

# How did Europe become an American turf?

Bertrand M. Roehner, University of Paris 6 (UPMC: University Pierre and Marie Curie)



Ramstein Air Base, Rhineland-Palatinate, Germany (2014).



The United States has conducted nation-building operations since 1898 and does so in a uniquely American way. After defeating Spain in Cuba and routing their forces from the Philippines, the United States began nation-building efforts to establish democratic governments that were representative of the populace.

—Colonel Jayne A. Carson, *Nation-building. The American way* (April 2003)

“We must contemplate an increase in the activity of the USIA [US Information Agency, created in 1953] and vastly increase exchange programs with the key population elements of the intelligentsia, the labor leaders and the newspaper leaders.”

—Vice-President Richard Nixon, *366th National Security Council* (22 May 1958)

“If the proposed student and other groups which we are to organize in Latin America go out and fight for pro-American causes, we must avoid giving any over-emphasis to our policy of trying to keep Latin America as a safe preserve for US private enterprise and US private investment. We must rather go along with the sentiments of the people [even though] this may sound like promoting socialism.[. . .]

We have been for some time promoting the development of a Common Market in Europe. Why could we not make a similar effort on behalf of a Common Market for Latin America?”

—George Allen, head of the USIA, *366th National Security Council* (22 May 1958)

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)



## HOW DID EUROPE BECOME AN AMERICAN TURF?

Version of 26 December 2015. Comments are welcome.

Lecture given at Chuo University<sup>1</sup>, Tokyo on 12 November 2013

*In the title, “turf” is understood in its (mostly US) meaning of being an area claimed by a group as its own<sup>2</sup>. In other words, in political context, it is what is called a client state, a backyard or a sphere of influence.*

A distinctive characteristic of the present study is that it uses a comparative approach (in line with Roehner and Syme 2002). We do not wish to limit ourselves to just one country because we believe that comparisons bring with them a deeper understanding. For instance, the history of US “Civil Affairs” in France becomes clearer when compared with the cases of Denmark or Norway.

### Table of content

Is Europe a satellite of the United States?

Eastern satellite countries

NATO

Revealing episode

Kill Program

US torture program in Eastern Europe

What historical model for the European Union?

Forms of influence

Overt domination or soft power

Hidden cultural influence

Hidden political influence

Four methods for gaining influence

Method 1: Filling a power vacuum

Method 2: Developing means of cultural influence

Method 3: Funding non-governmental organisations

Method 4: Gaining influence through “cooperation”

Military cooperation

The Gore-Chernomyrdin Commission

---

<sup>1</sup>In the months following the lecture several of the points considered in this paper were developed further.

<sup>2</sup>As for instance in the sentence: “The real turf war between the Department of State and the Department of Defense has just begun.” (November 2009). As a French translation of the title one may propose: “L’américanisation de l’Europe. Comment est-elle devenue un satellite des Etats-Unis?”

## Spreading American football in China

Ultimate goal: the worldwide domination of US companies

The case of Monsanto

Foreign executives sentenced and jailed in the US

Defeated countries in historical perspective

Conditional versus unconditional surrender

The conditional surrenders of 1871 and 1918

The unconditional surrenders of 1945

Postwar manipulation of vanquished countries

Luxembourg and its radio station

Liberation

British and US influence after 1945

Impact of Radio Luxembourg on Communist Poland

Armed Forces Network (AFN)

Countries where there are US bases

Countries without US base: example of Taiwan

The liberation of Denmark

Why Denmark?

Civil affairs directives for Denmark

Causes of friction with the United States

Occupation episodes and NATO

Founding members of NATO

Command structure of NATO

Expansion of NATO

AMGOT, AMG, Civil Affairs Division, G-5 and MAAG

Terminology

Crucial issues in civil affairs plans

Outline of the activities of Civil Affairs Divisions

Example of France

Multiple facets of the activity of Civil Affairs

Resistance to foreign influence

US opinion about sovereignty concerns

Iceland

Italy

South Korea

France

The case of France

Charles de Gaulle

Jean Monnet

The key issue of national sovereignty

Chronology of the Civil Affairs dispute in the case of France (1942-1946)

Chronology of the liberation of Denmark

Chronology of the liberation of Norway

Why did the US promote European unification (1945-1960)?

Role of the United States in European unification?

Adverse side effects of an assertive Europe

*Divide et imperia*

The EDC: a failed vassalization attempt (1950-1954)

Outline

Chronology (1949-1955)

A test-experiment: is the US in favor or against the euro?

Looking beyond official statements

US vision of a United Europe

The case of the European Free Trade Association promoted by the UK

Amero or dollarization

The road to the euro paved with failures and delays

Crisis of 2005: Roberto Maroni

Crisis of 2010-2013

The case of the Baltic countries as seen by the New York Times      Conclusion

Was Jean Monnet a spokesman of US interests?

Monnet's role in Algiers in early 1943

Monnet's support for the European Defense Community

Monnet's support for the Euratom project

Appendix A: The American Forces Network (AFN)

Appendix B: American Football leagues in Europe and Asia

Europe

Asia

Appendix C: Baseball leagues in Europe and Asia

References

## Is Europe a satellite of the United States?

### East European satellite countries

Before 1990, East European countries were commonly referred to as being satellite countries of the Soviet Union. In this case the story seemed fairly clear. The USSR took advantage of its post-war military occupation of these countries to impose the political domination of the Communist party. Although this was probably a crude schematizing in the sense that after the war the Communist party also became the leading party in countries such as France and Italy which were occupied by American troops, the suppression of popular movements by Soviet troops first in Hungary in 1956 and in Czechoslovakia in 1968 provided conclusive proof of the subordinate status of these countries.

On the contrary, west European countries which after the war were occupied by American and British troops were never referred to (except perhaps in Communist media) as being satellite countries of the United States. In addition, it would be reasonable to expect that through the creation of the European Union, Europe was able to strengthen its political independence. Yet, as will be shown below, this did not happen. On the contrary, in 2013 the European countries were more subordinate to the United States politically, militarily and culturally than they were in 1960. How can one explain such a paradox?

One important part of the explanation is that US influence was applied through fairly hidden channels. This kind of influence often called *soft power influence* turned out to be very effective nevertheless. In contrast, the fact that in 1990 all East European countries (and even some former nations belonging to the USSR) severed their links with Russia and eventually joined NATO shows that the methods used by the Soviet Union in order to maintain influence were quite ineffective and definitely no match for soft power methods.

The success of the United States in developing soft power methods is impressive not only with respect to the Eastern Bloc but also compared with the record of France or Great Britain in their former colonies. For instance, whereas US influence over the Philippines was maintained ever since the country became independent in July 1946, French political influence over its former colony and protectorates of North Africa, namely Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia, collapsed almost immediately after these countries gained independence<sup>3</sup>.

---

<sup>3</sup>The only noticeable US failure was Cuba which until 1959 was a *de facto* US colony. In this respect one may remember that Cuba declared war on Germany and Italy on December 11, 1941 that is to say, 3 days after the attack on Pearl Harbor. Moreover, all Japanese living in Cuba (there were a few hundreds) were arrested and jailed even earlier than those in the United States.



What are these soft power methods and how do they work? This will be the main issue addressed in this study. It will be seen that an appropriate answer leads us back to the Second World War and its aftermath.

But first of all, let us briefly assess the extent of US influence over Europe.

The fact that over the past decades US influence has been thriving can be illustrated by the following observations.

## **NATO**

As we will see later, NATO is a military organization that is completely dominated by the United States in the sense that the Commanding officer is always a 4-star US general appointed by the president of the United States.

The “Washington Treaty” which marked the beginning of NATO was signed in March 1949 but the same design was already contained in the “Five-Nation Treaty” signed in Brussels in March 1948 which was a military alliance between Belgium, Britain, France, Luxembourg and the Netherlands.

The founding members of NATO were the following countries: Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, the United Kingdom. All these countries were occupied (partially or totally) by US troops during or after the Second World War<sup>4</sup>.

On the contrary, if we consider countries which were not occupied by US troops such as Finland, Ireland, Spain or Sweden none of them were among the founding members of NATO.

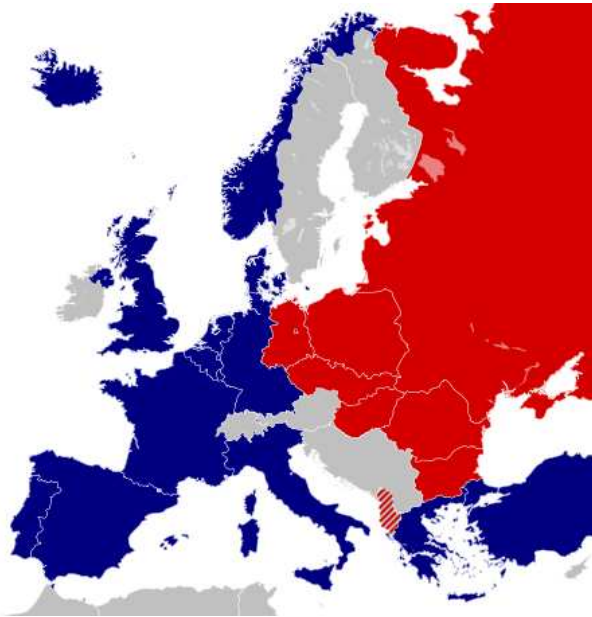
NATO was founded in 1949, and although Korea was outside of the zone covered by this alliance, 8 NATO countries took part in the Korean War on the side and under the command of the United States. Although nowadays NATO’s initial Cold War mission no longer exists, by 2013, NATO has swollen to 28 countries plus a number of partner countries.

The wars which took place since 1945 also suggest that the influence of the United States has increased rather than decreased. Some 19 nations took part in the Korean war on the side of South Korea and under US Command. Yet, only the closest US allies (Australia, New Zealand, South Korea and Thailand) sent troops to take part in the Vietnam War. This contrasts with the over 50 countries which sent troops to take part in the war in Afghanistan which started in 2001.

## **General de Gaulle’s 1958 pledge regarding NATO**

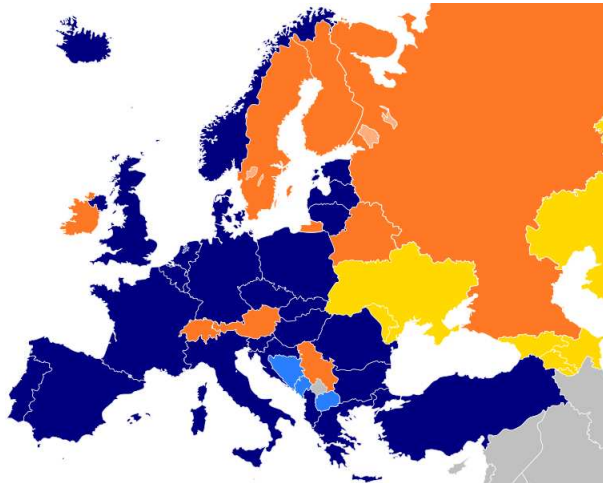
---

<sup>4</sup>In this statement we include of course also the cases of peaceful occupations such as the occupation of Newfoundland, Greenland, Iceland, the Azores Islands. Whereas in some of these cases the occupation took place with the agreement of the legal government in the case of Greenland and Iceland it was done against the will of the Danish government.



**Fig. 1a** Map of NATO countries in the 1950s during the Cold War.

*Source: Wikipedia*



**Fig. 1b** Map of NATO countries in February 2012.

Light blue: membership planned. Yellow: partnership planned. Orange: partnership for peace.

*Source: Wikipedia*

General de Gaulle came back to power in late May 1958. Remembering from the war years that he would not be a pliable partner, the US State Department was at first very opposed to its coming back to power. As always, this position was well reflected in the New York Times. An article published on 15 May 1958 says:

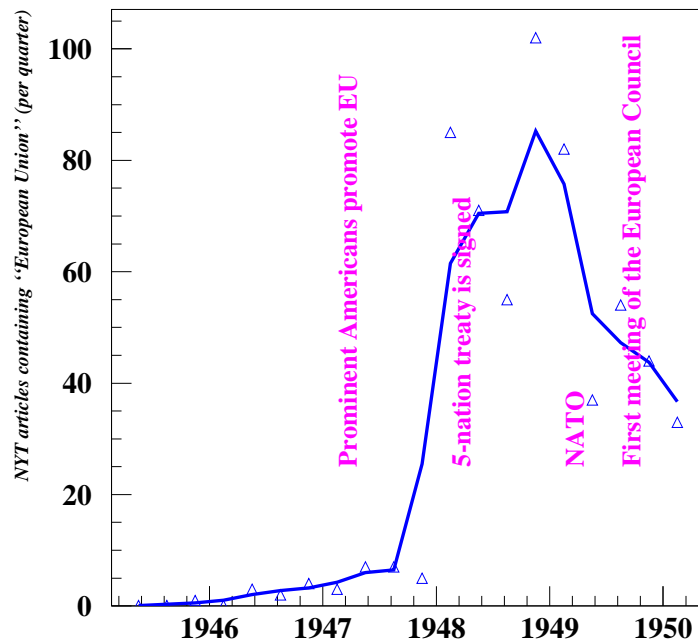
The possibility of an attempt by General Charles de Gaulle to return to power caused apprehension in the State Department. The United States is apprehensive but thinks de Gaulle will not succeed.

Four days later, the same journal reported:

The United States military officials, deeply concerned over the developments in France, are reconsidering proposals to relocate important European military



**Fig. 1c** Even after the end of the Cold War American hydrogen bombs continue to be stored on US bases in several NATO countries. In September 2015 the Russian Foreign Ministry charged that the US was upgrading B-61 nuclear bombs (such as those shown in the picture) stored in Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands, Italy and Turkey. In official statements such bombs are referred to as “special weapons”. The place shown in this picture provided by the “Federation of American Scientists” is (supposedly) at the “Nellis Air Force Base” in Nevada. *Sources: <http://www.military.com> and Federation of American Scientists.*



**Fig. 1d** US interest in European unification. The numbers of occurrences of the expression “European Union” in the New York Times suggest that the climax of US interest in European unification was in 1948-1949. Nonetheless, the European Economic Community (which eventually led to the EU) started only in 1957. The fact that the Five-Nation Treaty was a blue print for NATO can be seen from the fact that the wording of its main article (Article V) is almost identical to Article IV of the Washington Treaty through which NATO was created. *Sources: Search engine of the New York Times; Wikipedia*

installations. (NYT May 19, 1958 , p. 1)

This was probably a way to put some pressure on the French military.

However, the most important event was not revealed in the New York Times. It is

the fact that General de Gaulle found it necessary to make a pledge about keeping France within NATO. This is what can be learned from the following account given by the US Embassy in Paris.

On 21 May 1958 Mr. Henri Tournet, an aide of General de Gaulle, accompanied by Colonel Sternberg, Executive Officer of MAAG in France, visited the US Embassy. He gave guarantees regarding de Gaulle's position on NATO that allowed the embassy to write to the State Department (on 1 June) "We have been assured from so many sources that De Gaulle will continue the policy of supporting NATO". (FRUS, 1958-1960, France)

Indeed, that is what he did during his first term. France left NATO only 7 years later during the second term of President de Gaulle.

### **NATO used as a Trojan horse of US influence**

After World War II, in the face of the threat (real or supposed) of a Soviet invasion, almost all West European countries were dependent on the United States for their defense. The following episode illustrates how this lever could be used. In January 1946, after the resignation of General de Gaulle, the formation of a Socialo-Communist coalition government was contemplated in France. During a crucial party meeting an urgent letter was delivered by a motorcyclist. It was written by General Billotte, the deputy Chief of Staff and explained that "a Sociolo-Communist government would be seen as a threat by our Allies; as a result they may consider reducing their commitment to guaranty our security" (Demory 1995). Eventually, a coalition government was formed which, apart from the Socialist and Communist parties, also comprised the Christian Democratic Party (MRP). Probably we will never know what had been the real influence of General Billotte's letter.

Although the previous episode took place before NATO was established, it reflects fairly well the kind of pressure that NATO members may experience. For instance, the US State Department may have to give its green light for the appointment of the ministers of defense or the heads of intelligence in NATO members. Of course, this will not be done openly, but the State Department may express its concern if someone is appointed who is on his "black list".

### **A revealing episode**

An episode that occurred in early July 2013 revealed some of the hidden channels of influence of the United States on European countries. First of all it can be observed that while Edgar Snowden, a former National Security Agency officer, was still in Hong Kong trying to find a country willing to offer him political asylum none of the European countries came forward with a proposal. The only countries which considered offering asylum to Snowden were Latin American countries.

Then, on 3 July while Snowden was a refugee in the international zone of the Moscow airport and still trying to get an offer of political asylum, a rumor spread according to which he may be on board the aircraft of president of Bolivia Evo Morales who was flying back to Bolivia after attending a conference in Moscow. When the aircraft approached the French border the pilot was informed that France, Italy, Spain and Portugal had closed their airspace to the aircraft<sup>5</sup>. Being too short on fuel to fly to Bolivia without flying over these countries, the aircraft landed in Vienna. There, the Austrian police came on board, checked the identity of the 5 crew members and of the 6 people accompanying President Morales and searched the plane. Then the Austrian Ministry of Foreign Affairs issued a statement saying that Snowden was not on board<sup>6</sup>. This was of course a gross violation of diplomatic rules and it raised a wave of indignation in Latin America.

Clearly in that affair the European countries were not defending any proper national interest. Quite on the contrary, they should have seen Snowden as being on their side as shown by revelations made subsequently. For instance in November 2013 it became known that the cell phones of most European leaders (including German Chancellor Angela Merkel) had been spied upon by the NSA. Thus, there can be little doubt that it is US pressure which was at work in this incident<sup>7</sup>. The State Department recognized that pressure was applied on some Latin American countries. For instance, economic countermeasures had been threatened on Ecuador if the country offered Snowden asylum.

This incident can be contrasted with another one which occurred in April 1986. After the bombing of a nightclub in Berlin which killed two GIs and for which Libya was held responsible president Ronald Reagan ordered retaliatory air strikes on Tripoli and Benghazi ten days later without clearance of the UN Security Council. For this raid, the United States was denied overflight rights by France, Italy and Spain (as well as the use of European continental bases), forcing the aircraft to fly around France and Spain, over Portugal. The strike killed some 15 Libyan civilians, including Qaddafi's adopted 15-month old daughter. The French embassy in Tripoli was also hit. On 20 November 1986, the attack was condemned in a resolution of the United Nations General Assembly.

---

<sup>5</sup>Later on, France and Spain provided embarrassed explanations according to which they did not know that President Morales was on board and that they granted permission as soon as they knew. However, what happened in Vienna was an even clearer demonstration.

<sup>6</sup><http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-latin-america-23158242>  
<http://www.österreich.at/nachrichten/Boliviens-Praesident-Morales-in-Wien-zur-Landung-gezwungen-FOTO/109035185>.

The Internet provides very little precise information on what happened in Vienna. It is said that President Morales accepted that the plane be searched by the police but we do not know for what compelling reason he did so while at the same disapproving such a procedure.

<sup>7</sup>An interesting point would be to learn through what channels US "orders" were sent.



Below we examine three common methods through which a country can increase its influence over others. But first of all it can be useful to get a clearer idea of the objectives that these methods should achieve.

## The Kill Program

Another revealing fact is the Kill Program. Implemented by the United States through a panel of the “National Security Council”, it can be described in the following terms (Wikipedia article entitled “United States National Security Council”):

A secret “National Security Council” panel may pursue the killing of an individual who has been called a suspected terrorist. In this case, no public record of this decision will be made available. No laws govern criteria for killing such suspects. It is unknown who has been placed on the kill list.

One would expect that a program set up officially (albeit secretly as far as actual decisions are concerned) by a government in order to kill its enemies in foreign countries would raise some concern among people who care about human rights or among governments willing to protect themselves against such intrusions. May be it had, but one must recognize that very little was heard about any protests<sup>8</sup> among the small number of protests one can mention an opinion-paper by former president Jimmy Carter (New York Times 24 June 2012) entitled “A Cruel and unusual record”. It opens with the following sentence: “Revelations that top officials are targeting people to be assassinated abroad, including American citizens, are only the most recent, disturbing proof of how far our nation’s violation of human rights has extended”. . Is the fact that all major world media kept (and still keep as of 1 January 2014) a low profile about this program not revealing of their state of submissiveness? Killings of people through drones are presented as acts of war, never as what they really are<sup>8</sup> namely cold blood *assassinations*. The opposite situation in which a state would kill allies and friends of the United States would certainly trigger a strong response.

Incidentally, it can be observed that, despite its interest, the main Wikipedia article about this program (which goes under the sanitized sybilline title of “Disposition matrix”) has not been translated from English into any other language. Surprising, isn’t it?

This program was started before President Obama came to power but it was vigorously developed during his first term. The fact that the Nobel Peace prize has been awarded by the Norwegian Parliament to the head of a government which maintains such a program also raises some questions.

---

<sup>8</sup>For indeed there is no declared state of war between the United States and the relevant countries.

It is always enlightening to put things into a broader perspective. During the second half of the 19th century Great Britain was the major world power. Not surprisingly, it was also confronted to the activities of “terrorists” particularly in Ireland and India (this reminds us of the fact that there is no clear difference between freedom fighters and terrorists). Were there also assassination lists? It would be interesting to learn more on this point.

### **US torture program in Eastern Europe**

As an introduction to this episode one can read the following excerpt from an article of the New York Times of 22 December 2009<sup>9</sup>.

The prime minister of Lithuania, Andrius Kubilius [Prime Minister from December 2008 to December 2012], accused the United States of using “Soviet methods” to set up two secret prisons in Lithuania for terrorism suspects. He said the United States had reached what he contended were clandestine and illegal arrangements with the Lithuanian secret services for prisons that were outside civilian control. Arvydas Anusauskas, chairman of the national security committee, said state security officials “received requests from the CIA to establish detention facilities.” Five planes that apparently transported people to Lithuania were never inspected by civilian officials.

Mr. Kubilius did note that “Lithuania is a strategic United States ally, and cooperation in many fields, including secret operations and counterterrorism, is very important.” But he said it was “deeply worrying” that security officials established the prisons without oversight from senior civilian officials.

The scandal over the secret prisons has shaken Lithuania’s political system and the intelligence chief has already resigned.

It can be observed that, according to this article, the Prime Minister gave very little information about these black centers: no dates, no location, no data about the number of prisoners. However, he clearly recognized the existence of the torture centers<sup>10</sup>.

It is interesting to understand how this story came to light. The first steps can be summarized as follows.

1 April 2005: Article (in French) by Stephen Grey in the newspaper “Le Monde Diplomatique”. It was entitled: “The United States invent the delocalisation of tor-

---

<sup>9</sup>In fact, the story about a black center in Vilnius was revealed at the end of August 2009 by Dick Marty, the investigator for the European Council. His declaration of 21 August 2009 is reported in the Wikipedia article (in French) on this topic.

<sup>10</sup>The English Wikipedia article on this topic is entitled “Black site”. In its introduction, it says that “not one [European] country has confirmed that it is [or was] hosting black sites”. Obviously, this statement is not correct. The rest of the article tries to give the impression that the existence of these centers was first revealed by US media. Such a claim is in line with US reaction in such cases, e.g. My Lai massacre or Abu Graib, Most often, however, such claims are not correct.

ture” (Les Etats-Unis inventent la délocalisation de la torture).

2 May 2005: Publication of the annual report of “Amnesty International”. It contained only vague reference to the secret prison program. Basically, it mentioned that some prisoners were transferred to countries where torture was known to be commonly used<sup>11</sup>. It is possible that Amnesty had more information on hand but had delayed its publication in a deal with American authorities. Perhaps this is what triggered the publication of the article in the “Washington Post”.

3 June 2005: On a visit in Washington the Swiss foreign affairs minister asked the Secretary of State for explanations about aircraft which had temporarily landed in Switzerland and were suspected of carrying prisoners. In the Swiss press those landings were referred to as the “Guantanamo Express”.

4 2 November 2005: Article in the “Washington Post” entitled: “CIA holds terror suspects in secret prisons”.

In fact, apart from recognizing the existence of secret prisons abroad, the article gives almost no information about them. Instead, it says: “The Washington Post is not publishing the names of the Eastern European countries involved in the covert program, at the request of senior US officials”.

What gave much weight to this article is precisely the fact that it was written under the supervision of US officials. It was, so to say, a semi-official statement.

5 7 November 2005: The Secretary General of the Council of Europe sent an information request about secret prisons to all member states. Was this request triggered by the article in the “Washington Post” or by earlier intelligence? We do not know.

6 On November 25, 2005, the lead investigator for the Council of Europe, Swiss lawmaker Dick Marty announced that he had obtained latitude and longitude coordinates for suspected black sites.

7 8 January 2006: The Swiss newspaper “Sonntagsblick” published a document intercepted on November 10 by the Swiss Onyx interception system. Purportedly sent by the Egyptian embassy in London, the document stated that 23 Iraqi and Afghan citizens were interrogated at Mihail Kogalniceanu base near Constanta, Romania. According to the same document, similar interrogation centers existed in Bulgaria, Kosovo, the Republic of Macedonia, and Ukraine.

8 22 January 2006: A preliminary report written by Dick Marty at the request of the “Council of Europe” was released. A second version was published in June 2006.

The previous chronology is clear evidence of how powerless Europe has been. This program certainly started shortly after September 11, 2001 but it took 4 years for European authorities to start an investigation. In the opposite situation namely a

---

<sup>11</sup>The French version of the report reads: “Prisonniers considérés comme hautement importants maintenus en détention secrète dans des lieux inconnus. Remise de prisonniers à des pays où la torture est notoirement en usage”.



foreign country running secret prisons in the United States<sup>12</sup>, it would certainly not take 4 years for US federal authorities to find out the truth.

Actually, European governments do not know the truth even 13 years later for they were completely unable to get any answers from the United States.

For the case of Lithuania, this is confirmed by the following excerpt.

NYT (10 Decembre 2014) [Title: Lithuania presses Washington to say whether it tortured prisoners there.](#)

Lithuanian Prime Minister Algirdas Butkevicius called on Washington to say whether the CIA used his country to house one of the bases where it tortured prisoners.

It will be interesting to see if the Prime Minister will be able to get a reply. It seems that by 20 January 2015 no reply had been received because this led the Lithuanian parliament to propose the establishment of a temporary inquiry commission.

(<http://en.delfi.lt/lithuania/politics>)

### **What historical model for the European Union?**

Is there a historical model that can describe the present status of the European Union? It must correspond to a political entity made of several states both small and larger ones but with none of them emerging as a natural leader. The models which come to mind immediately are Germany before it realized its unity under the leadership of Prussia and India shortly before British colonization<sup>13</sup>.

In both cases the subservient character of these political entities was made clear by the fact that other powers, particularly France and Great Britain, took advantage of their weakness by playing some against the others and by using them as allies for their own political agenda. The consequences were more dramatic in the case of India than in the case of Germany because in India there was only one “master” whereas in Germany, the separate kingdoms (e.g. Saxony or Bavaria) and principalities could make use of the rivalry between France and Britain to their advantage.

