

**RELATIONS BETWEEN  
ALLIED FORCES  
AND THE  
POPULATIONS OF  
GERMANY AND AUSTRIA**

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**Working Report**



Alle Menschen werden Brüder wo dein sanfter Flügel weilt.  
[All people become brothers under your tender wing.]

—Friedrich Schiller, *Lied an die Freude* [Ode to Joy] (1785)

“Is there any point to which you would wish to draw my attention?”

“Yes, to the curious incident of the dog in the night-time.”

“The dog did nothing in the night-time.”

“That was the curious incident,” remarked Sherlock Holmes.

—Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, *Silver Blaze* (1892)

There is a strong family resemblance about the misdeeds, and if you have all the details of a thousand at your finger ends, it is odd if you can't unravel the thousand and first.

—Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, *The Valley of Fear* (1915)



# **RELATIONS BETWEEN ALLIED FORCES AND THE POPULATION OF GERMANY**

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Version of 14 April 2009. Comments are welcome.

We hope that these notes will enable us to get in touch with German scholars; needless to say, this is an essential condition for the success of this project. Please, if you happen to know people who have a working interest in this kind of historiography do not hesitate to send them a copy of the present draft.

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# Chapter 1

## Introduction

On October 21, 1946 when three American Military Government buildings were damaged by bomb explosions, the article of the New York Times which reported this incident noted that it was “officially described as the first organized aggressive activity in the American zone”. The word “officially” is essential, for one has good reasons to think that earlier incidents were hushed up, e.g. the events on 24 July 1945 and 31 March 1946 (see the chronology chapter at these dates for more detail).

According to official American statistics for Bavaria, in July 1946 there were 431 incidents between US troops and Germans (Willoughby 2001). If this figure for Bavaria is extrapolated, one would expect of the order of 1,000-2,000 monthly incidents for the whole of Germany. It is of interest to note that this order of magnitude is in rough agreement with the corresponding figure in Japan (see “RELATIONS BETWEEN ALLIED OCCUPATION TROOPS AND THE POPULATION OF JAPAN” which parallels the present study).

Another US report (see the chronological chapter at the date of 23 February 1952) mentions 375 “serious crimes” per month in the US occupation zone.

Because we do not know the exact definition of what should be considered as a “serious crime” it is more useful to consider data for specific incidents such as for instance fatalities. A report of 30 August 1952 (see chronology chapter) says that 20 US soldiers were killed in one month. Taking into account the fact that at this time there were about 140,000 US troops in Germany, this figure gives a monthly rate of 1.4 soldiers killed per 10,000 troops. If one adds to this rate the death rate by “natural” causes (illness, accidents) which of the order of 1 per month and 10,000 troops one gets a rate of 2.4.

The names of the tribunals set up to try crimes against Allied troops or property differ depending on the occupation zone. In the American zone they were often called “Provost Courts”, whereas in the British zone they were called “Control Commission Summary Courts” or “Military Government Courts”. The archives of these trials would provide a fairly comprehensive picture of the level of confrontation and its evolution in the course of time.

More details will be given in a subsequent section.

From an economic perspective it should be mentioned that until 1957 the West German government paid all occupation costs including base construction (Baker 2004, p. 50)

## Economic perspective

### Making occupation profitable

As a general rule, military victories and occupations are intended to be profitable operations for the victorious countries. After the defeat of 1870, France lost Alsace and Lorraine, two prosperous provinces and had to pay Germany a war indemnity of 5 billion gold francs. Partial military occupation was to last until the huge indemnity was paid. One should therefore not be surprised to see the same spirit at work during the occupation of Japan. The means, however, were different. They included the following steps.

- In late 1944 Washington started a program to seize German technology (Gimbel 1990). It is well known that many German rocket scientists were encouraged to move to the United States<sup>1</sup>. In principle, the Hague Convention prohibits the seizure of enemy private property unless it is susceptible of direct military use. Needless to say, the terms “direct military use” can be interpreted in different ways. The program set up in 1944 was not restricted to fields or companies of direct military relevance. American companies were asked to provide target lists for the patent they would like to get for a broad range of techniques. For instance, General Electric asked for information on selenium rectifiers, polarized relays or thermocouples. Even the German cosmetic industry was targeted. The former chief chemist of Helena Rubenstein was sent to investigate the “secrets of the German cosmetic industry and to obtain formula for base waxes which American manufacturers imported from Germany before the war”. In other words, the objective was not limited to suppress the production of weapons, but probably for the first time in the history of modern warfare extended to the transfer of technological know-how.

By the end of 1945, some 2,000 targets had been exploited which covered electron microscopes, X-ray tubes, ceramics, power circuit-breakers, insecticides and many other applications. Documents were filmed, wind tunnels and other installations were moved to the United States (North China Daily News 2 April 1946 p. 3). Companies such as BMW or I.G. Farben were visited by hundreds American investigators. For instance, a textile machinery manufacturer in Bielefeld had to give up to the experts of a Western competitor the drawings for a special unpatented machine.

- In the bilateral arrangements which lead to West German sovereignty in 1955

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<sup>1</sup>According to Gimbel (1990) the number was around 350. Surprisingly, in spite of the fact that the main rocket installations were in the British zone of occupation, few of those rocket experts seem to have moved to the UK.



the Federal Republic explicitly renounced all claims to possible compensations for the transfert of scientific and technological know-how.

### **Allied Military currency**

For any army in the field it has always been a major problem to get procurement from local sources at the best available cost. Whatever could be obtained locally did not have to be shipped and for planners it was a major requiring to reduce shipments as far as possible. The products which had to be obtained locally comprised fresh food, coal, cement as well as other building material for the construction of warehouses, airports and other military facilities.

This problem was solved in two ways by US and British governments.

(1) In all major countries which were occupied by Allied troops whether liberated countries (such as France or Denmark) or ennemy countries (such as Germany or Japan) so-called Allied Military currencies (e.g. AM French franc, AM Danish krone, AM German mark, AM yen also called B-yen) were printed in the United States or Britain and distributed to troops before landing.

(2) In addition the governments of ennemy countries were ordered to deliver to the occupation authorities whatever amount of money they may require. In Germany this was made clear by the requirement of 20 September 1945 (see the chronology at this date for more detail); in Japan this requirement was issued on 4 September 1945. The wording was fairly similar in the two cases. In Germany: “The German authorities will supply free of cost such German currency as the Allies may require”. In Japan: “It is desired that your office [i.e. the Japanese government] place to the credit of the GHQ such sums as may be necessary for expenditures of the occupation forces.”

Liberated countries were also asked to contribute to the expenses of the Allied Forces under a procedure which was called “reverse Lend-Lease”. Through Lend-Lease agreements countries who had troops fighting on the side of the Allies (the Soviet Union, China, France, Poland and so on) were able to get free military equipment from the United States. In return through “Reverse Lend-Lease” they had to provide supplies for Allied troops in the field.

Some Allied Military banknotes are shown in Fig. 1.1-3 for Italy, France and Germany. Apart from these three countries Allied Military banknotes were also issued in Lybia by British authorities, in Denmark (denominations of 1-5-10-50-100 krone which were printed in England), in Norway (notes of 1-2-5-10-50-100 which were also printed in Britain), in Austria. Moreover AM marks were issued not only by Western Allies by also the Soviet Union.

The main purpose of issuing AM currencies was to transfer part of the military



**Fig.1.1** Allied Military lira.



**Fig.1.2** Allied Military franc. The label “EMIS EN FRANCE” means “Issued in France” which was untrue: AM francs were printed in the United States and issued under the control (but not the backing) of the US Treasury. A more correct label would have been “MIS EN CIRCULATION EN FRANCE”. As shown on the next figure, this was indeed the the wording which was used for AM marks.

The three words “Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité” which are printed around the tricolor flag are the national motto of France.

In fact these AM francs were not the first to be issued. After the Allied landing in Morocco (8 November 1942) French francs were issued by the “Banque d’Etat du Maroc” at the request of Allied authorities. Although not labelled as AM francs, they served the same purpose and were printed in the United States by the E.A. Wright Banknote Company of Philadelphia and by the American Banknote Company.

expenses to the various countries in which Allied troops entered. This was expressed with particular clarity by Senator Tydings during a Hearing of the US Senate Committee on Appropriations, Armed Services, Banking and Currency (17-18 June



**Fig.1.3 Allied Military mark.** “ALLIIERTE MILITÄRBEHÖRDE” means “Allied Military Authorities”; “IN UMLAUF GESETZT IN DEUTSCHLAND” MEANS “Put into circulation in Germany”. In small print one can read “SERIE 1944”.

1947):

Senator Tydings: “To make it crystal clear, by the medium of the Allied mark [AM mark] we were in a position to impose upon Germany the cost of keeping our Army over there. To come down to specific figures, if \$ 250 million of Allied marks have been put in circulation there is \$ 250 million which have been saved for the Treasury”.

### **Black market**

In a general way in occupied countries black market activities were triggered by the contrast between the shortage of goods (and especially food and coal) among the population and the affluence among US servicemen. More specifically, for black market activity to become a profitable and thriving business for US soldiers three conditions had to be fulfilled.

(1) **To have something to sell.** Whereas British and French troops had little to sell, American rations were plentiful. Post Exchange (PX) stores were overflowing with goods from the United States supplemented by Swiss watches, French wine and cognac and other valuable products.

(2) **Customers who are ready to buy.** Both in Germany and in Japan food scarcity was so severe that people in devastated cities were ready to buy at any price. There were also displaced persons with substantial amounts of cash. Berlin was perhaps the best place in that respect because of the presence of Soviet soldiers who were amply supplied with Allied Military marks.

(3) **To be able to covert black market profits into American dollars.** AM marks were not exchangeable against dollars except for servicemen who could do so in Army post offices. In the course of time, the Treasury tried to impose some

restrictions. As can be expected the Army opposed them which explains why there were always enough loopholes to give every serviceman the possibility to exchange their AM marks (or their B-yens) against dollars.

In short, ideal conditions existed for huge black market profits. Here are some examples given in Petrov (1967, p. 206).

- A 5-cent candy bar could be sold on the black market for \$ 5 (a profit rate of 10,000%)
- A pack of cigarettes bought at a US Army Post Exchange for 5 cents could be sold for at least 100 mark or \$ 10 which represents a profit rate of about 20,000%.
- A Mickey Mouse watch which cost \$ 2 at a PX store could be sold for \$ 160 (a profit rate of 8,000%)

It is likely that black market transactions already began in the first oversea occupation episodes. Indeed after the occupation of Iceland by US troops in June 1941. it became known that every month sizeable amounts of money were sent home by soldiers (see “Relations between Allied troops and the population of Iceland at the dates of 24 November 1941 and 13 January 1942). Broadly speaking, each serviceman sent home about \$ 6 per month. At that time the gross monthly pay of a private was about \$ 21 (it was subject to various deductions); it was raised to \$ 50 in June 1942 (NYT 18 June 1942 p. 5) but according to testimonies of soldiers found on the Internet it seems that this decision became effective only in 1943<sup>2</sup>.

Naturally, Iceland was *not* a good place for black market transactions for at least two reasons: (i) There was no food scarcity (ii) The Icelanders had a relatively small purchasing power. The occupation of more affluent countries such as Italy, France, Germany or Japan provided much better opportunities for black market.

In the summer of 1946 black market trade was in a sense legalized with the institution of so-called bartermarts by the American authorities. Well-to-do Germans who had stayed away from the blackmarket were disposed to part with their possessions (watches, jewelry, fine china and so on) in officially approved places where they could get much needed food wares for themselves and their children. Food scarcity was still severe in 1946-1947.

What was the overall result of such transactions? We did not find any global figures for the whole occupation. However, it is possible to get an order of magnitude of the total profit amount from the following estimate reported in the August 2, 1945 issue of the journal “Stars and Stripes” which was distributed to US servicemen: during July 1945 approximately \$ 4 millions has been sent home by the 33,000 American

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<sup>2</sup>In addition there was a combat pay of 30 cents a day, i.e. \$ 10 per month which puts the gross total pay in combat zone at \$ 60 per month .

<http://www.rinfret.com/ww2pay.html> (biography of Pierre Andre Rinfret)

troops stationed in Berlin. This represents about \$ 1,500 per year and serviceman<sup>3</sup>. As a matter of comparison the average annual earnings of full-time employees in manufacturing was in 1948 about \$ 3,000 (Historical Statistics of the United States p. 166)

If this rate is accepted for the whole US occupation force over the period May 1945-Dec 1949 we get a total amount of:

$$200000 \times 4.5 \times 1500 = 0.2 \times 4.5 \times 1.5 \times 10^9 = 1.3 \cdot 10^9$$

If the same amount is assumed for Japan, one gets a total of \$ 2.6 billion. Compared with the US Federal budget which was in 1948 about \$ 45 billion the previous amount represents only 6%. Thus, in spite of the enormous profit rates, the total amount remained small from a macro-economic perspective. This comes of course of the fact that the occupation force represented only a small fraction of the American population.

## Methodology of this study

This is not an isolated study. It belongs to a set of parallel investigations of various occupation episodes. In this part we wish to describe the methodological framework of this set of comparative studies.

In the first section we explain the rationale of the chronological method of exposition that we have chosen. The second section discusses the reasons for providing a comparative perspective. In the third section we emphasize that this study could not have been carried out, at least not in this form, before the advent of the Internet.

### **Making historiography into a cumulative body of knowledge**

The part devoted to the chronological listing of events represents some 80% of the content of this book. As this is a fairly uncommon feature for an historical account, a few words are in order to explain why, in our opinion, chronologies should be seen as a key element in historiography.

The chronology part and the chapter on quantitative evidence are the core of this report because they contain the information that comes from the sources and documents found in various archives and in primary sources such as newspapers. The other chapters contain comments on the events mentioned in the chronology. The main drawback of these comments is their subjective nature. Indeed they concern issues which at the time of writing were considered “important” but thirty years earlier or later another historian would probably focus on different points. On the contrary,

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<sup>3</sup>On one hand, as we said, Berlin was a most favorable place but on the other hand in July 1945 was the very beginning of the occupation and it is likely that the techniques for making money in the black market were not yet fully developed.

the chronology part can be seen as an objective list of events in the sense that it is largely (if not completely) independent of the personal interests of the historian. It becomes even more “objective” when it is a collective production of many historians (see below).

Why is the distinction between subjective and objective historical accounts essential?

One of the most basic features of a science is the fact that it is (and must be) a process of accumulation. From Bernard de Chartres to Descartes to Newton, this has been widely recognized:

“We are like dwarfs perched on the shoulders of giants” said Bernard de Chartres in 1124. “If I have seen further, it is by standing on the shoulders of giants” wrote Newton in a famous letter to Robert Hooke (1676).

In Britain the phrase “Standing on the Shoulders of Giants” was even included on the edge of a 2 pound coin issued in 1997.

