles and Weinberg, 380-381, 381 n. 2.

262 Min of Remarks of Col John T. Zellars, Rgnl Cmsr, RGN II, at Conf of Rgnl Cmsrs, 22 Aug 44, ACC files, 10000/101/443; memo, Col. Dawson, CLO, Southern Rgn, for Rgnl Cmsr Southern Rgn, 19 Nov 44, ACC files, 10260/142/2822 in Coles and Weinberg, 381-382.

263 Coles and Weinberg, 250-251; Ziemke, 447-448.

264 Coles and Weinberg, 251.

265 Rpt of Survey, Civilian Supply in Italian Theater, Mar-May 44, ASF, ID files, dr. 3424; Econ Sec, ACC, Rpt, Organizational Problems, 1 Sep 44, ACC files, 10000/154/328 in Coles and Weinberg, 321.

266 Coles and Weinberg, 370-371.

267 Coles and Weinberg, 372-373.

268 Major General Sir Roger Lumley (UK) briefly served as the Chief G-5 until April 1944. Msg, Smith to Hilldring, 6 Feb 44, CAD files, 210.31 (3-343), sec. 4, CM-IN 4260; SHAEF GO 9, 22 Apr 44, SHAEF files, G-5, 300.4 SHAEF GO's in Coles and Weinberg, 674.

269 SHAEF G-5 Div, Directive to DCCAO (SS), SHAEF, 19 Feb 44 SHAEF files, g-5, 1601 SHAEF (SS), Organization and Plng in Coles and Weinberg, 676.

270 SHAEF Staff Memo 43, Apr 44, CAD files, 370.21, COSSAC (7-33-43) (1), sec. 2 in Coles and Weinberg, 677.

271 Memo, Gen Smith to Lumley and Holmes, 14 Mar 44, SHAEF files, G-5, 1601, SHAEF (SS), Organization and Plng; Ltr, Hq ETOUSA to

Fwd Ech, ComZ, *et al.*, 22 Apr 44, GO's, FUSAG 12<sup>th</sup> AGp in Coles and Weinberg, 677-678.

272 At the request of General Omar Bradley, First Army, B Company/1<sup>st</sup> ECAR deployed without its A and C detachments, while A Company deployed with 16 D detachments, which were borrowed from other 1<sup>st</sup> ECAR companies and from the other ECARs. In September 1944, the 2d and 3d ECARs were reorganized slightly into eight organic companies in preparation for the occupation of Germany. ECAD conducted another reorganization in December affecting the 2678<sup>th</sup> CA Regiment under 6<sup>th</sup> Army Group. *Civil Affairs and Military Government Organization and Operations*, 25-29, 35.

273 Due to insufficient numbers of British Civil Affairs officers, the reserve companies were understrength. *Civil Affairs and Military Government Organization and Operations*, 30.

274 *Civil Affairs and Military Government Organization and Operations*, 33.

275 *Civil Affairs and Military Government Organization and Operations*, 25, 106; Coles and Weinberg, 675.

276 *Civil Affairs and Military Government Organization and Operations*, 29, Appendix 1, 1; Coles and Weinberg, 678.

277 The original number of officers for the reserve companies was eight but due to insufficient numbers of British Civil Affairs officers available for the reserve companies, the number was reduced to four. *Civil Affairs and Military Government Organization and Operations*, 29-30; Coles and Weinberg, 678; Zink, 58.

278 CA Sec, FUSA, Rpt, 9-30 June 44, SHAEF files, G-5, Hist, 223, FUSA Opns Rpts, Jkt 2 in Coles and Weinberg, 725.

279 Coles and Weinberg, 721.

280 Zink, 59.

281 Donnison, 31.

282 Donnison, 32.

283 Eisenhower, Remarks Before ECAD and SHAEF Officer Personnel, 9 May 44, SHAEF files, G-5, 10, Hists and Monographs in Coles and Weinberg, 679.

284 The original was numbered. The author changed them to bullets for monograph continuity. SHAEF Standard Policy and Procedure for Combined Civil Affairs Operations in Northwest Europe, rev 1 May 44, SHAEF files, 14.1-6 in Coles and Weinberg, 679.

285 *Proclamation to the citizens of France by Dwight D. Eisenhower*, undated, accessed on the website of The George C. Marshall Foundation at <http://marshallfoundation.org/library/posters/proclamation-dwight-deisenhower-general-commandant-supreme-des-711/>, 7 December 2016.

286 *Civil Affairs and Military Government Organization and Operations*, 26, 33-34, 91, 106.

287 Lt Col James S. Thurmond, Major Eberhard P. Deutsch, and Cap John J. Knecht, Report of Service on TD With 82d Airborne Div, 23 May 44 to 14 Jun 44, 15 Jun 44, SHAEF files, G-5, Hist, 223, FUSA Opns Rpts, Jkt 1 in Coles and Weinberg, 723-724.

288 CA Sec, FUSA, Rpt, 9-30 June 44, SHAEF files, G-5, Hist, 223, FUSA Opns Rpts, Jkt 2 in Coles and Weinberg, 725.

289 LTC Frank O. Howley (US) was the detachment commander and Major Rupert L. H. Nunn (UK) was the deputy. In total, the detachment included 18 Officers (US/BR), two warrant officers, one Navy officer, one French liaison officer, and 22 U.S. enlisted soldiers. Rpt, CA Detachment A1A1, Jun-Aug 44, SHAEF files, G-5, 17.23, Hist Rpts, Cherbourg, Jkt 1 in Coles and Weinberg, 730-731, 733.

290 These organizations were the "Police Surete Nationale [National Police], the Gendarmerie Nationale [Ministry of the Interior Police], the Gendarmerie Maritime [Coast Guard], and the Renseignements Generaux [Internal Security Police]." Rpt, CA Detachment A1A1, Jun-Aug 44, SHAEF files, G-5, 17.23, Hist Rpts, Cherbourg, Jkt 1 in Coles and Weinberg, 735.

291 The original was numbered. The author changed them to bullets for monograph continuity. Rpt, CA Detachment A1A1, Jun-Aug 44, SHAEF files, G-5, 17.23, Hist Rpts, Cherbourg, Jkt 1 in Coles and Weinberg, 735.

292 Rpt, CA Detachment A1A1, Jun-Aug 44, SHAEF files, G-5, 17.23, Hist Rpts, Cherbourg, Jkt 1 in Coles and Weinberg, 735.

293 Rpt, CA Detachment A1A1, Jun-Aug 44, SHAEF files, G-5, 17.23, Hist Rpts, Cherbourg, Jkt 1 in Coles and Weinberg, 731-733.

294 Rpt, CA Detachment A1A1, Jun-Aug 44, SHAEF files, G-5, 17.23, Hist Rpts, Cherbourg, Jkt 1 in Coles and Weinberg, 734-735.

295 Rpt, CA Detachment A1A1, Jun-Aug 44, SHAEF files, G-5, 17.23, Hist Rpts, Cherbourg, Jkt 1 in Coles and Weinberg, 731-732.