As India the European Union has also a single “master” but in contrast with India it is a soft domination. It can be called a cultural, information technology, mass media and military vasselage. In appearance, each country has still its political autonomy, but what does that really mean when most of the aspects of everyday life just mirror what is done in the United States. Europe is no longer the source of creativity that it was in the 19th and early half of the 20th century<sup>14</sup>.

---

<sup>12</sup>Such a situation is so unlikely that it is even difficult to imagine.

<sup>13</sup>It must be recalled that formally British India, i.e. the so-called Raj, did not comprise all India. Many principalities had some measure of autonomy.

<sup>14</sup>Even when Europe achieves an outstanding succes, as was the case with the discovery of the Higgs particle in July 2012, it is unable to tell it to the rest of the world in an effective way. At that time it was easy to check that outside

It is often thought that unity brings strength but on the other hand one should not forget that a chain is only as strong as its weakest link. To open the European Union to countries which already had a strong loyalty pledge to the United States has endangered its very existence.

## Forms of influence

### Overt domination or soft power influence

The most obvious example of overt influence is colonialism. In this system all the important decisions are overtly made by the colonizer. However history shows that this system is strongly rejected by the population. Uprisings may fail as was the case in Ireland, Poland or South Korea, but their very existence shows that this form of influence is inherently unstable.

### Soft/smart power

In June 2014 after a military coup occurred in Thailand, the media reported that the US State Department blocked some cooperation programs. such as (Taipei Times 26 June 2014):

- a US-sponsored firearms training program for the Thai police
- a study trip to the US for senior Thai police officers

If these programs had not been blocked they would probably not have been mentioned in the media. These are typical examples of what is called soft (or smart) power. Such sponsored trips to the US are also offered to army or air force officers, students, journalists, hospital directors, and indeed to any persons who may have an influence in key-sectors.

The same article of the Taipei Times (based on a Reuters-AFP dispatch) reported that the US government may also relocate the annual “Cobra Gold” military exercise which is held in Thailand since 1980. It involves 13,000 troops from US-friendly nations across the region and is one of the largest US military exercises.

### Hidden cultural influence: some general rules

What is hidden influence? Previously we mentioned the case of Snowden’s asylum issue. In this case, the influence is indeed hidden in the sense that we do not know through which channel it was exercised but we can see the effect and readily find out from where the pressure came. In other words, this is not really what one would like

---

Europe most university researchers were aware of the landing of a US spacecraft on Mars (though there had been at least 3 landings prior to the one of July 2012) but almost nobody had heard of the Higgs discovery. This may be due to two factors:

- The worldwide domination of the media industry by US companies.
- The fact that in Europe there is very little awareness regarding the crucial importance of public relations campaigns.

to call *hidden* influence. So, what is hidden influence?

Here is an observation that can be done very easily. In any city that has a subway there are many travelers who are reading novels. By looking over their shoulder it is not difficult to find out the name of the authors. In Paris, that observation suggests that about two thirds of the books are translations of American or English novels. The same observation can be made in the bookstores of airports, whether in Paris, in Copenhagen or Munich. Of course, the range of books offered in airport bookstores is conditioned by the distribution network which does not necessarily reflect the preference of readers, but at least one can say that they shape what readers are able to read.

Another question concerns radio stations. What is the proportion of those on which the singers sing in English?

One can also extend this investigation to scientific issues. For instance, while most persons will have heard about the exploration of Mars by American spacecraft, who knows that an European spacecraft has landed on Titan, one of the moons of the planet Saturn? In spite of the fact that this was the first landing on a celestial body beyond Mars, very few people know about it whether in Europe or outside Europe. Why is this so? One obvious reason is that the journal “Scientific American” publishes 18 foreign-language editions, including in Chinese, French, German, Japanese, Russian. Up to now there is no similar journal published in the European Union.

“National Geographic” has 33 foreign editions. One must realize that apart from its beautiful pictures “National Geographic” is also a mouthpiece of the State Department. One example will be sufficient.

The issue of June 1950 (p. 778) has an article about South Korea in which the following sentence appears several times: “May 10, 1948: South Koreans flock to the polls for their first free election in their country’s history”. It is now well recognized even by Korean newspapers that this election was far from being free and in fact rather a masquerade. Not only were all leftists either imprisoned or in hiding, but even many conservative leaders refused to take part. Moreover, the high turn out was only obtained through threats and coercion<sup>15</sup>.

The previous examples illustrate a much broader objective. The bottom line is this. For any country it is much easier to sell its services (retail trade, movies, TV programs, health care, restaurants, real estate, computer software, and so on) to countries which have the same social framework and organisation. It has often been observed that the so-called globalization is in fact an Americanization. Ever since the end of

---

<sup>15</sup>More details can be found in “Relations between US troops and the population of South Korea” by the present author.

World War II the US government and the American business community have had a very clear understanding of the fact that if they can export their way of life and the way in which they see the world, this will greatly facilitate the worldwide adoption of American products and services.

Besides exporting the US way of life there is also the wish to bar the introduction of ways from abroad. At first sight such a statement may seem strange because of the broad diversity of the US population. Yet, “E pluribus unum” (i.e. “Out of many make one”), the motto which is on the Seal of the United States describes very well the policy of the American government. All possible ways are accepted provided that they become integrated into the American melting pot.

The case of softball may help to understand this point. In almost all countries softball is the most popular sport. Even for somebody who has no good knowledge of the rules, it is much more pleasant and easier to follow than American football or baseball; it can even be said that it is more interesting to watch than basket ball. Yet, during the past two decades professional softball has made little headway in the United States. On the contrary (as documented elsewhere in this study), American football and baseball have been introduced (with more or less success) in many countries. Often this introduction followed a political change after a government friendly to the United States came to power.

### **Hidden cultural influence: the case of funding by US foundations**

In this subsection we focus on the case of social science research in France. However, one should keep in mind that there were similar programs in other countries (e.g. the UK or Germany). Moreover, such programs also extended to the natural sciences, particularly biology.

In the 1930s and again after 1945 French research in the social sciences was funded by the “Rockefeller Foundation” and by the “Ford Foundation”. It would of course be naive to think that when a foundation gives millions of dollars it does not try to take advantage for the purpose of influencing the direction of the projects developed by the recipients. However, to be acceptable this influence must be applied in subtle and hidden ways.

A striking example of this kind of interference was provided in April 1950 (that is to say two months before the Korean War started) with the removal of Georges Teissier from his position as director of the French “National Center for Scientific Research” (CNRS) and (on 28 April 1950) of Nobel prize laureate (in 1935) Frédéric Joliot-Curie from his position as head of the French “Atomic Energy Commission” (CEA) to which he had been appointed by General de Gaulle in 1945. The reason of these removals was that both Teissier and Joliot-Curie were members of the French

Communist Party.

A report of the “Rockefeller Foundation” contains the following acknowledgement (Mazon 1985, p. 194).

“The Rockefeller relations with the CNRS will be held in abeyance [in other words the RF will suspend funding] until a solution has been found for replacing the ousted Communist Director, Georges Teissier, and also until some way could be found for eliminating Prof. Joliot-Curie, as head of the CEA.”

At the time, US pressure was suspected in the elimination of Teissier and Joliot-Curie but there was no tangible proof. The previous excerpt seems to provide one.

What were (and still are) the objectives of the Rockefeller foundation in developing funding programs? Well, they were basically the same as already reported previously.

1 To press for the adoption of the American model in scientific research for this will prevent the rise of concurrent approaches. In short, this will make other countries followers and prevent them from becoming leaders. At the same time it will make easier the worldwide diffusion of American scientific journals.

2 To try to prevent research promoted by countries with which the US is in confrontation. This means for instance opposing research on the Marxist conception of economics, history or sociology. For instance the notion of class struggle is to be banned. On the other hand, research on the neoliberal conception of economics is to be promoted.

3 To develop a good knowledge of rival countries. At first sight it may seem that this objective is in contradiction with the previous one but in fact it is not. In order to set up “Radio Free Asia” (or similar stations funded by the State Department) one needs persons who are fluent in Chinese. In order to rewrite the history of rival countries in a way which suits the conceptions of the State Department or the Department of Defense one needs historians who have studied the history of those countries. This may apply to the USSR during the Cold War or to China in the early 21th century.

Next, we describe how such objectives were implemented by the Rockefeller or Ford foundations. Most of what follows is based on the study of Brigitte Mazon (1985).

It may be useful to show how control could be gained without attracting much attention. One way is to choose the directors very carefully. This is expressed in the following comment made in a report of the Rockefeller Foundation (31 August 1955 p. 196, 313):

“The active leaders of the program are well aware of the danger of Communist domination of the program and of slanting the results of research. Furthermore,

the powerful positions held by the senior sponsors [in the French academic world] i.e. Berger, Febvre, Braudel would seem to be guarantees against the placing of leftist graduates of the program in key positions in other universities”.

In other words the objective was not only to prevent leftist influence in the programs sponsored by the US <sup>16</sup> but in fact in a more general way in French universities.

The discretion requirement is well expressed in the following observation made by an officer of the Rockefeller Foundation with regard to a report of 26 October 1933 that the Foundation had sent to *recteur* Gustave Roussy (my translation):

This report should have been kept internal. It gives the impression that the Foundation wants to impose specific directions. It would be more clever to say that we were solicited by French social scientists.

The “Institut Scientifique de Recherches Economiques et Sociales” (sometimes the word “scientific” is omitted) was created in 1933 thanks to a \$350,000 subsidy of the Rockefeller Foundation (Mazon 1985, p. 71). Its president was Charles Rist and its secretary Robert Marjolin. It became a place for the diffusion of neoliberal ideas.

On the contrary a project submitted by the ethnologue Marcel Mauss was not supported, may be, observes Brigitte Mazan (1985, p. 59) because he was a socialist.

### **Hidden political influence**

It is more difficult cases of political influence. For instance, when a country asks to become a member of NATO it is very difficult to know if this is the wish of the majority of the citizens or if it is rather the will of leaders who, for some reason, support this idea. Referendums on such questions are seldom organized <sup>17</sup>

For fairly obvious reasons, political influence is usually belittled or denied both by the overlord country and by the leaders of the vassal country. This statement can be illustrated as follows.

- During his time as a civil affairs officer in Tokyo, Alfred Hussey was one of the Americans who drafted the Japanese constitution. In 1962 after retiring from the CIA at the age of 60, Hussey wanted to publish his memoirs. Quite understandably he thought that they would represent a major contribution to the post-war history

---

<sup>16</sup>Support was discontinued to leftists such as Jean Chesnaux (p. 196), Frédéric Joliot-Curie, or Georges Teissier (p. 169).

<sup>17</sup>The constitution of the European Union that was submitted for approval to French citizens in May 2005 contained language establishing a close connection between NATO and the European Union. Whether or not this was one of the main reasons for its rejection is difficult to say. Incidentally, it can be noted that (i) This was the only *binding* referendum organized in the countries of European Union. (ii) Despite the French rejection the constitution was adopted in the form of the so-called “Lisbon Treaty”, this time without any referendum. Is such a procedure which sidelines the wishes of citizens not revealing of how democracy is implemented in the European Union?



of Japan. Probably did he assume that almost 20 years after the war the real story could be told. He was wrong. In principle, it should have been easy for him to find a publisher: not only did he have an interesting story to tell but in addition he had personal connections with the editors at three publishing houses. Yet, none of them wanted to publish his story. One of the publishers replied: “I’m not sure it will be a book for the general public”. Another wrote: “It is a book I would like to read but it is not a book I would like to have to promote.” Whatever they had in mind, the obvious outcome is that Hussey was unable to publish his memoirs.

- There have been several books written about the operations in foreign countries conducted by the State Department and the CIA. Quite a few of these books were written by former case officers of the Agency. After describing a number of fairly well-known historical episodes the authors usually conclude the book by emphasizing two things. The first is that most of these cases either ended in failure or were not of great usefulness anyway<sup>18</sup>. The second is that if in the past the State Department was able to control a number of foreign newspapers or journals this was a long time ago thus implying that in the meanwhile this control has ended.

In the next sections we describe some of the methods through which a country *A* can increase its influence over a country *B*.

## Method 1: filling a power vacuum

“It is crucial that France emerge from the liberation as an *independent nation*. For that purpose everything must be organized *in advance* so that a national government takes over *immediately* and leads the country according to its *own wishes* until the citizens can express their preference through elections”.

*General de Gaulle, London, 10 May 1943, Message to the National Resistance Council (my translation).*

How can a power *A* win a durable influence in a country *B*? A method which has been practiced extensively by the United States since the end of World war II relies on filling the *power vacuum* that occurred in many countries in the aftermath of the war.

In this game the duration of the power vacancy is a crucial parameter. It can last just the time for an area to emerge from the active combat phase which means one or two weeks in the case of the liberation of France. On the contrary, if the country is ruled by a weak provisional government until elections can be organized then the power vacancy may last between one and two years. During this time the “Civil Affairs

---

<sup>18</sup>If that would be true, Congress would certainly have raised some critical questions and suggested some means for improving the working of the Agency.

Division” will be in good position to appoint his favorite candidates for top positions in police, education, broadcasting, foreign trade and other key-departments.

It is this issue which was at stake in April-September 1943 in Algiers. President Roosevelt and the State Department supported General Giraud against General de Gaulle because they knew that, according to his own words, the former was not interested in “politics” and would therefore be fairly pliable for all issues which were not strictly military. On the contrary, as shown by the excerpt given at the beginning of this section, General de Gaulle had a clear understanding of the fact that time greatly mattered. As one knows, thanks to an agreement with General Eisenhower (see the chronology at the date of 30 December 1943), he was indeed able to have his way in this respect<sup>19</sup>.

Even so, for some questions, there was a power vacancy. For instance, in August 1945, i.e. one year after Paris was liberated, France was still unable to set itself the exchange rate of its currency<sup>20</sup> (FRUS, 1945, France, 23 August 1945).

Usually, the vacancy method uses the following steps.

### **1 Power vacuum.**

At the end of a war there is often a power vacuum in some of the countries which have been affected. This is fairly clear for a defeated country because it will be occupied temporarily by the victor and its former government will be either dissolved or it will have to operate under the supervision of the victor. But the same is also true for liberated countries. During the war they may have had a government which collaborated with the defeated countries, so the old government has lost its credibility but until it can be replaced by another government there will be a power vacuum.

### **2 AMGOT and the Civil Affairs Division (CAD)**

The key-point is that at least two years before the end of the war, the US government started to train so-called “civil affairs officers”. After being trained these officers would become part of the “Civil Affairs Division” or CAD. The CAD was an essential part of the “Allied Military Government for Occupied Territories” (originally abbreviated AMGOT, later AMG<sup>21</sup> and ) which designates the administration of European countries occupied by Allied forces during and after World War II.

---

<sup>19</sup>More details about this episode can be found in the chronology chapter.

<sup>20</sup>In the exchange rate set by the Allies, the franc was over-valued. There was a similar policy in other occupied countries. One reason for that may have been to encourage GIs to buy US goods from the so-called “Post Exchange” stores (PX stores) or to send home a part of their earnings (which is indeed what they did). Moreover, France was giving GIs a complementary income in compensation for the unfavorable exchange rate.

<sup>21</sup>In the New York Times, the term AMGOT was used during only a short time interval of a little more than one month, between 18 July 1943 and 26 August 1943, that is to say at the beginning of the invasion of Italy. The last article announced that following instructions from the War Department “from now on AMGOT will be called AMG. In liberated countries, the expression the more neutral expression “civil affairs” was preferred to “Military Government”. Actually, US newspapers did not give much attention to the activities of the “Civil Affairs Division” and preferred to uphold the belief that liberated countries were ruled solely by their provisional governments.



### 3 What was the role of Civil Affairs officers?

Although the CAD and AMGOT were really two facets of the same organization, it was the CAD that had the key role. So, we must give some more details about it. First, one must observe that the Civil Affairs officers belonged to the military, most often to the US Army but sometimes also to the US Navy. The expression “civil affairs” means that they will be in charge of running a government which will have all the attributes and functions of the normal government of a country: police, public security, education, national statistics, transportation, health, agriculture, fishing, mining, and so on. Previously, we said that AMGOT and the CAD were in charge of the administration of the occupied countries. The word “administration” suggests a fairly neutral role limited to purely technical issues. This is indeed the thesis held by the Department of State and by the Army Headquarters. However, a closer examination reveals that CAD was really the government of the country and that it took advantage of this position to guide the country in the direction that it favored. How can we see that? Well, it is very simple. According to the State Department thesis the role of CAD was only to keep order in the country while war was still going on. The following observations show that the role of the CAD was much broader.

(i) In many countries the CAD created [newspapers](#) and established radio [broadcasting stations](#) which would have a long-lasting influence. One of its roles was also to import American movies, to adapt them to the local context, and to show them around in cities, towns and villages.

(ii) [Denmark and Norway](#) were not directly liberated by Allied forces; rather, German troops left these countries after the capitulation of Germany on 8 May 1944. Thus, no occupation by Allied troops would have been necessary from a military perspective. Yet, both countries were occupied mostly (but not only) by British troops and these troops stayed for quite a while.

(iii) [Civil Affairs in Denmark](#). A document entitled “Details of [Civil Affairs directives for Denmark](#)” was issued by the State Department on 9 April 1945, that is to say only one month before the end of the war.

It reveals several objectives which were of political nature. One may for instance mention the following.

“If it is thought that Danish educational associations are being used to conceal political activities which would interfere with the success of the mission, the Danish authorities will be requested to effect such [suspension or suppression](#) as it is desired. Failing such compliance the Commander-in-Chief is authorized to take direct action”.

This means that under directives of the Commander-in-Chief, the Civil Affairs Division could directly intervene in the selection of Danish teachers.

In the present section the power vacancy of the central government was due to a major disruption such as war and invasion. In more normal circumstances, the power of the central government can be weakened for a number of different reasons. (i) An inept government system may create chronic political instability (ii) An excessive regional decentralization may leave the central government unable to enforce its decisions in the whole country. Separatist tendencies in some provinces may have the same weakening effect.

World history shows many examples in which a power *A* was able to take advantage of a weak central government in a country *B* to gain influence over its leadership. One well-known case was the kingdom of Poland in the 18th century. In that time every nobleman could veto any decision taken by the assembly of noblemen. It may have been a fairly “democratic” system (in the sense that noblemen did not have to follow any rule with which they disagreed) but it made the government powerless and ineffective. The neighboring countries, namely Austria, Prussia and Russia, took advantage of this weakness to the point of breaking up the country.

## Method 2: developing means of cultural influence

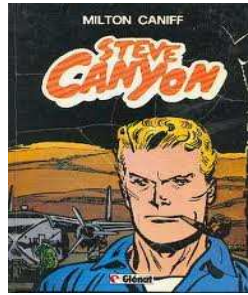
We have already mentioned the fact that one of the main missions of the Civil Affairs Division was to create newspapers and broadcasting stations and to organize the distribution of American movies. In the title of this section the word “culture” should be understood in its broadest sense in order to include sports, comic strips, TV programs for the children and many other things. The case of comic strips for children will provide an illustration.

In the same way as many French Wikipedia article are just translations of the American article, so do the “Buck Danny” comic strip series find their inspiration in similar stories written by Milton Caniff in the United States. There is a Wikipedia article about the “Steve Canyon” series as well as about the “Buck Danny” series. However, the later does not mention any link with the American series. It is likely that many fans of the series published in Europe were not even aware of the “Steve Canyon” series.

As far as the adult population was concerned, radio and movies were the most important medias. US troops arrived in liberated countries with a huge supply of American movies. Here are a few illustrations.

- In the fall of 1945 during the 6 months following the liberation of Belgium some 80% of the movies for which people were queuing in Brussels were American. Of the remaining 20%, about 10% were French, and those of the Soviet Union represented 2.5%. One should add that at the end of 1942 the “Office of War Information” had been given the power to ban the export of films highlighting the less attractive

Steve Canyon by M. Caniff (1947–1988)



Buck Danny by G. Troisfontaines, J.-M. Charlier and V. Hubinon (1947–2008)



**Fig. 2 An American comic strip and its French version.** The “Steve Canyon” series was in fact the continuation of the series “Terry and the pirates” which was started by Milton Caniff in 1934. It takes place in China at a time when the United States started to worry about the Japanese policy. In 1946, the “Terry and the pirates” series was published in “Pacific Stars and Stripes”, the free daily newspaper destined to US troops in the Pacific theater. At the end of 1946, Caniff started the “Steve Canyon” series but the “Terry and the pirates” series was continued until 1973 by another author. The “Steve Canyon” series ended in 1988 with the death of Caniff. There are striking similarities between Caniff’s series and the Buck Danny series published in Spirou, a Belgian French-speaking journal for teenagers. It is not only the main character (namely Buck Danny alias Steve Canyon alias Terry Lee) which is the same in both publications, but also several secondary characters (e.g. Sonny Tuckson or Dragon Lady) Of course, the crucial point is that by describing US-led military operations the Buck Danny series also spread the version of history favored by the State Department.

side of American society. (Schrijvers 2012)

- Early in 1945, the OWI (Office of War Information) invited Belgian newspapermen over to the United States. There was a similar campaign in France. For instance, Jean Paul Sartre was among the invited persons and he wrote several long articles for the “Figaro” newspaper after he came back. (Schrijvers 2012)

### Method 3: Funding non-governmental organisations

Let us explain this method on a specific case which will serve as an illustration. After 1945 and for reasons that will be discussed later on, the US State Department was eager to promote the political, economic and military unification of Europe. The idea itself was not new of course. For instance in the period between the two World Wars several organisations (e.g. the movement of Count Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi) had emerged which had a similar agenda. They had little resources however and their means were even more limited after the war. When European unification became one of the priorities of the State Department a natural procedure was to fund those organisations already in existence whose programs were consistent with the State Department’s own objectives. The “European Movement” was the most important of these organisations. Based in London and headed by Winston Churchill, it was directly funded by the US government. After the creation of the “American Committee on United Europe” (ACUE) by the Truman administration in January 1949 the funding was channeled through this organisation.

Needless to say, when you sponsor a foreign organization you expect it to work in a direction which agrees with your own objectives. Such a crisis broke out in June 1950 when the ACUE abruptly refused to continue funding the European Movement. This episode will be discussed in more detail later on.

## Method 4: Gaining influence through “cooperation”

### Intelligence cooperation

Ever since the end of World War II, the United States is the uncontested world leader in [military affairs and intelligence](#). In this respect it can be recalled that the US spends on defense as much as the rest of the world taken together. Regarding intelligence gathering, the recent revelations by Edgar Snowden have shown the extent of US intelligence gathering organizations. When one country is so much ahead of all others cooperation is not a partnership between equals but rather a fairly unequal association in which the weaker party falls under the dependence of the leader.

A first illustration was provided by events which occurred in Australia in 1973-1974. In March 1946 a secret treaty called the “UKUSA Agreement” was signed between the UK and the US for the purpose of intelligence sharing. In the following years it was extended to Australia, Canada and New Zealand. However, it was considered so secret that successive Australian prime ministers were not informed about it. The first prime minister who was informed was Gough Whitlam in 1973 in the aftermath of the so-called Murphy raids on the “Australian Security Intelligence Organization” (ASIO). At that time a US CIA station was operating at Pine Gap without the knowledge of the Australian government. Whitlam tried to close Pine Gap but was dismissed as Prime Minister before being able to do so<sup>22</sup>.

As a second illustration one can mention the collaboration of several former East European countries with the CIA in its overseas torture program for which the CIA prefers to use a fairly opaque expression, namely “rendition program”. On 24 July 2014 the European Court of Human Rights ruled that the CIA ran a secret jail on Polish soil in the years following 2001<sup>23</sup>. The court case was brought by two men, Saudi-born Abu Zubaydah, and Saudi national Abd Al-Rahim Al-Nashiri, who said they were flown in secret to a CIA-run jail in a Polish forest and subjected to treatment that amounted to torture (Taipei Times, Reuters 25 July 2014, press release on the website of the Court). The two men, who are now (July 2014) in Guantanamo

---

<sup>22</sup>In a highly surprising move, Whitlam was dismissed by the Governor-General that is to say the representative of the British queen. For more details about this episode one can read the Wikipedia articles entitled “UKUSA Agreement”, “Gough Whitlam”, “Pine Gap”.

<sup>23</sup>There is some irony in this judgment for one may remember that this court started to operate in 1954 together with the “European Commission of Human Rights” and that one of its main role during the Cold War was to denounce human right violations in the USSR and East European countries.

Bay, the US military prison on Cuba, brought the case against Poland for failing to prevent their illegal detention and torture.

Since its capture in Pakistan in March 2002 Zubaydah has not been charged with any criminal offence and remains in indefinite detention in Guantanamo.

After his capture in Dubai in October 2002, Al-Nashiri was brought to several places: Afghanistan, Thailand, Poland, Morocco and finally Guantanamo Bay. The US government brought charges against him in June 2008 for trial before a Military Commission. The date of his trial has been set for 2 September 2014.

In Poland the two prisoners were detained at the Stare Kiejkuty base where they were interrogated by CIA teams.

The court ruled that Poland had violated the European Convention on Human Rights and ordered Poland to pay Al-Nashiri 100,000 euros in damages and 130,000 euros to Zubaydah<sup>24</sup>. The Polish government has a close security relationship with the United States. Polish officials have always denied the existence of any CIA jail on their territory, and have refused to collaborate with the court.

Similar cases have been lodged with the European Court of Human Rights against Romania and Lithuania.

It can be observed that the European Court of Human Rights is more a political body than a court of justice.

- Firstly, because until 1998 the admissibility of cases was decided by the “European Commission of Human Rights”. The Secretariat of the Commission was chosen by the Secretary-General of the Council of Europe. The deliberations of the Commission were secret.

More precisely, when the “Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms” (drafted by the Council of Europe in 1950) came into force in September 1953 three institutions were responsible for its enforcement: (i) the “European Commission of Human Rights”, (ii) the “European Court of Human Rights” and (iii) the “Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe”, consisting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Member States. The members of the Commission are elected by the “Committee of Ministers”. Moreover, the Commission could refer its reports to the “Committee of Ministers”, which would decide whether the Convention had been violated. In other words, the admissibility process was under the control of a political body, the “Committee of Ministers”.

- Secondly because the court has as many as 47 judges, one from each of the 47 member states of the Council of Europe.

---

<sup>24</sup>Such amounts seem inappropriately small. Moreover, the fact that the judgment came more than 10 years after the crime was committed appears fairly unsatisfactory. The article says that the court ruling did not cover the US because it is outside its jurisdiction. One wonders how during the Cold War East European countries happened to fall within the court’s jurisdiction. Probably it is the court itself which determined the extent of its jurisdiction.



Finally, one should bear in mind that the “rendition program” in Europe was already investigated by the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe which led to the reports prepared by Swiss Senator Dick Marty in 2006, 2007 and 2011.

### **Military cooperation**

Military cooperation between European countries and the United States started right after World War II and continued ever since; at time of writing (March 2016) it is in full swing.

In all European countries, whether defeated countries or liberated countries, the armed forces had to be rebuilt almost completely. Through the **MAAGs (Military Advisory and Assistance Groups)** and through the constitution of NATO the US furnished equipment and expertise but this was not without a cost for the European countries. Basically it resulted in enduring US influence up to present day in all these matters which are of such crucial importance for the independence of a country.