For subjective comments one can hardly speak of a cumulative process. One set of comments that is found quite interesting at a given moment will be found outdated thirty years later and replaced by another set which will of course experience the same fate a few decades later<sup>4</sup>. On the contrary, chronologies present facts (not opinions) which will have lasting interest for historians<sup>5</sup>.

Moreover, it is easy to add complementary information to such files. Suppose, for instance, that in 2020 an historian discovers a record (not found or not accessible earlier) that describes a series of events. Thanks to the chronology structure it will be easy to check whether these events are already known or whether they are really “new”. In the later case they will be incorporated at the appropriate dates. In this way, the chronology will grow year by year, always remaining the ultimate source of reference. In the future<sup>6</sup>, it may even be possible to make the *primary documents* available to readers. This will allow them to judge the degree of reliability of the events which are mentioned, a feature of crucial importance.

It can be noted that the methodology of such multi-layered chronologies has been proposed in Roehner (2002, p. 370-373) where the construction of very large chron-

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<sup>4</sup>This could appear as a fairly cavalier judgment. Unfortunately, it seems to apply even to the work of historians who adopted a comparative perspective. Consider for instance the work of the renowned British historian Arnold Toynbee. Under the title “A study of history” he published a 12-volume study of the rise and fall of civilizations. Naturally, we are not going to argue that forty years after its publication the work is no longer useful. For one thing, it shows how such a synthesis can be done and sets a model for similar attempts; in that respect it is certainly a stimulating answer to the specialising tendency of modern historical research. However, precisely because of its originality and specificity, it would be difficult to link up this work with subsequent studies. Thus, it does not seem to be a step in a cumulative process. Naturally, such monumental studies have also another potential usefulness. Once digitized and made searchable by key-words, they will become valuable pool of facts and references of primary sources.

<sup>5</sup>The same observation holds for evidence which takes the form of quantitative data.

<sup>6</sup>Thanks to the possibilities of the hypertext format and to the fact that more and more archive resources will be digitized and made available online.

icles (VLCs) was advocated. Such VLCs should be seen as huge computerized chronologies resulting from a process of collective production (somehow like the Wikipedia encyclopedia), which would represent the ultimate reference for the history of a country.

### **Why it is crucial to adopt a comparative perspective**

In medical research there are basically three successive phases.

(1) First there is the need to describe and categorize the various illnesses. Clearly this phase is of crucial importance. If one cannot make a clear distinction between an attack of bronchitis and lung cancer, any cure will be hazardous.

(2) Then one has to identify the mechanisms (bacteria, virus, mutation and so on) which are responsible for the disorder.

(3) The last step is to find a cure.

One faces the same kind of challenges for social events. Suppose for instance that one has a detailed account of 10 different riots. The first question is to see if they follow a common pattern. If they do not, a closer examination may perhaps show that there are in fact two different patterns; this opens the way to a classification of riots. As in medicine the second step is to find the mechanisms which are the root of the different types of riots. Once these mechanisms are well understood, it may become possible to forecast riots and, consequently, to prevent them.

In short, for an isolated event the only thing one can do is to describe it. In order for a phenomenon to be studied scientifically, one needs many observations. This has been well understood by many sociologists and historians. Emile Durkheim, Vilfredo Pareto, Marc Bloch, Ernest Labrousse, Fernand Braudel and many others developed various forms of comparative analysis. Basically, the broader the phenomenon <sup>7</sup> the more cases one needs in order to study it in a meaningful way. For instance, economic growth depends upon a staggering number of parameters which explains why it is so difficult to come up with well-defined conclusions. On the contrary, for a sharply defined phenomenon, one can expect to draw clear-cut results even from a relatively small sample of less than 10 observations.

For all these reasons, the present study is not isolated but is part of a set of studies which centers around the phenomenon of military occupation. There have been various occupation episodes during and after World War II; several of them are examined in the various studies which compose this project. All these studies follow the same format and focus on the same variables.

They turned out to be more time consuming than was realized when this project was started because we had to pierce the smoke screen of military censorship. As a matter of fact, comparative analysis was instrumental in suggesting which accounts are

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<sup>7</sup>By which we mean that one needs more parameters to define it.

most affected by censorship. For instance, if one sees a substantial number of incidents in cases *A*, *B*, *C* and none in a case *D* which is similar in other respects, then it can be suspected that censorship was stricter in this last case. Naturally, the obstacle of censorship can be overcome only if access to previously restricted sources has been made possible. Although many important files still remain closed <sup>8</sup> those which are accessible give us at least a partial view<sup>9</sup>.

### **The crucial role of the Internet Revolution**

The Internet is not just one additional tool. For the social sciences it truly represents a Revolution. This word is justified by the fact that many investigations which were strictly impossible before the Internet have now become possible. The role of the Internet in the present study can be illustrated by three examples.

- All the studies in the present project are based on the analysis of *microsocial events*. Such events can only be found in databases of newspapers or news agencies. Selecting these events from a set of many thousands articles would have been a daunting and almost impossible task before these databases had been computerized and made searchable by keywords. For the present studies, the databases of the articles of the New York Times and of the Times have been searched extensively and this information has provided a first insight behind the curtain drawn by military censorship<sup>10</sup>.

- The advent of the Internet has completely changed the way we work in archives. Nowadays, the catalogs of many national archives have been computerized <sup>11</sup> and it has become possible to search them by key-words as well as by other characteristics such as “record group” or “file creator”. Once the item in which one is interested has been located it is possible to get photocopies (or files of scanned images) from the archives. It is in this way that we have been able to work with archives located in various countries: Australia, Britain, Germany, Japan, New Zealand, United States.

- Finally, many documents once available in only a few libraries are now directly accessible on the Internet. This observation also extends to personal testimonies which had never been available in libraries and can now be read on the websites set up by veterans or their descendants.

In the following pages we briefly examine some key points in order to provide a general perspective for the events mentioned in the chronology chapter.

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<sup>8</sup>or cannot be located, often just a different way to say that they are closed.

<sup>9</sup>It is also for this reason that we concentrate on post-World War II episodes for in this case archive sources are much more numerous than for episodes that occurred in earlier decades or centuries.

<sup>10</sup>Of course, during war time major newspapers are also subject to censorship (sometimes in the form of auto-censorship); in such cases one must find alternative sources of information.

<sup>11</sup>At the time of writing (2008) this process is still in progress. For the archives which are the most advanced in this respect, about 50% of the entries have been included in the electronic catalog.



## Chapter 2

### Incidents

For the comparative historian, the fact that there were indeed confrontation episodes between Germans and occupation forces does not come as a surprise; it is rather the lack of any such episode which would be puzzling. As a matter of fact, there were numerous causes of friction and contention; one can mention the following.

- Historically, the coexistence of military occupation forces with populations of defeated countries was always a tricky and antagonistic affair. This assertion can be illustrated by many historical cases from the occupation of Palestine by the Roman army, to the occupations of European countries which came about in the wake of Napoleon's wars, to the occupation of the Philippines following the Spanish-American war, etc.

- During the first years of the occupation, German people faced considerable hardships including scarcity of food, heating, housing and money. These living conditions were in glaring contrast with the level of comfort and wealth enjoyed by occupation forces.

- The dismantling (or sometimes destruction) of plants planned in the reparation program was an important source of conflict, particularly in 1949 and 1950.

- The trials of former political and military officials was seen as a threat and humiliation especially by right-wing followers. At the end of 1945 the internment numbers of suspected Nazis were as follows: American zone: 100,000, British zone: 64,000, Soviet zone: 67,000, French zone: 19,000 (Willoughby 2001). By the end of June 1948, about 887,000 people had been tried before the German de-nazification tribunals, the so-called "Spruchkammern"

(<http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/report/>).

Several Spruchkammern were bombed (see below).

- To German women, American soldiers appeared pretty attractive, if only because their income was between five to ten times higher than the income of an average German or Austrian. As this competitive advantage appeared unfair to many, it gave rise to an anti-fraternization movement (see Biddiscombe 2001) which brought about the murder of several military, sometimes together with their lovers (see below).

As these considerations apply to occupied Japan as well as to Germany, one would expect a similar level of confrontation in the two countries. In order to facilitate the comparison, a parallel study was devoted to Japan.

## Traffic accidents

In her study about the presence of American forces in Wiesbaden Anni Baker observes that in the early 1950s Wiesbaden had a accident rate of 7.5 per 10,000 registered vehicles, a rate which is greater than the highest rate reported in the United States, namely the one for Birmingham, Alabama where it was 5.9 per 10,000 registered vehicles. A better comparison (unfortunately not given by the author) would be between accidents rates of military versus civilian vehicles.

## Trials

In this section we leave aside the trials of former Nazi officials which took place during the denazification process.

It is not yet clear to what extent the records of these trials are available in archives. Our inquiries at the “Bundesarchiv” in Koblenz suggest that the archivists are completely unaware of the existence of such a source. In contrast, the electronic catalog of the American National Archives (NARA at College Park near Washington DC) contains many files about such trials.

### **Organization of the military tribunals**

As already mentioned, the only source which would provide a fairly comprehensive coverage is the complete set of records of the trials held by:

- Allied courts martial, in relation with acts committed by Allied military against Germans
- Military courts which tried German people for offenses against occupation forces.

To our best knowledge the records of these courts are not yet accessible to historians in a systematic way. However, for the military courts which tried Germans we have some knowledge about their organization and the number of the trials. Traditionally, two kinds of courts were set up in countries under American military occupation (i) provost courts try small offenses with sentences up to 5 (sometimes 10) years of hard labor; (ii) military commission try more serious crimes and their sentences include the death penalty. Such courts are set up whether or not the courts of the occupied country are still in function. In occupied Japan, a Japanese government was allowed to function and Japanese courts continued to operate albeit under the supervision of occupation forces. The same system was used in the American zone

during the Rhineland occupation after World War I; at that time these tribunals tried approximately 9,600 cases (Nobleman 1950).

On the contrary, after World War II the German government was replaced by a military government and German courts were discontinued. Therefore all crimes, even those which involved only Germans had to be tried by courts set up by the Allies. In the American zone of occupation, provost courts and military commissions were reorganized in September 1944 and they were given different names. Provost courts were replaced by summary courts (prison sentences up to one year) and intermediate courts (prison sentences up to 10 years); military commissions were replaced by general courts (any sentence including the death penalty). A second reorganization occurred in the summer of 1948 under which the military government courts were converted into more civilian courts.

Regarding the number of trials involving German defendants, Nobleman (1950) gives the following indications: (i) Between September 1944 (that is to say the time when Allied forces entered Germany) and July 1945, 343 US military courts tried in excess of 15,000 cases. This represents a rate of some 1,400 trials per month. (ii) Between August 1945 and August 1948, US military courts tried about 385,000 cases. This represents a rate of some 10,000 trials per month. (iii) Between September 1948 and 1955, US military courts tried about 200,000 cases. This represents a rate of some 3,000 trials per month. Elie Nobleman (1950 b, p. 126) points out that one of the most troublesome problems encountered by these courts was the fact that totally different sentences could be imposed for identical offenses; for instance, it was quite frequent to find one court in a case involving unlawful possession of firearms imposing a 7-year term, whereas another, in a case involving identical facts, would impose a term of 9 months. During 1945 and 1946, at least 11,000 Germans received sentences of more than 2 years imprisonment (Nobleman 1950 b, p. 134).

TABLE -¿ VUE COMPARATIVE DES DIVERS TRIBUNAUX

**Table 2.1 Military and civilian tribunals in areas under US military rule: a comparative view**

Persons tried	Military or civilian court	Type and sentences	Type and sentences	Historical cases
Military personnel	Court-martial courts	General court-martial <i>Any sentence including death</i>	Special court-martial <i>Up to 1 year</i>	(1), (2a), (2b), (3)
Local civilians	Military courts	Military commission <i>Any sentence including death</i>	Provost court <i>Up to 5 year</i>	(1), (4)
		General court <i>Any sentence including death</i>	Intermediate court <i>Up to 10 year</i>	(2a), (2b)
Local civilians (*)	Local civilian courts	<i>Overseen by</i>	<i>occupation forces</i>	(1), (2b), (3)

## Notes:

- The case numbers in the last column have the following meaning: 1: Hawaii, 1942–1944; 2a: Western Germany, 1944–1946; 2b: Western Germany, 1947–1948; 3: Japan, 1945–April 1952.
- (\*) Cases which involved offenses against occupation personnel were outside the competence of these courts. Toward the end of the occupation this rule was progressively relaxed especially for small offenses.
- The main difference between the cases of Germany and Japan is that whereas all German courts were suppressed, Japanese courts continued to function under the control of occupation authorities. This control meant that any trial could be interrupted and transferred to a military tribunal; moreover, judges could be dismissed and sentences were subject to review by occupation authorities. This was the situation in 1945–1946.
- In subsequent years the role of civilian courts was progressively extended especially when decisions and sentences were in accordance with the expectations of the occupation authorities.
- For the sake of clarity the table does not mention summary court-martial courts whose sentences were up to 2 months in confinement. There were also similar “Summary courts” in Germany for the trial of small offenses committed by German people.
- The role of military courts in Germany did not end in 1948, but in July 1948 there was a reorganization which included a change in the names of the courts. This period was omitted in the table for the sake of simplicity.

To our best knowledge, neither the records of courts martial or of Military Government courts are accessible. For historians this is unfortunate, because these archives would be a fairly thorough and systematic source of information. This also means that one has to rely on other sources such as newspapers or intelligence records (when available). As newspapers were subject to censorship (see section III) these

**Table 2.2 Trials by US military courts (General and Intermediate) in Germany 1944-1948**

Time interval	Length (month)	Number of trials	Percent of total	Number of trials per month	Conviction rate	Number of persons convicted per month
Jul 1944 – Sep 1945	15	5,000	33.0%	330	85%	283
Oct 1945 – Dec 1945	3	910	3.6%	303	63%	191
Jan 1946 – Dec 1946	12	6,629	4.2%	552	85%	469
Jan 1947 – Dec 1947	12	8,625	6.7%	719	85%	610
Jan 1948 – Sep 1948	9	6,043	18.0%	671	80%	537
<b>Total or average</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>27,207</b>				<b>418</b>

Notes:

- There were 3 kinds of military tribunals: (i) General courts (sentences over 10 years, including death) (ii) Intermediate courts (sentences between 1 and 10 years) (iii) Summary courts (sentences of less than one year). The correspondance with the terminology used in other occupation episodes is as follows: General courts correspond to Military Commission courts; Summary courts approximately correspond to provost courts.

- In a general way in any country there are always more small offences than serious crimes. This is why the number of General and Intermediate trials represented in all time intervals less than 35% of total numbers which include Summary trials. However the percentage changed markedly in the course of time. In the first period which includes 10 month of war, little time was wasted to try small offences, as a result Summary trials represent less than 70%; in the last period a substantial number of small offences were tried by German tribunals which explains that the percentage of Summary trials deceased.