296 Rpt, CA Detachment A1A1, Jun-Aug 44, SHAEF files, G-5, 17.23, Hist Rpts, Cherbourg, Jkt 1 in Coles and Weinberg, 733, 736.

297 Rpt, CA Detachment A1A1, Jun-Aug 44, SHAEF files, G-5, 17.23, Hist Rpts, Cherbourg, Jkt 1 in Coles and Weinberg, 733.

298 Rpt, CA Detachment A1A1, Jun-Aug 44, SHAEF files, G-5, 17.23, Hist Rpts, Cherbourg, Jkt 1 in Coles and Weinberg, 736.

299 Rpt, CA Detachment A1A1, Jun-Aug 44, SHAEF files, G-5, 17.23, Hist Rpts, Cherbourg, Jkt 1 in Coles and Weinberg, 733-734, 736-737.

300 Rpt, CA Detachment A1A1, Jun-Aug 44, SHAEF files, G-5, 17.23, Hist Rpts, Cherbourg, Jkt 1 in Coles and Weinberg, 733-734.

301 Rpt, CA Detachment A1A1, Jun-Aug 44, SHAEF files, G-5, 17.23, Hist Rpts, Cherbourg, Jkt 1 in Coles and Weinberg, 737.

302 Rpt, CA Detachment A1A1, Jun-Aug 44, SHAEF files, G-5, 17.23, Hist Rpts, Cherbourg, Jkt 1 in Coles and Weinberg, 734.

303 Maginnis, 89, 234.

304 Marcus returned to the War Department on 25 June. Maginnis, 2-3, 5, 30.

305 Maginnis, 9-11.

306 Incidentally, General Taylor gave a speech in fluent French to the local populace, apologizing for the damage and casualties, and asking for their cooperation with the military. This was a nice touch on his behalf. Maginnis, 13-14.

307 Maginnis, 14-15, 17, 19-20, 38.

308 Maginnis, 20-28.

309 The original was numbered. The author changed them to bullets for monograph continuity. Maginnis, 33.

310 Maginnis, 53-54, 56; Monograph on 2d British Army Relationships With the French Civil Administration, Jun-Jul 44, 60, SHAEF files, G-5, 8987/457 in Coles and Weinberg, 726.

311 Monograph on 2d British Army Relationships With the French Civil Administration, Jun-Jul 44, 60, SHAEF files, G-5, 8987/457; AAR, G-5, Third Army, ch. 3, sec. 6, Gen Bd in Coles and Weinberg, 726-727, 729; France provided 243,000 security troops to guard the lines of communication. Forrest Pogue, *Eisenhower and Supreme Command*, Center of Military History, United States Army (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 27 January 1953), Kindle e-book.

312 Maginnis, 67.

313 Maginnis, 58.

314 Maginnis, 53-56.

315 Maginnis, 60, 95, 150.

316 Maginnis, 78.

317 1st Lt. Jesse C. Beesley, Memo on Observations in Normandy (Br Sector), 27 Jul 44, SHAEF files, G-5, 10, Hists and Monographs in Coles and Weinberg, 728-729.

318 Maginnis, 94; The ETOUSA General Board Study also noted these problems. *Civil Affairs and Military Government Organization and Operations*, 135-136

319 *Military Government Organization and Operations*, 84.

320 Maginnis, 105-108.

321 Maginnis, 111, 113, 117-120, 125-126.

322 Maginnis, 129, 131, 134-138, 143-145, 150-151.

323 AAR of CA and Mil Govt in OVERLORD and ECLIPSE Opns 1944-45 in Coles and Weinberg, 850; Maginnis, 62, 65-66, 68-69.

324 During this period, "approximately 65 American Red Cross personnel, 16 MMLA teams (each consisting of five trained and

experienced French militarized female workers, and a male driver), 4 Dutch Liaison Officers for Repatriation, and 21 Polish Liaison Officers for Repatriation were on duty in the Army Group area. These assisted in the handling of refugees and displaced persons." AAR of CA and Mil Govt in OVERLORD and ECLIPSE Opns 1944-45 in Coles and Weinberg, 850.

325 The French organizations were the "*Maires, Secours National* and the *Croix Rouge Francaise*, [and] in most instances the Detachments were able to have the refugees billeted and fed without other military assistance." AAR of Civil Affairs and Military Government in OVERLORD and ECLIPSE Operations 1944-45, sec. X, SHAEF files, G-5, Hq 12<sup>th</sup> AGp; AAR, G-5, Third U.S. Army, ch. 3, sec. IV, Gen Bd files, dr. 634 in Coles and Weinberg, 849.

326 AAR, G-5, Third U.S. Army, ch. 3, sec. IV, Gen Bd files, dr. 634 in Coles and Weinberg, 849.

327 Maginnis, 122-123, 127, 137, 144.

328 The UNRRA director was former Ohio Governor Herbert H. Lehman. Ziemke, 168-169.

329 Ziemke, 168.

330 App. H, Brief History of Civil Affairs headquarters, Undated, SHAEF files, G-5, 17.18, 6<sup>th</sup> AGp, Jkt 1; G-5, Sixth AGp, Hist Rpt, 19-31 Oct 44, SHAEF files, G-5, 504, 6<sup>th</sup> AGp Fld Rpts in Coles and Weinberg, 700, 753.

331 App. H, Brief History of Civil Affairs headquarters, Undated, SHAEF files, G-5, 17.18, 6<sup>th</sup> AGp, Jkt 1 in Coles and Weinberg, 700; *Civil Affairs and Military Government Organization and Operations*, 68.

332 App. H, Brief History of Civil Affairs headquarters, Undated, SHAEF files, G-5, 17.18, 6<sup>th</sup> AGp, Jkt 1 in Coles and Weinberg, 700; *Civil Affairs and Military Government Organization and Operations*, 67-68, 109.

333 Interim Directive, SACMED to CG, Seventh Army, 5 Jul 44, CAD files, 014, Fr (3-8-43), sec. 5 in Coles and Weinberg, 701-702.

334 Ltr, G-5, AFHQ, to WD and Br WO, 6 Aug 44, CAD files, 014, Fr (8-3-43) (1), sec. 5; Min, Eighth Wkly Staff Conf, G-5 Div, SHAEF, 8 Jun 44, 60, SHAEF files, G-5 Monographs and Sketches, Negotiations With the French, an. 1-A in Coles and Weinberg, 705-706.

335 Hist of CA Opns for Southern Fr in Coles and Weinberg, 754; The USFET Board recorded 135 officers of which 20 percent were British. *Civil Affairs and Military Government Organization and Operations*, 109.

336 Hist of CA Opns for Southern Fr in Coles and Weinberg, 754.

337 AFHQ Interim CA Directive on Supply to CG, Seventh Army, 20 Aug 44, CAD files, 014, Fr (3-8-43) (I), sec. 5 in Coles and Weinberg, 754-755.