It is revealing that in 2013, that is to say some 60 years after the events that they describe, most of the MAAG archives were still classified.

The so-called war against terrorism provided new opportunities for enrolling European armed forces along side the United States. Many European countries took part in the wars in Afghanistan (which started in late 2001) and Iraq (which started in 2003). In both cases their forces were under US command because the United States provided the major part of the troops. More recently, together with the United States and other NATO countries, France (which did not take part in the invasion of Iraq) became involved in the bombing of Libya and Iraq. The last case, i.e. the bombing campaign against islamic forces in Iraq, illustrates very well how unbalanced this kind of cooperation always is. Although in that campaign of 2015-2016 the French aircraft were taking off from a French aircraft carrier, their objectives were selected by the US command center in Qatar and during their flight they were monitored by and in permanent contact with US radar aircraft (so-called AWACS planes). In other words, without having any direct interest in this war, the French air force was helping the Pentagon to uphold a regime put in place by the US occupation. A parallel with a former time period comes to mind: in the Middle age, it was the privilege of the overlord to get the assistance of his vassals in his wars.

The method in which a country *A* develops cooperation with other countries in fields in which it is the uncontested leader is not restricted to military cooperation. It can also consist in sponsoring the worldwide diffusion of sports such as basket-ball, base-ball or American football. The following section gives an illustration.

### **Unbalanced cooperation: the Gore-Chernomyrdin Commission**

One of the most spectacular examples of an unequal cooperation between two major countries occurred through the Gore-Chernomyrdin Commission (1993-1998) Al Gore was at that time the US vice-president and Chernomyrdin the Russian prime minister appointed by president Boris Yeltsin. Between 1993 and 1998 this commission made key decisions in the privatization of the Russian economy, the reconversion of the Russian defense industry and the reorganisation of the trade between the two countries.

A report of the US Department of State cited in the Wikipedia article about this commission states that “the United States and Russian trade and business agreements [worked out by this commission] included methods to increase the financial strength of both countries”. Well, the reforms that were decided were perhaps good for the United States, but in 1998 after the commission had been working for 5 years, the outcome in Russia was a huge capital outflow, the collapse of the ruble and a *de facto* state bankruptcy.

Incidentally, this financial disaster was similar to the one that occurred in Argentina in 2000-2001 in the sense that there was the same sequence of events: capital flight lead to the collapse of the national currency which in turn compelled the government to discontinue interest payments on IMF (International Monetary Fund) loans.

The Wikipedia article already cited above explains that, together with other cooperation committees, the members of the G-C commission were able to take advantage of their position to enrich themselves.

The United States government gave responsibility to the “Harvard Institute for International Development” to help the Russian transition to a private economy. The Harvard Project was led by Andrei Shleifer and Jonathon Hays. Anatoly Chubais, a Russian economist, politician, and businessman represented Russia. Members of the intertwined Chubais-Harvard network appointed each other on the high-level Gore-Chernomyrdin Commission. Chubais, Shleifer and several others used their insider access to enrich themselves (Wedel 2009) <sup>25</sup>.

The investigation proceeded as follows.

- After the Russian press had raised many questions for over one year, on 22 May 1997 the US Agency for International Development (USAID, an organization working for the State Department has suspended \$14 million in grants to the Harvard University institute, saying two of its advisers used their positions for personal profit (NYT 22 May 1997)
- In September 2000 the the US government filed an 11-count lawsuit against the University, Shleifer, Zimmerman [Andrei Shleifer’s wife], former Harvard employee

---

<sup>25</sup>Nevertheless in 1998 the New York Time deplored the dismissal of Chubais in the following terms. “On Friday, President Boris N. Yeltsin dismissed his Government’s top negotiator with Western bankers, Anatoly B. Chubais. Mr. Chubais was perhaps the man most trusted by Western negotiators” (NYT 30 August 1998).

Jonathan Hay, and Hay's wife Elizabeth Hebert. (McClintick 2006)

- On June 28, 2004, a US district court found Shleifer liable for conspiracy to defraud the US government, and concluded that Harvard had breached its contract with the government. (McClintick 2006)

- On August 4, 2005 Harvard University agreed to pay \$26.5 million to settle a civil complaint about inappropriate security purchases made by Andrei Shleifer. Shleifer himself paid \$2 million and his wife \$1.5 million<sup>26</sup>. (NYT 4 August 2005)

- Janine Wedel in her book "Shadow Elite" (2009, p. 248) observes that Harvard's financial assets swelled from \$4.6 billion in 1990 to \$19 billion in 2000 and wonders how much of this "mushrooming endowment" is due to its financial transactions with Russia.

In his deposition Andrei Shleifer acknowledged that he had numerous conversations with representatives of the "Harvard Management Company", Harvard's finance arm.

Wedel also notes (2009, p. 122) that from 1992 to 1995 the Shleifer-Chubais clan was "the eyes and ears of US policymakers". This group was in close contact with the USAID (an agency of the State Department widely seen as a front organization of the CIA) whose Moscow director, Jim Norris, oversaw Russian privatization operations.

With respect to the privatization operations of the 1990s, Wedel (2009, p. 68) writes that the record of the "massive looting" and transfer of Russian and Ukrainian wealth to Western banks "is by now well established". However, in the chapter that she devotes to this question she fails to give any real example of such "looting". As a matter of fact, one of the only detailed examples of alleged bribery that she gives (2009, p. 5-7) refers to the agreement that former German Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder made with Gazprom about a pipeline from Russia to western Europe.

### **Spreading American football in China**

This case relies on some personal recollections. While visiting Shanghai in September 2007 I was surprised to see a kind of documentary about American football displayed on the TV screens that can be watched in subway stations and in carriages. It was not an advertisement but rather a brief introduction to the basic rules of American football explained by an attractive young lady. It made me wonder what was the organization behind this promotion campaign. I got an answer 6 years later.

Another way to promote American football in China was to send demonstration teams to the campuses of top universities. Organized in a festive way usually over a week end, these demonstrations attracted non only students but also children from

---

<sup>26</sup>It should be noted that Harvard itself had also bought a substantial amount of Russian shares. For instance, it had bought \$130 million shares of the Russian oil company Surgut. (NYT 3 August 2005)



the city neighborhood along with their parents.

On 9 November 2013 there was a long article in “China Daily” which eventually provided a clue. It started with the following sentence: “History will unfold at the Capital Gymnasium in Beijing on Sunday afternoon [10 November] when American football makes its long-anticipated debut in China. “It has been a long journey but I am thrilled to be the one who sponsored what we believe is the biggest thing to hit China’s sporting scene in a very long time” said Martin Judge who has sunk more than \$10 million into making his dream a reality. He added “We could not have hoped to come this far without the support and cooperation of the Chinese government”. In the first year, 70% of the players will be American; then, in subsequent years the proportion of Chinese players is expected to rise. The kind of football which will be played will be so-called “Arena American football” which features much less interruptions than standard American football in which the action usually stops some 30 seconds after it started.

Perhaps one may be tempted to say: “Well, this is only about sport, so what is the point?”. This is precisely the trap. We will see that this argument is used over and over again. “This is only about comic strips, this is only about public health, . . .”. However, any smart political leader will understand that all these topics have also a political dimension and significance. It is all about the confrontation between different cultural systems. The Romans were able to spread their way of life throughout their empire. After emperor Constantine (306-337) converted to Christianity, they were even able to “export” their religion.

## Ultimate goal: the worldwide domination of US companies

In the process of influencing other countries what is the main objective? The cases documented in this section strongly suggest that it is the worldwide expansion and domination of US companies. Of course, all government support their national companies. However, there is a big difference between the highly effective support provided by the US State Department and US Department of Justice and the basically ineffective support provided by the European Commission. Why is this support ineffective?

- Firstly because the European Union is a very weak form of government.
- Secondly, it is well known (examples are given below) that the European agencies in Brussels are widely open to all forms of lobbying which is just a polite way to say that they are in fact corrupt.
- The trials of German and Japanese war criminals in the wake of World War II gave the US government a unique opportunity to develop an expertise in how to build up a case against a foreign country. European countries never had the opportunity to

develop such an expertise.

The next subsections document some specific cases of close and effective cooperation between US companies and the agencies of the US government.

### **The case of Monsanto**

MON 810 was the first genetically modified corn variety developed by the US company Monsanto. Since its introduction in the 1990s it has been adopted by many countries around the world with the exception of the European countries. Overcoming this resistance was therefore a major objective for Monsanto and for the US Department of State. This is illustrated by the following excerpts from a message sent by US ambassador in Paris, Craig Stapleton, to the Department of State<sup>27</sup>.

2007 December 14, CONFIDENTIAL.

In our view, Europe is moving backwards not forwards on this issue with France playing a leading role, along with Austria, Italy. The government of France sees the 10-year review of the Commission's authorization of MON 810 as a key opportunity. It will play a leading role in renewed European consideration of the acceptance of agricultural biotechnology.

Country team Paris recommends that we calibrate a target retaliation list that causes some pain across the European Union. Moving to retaliation will make clear that the current path has real costs to EU interests and could help strengthen European pro-biotech voices. In fact, the pro-biotech side in France have told us retaliation is the only way to begin to turn this issue in France.

Both the government of France and the Commission have suggested that their actions should not alarm us since they are only cultivation rather than import bans. We see the cultivation ban as a first step. We should not be prepared to cede on cultivation because of our considerable planting seed business in Europe.

[Signed] Stapleton

### **Unilateral US tariff hikes may be incompatible with WTO rules**

Let us illustrate this issue with the following case.

On 14 July 2014 WTO [World Trade Organization] judges said that the US broke its rules in imposing hefty duties on Chinese steel products, solar panels and a range of other goods that Washington argues enjoyed government subsidies. The case which had been under scrutiny for nearly two years reflected a widespread concern in the 160-member WTO over what many see as illegal US protection of its own producers. The panel found that Washington was at fault in its calculations of the value of the subsidies to Chinese firms producing items

---

<sup>27</sup>Source: [http://www.wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/07PARIS4723\\_a.html](http://www.wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/07PARIS4723_a.html)

like kitchen shelving, grass cutters and even citric acid. The US was asked to bring its measures into line with the WTO's agreement on subsidies. (Taipei Times, Reuters 16 July 2014)

### **Foreign executives sentenced and jailed in the US**

To our best knowledge no US business executive has ever been jailed for illicit business behavior in a foreign country. Yet, there have been quite a few cases in which Japanese executives were indicted, sentenced and jailed in the United States.

One case is documented below by excerpts from the "Japan Times".

Japan Times, 18 August 2012.

The US Justice Department said an executive with automotive parts supplier Yazaki Corp. has agreed to plead guilty in a conspiracy to fix prices of instrument panel clusters installed in cars sold in the United States. He and others agreed to sell the components at noncompetitive prices.

Toshio Sudo agreed to serve 14 months in a US prison, pay a \$20,000 fine and cooperate with the investigation.

Sudo is the 11th [Japanese] person charged in the investigation of price-fixing in the auto parts industry.

A 14-month confinement for having sold car components at noncompetitive prices appears to be a fairly harsh sentence. The fact that Japan is a faithful ally of the United States did not provide any leniency.

Japanese executives were not the only businessmen to be targeted. One may remember that several executives from the Swiss bank UBS were indicted and tried in the United States for inciting US citizens to tax fraud.

What is really remarkable in such cases is the fact that the countries which were targeted did not voice any protest. This contrasts with the retaliation advice given by Ambassador Stapleton.

### **Policy of the US State Department**

Although we said above that supporting US companies was probably the most permanent objective of the State Department, it would be a mistake to forget its other strategic goals. For instance, during the Cold War containing the Soviet Union was clearly a priority. However friendly toward US companies a foreign leader may have been, if he had close relations with the Soviet Union, he would be considered with suspicion. The same observation can be made nowadays (2014) with the Soviet Union being replaced by the PRC.

**Defeated countries in historical perspective**

## Conditional versus unconditional surrender

From a historical perspective the end of the Second World War was quite exceptional in several respects, the most important of which was the requirement for *unconditional surrender* introduced by President Roosevelt at the Casablanca conference in January 1943. That was a radical innovation. We are told that Churchill and Staline did not immediately agree with this demand because they feared that it might prolong the war. That may indeed have been the case but it also allowed the United States to develop a policy in the defeated countries that prevented the surge for revenge that had occurred in France after the defeat of 1871 and in Germany after the defeat of 1918.

In order to get a clearer view of these differences between World War II and previous conflicts it will be useful to make a comparison with the peace of 1871 and 1918.

### The conditional surrenders of 1871 and 1918

The treaty of Versailles of 26 February 1871 (later confirmed by the Treaty of Frankfurt of 10 May 1871) ended the war between France and Germany. It is often called the “Franco-Prussian War” but this expression is not completely correct because it also involved the kingdoms of Bavaria and Saxony. The peace treaty included the following conditions.

- a war indemnity of 5 billion francs to be paid by France to Germany.
- Some 500,000 German troops would continue to occupy the northern part of France until the payment was complete. Moreover, the cost of the occupation which represented about 0.4 billion franc per year had to be paid by France.
- Preliminary discussion began on the annexation by Germany of the region of Alsace Lorraine in the east of France. Despite Bismarck’s objections, the German generals insisted that the territory was necessary as a defensive barrier. However, Bismarck opposed the annexation because he did not wish to make Germany a permanent enemy of France but his opinion did not prevail.

The war indemnity was finished to be paid in 1873 and by September 1873 all German troops had left France. It can be noted that if one excepts the crucial question of the annexation of eastern provinces these conditions were similar (but somewhat more severe) to those imposed on France by the First and Second Treaty of Paris of 1814 (30 May) and 1815 (20 November). In this case the amount of the war indemnity was 0.7 billion franc; in addition an occupation army of 150,000 troops would remain in the northern and eastern parts of France until the indemnity was paid. The cost of these troops were also covered by France and represented approximately 0.13 billion franc per year. It took France three years to pay the indemnity and in 1818 the last occupation troops left the country.

## The unconditional surrenders of 1945

In 1945 there were unconditional surrenders for Italy, Germany and Japan. In such cases international law holds that the defeated country should nevertheless be protected by the rules stated in the Hague Convention of 1907. However, that was hardly the case. For instance, the Hague convention stipulates that the victor should not violate the patent rights of the defeated country. In spite of that, US technical teams were sent to Germany and Japan to investigate and take away all devices deemed of interest for the American industry (see “Relations between Allied occupation forces and the population of Japan”).

- Although there was no official war indemnity, the victors asked for reparations in the form of commodities and industrial equipment.
- The political leaders of the defeated countries were tried by the victors.
- Moreover, a broad extension was given to the notion of war crime which resulted in several hundred trials of officers and soldiers.
- The occupation of the countries by foreign troops lasted several years during which they were ruled by a military government officially in the case of Germany and *de facto* in the case of Japan.
- The United States got the right to establish military bases for a period of time that continues until present day (19 September 2013).

But these were probably not the most important differences with respect to 1815, 1871 or 1919. The deepest and most lasting effect was the way in which the social and psychological conditions prevailing in the country were affected. Quite surprisingly, these changes affected not only the defeated countries but also the liberated countries. In order to illustrate this point we will consider the case of Luxembourg and Denmark.

## Postwar manipulation of vanquished countries

After a war the main concern of the victor is to prevent the defeated country from starting a new war in the near future. In this respect the postwar provisions set up by the peace treaties of 1918 were a complete failure. As a matter of fact, the previous centuries provided numerous examples of recurrent wars between the same countries. For instance, Britain and France were at war in the middle of the 18th century during the so-called Seven Year War, then again during the American Independence War, then again during the wars that followed the French Revolution of 1789.

With regard to this problem, even a leader like General de Gaulle who had a broad knowledge and understanding of history did not have any good solution to propose. His requirement for a future peace treaty with Germany was to ask that the new German state should not be allowed to rule the part of Germany on the west bank of the Rhine. Well, this zone had already been demilitarized in the wake of World War

I and with little effect.

At a deeper level, neither Churchill, nor de Gaulle or Staline understood that there will be a durable peace only if forces favoring peace emerge and grow inside of the defeated power. On the contrary, the US government had the experience of the Civil War. In this case, the military victory of the Union was followed by what is called a “Reconstruction period” which was marked by considerable interference of the federal government in the internal affairs of southern states. The idea was to root out the factors (and people) that triggered the war.

The same method will be tried in the vanquished countries. Basically it comprised the following steps:

- Persons who were willing to cooperate with the Allies received nominal authority under strict Allied supervision.
- Persons unwilling to cooperate were discarded or tried by military provost courts or (for more serious offenses) by military commissions. The same courts had already been used in southern states during the Reconstruction phase.
- Thanks to a complete control of the media and clever public relations campaigns the occupation forces were able to change the mood of the public and at the same time to hide the fact that the country was ruled by a Military Government <sup>28</sup> .

Inventing and implementing such a policy was certainly a great challenge. With the benefit of hindsight one must recognize that it was an astonishing success. Ever since the end of World War II, some 70 years ago, all vanquished and liberated countries have remained faithful allies of the United States. What a difference with what happened after 1871 or 1918!

## Luxembourg and its radio station

Revision of US policy towards the Soviet-dominated nations of Eastern Europe (Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Rumania<sup>29</sup> . Because present conditions of ferment in the dominated nations offer new, though still limited, US opportunities for *influencing the dominated regimes*, the proposed policy provides for further increasing various kinds of contacts and exchanges such as cultural contacts, exchanges of persons, etc.

---

<sup>28</sup>In a sense this kind of exercise was similar to the role played by the so-called psycho-historians of Isaac Asimov’s “Foundation” story. In this novel the psycho-historians were able to guide the rulers of all nations in the galaxy without giving them any suspicion that they were in fact manipulated.

<sup>29</sup>The policies toward East Germany, Poland and Yugoslavia were distinct and determined at previous meetings of the “National Security Council” held in February and April 1958. The report notes that “for Poland and Yugoslavia we encourage, through financial assistance and otherwise, their demonstrated efforts to assert varying degrees of independence from Soviet domination”. “Radio Free Europe” and “Radio Liberty” were used for this purpose. Broadcasts by Radio Luxembourg served the same purpose in a “softer” (and perhaps smarter) way.



Summary of discussion at the “US National Security Council” of 22 May 1958 (source: Dwight Eisenhower Library).

Luxembourg is a small country but for the Allies it had an important asset, namely its radio station. Established in 1933, it was at that time one of the most powerful private broadcasters in the world with a power of 1,300 kW.

### **Liberation**

On May 24, 1944, the Luxembourg government in exile in Washington, D.C. agreed that, following the liberation of the Grand Duchy, they would turn over the facilities of Radio Luxembourg to US Army control. More specifically, this control would be given to the SHAEF (Supreme Headquarter of the Allied Expeditionary Force). Accordingly, when on 10 September 1944, the German armies fled from Luxembourg (surprisingly without destroying the transmitter) the radio was turned over to the “Psychological Warfare Branch” of the US Office of War Information (OWI) under the management of CBS radio chief William S. Paley.

During the remaining time of the war the radio broadcast so-called black propaganda, a form of propaganda which includes false information destined to mislead and confuse listeners, in the framework of covert psychological operations directed against Germany. After May 1945, for some time the Luxembourg transmitters remained under American control and they were used to relay programs for the “Voice of America” under the name of the “United Nations Station”. How long the station was used in this way is not clear.

### **British and US influence after 1945**

Geoffrey Everitt was hired by Radio Luxembourg in 1946 while on a mission from the British government to help reform the Luxembourg Army; he was hired as a disc jockey.

Born in Melbourne, Australia, Alan Freeman began his European career on Radio Luxembourg in 1957 as a cover DJ.

In 1979 Radio Luxembourg hired former AFN (American Forces Network) soldier Benny Brown. Benny Brown, born in San Francisco and a combat veteran of the Vietnam War, had previously presented the daily breakfast show on the American Forces Network. He left in 1982 but rejoined RTL again in 2005.

### **Impact of Radio Luxembourg on Communist Poland**

The following excerpts are taken from the exhibition catalog of “Remembering Radio Luxembourg in the People’s Republic of Poland” edited in 2012 by the Embassy of Luxembourg in Warsaw and the Faculty of History of the Warsaw University.

*Testimony of Conrad Bruch*, Ambassador of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg in Poland, about the Cold War years.

In October 2010 I came to Warsaw as the new Ambassador of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg to the Republic of Poland. During my first courtesy calls to Polish politicians, high-level civil servants and business people I was struck by the fact that so many of my interlocutors spontaneously associated my country first and foremost with Radio Luxembourg. Indeed, many representatives of modern Poland's political, economic and cultural elites regularly listened to the English-language programs of Radio Luxembourg in their youth.

In other words, Radio Luxembourg had a huge impact on Communist Poland during the late 1960s and 1970s.

Contrary to what was done for “Radio Free Europe” and “Voice of America”, the Communist authorities never resorted to systematically jamming Radio Luxembourg's signal, probably because it seemed apolitical. Radio Luxembourg was indeed a commercial, non-political broadcast. However, smart political leaders know (or should know) that at the end of the day everything, including music, is in fact political.

*Testimony of Wojciech Mann*, music journalist.

It was not only the difference in musical repertoire which was astounding but also the way the programs were presented which was modeled on American stations.

*Testimony of Franciszek Walicki*, Polish band creator and lyric writer.

On 31 October 1967 our band was guest of the famous “Station of the Stars” of Radio Luxembourg as the first rock band from behind the Iron Curtain.

## Armed Forces Network (AFN)

### Countries where there are US bases

In all countries where there are US military bases there is a so-called “Armed Forces Network” radio. Although primarily destined to US troops, such radios are also of cultural importance for the host country as well as for surrounding countries in the sense that they broadcast American music and therefore contribute to its diffusion. Moreover, the fraction of the resident population who knows English will also be able to listen to the news. Most often, even when US forces leave the country, this radio network remains in one form or another. This can be illustrated by the case of Taiwan.

### Countries without US base: Radio station in Taiwan

Prior to 1979, the AFN branch in Taiwan was the “Armed Forces Network Radio



Taiwan” (AFNRT), which had a main station in Taipei. After the US Armed Forces withdrew all its troops stationed in Taiwan, the station was reorganized under the name of International Community Radio Taipei (ICRT) by the American business community and the ROC government. Today, ICRT is the only English-language radio service in Taiwan.

Before we discuss the question of whether occupation episodes can be instrumental in expanding political influence it will be useful to examine the case of Denmark.

## The liberation of Denmark

### Why Denmark?

This country is of special interest with respect to the question under investigation for at least two reasons.

- No battle had to be waged for the liberation of Denmark. Instead its liberation was a consequence of the capitulation of Germany on 8 May 1945 (in fact the Danish resistance movement took over a few days earlier that is to say in the time interval between the suicide of Adolf Hitler on 30 April 1945 and the capitulation of 8 May). In other words, there was no military need for an occupation of the country by Allied troops. The Danish resistance would have been able to disarm the German troops and to direct them toward Allied internment camps.
- No occupation agreement was signed with Denmark because after the German occupation the government had remained in Denmark and the Allies recognized neither the “Fighting Denmark” movement that emerged in London in 1943 nor the “Danish Freedom Council established secretly in Copenhagen.

### Civil affairs directives for Denmark

However, on the Internet one can read a document<sup>30</sup> entitled “Details of Civil Affairs Directives for Denmark, 9 April 1945”. This document is much more interesting and revealing than the occupation agreements with countries such as Belgium or the Netherlands. The occupation agreements are fairly vague and leave aside many important points (e.g. the issue of the bank notes introduced by Allied Forces). On the contrary, because it was not destined to be published and read by Danish people, the “Civil Affairs Directives” provide many specific details as shown by the following excerpts.

1 **Zone covered by Civil Affairs.** You will be responsible for insuring that the execution of Civil Affairs policies is uniform throughout Denmark both in the Military and non-Military Zone.

---

<sup>30</sup>It comes from the UK National Archives (FO 371/47222-0002) and corresponds to a publication of the company “Gale, Cengage Learning”. As of 20 September 2013 it was freely available on the Internet

2 **Establishment of Military Courts** During the initial period, the Commander-in-Chief is authorized to establish Military Courts to try offenses committed by civilians against the property or security of the Allied Forces including violation of the orders, if any, issued by the Commander-in-Chief.

Moreover Allied courts will have exclusive jurisdiction over all members of the Allied Forces. The Supreme Commander may, by directives and orders, extend such immunity to civilians who are not subject to military law.

3 **Procurement.** Procurement of civilian labor, billets and the use of lands or buildings will be effected in accordance with the policy of the Supreme Commander.

4 **US and British flags.** The US and British flags will be displayed (together with the Danish flag) on all administrative buildings where US or British personnel are present.

5 **Censorship.** During the military period, such censorship and control of press, publications, cinema, mail telecommunications will be instituted as are considered necessary.

6 **Re-organization of Danish services.** Safeguarding the interests of the Allied Forces may require the enactment of legislation and the re-organization of Danish administrative and judicial services.

7 **Bank notes introduced by Allied Forces.** Allied Military Kronor notes and Danish Kronor notes now in circulation will be legal tender without restriction.

8 **Control of the banking sector.** Banks should be placed under such control as necessary in order that adequate facilities for military needs be provided. Banks should not be closed unless really necessary and then only long enough to introduce satisfactory control, *to remove objectionable personnel* and to issue instructions. When satisfied that the “Denmark National Bank” is under adequate control it may be used for official business of the Allied forces.

9 **Issuance of bank notes.** Except as may be authorized by the Civil Affairs authority or by a recognized Danish government the issuance of bank notes or kronor currency will be prohibited.

10 **Assets blocked.** All assets (including gold and securities) held by absent owners, hostile political organizations, including the officials thereof will be impounded [i.e, seized and retained in custody] or blocked or used under authorizations issued by the Financial Division of Civil Affairs of Denmark.

11 **Anti-inflation measures.** The indigenous government should be directed to continue existing anti-inflation measures. What was the rationale of this directive? It was of course expected that the introduction of large quantities of bank notes at a moment when the economic activity was almost at a standstill would have inflationary effects. Thus, the recommendation about anti-inflationary measures was an

attempt to limit this impact. The best anti-inflationary measures would have been not to allow the introduction of US-made banknotes<sup>31</sup>

12 **Purge in education** If it is thought that Danish educational associations or activities are being used to conceal political activities which would interfere with the success of the mission, the Danish authorities will be requested to effect such suspension as it is desired. Failing such compliance, the Commander-in-Chief is authorized to take direct action.

13 **Relief** The Commander-in Chief will deliver supplies to Danish authorities in exchange for a receipt showing description of supplies delivered for purpose of ultimate billing and settlements between governments.

Relief will be confined to making available the minimum quantities of food, clothing or medical supplies necessary to maintain the working capacity of the population and to preserve public order.

When these “Civil Affairs Directives” were issued on 9 April 1945 it was probably fairly clear that the war would end soon. In other words, military necessity would soon disappear. Nevertheless, according to these orders, Civil Affairs personnel should take control of the country in many important sectors: public security through the creation of military courts, extensive censorship, supplies and relief, control of currency issuance and banking activities, elimination of “objectionable personnel” in banks and schools or universities.