- For the whole 4-year period and all 400,000 trials (including Summary trials, Nobleman gives a conviction rate of 85%; this is the percentage given in the table for those time intervals for which no specific information is available.

- As we do not know the average number of defendants per trial we made the simplest possible assumption namely that there was only one defendant per trial. As a result, the figures in the last column should be considered as lower bounds.

Source: Nobleman (1950, p. 137-145)

sources can afford only an incomplete picture. This is why the events listed in section II should be seen as a sample rather than a real chronology. Additions will be made to this list every time new sources become available. Naturally, the archives of the 600,000 trials of German people held before US military courts would be a more systematic and reliable source of information than anything else.

### **Tribunals in Iraq during the US occupation**

Table 2.1 gives a comparative view of the courts in areas under US military occupation. This naturally leads us to the question of what kind of courts were used during the occupation of Iraq which began in April 2003.

Quite surprisingly it was a very different organization which was set up by the American authorities. In July 2003 the Coalition Provisional Authority established the “Central Criminal Court of Iraq” to hear cases involving serious criminal offenses,

including acts of sabotage and terrorism or sectarian violence. This court was re-organized by Order Number 13 signed by Paul Bremer, the Administrator of the Coalition Authority, on 22 April 2004. This court consists of Iraqi judges. Between this date and 30 June 2007 it has held 2,255 trials which have resulted in the conviction of 2,003 individuals with sentences ranging from imprisonment to death (Multi-National Force-Iraq, Combined Press Information Center 2 July 2007). Such trials were conducted at a rate of about 800 per year. Regarding the sentences, one can make the following estimates which are based on a sample of 167 convictions<sup>12</sup>:

- Death sentences represent 8% of the convictions.
- Life imprisonment sentences represent 11% of the convictions.

If these percentages are extended to the whole period one gets a total of 160 death sentences and 220 life imprisonment sentences. It should be noted that this period does not include the one-year interval from April 2003 to April 2004.

During the occupation of Japan the Japanese courts had little (if any) independence with respect to occupation authorities. Japanese judges could be dismissed, at any moment trials could be interrupted and transferred to an Allied military court, sentences were subject to possible review by occupation authorities. A natural question therefore concerns the degree of dependence (or independence) of the CCCI. The following observations shed some light on this question.

- Until the assumption of function of an Iraqi government the judges of the CCCI were appointed by Administrator Paul Bremer.

- The court was established in a area connected to the heavily fortified “Green zone” which also housed the US Embassy and many governmental institutions. In a general way the court had to entrust its security arrangements to the occupation authorities.

- Yet, in some cases the Iraqi judicial authorities took decisions which were not in line with what was expected by US forces. A case in point was the decision to set free Bilal Hussein, an Associated Press photojournalist. Bilal was arrested by US Marines in Ramadi (about 100 km west of Baghdad) on 12 April 2006. Never brought to trial and never officially charged, he was nevertheless imprisoned for two years at the US military detention center of Camp Cropper near the Baghdad airport. In early 2008 arrangements were made for his trial by a court to which the US military had assigned a team of 5 prosecutors headed by a Judge Advocate General Captain<sup>13</sup>. Then, in early April 2008, Hussein was granted an amnesty by an Iraqi

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<sup>12</sup>Multi-National Force-Iraq, Combined Press Information Center 5 April 2006, 5 April 2006, 5 June 2007, 28 October 2008.

<sup>13</sup>According to an article published on the Harpers website by Scott Horton (23 December 2007) one of the members of this team declared: “We recognize, of course that the US has no authority to prosecute a case in an Iraqi court. That is one of the reasons that a gag order [which the Iraqi judge accepted to issue] was essential.”

judicial committee. At first the decision was dismissed by US military authorities: “Iraq’s amnesty law does not apply to people in US military custody” declared a US military spokesman. Yet, on 16 April 2008 Hussein was nevertheless released.

This was not an isolated case. In fact, US military officials had refused to honor hundreds of decisions by the CCCI to release detainees in US military custody (Human Rights Watch, *Failings of Iraq’s Central Criminal Court* 2008). In the present case Hussein’s release should probably be attributed to the mobilization of the media in his favor.

In April 2008 there were 23,000 Iraqi detainees in US military custody (mostly at Camp Cropper)<sup>14</sup>. Up to early 2009 only a small number (less than 10%) of them had been referred to the CCCI for prosecution. The other detainees were in a kind of legal vacuum fairly similar to the situation of those being held without trial at Guantanamo.

This comparison shows that the decision to renounce to the system of the military courts which was used in post-World War II occupations lead to many problems, the most serious being the fact of holding people in custody indefinitely without having them tried. In this respect, one may wonder why only one Iraqi Criminal court was established. In May 2008 there were plans to establish similar courts in Mosul, Tikrit and Kirkuk; it is unclear why this was not done earlier.

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<sup>14</sup>In October 2008 their number was reduced to 18,000

## Chapter 3

### Censorship

On 31 May 1946 a British Army captain was killed by automatic gun fire in an operation against one of the German groups which roamed the British zone. While this information can be found in the “North China Daily News”, it cannot be found in the Times or in the New York Times. This example suggests that in addition to the censorship which is known to have existed in Germany itself, there was also a kind of self-censorship in western medias.

In the spring of 1946 there were numerous attacks on trains in the British zone of occupation that were carried out by German people who tried to get some additional food or coal. Pointing in the same direction as the previous observation, is the fact that there many articles about such attacks in the “North China Daily News” or in the “Shanghai Herald” but only one or two very sketchy articles in the London Times.

In 1946 and in subsequent years a number of German industrial plants and buildings were dynamited and/or dismantled. In spite of the fact that local populations were well aware of such operations (in many cases they staged protest demonstrations) they are hardly ever mentioned in the newspapers of Allied countries. As illustrations one can mention the cases (cited in Gollancz 1947, p. 22) of the Rheinmetal Börsig works, the Schiess-Defries machine-tool plants, the Blohm and Voss installations in Hamburg<sup>15</sup>. According to Gollacz (1947. p. 21) by late August 1947 about 70,000 tons of material had been removed by the Disarmament Team and 20,000 tons remained to be removed until the deadline of June 1948.

The fact that Allied newspapers do not mention the reparation question (except in general terms) is not specific to Germany; it can also be observed during the occupation of Japan.

What was the situation in the news media in Germany after the end of the war? In May 1945 the four Allied Powers prohibited all means of public communication and information “except as directed or otherwise authorized.” Radio, newspapers, magazines, movie house, theaters, even circuses, were shut down until licensed by Military Government. In July 1945, the Allies began licensing newspapers and other means

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<sup>15</sup>The dynamiting of the Bloss and Voss shipyard of the port of Hamburg is mentioned indirectly in an article which states that there will be no further dynamiting in the port of Hamburg (see the chronology at the date of 17 June 1947)



of communication in their individual occupation zones. This was the beginning of the so-called “Lizenzzeitungen”. Because of the division into 8 different zones (4 for Germany and as many for Berlin) the licensing system created by the Allied forces favored local or regional papers. In late June 1945 the “Aachener Nachrichten”, received a license and the PWD (Psychological Warfare Division) authorized limited licensing of other newspapers. These papers were to be subject to prepublication censorship and their tone and content would be the same as those of the official papers, the rationale being that the Germans would be more willing to accept ideas from other Germans, especially the concept of collective guilt to which their resistance increased as more crimes were revealed. The licensing system remained in effect until mid-1949 (see January 24, May 23, May 29, 1949). In June 1945, in Bad Nauheim, two ICD (Information Control Division) lieutenants, four enlisted men and a half dozen civilians from the Office of War Information started the German News Service, DANA. After the Allied Press Service closed in September 1945, DANA became the exclusive source of world and national news for the licensed press in the U.S. zone.

In the summer of 1946 the “Münchener Zeitung” printed a story stating that the editor had received letters complaining of the conditions of evacuees from the Sudeten district; as a result it was punished by the Military Government by being reduced to 4 pages (instead of 8) for one month (Friedrich 1948).

What was the policy with respect to books? Regarding a number of books published during the Nazi era, in order to avoid the stigma of Nazi-style book-burning, the ICD followed a more discrete policy: it arranged to have sample copies deposited in research libraries in the United States and pulped the rest. As far as new books were concerned, authors had to submit their manuscript to the ICD to get clearance. (Ziemke 1990, p. 379, <http://www.newseum.org/berlinwall/essay.htm>).

Excerpt of a letter written in June 1946 by Robert McClure, Chief of the Information Control Division (ICD), to a friend.

“We now control 37 newspapers, 6 radio stations, 314 theatres, 642 movies, 101 magazines, 237 book publishers, 7,384 book dealers and printers. [We] publish one newspaper with 1,500,000 circulation, 3 magazines, and operate 20 library centers”. (Paddock 1999, cited in Arita 2006, p. 61)

In an article comparing information control during the occupation of Germany and Iraq, Cora Goldstein (2008) observes that if censorship was first directed against pro-Nazi and nationalistic publications, it was redirected against leftist and pro-Communist publications from 1946 on. She notes that:

- The “*Neue Zeitung* became a mouthpiece of OMGUS to counteract Soviet propaganda”.

- *Der Ruf*, a popular and cultural journal was shut down because it was considered pro-Communist even though the Soviet occupation authorities had denounced the publication.
- In August 1947, Emil Carlebach, a Communist who had survived Buchenwald and been given a licence to publish the *Frankfurter Rundschau* was fired.

Regarding the destruction of books and films of a “militaristic nature” see the chronology at the date of 27 May 1946.

## Chapter 4

# Chronology, Germany, 1945-1958

The chronology in the next section focuses on the following kinds of events.

- (1) Allied fatalities, including by accidents
- (2) Clashes between Allied troops and population
- (3) Protests against occupation in the form of meetings, demonstrations, strikes.

We list protests against the German government in so far as they can be seen as being indirectly aimed at Allied Headquarters decisions.

(4) Occasionally, we also include observations which are not really incidents but may give the reader a better understanding of the social climate in this time.

The list of events that we present below is by no means exhaustive. Moreover, even for those events which are listed the description is often sketchy. For instance, according to the New York Times the huge raid of July 24 which involved 500,000 soldiers in the American zone and lead to 80,000 arrests resulted in one fatality; apparently nobody was injured which is quite surprising for an operation of such a magnitude.

### Fatality numbers

Symbols such as ● (13,9,2,23) signal incidents marked by fatalities. The four figures total the fatalities since the beginning of the occupation for 4 different categories:

(13: American troops, 9: British troops, 2: French troops, 23: German or Austrian civilians)

Whereas for troops all fatalities (whether by accidents or any other cause) are taken into account, for civilians we count only the fatalities which came about as a direct consequence of the occupation, e.g. through traffic accidents due to military vehicles, civilians shot by sentries as well as other causes but excluding executions of war criminals. Because the incidents which are mentioned in the chronology are merely a sample (restricted to those cases which came to the attention of news agencies or newspaper correspondents) it is highly likely that these totals grossly underestimate real fatality numbers. Unfortunately, only fairly partial information is available. Thus, on 30 August 1952 a statement of the American forces in Germany (see the chronology below) spoke of a monthly toll of 20 US soldiers killed; however, we

do not know for how long such a rate was observed. An article published in the New York Times on July 25, 1956 states that the data on crimes committed by US troops were suppressed by headquarters (see the chronology chapter at the date of July 25, 1956).

## 1945

**May 11, 1945:** Freedom of press curbed in Europe. SHAEF and Russians keep iron censorship in occupied and liberated areas (NYT p. 4).

**Jun 1945:** ●(1,0,0,0) In early June an American soldier was shot in Amsberg (Thuringian Forest). The entire town was sealed off and raided by U.S. forces (Bid-discombe 1998).

**Jun 5, 1945:** ●(6,0,0,10) Five Americans were killed when two mysterious explosions wrecked a US Military Government headquarter in Bremen. The explosions were possibly caused by delayed action bombs. The first blast occurred around 11 am and the second a minute of two later. In addition to the 5 Americans, at least 10 Germans were buried under the debris of the four-story building in downtown Bremen. Four Americans were hospitalized with serious injuries. Among the killed were a Marine Captain attached to counter-intelligence. An American public safety officer, Major E. Russel Kennedy, estimated that at least 500 persons had been in the building including 23 counter intelligence officers and 4 members of the Military Government. (NYT p. 1, 5)

[This was the most serious of the attacks against occupation forces on record.]

**Jun 18, 1945:** ●(7,0,0,10) The body of an enlisted man of the Fourth Armored Division was found in the Danube River near the town of Abbach, just south of Regensburg. He had a wire wrapped around the neck and medical examination showed that he had been dead for 4 days. (NYT p. 5)

**Jun 30, 1945:** ●(8,0,0,13) A triple hanging of German civilians at dawn avenged an unidentified US Army flier who parachuted into Germany. They were convicted by a military commission. It was the first war crime case tried on German soil since the capitulation of Germany. Peter Back who was crippled by infantile paralysis had to be assisted by military police in mounting the 13 steps to the gallows. The execution was not public. Seven American lieutenant-colonels and one British officer attended as official witnesses. (NYT p. 1)

**Jul 9, 1945:** An American soldier guard opened fire with a machine gun on tents where German prisoners of war were sleeping in Utah, killing 8 and wounding 20

(NYT p. 1).

**Jul 24, 1945:** Four Germans are to be tried for a railway crash that killed 103 persons (NYT p. 3).

**Jul 24, 1945:** ●(8,0,0,14) Huge US raid nets 80,000 in Germany. The United States Army has executed its first mass crackdown, (code named “Tallyhoo”) on the Germans. 500,000 soldiers searched every house in the American zone. Hidden arms were seized and 80,000 Germans arrested. A few shots were fired when people neglected to halt for the guards, but only one death has been reported so far. Sample results for the city of Frankfurt on the Main are as follows: 713 persons were brought before the 13 military government summary courts specially set up for the occasion; 275 were released; 95 received prison sentences up to a year, the maximum these courts are empowered to impose; 49 were remanded to higher courts for possible heavier sentences; 95 fines totaling \$750 were imposed [199 people are not accounted for in this enumeration]. (NYT p. 1)

**Aug 19, 1945:** A terrific wave of suicide is sweeping over Germany according to a Stockholm dispatch to the Mainichi [Japanese newspaper]. In Berlin alone more than 1,200 people ended their own lives during last week. Many whole families committed suicide. During the same period there were 600 suicides in Leipzig, 450 in Hamburg, 450 in Frankfurt, 300 in Cologne. (Nippon Times 19 August 1945, p. 1)

[In order to make sense of these figures, one must convert them into annual rates. In August 1945 Berlin, Leipzig and Cologne had populations of some 2.7 millions, 600,000 and 100,000 respectively (German Wikipedia); thus the previous suicide numbers correspond to annualized rates per 100,000 of 2,300, 5,200 and 15,000. These rates are 100 to 700 times higher than in normal times.]