338 G-5, Sixth AGp, Hist Rpt, 19-31 Oct 44, SHAEF files, G-5, 504, 6th AGp Fld Rpts in Coles and Weinberg, 753.

339 G-5, Sixth AGp, Hist Rpt, 19-31 Oct 44, SHAEF files, G-5, 504, 6th AGp Fld Rpts in Coles and Weinberg, 753.

340 Hist of CA Opns for Southern Fr, pt. II; CAO, 36<sup>th</sup> Div, Weekly Rpt, Undated, to Corps and Army SCAO's, SHAEF files, G-5, 17.17, Hist Rpts; CAHQ, Seventh Army, Rpt to G-5, AFHQ, 18 Aug 44, SHAEF files, G-5, 17.17, Hist Rpts; G-5, AFHQ, Rpt, 18-23 Aug 44, SHAEF files, G-5, Hist, 20.31, Fr, Civil Admin in Coles and Weinberg, 756-757, 759.

341 CAHQ, Seventh Army, Rpt to CG, Seventh Army, 21 Aug 44, SHAEF files, G-5, 17.17, Hist Rpts; CAHQ, Seventh Army, Rpt to SACMED, 22 Aug 44, SHAEF files, G-5, 17.17, Hist Rpts in Coles and Weinberg, 758-759, 758, n. 3.

342 The original was lettered. The author changed them to bullets for monograph continuity. CAHQ, Rpt to CG, Seventh Army, 21 Aug 44, SHAEF files, G-5, 17.17, Hist Rpts in Coles and Weinberg, 758

343 CAHQ, Seventh Army, Rpt to SACMED, 23 Aug 44, SHAEF files, G-5, 17.17, Hist Rpts, in Coles and Weinberg, 759.

344 Hist of CA Opns for Southern Fr, pt. X in Coles and Weinberg, 768.

345 Hist of CA opns for Southern Fr, pt. III in Coles and Weinberg, 769.

346 CA Circ I, G-5, Seventh Army, 28 Jul 44, CAD files, 014, Fr (3-8-43) (I), sec. 5; Memo, SACA, VI Corps to Chief, CAHQ, 23 Sep 44, SHAEF files, G-5, Hist, 60 Jkt V, app. C-10 in Coles and Weinberg, 767-768.

347 The study noted that this supply arrangement was relatively simple compared to northern France because off-loaded supplies there were not only for the French, but also for "Belgium, Luxembourg, The Netherlands and displaced persons in Germany." Gen Bd Study 33: Procedures Followed by CA and MG in Restoration, Reorganization and supervision of Indigenous Civil Admin in Coles and Weinberg, 774.

348 Hist of CA Opns for Southern Fr, pt. IV in Coles and Weinberg, 775.

349 Hist of CA Opns for Southern Fr, pt, V in Coles and Weinberg, 777.

350 Hist of CA Opns for Southern Fr, pt. V in Coles and Weinberg, 778.

351 G-5, AFHQ, Rpt, 18-23 Aug 44; History of CA Opns for Southern Fr, pt, VIII in Coles and Weinberg, 770-771.

352 Hist of CA Opns for Southern Fr, Pt. VI; CAO, Nice to CCAO, Seventh Army, Rpt, 20 Sep 44, SHAEF files, G-5, Hist, 60, Jkt VI, M-19; CAPO, Toulon, Report SCAO, G-5, Delta Base, 5 Oct 44, SHAEF files, G-5, 60, vol. II, Jkt VI, app. J-47; CAO, Alpes-Maritime, Rpt, 12 Oct 44, SHAEF files, G-5, 60, vol. II, Jkt VI, M-12 in Coles and Weinberg, 772-773.

353 Komer, CA and MG in MTO in Coles and Weinberg, 787.

354 Hist of CA Opns for Southern Fr, pt. III; Directive, SHAEF to CG, ComZ, ETO, and CG, SHAEF Mission (Fr), 2 Nov 44, SHAEF files, G-5, AG 014.1-1, Fr, Folder 6 in Coles and Weinberg, 787, 787 n. 22, 788, 788 n. 23; *Civil Affairs and Military Government Organization and Operations*, 35, 109-110.

355 Ltr, Parkman, CCAO, Seventh Army, to ACofS, G-5, AFHQ, 12 Oct 44, SHAEF files, G-5, Hist, 17.18, 6<sup>th</sup> U.S. AGp, Jkt 1 in Coles and Weinberg, 790.

356 ACofS G-5, Report to CG, Seventh Army, 6 Nov 44, SHAEF files, G-5, 17.18, Hist Rpt, Jkt 1, in Coles and Weinberg, 791-794.

357 ACofS G-5, Report to CG, Seventh Army, 6 Nov 44, SHAEF files, G-5, 17.18, Hist Rpt, Jkt 1, in Coles and Weinberg, 791.

358 ACofS G-5, Report to CG, Seventh Army, 6 Nov 44, SHAEF files, G-5, 17.18, Hist Rpt, Jkt 1, in Coles and Weinberg, 792.

359 ACofS G-5, Report to CG, Seventh Army, 6 Nov 44, SHAEF files, G-5, 17.18, Hist Rpt, Jkt 1, in Coles and Weinberg, 792, 794.

360 ACofS G-5, Report to CG, Seventh Army, 6 Nov 44, SHAEF files, G-5, 17.18, Hist Rpt, Jkt 1, in Coles and Weinberg, 792-793.

361 ACofS G-5, Report to CG, Seventh Army, 6 Nov 44, SHAEF files, G-5, 17.18, Hist Rpt, Jkt 1, in Coles and Weinberg, 794.

362 Kennedy, Hist of Public Safety Opns in Coles and Weinberg, 794.

363 Kennedy, Hist of Public Safety Opns in Coles and Weinberg, 795.

364 Hist of CA Opns for Southern Fr, pt. XII in Coles and Weinberg, 795-796.

365 Belgium and Luxembourg Country Unit, Semi-Monthly Hist Rpt, 15 May-1 Jun 44, SHAEF files, G-5, 17.02, Country Units, Hist Rpts, Belgium in Coles and Weinberg, 798-799.

366 In the fall of 1943, COSSAC dissolved the country houses, transferring their personnel into specialty staffs. However, the country house chiefs remained in the COSSAC Civil Affairs Division as liaison officers for their designated countries. Once SHAEF came into being in January 1944, the country houses/sections were restored. Belgium and Luxembourg Country Unit, Semi-Monthly Hist Rpt, 15 May-1 Jun 44, SHAEF files, G-5, 17.02, Country Units, Hist Rpts, Belgium in Coles and Weinberg, 799-800.

367 Directive, SHAEF to Hq, Northern gp of Armies, and CinC, Central Gp of Armies, 1 Sep 44, SHAEF files, G-5, 703, Internal Affairs, Br-Directives, Belgium and Luxembourg in Coles and Weinberg, 800.