Moreover, the directives were broad enough to justify almost anything. What should one understand by “safeguarding the interests of Allied Forces”? What are the meanings of expressions such as “hostile political organizations” or “objectionable personnel”? They are open to many interpretations. They may apply to former Nazis but may also include the Communists who, on the contrary, had taken an active role in resistance movements. One may remember that in Japan the occupation forces at first targeted the nationalists but fairly soon (starting in 1946) their aim shifted toward the Communists and in a more general way toward any elements opposed to the occupation and the ensuing reorganization of the Japanese society.

### **Causes of friction with the United States**

At the end of the war there were several contentious points in the relations between Denmark and the United States.

- In 1941 the United States had occupied key-positions in Greenland and had participated in the British occupation of Iceland. In both cases this was done without permission of the Danish government. In the case of Greenland an agreement had

---

<sup>31</sup>As seen above in the treaties of 1871 and 1918, it was a standard rule to ask the defeated country to cover the cost of the occupation. On the contrary, there was no similar rule for the occupation of liberated countries. Of course, this cost could have been covered by Germany, but it would take several years until Germany would be able to pay it. The introduction of US-made bank notes solved the problem *at once*.

been signed on 9 April 1941 by the US Ambassador of Denmark in Washington who, of course, did not have the authority to do that.

- After the occupation of Denmark by Germany, some 40 Danish ships which were in American ports were taken over by the US government. Subsequently, several of them were sunk by German submarines. Denmark wanted a compensation.
- After the capitulation of Germany, Denmark was aiming at small rectifications of its border with Germany in Schleswig-Holstein. London and Washington opposed any rectification.

The chronology section provides information about how these problems were solved. Obviously, it was to the advantage of the United States to be able to negotiate these issues with a fairly weak government.

## Occupation episodes and NATO

In all, after World War II, some 25,000 Civil Affairs personnel have been at work. To say that this number corresponds approximately to two divisions does not give an appropriate perspective because most of these 25,000 personnel were officers. As in the US Army there are about 6 enlisted men for each officer, the Civil Affairs personnel would represent 12 divisions in terms of officers. In other words it was by no means a marginal activity.

Needless to say, the way a nation ensures its defense is closely connected with its status as an independent entity. For instance, as long as the European Union will rely on NATO for its defense it will remain a political dwarf on the international stage. At first sight one might think that the European continent has become more independent of the United States than it was in the years following World War II. In this section we will see that this opinion is not correct. As a matter of fact, it is quite the opposite.

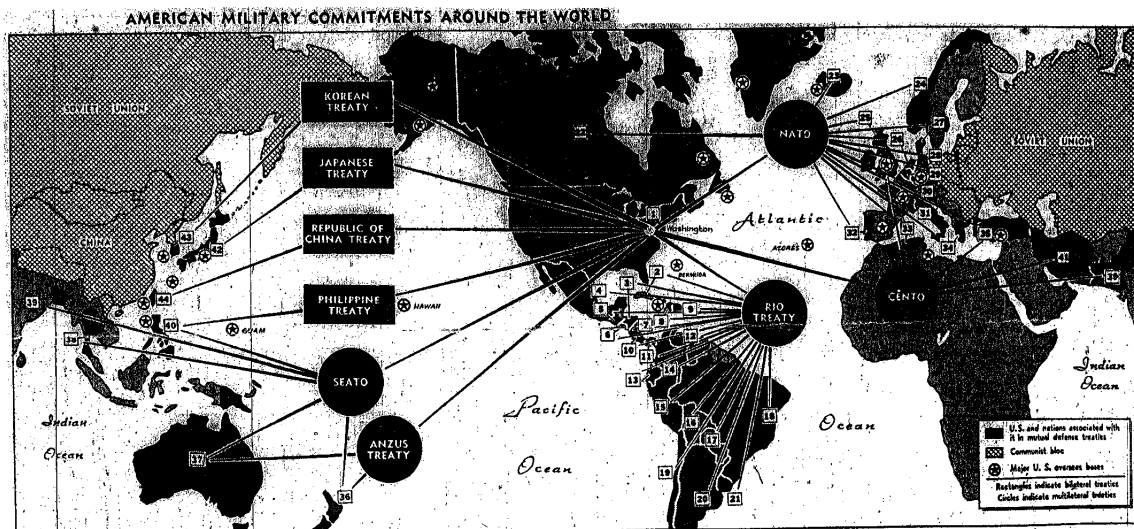
### Founding members of NATO

During the Second World War, apart from the defeated enemy countries, several European countries were occupied by US forces (or accepted US bases on their territory) namely: Belgium, Denmark, France, Iceland, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal and the United Kingdom. One can also add Italy to this list for, although being an enemy country at the time of the Allied invasion of Sicily, it became an ally after Mussolini was overthrown.

In 1949 these 10 countries were all founding members of NATO. If one adds the United States and Canada NATO had initially a membership of 12.

### Command structure of NATO

It is the United States that have the military leadership in NATO because the “Supreme



**Fig. 1c Military treaties between the United States and countries of the non-Communist world in 1963.** The Rio Treaty included 20 Latin American countries; it was signed in August 1947, that is to say almost two years before the NATO Treaty was signed. The SEATO Treaty (which means Southeast Asia Treaty Organization) included the UK, France, New Zealand, Australia, Thailand, Pakistan and the Philippines—It was signed in September 1954. The CENTO Treaty (which means Central Treaty Organization) was an outgrowth of the former Bagdad Pact. It included Iran, Pakistan and Turkey. *Source: New York Times 14 January 1963, p. 11*

Allied Commander Europe” (SACEUR) is appointed by the President of the United States. Since 1950, some 17 four-star US generals have held the SACEUR position. The first one was General Eisenhower. The SACEUR is the commanding officer of Allied Command Operations. Whereas the Secretary General of NATO and the “Deputy Supreme Allied Commander Europe” are usually non Americans, the SACEUR is always an American general. In the media the name of the Secretary General appears very often whereas the name of the SACEUR is rarely mentioned. Whether intentional or not this gives the false impression that NATO is a multinational organization among members who are equals.

## Expansion of NATO

What has been the evolution of NATO? By 2013 its membership has swollen from the 12 initial members to 28. In fact, the expansion was not limited to European countries. As shown by the attached world map the United States had also similar treaties in other parts of the world.

The same evolution can be seen in US-led wars.

- Some 17 nations took part in the Korean War, of which 8 were NATO countries (Belgium, Canada, France, Greece, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, the UK).
- Some 50 nations took part in the war in Afghanistan including all NATO mem-



bers. By geographical division, the largest group were the European countries. In contrast, there were very few countries from Central and South America. Here we see a clear contrast. Whereas South America was a US turf until around 2000, the situation has changed with several Latin American countries becoming ruled by leftist governments who assumed more independent positions with respect to Washington. Whether or not this situation will last is an open question.

## AMGOT, AMG, Civil Affairs Division, G-5 and MAAG

### Terminology

AMGOT means “Allied Military Government in Occupied Territories”

AMG means “Allied Military Government”. AMG is basically identical to AMGOT but under a more tactful name.

The “Civil Affairs Division” (CAD) is a component of AMG and refers to the military personnel in charge of the administration of the countries occupied by Allied forces.

Later on, CAD was referred to as G-5 which made it even more discreet.

MAAG means “Military Assistance and Advisory Group”. It designates the US advisors who took part in the post-war reconstitution and reorganization of the European armies.

As we have already seen above, AMGOT was used in US newspapers only during a short time interval at the beginning of the invasion of Sicily. Subsequently, it may have been used in military documents but mostly in defeated countries. One exception was South Korea which was a liberated country just as the countries of western Europe, but where the expression “US Army Military Government in Korea” (USAMGIK) was commonly used. The fact that the term AMGOT is sometimes used as a substitute for ‘Civil Affairs’ even in present day discussions (as for instance in the title of a study by Mr. Bruno Bourliaguet) is probably due to the fact that it is much clearer and transparent than “Civil Affairs”.

In US plans, military government referred to a throughout implementation of military directives whereas “Civil Affairs” referred to a partial implementation. This difference can be seen clearly in the following excerpt from the official history of Coles (1964)

Since early in 1944 planning had gone ahead. Lest he [General de Gaulle] be alienated a plan for military government was dropped. Two civil affairs plans were prepared in accordance with the decision to invade southern France in support of the main invasion.



From this excerpt it is clear that Civil Affairs plans are a “milder form” of military government.

### **Crucial issues in civil affairs plans**

Needless to say, all governments of liberated countries (including the French provisional government of General de Gaulle) would be willing to cooperate with allied military authorities in giving priority to military requirements over civilian needs in the zone where fighting was under way. However, allied plans went much further in several important respects.

- In the fighting zone the Commander-in-Chief would have *Supreme* authority”. This appears clearly in the first article of the agreement signed with the Norwegian government in exile (Coles 1964, chapter 22: Civil Affairs agreements and disagreements, section 1, excerpts):

1. In areas affected by military operations it is necessary to contemplate a military phase during which the Commander in Chief must exercise supreme authority.

Among other things, “Supreme authority” would mean that military tribunals could be set up to try Norwegian people or that banknotes printed in the United States could be introduced into the country and used by allied troops. This interpretation is indeed confirmed by subsequent articles.

- The end of the military phase is to be determined solely by the Commander-in-Chief which means that he would exercise supreme authority as long as he would wish to do so. This is said very clearly in the second article of the agreement with the Norwegian government.

2. As soon as in the opinion of the Commander in Chief the military situation permits the Norwegian Government will be notified in order that they may resume the exercise of responsibility for the civil administration.

- One may think that in the first phase the directives of the Commander in Chief would be limited to military requirements. However, articles 4 and 5 clearly state that he will also have a leading role in the reorganization of the Norwegian administration and in the appointments of civil servants.

4. During the first phase the Norwegian Government will assist the Commander in Chief by reorganizing the Norwegian administrative and judicial services.

5. If during the first phase conditions should necessitate appointments in the Norwegian administrative or judicial services, the Norwegian Government will, upon the request of the Commander in Chief, appoint the requisite officials.

- Article 7 explicitly gives the power to the Commander in Chief “to bring to

trial before a military court any person alleged to have committed an offense against the persons, property, or security of the Allied forces”.

- The last article leaves open for further discussions a number of other important issues, in particular the tricky questions of imported bank notes.

16. Questions relating to finance and currency and the attribution of the cost of maintaining the civil administration during the first phase shall be regarded as remaining open for further negotiation.

The Norwegian government in exile was recognized by the Allies as the legal government of Norway. In other words, the previous excerpts show that the civil affairs policy was basically the same in all liberated countries whether or not official recognition was given to the national government. Moreover it has often been said that the plans of civil affairs in France were the consequence of a misunderstanding between general de Gaulle and President Roosevelt. The fact that the plans for Norway were the same as for France shows that this kind of argument is besides the point. As a matter of fact, the directives given to civil affairs in Denmark were even more drastic than those for Norway.

In Coles (1964) there is a discussion about the respective roles of the British and US governments in setting up civil affairs plans. It is said that, in this matter as in many others, due to the fact that the United States furnished the lion's share of men and arms, Washington had the last word. Thus, the final form of the civil affairs agreements came from the “Civil Affairs Division” of the US War Department.

So far, we have only discussed civil affairs plans. What about their implementation? This is a much more difficult question because one needs to investigate the frictions and conflicts between the respective national governments and the allied military commanders. Moreover, one needs to do a separate investigation for each of the liberated countries. However, common sense would suggest that the extent to which the plans were implemented depended very much upon the resistance put forth by the respective governments.

In this respect one can mention three factors which enabled General de Gaulle to enforce his opposition to the implementation of civil affairs plans in France.

- 1 France was by far the largest of the countries to be liberated.
- 2 The landings would occur in France, first in Normandy and two months later in Provence. This gave to this area a special strategic importance.
- 3 After the landing in Provence there would be several French divisions fighting the Germans alongside with Allied troops.

## Outline of the activities of Civil Affairs Divisions

The Second World War was probably the first instance in history in which one of the belligerents, namely the United States, planned in great detail what should be done after the war to ensure a world wide hegemony in all countries occupied by its forces. Some 25,000 persons, mostly officers, were trained for that purpose. In terms of strength this represents two divisions but much more in terms of numbers of officers.

Previously wars were ended with a peace conference where the fate of the countries who lost the war was decided among diplomats. This was so in 1815 with the Vienna conference and in 1918 with the various conferences held near Paris (Versailles, Sèvres). In 1944-1945 for the first time the future of the countries which took part in the war, not only the vanquished countries but also the liberated countries, was decided de facto in the wake of their occupation by US forces.

In all occupied countries Civil Affairs Divisions would be set up which would take into their hands all or part of the activities normally assumed by representatives of national governments.

### **Example of France**

Article 1 defining the implementation of “Civil Affairs” in France said: “All the powers will be in the hands of the Commander-in-Chief of Allied Forces. He will act on the basis that France has no legal government. He will not engage into any negotiation with representatives of the Vichy government but will simply take their authority into his own hands.

Article 2 said: “French civil servants and judiciary personnel will be selected or confirmed in their position by the Commander-in-Chief or his authorized delegates. In this respect see also the letter of 8 May 1943 from Roosevelt to Churchill in the chronology section.

It seems that some 1,500 civil affairs officers trained in US universities such as Yale were ready to come to France to fill key-positions.

The ultimate directives to General Eisenhower were contained in a message sent to him by President Roosevelt on 15 March 1944 (Coles 1964, chapter 22, section 5). As shown by the following excerpt, these directives gave him broad powers including for issues which had no military connection but rather concerned French domestic political matters.

5. In entering into relations with the “French Committee of National Liberation” you should obtain from it [that] it will take no action designed to entrench itself in power pending the selection of a constitutional government.
6. In any area of liberated France you will retain the right at any time to make such changes which may seem necessary (a) for the effective prosecution of the

war against Germany; (b) for the maintenance of law and order; and (c) for the maintenance of civil liberties.

### **Multiple facets of the activity of Civil Affairs**

The activity of military governments was by no means restricted to basic aspects connected with the continuation of the war (means of transportation supply of goods and so on) but extended to all aspects of the life of the country. For the purpose of illustration one can mention the following aspects.

- Emission of banknotes printed in the United States which would be accepted in the countries on par with their national currency.

- Military tribunals were set up to try persons for offenses and crimes against the occupation forces.

- Censorship of newspapers, mail, phone calls was established which went far beyond the strict necessities of military censorship. In fact, any criticism of occupation forces was prohibited.

- The fact that police forces were under the control of the military authorities was used to bring to leadership positions persons who were fluent in English. As a rule such persons were also pro-US. Moreover, new police forces were recruited and trained under US control.

- In almost all liberated countries the armed forces had to be reconstructed. Taking advantage of their overwhelming supremacy in military matters, US commanders were able to ensure that the new forces would be equipped with US weapons, organized and trained following US lines and standards. MAAG missions were sent to almost all occupied countries including China, France, Norway and many others.

- Agreements for the establishment of US military bases were secured from the weak national governments which arose in the wake of the military governments.

- Monitoring and control of political activity was established under the cover of maintaining peace and security. For instance political parties had to register with the military authorities and permission from military government authorities was required to hold political meetings.

- The first elections held in occupied countries were often organized with the “help” of US advisers. The fact that during the electoral campaigns police forces were still under the control of the military government gave it the possibility to influence the campaign and thus the outcome of the elections. For the purpose of illustration of such mechanisms one can mention the general elections of 1946 in Japan, 1947 in Italy and 1948 in South Korea.

Military governments were not established in completely uniform ways. At least to some extent they tried to adapt themselves to local contexts. At first sight one may think that there was a drastic difference between the plans that were established for

vanquished countries such as Germany and Japan and those for liberated countries such as South Korea, France or Greece. There were indeed differences. For instance, in contrast to vanquished countries, liberated countries were not subject to paying reparations. However, in many other aspects, including those mentioned above, the organization and rules followed by military governments were very much the same in vanquished and liberated countries.

## **Resistance to foreign influence**

How can one understand that liberated countries with a long history as sovereign states accepted the establishment on their soil of military governments? The answer is that many of them were indeed reluctant to accept it.

### **US opinion about sovereignty concerns**

authorities were inclined to discard the sovereignty issue through the following argument (Treasury Dept Memo, 23 September 1943, cited in: Coles 1964, chapter 23, section 6: British and Americans argue over the kind of currency to be used).

The argument that the use of currencies not under their control may infringe the sovereignty of the governments-in-exile appears to be premised upon a faulty perspective. These governments will owe their very existence to the efforts of the Allied military machine. Unless they object to the use of the Allied armies as an infringement of their sovereignty, there can be little basis for objecting on that ground to the use of one of the economic weapons which those armies deem effective to assure complete victory.

The very same argument that is made here with respect to the currency issue can of course be used as well for any other sovereignty request. In substance, the argument means: “The fact that we are helping you to liberate your country nullifies any of the requests that you may express regarding your sovereignty, period.”

### **Iceland**

One example is provided by Iceland. It was neither a vanquished nor a liberated country. It had been occupied by US forces for the duration of the war in order to prevent Germany forces to take it over. The occupation had led to frictions between US servicemen and the Icelandic population. Therefore when after the end of the war a decision had to be taken regarding the establishment of a permanent US base there was at first a strong opposition against such a project both in the population and in the Icelandic parliament. Nevertheless, through pressure, promises and by raising fear of Soviet influence, the US State department was eventually able to secure a favorable vote in parliament.

## Italy

The case of Italy is quite interesting. Under Mussolini, Italy was allied to Germany. However, after Mussolini was overthrown in July 1943 an armistice with the Allies was signed on behalf of the king. The Wikipedia article entitled “Armistice of Cassibile” says that it was “signed on 3 September 1943, and made public on 8 September”. That is not true however. What was made public was only the fact that an armistice had been signed. The text of the armistice was *not* published. The reason is that it was basically an **unconditional surrender** of the same kind as those imposed to Germany and Japan. On 25 October 1945, there were still discussions under way between Italy and the Allies in order to decide when the text would eventually be published (FRUS, 1945, Italy).

In the words of Prime Minister Bonomi in a declaration made on 5 February 1945, “the armistice follows the formula of unconditional surrender and thus confers to the Allies full power over the internal, financial, economic and military life of the nation”. In other words, between 5 September 1943 and the signature of the Peace Treaty on 10 February 1947 (the treaty came into effect only on 15 September 1947) Italy had the odd status of a “co-belligerent and unconditionally surrendered enemy”. This means that for all really important decisions the successive Italian governments (Badoglio, Bonomi, Parri, De Gasperi) were merely a facade.

It is true that in the course of these four years some Allied controls were progressively relaxed. For instance, on 3 July 1945 it was decided that Italy no longer needed the approval of the “Allied Commission” prior to the execution of its external financial transactions (which included imports and exports). However, even after this date, Italy had to provide detailed information about its transactions (fortnightly and in triplicate form) to the Allied Commission (FRUS, 1945, Italy).

It would certainly be interesting to give a detailed account of the role played by the Allies between September 1943 and September 1947 but this would require a book-length study. Italy was the first country where AMGOT policies were tried. Subsequently, the AMGOT acronym was replaced by “Civil Affairs” but the objectives remained very much the same.

As an illustration it can be mentioned that on 19 January 1945, through the cover of the Allied Commission, the United States told the Italian government that under Mussolini American petroleum interests in Italy had been subject to unfair treatment and have suffered grave damages. “Your government must recognize that rights belonging to them were confiscated”, the statement said. (FRUS, 1945, Italy, p. 1305) It seems that the Italian government gave preferential treatment to the national companies AGIP (Azienda Generale Italiana Petroli) and ANIC (Azienda Nazionale Idrogenazione Combustibile). Needless to say, from China to the United States itself,



many governments give preferential treatment to their national companies.

As a matter of fact, this conflict between the national business interests of the United States and Italy rather worsened in the post-war years. In 1945 the National Liberation Committee appointed Enrico Mattei (needless to say, this appointment was made in agreement with the Allies) to the leadership of Agip and gave him the task of dismantling the company. Instead Mattei enlarged and reorganized it into the ENI (Ente Nazionale Idrocarburi= National Fuel Trust). Under his direction ENI negotiated important oil concessions in the Middle East as well as a significant trade agreement with the Soviet Union in 1959. This policy more or less broke the oligopoly of the so-called “Seven Sisters” that had dominated the mid-20th century oil. He also introduced the principle whereby the country from where the oil was extracted should receive royalties amounting to 75% of the profits, i.e. far more than what the industry was used to give. This policy strongly displeased the United States. A report on Italy written by the US “Operation Coordination Board” for the 366th “National Security Council” says: “Progress toward the achievement of our objectives has been hampered by the activities, inside and outside of Italy, of Enrico Mattei, head of the Italian petroleum monopoly and by the continuing interference of President [Giovanni] Gronchi”. In May 1962 at the end of his 7-year term, President Gronchi tried to win a reelection. The attempt failed however. Moreover, a few months later, Mattei died in an air crash which, according to investigations conducted years later, was caused by the explosion of a bomb<sup>32</sup> (Wikipedia articles in English entitled “Enrico Mattei” and “Dag Hammarskjöld”)

Another important point was the introduction of regional decentralization. This objective was already mentioned in the Moscow Declaration of 1 November 1943. Over British objections the United States accepted not to raise this issue officially but it introduced it informally by telling the US Ambassador in Italy (31 July 1945) “You are instructed to provide for transmission informally to officials of the Italian government of documents no 312 and 314 (enclosed for this purpose)”.(FRUS, 1945, Italy, p. 981)

Decentralization was also one of the central objectives of “Civil Affairs” in Germany and Japan.

## South Korea

A US military government was established in South Korea in September 1945 and it lasted officially for 3 years. On 15 August 1948 a Korean government took officially over but US troops remained in the country until the beginning of the Korean War.

---

<sup>32</sup>With regard to the obstacles to an effective investigation immediately after the crash, a parallel can be drawn with the crash in which the Secretary General of the United Nations, Dag Hammarskjöld, died one year early. In both cases the accident occurred shortly before landing.

In South Korea the resistance to the occupation was marked by a permanent state of unrest and by four major upheavals.

- From September to December 1945 when the local People's Committees established in many places were suppressed by US troops.
- In October and November 1946 when a leftist uprising was suppressed by US troops.
- In October and November 1948 when mutinies in several South Korea military units were suppressed partly by South Korean troops and partly by US troops.
- From April 1948 to May 1949 a leftist uprising in the Island of Jeju was suppressed by South Korean troops supported by US aircraft and ships.

## France

Another case in which a national government strongly opposed an AMGOT attempt was France. It is this case that we wish to describe here in some detail. It will be seen that the issue of AMGOT was at the heart of the conflicts between the French provisional government and the US administration from the very beginning of US involvement in the European war in November 1942 until the end of the war in May 1945. The attitudes and actions of major actors such as Franklin Roosevelt, Dwight Eisenhower, Charles de Gaulle or Jean Monnet can be understood fairly clearly when seen in this light.

In this respect, one should recall that the French provisional government of General de Gaulle was officially recognized by the United States as late as 23 October 1944, that is to say over three months after the Normandy landing and two months after the liberation of Paris.

Before telling this story in more detail, it may be useful to outline the main forces which were at work in early 1943.

For some reason Franklin Roosevelt and his private adviser Harry Hopkins strongly disliked Charles de Gaulle and tried to use another Frenchman, Jean Monnet, to get rid of him. The two following sub-sections provide a more detailed view about de Gaulle and Monnet.

### Charles de Gaulle

Charles de Gaulle is well known for having been the president of France from 1958 to 1969 but what was his position during World War II? After the invasion of France by Germany in May-June 1940 a cease-fire agreement was negotiated. As a result, France was divided into two parts: the north and west (including Paris) which was occupied by Germany and the South-East which was ruled by a French government established in the town of Vichy located in the center of France. As is understand-



**Fig. 3a** General Eisenhower is being decorated by General de Gaulle on 27 June 1944, that is to say 3 weeks after the Normandy landing.

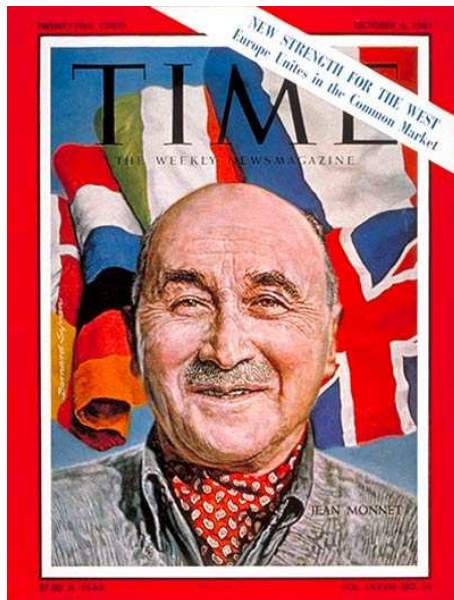


**Fig. 3b** General de Gaulle in 1946 at the marriage of his daughter Elisabeth (born in 1924).

able, this government was subject to ever increasing German pressure for greater cooperation with Germany particularly for supplying various commodities to the German war economy. However, on 18 June 1940 that is to say at the very moment when the cease-fire was under discussion in France, an appeal broadcast by the BBC was made by Charles de Gaulle a two-star general who had been Secretary of War in the last French government in office before the cease-fire. With the agreement and support of Prime Minister Winston Churchill, he emphasized that the war had to be continued and asked all French people who had that wish to join him in London. He rejected the authority of the Vichy government and for that reason was tried in absentia later on by a French military court which sentenced him to death.

The alternative French government established in London by General de Gaulle took the name of "Free French Committee".

This "Free French Committee" eventually became a French Provisional Government



**Fig. 4 Jean Monnet on TIME Magazine cover of 6 October 1961.** One may wonder why the cover displays the British flag. Britain would not become a member of the Common Market until 1 January 1973.

but this emergence was staunchly opposed by President Roosevelt. An excellent account of the struggle between the US administration and the “Free French” is given in a book by François Kersaudy (2004). It is the support of the British Foreign Office and the help of General Eisenhower which finally allowed the “Free French” to win the struggle.

### **Jean Monnet**

Jean Monnet was a Frenchman who had many close connections in Washington, including in the financial world. Throughout his career he was to serve US interests even when those interests were in contradiction with French national interest. For that reason he was considered as an American agent by several French historians. It is interesting to notice that while this aspect of his role is well described in the French Wikipedia article about him, it is completely omitted in the English version. In his Memoirs (p. 276) Monnet says that during his stay in Algiers he was not on an mission set by the Americans and that his objective was not to comply with the wishes of President Roosevelt. However, this claim is contradicted by all US letters and documents concerning the purpose of his stay in Algiers.

For instance in a book by Frederic Franssen (2001), one reads: “Roosevelt and the Americans clearly expected Monnet to usher in Giraud as the champion of their French policy.” Indeed for over 3 months from 27 February 1943 until a few days after the arrival of de Gaulle in Algiers on 31 May 1943, Monnet faithfully fulfilled his mission of supporting Giraud and making him more palatable for US newspapers and public opinion. Yet, in mid-June 1943 it seems that in his wish to find a solution

to the locked situation, he made a step in the direction de Gaulle's objective of setting up a provisional government. The fact that he was a member of that government may have weakened his determination of being a staunch supporter of Roosevelt's policy.