**Aug 22, 1945:** Two mysterious fires occurred in a big ammunition factory in Hamburg. British authorities closed the site to all employees (LM).

**Aug 25, 1945:** ●(8,0,0,15) The German conductor Leo Borchard was killed by a US sentries in Berlin. the sentries opened fire when his automobile failed to halt at a control. (NYT p. 6)

**Aug 31, 1945:** ●(9,0,0,15) Berlin. One parachutist was killed and four injured today when men of the United States Eighty-second Airborne Division bailed out in a stiff wind over Templehof airdrome. (NYT p. 6)

**Sep 9, 1945:** Berlin. Between the fall of Berlin in early May and the end of July there were 59,000 deaths and 8,000 births in Berlin (LM).

**Sep 11, 1945:** ●(9,6,0,21) Luebecke. Six British soldiers were killed when a German arms dump exploded. They were inspecting the shed when the ammunition blew up. Six German labourers were also killed. The cause of the explosion is not known, but it is regarded as accidental (Times p. 4).

**Sep 11, 1945:** Brussels. The conduct of the American GI and of his officers has, in a growing number of instances, become so bad in Western Europe that responsible quarters are very much concerned, without being able to do a great deal to improve the situation (NYT p. 14).

**Sep 15, 1945:** ●(9,6,0,22) The Austrian composer and conductor Anton von Webern was killed in Salzburg by an American sentry.  
(NYT Nov 4, 1945. p. 34, <http://www.antonwebern.com>)

**Sep 20, 1945: Additional requirements to be imposed on Germany** [excerpt]

(15a) The German authorities and all persons in Germany will hand over to the Allies all gold, silver and platinum situated within or outside Germany.

(19a) The German authorities will carry out, for the benefit of the Allies such measures of reparation and relief as may be prescribed.

(20) The German authorities will supply free of cost such German currency as the Allies may require.

(21) The German authorities will comply with all such directives as may be issued by the Allies for defraying the costs of the provisioning, maintenance and transport of Allied forces.

(28) The German authorities will place at the unrestricted disposal of the Allied Representatives the entire German shipping, shipbuilding and ship repair industries.  
(Humanities Web: <http://www.humanitiesweb.org/human.php?s=h&p=d&a=i&ID=58>,

Also cited in Petrov (1967). The wording of these official statements is exceedingly involved; for the sake of readability it has been somewhat simplified; for instance the expression “the Representatives of the United Nations” which occurs repeatedly was replaced simply by “the Allies”.)

**Sep 21, 1945:** The 137 men of the German civilian police force of Ingolstadt in Bavaria were organized, uniformed and instructed on the model of the New York Police by Lieutenant Max J. Kobbe, a Military Government Public Safety officer and a former member of the New York City police department. (NYT p. 23)

[A photograph is attached to this article which shows that this German police force looked indeed very much like the New York City police. In this connection, one may also recall that an officer of the New York City police department came to Japan to form the new Japanese police force.]

**Oct 1945:** In early October several fights break out at Melsungen between US soldiers and German youths upset about the dating preferences of German women. In mid-October, multiple reports by the US Seventh Army describe attacks against soldiers escorting German girls. In late October, several attacks on German girls accused of fraternization are recorded in the U.S.-occupied zone of Austria. (Biddiscombe 2001: list of relevant incidents mentioned in note 125)

[One would like to get more precise information on these incidents, in particular the date and location.]

**Oct 13, 1945:** Polish courts tried 1,000 Nazi war criminals and 400 were executed; 8,000 more cases are being prepared for prosecution. This announcement was made by the Attorney-General of Poland George Sawiczki. (Shanghai Herald p. 4)

[If the rate of death sentences is the same for the other 8,000 defendants, it means that the number of executions was of the order of  $400 + 8000 \times 0.4 = 3,600$ . If this figure is correct, it means that the number of German war criminals which were executed is much higher than the figure of 486 which is usually accepted (Quid 1997, p. 1088)

**Oct 16, 1945:** British tanks lead a raid on the Tiergarten center of Berlin's black market activity. 2,000 persons were rounded up. (Shanghai Herald p. 4)

**Oct 24, 1945:** A US officer was attacked by a group of civilians while walking with a German girl in a Munich park (Biddiscombe 2001: list of relevant incidents mentioned in note 125).

**Nov 1, 1945:** By November the military government courts in Munich had a backlog of 26,000 cases (Ziemke 1990, chapter 22).

[One should recall that because all German courts were suspended upon the arrival of the Allied forces, the jurisdiction of Military Government courts also extended to offenses against German law).

**Nov 9, 1945:** Muenster. Six British officers appeared before a court martial to answer charges of stealing 3,900 bottles of wine and spirits. (Times p. 3)

**Nov 18, 1945:** A fraction of the US Military Government headed by Brigadier General William F. Draper is opposing stern measures against German trusts. The issue is whether to promulgate a law with teeth in it or whether to adopt a law with loopholes. The drafting of a law enumerating a long list of factors to be considered instead of a simple and strict rule (such as business capitalization) in judging the degree of concentration suggests that it is the second option which has been retained. (NYT p. 24)

[This article is interesting for at least two reasons. (i) it shows that the question of

business concentration was addressed in Germany much earlier than in Japan. (ii) The way in which it was settled in Japan was very much the same than in Germany and probably for similar reasons. As a matter of fact, these questions were settled in Washington not by military commanders. Among the factors to bear on the matter were the interests of American companies. One should recall that many big German companies were in fact joint US-German companies. For instance the “United Steel Works” (which by the way was a staunch supporter of Hitler) relied on US participation and loans, in particular through its close links with “Union Banking Corporation”, a New York investment bank in which Franz Thyssen had a big share (more details can be found in Thyssen (1941).]

**Nov 24, 1945:** 3,000 Germans held after mass raids by American troops (NYT p. 13).

**Dec. 11, 1945:** ●(10,6,0,22) A soldier from the Third Army was shot and killed while escorting home his girlfriend (Biddiscombe 2001: list of relevant incidents mentioned in note 125).

**Dec 26, 1945:** ●(12,6,0,22) Berlin. Two American sergeants were killed at the Tempelhof airport by a pair of gunmen. (NYT Dec. 26 p. 6, LM Dec. 27 p. 2) [The New York Times notes that this is the first time that US military were murdered in Berlin since the end of the war, but there have already been several deadly attacks on occupation forces in other German cities.]

**Dec 30, 1945:** American Headquarters declared that the number of the attacks against occupation troops is decreasing; currently, the number of German people killed by American troops exceeds the number of US soldiers slain by Germans (LM p. 2).

**Dec 31, 1945:** At an unspecified date between May and Dec 1945, 3,400 paintings and drawings painted by Hitler between 1909 and 1945 were discovered in a German castle by American forces. They were confiscated by the American government (as were other Nazi art) for the purpose of denazifying Germany. The issue gave rise to a 20-year long legal battle between German owners and the US government. (BBC News 30 October 2004)

## 1946

**Early 1946:** When Capt. Norman W. Boring and Lt. Arnold J. Lapiner became the military government officer and deputy in Landkreis Laufen, Bavaria, in early 1946, they were flooded with claims for requisitioned jewelry, cameras, silverware, and radios, none of which could be traced since the detachment until then had kept



practically no records of any kind (Ziemke 1946, Ch 22)

**Jan 2, 1946:** ● (13,6,0,22) An American corporal is shot and killed in Berlin on New Year's Eve (NYT p. 5).

**Jan 2, 1946:** Order No2 of the Control Council [excerpt].

- The carrying or ownership of arms or ammunition by any persons is prohibited.
- Any person possessing any arms or ammunition shall surrender the same to the nearest Allied Military Commander within 10 days of the publication of this order.
- Any person failing to comply with this order shall be liable to criminal prosecution including the death penalty.

(Enactments, Vol. 2)

**Jan 9, 1946:** Republican Senator Langer of North Dakota stated that the Truman administration was following a policy of deliberate mass starvation in Germany by subjecting Germans to a starvation diet of 1,500 calories daily. (NCDN p. 1)

**Jan 10, 1946:** Frankfurt on the Main. Four thousand United States soldiers in a mutinous mood tried to rush headquarters of the United States Forces in the European Theater, with the objective of forcing Gen. Joseph T. McNarney to confront them on their demand to be sent home; they were stopped at bayonet point by a small group of guards (NYT p. 4).

**Jan. 12, 1946: Directive No 24: Removal from office and from positions of responsibility of Nazis and of persons hostile to Allied purposes** [excerpts].

[A similar directive was issued in Japan on 4 January 1946. It was entitled: "Removal and exclusion of undesirable personnel from public office".]

Persons removed from public and semi-public office, or from trade unions and other public organizations, or from positions of responsibility in important private undertakings will not be [re]-employed in any such position. (Enactments Vol. 2)

[How can one understand that this purge directive was issued about one week after a similar directive was introduced in Japan? Major decisions regarding occupation policies were taken in the United States, either by the White House or at the Department of State, therefore it is hardly surprising that they follow the same pattern and timing.

This directive considers two kinds of removal:

- (i) Compulsory removal which means that all members will be removed.
- (ii) Discretionary removal which implies examination of individual cases before a decision is taken.

In the first category is the NSDAP itself as well as many official organizations including some whose role was more technical than political, e.g.: the "Deutschen Dozentenbund" and "Reichs Dozentschaft" (two associations of University Professors), the

“Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut”, the “Forestry Office”, the “Deutscher Gemeindegtag” (Association of Communes), the “Deutsche Jaegerschaft (Hunters’ League).

In the second category one finds for instance the following groups of people: (i) Persons who have had exceptionally rapid promotions in civil service, education or the press since 1933, (ii) persons holding high positions in the German Red Cross. (iii) Near relatives of prominent Nazis. (iv) Parents who have permitted any of their children to attend Political Schools such as the Adolph Hitler Schools.

This exclusion directive was completed on 17 January 1946 by a measure organizing the recruitment of “democratic elements” to fill teachers posts. (see below).]

**Jan 14, 1946:** ●(16,6,0,22) Frankfurt. The charred bodies of three Military government officers (probably American) were found in the ruins of a burned house in Passau near Regensburg in the American zone last month according to the Army newspaper “Stars and Stripes”. The article said indications were that the officers had been beaten before the house was set afire. As a result, all American troops stationed at Passau have been ordered to carry arms at all times and the guard around the officers’ billets have been doubled. (Shanghai Herald 14 January p. 6 and 15 January p. 1))

**Jan 15, 1946:** GIs linked to killings are expected to be arrested (NYT p. 16).

**Jan. 16, 1946:** A United States court martial is inquiring into allegations that nine guards and two officers ill-treated American military prisoners at the Lichfield depot. The court also prepares charges of intimidation of witnesses and dereliction of duty against Colonel Kilian (Times).

**Jan 17, 1946: Measures to be taken to fill teachers posts with democratic elements.** [excerpts]

The Directorate of Internal Affairs and Communications makes the following recommendations.

(i) Courses should be established for persons of other professions who are willing to work as school teachers.

(ii) Only persons of democratic spirit should be admitted to these courses. It should be strictly prohibited to accept candidates who had belonged to dissolved organizations.

(Enactments Vol 2)

**Feb 9, 1946:** Nuremberg. US Military Government officials announced the smashing of a sabotage ring of German youths who operated near Ansbach 40 kilometer south west of Nuremberg. Several members of the group which was known as the “Christian Pathfinders” had been trained in Wehrmacht sabotage schools. A considerable quantity of explosives was seized. The sentences ranged from 5 to 15 years.

Several of them were also convicted of charges of distributing verses derogatory to the Allied forces and threatening German women who fraternized with Allied soldiers. (Times p. 3)

**Mar 5, 1946:** ● (17,6,0,22) An American officer was killed in Berlin. Lieutenant James Wilson was shot and killed by a Russian sentry early on Sunday morning (i.e. March 3) after the officer failed to obey a call to halt. (NYT p. 2)

**Mar 11 1946:** On March 5 an editor of the “Neue Zeitung” received a phone call from General Eisenhower’s Headquarters instructing him to devote the entire front page to Churchill’s Fulton speech [which marked the onset of the Cold War and introduced the phrase “Iron Curtain” to describe the division between Western powers and the area controlled by the Soviet Union]. He left the “Neue Zeitung” on 11 March. Apart from the “Neue Zeitung” there were 44 licensed [i.e. published with Allied authorization and supervision] newspapers. (Hartenian 1984, p. 125).

**Mar 18, 1946:** ● (17,6,0,24) Two people were killed and about 100 injured by the explosion of Wehrmacht ammunition in a German civilian police barracks near the Alexanderplatz in central Berlin on March 16. Two wings of the building were destroyed. The explosion was caused by a policeman who had been examining a hand-grenade. When the grenade was about to explode he threw it from him and it landed in an ammunition store. (Times p. 3)

[The behavior of the policeman as reported by the Times does not appear very sensible]

**Mar 20, 1946:** A series of explosions in a Soviet barrack in Berlin killed two soldiers. Altogether one hundred ton of munition exploded but did not blow up at the same time thus explaining the small number of fatalities. (North China Daily News p. 3)

**Mar 26, 1946:** ● (17,6,0,25) [Military] police fired at 4 men who were breaking into a railway truck south of Nuremberg. The truck was carrying food. One the men, a railway worker, was killed. (North China Daily News p. 5)

**Mar 31, 1946:** About 800 Germans were arrested in raids in the United States and British zones of Germany and in Austria tonight in the culmination of a ten-month-long combined operation to crush what was officially described as “the first major attempt to revive Nazi ideologies.” (NYT p. 1).

**Mar 31, 1946:** Frankfurt March 30. Gun battles between Nazis and British troops broke out in scattered points in Western Germany early today as an estimated 7,000 Allied soldiers cracked down on Nazi suspects. Firing occurred as combat troops, counter-espionage agents and constabulary forces swooped down on suspects. Some

of them resisted as agents broke open doors. Brigadier General Edwin Sibert, US Intelligence chief said: "The back of a powerful underground movement which included 200 elite Nazis has been broken". According to Allied headquarters about 700 suspects were arrested. Among the Nazis arrested was Arthur Asmann, Reich Youth Leader who was in command of the entire Hitler youth and Girls league. A first blow had been struck in the British and American zones at the beginning of the year. (North China Daily News p. 1)

[Unfortunately the article does not give any indication about the number of victims; it is difficult to believe that there were none. Interestingly, in a statement made two days later by headquarters officials it was denied that there was any resistance on the part of the Germans.]

**Apr 2, 1946:** The Navy is removing German windtunnels to the United States to develop aircraft and missiles which travel more than 1,600 km/hour. (North China Daily News p. 3)

**Apr 4, 1946:** Two German civilians from Berlin, Gerhart Jurr and Wilhelm Kammermeier, get 5-year jail terms for willful interference with United States military government (NYT p. 19).