368 Capt A. W. Williams, Historical Survey Events in Belgium, September 1944 to July 1945, SHAEF files, G-5, 17.02, SHAEF Mission to Belgium, Final Rpt, pt. 1; Ltr, CofS, SHAEF to Maj Gen George W. Erskine, 15 Sep 44, SHAEF files, G-5, 132.02, SHAEF Mission to Belgium in Coles and Weinberg, 801-802, 804.

369 Cable, G-5, SHAEF (Main), to G-5 SHAEF (Fwd), 10 Sept 44, Incl to Analysis Sheet, 18 Sep 44, SHAEF files, G-5, 132.02, SHAEF Mission to Belgium; Cable, SHAEF Mission Belgium to Lt. Gen Sir Frederick

Morgan, DCofS, SHAEF, 10-17 Sep 44, SHAEF files, G-5, 132.02, SHAEF Mission to Belgium; Personal Impressions of Lt Col Walker Smith, Opns Branch, G-5 SHAEF, to Chief Opns Branch, G-5, Undated, SHAEF files, G-5, 22, Belgium-Nation in Coles and Weinberg, 802, 804-805; Maginnis, 165.

370 Ltr, Gen George Erskine to Lt Gen Paul Tschoffen, Chief, Belgian Mil Mission, 14 Oct 44, SHAEF files, G-5, 13 SHAEF Mission to Belgium; Ltr, Gen Erskine to SCAEF, 21 Oct 44, SHAEF files, G-5, Hist Rcds, 132.02, SHAEF Mission to Belgium; Directive, SHAEF to CinC, list AGp; CG, 12th AGp; CG, ComZ; Head, SHAEF Mission (Belgium), 18 Nov 44, SHAEF files, G-5, 132.02, SHAEF Mission to Belgium; Belgium Press Opinion, Summary for 17 Nov 44, SHAEF files, G-5, 17.02, SHAEF Mission to Belgium, Final Rpt, pt. 1 in Coles and Weinberg, 806-808; Ziemke, 146, 146 n 24; Maginnis, 177-178.

371 Gist of Churchill's Remarks in the House of Commons as reported in *La Libre Belgique*, 10 Dec 44, SHAEF files, G-5, 17.02, SHAEF Mission to Belgium, Final Rpt, pr. 1 in Coles and Weinberg, 809; Maginnis, 181.

372 Maginnis, 216-219.

373 Maginnis, 210, 214, 218-219.

374 Maginnis, 220, 224-225.

375 Maginnis, 223, 227-228, 230.

376 Maginnis, 154-159.

377 To add to the new government's financial woes, the Germans stole huge amounts of Belgium currency, so the government issued new currency in order to deprive Germany of ill-gotten gains. Belgians had a short window of opportunity to exchange the old currency for the new currency at "designated banks." Maginnis, 160-167, 169, 218-219.

378 Maginnis, 217-218, 221-222, 226-227.

379 Maginnis, 226.

380 An. A, Hist Rpt, FUSA, 1-30 Sep 44, SHAEF files, G-5, 17.11, First Army, Rpt 1; Ltr, Gen Erskine to SCAEF, 21 Oct 44, SHAEF files, G-5, Hist Reds, 132.02, SHAEF Mission to Belgium in Coles and Weinberg, 802-803, 806; Maginnis, 162, 166-169.

381 An. A, Hist Rpt, FUSA, 1-30 Sep 44, SHAEF files, G-5, 17.11, First Army, Rpt 1; Ltr, Gen Erskine to SCAEF, 21 Oct 44, SHAEF files, G-5, Hist Reds, 132.02, SHAEF Mission to Belgium in Coles and Weinberg, 803-804; Maginnis, 165.

382 Maginnis, 162, 166-169, 176-177; Belgium Press Opinion, Summary for 17 Nov 44, SHAEF files, G-5, 17.02, SHAEF Mission to Belgium, Final Rpt, pt. 1 in Coles and Weinberg, 807.

383 Maginnis, 180-181; Belgian Press Opinion, Summary for 19 Nov 44 in Coles and Weinberg, 808-809.

384 Maginnis, 186-188, 193.

385 Maginnis, 230-231.

386 SHAEF Luxembourg Mission, Report for Period 3-15 September 1944, SHAEF files, G-5, 132.06, SHAEF Mission to Luxembourg in Coles and Weinberg, 809-810.

387 The Germans moved over 30,000 to Germany and Austria and around 5,000 to Poland. A number of Luxembourgers were impressed into the German Army or the Todt organization (the Reich construction company). SHAEF Luxembourg Mission, Report for Period 3-15 September 1944, SHAEF files, G-5, 132.06, SHAEF Mission to Luxembourg in Coles and Weinberg, 810-811.

388 SHAEF Luxembourg Mission, Report for Period 3-15 September 1944, SHAEF files, G-5, 132.06, SHAEF Mission to Luxembourg in Coles and Weinberg, 810-811.

389 SHAEF Luxembourg Mission, Report for Period 3-15 September 1944, SHAEF files, G-5, 132.06, SHAEF Mission to Luxembourg; Ltr, CofS, SHAEF to Head, SHAEF Mission Luxembourg, et al., 21 Oct 44, SHAEF-SGS files, 322.01-4 in Coles and Weinberg, 812.

390 Robinson, HS, SHAEF, G-5, Monograph, CA/MG Activities in German Counteroffensive, Dec. 44, SHAEF files, G-5, 60, CA/MG in Defensive Opns (Ardennes) (Northern Alsace, May 45; Hist Rpt, FUSA, 1-31 Dec 44, SHAEF files, G-5, 17.11, Hist Rclds, Jkt 1; War Diary of Detachment I8D2 for December 1944, dated 8 Jan 45, SHAEF files, G-5, 624 ECAD ECAR, Second ECAR, Co. D in Coles and Weinberg, 813-815.

391 Robinson, HS, SHAEF, G-5, Monograph, CA/MG Activities in German Counteroffensive, Dec. 44, SHAEF files, G-5, 60, CA/MG

in Defensive Opns (Ardennes) (Northern Alsace, May 45 in Coles and Weinberg, 813-14.

392 SHAEF, Public Relations Div, Press Release covering Dec 44-21 mar 45, SHAEF files, G-5, 13.06; Historical Rpt, FUSA, 1-31 Dec 44, SHAEF files, G-5, 17.11, Hist Rclds, Jkt 1; War Diary of Detachment I8D2 for December 1944, dated 8 Jan 45, SHAEF files, G-5, 624 ECAD ECAR, Second ECAR, Co. D in Coles and Weinberg, 814-815.

393 Robinson, CA/MG Activities in German Counteroffensive, Dec 44 in Coles and Weinberg, 816-817.

394 The original was numbered. The author changed them to bullets for monograph continuity. Lt Col Azel Hatch, G-5, CA Sec, VIII Corps, Periodic Rpt, 17-23 Dec 44, SHAEF files, G-5, 17.16, 12th AGp in Coles and Weinberg, 817.