As a result he was accused of disloyalty and even of being a traitor by his US employers (see below at the date of 17 June 1943).

According to Fransen (2001) "Monnet was a key player in achieving what seemed to close observers like Murphy [Robert Murphy was Roosevelt's personal representative] exactly the opposite [of his initial mission]".

### **The key issue of national sovereignty**

One may wonder why General de Gaulle put so much insistence on avoiding AMGOT. At that time, in 1943, there was not a single historical AMGOT case through which one could study the implications and effects of AMGOT policies. So, what raised de Gaulle's suspicion?

The answer can probably be found in an observation that he made to General Eisenhower on 19 June 1943 at the US headquarters. This conversation took place shortly before the landing of American and British troops in Sicily. Following directives of the US and British governments, General Eisenhower asked de Gaulle to guaranty that the "French Committee of National Liberation" (which had assumed the role of being the provisional government of France in early June) would not try to control or interfere in the cooperation between the Commander of the French Forces and the US headquarters.

However, in any democracy, even in time of war, military commanders must follow and obey the directives of their governments. In other words, Eisenhower was requesting the provisional French government to be content with a restricted form of sovereignty. Britain and the United States were able to cooperate in the "Joint Chiefs of Staff" (JCS) which gave directives to the military commander but France was not represented in the JCS. That is why de Gaulle could not accept this request. He explained his position in the following terms: "As a military chief, do you really think that the authority of a commander can survive for a long time if he is subordinated to a a foreign power?" This discussion shows that in de Gaulle's mind there was a close connection between the sovereignty of a nation and the independence of its defense capability. This is why he was adamantly opposed to the AMGOT scheme. The subsequent course of history in countries which experienced AMGOT reveals that he was indeed right.

## **Chronology of a Civil Affairs dispute: France, 1942-1946**



**Jul 16, 1940:** Through a letter written by Prime Minister Winston Churchill and received by Monnet on 16 July, the later was sent to Washington as a public servant of the British government. He would serve there as deputy head of the commission in charge of organizing the US supply of goods for the British war economy. Monnet would arrive to Washington by ship in late August 1940. (Monnet 1976, p. 212, 215)

**Nov 8, 1942:** Landing of US and British troops in Morocco and Algeria which were at that time two French territories. Morocco was a protectorate and Algeria a French department. Called “Operation Torch” this invasion was the starting point of US operations on the western front against Italy.

**Jan 14, 1943:** A few days before the Churchill-Roosevelt meeting in Casablanca, President Roosevelt sent a telegram to Cordell Hull, the Secretary of State, in which he wrote [excerpts].

General Giraud [General Giraud who was at that moment the Commander of French forces in North Africa] will arrive tomorrow and together with Mr.Churchill we agreed to summon General de Gaulle for next Monday (18 January). As Giraud does not seem to have any real interest in political matters, it would be appropriate to bring a civilian into the [French] administration. Would you agree to send here Monnet? This instruction should remain secret. (Monnet 1976, p. 266)

**Jan 24, 1943:** Invited by Churchill to come to Casablanca, de Gaulle declined the invitation because he did not wish an agreement between himself and Giraud to be made under Anglo-American patronage. At that point there was the following discussion between Churchill and Roosevelt (that the later repeated to Secretary of War Stimson).

De Gaulle held back from coming to the conference. After two successive invitations, Roosevelt asked whether de Gaulle got any salary and who paid it. Churchill replied that he, Churchill, paid it. Then Roosevelt suggested to him that salaries are paid for *devoted and obedient service* and if he does not come his salary would be cut off. De Gaulle came the next day [on 22 January].

(Stimson diary vol. 42, p. 20, 3 Feb 1943.

[Nevertheless de Gaulle refused to sign the agreement (allegedly) between Giraud and himself that had been drafted by US and British negotiators, i.e. Murphy and Macmillan. (De Gaulle 1954a p. 102-103)]

**Feb 23, 1943** A memorandum was published by the Free French Committee in London which states in the clearest possible way that its objective was to form a provisional government which would be able to replace the Vichy government as soon





**Fig. 5 General Giraud (left) in 1943 at the Casablanca conference** From left to right: General Giraud, President Roosevelt, General de Gaulle, Prime Minister Churchill at the Anfa conference on 24 January 1943 in Morocco some two months after the allied invasion of North Africa. Anfa was the name of the district of Casablanca where the conference took place from 14 January (Thursday) to 24 January (Sunday). On meeting Giraud in Anfa on 22 January de Gaulle's first words were: "Well, I proposed to meet you four times and now it is inside this American military camp surrounded by a barbed wire fence that we have been summoned. Don't you see that such a situation is quite unpleasant for the Frenchmen that we are?" That gave the tone of their relations during the following months.

as some parts of France would be liberated. The memorandum was sent to General Giraud in Algiers on 26 February. A reply from Giraud was received on 10 April (see below). (De Gaulle 1954 p. 112).

**Feb 27, 1943** Monnet arrived in Algiers and his first action was to visit General Giraud. Through the Clark-Darlan deal the American government had promised to equip 8 French divisions, to provide 1,400 aircraft and 5,000 tanks. The fact that through his close connection with Hopkins Monnet had some authority over the supply of this equipment gave him an important leverage in his discussions with Giraud. Basically the latter was ready to fulfill all wishes that Monnet might express with insistence. Thus, on 14 March 1943 Giraud accepted to make a speech which had largely been written by Monnet. In this speech he accepted to break the relations he had kept so far with the Vichy government. On the crucial point of whether he was ready to form a provisional government he stated the thesis of the US government (completely endorsed by Monnet) that a French government could only emerge after the liberation of France. (Monnet 1976 p. 259, 267)

**Apr 10, 1943** In his reply to the memorandum of 23 February General Giraud stated again his position, modeled on the wishes of the US government, that a French provisional government should be established only after the whole territory would be liberated and elections could be organized. In the interval France would be governed by a weak French council and for all important issues by the US military authorities. (De Gaulle 1954 p. 117)

[Monnet's idea (which he transmitted to Giraud) was to rely on a procedure introduced in 1872 according to which, in case of emergency, the government could be chosen by the assembly of provincial representatives (the so-called "Conseil Général", Monnet 1976, p.274). As these representatives enjoyed very little prestige themselves, the provisional government they would set up would have only limited authority. Moreover, it was likely that in the départements occupied by US forces, quite a few of these local representatives would have been appointed by the Civil Affairs Division. This weak provisional government would also have been in charge of the crucial task of organizing the election of a new assembly.]

**May 4, 1943:** In a public speech made in London General de Gaulle announced that he will go to Algiers. (De Gaulle 1954 p. )

**May 5, 1943:** In a comment to this speech, Jean Monnet wrote the following day: "This is a speech and a method very much in the manner of Hitler. He [de Gaulle] is a danger for the French people and their freedom. Consequently, he must be destroyed (*il doit être détruit*) in the very interest of the French people, of the Allies and of peace."

(Source: [http://www.observatoiredeleurope.com/De-Gaulle-Monnet-le-duel-du-siecle\\_a1434.html](http://www.observatoiredeleurope.com/De-Gaulle-Monnet-le-duel-du-siecle_a1434.html))

[This was written not in a letter addressed to someone but as a personal note. The original document is part of the archives of Madame Monnet-Nobécourt (8 Nov. 1941-28 Apr 2013), Jean Monnet's daughter. I'm grateful to Mr. Régis Clavé, the archivist of the "Fondation Jean Monnet", for giving me the precisions about the location of the document. See also Monnet's biography by Eric Roussel (p. 335-336).

The tone of these comments is rather surprising especially in the light of what we know about Monnet's subsequent actions one month later. As a matter of fact, to the great disappointment and surprise of Roosevelt and Hopkins, he sided with de Gaulle with the result that Giraud was made powerless.]

**May 5, 1943:** At a meeting with Monnet, and Giraud, Harold Macmillan (a member of the British Foreign Office) encouraged them to issue de Gaulle a statement of principles that he must accept before coming to Algiers among which was the renouncement to form a French government in the liberated parts of France. De Gaulle accepted and arrangements were made for him to arrive in Algiers on 30 May. (Fransen 2001)

[The statement made by this source is probably not correct because (i) All subsequent events show that taking the engagement not to form a French government was certainly the last thing that de Gaulle was willing to accept. (ii) On 6 May 1943, in response to a letter received from Giraud on 27 April, de Gaulle stated once again

the position expressed in the memorandum of 23 February. This message clearly contradicts the previous statement that “de Gaulle accepted the arrangements”. (De Gaulle 1954 p. 121)

**May 6, 1943:** In a long letter to Harry Hopkins, the personal adviser of President Roosevelt, Jean Monnet made the following comments about de Gaulle’s address of 4 May. “It disregards all past negotiations. He [de Gaulle] does not even mention Giraud’s propositions. He throws Catroux overboard with some polite words. He menaces or tempts the people in the administrations and the Army here [in Algeria]. He insists on the fact that he must come to Algiers to negotiate, and to no other place.

It reminds me of the speech Hitler made before the Czecho-Slovakian affair. The same technique, the same form, the same object, the same illusory promises. It is impossible to accept that de Gaulle, after his speech, should come to Algiers to negotiate. It would not be negotiations; it would be an attempt to coerce Giraud into submission.

The exact difference between de Gaulle and Giraud is this:

De Gaulle stands for the formation now of a *government*. This government would remain the government of France until the general election that would be held after the liberation.

Giraud stands for the formation now of a *council*, which would not have the status of a government. After the liberation of France this council would hand over its power to the Assembly of the Conseils Généraux [an assembly which in normal times is in charge of regional affairs only]. The Assembly would then immediately name the Provisional Government of France [one wonders how?]. The Assembly would fix the date at which the general elections would be held. De Gaulle stands for arbitrary action, with all the risks of Fascism. Giraud stands for the preservation of the democratic process. In one case it is Hitlerism or civil war; in the other the maintenance of the law.”

Regarding General Giraud, Monnet says: “He goes along completely with all my suggestions”.

(Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Harry Hopkins papers, Jean Monnet folder. I am grateful to Mr. William Baehr, archivist at the FDR Library, for sending me a copy of this letter.)

[Giraud’s plan would have meant a weak council during the duration of the war, then an even weaker Assembly would designate a weak provisional government until the general elections. This process would have created a long vacuum of power during which AMGOT and the Civil Affairs Division would have been able to implement the policy desired by the State Department.]

**May 8, 1943:** Letter of President Roosevelt to Prime Minister Churchill (excerpt).

We might talk over the formation of an entirely new French Committee subject in its membership to the approval of you and me. I do not know what to do with de Gaulle. Possibly you would like to make him Governor of Madagascar. I am more and more of the opinion that we should consider France as a military-occupied nation and governed by British and American generals (. . .) We would keep 90% of the [Vichy] mayors. Important posts would remain the responsibility of the military commander. This will last between 6 months and a year.

(Robertson 2011 p. 83; “Dubious liberators” available at the following Internet access (retrieved on 30 August 2013): <http://rall.com/searchablearchives/essays/dubious-liberators-allied-plans-to-occupy-france-1942-1944>)

[Shortly before the Normandy landing, in the detailed instructions to General Eisenhower contained in the message of 15 March 1944, President Roosevelt repeated the same options. In particular, the nomination to important posts should be made by Allied Commanders through their Civil Affairs staff and not by the French provisional government.]

**May 30, 1943:** Arrival of de Gaulle at Algiers. Due to Allied censorship the news was not announced in advance in any newspaper in Algiers, probably to prevent public gatherings. (De Gaulle 1954, p. 125)

**Jun 1, 1943:** First meeting of the French National Committee which included 7 members: Catroux, de Gaulle, Massigli, Philip on the one side and George, Giraud, Monnet on the other side. The meeting ended without any agreement being reached. (De Gaulle 1954 p. 127-128, Monnet 1976 p. 284-288)

**Jun 2, 1943:** The Governor General of Algeria, Peyrouton, who had been given this position on the demand of President Roosevelt, sent his resignation to General de Gaulle (and also to General Giraud). The fact that it occurred two days after the arrival of de Gaulle in Algiers was clearly a setback for Roosevelt. (De Gaulle 1954 p. 128-129, Monnet 1976 p. 288)

**Jun 2, 1943:** De Gaulle gains control in Algiers as Peyrouton goes. Fighting French leader wins a major point. The startling shift in politics symbolized General de Gaulle’s mastery of the political situation here. (New York Times p. 1)

**Jun 3, 1943:** Second meeting of the French National Committee. It was a turning point because de Gaulle’s positions were endorsed by 5 votes against 2. Monnet voted on de Gaulle’s side, something he was probably not supposed to do. Had he voted on Giraud’s side, the majority would have been reduced to 4-3 but the end result would have been the same. The official communiqué stated very clearly that the Committee would take over the government of France in any part of France to be

liberated in the future. (Monnet 1976 p. 288-289)

[Probably two factors played an role in Monnet's change of attitude.

- Harold Macmillan, the British representative, with whom he had a friendly relationship was pushing him in this direction.

- In Algiers overt American interference into French internal political discussions became more obvious because of the numerous meetings between Giraud and his "advisers". Thus, it is fairly natural that when de Gaulle was denouncing such interventions this struck a chord with many French officials.

In other words, continuing to support Giraud would have put Monnet in a very awkward position.]

**Jun 5, 1943:** Third Meeting of the French National Committee. The Committee was extended to 14 members whose attributions covered all major facets of a central government. De Gaulle could count on a clear majority in this enlarged committee. Realizing this, Murphy, the representative of the US State Department in Algiers, hurriedly contacted Giraud to ask him why he had accepted to be marginalized. Together with Macmillan Murphy also visited Monnet and they both blamed him for having created this situation. (Monnet 1976 p. 293).

It can be observed that several of the members of the Committee were still in London where, not surprisingly, the British government was reluctant to let them go to Algiers. They would arrive there only on 15 June. (De Gaulle 1954 p. 136). Moreover the Committee was still chaired jointly by de Gaulle and Giraud who in addition was the commander of the French forces. For the Committee to become really effective and efficient that had to be changed.

**Jun 9, 1943:** The fourth meeting of the Committee was unable to solve the Giraud-de Gaulle joint chairmanship issue. (Monnet 1976 p. 294-295)

**Jun 10, 1943:** Uruguay recognized the "French Committee of National Liberation" in Algiers as the official government of France. (New York Times 10 June 1943)

**Jun 10, 1943:** Excerpt of the diary of US Secretary of War H.L. Stimson.

I had a massage and was sleeping peacefully after it when the telephone rang. Jack McCloy was on the telephone to say that a terrific hell to pay [i.e. a great trouble] had broken out in Africa. De Gaulle apparently is raising Cain [i.e. making a disturbance] and the President has been very much excited and irritated and has blown out [i.e. lost his temper] and has sent out telegrams to the PM [Churchill probably, who was at that time at Algiers] and to Eisenhower which were about as drastic as could be. I immediately called him up. He expressed himself as violently as he could against de Gaulle. Marshall was not present at this time and the president had consulted only one person namely Harry Hopkins. (Stimson Vol 43, p. 106)



[Why did Roosevelt react in this way on 10 June? According to Eric Roussel (1996) it is on 12 June that Giraud co-signed a number of decrees which translated in official language the fact that he had lost the power struggle in the French Committee. As a matter of fact, to most observers this was already clear in early June. It seems that it was a message sent by Murphy which incensed the President.]

**Jun 12 - Aug 17, 1943** Invasion of Sicily by British and US forces.

**Jun 12, 1943:** The Italian island of Pantelleria, the last Axis stronghold in the Sicilian Strait, surrendered to overwhelming Allied air power this morning rather than endure another day of death and destruction under the most concentrated aerial attack in the history of warfare. (New York Times p. 1)

**Jun 13, 1943:** Waves of Allied bombers hammered the tiny Italian island of Lampedusa into submission and surrender today, just one day after Pantelleria had capitulated to the same Allied air mastery. (New York Times p. 1)

**Jun 17, 1943:** *Excerpt of the diary of the US Secretary of War.* Hull [Cordell Hull, the Secretary of State] told me that the lines were laid for de Gaulle to get the position that we had been afraid he would take. Hull told me that *Monnet had proved a traitor* which I'm not ready to believe. The President is strongly alarmed about the situation which would occur if de Gaulle got possession of the French troops. He says that must not happen and he has authorized Eisenhower to take full steps to prevent it. Also that he must not get Dakar. When the President brought it up at Cabinet meeting today I told him that de Gaulle is a man who is so unstable a character that he might actually get up a fight between his troops and ours. (Stimson Vol 43, p. 121)

[Fortunately, General Eisenhower had a more realistic view and (as shown below) it is through him that the opinion of the US cabinet about de Gaulle began to change. The only persons who did not change their minds were Roosevelt and Hopkins.]

**Jun 26, 1943:** The city of Cherbourg in the western part of the Normandy was occupied by US forces. However, most of the port equipment had been destroyed. ([http://www.bayeuxmuseum.com/la\\_bataille\\_de\\_normandie.html](http://www.bayeuxmuseum.com/la_bataille_de_normandie.html))

**Jul 2, 1943:** General Giraud left Algiers for a visit to the United States, Canada and Britain. He would return to Algiers on 24 July. If this visit was aimed at bolstering his international status it was a failure not only in the countries that he visited but also among the members of the French Committee of National Liberation. For instance during a press conference attended by Giraud President Roosevelt declared that he was happy to welcome a great French Commander fighting alongside the Allies especially at the present time while France did no longer exist. General Giraud did not care to correct that statement even though the purpose of the Committee that



he chaired jointly with de Gaulle was precisely to be the provisional government of the Fighting France. (De Gaulle 1954, p. 145)

**Jul 10, 1943:** Excerpt of the New York Times. Commenting upon the accusation that the United States was interfering in French affairs, President Roosevelt at his press conference today said that 95 per cent of the French people were still under the German heel and that there was no France by now. (NYT p. 1)

**Aug 10, 1943:** Excerpt of the diary of the US Secretary of War. I went to the State Department for my weekly meeting with Hull. I talked over with him the question of the recognition of the French-North African Committee. He felt exactly the same doubts as to the wisdom of such recognition as I had. We both were afraid that the Committee might sometime fall into the hands of de Gaulle and, if it is recognized in any sense as the government of North Africa that would give de Gaulle a platform for making trouble. (Stimson Vol 44, p. 82)

[It seems that Hull and Stimson did not have a realistic view of the situation for on 10 August de Gaulle has already a clear leadership position in the French Committee of National Liberation. Moreover, at that time Giraud was absent from Algiers and on a long visit to the United States, Canada.]

**Sep 7, 1943:** The French Committee of National Liberation issued a memorandum about the liberation of France. This memorandum defined the principles and framework for the cooperation between the French government and the Allied forces. It was submitted to the American and British governments as the draft for a possible agreement. So, almost two years before the Normandy landing, the French provisional government was concerned about what would happen in France after the landing.

In his memoirs, de Gaulle explains this initiative in the following terms. “We were aware of the fact that in the wake of their advance our allies would wish to take over the government of France through the military government that they would establish. Needless to say, we were determined to bar such an attempt”.

Not surprisingly in the light of its plans (see below at the date of 29 November 1943) the US government did not reply to this memorandum.

**Nov 15, 1943:** Jean Monnet left Algiers to return to Washington. During the 9 months that he had spent in Algiers his wife and daughter had remained in Washington. The French Committee had named him “Commissioner General for Supply and Reconstruction”.

In his memoirs he says that in this position he did not have as easy an access to members of the Roosevelt administration as during the two years that he had spent in Washington before being sent to Algiers. Is that because in some sense his action

in Algiers had been a disappointment for Roosevelt and Hopkins? He does of course not say so. In order to know one would need to read some messages about him exchanged within the US administration. However, it can be noted that during the 9 months of his stay in Algiers his name was mentioned in 25 articles of the New York Times, whereas during the 9 months following his return to Washington his name appeared in only two articles. (Monnet 1976 p. 304, 310)

**Nov 29, 1943:** Excerpt of the diary of the US Secretary of War. “Roosevelt wants that when we go into France the authority must be purely military”. (Stimson Vol. 45, p. 70-71)

[In the United States (as in any other sovereign country) “purely military” is a meaningless and deceptive expression for at any time the military are under the authority of the government. The purpose of any military action is to implement a political project. This is even more obvious for the so-called “Civil Affairs” departments of the US Army which would be in charge of the administration of the liberated country. In their very essence the tasks fulfilled by civil affairs officers were political.

A special committee for Civil Affairs was established in Washington under the chairmanship of John McCloy, the Deputy Secretary of War. It was in charge of all problems that would arise with local populations. (Monnet 1976 p. 310)]

**Dec 17, 1943:** The currency issue. The British Ambassador to the United States, Lord Halifax, called upon the Secretary of State and informed him unexpectedly that the British Government is now opposed to use of an Allied Military franc. The British now propose a French national currency issued by the French National Committee. (Coles 1964,chapter 23, p. 690-691)

[This information is rather puzzling for indeed the British government knew very well that President Roosevelt was opposed to such a solution and that it had no chance to be accepted therefore.]

**Dec 27-30, 1943:** Decision regarding the liberation of Paris. On 27 December there was a meeting between de Gaulle and Giraud on the one hand and General Bedell Smith, General Eisenhower’s Chief of Staff on the other hand. Three days later it was followed by a personal conversation between de Gaulle and Eisenhower.

What was under discussion was the participation of French army divisions in the liberation of France and the question of whether Paris will be liberated by US troops or by French troops. Because most of the French divisions were in the Italy theater or in North Africa it was obviously simpler to make them take part in the landing that would occur in August 1944 in the South of France.

However, for Paris to be liberated by French forces, at least one division had to land in Normandy. At first, the Allies argued that there was not enough shipping available

to transport a French armored division from North Africa to England. Eventually, the solution proposed by General Eisenhower was to ship the soldiers and the equipment separately. The main steps in this negotiation are described in the excerpts given below.

**Gen. B. Smith:** In order to make our plans we need to know how many French divisions will take part.

**Gen. de Gaulle:** If, in addition to the divisions that will land in the south, we get your pledge that at least one French armored division will be able to land in the north-east [i.e. in Normandy] then we will give our agreement. Failing that, there will be no agreement concerning the participation of French forces.

**Gen. Eisenhower:** Moving a French armored division from North Africa to England would be an almost impossible task. Yet, if enough equipment is made available in England, only the soldiers will have to be moved from North Africa to Britain. That would be much simpler. **Gen. de Gaulle:** I trust that once you are in England you will be able to see to it. Let me repeat that we do not wish Paris to be liberated without a participation of French forces. **Gen. Eisenhower:** Be assured that I do not contemplate to go into Paris without French troops.

For the war in France I will need the support of the French administration and public opinion. Although I do not yet know what will be the instructions that my government will give me, I wish to tell you that I will not recognize any other authority in France but the one of your government.

(Mémoires de guerre. Vol. 2. L'unité, p. 459-467, my translation)

[Through this dialogue the way Paris would be liberated was decided on some 8 months before the event actually took place. Of course, for this agreement to get implemented, General Eisenhower was still in need of President Roosevelt's approval. As it turned out, that was not an easy matter.

Incidentally, the whole discussion between Eisenhower and de Gaulle reveals a deep agreement and sympathy between the two men. Therefore it is not surprising that, once back in Washington, Eisenhower would contribute to change the opinion about de Gaulle in the US administration. The next entry describes how the Secretary of War changed his mind.

Roosevelt, however and almost alone, would stick to his former opinion. It cannot be said that Roosevelt's attitude resulted from a misunderstanding for indeed in a long letter (dated from 26 October 1942) that was handed to him by André Philip, General de Gaulle opened his heart and explained his aims with much clarity and sincerity. Perhaps with too much sincerity for indeed his aims were not compatible with the objectives of the Roosevelt administration regarding liberated countries.]

**Jan 2, 1944:** Excerpt of the diary of the US Secretary of War. General Eisenhower

had suddenly landed here and wanted to see me. Mabel [Stimson's wife] gave us all tea and I had a good chat with him. When we talked about de Gaulle I was very glad to learn that he is becoming much more amenable. De Gaulle has accepted all our plans for the arming of the French. This fitted right in the work that McCloy and I are doing to try to get the President to be a little more amenable to the French Committee. (Stimson vol. 46, p. 3)

**Jan 13, 1944:** Excerpt of the diary of the US Secretary of War. "As Hull is clinging to his old aversion against de Gaulle, McCloy and I will try to see the President about establishing a connection with the French Committee." (Stimson vol. 46, p. 21)  
 [Neither Eisenhower, nor Stimson nor anybody else was able to convince Roosevelt. The reason behind Roosevelt's attitude was brought to light during de Gaulle's visit in Washington. His discussions with Roosevelt showed that there was no personal animosity between them but it also revealed Roosevelt's ambitions and plans for world wide hegemony (see below). In the words of General de Gaulle, he peace would be an American peace.]

**Mar 15, 1944:** Letter of President Roosevelt to Secretary of War Stimson and General Eisenhower (excerpts).

1 The three paramount aims which are to be the landmarks of your policy are the following.

[The aims A and B are in relation with the military aspects.]

C. The fostering of democratic methods under which a French government may ultimately be established according to the free choice of the French people.

[In other words the US Commander should provide advice for organizing democratic elections. Incidentally, such a course of action took place in Japan in the sense that the election of 10 April 1946 was supervised by the occupation authorities; for more details see "Relations between Allied forces and the population of Japan".]

2 You will have the ultimate determination as to where, when and how the Civil Administration in France shall be exercised by French citizens.

[This directive gives Eisenhower a leading role in setting up the French civil administration.]

4 Nothing that you do in connection with the French Committee of National Liberation shall constitute a recognition of said committee as the government of France even on a provisional basis.

[In other words, until elections could be held, France would be left without government. Needless to say, Allied directives would fill this vacuum. This was exactly the situation created by US forces in South Korea after the "People's Committees" had been suppressed.]

8 You may at your discretion incorporate in your Civil Affairs Section members of the French Military Mission and other French officials.

[This is also what was done in South Korea. After the Military Government had been set up it was given a Korean appearance by recruiting some obedient Koreans who very fluent in English.

10 Instructions on economic and fiscal matters will be furnished to you by the President or by the Combined Chiefs of Staff.

[Were instructions on fiscal matters necessary to wage the war?]

**May 4, 1944: Currency question** SHAEF Admin Memo 11 (excerpts). A Civil Affairs Currency Section will be activated for each country in which operations are undertaken by the Allied Forces. Each such currency section, when activated, will have the following functions and powers:

(1) Receive, hold, and supply adequate currency for pay and procurement of Allied Army Forces for Civil Affairs operations.

(Coles 1964, chapter 23, p. 691)

**Jun 6, 1944: Allied landing in Normandy.** The troops who took part in the D-Day landing belonged to 4 nationalities: US, British, Canadian and Polish. No French soldiers took part in spite of the fact that there was a French Division in England (the 2nd Armored Division under General Leclerc) that would be shipped to France in the following days so as to be able to liberate Paris, a symbolical action for which General Eisenhower had given his agreement on the insistence of General de Gaulle.