**Apr 5, 1946:** Herford. A sentence of death can be imposed on any German who wears a German military uniform according to a revised ordinance issued by the Allied Control Commission. The ban on uniforms has not been strictly enforced so far because it was often the only clothes discharged soldiers had to wear. In the future it will be enforced more strictly. (North China Daily News p. 1)

**Apr 11, 1946:** In the Hamburg area there were food riots and recurrent attacks on supply trains. The last incident occurred in the night preceding April 8 when about 100 people looted a coal train in the suburbs of Hamburg (British occupation zone). Police rushed to the scene but did not make any arrest. (North China Daily News p. 3)

[It would of course be interesting to know why the police did not make any arrest.]

**Apr 11, 1946:** An explosion which blew out a section of the track on the Vienna Linz railroad (American occupation zone) Monday night delayed the movement of military trains for 7 hours. It was the second explosion in two weeks to interrupt the service. (North China Daily News p. 5)

**Apr 13, 1946:** In Wiesbaden, a 16-year old German boy tried to stab an American soldier escorting a German woman (Biddiscombe 2001: list of relevant incidents mentioned in note number 125 of the article).

**Apr 20, 1946:** Poison bread poisoned 1,900 German captives in a US Army prison

camp near Nuremberg. (NYT 20 April 1946 p. 6; Time Magazine 29 April 1946).  
 [In December 2005 a group of elderly Jews came forward with accounts of a death squad they formed after the Second World War to take revenge on Nazis, recounting a brazen operation in which they poisoned hundreds of SS officers. Members of the group, code-named the Avengers, said they received a large amount of arsenic from Paris and laced loaves of bread fed to hundreds of SS officers imprisoned in a U.S. camp after the war. Many were reported taken to hospital but it is not known how many died. They said they were also planning a broad operation in Dachau and Nuremberg but the Jewish leadership in what would soon become Israel forced them to abandon the plan.

(Globe and Mail 23 December 2005)]

**May 2, 1946:** ●(18,6,0,25) German girl gets life sentence after being convicted in the murder of her GI suitor (NYT p. 8).

**May 4, 1946:** 185 German factories will be dismantled by the Allies (LM).

**May 7, 1946:** On the night of May 4 the entire city of Nuremberg was rocked by a series of explosions when a vast ammunition dump a few kilometers outside the city blew up. The windows of the court-house where Nazi leaders are being tried were shattered by the blast. The dump is near Feucht which the US Army began to evacuate and it is also near Stalag 13-B where food poisoning was recently reported among SS prisoners. (North China Daily News 6 May p. 5; Le Monde 7 May 1946)

**May 9, 1946:** A displaced Jew was sentenced for striking an American (NYT p. 8).

**May 9, 1946:** ●(18,6,0,32) A terrible explosion shook Borgsdorf near Berlin when an ammunition dump exploded. It is not known how many lives were lost. Another explosion claiming 7 lives occurred at Buten near Karlsruhe when an ammunition dump exploded. (North China Daily News p. 4)

**May 12, 1946:** ●(20,6,0,32) Nuremberg. Two GIs were murdered in German ambush. A sharpshooter lying in ambush on a Nuremberg residential street killed two of three U.S. soldiers riding past in a jeep with three women companions.]

**May 13, 1946:** Nuremberg was combed for soldiers killers: two Germans were arrested (NYT p. 8).

**May 13, 1946: Order No 4: Confiscation of literature and material of a Nazi and militarist nature.** [excerpts]

The Control Council orders as follows:

1a. All libraries, bookshops and publishing houses to hand over to the Military Commandants within 2 months all books, magazines, newspapers, films and magic

lantern slides (including everything intended for children of all ages), the contents of which includes Nazi propaganda or propaganda directed against the United Nations.

1b. Everything which contributes to military training.

2. All directors of elementary or secondary schools, gymnasia and universities to remove from the libraries in their charge all literature enumerated in paragraph 1 together with the relevant cards from the card index system of the library.

All publications and material mentioned in this order shall be placed at the disposal of the Military Commanders for destruction.

(Enactments Vol 3)

[Two observations are in order:

(i) The fact that the index cards had to be delivered along with the books would prevent libraries from knowing which books were removed. Similarly, readers will have no way to know that books had been removed. This is similar in intent to the orders which forbid media to mention that they are under censorship.

(ii) Allied accounts usually say that the books were destroyed by being “pulped”. The purpose of using this term rather than saying that they were burnt was certainly to prevent any parallel to be drawn with the burning of books carried out by the Third Reich. However, to reduce books to small bits requires special devices and costs a substantial amount of energy. Thus, it is much more likely that most books were indeed burnt. Had the order been issued in winter, they could have been burned in stoves and furnaces in complement to coal which was in these years in great scarcity.]

**May 13, 1946: Directive No 30, Liquidation of German military and Nazi Memorials and Museums.** [excerpts]

Every existing monument, statue, edifice, street name marker, emblem, or insignia which is of such a nature as to glorify incidents of war must be completely destroyed by 1 January 1947.

An exception may be made for tombstones erected at the places where members of regular formations died on the field of the battle.

Also all military museums must be liquidated by 1 January 1947 throughout the entire German territory. (Enactments Vol 3)

[If such a rule had been issued by the German authorities after the war of 1870-1071 the “Arc de Triomphe” at the center of the Place de l’Etoile in Paris would have been destroyed.

It would be interesting to know how many major German monuments were effectively demolished.

The article regarding tombstones was extended on 12 July 1946 to include also “monuments erected solely in memory of deceased members of regular military organizations with the exception of the SS or Waffen SS”.]

**May 14, 1946:** Six Germans were arrested in hunt for killers of two American GIs. (NYT p. 8)

**May 15, 1946:** About one hundred people were arrested in the Ruhr. After derailing trains by putting big stone blocks on the track, people seized the food and coal which they transported (LM).

**May 15, 1946:** British forces and German police have condoned off wide areas in the Ruhr where trains have been looted. House-to-house searches were made and several hundred people were arrested. (North China Daily News p. 1)

[It can be noted that the two articles differ as to the number of persons arrested.]

**May 16, 1946:** Two shots were fired at a train carrying American women on they way from Bremerhaven to join occupation soldiers. No one was injured. The Army kept the incident secret for 23 hours. The shots had been fired as the train was approaching Bad Nauheim, about 30 miles north of Frankfurt. This is the first reported attack on dependents of Americans (NYT p. 7).

**May 16, 1946:** At Duisberg in the Ruhr a crowd attacked a train and stole 35 sacks of potatoes. Police arrested 14 persons and recovered the food. (North China Daily News p. 6)

**May 17, 1946:** A GI admitted shooting two US soldiers; thus, the mystery of the shooting in Nuremberg was apparently solved (NYT p. 7).

**May 20, 1946:** Influenced by false reports that potatoes are leaving Germany as reparations, some German people are encouraging raids on goods trains. During the last 11 days there have been 9 mass raids on trains throughout the Ruhr; as a result more than 100 persons were detained. In only one case was a train halted by crowds. (Times p. 3)

[This is the only article that we could find in the Times about raids on trains in the Ruhr. It sounds embarassed and not very plausible: if the raids were really so unsuccessful it is difficult to understand why there were so many.]

**May 27, 1946:** To re-educate Germany the four-power Coordinating Committee decided to reduce to pulp all "undemocratic, militaristic and Nazi" books and films. This included museum and library material, tombstones were excepted. Clausewitz' books, for instance, were to be eliminated. Just 13 years ago the Nazis had burned millions of "unGerman" books. Now the Allied order would eliminate millions more. (Time Magazine)

[The general tone of the article clearly shows that the Time Magazine writer disapproves this decision; yet, books written by Communists would share a similar fate in the United States during the 1950s.]

This policy was not confined to books and films, it concerned also art. Title 18 of Military Government Regulation (OMGUS, 18-401.5) states that: “all collections of works of art related or dedicated to the perpetuation of German militarism or Nazism will be closed permanently and taken into custody.”

Moreover, only a certain number of artists, those who were not excluded explicitly by OMGUS, were allowed to perform within strict limits.

**May 28, 1946:** General Clay ordered the dismantling of German plants to be temporarily suspended in the American zone (LM).

**May 28, 1946:** Two Berlin Communists won commutation. Lieutenant-General Lucius Clay, Deputy Military Governor of the US zone of occupation announced the commutation of 5-year prison terms imposed on Gerhard Jurr and Wilhelm Kammermeier convicted of being disrespectful to Allied forces last April 3, 1946 by a Military Government court. They are to be released tomorrow. (Times p. 9)

**May 31, 1946:** ●(20,7,0,32) Durlach. A British Army captain of a special force combatting gangs roaming the British zone was shot dead last night. The men on the other side opened fire with an automatic weapon and the officer was killed instantly. British troops turned out during the night and searched the neighborhood. (North China Daily News p. 6)

[In such a case one would expect reprisals to be exerted against people considered by army intelligence as possible suspects.]

**May 31, 1946:** ●(23,7,0,32) Three US soldiers have been sentenced to be hanged and two others to life in prison for the fatal shooting of one soldier and the wounding of three others at Asperg on 15 February 1946. All five convicted men were Negroes. (NYT p. 9)

[This was probably the result of one of those numerous fights between white and black troops. In this connection, one can mention that in Japan there were gun battles between Australian and Indian troops (see the chronology for the occupation of Japan).]

**Jun 1946:** Excerpt of a letter written by Robert McClure, Chief of the Information Control Division (ICD). “We now control 37 newspapers, 6 radio stations, 314 theatres, 642 movies, 101 magazines, 237 book publishers, 7,384 book dealers and printers, and conduct about 15 public opinion surveys a month, as well as publish one newspaper with 1,500,000 circulation, 3 magazines, run the Associated Press of Germany (DANA), and operate 20 library centers . . . The job is tremendous.” (Paddock 1999, cited in Arita 2006 p. 61)

[Robert McClure, the director of ICD had been the chief of the Psychological Warfare Division during the war.]



**Jun 2, 1946:** Retaliatory attacks by Germans on US troops were mentioned for the first time today when General Joseph McNarney, Commander of the US occupation zone, issued his monthly Military Government report for April. One underground organization calls itself “Edelweiss”, a flower to be found in the Alps. (North China Daily News 2 June 1946 p. 6 and 4 June 1946 p. 8)

[Unfortunately the paper does not give any detail about the kind of attacks that occurred.]

**Jun 3, 1946:** Between arriving in farms in the morning and returning to camps in the evening, German prisoners of war working in the fields get only two slices of bread one inch thick spread with margarine. The National Farmers Union observed that “you cannot expect men to work out in the field on that”. (North China Daily News p. 4)

**Jun 6, 1946:** Luneburg. British occupation forces have broken a youth underground movement with the arrest of 35 youths. The charges are considered so serious that the accused were referred to a higher tribunal for trial. The British authorities have known for 6 months that a movement known as Rana existed in the Luneburg area. (North China Daily News p. 8)

[Unfortunately, the article provides no indications about the actions committed by this group before its members were arrested.]

**Jun 9, 1946:** ●(23,7,0,37) A German girl died in US soldiers quarters near Bad Kissingen (NYT p. 26).

[Biddiscombe (2001) indicates that during May and June 1946 there were in fact 5 instances where young German women were found dead in American barracks. Incidents of this kind brought about the re-imposition of a curfew upon American troops in the summer of 1946. In this respect, one should remember that by April 1945, 500 rape cases per week were being reported to the Judge Advocate General of American forces in Europe (Biddiscombe 2001, note 27)]

**Jun 17, 1946:** Following the complete dynamiting of the Blohm and Voss shipyards no more destruction of the shipyards in the port of Hamburg his ”on the program,” British port officials said today. (NYT p. 5)

[Gollancz (1947,p. 22) writes that “decisive hostility to the British occupation resulted from this dynamiting.”]

**Jun 20, 1946:** ●(23,7,0,137) More than 100 German and foreign workers are feared to have been killed when 5,000 tons of German ammunitions exploded in a disused salt mine, 15 miles from Hanover (Times p. 3).

**Jun 21, 1946:** An explosion in an ammunition dump near Hamburg killed about

100 Germans and displaced persons. (North China Daily News p. 2)

**Jun 26, 1946: Directive No 32. Disciplinary measures against the staff and students of educational institutions guilty of militaristic, Nazi, or anti-democratic propaganda.** [excerpts.]

The Control Council directs as follows.

1. Any member of the staff of any educational institution who in any way whatsoever spreads militaristic, Nazi or anti-democratic doctrines will be dismissed.
2. Any student of any higher educational institution who spreads such doctrines will be expelled.
3. The above measures shall be without prejudice to any other criminal sanction to which the offender may be liable.
4. Any person who has been dismissed or expelled shall be disqualified from being employed or admitted to any educational institution without authorization which in each case will be given by Military Government.

(Enactments Vol 3)

[How should “anti-democratic propaganda” be defined? As shown by other directives and orders (e.g. Order No 4 of 13 May 1946) the accepted interpretation was that it was to be understood as criticism directed against the Allied occupation. Was it in later years also interpreted (at least in the three Western zones of occupation) as including Communist propaganda? We do not know at this point.]

**Jun 29, 1946:** Hamburg. About 4,000 people took part in an anti-British demonstration. They protested against the decision taken by British authorities to expel people living in areas which are to be occupied by the families of British troops. They sang the national anthem “Deutschland ueber alles” before being dispersed by police (LM).

[A short explanation may be useful at this point. “Deutschland ueber alles” is the beginning of the first verse which was proscribed by the Allies (only the third verse is authorized). Yet the expression should be understood as meaning “Cherished above everything in the world” rather than “Rulers of the world”; remember that it was composed in 1841 that is to say before the German unification of 1871 and became the national anthem in 1922 (Quid 1997, p. 1092).]

**Jul 5, 1946:** ●(24,7,0,138) Munich. An American soldier and a German girl were found dead in a vacant lot. This incident is reported in Willoughby (2001); the primary source is: Third Army Headquarters Report of Operations 1 Jul–30 Sep 1946.

**Jul 6, 1946:** ●(25,7,0,138) An American soldier was fatally shot while sitting with his girlfriend in a park near the Hofbraukeller in Munich; the German girl was

wounded in the neck (Biddiscombe 2001: list of relevant incidents mentioned in note 125).

**Jul 6, 1946:** Nuremberg. There was a fire at the Nuremberg courthouse. The flames swept out a window into cables feeding the Radio Corporation of America whose offices were located in the courthouse. (NYT p. 2)

**Jul 9, 1946:** Disappearance from Berlin last week of three of American officers who are supposed to have gone into the Russian zone of Germany. None of the missing persons had the authorization required for such a journey. One was a warrant officer who left Berlin in an American jeep with his wife and a German women. The two others are a captain and a second Lieutenant who have taken a train for a destination north of Berlin. (Times p. 3)

**Jul 12, 1946:** A Brooklyn soldier and a German girl were shot in a Munich park (NYT p. 8).

[It is unclear whether this incident is different from the one mentioned at the date of 6 July]

**Jul 19, 1946:** Clash between the population of Hochstahl (80 km to the north of Nuremberg) and the French Delegation to the Nuremberg Trial. Tires were pierced, shields broken and members of the delegation were assaulted (LM p.2).