395 Damon M. Gunn, "The Civil Affairs Detachment," *Military Review*, XXV, No 6 (September 1945), 75.

396 Gunn, 75-76.

397 Gunn, 76.

398 Gunn, 76.

399 Gunn, 76.

400 Gunn, 77.

401 Gunn, 77.

402 Gunn, 77.

403 Gunn, 77.

404 Gunn, 78.

405 Maginnis, 218, 226, 228-229, 230.

406 Kenneth O. McCreedy, *Planning the Peace: Operation Eclipse and the Occupation of Germany* (Fort Leavenworth, KS: School of Advance Military Studies, November 1995), 7-9; Sheldon A. Goldberg, *From Disarmament to Rearmament: The Reversal of US Policy toward West Germany, 1946-1955* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2017), 28.

407 Goldberg, 18, 28-29; McCreedy, 9-10, 15.

408 Goldberg, 29-31; McCreedy, 10-12, 15.

409 Only Roosevelt and Churchill met at the Second Quebec Conference, where they agreed on the Western Allies' Zones of Occupation to include France. Stivers and Carter, 19-20; Pogue, Kindle e-book.

410 Goldberg, 31; McCreedy, 12; The Yalta Conference decided that the Allies would "treat Germany as a defeated nation, Austria as a liberated one." Truscott, Kindle e-book.

411 *Civil Affairs and Military Government Organization and Operations*, 95-96; According to the SHAEF ECLIPSE plan, in lieu of a formal surrender, ECLIPSE would occur when "a major portion of the German forces opposing us has capitulated or been overpowered." Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Force (44) 34, "Operation 'Eclipse,' Appreciation and Outline Plan," 10 Nov 1944, 1; Ziemke, 163.

412 "Operation 'Eclipse,' Appreciation and Outline Plan," 1-2; Ziemke, 163; As a point of interest, Admiral Doenitz, Hitler's successor, banned any formation of resistance groups, such as the Werewolves, on 5 May 1945. Pogue, Kindle e-book.

413 Operation 'Eclipse,' Appreciation and Outline Plan," 2.

414 *Civil Affairs and Military Government Organization and Operations*, 116; Ziemke, 164.

415 *Civil Affairs and Military Government Organization and Operations*, 111; Ziemke, 164.

416 *Civil Affairs and Military Government Organization and Operations*, 30, Appendix 10, 1; Zink, 58-60; Ziemke, 164.

417 *Civil Affairs and Military Government Organization and Operations*, 111, 116-117.

418 *Civil Affairs and Military Government Organization and Operations*, 112.

419 *Civil Affairs and Military Government Organization and Operations*, 113-114.

- 420 Zink, 58-60.
- 421 Zink, 58-59.
- 422 *Civil Affairs and Military Government Organization and Operations*, 94, 116, 118; Ziemke, 269.
- 423 *Civil Affairs and Military Government Organization and Operations*, 95, 98, 119.
- 424 *Civil Affairs and Military Government Organization and Operations*, 118-119; Like Berlin, the Allies divided Vienna into sectors with a Kommandatura administering the city. Truscott, Kindle e-book.
- 425 *Civil Affairs and Military Government Organization and Operations*, 96, 98; Ziemke, 193-194, 310.
- 426 *Civil Affairs and Military Government Organization and Operations*, 96-97.
- 427 Ziemke, 320.
- 428 Ziemke, 320.
- 429 *Civil Affairs and Military Government Organization and Operations*, 117, 128.
- 430 *Civil Affairs and Military Government Organization and Operations*, 98, 117-118.
- 431 Most CA/MG detachments withdrew from Czechoslovakia by 1 August 1945 and left completely in December 1945 with the withdrawal of the Soviet Army. *Civil Affairs and Military Government Organization and Operations*, 37-38, 116, 118-119; Ziemke, 308; Truscott, Kindle e-book.
- 432 *Civil Affairs and Military Government Organization and Operations*, 111, 117, 122, 124, 127-128; Ziemke, 310, 317; Zink 59-60.
- 433 Zink, 60-61.
- 434 *Civil Affairs and Military Government Organization and Operations*, 117, 128; Ziemke, 317, 221; Zink, 52.
- 435 *Civil Affairs and Military Government Organization and Operations*, 99.

436 Truscott, Kindle e-book.

437 At the time of its dissolution, ECAD's strength stood at 7,921 personnel: 2,678 officers, 130 warrant officers, and 5,113 enlisted. *Civil Affairs and Military Government Organization and Operations*, 38-29, 98-99; Ziemke, 310.

438 *Civil Affairs and Military Government Organization and Operations*, 38-39, 98-99, 124; Ziemke, 321.

439 Bavaria's Regierungsbezirke capitals were Mainfranken, Oberfranken and Mittelfranken, Niederbayern and Oberfalz, Oberbayern, and Schwaben. *Civil Affairs and Military Government Organization and Operations*, 94, 124-125.

440 *Civil Affairs and Military Government Organization and Operations*, 99-100.

441 *Civil Affairs and Military Government Organization and Operations*, 98-99, 125-127; Ziemke, 321; Seventh Army was inactivated in April 1946 when Third Army Headquarters moved to Heidelberg. Truscott, Kindle e-book.

442 *Civil Affairs and Military Government Organization and Operations*, 99-100.

443 *Civil Affairs and Military Government Organization and Operations*, 119, 126; Ziemke, 321.

444 *Civil Affairs and Military Government Organization and Operations*, 99-100.

445 By 6 September, the number rose slightly to 84 officers, 2 warrant officers, and 166 enlisted soldiers. *Civil Affairs and Military Government Organization and Operations*, 99-100; Detachment A1A1, which had earlier served in Cherbourg and Paris, was re-designated as the G-5 Section, BDH on 15 May 1945. William Stivers and Donald A. Carter, *The City Becomes a Symbol: The U.S. Army in the Occupation of Berlin, 1945-1949* (Washington, D.C.: Center of Military History United States Army, 2017), 36-37; Ziemke, 160, 303, 321; Maginnis, 247-248, 271; Frank Howley, *Berlin Command* (Uncommon Valor Press, March 13, 2015), Kindle e-book. The first edition was by Putnam, 1950.

446 Stivers and Carter, 38; Zink, 253; Maginnis, 232, 234-235.

447 While not initially part of the Kommandatura, France joined once it was given a sector in Berlin. Zink, 253-254; Stivers and Carter, 16.

448 Zink, 127; Ziemke, 320.

449 Ziemke, 321.

450 These totals included personnel from the Third and Seventh G-5 staffs, G-5 Theater General board, Theater Support Forces European Theater, USFET Missions, Allied attachments, UNNR, and 108 civilians. *Civil Affairs and Military Government Organization and Operations*, 99-100.