**Fig. American, British and Canadian sectors in the Normandy landing.** On 7 June 1944 Bayeux was taken by the British forces which had landed on “Gold Beach”. It was the first French city to be liberated. Bayeux has a military cemetery where 4,000 of the 4,600 graves are for British soldiers. Courseulles-sur-Mer where General de Gaulle landed on 14 June 1944 belonged to the Canadian sector of “Juno Beach”. *Wikipedia articles entitled “Bayeux” and “Courseulles-sur-Mer”.*

**Jun 6, 1944: Excerpts of the message of General Eisenhower to the French people.** Millions of leaflets bearing this message were dropped on French territory shortly after the Normandy landing started. We are particularly interested in what Eisenhower said about the administration of liberated areas.

“As Supreme Commander of the Allied Expeditionary Forces there is imposed on



me the duty to take all measures for the prosecution of the war. Prompt and willing obedience to the order that I shall issue is essential.

Effective civil administration of France must be provided by Frenchmen. All persons must continue in their present duties unless otherwise instructed. Those who have made common cause with the enemy and so betrayed their country will be removed. When France is liberated from their oppressors, you yourselves will choose your representatives and the government under which you wish to live.”

[http://www.eisenhower.archives.gov/education/teacher\\_resources/spy\\_kit/spy\\_kit\\_documents.html](http://www.eisenhower.archives.gov/education/teacher_resources/spy_kit/spy_kit_documents.html)

[Although somewhat ambiguous, this message is compatible with the plan of establishing a military government. Why? One needs just to ask who will assume the responsibility of removing French police officers and public servants who “made common cause with the enemy”? As the French provisional government is not mentioned anywhere in the message, such removals will necessarily be decided by the Allied military commander<sup>33</sup>. The example of South Korea showed that selecting whom to keep and whom to remove is an essential attribute of the occupation forces. Clearly, this is a very effective way for leading the country in one direction or another. The Korean case also showed that the sentence “Effective civil administration of France must be provided by Frenchmen” is compatible with an organization of Civil Affairs in which the employees would be Frenchmen (or Koreans in the case of Korea) under the authority of Civil Affairs officers. For instance, until 15 August 1948 the Korean director of the Korean police was under the authority of an American officer.]

*In recent years the role of “US Civil Affairs” in France has been investigated by several authors, e.g. Boivin (2003, 2004), Bourliaguet (2009), Lamache (2010 a,b), Robertson (2011). This question can be examined at different levels: (i) US planning, (ii) Agreements between the Allies and the French provisional government; this would include the monetary agreement of 18 July 1944 and the general agreement of 25 August 1944. (iii) Actual implementation of the agreement. The most relevant and significant level is of course the last one, but it is also the most difficult to document. In many cases, French officials had no other choice than to approve and rubber-stamp the wishes of Allied commanders.*

*This can be illustrated by the following case. In mid-July 1944 two Frenchmen accused of spying were tried by a military tribunal in Cherbourg. It is certainly not enough to observe that the judges were French, one needs also to know by whom the men were indicted and who conducted the investigation.*

*Regarding the issue of sovereignty in the non-combat zone one can ask four simple*

---

<sup>33</sup>The text of the leaflet is consistent with the instructions given by President Roosevelt to Eisenhower in April 1944 through which he gave him full authority in France and advised him to select himself the French authorities with whom he would wish to cooperate (De Gaulle 1954 p. 253)



questions.

- *Can Allied soldiers who committed crimes against French people be tried by French courts? Clearly the answer is “no”.*
- *Can Allied soldiers in the course of committing crimes be arrested by French police? In the cases listed below (entry of 18-24 November 1944) there is not a single one in which French police was able to protect the victims and arrest the criminals. In this respect one should remember that the soldiers had pistols and rifles.*
- *To what extent were the French regional media (e.g. newspapers and radio in the Normandy area) controlled and censored by the occupation authorities?*
- *Had the occupation forces to get French authorization before setting up their own radio broadcasting stations? To our best knowledge the answer is “no”.*

In fact, if one wants to get a clear view of US objectives in occupied areas, it is not the case of France that one should study but rather the case of Italy. Because Italy was (apart from North Africa) the first country to be occupied by the Allies, the methods of Civil Affairs were tried for the first time with the result that US newspapers gave accounts which were much more candid than in subsequent cases. This can be seen in different ways.

- During the first two months of the occupation the Allied administration was called AMGOT (Allied Military Government of Occupied Territories). Then, after 26 August 1943, following a directive of the War Department, it was called AMG and subsequently the name was changed again to “G-5” or “Civil Affairs”. Although admittedly less clear, these expressions are also less offensive.

- In late August 1943 a New York Times article candidly recognized that “in Sicily the judicial system is reorganized on lines approaching Anglo-American law. Our contribution is in the line of Anglo-Saxon democracy and liberalism” (NYT 22 August 1943 p. 7). Apart from Italy, the judicial system was reorganized on the model of the US system in several occupied countries but such a plain acknowledgment was never made again.

- On 11 February 1944 an agreement was reached according to which the Badoglio-Victor Emmanuel government was recognized by the Allies “on condition of sympathy”. More specifically, the agreement said that the Italian administration at both central and local level, should consist “of men of Allied sympathy”. (NYT 11 February 1944 p. 4) This may also have been the main objective in subsequent occupations but in those cases it was never stated so clearly. Instead, it was presented under the appearance of denazification or elimination of militarists.

How could the Allies determine the degree of sympathy of Italian citizens? The answer is simple. Questionnaires were issued to officials, teachers and civilian employees which had to be filled out under oath and backed up by Italian government files or police records. (NYT 1 January 1944 p. 1) Incidentally, the same system

was also used in Hawaii (so-called loyalty investigations), in Germany (the so-called *Fragenbogen*), in Japan, and later on during the elimination of leftists in the United States.

**Jun 7, 1944:** Colleville-sur-Mer (in lower Normandy near Omaha Beach). Mr. Gustave Joret, a French farmer and the father of 7 children, was shot by a soldier of the 1st US Infantry Division while trying to reach a shelter. He died on 12 June 1944 at the Field Hospital of Saint-Laurent-sur-Mer. A picture (available on the Internet) taken a short while before that shows him trying to help a Civil Affairs Lieutenant. The record about Mr. Joret in the Memorial of the civilian fatalities in Normandy says “Died in a bombing strike”. (Antonin Dehays, no 290 of “39-45 Magazine”, a French journal about the Second World War).

[In this story, the most interesting point is that the cause of the death was not reported correctly. May be it was just a mistake? In order to find out one would wish to know the conditions under which this Memorial was established.]

**Jun 13, 1944:** One week after the landing General de Gaulle visited a (small) liberated zone in Normandy that was located in the British sector. He had to ask the Allies permission to do so and they were reluctant to grant it. In fact, it seems that neither Roosevelt nor Churchill allowed the visit but that the green light was eventually given by Antony Eden and the British Cabinet (De Gaulle 1954 p. 272-273).

**Jul 3, 1944:** Declaration made by Colonel Charles Poletti, Chief of Civil Affairs in Italy:

“Italy’s elections should take place pretty shortly after the war. In the meantime the Allies must remain as an educational guiding force to see that the election is carried out properly. (NYT p. 5)

[In this respect it must be recalled that on 19 December 1943 the Allied Military Government had banned a congress of political parties (NYT p. 38). The Italian Committee of National Liberation charged that by banning a scheduled Italian political congress, the AMG violated its pledge of free speech and assembly. In other words, the parties which were to run in any forthcoming election would be established under the control of the AMG.

Italy, of course, was a defeated country, but the same policy was openly implemented in South Korea in 1946-1948 (see “Relations between US Forces and the population of South Korea”).

Roosevelt’s insistence on not recognizing any French provisional government before elections could be held were in line with the policy followed in Italy and South Korea.]

**Jul 6, 1944:** De Gaulle visited President Roosevelt. General Charles de Gaulle



**Fig. 6 General de Gaulle on 6 July 1944 shaking the hand of General Marshall at his arrival in Washington at the invitation of President Roosevelt**

stepped out of a big United States Army transport plane at the National Airport in Washington, made a little speech in English that he had carefully rehearsed in the plane and was received by President Roosevelt and his Cabinet at the White House. On 8 July General de Gaulle completed the official part of his visit to the United States with a talk with President Roosevelt lasting 75 mn. (NYT 7 July p. 1, 9 July p. 1)

The account given by General de Gaulle of his discussions with President Roosevelt is quite interesting for it reveals that assuming world leadership was already at that time the main goal of the US policy.

President Roosevelt wants to set up a system based on permanent intervention in world affairs. A four-member council composed of the United States, Soviet Russia, China and Great Britain would decide all problems while a parliament of the United Nations would give it a democratic touch. However, according to Roosevelt the implementation of such a policy requires a network of US bases all over the world and with some of them located in France. Among the four leading countries, China under Chiang Kai-shek will need US assistance; in order to protect and keep their dominions the British will have no other choice than to comply with US policy. Moreover, encouraged by the proclaimed principle of the right to auto-determination as well as by US political support many countries whether in Africa, Asia or in the Pacific will become independent states which will constitute as many client states of the US. In Roosevelt's speech, as is quite natural, the high ideals are the standard façade which mask the will for power. I was seriously worried by the fact that in his conception the future role of Europe will be fairly limited. At the end of my stay in Washington he offered me a picture of him with the inscription "To General de Gaulle who is

my friend”.

**Jul 15, 1944:** Two young Frenchmen accused of spying were sentenced to life imprisonment by a military tribunal. (Lamache 2010 b, p. 108)

[Although Stéphane Lamache does not say it explicitly, it seems that the judges were French officers. This belief is supported by the fact that many journalists were invited (by the Allied authorities) to attend the trial. In addition one would like to know by whom the defendants were arrested and indicted and who conducted the investigation. In other words, one would like to know whether the French judiciary had a real role in the organisation of this trial or whether the court comprised merely puppet judges.

Incidentally, S. Lamache writes that an article about this trial was published in the New York Times of 15 July 1944 under the title: “Traitors and action in Normandy”. Apart from this case, there were also other trials by military tribunals in Bayeux and Cherbourg. One would like to know how many.]

**Jul 18, 1944:** An agreement between the Allies and the French Provisional Government was concluded regarding the question of the currency introduced in France by the Allies. (Lamache 2010 b, p. 116)

[Needless to say, one would like to know the terms of this agreement and how they were implemented actually.]

**Jul 27, 1944:** Memo on Civil Affairs in Normandy, British Sector (excerpts). Due to the fact that the authority of the Civil Affairs Division was not clarified before entering the area [an agreement would be signed with the French provisional government only on 27 August] there was a tendency to avoid responsibility. This was true at every Civil Affairs level. Thus, Civil Affairs had mainly a liaison function. (Coles 1964, chapter 25)

[[“Liaison function” means that Civil Affairs officers transmitted (and translated) messages between French officials and Allied commanders. This was not really the role for which they had been selected and trained. Interpreters could have rendered the same service.]

**Jul 27, 1944:** Excerpts of reports of Civil Affairs officers.

- Looting by soldiers was a constant complaint reaching Civil Affairs. Orders to detachments were to report, but not investigate, complaints. It was hoped that the severe punishments being meted out would lessen these complaints.

- French officials at all levels with whom Civil Affairs Detachments were required to deal, quickly resumed ordinary functions.

The Provisional government was accepted by all with enthusiasm as being the only possible solution; at any rate for the time being. Considerable enthusiasm always

greeted any mention of the name of General de Gaulle.

- The delay in giving full recognition to the Provisional Govt. gave rise to many difficulties at the detachment level. As an example of this it may be mentioned the uncertainty at first of acceptance of the new currency. Another trouble was the question of postage stamps. A suggestion to overprint the "Petain" head by the "Lorraine Cross" was vetoed [by whom?] and eventually orders came to continue the use of the Petain stamp pending new issues<sup>34</sup>

- Large scale removals were carried out by units of the Allied Forces without requisition and it did cause considerable unfavorable comment from the French. At request of Civil Affairs, an order was issued by the military commander prohibiting the removal of any property without written authority.

- Many units occupied premises without reference to Civil Affairs or anyone, with the result that in many cases the houses of French families were wrongly taken over.

- In Cherbourg, Public Safety was fortunate in obtaining the services of a Gendarme sergeant who spoke English fluently. He was thus able to act as liaison officer: his services were invaluable. All letters, reports, statements, etc., coming from the French were written in French only. Therefore, in order to pass copies to the various military departments concerned, chiefly the Provost Branch, it was necessary to have them translated: as the complaints were numerous, this proved a problem. The average French person who speaks English and is a good interpreter is not a good translator and difficulty was experienced in this direction.

- Plenty of black market operations were taking place in the city. At the foot of the Eiffel Tower, American troops were known to be selling American foods, gasoline, and other stuff to French civilians.

- Except for Supply, the Civil Affairs units in Paris were working themselves out of a job. This was entirely in accordance with our policy of letting the French do it. Some sections were doing little or no work except to report daily activities. Legal, Economics and Labor, Fiscal, Public Health, Utilities, Communication, and Transportation were marking time.

- The French authorities in North Africa have on several occasions . . . pointed out that it was important, both on psychological and economic grounds, that the troops should not make full and indiscriminate use of the very high purchasing power which the conversion of their pay into francs gave them in a country where most goods were in short supply. The Allied Army will be confronted with the same problems in France, but on a much larger scale and in a more acute way.

---

<sup>34</sup> Yet, on websites destined to stamp collectors (e.g. <http://1f50bersier.free.fr/libe.html>) one can see Pétain stamps which are overprinted by a Lorraine cross. However, these Lorraine crosses are all different from one another (some are even upside down) which shows that the stamps were overprinted locally (probably in the post offices) before being sold to the public.



- The decision to use special supplemental French Currency, equal in value to the French Metropolitan currency, and to fix rates of exchange favorable to France, was made by the Joint Chiefs of Staff in Washington, after collaboration with the State Departments of the countries concerned. The exchange rate of 49.5 francs to the dollar. was favorable to France, and bore little relation to the actual relative values of the currencies (the same occurred in Japan, what motivated this policy is unclear).

(Coles and Weinberg 1964 p. 729,731,732,735,743)

### [Comments

- The act of vetoing the “Lorraine Cross” overprint was clearly an interference with a matter which had no military reason. It should have been decided by the French Provisional Government.

- The language barrier is always a serious problem in Civil Affairs activity. The same was seen during the occupation of South Korea and, more recently, in Afghanistan and Iraq.]

**Aug 25, 1944:** An long expected agreement was signed by General Eisenhower for the Allies and General Koenig for the provisional French government which organized the relations between the French administration and the Allied Headquarters. Often, however, the rules set in this agreement were just ignored by Allied military commanders especially at regional level. (de Gaulle 1954a p.359, <http://www.charles-de-gaulle.org/pages/l-homme/dossiers-thematiques/1940-1944-la-seconde-guerre-mondiale/la-france-libre-et-les-allies/les-etats-unis/les-etats-unis-et-la-france-combattante.php>)

**Aug 26, 1944:** General de Gaulle and other members of the French government were acclaimed by hundreds of thousand people as they marched down the Champs-Elysées. The 2nd Armored Division of General Leclerc protected the parade against possible German incursions from the northern suburbs. For that purpose, General de Gaulle had to override the orders given to Leclerc by the US Headquarters of General Gerow.

During the night Paris and its suburbs were bombed by German bombers with a toll of 108 killed.

(de Gaulle 1954a, p. 363-369)

[The bombing was fairly surprising because the Allies had clear air supremacy. What was the purpose of this raid? From which airfield did the bombers come?]

**Aug 29, 1944:** In a triumphal Champs-Elysées parade victorious American troops of the Fifth Corps rolled through Paris. (NYT 30 August 1944, p. 1)

[The New York Times devoted a big front page title to this parade. In contrast, in the edition of 27 August there was not a single title about the victory parade of 26



August (in spite of the fact that there were many articles about the liberation of Paris in this edition). Has the attitude of the New York Times any connection with the uncooperative attitude of General Gerow?]

**Sep 27, 1944:** The French administration officially resumed control of civil affairs in Normandy. A ceremony was held at Saint-Pierre-Eglise (département of “Manche”) in which civil authority was restored to French mayors by an officer of the Allied Civil Affairs Bureau. The ceremony was attended by 20 mayors. M. Leviandier, Sub-Prefect of the Cherbourg District, was congratulated by Lieutenant-Colonel Franck H. Howley, chief of the Civil Affairs Bureau in the Cherbourg area. (Archive of the département of Manche, call number: 13 Num 1247<sup>35</sup>)

[Several observations can be made.

- Saint-Pierre-Eglise is a few kilometers west of Sainte-Mère-Eglise; both cities belong to the département of “Manche” on the western side of the American sector. Incidentally, Normandy is the name of a province which refers to a much broader area comprising the départements of Calvados (706 communes), Eure (675), Manche (601), Orne (505), Seine-Inférieure (now Seine-Maritime, 746). Altogether Normandy has 3,233 communes and therefore as many mayors.

- The title given to the picture by the “Signal Corps”, namely “French resume control of civil affairs in Normandy” does not seem correct because this ceremony concerned only the Cherbourg area (i.e. less than 10% of the total area of Normandy). The fact that no British officers took part suggests that the British sector of Normandy was not implied.

- As already noted there are 601 mayors in the département of the Manche and 3,233 in the province of Normandy. In other words, the 20 mayors who took part in this ceremony represented only a tiny fraction. As the French Provisional Government was opposed to the very idea that the civil administration should at any time be assumed by the Civil Affairs Division, it can be assumed that the mayors who took part were on the side of the US Civil Affairs. The préfet of the Manche département was Edouard Lebas and his absence at this ceremony is revealing.

The fact that in the US sector (contrary to the British sector) French mayors were (often) appointed by US Civil Affairs authorities<sup>36</sup> is confirmed by the testimony

---

<sup>35</sup>The call number refers to a picture showing the 20 mayors in front of the town hall. On the website of the archives of the Manche the date of the picture is given as 27 September 1944. However, for the same picture, Stéphane Lamache (2010b, p.145) gives the date of 9 August 1944. He also refers to an article about this event that was published in the newspaper “Presse Cherbourgeoise” on 11 August 1944. This suggests that the correct date may indeed be 9 August 1944. Moreover, an article in the “Sydney Morning Herald” (16 September 1944) shows that on 15 September Lt-Col. Frank Howley was already in Paris. The date does not really matter anyway because the ceremony at Saint-Pierre-Eglise was largely symbolic. Those mayors will continue to approve and sign the rules edicted by the American authorities, whether or not civil affairs officers remain in the region.

<sup>36</sup>Anyway, the appointments of mayors of towns and villages was of little political importance. What mattered were the medias (radio, newspapers), the mayors of large cities or the chiefs of police forces.

of François Coulet (1966). In this respect see also the study of Stéphane Lamache (2010) which is devoted to the American sector. In other words, in the discussion about Civil Affairs in Normandy one should make a clear distinction between the US and British sectors.

- Various spellings can be found on the Internet for the first names of Lieutenant-Colonel Howley: Franck H., Frank Leo (Wikipedia), Frank O. (Coles 1966), Frank J. They probably refer to the same person.]

### **Nov 18-24, 1944: Crimes and executions.**

(1) On 18 November near Cherbourg, Corporal Richard B. Scott of the 229th Quartermaster Company was executed by hanging for having raped a French woman and injured two Frenchmen. The crime occurred on 20 July at Octeville (Manche département) and the trial by a General Court Martial took place on 7 September.

(2) The same day and at the same place, private William D. Pennyfeather of the 3868th Quartermaster Truck Company was executed by hanging for the rape of a French girl. The crime occurred on 1 August at Cherbourg and the trial took place on 2 September.

(3) Two days later on 20 November at Saint-Lô (Manche département) private Theron W. McGann of the 32nd Signal Battalion was executed by hanging for the rape of two French women. The crime occurred on 5 August at Quibou (a few kilometers south west of Saint-Lô). and the trial took place on 28 August.

(4) On 22 November (at least) one US soldier was executed by hanging at Montours (in the north-east of the département of Ille-et-Vilaine which is located on the southern side of the Manche département). The source does not give the name(s). The crime (rape) took place on 10 August near Montours.

(5) On 24 November Private James E. Hendricks was executed by hanging at Plumaudan in the east of the Côtes-du-Nord, (now Côtes d'Armor) département). The crime (rape and murder) was committed on 21 August. (Lamache 2010b, p. 775. The primary source is a report sent by Lieutenant-Colonel Brunschwig of the US Army to the French Interior Ministry and dated 27 November 1944.)

[Why do we mention these facts? These crimes are of some interest for our purpose for at least two reasons.

- It is well-known that even in more normal times only a small percentage of the rapes are reported to the authorities. Even more so of course in time of war. Thus the number of trials are one of the few reliable ways to describe this effect. The accounts of such events given in Lamache (2010b) reveals that the French police almost never confronted the armed American soldiers. People who tried to get help almost always went to the nearest American camp. This observation provides a partial answer to the question raised above about who was really in charge of public safety.

- The American authorities asked the French Interior Ministry to forward the information about the executions to the préfets of the départements of Manche and Ille-et-Vilaine so that French newspapers can provide accounts. Usually, such crimes and executions are hardly made public. Why did the American authorities suddenly wish to make them known? On 3 November 1944 General Alphonse Juin (French Chief of Staff) had sent a message to General Eisenhower about the wave of rapes and other crimes that had been brought to his attention by General Legentilhomme, the commander of the Normandy area (Lamache 2010b p.731). Moreover, on 5 November 1944, the French Ministry in charge of the relations with the Allies also sent a letter to the commander of the SHAEF. In response, the American authorities wanted to show that they had already taken action. In short, this episode shows that French protests were not completely ignored. However, as shown by the list of cases given below, after a short-lived decline the crimes continued.

Prior to the wave of executions of 18-24 November 1944 there is only one execution mentioned in Lamache (2010b, p. 766).

1 On 14 August 1944 Private Clarence Whitfield was executed by hanging at the Canisy castle (center of the Manche département) The crime (rape and assault) was committed on 14 June and the trial took place on 20 June.

The executions following those of 18-24 November are listed below in chronological order (Lamache 2010b, p. 768-776).

2 On 10 February 1945 Private Waiters Yancy and Robert L. Skinner were executed by hanging at Briquebec (northern part of the Manche département). The crime (rape and murder) was committed on 1 August 1944 and the trial took place on 7 November 1944.

3 On 28 February 1945 a US soldier, William C. Downes, was executed by hanging at Etienville (in the northern part of the Manche département). The crimes (repeated rape) were committed on 12 July and 26 July and the trial took place on 23 November 1944.

4 On 29 March 1945 a US soldier, Tommie Davison, was executed by hanging at the village of Prise Guiment where the crime (rape) was committed. The trial took place on 9 December 1944.

5 Also on 29 March, a US soldier, Olin W. Williams, was executed by hanging at the village of Chérencé-le-Héron (in the south of the Manche département). The crime (rape and murder) was committed on 24 September 1944 and the trial took place on 15 December.

6 On 19 April 1945, three US soldiers were executed by hanging at La Pernelle (northern part of the Manche département). The crime (rape and murder) was committed on 11 October 1944 and the trial took place on 14 December.

6 On 21 May 1945 Private First Class Haze Heard was executed by hanging at

Mesnil Clinchamps in the west of the Calvados département. The crime (rape and murder) was committed on 13 October 1944 and the trial took place on 25 January 1945.

Altogether, according to this list of cases, between August 1944 and May 1945, there were 14 executions for rape crimes. One may wonder if this list is really complete. Indeed, in the week from 18 to 24 November there were 5 executions whereas in the three months after the execution of 14 August there was not a single one until 18 November. This is a very non-uniform statistical distribution.]

**Sep 8, 1945:** On the front page of the “Presse Cherbourgeoise”, the newspaper published in Cherbourg, there is an article entitled “Nous voulons nos écoles” [We want our schools back]. The article deplors that 16 months after the Normandy invasion and 4 months after the end of the war, many school buildings in the Cherbourg area are still occupied by US troops. (Lamache 2010b, p. 268)

**Oct 1946:** In French as well as in US accounts there is a temptation to minimize the authority of US military commanders in France in the aftermath of the war. One must rely on a number of “incidents” to form a clearer idea.

For instance in October 1945 a US Military Police sergeant fired on the car of Roger Wybot, the director of French counter intelligence (the so-called DST).

Probably he did not know who was in the car but at the same time one can observe that the incident would have remained unreported if the passenger had been an ordinary citizen.

(<http://www.charles-de-gaulle.org>)

**Feb 4, 1946:** Secretary of State to the Ambassador in France (excerpt). The Department views on French credit needs have not been adversely affected by the change in the French government [de Gaulle left the government in January 1946]. *On the contrary.* (FRUS, 1946, France)

**May 3, 1946:** War Department to the Commanding General of US Forces in European theater (excerpt). Authority is granted to effect movement into France in case of serious disturbance in order to protect US lives and property if the constitution is rejected. (FRUS, 1946, France)

[This message suggests that after the departure of General de Gaulle France was reduced to the status of a country where, as in Haiti or the Dominican Republic, US troops would intervene to re-establish public order. Although the State Department voiced some objections the directive was upheld nonetheless.]

**Feb 6, 1948:** The Italian government signed a bilateral civil aviation agreement with the United States according to which US carriers are allowed to operate to and through Italy with little restrictions while the Italian carrier is severely limited as to

traffic points in the United States. (US National Security Council of 22 May 1958, Report on Italy dated 30 April 1958)

[The report emphasizes that Italy has become very unsatisfied with this “unequal treaty” and has formally submitted proposals for amending it.

The same report contains complaints about initiatives taken by President Giovanni Gronchi (president from 11 mai 1955 to 11 mai 1962) such as inviting President Nasser to make a state visit in Italy or supporting Enrico Mattei, the president of ENI, in his conflict with US oil companies.]

**Nov 22, 1949:** Creation of the “Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls” (COCOM) under the influence of the United States. It was based in Paris in an annex of the US embassy. It had 18 members, basically all NATO countries plus Australia, Japan and South Korea. Its role was to prevent exports of sensitive items (e.g. machine tools or computers) to Communist countries. In 1994 it was replaced by the “Wassenaar Arrangement on Export Controls”. (Wikipedia article in French about COCOM)

[In May 1958 a report about Italy included in the minutes of the 366th meeting of the “National Security Council” observed: “US pressure on Italy to reduce mercury shipments to the Soviet bloc continues”. Although export of mercury to the Soviet bloc was not prohibited, it was subject to quotas.]

**Jun 2, 1958: Epilogue: General de Gaulle back to power.**

Just one day after the government, that General de Gaulle formed at the request of President René Coty, had been invested by the National Assembly, President Eisenhower sent a friendly message of felicitations to General de Gaulle. It said:

Dear Mr. President: I wish to extend to you my personal greetings and good wishes on this occasion of your assuming leadership of the French nation.

You may be confident that I retain vividly in mind the important and friendly association which we had during the critical days of the Second World War.

You know of my deep and lasting affection for France. You may be sure that you have my sympathetic understanding in the great tasks which you are about to undertake.