**Jul 19, 1946:** Incidents in Hamburg. Dissatisfied with the food they were given about 300 requisitioned workmen invaded the kitchen and seized important quantities of bread, butter, sugar and other goods. The commander of the British commission which tried to stop them was mauled by the mob (LM).

**Jul 20, 1946:** 35 factories which belonged to the IG Farben corporation will be sold (LM).

**Jul 20, 1946:** A US soldier was struck by a German in Deggendorf while talking to a German girl (Biddiscombe 2001: list of relevant incidents mentioned in note 125).

**Jul 21, 1946:** Seventy paintings worth \$ 250,000 disappeared from the US zone. The US Army appeared to be linked to the loot.

- Army art specialists estimated that 70 paintings looted from two cities in the American zone were worth at least \$ 250,000 and they believe that several former US Army officers were involved.

- Investigators have just discovered that 30 paintings (instead of 6 as previously thought) have disappeared from the 1,100 year-old castle at Buedingen.

- Moreover, 40 paintings once property of a Nazi leader have vanished from the city of Marburg. (NYT p. 24)

**Jul 21, 1946:** US Army headquarters announced that charges would be filed early next week against WAC Captain Kathleen Nash Durant and Major David F. Watson in the \$ 1.5 million theft of the jewels of the Hesse family. (NYT p. 24)

**Jul 25, 1946:** In what was the first allocation of German industrial equipment, 11 of Germany's industrial plants, the majority of them machine tool works, have been parceled out by the Inter-Allied Reparations Agency in Brussels. (NYT p. 6)

[From the testimony of Victor Gollancz (1947, p. 22) one learns that by 20 August 1946 the dismantling of the Rheinmetal Börsig works was almost complete; after the dismantling the buildings would be blown down.]

**Jul 27, 1946:** The United States Third Army announced tonight that Jewish displaced persons had made two organized attacks on American soldiers in southern Germany last night and that seven Jews had been wounded by American bayonets and bullets (NYT p. 5).

**Aug 10, 1946:** Amendment to Order No 4 of 13 May 1946 [regarding the destruction of books of a Nazi and Militarist nature].

In the interest of research and scholarship, the Zone Commanders may preserve a limited number of copies of prohibited documents. These documents will be kept in special accomodation where they may be used by German scholars who have received permission to do so from the Allies and under strict supervision. (Enactments Vol 2)

**Aug 13, 1946:** ● (26,7,0,138) A GI was killed in Germany (NYT p. 2).

**Aug 14, 1946:** ● (33,7,0,138) 7 US soldiers were killed in an explosion of gasoline at a motor pool. The cause of the explosion is under investigation. (NYT 14 August p. 12; NYT 15 August p. 5)

**Sep 1946:** Taken into American custody in May 1945 (together with his Jewish wife) the German writer Ernst Von Salomon was liberated in September 1946. During these 18 months he went through several internment camps: Natternberg, Plattling, Nürnberg-Langwasser, Regensburg. In the account of his detention he writes that in spite of being interrogated several times by the CIC (Counter Intelligence Corps) he was never told what were the charges brought against him. In short, he was in administrative detention. He also tells about rough treatments at the hands of the military in charge of the camps. For instance, he writes that at the camp of Natternberg near Deggendorf <sup>16</sup> all newly admitted male prisoners, including himself, were beaten up. (Salomon 1951, 1953)

[Similar accounts were written by other people as well. For instance, Ion Gheo-

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<sup>16</sup>A camp which had 4,000 internees.

rghe who had been ambassador of Rumania in Berlin during the war was arrested in Bavaria by American troops in April 1945. He was released two years later without having ever been able to know what were the charges brought against him. Apparently, there were none. Like Salomon, he was arrested as a result of a program of “automatic arrests” by which all persons having held high positions in the German Reich were systematically taken into custody. Gheorghe also mentions rough treatments by the soldiers who were guarding the internment camps, particularly at Ludwigsburg, a place feared by all internees. (Gheorghe 1954)]

**Sep 6, 1946:** An American soldier accompanied by a German girl in Lianberg was attacked by two Germans and beaten unconscious; both Germans were arrested (Bidiscombe 2001: list of relevant incidents mentioned in note 125).

**Oct 10, 1946:** ●(36,7,0,138) Arms blast killed 3 US soldiers. (NYT p. 6)

**Oct 21, 1946:** Three American Military Government buildings in the Stuttgart region were damaged by bombs in what was officially described as the first organized aggressive activity in the American zone. Bombs damaged the provost marshal’s headquarters [provost courts are the jurisdiction which tries crimes committed against American troops or property], the denazification headquarters in Stuttgart and the denazification headquarters in Backnang. The bombers had selected a night when the buildings were unoccupied. Everything indicated thorough planning. Intelligence officers corrected first reports saying that the bombing was the crude work of amateurs. “This operation indicates an underground organization” one of them said. (NYT p. 1)

**Oct 21, 1946:** UNRRA (United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration) food consumption standards in Europe are lowest in Austria and Germany as shown by the following data: Czechoslovakia: 2,200 calorie daily; Yugoslavia: 1,900; Italy: 1,800; Poland: 1,700; Anglo-American zone of Germany: 1,500; Austria: 1,200. As a matter of comparison the level of food consumption in the United States is 3,000 calorie daily. (NYT p. 14)

**Oct 21, 1946:** ●(37,7,0,138) An American civilian of the Military Government was shot and killed by a Soviet guard. As he was taking photographs of election activities in the Russian sector, a Russian soldier directed him to follow him to headquarters. At a street intersection he attempted to edude the soldier whereupon the later opened fire. It is common knowledge that the Russians are very sensitive to the use of cameras in their sector. (NYT p. 1)

**Oct 22, 1946:** American troopers equipped with tanks and machine guns and aided by German police seized 55 Germans in two raids in search of anti-denazification

terrorists who exploded three bombs in Stuttgart on Saturday (NYT p. 8).

**Oct 25, 1946:** 13 GI's held in assault. They are accused of attacking Germans 'without rhyme or reason' (NYT p. 11).

**Oct 29, 1946:** The Esslingen denazification office was bombed. Guards were doubled on all American military-government buildings tonight as police aided by bloodhounds hunted extremists (NYT p. 12).

**Nov 5, 1946:** ●(38,7,0,139) An American soldier and a 21-year-old German girl were killed in a Nuremberg cellar (NYT p. 14). A similar event is reported in Willoughby (2001) but without a precise indication of date except that it occurred between Oct. 1 and Dec. 31, 1946. A soldier spending the night with his girl in Stuttgart was shot and killed; the primary source is: Third Army Headquarters Report of Operations 1 Oct. - 31 Dec. 1946.

**Nov 5, 1946:** ●(39,7,0,140) A British captain and a 19-year old German girl were shot to death in a Berlin forest (NYT p. 14).

**Nov 21, 1946:** Frankfurt on the Main (first paragraph). With the dramatic capture of an underground group consisting of twelve youths between 17 and 23 years old, Army intelligence officers said tonight that they had ended the Stuttgart bombing incidents. (NYT p. 6)

**Nov 23, 1946:** Berlin. A hand grenade thrown by an unidentified man exploded in the building housing the German-operated administration of the Russian occupation zone breaking windows and wounding 15 German workers (NYT p. 9).

**Dec 18, 1946:** A search and seizure operation code named Operation DUCK was carried out by the US Constabulary at a camp of displaced persons at Wildflecken, about 16 km south of Fulda. It involved about 1,600 troops. Between July 1946 when the US Constabulary was established and January 1947 it conducted 76 search and seizure operations which resulted in the arrest of about 1,500 persons. (Gott p. 21-23)

## 1947

**Jan 4, 1947:** 212 German people who had been sentenced to prison terms by American Military courts were released on the occasion of a Christmas amnesty (SD p. 2)

**Jan 7, 1947:** The "Spruchkammer" (i.e. the de-nazification court) building in Nuremberg was fully destroyed by an explosion.

(<http://www.chronikverlag.de/tageschronik/0107.htm>).

**Feb 2, 1947:** Explosion wrecks office of Mr. Camille Sachs, the president of the denazification court who currently tries von Papen. The walls were smashed and all windows up to the fourth floor shattered. This was the second bombing in Nuremberg within a few weeks (NYT Feb. 2 p. 26, LM Feb. 4, Times 3 p. 5). [Former Chancellor von Papen was found not guilty by the Nuremberg international tribunal, but the German government had him re-arrested and charged with other offenses committed while in Hitler's government. On 1st May 1947 Papen was sentenced to eight years imprisonment. However, he was soon forgiven and was released in January 1949.]

**Feb 6, 1947:** During the past two weeks the police in Hamburg has arrested 7,000 persons for plundering trains loaded with coal (LM).

**Feb 7, 1947:** The British occupation authorities have seized the Siemens power plants in Berlin (LM).

**Feb 9, 1947:** Germany suffers from a severe shortage of coal and electrical power to the point that 80 percent of the factories in Bade-Wurtemberg had to close. England also experiences a serious scarcity in coal and electricity (LM Feb. 9, LM Feb. 11).

**Feb 12, 1947:** Washington. Colonel Jack W. Durant is on trial by a military court in connection with the theft of the Hesse crown jewels (worth more than \$ 1.5 million). Apart from Durant, a WAC (Women's Army Corps) captain and an Army major have also been convicted. Mrs Martha Evans told the court how she brought some of the gems into the United States under the diplomatic immunity of the United Nations. (NYT p. 9)

**Feb 12, 1947:** ●(39,7,0,141) Berlin. A German, Werner Raabe, was sentenced to death by a military court for slaying a GI. Dr. Raabe is a Berlin dentist (NYT p. 15).

**Feb 10, 1947:** Berlin. A masquerade ball became a deadly trap last night when an estimated 100 to 150 masked merrymakers were burned or trampled to death in a flash fire that swiftly engulfed the Karlslust Dance Hall in the British zone of Berlin. (NYT p. 1)

**Feb 10, 1947:** ●(39,15,0,142) Berlin. The British Army said that 81 bodies, including those of 8 British soldiers, had been recovered from the Spandau dance hall fire. (NYT p. 1)

**Feb 15, 1947:** Landsberg. Two United States firing squads executed 5 displaced persons here. The executed were 3 Poles and 2 Greeks convicted by a Military Government court on assorted charges of armed robbery and murder (NYT p. 4).

**Mar 21, 1947:** Anti-occupation tracts thrive in Bremen (NYT p. 15).

**Mar 27, 1947:** Frankfurt on the Main. Another Nazi plot was smashed. The arrest of four high-ranking Stormtroopers, who had begun “a large-scale organization” to sabotage occupying powers and overthrow the present German civil government, was disclosed today by the United States European Command headquarters (NYT p. 14).

**Mar 28, 1947:** Hunger March in the Ruhr. Several thousands demonstrators gather in front of British Headquarters asking for bread and other commodities (LM).

**Mar 30, 1947:** The demonstrations in the Ruhr become more important day after day (LM).

**Apr 2, 1947:** Nordheim-Westfalen. About 1,500 workers of the workshop of the Rheinsbahn gather in front of the townhall asking for bread and work (RZ)

**Apr 3, 1947:** Anti-British Strikes and Demonstrations in the Ruhr. In Hamborn and Duisbourg 8,000 coal miners are on strike. The windows of British occupied buildings have been shattered by demonstrators throwing stones. In retaliation, the occupation authorities suppressed the food bonus (LM p. 2).

**Apr 9, 1947:** Four prominent Storm Troopers on trial in Munich; they are charged with organizing an underground movement to preserve the Nazi ideology and German militarism and eventually to seize power. They pleaded not guilty before the Military Government’s general court (NYT p. 3).

**Apr 15, 1947:** Some 70,000 Berlin trade unionists staged a ten-minute work stoppage today in protest against a denazification court’s reinstatement of Wolf Dietrich von Witzleben as director of the Siemens und Halske plant in the British sector (NYT p. 9).

**Apr 16, 1947:** Four ex-officers get long prison terms as underground planners of plot (NYT p. 14).

**Apr 16, 1947:** Kiel. Several thousand people gather on city hall square asking for bread and food (RZ p. 2).

**May 20, 1947:** ●(39,16,0,153) Hamburg. Twelve persons were killed, including a member of the British occupation forces, in an explosion at a munition dump near Brunswick. The cause of the accident is not clear (Times p. 4).

**Jul 3, 1947:** General purpose equipment was removed from a total of 166 plants before they were dismantled. The value of this equipment is estimated by Allied authorities at about 100 million mark. Of this equipment 84% went to the Inter-



Allied Reparation Agency (western countries) and the rest to the USSR and Poland. (Enactments, microfiche number 24)

**Jul 8, 1947:** Hanover. A German track walker prevented what is believed to have been the biggest single attempt at sabotage since the end of the war, it was learned today. The aim was to blow up a train carrying hundreds of Allied personnel and their families from here to Hamburg (NYT p. 12).

**Aug 13, 1947:** An American soldier in the company of a German woman was attacked by German assailants in Berlin (Biddiscombe 2001: list of relevant incidents, mentioned in note 125).

**Aug 28, 1947:** An American soldier was attacked by two Germans in Darmstadt while the latter was returning home from his girlfriend's house (Biddiscombe 2001: list of relevant incidents, mentioned in note 125).

**Sep 5, 1947:** The Civil Censorship Division in the American zone which currently employs about 3,000 people will reduce the number of its employees by the end of the year (LM).

**Sep 13, 1947:** Kiel. About 1,800 workers of the Homag machinery works at Kiel are on strike in protest against the dismantling of the works. Yesterday, workers in the city stopped work for two hours in token of their solidarity (Times p. 4).

**Sep 20, 1947:** Strikes and demonstrations on a scale far larger than the hunger protests last spring are expected to break out in the Ruhr next week when the public announcement is made of the complete list of plants to be dismantled (NYT p. 8).

**Sep 26, 1947:** ● (40,16,0,153) A demolition blast killed a [US] sergeant. (NYT p. 15)

**Sep 27, 1947:** Vienna. The Austrian government has protested to general Keyes, the American High Commissioner, against the severe sentences imposed by an American Military Tribunal on 4 Austrian Communists who had demonstrated against the cancellation of the milk allocation in Bad Ischl last month. During the demonstration, mostly by women, some windows were broken at a refugee hotel. The sentences were: 15 years imprisonment, 10 years, 2 years and one year (Times p. 3).

**Oct 5, 1947:** Anti-US rally in Vienna (NYT p. 15).

**Oct 17, 1947:** A total of 682 enterprises are to be dismantled in the Anglo-American zone. The dismantling is expected to take two years (Times p. 4).