451 Ziemke, 335, 405; Zink, 62-63.

452 Parrott, 85.

453 Truscott, Kindle e-book.

454 Zink, 42-43, 202.

455 Zink, 42-43.

456 Zink, 211.

457 Zink, 131-133, 168-169; Parrott, 76.

458 Zink, 43-44, 133; The German Country Unit (6 ECAD Unit) was officially "disbanded on 27 October 1944." *Civil Affairs and Military Government Organization and Operations*, 32, 36; Parrott, 76.

459 Ziemke, 175.

460 Zink, 43-44, 175.

461 Zink, 44-45, 401.

462 "The directive was issued originally in April 1945, and was intended to serve two purposes. It was to guide General Eisenhower in the military government of that portion of Germany occupied by United States forces. At the same time he was directed to urge the Control Council to adopt these policies for enforcement throughout Germany." *JCS 1067: Directive to Commander-in-Chief of United States Forces of Occupation Regarding the Military Government of Germany; April 1945*, United States Department of State Bulletin (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, October 17, 1945), accessed at the Yale Law School Lillian Goldman Law Library, The Avalon Project, at <http://avalon.law.yale.edu/wwii/ger02.asp>, 22 December 2016; Ziemke, 208.

463 The State Department found JCS 1067 unsatisfactory for three reasons: the War and Treasury departments were infringing on State Department policy functions; it placed too much authority in zone commanders, practically ignoring the Control Council; and it replicated the economic provisions of the Morgenthau Plan. Ziemke, 209, 211-214.

464 These continuities were most prevalent regarding punishment of the German people, Denazification, Nonfraternization, and harsh economic measures. JCS 1067; Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Force, *Handbook for Military Government in Germany*, December 1944.

465 JCS 1067, Introduction.

466 JCS 1067, Part 1, para. 4; *Handbook for Military Government in Germany*, CH III, para. 72.

467 Goldberg's *From Disarmament to Rearmament: The Reversal of US Policy toward West Germany, 1946-1955*, details this measured change of policy during the first ten years of the Cold War.

468 JCS 1067, Part 1, paras. 4, 6-7, 9, 11-12, 14; War Department Pamphlet 31-105, "Civil Affairs Guide: Elimination of Fundamental Nazi Political Laws in Germany" (War Department, 1 July 1944), 1-2, cited in Parrott, 51.

469 JCS 1067, Part 1, para 6.

470 Ziemke, 386, 428; *Military Government – Germany, U.S. Zone Law No. 8, Prohibition of Employment of Members of Nazi Party in Positions in Business Other than Ordinary Labor and for Other Purposes*, 26 September 1945, accessed from the website University of Wisconsin Library Digital Collections at <http://images.library.wisc.edu/History/EFacs/GerRecon/Denazi/reference/history.denazi.i0012.pdf>, 13 May 2016.

471 Zink, 131, 135-136.

472 JCS 1067, Part 1, para. 4.

473 JCS 1067, Part 1, paras. 4-5, Part II, paras. 16-18, 20.

474 Ziemke, 443.

475 Keith Lowe, *Savage Continent: Europe in the Aftermath of World War II* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2012), 7-8; Maginnis, 261, 344-345; Ziemke, 347.

476 While Lowe devotes a chapter to the devastation of Europe, most books devoted to World War II paint a similar picture. Lowe, Chapters 1, passim. The second half of the book recounts the large scale atrocities visited upon minorities in Eastern Europe and the Balkans years after the war. Part IV, passim.

477 Lowe, 13, 16-17.

478 Allied prisoners of war were used as forced laborers as well. Lowe, 27, 94, 96; Zink, 109-112; Ziemke, 194-196, 200.

479 Maginnis, 258-259, 322, 337; Ziemke, 307-308, 347; Zink, 249-250; Howley, Kindle e-book.

480 Ziemke, 194, 273-275; Maginnis, 285-286; Lucius D. Clay, *Decision in Germany* (New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc. First Edition, 1950), 263.

481 Clay, 264-266; Zink, 106, 123, 123 n.1; Ziemke, 284-285; Maginnis, 319, JCS 1067, Part I, para. 5.

482 Maginnis, 285-286, 304.

483 Clay, 265-266; Ziemke, 437.

484 Clay commented that the U.S. Zone kept 300,000 tons, providing 250,000 tons to the British and 15,000 tones to the French zones. Clay, 264-265.

485 Herbert Hoover had worked in the Wilson administration as the head of the American Relief Administration in Eastern Europe after World War I, providing food relief for famine stricken areas.

486 Clay, 266-267.

487 Crop harvests declined by 20 percent and the subsistence level dipped to 1,040 calories in April 1947 as a result. Clay 267-270.

488 Zink, 105.

489 Lowe, 97-100.

490 The breakdown was as follows: France: 592,254; Belgium and Luxembourg: 149,210; Denmark: 2,403; Norway: 2,911; Italy: 341,100; Estonia: 465; Latvia: 1,349; Lithuania: 238; U.S.S.R.: 1,042,421; Poland:

197,752; Czechoslovakia: 35,860; Hungary: 88,604; Rumania: 9,191; Bulgaria: 334; Yugoslavia: 65,869; Greece: 9,782; others and unclassified: 83,009. Zink, 106; *Military Government Organization and Operations*, 70; Hist Rpt, 1-31 May 45, SHAEF G-5, 17.04, SHAEF Mission, Fr in Coles and Weinberg, 858.

491 In total, Displaced Persons from 47 countries came under the care of the western Allies. *Military Government Organization and Operations*, 70; Ultimately, 1.2 million French refugees were processed through the centers. AAR of CA/MG in Overlord and Eclipse opns, 1944-45, sec. X, SHAEF files, G-5, Hq 12<sup>th</sup> AGp in Coles and Weinberg, 858; Directive From SHAEF to the AGp's, CG, ComZ, ETO and SHAEF Mission France, 17 Feb 45, SHAEF files, G-5/2701/4, DP Branch in Coles and Weinberg, 856.

492 Brig Gen. Cuthbert P. Stearns, G-5, ETOUSA, Rpt, Civil Affairs Activities of ETOUSA, 30 Jun 45 CAD files, 319.1, CA Sec. 5, 30 Jun 45 in Coles and Weinberg, 859.

493 Zink, 105; Ziemke, 200-202; Truscott, Kindle e-book.

494 Ziemke, 285.

495 Lowe, 102.

496 *Civil Affairs and Military Government Organization and Operations*, 66.

497 *Military Government Organization and Operations*, 67.

498 Clay, 16; Ziemke, 284-285; Zink, 122-123, 122 n.1, 122, n.2; In all, over 17 million displaced persons were in Germany. Lowe, 27, 230-247; Truscott, Kindle e-book.

499 Ziemke, 201.

500 Ziemke, 200-202, 239; Zink, 105; "50,000 combat and service troops were employed in the care, control and repatriation of DPs in 6 Army Group and 12 Army Group. This number rapidly diminished in late June 1945, as repatriations were accomplished." *Military Government Organization and Operations*, 70-71, 114, Appendix 4, 1-3, 6-7, 12-13, 15, 18.