Please accept, Mr. President, my best wishes for the success of your mission.

Sincerely, Dwight D. Eisenhower

(FRUS, 1958-1960, France. p. 22)

[Quite naturally, this epilogue raises the following question. Prior to May 1958 France was ruled by weak governments (for instance in January 1958, France was granted a loan of \$650 million by the US). The State Department knew of course very well that under de Gaulle France would be less pliable. Why then were there no attempts to prevent him from assuming power? The answer is



fairly simple.

- In fact, until 23 May the US tried to prop up the government of Pierre Pflimlin. The headlines of the New York Times show this very clearly.
- Between 16 and 22 May there were indirect contacts between General de Gaulle and the US Embassy. For instance on 21 May Mr. Henri Tournet, an aide of General de Gaulle, accompanied by Colonel Sternberg, Executive Officer of MAAG in France, visited the US Embassy. He gave guarantees regarding de Gaulle's position on NATO that allowed the embassy to write to the State Department (on 1 June) "We have been assured from so many sources that De Gaulle will continue the policy of supporting NATO". Indeed, that is what he did. France left NATO only 7 years later during the second term of President de Gaulle.
- The last reason for supporting de Gaulle was expressed by President Eisenhower in the meeting of the "National Security Council" of 29 May: "The President indicated his fear of grave civil disorder if the Communists and Socialists insisted on standing against the assumption of power of General de Gaulle". (FRUS, 1958-1960, France, p. 22)

Incidentally, it was already very clear at that time that de Gaulle's intention was to give a large autonomy to Algeria. Indeed, during his visit to the US Embassy Tournet called attention to the fact that de Gaulle never said "Algeria is France" and instead considered an association.]

## Chronology of the liberation of Denmark

The case of Denmark has many similarities with the case of France.

- After the defeat the government and the king remained in Denmark.
- In April 1940 British troops occupied Iceland and the Faroe islands which were at that time dependencies of Denmark. In April 1941 US troops occupied Greenland. Such invasions parallel the occupation of North Africa, Madagascar and Clipperton Island in the sense that these territories were occupied for strategic reasons without the agreement of the respective governments
- After August 1943 the (more or less nominal<sup>37</sup>) autonomy of the Danish government ended.
- A movement called "Free Danes" or also "Fighting Denmark" appeared in London. It was in relation with a political council in Copenhagen. However, it was

---

<sup>37</sup>For instance, newspaper articles "which might jeopardize German-Danish relations" were outlawed, in violation of the Danish constitutional prohibition against censorship. On 22 August 1941, the Danish parliament, in violation of the Danish constitution, passed a law outlawing the Communist party and Communist activities. 246 Communist leaders were imprisoned.



not recognized by the Allies until

- The navy managed to scuttle 32 of its larger ships, while Germany succeeded in seizing 14 of the larger and 50 of the smaller vessels.



**Fig.** Allied currency introduced into Denmark in May 1945. As the inscription in the upper part of the notes is hardly readable, it has been reprinted in red at the top of the figure. It says: “UDSTEDT AF DEN ALLIEREDE OVERKOMMANDO TIL BRUG I DANMARK”. In contrast with Norway where the Allied currency was issued with the agreement of the king, there was no such agreement in the case of Denmark.

**Apr 13, 1940-Sep 1944:** The Royal Navy cruiser HMS Suffolk arrived in the Faroe islands on 13 April 1940. 250 Royal Marines were disembarked. Emergency banknotes were issued, and specially-issued Faroese banknotes were later printed by Bradbury Wilkinson in England.

Approximately 170 marriages took place between British soldiers and Faroese women. The British Consul Frederick Mason also married a local woman. The last British soldiers left in September 1944. Home rule was introduced on 23 March 1948.

(Wikipedia article about the occupation of the Faroe islands)

[What proportion of Faroese marriageable women represented the 170 women who married British soldiers? In 1945 the population was about 30,000. If one assumes a similar age group distribution as in the United States, the female population between age 20 and 29 represented 8.4% of the total population, that is to say 2,519 women. Of these the 170 who married British soldiers represented 6.7%. In comparison with the fairly small numbers of soldiers this represents a substantial proportion. If the same proportion of marriages had taken place in Iceland where the number of troops was much larger it would have implied a huge loss of the marriageable part of the population.]

**Oct-Nov 1943:** Some 7,500 Jews were able to escape to Sweden. Only some 500 were deported, most of them to Theresienstadt. (Wikipedia article entitled “History of the Jews in Denmark”)

**Nov 4, 1944: Instructions for the SHAEF mission**

Message from SHAEF to Maj Gen Richard H. Dewing (Br), Head of the SHAEF Mission to Denmark, excerpts.

- 3. You will endeavor to bring the Danish Government to comply with such Civil Affairs policies as the Supreme Commander may formulate or with such requests as he may address to the Danish Government through the Mission under your command.

- 5. Your Civil Affairs staff has been selected for its knowledge of the problems peculiar to Denmark.

- 11. Finance. You will maintain liaison with the Danish Government on all problems relating to currency, property control and general financial questions. You will be guided as to policy by the separate financial directive issued by the Supreme Commander relative to Denmark.

- 17. You will refer to Supreme Headquarters all questions requiring policy decision raised by the Danish Government outside routine Civil Affairs activities. (Coles 1964, chapter 29, p. 837) [This directive is not issued to Civil Affairs but to SHAEF of which Civil Affairs is a component (namely G-5). This is certainly the reason why it does not give any specific instructions.]

**1945:** After the war, 40,000 people were arrested on suspicion of collaboration. Of these, 13,500 were punished in some way. 78 received death sentences, of which 46 were carried out. (Wikipedia article on the German Occupation)

**May 4, 1945:** When collapse in Europe seemed imminent, the entire G-5 Division (i.e. Civil Affairs) was placed on 24 hours notice to move to the continent. On the announcement of the surrender of the Germans occupying Denmark, Maj. Gen. R. H. Dewing and certain officers of his staff were flown to Copenhagen, and arrived at Kastrup Airfield on the afternoon of 6 May 1945. Two days later a further group arrived at Copenhagen by air. The [Civil Affairs] Division was established on the 5th floor of Dagmarhus, Copenhagen and immediately commenced the tasks for which it had so long been planning. (Coles 1964, chapter 29, p. 838)

**May 23, 1945:** The motion [about Greenland] was brought before the Rigsdag<sup>38</sup> at its first meeting on 16 May 1945 and both Chambers unanimously gave their consent to the Agreement [of 9 April 1941]. In virtue of the consent given by the Rigsdag, His Majesty the King of Denmark in a Council of State held on 23 May has formally

---

<sup>38</sup>The Rigsdag was composed of an upper house and a lower house. In 1953 it was replaced by the unicameral Folketing.

approved the Greenland Agreement of 9 April 1941. (Foreign Relations of the United States, Europe 1945)

[The Agreement of 9 April 1941 had been signed by the Danish Ambassador in Washington without any official authorization. He was dismissed thereafter. The meeting of the Rigsdag took place hastily only one week after the liberation of the country. Did this parliament really represent This Rigsdag had been elected in 1943 under German occupation. Did it truly represent the country? One can observe that in 1943 the Communist party was banned and could not take part in the election.]

**Jul 25, 1945:** [Message from the Acting US Secretary of State to the Danish Minister.](#) I have the honor to request that the areas in Greenland appearing on the attached list shall be considered as defense areas in accordance with the provisions of Article V of the Agreement of 9 April 1941. [The list which is attached consists of 15 enclaves each having a diameter of 6.5 km. (FRUS, Europe, 1945)

[In 1941 the US government had proclaimed that it was occupying Greenland and Iceland to defend these islands against a possible invasion by Germany. Yet, the end of the war did not bring an end to these occupations.]

**Oct 11, 1945:** The Danish government did not wish to receive any remuneration due to Denmark for the use made of Greenland by the United States during the war. (FRUS, Europe, 1945)

[In contrast it can be mentioned that during the war Denmark had continued without any interruption the payment of the interest on the \$ 125 million Danish bonds issued in the United States. Although dismissed by the Danish government, the Danish minister in Washington, Mr de Kaufmann, had allowed such payments by reducing the Danish gold reserve in the United States.]

**Oct 19, 1945:** The 40 Danish ships requisitioned by the US government were sent into danger zones from which American ships were excluded by the US Neutrality Act. They sailed without protection and 23 of them were sunk with heavy loss of lives.

In a reply to a Danish message, the Secretary of State, James F. Byrnes, said that if the owners of the ships are not satisfied with the compensation offered by the United States they can start an action in US courts. (FRUS, Europe, 1945)

[Would such an action in US courts have any chance to be successful? An action in Danish courts had perhaps a better chance of succes but the US government would probably not comply with a judgment delivered by a Danish court. In any case it turned out to be a difficult negotiation which lasted 13 years. The final agreement occurred on 28 August 1958.]

**Oct 26, 1945:** The Danish Foreign Office has telegraphed that it was horrified at the

prospect of receiving a request from the United States for bases in Greenland. It feels that any such request would be rejected except if supported by the Security Council. (FRUS, Europe, 1945)

[The Danish government understood very well that any such decision of the Security Council would be vetoed by the Soviet Union. In other words, this was the first Danish refusal opposed to US requests.]

**Dec 21, 1945:** The Danes are angry at England over a pact on trade. (Chicago Daily Tribune, Dec 21, 1945, p. 6)

**Dec 22, 1945:** Troops of Britain and Denmark clashed. The Moscow radio, quoting a Tass dispatch from Copenhagen, said tonight had been a “number of clashes” involving British and Danish troops on the Danish-German frontier. No comment was available immediately from the British war office. Chicago Daily Tribune Dec 22, 1945, p. 7; Washington Post Dec 22, 1945 p. 4)

The liberation of Denmark was mainly a British affair but American “Technical Intelligence Teams” did operate in British controlled areas in 1945. One of these teams was the “Combined Advance Field Teams” (CAFT) who would evaluate targets judged to be of scientific intelligence value.

## Chronology of the liberation of Norway

**May 9, 1945:** Lt. Col. E. A. J. Johnson, Chief of the Economics Branch, arrived in Oslo by plane as the first Civil Affairs Officer to enter the country since the surrender of the German forces. On 11 May he was joined by:

Lt. Col. John Enrietto, Chief of the Legal Branch,

Lt. Col. E. Ross Jenney, Head of the Public Health Section,

Lt. Col. R. F. E. Laidlaw, Chief of the Public Safety and Welfare Branch.

The Civil Affairs Division will work under British General Andrew M. Thorne, the Commander of Allied Land Forces in Norway.

(Coles 1964, chapter 29, p. 843)

**May 20-31, 1945:** The usual incidents of cutting of hair of women who consorted with the enemy have taken place but without great disturbances. It seems to be the Norwegian attitude that these women will be such social outcasts that they will find it necessary to go to Germany. (Coles 1964, chapter 29, p. 844)

**May 20-31, 1945:** A somewhat startling departure in the field of international law is the determination by SHAEF that members of the German armed forces in Norway who surrendered on 8 May 45 would not be declared prisoners of war but would be treated as disarmed military personnel. The effect was to create in international law

an entirely new class of persons, namely disarmed military personnel. (Coles 1964, chapter 29, p. 844)

[This is one case of re-categorization of prisoners following the German surrender. Such re-definitions greatly contributed to make Allied statistical data about German prisoners of war unreliable and open to discussion.]

**Jun 7, 1945:** About one hour before King Haakon VII set foot on Norwegian soil the Head of Civil Affairs in Norway, rode to the Royal Palace. He carried with him a letter from SHAEF terminating the Military Phase of the Norway operation. This letter announced to the Norwegian Government that the complete responsibility for civil administration in Norway was restored to His Majesty the King and to the Norwegian Government.

Though of historical value, this declaration has in no way affected the work of Civil Affairs, which, in any case, has always worked in close co-operation with both governmental and local authorities. Their work will continue until the Allied Forces are eventually withdrawn. (Coles 1964, chapter 29, p. 846)

[This excerpt mentions the “responsibility for civil administration”, but what about Norwegian armed forces?]

## Why did the US promote European unification?

### US role in European unification?

Between 1945 and 1949, the expression “European Union” appears in 567 articles of the New York Times and the expression “United States of Europe” 182 times.

The fact that the US State Department sponsored non-governmental organisations working in favor of European integration has been well documented for instance in the works of Rebattet (1962), Aldrich (1997), Grosbois (2006, 2009, 2010). It has been estimated that between 1949 and 1960 (at least) \$4 million were distributed (Aldrich 1997, p. 211).

The Oxford thesis by François-Xavier Rebattet (1962) provided the first detailed description of US involvement in the promotion of European unification. However, for some reason, this thesis was closed to consultation from 1962 to 1971. The ban was lifted by the Oxford Faculty Board in 1971 (see Fig. xx). Then, on 26 June 1975 the “Washington Post” devoted a long article (see Fig. xxa) to the thesis<sup>39</sup>. This

---

<sup>39</sup>As stated in the article itself, it was in fact preceded by an article in the English weekly magazine “Time out” in the issue of 23-29 May 1975 which was entitled “Uncle Sam goes to market”. This article came out at a critical moment just a few days before the referendum of 6 June 1975 on whether to stay in or quit the Common Market.

It should be noted that in the first years after being launched in 1968, “Time out” had a radical leaning (which however did not survive very long). For instance, in 1976 it published the names of 60 purported CIA agents stationed in England. In the time interval between the publications of the “Time Out” and “Washington Post” articles there was also an article



WXP08 JUN 26 1975

# CIA Is Linked to Funding Of European Unity Groups

By Bernard D. Nossiter  
Washington Post Foreign Service

LONDON, June 25—As far back as 25 years ago, the Central Intelligence Agency was secretly subsidizing private political organizations promoting European unity, according to a doctoral thesis written by the son of the secretary general of the European Movement, one of the groups said to have received funds.

According to the dissertation, the CIA, using a group of distinguished Americans and its own leaders as a cover, was pumping funds into the European Movement and its affiliates.

From 1947 until 1955, the European Movement and its offshoots are said to have spent an estimated \$2.8 million. Of this, the thesis says about \$1 million came from secret U.S. funds and another \$170,000 from American business firms. The Washington contribution was put at 36 percent of the total.

It has been known for some years that the CIA secretly financed political and propaganda activities in Europe, such as Radio Free Europe, which broadcasts to Communist nations; youth and labor organizations, and even some publications, among them the British magazine Encounter. The European Movement, however, has not been mentioned among these.

A detailed account of the relationship is given in a 1962 doctoral thesis written at St. Antony's College, Oxford, by François Xavier Rebattet. He was in a unique position to search the records and interview those involved because his father, Georges, was deputy secretary general and later secretary general of the European Movement.

Rebattet's thesis, "The 'European Movement' 1945-1953: A Study in National and International Non-Governmental Organization Working for European Unity," was first brought to public attention by Time Out a lively London weekly.

Interviewed by telephone at his Paris apartment today, Georges Rebattet emphasized that the bulk of the CIA money went to finance the European Movement's youth arm and not his headquarters. He estimated the U.S. subsidy to his own secretariat at no more than \$10,000 to \$20,000 a year.

"We knew there were people of the CIA" on the American committee transmitting funds, he said, "but we were not so very interested."

Many of the European Movement leaders, he re-

called, had fought in the wartime resistance and had met Allen Dulles, then in the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) and later CIA director. Rebattet said it then seemed natural to work with Dulles after the war.

Rebattet said that the Americans had not pressed any policy or program on the Europeans that the Europeans themselves rejected. "We were not under pressure from the American committee," he said.

He recalled that, in private talks, the Americans had urged the formation of a European Defense Community (EDC), a project to overcome French fears of a rearmament in Germany by creating a Western European army. But here, too, according to Rebattet, the Americans acted with discretion. The project was ultimately defeated by the French Assembly.

The younger Rebattet's thesis underscores the heavy CIA influence in the American Committee on United Europe, the body that transmitted the funds across the Atlantic. Its chairman was William J. Donovan, the wartime boss of OSS, the CIA's predecessor. Allen Dulles was vice chairman; Thomas Braden, a CIA official and now a columnist, was executive director; and Charles M. Spofford, a New York lawyer identified in the thesis as a CIA man, was a director.

Braden, reached for comment in Washington, said his tenure with the committee was before he became a CIA officer and as far as he knew, the funds raised in the United States were genuinely private contributions, not money from the CIA.

"So far as I know, there was no CIA money in it," Bra-

den said. "What happened after I left, I don't know."

Another director was Gen. Walter Bedell Smith, head of the CIA from 1950 to 1955. When the U.S. funds began flowing in quantity to the private European pressure groups.

Prominent members of the American committee included David Dubinsky of the Ladies Garment Workers Union; Arthur Goldberg, then general counsel of the CIO; Conrad Hilton, the hotel tycoon, and Lucius Clay, former commander of U.S. forces in Germany. It was an elite group, dominated by corporation executives and bankers, and limited to 600 members.

Rebattet describes the money channeled through the committee to Europe as "State Department secret funds."

Rebattet does not disclose which members of the European Movement knew that secret U.S. funds were helping finance their activities. His father thinks that the movement's first chairman, Duncan Sandys, was aware of Washington's aid. Sandy, the son-in-law of Winston Churchill, was to become a minister in a Conservative government.

The thesis indicates that Paul-Henri Spaak, the second chairman, clearly knew. He insisted, however, that the U.S. funds pay only for special projects so that the movement would be protected from being labeled as an American tool. Spaak later became Belgium's prime minister.

Donovan, the American chairman is pictured as being remarkably blunt about the committee's aims, if not its methods. He is said to have insisted that Germany must be rearmament, something its neighbors would accept only if Eu-

rope was unified politically. Donovan's position was said to be that Europe must be united and strengthened to resist communism.

The Rebattet thesis makes clear that the biggest outlay of secret U.S. funds went to finance the European Youth Campaign. Between 1951 and 1959, this outfit got \$3.8 million in hidden subsidies.

Rebattet says this group was heavily supported because John J. McCloy, then the U.S. high commissioner in Germany, was impressed by a 1951 Communist youth rally that drew 2 million to East Berlin. McCloy wanted the west to match it, but the Europeans successfully resisted staging what was said to be such a crude propaganda exercise.

They got their money anyway, and Rebattet gives this breakdown of activities that the funds financed in 1952: 1,888 study sessions or congresses; 90 film showings; 1,746,149 brochures in 10 languages; 21 exhibitions; and printing of 2,765,650 periodicals.

Rebattet says the American committee pushed its scheme for a European army through an action committee for the supranational European Community. He reports that it got all its money from the United States, but only par from government funds. In a six-month period ending on May 31, 1953, the action committee took in \$77,000.

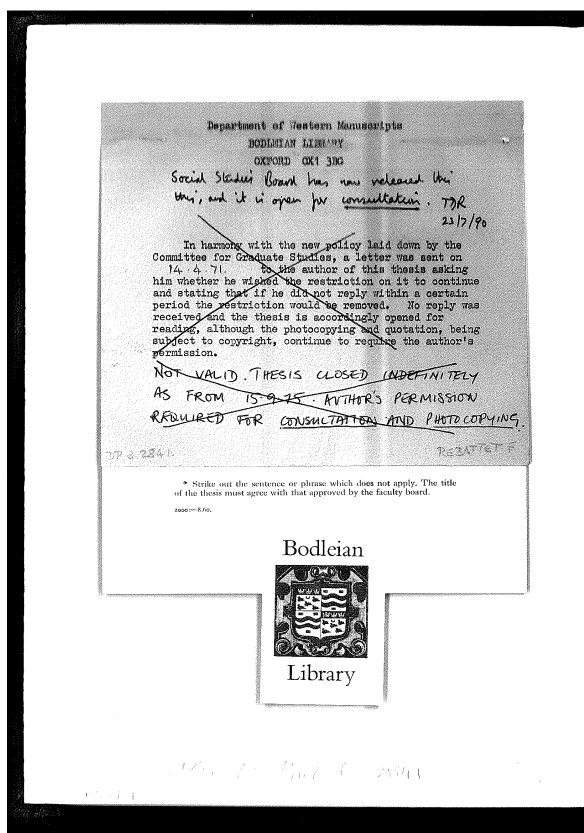
As for Rebattet, François Xavier is now 28 and a freelance interpreter. He received his doctorate for the thesis. His father, Georges, now 67, is a consultant to a private welfare agency aiding immigrant workers in France.

**Fig. xxa: Article of 26 June 1975 in the "Washington Post" about the Oxford thesis by François Xavier Rebattet.** Because for some reason the thesis had been closed to public consultation during the 1960s, this article provided the first insight into the role of the United States in subsidizing pro-European movements. The thesis was again closed to public consultation two months after the publication of this article. The article was written by Bernard Nossiter who had been a renowned newspaperman first at the "Washington Post" for almost 20 years and then at the "New York Times". The many references to the CIA (as well as other US intelligence agencies) carries out the policy and instructions given by the US government and particularly in the present case by the State Department. In other words, whereas the question is first and foremost a political issue, the article's emphasis on secret funding just distracts the reader's attention. In contrast, the political stances taken by the "European Movement" are hardly mentioned. In short, from the perspective of historical research this article had clearly a negative effect. It transformed an important political issue into a murky story about secret services. It is difficult to understand why Mr. Georges Rebattet accepted to give this interview.

article by the renowned journalist Bernard Nossiter provided what can be seen as the

on the same topic in the French newspaper "Le Monde" (18 June 1975).





**Fig. xxb: Consultation rules for Dr. Rebattet's thesis at Oxford.** This is the reproduction of a page at the beginning of the thesis which gives librarians indications about whether or not readers should get access to it. To close a thesis in history to public consultation seems in opposition with the very role of historical research which is to put under the eyes of the public information and documents otherwise difficult to find because (for instance) they were buried in archives and not easily accessible. So, if it is harder to get access to the work of the historian than to the documents themselves it has no real usefulness. *Source: Bodleian Library, Oxford.*

first disclosure of the funding by the State Department (through the CIA, the Ford Foundation or other agencies) of pro-European movements.

Of course, ever since its creation in January 1949, the role of the “American Committee on United Europe” had been well known, but without the information provided by this article it could be argued that it was only involved in advising.

### Side effects of the “Washington Post” article

As shown in Fig xxc the article of 26 June is not mentioned in the list of the papers published by Bernard Nossiter, May be this was just due to a computer glitch? Moreover, two months after the article was published the thesis was closed to any public consultation by the Oxford Faculty Board. May be the timing was just a coincidence?

On the other hand it is quite understandable that the article may have infuriated the US government because some of its statements seem quite inappropriate.

- For instance toward the bottom of column two it says that: “Charles M. Spoford, a New York lawyer identified in the thesis as a CIA man was a director [of the American Committee on United Europe]”.
- Toward the bottom of column three it says “The thesis indicates that Paul-Henri

**A BETTER WAY**  
**HUAWEI OceanStor STORAGE SYSTEM**  
 Massive read-write ability and scalability for big data. [Learn more](#)

Real Estate | Health | Cars | Today's Paper | Going Out Guide | FindJobs | Home Repair

PostTV | Politics | Opinions | Local | Sports | National | World | Business | Tech | Lifestyle | Entertainment | Jobs | More

to the News | Via your marriage | Storms | 'Nite nation vote | 'House of Cards' | Ergasil Pushenko

Search Results: **Between: 01/01/1975 and 12/31/1975** Author: **nossiter**

Sort by: [News First](#) | [Oldest First](#) | [Closest Match](#)

Results 21 to 30 of 65

Page: << [Previous](#) | [1](#) | [2](#) | [3](#) | [4](#) | [5](#) | [6](#) | [7](#) | [Next](#) >>

21. [Preview](#) | [Buy](#) | [Article Image](#) | [PDF](#) | [HTML](#) | [Not Available](#)  
**Industrial Nations Do Discard Price Of Oil Materials**  
 By Bernard D. Nossiter, Washington Post Foreign Service; The Washington Post (1974-Current file); (May 28, 1975) p. A1-2

22. [Preview](#) | [Buy](#) | [Article Image](#) | [PDF](#) | [HTML](#) | [Not Available](#)  
**U.S. Offers Formula For Oil Bargaining**  
 By Bernard D. Nossiter, Washington Post Foreign Service; The Washington Post (1974-Current file); (May 28, 1975) p. A1-2

23. [Preview](#) | [Buy](#) | [Article Image](#) | [PDF](#) | [HTML](#) | [Not Available](#)  
**Trade Controls Ban Renewed By 23 Nations**  
 By Bernard D. Nossiter, Washington Post Foreign Service; The Washington Post (1974-Current file); (May 30, 1975) p. D8-7

24. [Preview](#) | [Buy](#) | [Article Image](#) | [PDF](#) | [HTML](#) | [Not Available](#)  
**Raw Unleash As World's Top Miner**  
 Washington Post Foreign Service; Bernard Nossiter; The Washington Post (1974-Current file); (Jan. 2, 1975) p. C1-D2

25. [Preview](#) | [Buy](#) | [Article Image](#) | [PDF](#) | [HTML](#) | [Not Available](#)  
**Britons Vote on EEC, Push Pro-Europe Approval**  
 By Bernard D. Nossiter, Washington Post Staff Writer; The Washington Post (1974-Current file); (Jan. 6, 1975) p. A2D.

26. [Preview](#) | [Buy](#) | [Article Image](#) | [PDF](#) | [HTML](#) | [Not Available](#)  
**Formal Oil Deal Between Arab and Western States**  
 Current file; (Jan. 19, 1975) p. C1-C8

27. [Preview](#) | [Buy](#) | [Article Image](#) | [PDF](#) | [HTML](#) | [Not Available](#)  
**OPEC Ministers Pledge New Increase in Oil Prices**  
 Washington Post Foreign Service; Bernard D. Nossiter; The Washington Post (1974-Current file); (Jan. 19, 1975) p. A1-2

28. [Preview](#) | [Buy](#) | [Article Image](#) | [PDF](#) | [HTML](#) | [Not Available](#)  
**British Get First Delivery of North Sea Oil**  
 By Bernard D. Nossiter, Washington Post Foreign Service; The Washington Post (1974-Current file); (Jan. 19, 1975) p. A1-2

29. [Preview](#) | [Buy](#) | [Article Image](#) | [PDF](#) | [HTML](#) | [Not Available](#)  
**African Heads Unlikely to Block Admin From Top OAU Post**  
 By Bernard D. Nossiter, Washington Post Foreign Service; The Washington Post (1974-Current file); (Jan. 21, 1975) p. A1D.

30. [Preview](#) | [Buy](#) | [Article Image](#) | [PDF](#) | [HTML](#) | [Not Available](#)  
**British Secrecy and The Lobby**  
 Nossiter, Bernard D.; The Washington Post (1974-Current file); (Jan. 30, 1975) p. A22.

Page: << [Previous](#) | [1](#) | [2](#) | [3](#) | [4](#) | [5](#) | [6](#) | [7](#) | [Next](#) >>

Other Historic Results

Expand the scope of your research by visiting some of ProQuest's other Historical Newspaper websites. Links to additional sites can be found below.