**Oct 26, 1947:** Loud protests are raised against U.S. and British dismantling program. For more than two years the decision taken at Potsdam for dismantling Ger-

man factories have been put off or only partially executed (NYT p. E4).

**Nov 10, 1947:** 186 German plants are earmarked for dismantling in the US zone (NYT p. 8).

## 1948

**Jan 4, 1948:** A US Constabulary trooper was attacked by three Germans while escorting his German girlfriend in Schweinfurt (Biddiscombe 2001: list of relevant incidents, mentioned in note 125).

**Jan 22, 1948:** A bomb explosion damaged the US-requisitioned Grand Hotel at Nuremberg. A woman was injured. Examination of the bomb revealed that it had been constructed of eight 20-mm shells wound around a charge of dynamite. (NYT p. 16)

**Jan 22, 1948:** Berlin. American and British troops will be used to seize farm products unless voluntary deliveries show an early improvement. The firm US and British policy is that food imports will *not* be increased to offset any failure on the part of the Germans to do their share. In Lower Saxony in the British area, the daily caloric intake during the week ended 17 January 1948, averaged 1,230 calories and in North Rhine–Westphalia (which includes the Ruhr) it was 1,070. (NYT p. 16)

**Jan 22, 1948:** There was a mass meeting of 30,000 people at Nuremberg to protest against the cut in fat ration. The posters reflected criticism of the Military Government and the German Bavarian administration. (NYT p. 16)

**Mar 1, 1948:** Two Germans shoot and wound a US soldier accompanied by his German girl friend in Bublilinghausen near Kassel. The CIC (Counter Intelligence Corps) in Kassel arrests two suspects (Biddiscombe 2001: list of relevant incidents, mentioned in note 125).

**Mar 3, 1948:** Lieutenant R.O. Langham of the Royal Armoured Corps was charged before a court-martial with conduct of a cruel kind towards German inmates of a camp at Bad Nenndorf. The court decided that certain parts of the evidence should be heard in private. The case was stated as to one of a series. One German alleged that he was stripped and made to run around the cell with arms outstretched, kicked and punched all over. This treatment lasted 4 hours and after a while was repeated. Subsequently he spent six months in hospital. Another German was beaten with belts, burnt with lighted cigarettes, plunged under cold showers and compelled to run around the cell naked (Times Mar. 3 p. 3 and Mar. 5, p. 3). An article published in the “Guardian” (3 April 2006) provides more details about the Bad Nenndorf center

which was run by a War Office department called the Combined Services Detailed Interrogation Centre (CSDIC). The article shows harrowing photographs (obtained under a Freedom of Information Act by the Guardian newspaper of young men who had survived being systematically starved, as well as beaten, deprived of sleep and exposed to extreme cold. For instance, Gerhard Menzel, 23, a student, was arrested by British intelligence officers in Hamburg in June 1946. After being kept for several months at Bad Nenndorf his weight had dropped to 48 kg. Many other photographs known to have been taken have vanished from the archives. At least 372 men and 44 women were interrogated at Bad Nenndorf between 1945 and 1947. The Bad Nenndorf center was not the only CSDIC interrogation center in Germany; there were several ones in Germany (about which little is known) and another is known to have been located in central London. (Guardian 3 April 2006)

**Mar 3, 1948:** Berlin. A British Control Commission appeal court reviewed the death sentences passed on 4 Polish Jews by a British Military court at Hanover on December 5, 1947. The Poles had been convicted of attempting to blow up a train near Hanover in June 1947. The court quashed the conviction in two cases and commuted the death sentences in the other two to 20 years of imprisonment each (Times p. 3).

**Mar 14, 1948:** In April 1945 American soldiers discovered 202 paintings from Berlin's Kaiser Friedrich Museum along with 100 tons of gold bullion in a salt mine in Merkers. The paintings, one of the most important collection of old masters in the world, were sent to the United States in early 1946 to be held in "protective custody" in spite of the fact that the Hague convention classifies art as private property rather than war booty. At the time of the transfer General had declared that there was not sufficient personnel, fuel and facilities to keep the paintings in Germany. (NYT Sunday 14 March 1948, Section 2, p. X8)

[The article does not give any details about what happened to the gold.]

**Mar 20, 1948:** New anti-US tract distributed in Berlin (NYT p. 4).

**Apr 7, 1948:** Siegen. About 36 machine tools have been dismantled and are now waiting to be sent to England (BZ).

**May 1948:** ●(41,16,0,153) In early May a US soldier was killed in a bathroom at the Kassel railroad station while accompanying his Austrian wife and child (Biddiscombe 2001: list of relevant incidents, mentioned in note 125).

**May 11, 1948:** ●(42,16,0,154) Munich. The bodies of an American Criminal Investigation Division agent identified as Walter Snyder and of a German policeman identified as Frank Eisinger were discovered in their burned vehicle beside the high-

way. The two men were escorting a German, Wilfrid Helm, 17, from Wiesbaden to Munich. In spite of the combined efforts of American and German criminal investigators there is still no trace of Helm. (NYT p. 20)

[One may wonder how Helm managed to kill these two men. It seems that part of the evidence is withheld.]

**Jun. 9, 1948:** Colonel R.W.G. Stephen was court-martialed for alleged ill-treatment of German prisoners at the Interrogation Centre at Bad Nenndorf. This included: made to stand naked, inmates handcuffed back to back, physical violence (Times).

**Jun. 18, 1948:** A new western mark was introduced in a currency reform which was planned in great secrecy. The reform was a violation of the Postdam agreement because it officialized the separation of West and East Germany. In retaliation, the Soviet authorities established a blockade of Berlin. As a result an extensive airlift began on 25 June 1948. (Petrov 1967, p. 248)

**Jul 4, 1948:** Fighting breaks out in the Phillipsburg-Bruchsal area between American soldiers and a crowd of Germans (Biddiscombe 2001: list of relevant incidents, mentioned in note 125).

**Jul 4, 1948:** An American civilian employee of the Military Government was beaten up at an hotel in Karlsruhe by German people who called his girlfriend an “Ami whore”. When the American was rescued and placed on a truck, the vehicle’s windows were broken (Biddiscombe 2001: list of relevant incidents, mentioned in note 125).

**Jul 29, 1948:** A U.S. soldier accompanied by his German girlfriend was attacked by four Germans in an alley in Schweinfurt. The Germans involved are arrested (Biddiscombe 2001: list of relevant incidents, mentioned in note 125).

**Aug 10, 1948:** 500,000 leave jobs in protest against dismantling operations in the French zone (NYT p. 9).

**Aug 30, 1948:** Between September 1944 and August 1948 there have been 400,000 trials of German people by US military courts in the American zone of occupation. (Nobleman 1950, p. 95).

[What kind of offenses are included in this total?

- Offences against occupation troops
- Perhaps some denazification trials; as special German courts (545 altogether) were established as early as 1 April 1946 for the purpose of denazification (Wikipedia, article Denazification), only a small percentage of the 400,000 trials are likely to be denazification trials
- As German tribunals ceased to function after the war, it can be expected that the

US military courts also tried a number of crimes between Germans; it would be of interest to know when German courts resumed service.]

**Sep 11, 1948:** The press was barred today from the trial of Count Heinrich von Einsiedel, great-grandson of Bismarck, “the Iron Chancellor,” who was sentenced to six months imprisonment [by a military government court] (NYT p. 6)

**Dec 18, 1948:** A United States Military Government board of review has ruled here that United States occupation personnel, including dependents, are not subject to German law (NYT p. 3).

## 1949

**Jan 24, 1949:** Two of the five radio outlets in Germany which had been taken over by the American Military Government after the war will be returned to German authority this week. This is the beginning of a process whereby the Germans will recover almost complete control of the information media in the Western zones this year. The United States will relinquish nearly all control of news media when safeguards are adopted (NYT p. 6).

**Jan 26 1949:** The objectivity of the “Neue Zeitung”, the United States Army’s German-language publication, has aroused suspicion in many quarters (NYT p. 18).

**Feb 2, 1949:** Max Reinmann, chairman of the Communist party in Western Germany was sentenced to 3 month imprisonment by a Control Commission Summary court when he was found guilty of describing German politicians assisting occupation authorities as being “quislings” (Times p. 3).

**Feb 14, 1949:** Dusseldorf. General Sir Brian Robertson, the British Military Governor in Germany, unexpectedly ordered the release from prison of Herr Max Reinmann who was convicted on Feb. 1 (Times p. 3).

**Mar 2, 1949:** Charges of brutality by war crimes investigators caused demands for an inquiry. Charges that American war crimes investigators used physical brutality and other third-degree methods on seventy-four Nazi defendants were denounced in the Malmedy war crimes trial. (NYT p. 1) [The fact that “third degree methods” were used in a fairly systematic way was confirmed by Judge Edward L. Van Roden in an official investigation ordered by Secretary of the Army Kenneth Royal. Internees were given starvation rations and ration cards were withheld from their familie; all but two of the 139 defendants they investigated “had been kicked in the testicles”; another common method was to “put a black hood over the accused’s head and then punch him in the face with brass knuckles” Van Roden (1949, p. 216). A dentist

signed an affidavit that the defendants had suffered broken teeth and fractured jaws. At this time rough treatments were used not only against enemies but also against American deserters. In March 1946, the US Army headquarters announced that cruelty charges had been brought against Colonel James Kilian, former Commander of the Reinforcement Depot at Lichfield, England as well as on 5 other officers. This place was a disciplinary detention facility. The “methods” in use were fairly similar, e.g. bread and water diet, punches in the stomach, back and face. (North China Daily News 5 March 1946 p. 5, 19 April 1946 p. 5, 28 June 1946 p. 6)]

**Mar 18, 1949:** The British zone appeal court quashed the sentences of two months imprisonment passed in January on 6 German workers for refusing to dismantle a plant. Dr. Eugen Budde who defended the 6 men was fined 2,000 mark with the alternative of 6 months imprisonment for contempt of court (Times p. 3).

**May 12, 1949:** ●(42,17,0,154) Sir John Sheedy, Assistant Financial Adviser of the Military Government, was shot dead in his house. The burglars were apparently disturbed by Sir John Sheedy and one of the men discharged a firearm (Times p. 4).

**May 23, 1949:** Two Press Laws won US Zone sanction. The United States Military Government has reluctantly approved press laws passed by the Bremen and Wuerttemberg-Baden State Legislatures and will relinquish its newspaper licensing powers in these two States about June 1 (NYT p. 9).

**May 27, 1949:** The United States Military Government will move soon to obtain the revision of some sections of the press laws passed recently by Bremen and Wuerttemberg-Baden legislatures (NYT p. 3).

**Jun 5, 1949:** Censorship still rules the news you read from many sections of the world. US, France, Scandinavia, most of British Commonwealth are among the few countries which permit freedom (NYT p. 4).

**Jun 8, 1949:** Trial before a Control Commission summary court in Hamburg of Rudolph and Walter Blohm, directors of the well-known Blohm and Voss shipyards, on charge of having evaded orders to dismantle. Four directors and senior officials were accused along with them (Times p. 3).

**Jun 14, 1949:** Dusseldorf. About 200 Belgian troops acting on the request of the British authorities occupied the Fischer-Tropsch synthetic oil works. The action was taken after a German dismantling squad which was due to begin works under orders of the British Military Government had been denied access to the works (Times p. 3-4).

**Jul 25, 1949:** Herr Erwin Mueller, head of a Dortmund firm employing more than

100 men on dismantling contracts has been declared a Nazi follower by the de-nazification court in Dortmund. On Thursday, he was assaulted by a group of men while on his way from the de-nazification court to the military court inquiring on dismantling obstruction (Times p. 3).

**Jul 28, 1949:** A GI in Austria gets 15 years (NYT p. 10).

**Aug 13, 1949:** A foreman accused of assaulting Herr Erwin Mueller (see above) was sentenced to 5 months imprisonment (Times p. 3-4).

**Aug 5, 1949:** Twenty high-ranking Soviet officers including one general were killed by a time bomb at Soviet headquarters in Potsdam (NYT p. 7).

**Sep 8, 1949:** ●(42,17,0,155) Four American soldiers will be charged with assault and man-slaughter for killing a German and injuring two others during a wild spree in Mainz on September 6. (NYT p. 14)

**Sep 22, 1949:** Excerpt of the Allied High Commission (AHC) Law number 5 concerning the Freedom of Press, Radio, Information and Entertainment.

- Article I: The German press and radio shall be free.
  - Article II: A person engaged therein shall not act in a manner likely to affect prejudicially the prestige and security of Allied forces. Where in the opinion of the Allied High Commission a person has violated this provision, the Commission may prohibit the person from continuing its activities.
  - Article III: No new radio broadcasting or television shall be set up without the authorization of the Allied High Commission”
- (Hartenian 1984, p. 185)

**Nov 1, 1949:** Watenstedt-Salzgitter, Hermann Goering Steelworks, Ruhr. At the entrance gate there are big posters which say: We demand dismantling to be halted for 5 blast furnaces, 3 converters and one rolling mill. Anybody who dismantles these workplaces condemns us to starvation and death. Huge black flags with a white “D” hang from the blast furnaces. There are also posters opposing the dismantling at Essen, Bochum and in other industrial cities of the Ruhr (FAZ p. 3).

**Nov 9, 1949:** Paris backed Bonn on dismantling (NYT p. 30).

**Dec 1, 1949:** More than 90 papers reappeared in Bavaria since the law for licensing [see Section I for more details] was lifted (NYT p. 20).

1950

**Feb 8, 1950:** Five German youths accused of assaulting United States soldiers have been sentenced to jail. They were found guilty of an attack on three soldiers with fists and stones outside a German cafe in Karlsruhe last November (NYT p. 4).

**Mar 3, 1950:** Braunschweig. In protestation against the dismantling and destruction of the Watenstedt-Salzgitter works the Christian-Democrat city council of Braunschweig has decided to resign (FA p. 3).

**Mar 7, 1950:** Watenstedt-Salzgitter, Hermann Goering Steelworks, Ruhr. A thousand shouting workers fearful of losing their jobs drove off the dismantling squad and its guard of East European refugees employed by the British. Some of the guards were beaten up. The demonstrators forced their way into the foundry and tore out ignition fuses. They also burst into the Dismantling Commission office, smashed windows and threw radios, telephones, files, maps, charts and typewriters into the street and set them afire (NYT p. 6).

**Mar 7, 1950:** At Toeing, Bavaria in the U.S. zone, a 15 minute blast of factories sirens called workers to a protest meeting as dismantlers entered a huge modern aluminum works which includes 163 blast furnaces (NYT p. 6).

**Mar 8, 1950:** Twenty British tanks rolled into the Hermann Goering Steelworks at Watenstedt-Salzgitter. A solid phalanx of workers barred roads and for a time prevented the armored cars from entering. About 300 British troops were already inside the compound. A reconnaissance car was stoned by a crowd of 4,000. Employees shook their fists when the demolition squads blew up part of the coke producing plant (NYT Mar. 8 p. 16, ST Mar. 8 p. 3, FA Mar. 10 p. 1, Times Mar. 8 p. 6).