501 *Military Government Organization and Operations*, 70-71; Zink, 108, 122; Ziemke, 318; Maginnis, 289.

502 *Military Government Organization and Operations*, 72-73, 114-115.

503 *Military Government Organization and Operations*, 74.

504 *Military Government Organization and Operations*, 71.

505 Zink, 106, 112; Truscott, Kindle e-book.

506 *Civil Affairs and Military Government Organization and Operations*, 66, 71; Zink, 106-108, 121; Lowe, 102; The majority of these displaced persons feared and hated the Russians more than they did the Germans. Thousands had fought for the Germans (e.g., Vlassov's Army), had welcomed the Germans as liberators (e.g., the Ukrainians), or had volunteered as laborers in Germany. Truscott, Kindle e-book.

507 Ziemke, 201-202; Zink, 106, 122.

508 Zink, 127; Ziemke, 270, 357-358; Maginnis, 319.

509 Zink, 121; Lowe, 97-98.

510 Ziemke, 356-357.

511 Ziemke, 356-357.

512 UNRRA headquarters was initially located in Frankfurt, Germany but moved to Munich in December 1945 in order to focus on the administration of Jewish displaced persons. Truscott, Kindle e-book.

513 Lowe, 104-106.

514 Lowe, 106-110; Truscott, Kindle e-book.

515 Zink, 106-108.

516 Clay, 15; Ziemke referenced a U.S. Military Governor statistic of 7.7 million, including "*Volksturm* and other paramilitary groups, camp followers, and prisoners returned from Norway, Italy, and camps in the United States and England," between May and July 1945. Ziemke, 291, 291, n. 60; The Soviets captured 3,155,000 soldiers fighting for the Third Reich. Lowe, 113; Truscott, Kindle e-book.

517 12<sup>th</sup> Army Group established four camps for 50,000 disarmed military personnel each, ordering the German soldiers to build their own barracks and amenities. Ziemke, 241; Lowe, 114-115; German prisoners of war in Italy were located in Brescia under guard of the 442d Regimental

Combat Team (the Nisei), and German general officers were in a special compound south of Florence. Truscott, Kindle e-book.

518 Ziemke, 292-293; Keith Lowe records that between 50,000 to 60,000 prisoners died during their captivity. Lowe, 114-116.

519 Ziemke, 292-293.

520 Ziemke, 293-294; In comparison, the British had released 80 percent by the fall of 1945. Lowe, 123.

521 Maginnis, 290.

522 Ziemke, 294-295.

523 Zink, 127; U.S. policy was to try German soldiers for war crimes, which explains the slower separation process. Lowe, 123.

524 Ziemke reported that “in late September, the International Red Cross reported that 200,000 of the prisoners already in French hands were so undernourished as to be unfit for labor and likely to die over the winter. Eisenhower immediately ordered that food, clothing, and medical supplies be provided for the most needy prisoners and stopped all transfers of prisoners to French custody until the French were able to maintain them in accordance with the Geneva Convention.” Ziemke, 294, 409.

525 Ziemke, 295-260.

526 Ziemke, 265-266; Pogue, Kindle e-book; Truscott, Kindle e-book.

527 Ziemke, 264.

528 Ziemke, 342.

529 Maginnis, 279, 285; Zink, 67, 70.

530 Zink, 70-71.

531 The *Bezirke* were apportioned as follows: Russia—8; Britain—4; America.—6; and France—2. Zink, 253-254; Colonel Wellington A. Samouce visited Berlin in early July 1945 in order to gain an understanding of the Kommandatura’s organization, policies, and administration for the occupation of Vienna. Samouce, 83-85.

532 Maginnis, 274, 279-280; Zink, 256-258.

533 Howley, Kindle e-book.

534 Maginnis, 269.

535 Both Howley and Clay note that the Russians considered all of Berlin as their domain, to have full reign over the city. When the Western Allies obstructed Russian efforts, they began waging a propaganda campaign, obstructing economic and political rehabilitation, and then attempting to push the Allies out of Berlin. Clay, 123, 133-134, 269, 363-392; Howley, Kindle e-book.

536 Howley, Kindle e-book, Samouce, 109-141.

537 Ziemke, 222, 224.

538 Clay, 65; Ziemke, 402.

539 Clay, 66; Zink, 56.

540 Zink, 46, 206.

541 Zink, 202-203, 205-206.

542 Clay, 343-357.

543 Ziemke, 141-153.

544 Ziemke, 149-153.

545 Ziemke, 145-147.

546 Ziemke, 191; SHAEF intelligence summaries stated the German civilians offered "little opposition" and were "'apathetic and supine.'" Pogue, Kindle e-book.

547 Ziemke, 186-187.

548 Ziemke, 186.

549 Zink, 133-135; Ziemke, 272.

550 Ziemke, 182.

551 Zink, 88-103.

- 552 Ziemke, 380-381; Clay, 68.
- 553 Ziemke, 381.
- 554 Zink, 137.
- 555 Ziemke, 381-382; Truscott, Kindle e-book.
- 556 Zink, 137-138.
- 557 Zink, 138; Zink, 140, 140 n.1.
- 558 Clay, 67.
- 559 Clay, 67-68.
- 560 Cited in Ziemke, 384.
- 561 Ziemke, 384; Patton became the Commanding General of Fifteenth Army. Truscott, Kindle e-book.
- 562 Truscott, Kindle e-book.
- 563 Zink, 138-139.
- 564 Zink, 141; Clay, 68-69; Truscott wrote that the reorganization occurred on 1 October 1945. Truscott, Kindle e-book.
- 565 Ziemke, 147.
- 566 Zink, 141-142; Clay, 69; Maginnis, 270.
- 567 Clay, 69; Zink observed that 80,000 suspected Nazis were interned by August 1945. Zink, 140, 140 n.1; Ziemke noted that the number of suspects was 82,000 by September 1945. Ziemke, 380.
- 568 Zink, 144-145.
- 569 Ziemke, 429.
- 570 Clay, 70; Zink, 143.
- 571 Ziemke, 430.
- 572 Ziemke, 439.
- 573 Zink, 143-144.

574 Ziemke, 440.

575 Zink, 143-144; Ziemke, 445-446.

576 Ziemke, 446.

577 Zink, 145.

578 Maginnis, 242, 250.

579 Ziemke, 142, 161.

580 Clay, 62.

581 Stivers and Carter, 4; Ziemke, 160; Zink, 238.

582 Zink, 238, 240-242.

583 Zink, 239-240; Maginnis, 283.

584 Zink, 165.

585 Zink, 182.

586 Zink, 185, 248-249, 249 n. 1; Stivers and Carter, 4-5; Ziemke, 421, 437; Clay, 62-64; Truscott observed that the breakdown in discipline and morale resulted in part because USFET had no program to inform soldiers of the reasons behind the slow redeployments and in part due to a *Stars and Stripes* inflammatory article. OMGUS improved morale by providing "educational and vocational training opportunities and increasing rest and recreational facilities" for soldiers. Truscott, Kindle e-book.