**Mar 15, 1950:** August Hollaender, the chairman of the Communist Party in Lower Saxony was sentenced to 18 months imprisonment for an article advocating direct action to stop dismantling. Two firms involved in the printing of the article were each fined 5,000 mark and the court ordered the forfeiture of the printing press (Times p. 5).

**Mar 15, 1950:** German Red youths battle German police after a British court ordered two communists to jail for publishing an attack on Allied dismantling of factories (NYT p. 14).

**Mar 22, 1950:** French jail 9 East Germans (NYT p. 18).

May 12, 1950: Murder of Sir John Sheehy. Three Silesian Germans were charged with the murder of Sir John Sheehy, assistant financial adviser to the British Military Government in Germany. Apparently, he was shot dead by burglars in his house. One of the four Germans was sentenced to death in July. (Times May 12 p. 4, May 24 p. 5, July 6 p. 5).



**May 26, 1950:** ● (42,17,0,156) A British court martial sentenced Private G.K. Linsell of Essex to death for the murder of a German policeman (Times p. 5).

**Jun 15, 1950:** On May 25 at Dusseldorf a British sentry, private Gordon Linsell, was sentenced to death by a court martial for shooting and killing a German policeman. He was reprieved (ST p. 3).

**Sep 14, 1950:** Krupp dismantling was halted (NYT p. 19).

**Dec 1, 1950:** At a meeting of the right wing "Deutsche Partei", about 200 of the 3,500 participants tried to assault photographers taking pictures of the meeting; the demonstrators were shouting "Americans go home" (NYT p. 16).

## 1951

**Mar 4, 1951:** ● (42,17,0,158) United States soldiers killed two men of the East German Police in a gunfight near the East-West German border last night (NYT p. 23).

**Mar 13, 1951:** ● (43,17,0,158) Bonn. Lance-Bombardier Horace Dance was stabbed to death at Duisburg on Saturday night. Some young Germans shouted abuse at him and in the ensuing scuffle Bombardier Dance was stabbed in the throat and bled to death in the street (Times p. 5).

**Mar 16, 1951:** A German sentenced in killings (NYT p. 17).

**Mar 28, 1951:** ● (44,17,0,158) Vienna. The body of Corporal D. Marsden who had been missing since March 9 was found at Ebenfeld in the River Glan a few miles from Klagenfurt where he was stationed. He was last seen leaving an inn in the company of two Austrian women (Times p. 3).

**May 10, 1951:** A brawl in which 100 White and Negro US troops were involved occurred in a cafe at Karlsruhe on Tuesday night. Nine soldiers were treated for injuries. (NYT p. 5)

**Jul 21, 1951:** Two Bonn deputies were jailed on slander charges. One got 9 months and the other 4 months (NYT p. 4).

**Nov 2, 1951:** ● (45,17,0,158) A German was convicted of fatal stabbing of an American Corporal; he got life term (NYT p. 12).

## 1952

**Jan 23, 1952:** ● (48,17,0,158) Three American soldiers were killed in highway accidents last week. They included a GI from Brooklyn (New York City) killed when a Army truck skidded into a tree near Munsingen on 15 January. (NYT p. 2).

**Feb 23, 1952:** GI brawls made an issue in Germany. Fights, molestations of civilians including a rash of assaults upon German taxi drivers provoked a tide of indignation. In response to a request by this correspondent [Jack Raymond], US Army headquarters at Heidelberg prepared a summary of serious incidents between German and Americans. The file shows that in the last 6 months there were 543 serious crimes committed by Americans against Germans and 1,707 serious crimes committed by Germans against Americans. However, many of the latter crimes involved stolen vehicles or burglaries. While most of the incidents about which the Germans have complains concern bar room brawls or street fracas, these are not listed as serious crimes by the Provost Marshal's office. (NYT p. 3)

[On average there were  $375$  (i.e.  $(543 + 1707)/6$ ) serious crimes per month. In 1950, according to Department of Defense data, there were about 100,000 US military personnel in Germany. In 1957, there were 244,000. A linear interpolation gives about 140,000 occupation troops in 1952. If one assumes that this figure is approximately correct one gets a rate of  $375/14 = 27$  serious crimes per month and per 10,000 soldiers. It may be of interest to compare these figures with the statistics of incidents during the occupation of Japan. In November 1946 there had been 592 offenses by the occupation forces against Japanese and 1,733 offenses by Japanese against occupation forces, which gives a total of 2,300 incidents. As the number of occupation troops was approximately the same as in Germany, one gets a rate of  $2300/14 = 170$  incidents per month and per 10,000 troops, that is to say about 6 times more than in Germany. A difference of such a magnitude is probably due to the fact that the definitions used in Germany and in Japan are not the same. In the case of Germany they are labelled as "serious crimes" while in Japan they are called "incidents". The data about "incidents" in Germany mentioned by Willoughby (2001) are of the same order of magnitude as in Japan.

To make the comparison more reliable and objective one should focus on a well defined variable, for instance the number of deaths. An article of 30 August 1952 (see below) speaks of about 20 fatalities per month, but we do not yet know the number of fatalities in Japan.]

**Apr 3, 1952:** ● (49,17,0,158) A Bronx (New York City) GI was killed in Germany after being pinned between two Army tanks while directing one into position. (NYT p. 5)

**Apr 3, 1952:** Vienna. The Austrian National Assembly adopted a resolution protest-

ing against the continued military occupation of the country, against military courts still trying Austrians and economic exploitation of the Austrians by the occupation powers. (NYT p. 6)

**Apr 3, 1952:** Under the occupation exchange rate, the British Army got 40 Deutsch Mark in exchange of each pound sterling, compared with the official rate of 11.8 DM for one pound. (NYT p. 6)

**Apr 3, 1952:** Out of the West German budget for the fiscal year 1951-1952, some \$ 1,820 million were allotted to occupation costs and in particular to paying the 452,000 German employees of the occupation forces. This total represented 26% of the receipts (\$ 7,000 million). (NYT p. 6; Liesner 1989 p. 55, 219)

[This percentage is about the same as in Japan]

**Apr 20, 1952:** Anti-US riot in Vienna. Several hundred demonstrators began molesting American automobiles approaching a US Army recreation center. (NYT p. 3)

[The article says “several hundred Communists” but one may wonder if this qualification is really correct in view of the resolution adopted by the Austrian National Assembly on April 3 which showed a widespread feeling against the occupation. Incidentally, it can be noted that there will be serious anti-American incidents in Japan 10 days later.]

**Aug 30, 1952:** Heidelberg. The US Army imposed a midnight curfew on 250,000 US soldiers in Europe in a move to curb the number of brawls. The action followed a series of incidents which took the lives of up to 20 soldiers a month. Statistics show that most soldiers who got into trouble did so after midnight. (NYT p. 3)

[On the basis of 140,000 US troops in Germany as computed above (see the date of 23 February 1952) this leads to a fatality rate of  $20/14 = 1.4$  fatalities per month and per 10,000 troops; it is known that for military personnel the fatality rate due to accidents and illness is of the order of 0.8 which gives a total rate of  $1.4 + 0.8 = 2.2$ . As a matter of comparison, it can be recalled that the fatality rate during the occupation of Iraq in 2003-2006 was of the order of 3 (per month and 10,000 troops).]

**Aug 30, 1952:** Communist demonstrations were suppressed in West Berlin. These demonstrations followed the death of rail worker Fritz Schönherr on 19 August 1952. According to some accounts he died from an heart attack, according to others he was murdered by a right-wing group.

**Dec 1952:** In his book “A German community under American occupation”, John Gimbel reports that during the period 1945-1952 American troops hunted at night with spotlights and fished with hand grenades. They drove their vehicles over planted

fields. Moreover, pedestrians were run down almost daily. (Gimbel 1961)

## 1953

**Jan 16, 1953:** In a surprise midnight swoop British police arrested 6 former Nazis Wednesday night in the British zone and accused them of plotting to regain power in Western Germany; other suspects were arrested in the following days (NT p. 1)

**Jan 20, 1953:** Chancellor Konrad Adenauer challenged and rejected the British charges of a Nazi plot (NYT p. 6).

**Jun 6, 1953:** ● (50,17,0,158) A GI from New York City was killed in Germany (NYT p. 3).

**Sep 2, 1953:** West German police arrested 4,000 alleged communists at the eastern border (NYT p. 1)

## 1954

**Jul 11, 1954:** ● (51,17,0,158) A GI from the state of New Jersey was killed in Germany (NYT p. 3).

## 1955

**Dec 31, 1955:** Between September 1948 and 1955 there have been 200,000 trials of German people by US military courts in the American zone of occupation (Nobleman 1984, p. 186).

[What kind of offenses are included in this total?

- As German courts have been established for the purpose of denazification in April 1946, one would not expect such cases to be tried before US military courts.
- German tribunals ceased to function after World War II but it is likely that they resumed operations before September 1948; therefore, the previous total should not include crimes committed by Germans on Germans. Thus, one comes to the conclusion that most of the 200,000 cases consisted of offenses by Germans against occupation forces.]

## 1956

**July 25, 1956:** Dr. Wilhelm Högner, Minister-President of Bavaria, stated publicly after several serious incidents were reported in a single week that he considered the

US Seventh Army Command unable to control its troops. Popular West German newspapers gave vivid accounts of rapes, homicides and assaults allegedly committed by US servicemen against civilians. Yet, Army spokesmen said that the rate was the same as 6 months or 2 years ago. If the US Army could produce statistics to support such a disclaimer the situation would be much better for the reputation of US soldiers. The fact seems to be that a general order to suppress such data was issued several months ago. Such fragmentary information as is available is inconclusive. Recently, some new measures have been taken. For instance, no soldier may spend a night in Munich. (NYT p. 5)

**Sep 9, 1956:** Touchy coexistence between GIs and German people. On 12 July 1956, the 42 city councillors of Bamberg, a prospering provincial city of 76,000, approved unanimously a resolution demanding that the US Army (5,000 GIs) get out of town. Subsequently, in trying to resolve the issue, the councillors declared that the resolution may be withdrawn but only when the streets of Bamberg are safe again. (NYT, Magazine Section, p. SM 8)

**Sep 9, 1956:** Vogelweh Air Base is a brand new American base of 10,000 inhabitants in the suburbs of Kaiserslautern (in the West of Germany). It has a grammar school, a high school, a spate of nurseries all staffed by teachers from the US. Movie theaters show the same films as home. Department stores have the same products as in America. German newspapers are not sold on base because there is no demand for them. The base has a connection with American recreational facilities at Garmisch in the Bavarian Alps. In short, there are only few contacts between American soldiers and the German population except in special circumstances such meetings between military commanders and mayors or relief operations after a natural disaster. Another source of contacts is through the ring of prostitution which surround Army camps in Germany. In general the stays of US servicemen last two years. (NYT, Magazine Section p. 11, 56)

# Chapter 5

## Quantitative evidence

[To be completed]

## Chapter 6

### Conclusion

What conclusions can be drawn? For reasons already delineated, they will necessarily be very provisional. One observation is that the incident rate drops in the course of time. This is fairly natural because the causes of confrontation dissipated one by one: the economic situation became better, the dismantling of factories stopped, the requisitions of houses came to a halt as the strength of occupation armies was progressively reduced. This decrease is in sharp contrast with the case of Japan where the Korean War added a strong momentum to anti-American feelings.

Due to the big uncertainty affecting the rate of incidents in 1945-1947 we do not yet know if the rate increased, reached a maximum (may be by mid-1946) and then decreased, or if it fell steadily after May 1945. Needless to say, it is of considerable interest to know which one of these two patterns is correct.

From a broader perspective, what are our objectives with these notes? There are both short-term and long-term goals and we will discuss them separately.

The short-term objective is to get a more realistic (and more plausible) picture of the occupation years. In the introduction we emphasized that the most comprehensive sources would be the archives of courts martial and provost courts that took place between 1945 and 1952. Until these archives become accessible, one can use the following alternative sources:

- (i) Newspapers, especially regional newspapers some of which may perhaps have been less subject to censorship.
- (ii) Correspondence and personal notes of military commanders and in particular of General Clayton.
- (iii) Oral testimonies of German people, GIs or British soldiers who took part in the occupation.

So far, we have used German newspapers on only short time intervals. The purpose was more to test the interest and reliability of the sources than to get systematic coverage. More work is required to cover the whole period. Using the sources mentioned in (ii) and (iii) also requires more work.

Getting a more accurate picture of some salient facets of post-war years in Germany

is certainly a valuable goal in itself. However, the question becomes even more important if one looks at it from a comparative perspective. Occupation of a defeated country by a military force is a phenomenon which occurred recurrently in history. To the comparative historian, these occupation episodes offer an ideal “laboratory” for studying how a society reacts to divide-and-conquer strategies, to coercion, to hardship, etc. Naturally, the sample of episodes used in the analysis must be factually correct, otherwise no sound conclusions can be drawn. As the confrontation facet received only scant attention so far, this important episode can hardly be used for the purpose of comparative analysis, at least not until a more accurate picture is developed. The present study aims at closing this gap.

From a purely historiographical perspective, this episode is an interesting challenge. As already noted, German medias were largely controlled by the Allied Military Government and there is of course a permanent temptation for officials to present news and data in the way that suits them best. There can be little doubt that this censorship contributed to preserve “peace and harmony” but when it comes to historical analysis the result can be quite misleading. In other words, for post-war Germany as in so many other cases, the challenge is whether or not scrupulous historians will be able to identify and scrutinize forgotten events behind the smoke screen put in place by well-meaning governments.



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The present draft is still provisional and in many respects unsatisfactory, but I am convinced that with the help and support of my friends and colleagues it will be possible to bring this project to a successful completion.

 **8****Abbreviations**

CIC: Counter Intelligence Corps

GHQ: General Headquarters

ICD: Information Control Division, a Special Staff division of USFET

OMGUS: Office of the Military Government, United States

PWD: Psychological Warfare Division

SHAEF: Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Force

USFET: United States Forces in the European Theater

WAC: Women's Army Corps

## 9

## References

## Newspapers

BZ: *Berliner Zeitung*, German newspaper, Berlin (East)  
 FAZ: *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, German newspaper, Frankfurt  
 LM: *Le Monde*, French newspaper, Paris  
 LS: *Le Soir*, Belgian newspaper, Brussels  
 NYT: *New York Times*, American newspaper, New York  
 NCDN: *North China Daily News*, Shanghai edition  
 RZ: *Rheinische Zeitung*, German newspaper  
 SD: *Sueddeutsche Zeitung*, German newspaper, Munich  
 ST: *Straits Times*, Malaysian newspaper, Singapore  
 Times: *Times*, British newspaper, London

Except when stated otherwise, the date which is indicated in the chronology chapter is the date of the newspaper article. rather than the date of the event.

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