587 Zink, 155, 185, 248-249.

588 Clay, 282; Zink, 160-162.

589 Zink, 165-168; Ziemke, 346, 365; Clay, 72.

590 Clay cited in Ziemke, 435.

591 Maginnis, 321; Ziemke expresses Clay's thoughts on this subject as well. Ziemke, 447; Truscott described the Allied policy as "decentralization of the political structure and the development of local autonomy. Local self-government and responsibility was to be restored, but no central government was to be established for the time being." Truscott, Kindle e-book.

592 Zink, 69-70, 88, 173-175, 184.

593 Clay, 88; Ziemke, 365; Zink, 176-177.

594 Clay, 85-86, 95.

595 Clay, 87-88; Ziemke, 361-362.

596 Ziemke, 362-363, 365; Zink, 179-180.

597 Clay, 86-87; Ziemke, 366; Zink, 74; For example, Dr. William Hoegner became the Minister President of Bavaria. With the approval of OMGUS, he had selected all of his department government ministers by October 1945. By the end of 1945, the Bavarian Government assumed most of civil administration within occupation policies. Truscott, Kindle e-book.

598 Clay, 95, 97-99.

599 Clay, 88-89; Zink, 179, 179 n. 1, 182; According to Ziemke, "The January elections were for local councils in 10,429 communities with less than 20,000 people. Beforehand, the military government detachments checked the 4,750,000 names on the voting lists for Nazis (and disqualified 326,000) and reviewed the *Fragebogen* of all the candidates for the nearly 70,000 seats on the councils." Ziemke, 365, 427, 440; Maginnis observed that the communists only garnered three percent of the vote. Maginnis, 334.

600 Clay remarked that the constitutional assemblies had the Weimar Republic constitution for reference as well as similar state documents adopted between 1919 and 1923. Clay, 75-76, 89; Zink, 182, 182 n.1.

601 Clay, 89.

602 Clay, 90.

603 Ziemke, 440.

604 Ziemke, 144, 270; Zink, 109; Truscott stressed that the Nuremberg and Dachau tribunals were important because they established in the minds of Germans that rule of law and due process applied to everyone, regardless of obvious guilt. Truscott, Kindle e-book.

605 Ziemke, 270; 80 percent of German judges with a Nazi past were removed and German law was purged of the Nazi legal system. Zink, 109, 125.

606 Clay, 282; Ziemke, 175 253-254, 367, 373; Zink, 115, 160-162, 219.

607 Clay, 282; Zink, 148.

608 Clay, 282, 285; Ziemke, 368; Zink, 124, 124 n.1, 162 n.1; Truscott, Kindle e-book.

609 Clay, 283, 285-287; Zink, 219.

610 Clay, 285.

611 Clay, 288.

612 Clay 283-285.

613 Clay, 282-283; Zink, 124.

614 Clay, 282.

615 Zink, 44, 48, 133, 145; JCS 1067, Part 1, para. 14.

616 Zink, 151-153, 156-157.

617 Zink, 149-150.

618 Zink, 150-151; Ziemke, 359.

619 War Department Pamphlet 31-118, "Civil Affairs Guide: German Elementary Schools" (War Department, 22 July 1944), 16, cited by Parrott, 45; Zink, 154-155, 154 n. 1, 155 n.1; Clay, 300.

620 Zink, 156-157.

621 Clay noted that only half of the 40,000 teachers needed had been vetted and only half of the school facilities were available during the fall of 1945. Clay, 299; Parrot, 64-65; Zink, 153-154.

622 Ziemke, 358; Zink, 105.

623 Clay, 299-304; Zink, 156-157, 157 n. 1, 157 n. 2; Ziemke, 358; Parrott, 64; Ziemke, 358.

624 Zink, 163; Parrott, 67-68; Ziemke, 438-439.

625 Clay, 289-290; According to Zink, the Potsdam Agreement permitted the establishment of labor unions, leading to the establishment of 500 labor unions with 750,000 members by May 1946. Zink, 126, 126 n.3.

626 Clay, 290-291.

627 Clay, 292.

628 Clay, 294-296.

629 Ziemke 161-162; Zink, 189, 204.

630 Parrott, 46-48.

631 Parrott, 48-49, 48 n. 134.

632 Zink, 205.

633 Ziemke, 341-342.

634 Zink, 190-192, 194; Clay, 27-28, 163-165, 202, 263-268; Howley, Kindle e-book; Ziemke, 305, 434; The western Allies experienced the same problems with the Soviets in Vienna as well. Colonel Samouce was forewarned of Soviet behavior from his visit to Berlin in early July 1945. Samouce, 89-90, 109-141.

635 Ziemke, 284.

636 Clay, 186.

637 Clay, 188-192, 215, 224.

638 Clay, 200-201, Zink, 192.

639 Clay, 203-204, 206; Zink, 108.

640 Howley, Kindle e-book; Ziemke, 434; Clay recounted that under the Third Reich, the money in circulation rose from five billion RM to 70 billion RM, bank deposits rose from 30 billion RM to 150 billion RM, and the deficit rose from 12 billion RM to 400 billion RM. War damage and claims amounted to 300 RM. Clay, 208-209.

641 Maginnis, 288.

642 Zink, 108, 125.

643 Clay, 209-215.

644 Ziemke, 339-340; Zink, 127-128; Paul Contoveros, *United States Constabulary in Post-World War Two Germany: What Can Cowboys Tell Us About Stability Operations Today?* (Quantico, VA: Command and Staff College, 7 April 2011), 16.

645 The eventual size was actually 32,000 troops. Contoveros, 14-15; Ziemke, 341; Truscott, Kindle e-book.

646 Clay, 65; Contoveros, 14-16; Ziemke, 340-341; Truscott, Kindle e-book.

647 Ziemke, 341; Contoveros, 16-17.

648 Contoveros, 17-18.

649 Sonthofen was a former youth training center for Nazi administrators located in a large caserne. Contoveros, 17-18, 30; Ziemke, 341; For more background on the Constabulary, see the U.S. Constabulary Association homepage, <http://usconstabulary.com/>.

650 Contoveros, 18-19, 30-31.

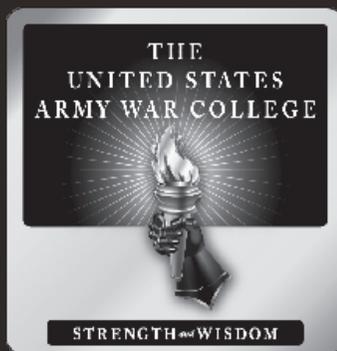
651 Ziemke, 423.

652 Military Government personnel approximated 12,000 in December 1945, which naturally declined due to demobilization. Clay, 65-66.

653 Contoveros, 19-20; Truscott, Kindle e-book.



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