[Boston Globe \(1872 - 1976\)](#) | [Chicago Tribune \(1837 - 1989\)](#) | [Hartford Courant \(1774 - 1989\)](#)  
[Cleveland Plain Dealer \(1846 - 1989\)](#) | [Columbian Evening Monitor \(1836 - 1989\)](#) | [Los Angeles Times \(1851 - 1989\)](#)

Most Viewed Articles (Closed Copy)

- Jan. War All Over a Piece of the South
- London Times First Report of News for Jan
- J.F. Spencer Speaks New York Age Column
- 1852-53
- Mr. Chamberlain to Jan Head for Lyon Soldier

Start a New Search | Search 1987 - Present

[Preview](#) | [Article Image](#) | [PDF](#) | [HTML](#) | [Not Available](#)

Ads by Google

[Lush](#)

Fig. xxx: Articles written by Bernard Nossiter for the Washington Post during the first semester of 1975. The titles of the articles show that B. Nossiter was mainly in charge of British affairs. As shown by the beginning of its article of 26 June 1975 (which, incidentally, is not listed here), he was based in London, not in Washington. Source: Search engine index of the Washington Post.

Spaak, the second chairman [of the “European Movement”] clearly knew [that secret US funds were helping financing the activities of the Movement].

To reveal the identity of a CIA officer seems not only inappropriate but also questionable for there can hardly be any solid evidence for such a contention. The same comment applies to the statement regarding Paul-Henri Spaak. Unless, he acknowledged himself that he knew about the funding [which seems very unlikely] how can one prove that he “clearly knew”?

By making such statements one will perhaps attract more readers, but one will not provide a better understanding. Indeed, from his whole political career, it is clear that Paul-Henri Spaak was a spokesman of US political interests and objectives. Whether he did so through his own volition or thanks to the encouragements of the State Department is in fact of little interest. Similarly, whether or not Mr. Charles Spofford was a CIA officer does not add anything to our understanding.

Lastly, one may wonder why this article was written at all. One answer is that it was quite in tune with the Zeitgeist of the mid-1970s. This is illustrated by the following facts.

In the late 1960s in the wake of the debacle in South Vietnam, US intelligence agen-

cies had already come under the scrutiny of US newspapers. A few years later, in 1971 there was the publication of the “Pentagone Papers” by the “New York Times” and the “Washington Post”<sup>40</sup>. Then, in 1974 there was the Watergate scandal in which the “Washington Post” played a prominent role. On August 9, 1974 it led to the resignation of President Nixon. Moreover, with the hasty US withdrawal from Saigon, 1975 marked a low point in US foreign influence.

In short, although one can understand why such an article came to be published in 1975, one must realize that it was aimed at the wrong targets. The “European Movement” had been vocal in its support of the “European Defense Community” project. Yet, in spite of the fact that the EDC is discussed in the article (second column) this undisputable fact is not even mentioned. In other words, by examining the political record of the “European Movement” one would learn much more about the role of this pressure group than through dubious statements about undercover funding.

### **Adverse side effects of an assertive unified Europe**

The question in the title of this section is rarely raised. Yet, it is a very natural question. Why?

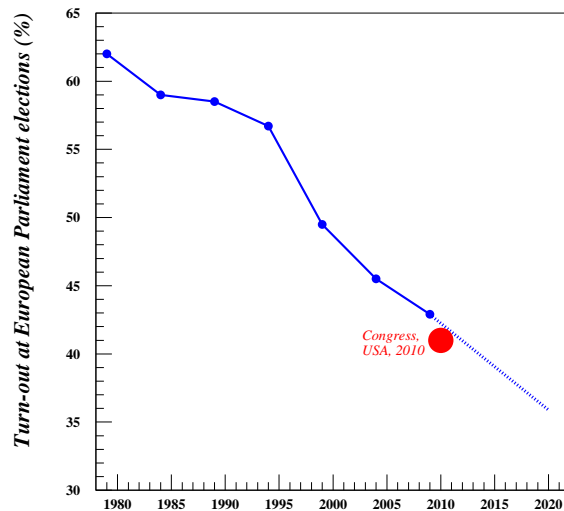
It is often said that the United States wanted a unified Europe to stand as a bullwark against the USSR and its East European satellites. That was of course the major motivation for the creation of NATO. However, as suggested by the expressions used in the New York Times the American project for Europe also included economic, monetary and political unification. Is that not odd?

As a rule, it is the “Divide and rule (*Divide et impera*)” strategy which guides the foreign policy of world powers. Why should a country wish to encourage competitors?

- An European Common Market with negligible internal tariffs but high external tariffs would certainly not be in the best interest of the US economy.
- A successful integrated European film industry would certainly reduce the market share of Hollywood movies.
- At the time of writing (2014) there are three major **rating agencies** (Standard and Poor’s, Moody’s, Fitch) and they are all American. On account of the political importance of such organisations, in particular regarding the rating of sovereign debt, would it not be in order for the European Union to create its own rating agencies? One can be sure that such an objective would certainly not be welcomed by the US Treasury; that is probably why it was never seriously considered by the European

---

<sup>40</sup>In this respect it can be observed that whereas the charges against Daniel Elsberg (who gave the documents to the newspapers) were eventually dropped, Bradley Edward Manning (who gave US diplomatic documents to Wikileaks) was sentenced in August 2013 to 35 years in jail.



**Fig. xx: Turnout at the elections for the European Parliament.** The trend is 3.2% less participation every 5 years. The dotted line gives a prediction based on the previous trend. For the elections of 2014 and 2019 it gives 39.7% and 36.5% respectively. Such figures are of the same order of magnitude as turnout for US mid-term Congress elections (41% in 2010) but much lower than for national parliamentary elections in most European countries which are usually over 60%. Examination of turnout figures by country shows that the turnout is lowest in former East European countries: 24% in Poland 27% in Romania, 20% in Slovakia. *Source: Data published by the European Parliament, cited in the Wikipedia article entitled “Elections du Parlement Européen”*

Commission.

- More generally, would a politically unified and assertive European Union not endanger US world leadership?

Nothing of this kind happened so far. No European film industry emerged, no European rating agencies were created. No European universities (except a minuscule one created in Bruges in 1948) were established. In a general way the foreign policy of the European Union remains weak and completely subordinated to the US agenda. As a historical parallel for the European Union one can think of the Austro-Hungarian empire. Both entities were and are ruled by a rigid state bureaucracy estranged from the hearts and wishes of the people. This is shown fairly clearly by the fact that the turn-over at European parliamentary elections has been dwindling decade after decade and is about 40% at the time of writing.

### “Divide and rule”

Nevertheless there were a few cases in which European integration led to genuine autonomy. In all those cases, far from encouraging greater integration, the United States has resorted to the “Divide and rule” strategy. Here are a few illustrations.

- One of the earliest cases was brought about by [European cooperation in the aviation industry](#) which led to the construction of the Anglo-French supersonic Con-

corde airliner. Numerous obstacles were raised by the American administration before it was allowed to land in New York. This strategy was quite successful. It discouraged many (non-American) companies which therefore did not transform their commitments<sup>41</sup> into actual purchases. Moreover, it stretched the delay between the first flight in 1969 and the start of commercial operation in 1976. Instead of a standard time interval of one year and a half, in this case it was 7 years.

Some 20 years later the competition between Airbus and Boeing became a major source of friction between the United States and Europe. Once again the “Divide and rule” strategy was put to use. After being awarded profitable contracts with the US Army, “BAE Systems” (formerly “British Aerospace”) sold all its Airbus shares on 13 October 2006.

In the 1980s the success of the Airbus A320 relied largely on Middle Eastern and Asian airlines. In the United States, apart from US Airways, no other airline ordered it at that time. The same “Concorde syndrome” repeated itself for the A380. At the time of writing (February 2014) this jumbo aircraft has been ordered by most major airline companies with the distinct exception of US and Japanese airlines<sup>42</sup>.

- When the European Union announced its intention to build its own GPS (Global Positioning system) the United States tried its best to derail the project<sup>43</sup>. Whereas the US system had been established (mostly for military purposes) without any international concertation, the Europeans had to submit their own system to an US agreement.

- **Monetary unification** was one of the themes of the pro-integration campaigns sponsored by the United States. Yet, the creation of the “euro” was not welcomed by the United States. Once again the United Kingdom was the target of a “Divide and rule” strategy. The British pound entered the system of the “Snake in the tunnel” (through which fluctuations between European currencies were limited to  $\pm 2.4\%$ ) in May 1972 but left it one month later (Wikipedia article entitled “Serpent monétaire européen”). Later on the “Snake in the tunnel” mechanism was replaced by the “European Exchange Rate Mechanism” (ERM)

Some 20 years later, in October 1990, Britain became a member of the ERM but speculative attacks on the pound led to its withdrawal two years later on 16 September 1992. After that episode Britain stayed away from subsequent negotiations about the introduction of the euro. Ever since, quite understandingly, British leaders see

---

<sup>41</sup>Around 1972 apart from the orders from “Air France” and “British Airways” there were commitments for some 30 aircraft mainly from Middle Eastern companies.

<sup>42</sup>However, for some reason, the situation was slightly different for the A350 (planned to enter commercial service by the end of 2014); it has been ordered by US Airways, United Airlines, by US leasing companies and by Japan Airlines. Some of the companies (e.g. United Airlines, Japan Airlines, Ethiopian Airlines) which were among the first to get deliveries of Boeing 787 Dreamliners were also early buyers of the A350.

<sup>43</sup>For instance, it offered to provide a higher accuracy (which until then had been limited by purpose) so as to make the European system less attractive.



any problem with the euro as a justification of their policy.

Some 20 years later, Greece and Portugal became the target of speculative campaigns. This was the so-called Eurozone debt crisis. For English and US experts, the question was no longer whether or not the Eurozone would collapse but rather *when* this would happen<sup>44</sup>.

### **A unified Europe as a vassal state**

What conclusion can one draw from the former discussion? What was the American conception of a unified Europe?

One can get a good idea about that by listening to Paul-Henri Spaak. He was the Secretary General of NATO from 1957 to 1961. Before that he had been the president of the “European Movement” from 1950 to 1955. In both positions he was certainly a faithful spokesperson of US conceptions. Here is what he says (p. 13) in a book published by the “European Movement” (1949) to celebrate the creation of the “European Council”, its main achievement.

We, in the European Movement, have the right to be satisfied with the work we have done so far. The Hague Congress was a splendid and historic achievement. It was there that the idea of a United Europe passed from the world of dreams to the realm of reality. It was thanks to the Hague Congress and the subsequent campaign of the European Movement that the Council of Europe was established.

Even if one forgets for a moment that the “European Movement” was the mouthpiece of the United States, who would believe that the creation of the European Council marked the real beginning of the European unification. In previous sections we emphasized the weakness of the present European Union but if it had been erected upon the Council of Europe it would be even much weaker. If Spaak really believed what he says, he is a dreamer himself, if he did not he may be just an unreliable person.

It seems that when the United States was promoting European unification, its idea was unification *under its control*. This was the idea behind NATO and in this case it succeeded brilliantly. As explained below, there was the same idea behind the failed project of the “European Defense Community”. One should remember that in 1950 when it was proposed the countries of Continental Europe (Britain never considered becoming an EDC partner) had no defense industry. All European armies had to rely on US equipment. Perhaps even more importantly, none of them had any nuclear capability.

---

<sup>44</sup>Just as an illustration, here is a declaration made in an interview for Bloomberg TV by Michael Platt, the founder of the \$30 billion hedge fund “Blue Crest” (15 December 2011): “The probability that the market is putting on a Eurozone breakup, in my opinion from evidence I’m seeing from option pricing across the different markets, is steadily rising. We are going into 2012 and in our opinion, it’s only going to get worse”.



## Achievements of sponsored entities

US intentions can be seen more clearly by examining the conditions put by the State Department on the funding of pro-unification organizations. In a meeting of the Executive Directors of the “American Committee on United Europe” that took place in May 1952 the criteria for a program to get subsidies were set as follows. (Aldrich p. 193 and 221):

- Strengthening the Council of Europe.
- Realization of the basic aims of the Marshall Plan, the Mutual Security Act and the North Atlantic Security Organization.
- Lastly, such programs must not be in opposition to the foreign policy of the United States.

While the last two criteria seem fairly natural, the first one requires some additional explanations.

The setting up of the “Council of Europe” in May 1949 was the first major achievement of the “European Movement”. One of the main purposes of the “Council of Europe” was to provide a tribune to “governments in exile” of East European countries by giving them associate membership (Aldrich 1997 p. 199). The strong emphasis the “Council of Europe” put on human rights was another step in the program destined to fight Soviet hegemony in Eastern Europe<sup>45</sup>.

In short, the Council of Europe was a machinery directed against the Soviet Union and after 1990 against any country not in favor with the State Department<sup>46</sup>. Needless to say, the sheer number of its members prevented any real European integration. It started with 10 members, one year later it had already 14 and in 2014 it had 47.

## Chronology

**May 16, 1946:** Creation in Brussels of the “Ligue Indépendante de Coopération Economique Européenne” [Independent League for European Economic Cooperation] by Paul van Zeeland, former Belgian Prime Minister and Joseph H. Retinger<sup>47</sup>.

---

<sup>45</sup>The fact that supporting dissidents in Eastern Europe was a major objective of US policy is shown fairly clearly by the attention given to this question by the “National Security Council”. For instance, in June 1953 a report summarized a number of “actions to exploit the unrest in the satellite states” (NSC no 158). One suggested action was to “encourage the elimination of key puppet officials”, another was to engage in “aggressive psychological warfare to heighten unrest behind the Iron Curtain”. In May 1958 another discussion took place about new recommendations of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. As this was shortly after the failed uprising in Budapest Secretary of State Dulles deplored that “the elements that we most depended upon had been liquidated by the resort to violence” (NSC no 366).

<sup>46</sup>This statement may seem too categorical. Indeed, there have been a few investigations which did not follow this rule, e.g. the one about interrogation centers set up by US secret services in East European countries. However, the trend was set by the main members of the European Council which were all close allies of the United States. The situation would have been different if the Soviet Union and its satellites had become members from the very beginning in the same way as they were members of the United Nations.

<sup>47</sup>In 1954 Retinger was also at the origin of the foundation of the “Bilderberg Group” together with the head of Unilever, Paul van Zeeland and Walter Bedell Smith, then head of the CIA (according to the Wikipedia article entitled “Bilderberg

In March 1947 the League was re-organized and Retinger became its Secretary General. (Wikipedia article in German entitled “Ligue Européenne de Coopération Economique”)

[This was one of the first organizations set up (with British and US support) to promote European cooperation<sup>48</sup>. The English Wikipedia article entitled “European League for Economic Cooperation” (ELEC) says that this organization “acts in complete independence from national or private interests, public authorities or any pressure group”. Well, in the present time marked by widespread lobbying this is a fairly strong statement. How to determine the real degree of independence of such organizations remains an interesting open question.]

**Dec 1946:** Creation of the “Union of European Federalists” (UEF), a non-governmental organisation campaigning for a Federal Europe. (Wikipedia article entitled “Union of European Federalists”) [Later on the UEF campaigned for transforming the Advisory Assembly of the Council of Europe into the Constituent Assembly of the European Federation. It also campaigned for the ratification of the European Defense Community. Both objectives were completely in line with the policy of the US State Department which means that whether or not this organization received US subsidies its policy was the same as if it had. Henri Frenay (who was one of the chiefs of the French Resistance) was one of the chairmen of the UEF.]

**Jan 5, 1949:** Creation in New York at the Woodrow Wilson Foundation of the “American Committee on United Europe” (ACUE). Its chairman was William J. Donovan, former director of the OSS (Organization of Special Services), the predecessor of the CIA. Its vice-president was Allen W. Dulles who would later become the director of the CIA. Its executive director was Thomas W. Braden, former OSS officer who would later become deputy director of the CIA. The three European members of the committee were Winston Churchill, Joseph Retinger and Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi.

The ACUE provided financial support to many organizations promoting European integration (under American leadership).

(<http://www.paperblog.fr/6946863/les-federalistes-europeens-etaient-bien-finances-par-la-cia>, Wikipedia article in French entitled “Joseph Retinger”, article by Ambrose Evans-Pritchard published on 19 September 2000 in the British newspaper “The Telegraph”)

[According to the Telegraph article, declassified US sources showed that among the organizations sponsored by the ACUE there was the “European Movement” and its youth movement the “European Youth Campaign”. The former got about 50% of its

---

Group”). Retinger was appointed as Secretary of the Steering Committee. After 1957 the annual conference of the Group was funded by the Ford Foundation. The main objective of the Group is to “bolster a consensus around free market Western capitalism”, i.e. the neoliberal version of capitalism.

<sup>48</sup>This organization is still active nowadays (January 2014).

funding from the ACUE while the later was 100% funded by Washington.

**Dec 19, 1949:** Paul Ramadier, French Socialist Deputy and a former Prime Minister, has been elected chairman of the International Parliamentary Group of the European Movement. (NYT 19 December 1949)

[This article shows that, as will be the case of Jean Monnet's "Action Committee for the United States of Europe", the "European Movement" had an "International Parliamentary Group". This gave it a joint lobbying capacity in several European countries.]

**Feb 18, 1950:** Dr. Retinger is now in the United States on behalf of the American Committee on United Europe. (NYT 18 February 1950)

**Feb 21, 1950:** In response to a letter sent to them by Major General William J. Donovan, Chairman of the "American Committee on United Europe", 14 European leaders have endorsed in varying degree his call for economic and political merger, as a vital step toward Western unity. (NYT 21 February 1950 p. 1)

**May 5, 1950:** General Donovan announced the results of a public opinion poll that showed that the majority of the people of France, Holland, Italy, Norway and Western Germany favored the creation of a European Union. (NYT 5 May 1950).

[Once it had been shown that both the political leaders and the public opinions were in favor of European integration, time was ripe for the next move. It came four days later in Paris with the announcement of the so-called "Schuman plan" for the "Communauté Européenne du Charbon et de l'Acier" (CECA). Given the role played by the ACUE, one wonders if it should not rather be called the "Donovan Plan". It can be recalled that Jean Monnet who is often seen as the moving spirit behind the "Schuman plan" was in relation with General Donovan.

**Jun 1950: Crisis at the "European Movement".** The ACUE abruptly refused to continue funding the "European Movement". A few weeks before the Secretary General of the movement, Joseph Retinger, had already suggested to its president, Duncan Sandys, to resign. In a letter to him he wrote "Our American friends do not agree with your tactics" [it would be of interest to learn which "tactics" he had in mind]. Sandys resigned in July and Paul-Henri Spaak took over the leadership of the European Movement. (Aldrich 1997 p. 197)

[One may wonder what was the reason of this crisis? Richard Aldrich gives no clues which makes the whole story fairly opaque. Although one cannot know for sure, a likely reason was the following. Duncan Sandys was Churchill's son in law. After the creation of NATO the next step on the American agenda was the European Defense Community in which Britain did not wish to take part however. Therefore a clash between British and US interests was predictable. The "Schuman Plan" which was

planned without Britain's Secretary of State Ernest Bevin being consulted was another point of contention.]

**Jun 20, 1950:** 118 American leaders support the “Schuman Plan”. Industrialists, labor groups and Senators backed the Coal-Steel Pool and criticized British opposition. (NYT 20 June 1950)

[It can be guessed that had Europe appeared as a real competitor there would not have been such a strong support as illustrated years later by the bitter (commercial as well as political) dispute between Boeing and Airbus.]

**Nov 19, 1955: Weakening of the European Movement.** The European Community was seriously affected by the failure of the EDC, the death of De Gasperi, the fading of Robert Schuman, and the resignation of Jean Monnet from the Coal and Steel Community. (NYT 19 November 1955)

[The “Action Committee for the United States of Europe” was created by Jean Monnet on 13 October 1955. In the following years it would hold the role played previously by the “European Movement”.

**Jun 26, 1975:** Publication of a long article in the “Washington Post” about the support given by the United States to pro-European movements between 1947 and 1953. The article is reproduced in Fig. xxa.

[The real significance of this article was discussed in one of the previous sections.]

## The EDC: a failed vassalization attempt (1950-1954)

### Origin of the EDC project

The plan to create an “European Defence Community” (EDC) is often called the “Pleven plan” after the name of French Prime Minister René Pleven who presented such a plan to the National Assembly on 24 October 1950. This is a misrepresentation however as can be seen through two facts.

- On 11 August 1950 the plan for an European army was presented by Winston Churchill to the Assembly of the Council of Europe. He proposed the following motion to the Assembly:

L'Assemblée demande la création immédiate d'une armée européenne unifiée agissant en coopération avec les Etats-Unis et le Canada.

[The Assembly proposes that a unified European Army be created shortly which would operate in conjunction with the United States and Canada.]

<sup>49</sup>. That was two months before the presentation of the “Pleven plan”.

---

<sup>49</sup>The assembly of the Council of Europe was a consultative assembly with no decision power. Nevertheless the motion presented by Churchill was approved by a vote. In August 1950, Churchill was not Prime Minister but he would again become Prime Minister from October 1951 to April 1955. It is somewhat a paradox that after promoting this plan,

- The plan presented by Mr. Pleven was described by the New York Times of 23 October 1950 (p. 8) by the following title: “German arms plan gaining in France”.

The United States had two objectives. The first was to make the rearmament of West Germany acceptable by France. The second was to bring European armed forces under their control more fully than was already the case under NATO. To these ends the plan presented by Churchill contained two clever ideas.

1 Under NATO the armed forces of each country kept their autonomy. The unification was at the level of the Headquarters. On the contrary, Churchill’s European army would be integrated in the sense that a division would contain regiments (or even battalions) from different countries. Therefore, it was thought, Germany would not have really its own army <sup>50</sup>.

2 As the European army would operate in the framework of NATO it would *ipso facto* be under American command.

After the concept had been introduced by Churchill the plan was disclosed on 29 August 1950 by German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer through the publication of a memorandum which suggested the creation of an European army with German participation. One should recall that at that time Germany had not yet regained its full independence. Moreover, as there was no armament production in Germany the creation of a German army would rely entirely on the United States. In other words, the publication of the German memorandum required prior US acceptance. Such a project was certainly in relation with the beginning of the Korean war on 28 June 1950.

At first the idea of a German Army was not accepted by the French government. However, after pressure was applied by the US State Department the French Minister of Foreign affairs, Robert Schuman, gave his agreement on 16 September 1950 (French version of Wikipedia article about the CED). After this acceptance, the German army could have been set up in the NATO framework.

### **The question of nuclear weapons**

However, from an American perspective the project of an integrated European army had the great advantage that it would bar all involved European countries from testing and acquiring atomic weapons. There are two reasons for this.

- The first reason is that in the project (article 64, paragraph 2) the national parliaments would have to transfer their power to decide defense expenses to the European parliament. Therefore it would become impossible for any country and

---

Churchill did not wish Britain to take part in it.

<sup>50</sup>In the project, apart from the forces taking part in the European army, each nation could keep a fraction of its armed forces under national command. For France that fraction was about 50% but it would have been smaller in the case of Germany.



particularly for France to set up a national nuclear dissuasion.

- Secondly any nuclear dissuasion was also impossible at the European level. Indeed, as Germany (like Japan) had to pledge not to develop nuclear weapons this pledge would automatically extend to the integrated European army.

France was the only European country which at that time had started a program for developing such weapons but its acceptance of the EDC would prevent it from going forward in this direction. In other words, Europe would have to rely entirely on the US atomic umbrella.

The question of nuclear weapons also explains why Britain did not wish to be part of the EDC. Later on, through the Kennedy-Macmillan Nassau agreement signed in December 1962, the United States accepted to sell submarine-launched Polaris missiles to the UK. At the time it was claimed that the Nassau pact was not a dual-key arrangement that would only allow launch if both parties agreed. Then, in 1980 the UK moved from the Polaris to US Trident missiles. Unlike what had happened for the Polaris system, the US would retain full responsibility for the maintenance of the Trident missiles (Wikipedia article entitled “Polaris”). Can one expect such a deterrence force to be really free of foreign interference?

### **The broader question of weapons production**

In the EDC project, nations would be asked to participate in the production of standard weapons. For instance, a large quantity of anti-tank and anti-aircraft weapons and ammunition were required in Europe. Thus, France was supposed to produce 80,000 rounds of anti-tank ammunition between July 1951 and May 1952 (MAAG 2. Title: Request for material from government of France required for US stockpile “C” program).

However, the design and production of new sophisticated weapons was supposed to remain in US hands. This appears fairly clearly in the following excerpt from a meeting of the US National Security Council.

US National Security Council of 22 May 1958 (excerpt).

Annex A: Franco-Italian-German weapons production. The Defense Ministers of France, Italy and Germany recently formed a 3-power association (known as “FIG”) to coordinate the production of advanced weapons, aircraft and missiles. Implications of the association have come under close US study.

On April 17, 1958 the North Atlantic Council approved a Western European Union Defense Ministers’ proposal that should formulate collective plans for cooperation in defense research. Such plans should be presented to NATO through the Secretariat General. Proper provision should be made to give any interested NATO country the opportunity to associate itself with any such plans.



Before we comment on the previous statement, it must be recalled that weapons development and production is a crucial pre-condition for an independent defense. A country which must rely on a foreign supplier can never be sure that during a conflict spare parts will be made available in required quantity. In this respect one may remember the airlift set up by the Pentagon to supply Israel during the Yom Kippur War in October 1973.

The previous excerpt outlines fairly well two principles of US policy with respect to Europe defense.

- US policy backs European cooperation if only for the sake of unifying the equipment inside NATO.
- The United States always emphasizes the need of *multilateral* agreements, possibly in the framework of NATO. Bilateral agreements especially those between France and Germany are *not* favored by the State Department.

## Chronology

**Apr 3, 1949:** NATO.

Tomorrow at 3 pm in Washington, D.C., the Foreign Ministers of 12 nations, United States, Canada, Portugal, Italy, Norway, Denmark, Iceland, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, France, and the United Kingdom, with an aggregate population of 332 million persons, will sign a historic document, the North Atlantic pact pledging the member nations to collective security. (NYT p. E1)

[It can be noticed that all non-enemy countries liberated and/or occupied (in the sense of accepting US bases on their territory) by US forces became founding members of NATO. The list comprises the following 10 countries: Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway Portugal and the UK. All of them also accepted permanent US bases on their territory. In contrast, western European countries which were not occupied were not founding members and accepted less US bases. One can mention Ireland, Spain or Sweden.

At first sight it might seem that Portugal constitutes an exception in the sense that it was a founding member but was not really occupied by US forces. However, contrary to Spain which remained neutral, Portugal cooperated closely with Great Britain and the United States during the war. In late 1943 Portugal even allowed the Allies to establish air bases in the Portuguese island of Azores to fight German U-boats.]

**May 9, 1950:** At a press conference French Foreign minister Robert Schuman announced the creation of an “European Coal and Steel Community.” (ECSC)

[This ECSC is usually considered as the first step in a process which later on led to

the “Common Market” and to the “European Union”. Why did it start with an agreement about coal and steel? There was a very specific reason for that. In the post-war years, as a form of war reparation, France was able to get the coal production of the Sarre region and also about 50% of the production of the Ruhr. However, as such reparation supplies could not last for ever, a permanent solution had to be found.

Two points should be noted about the announcement of 9 May.

- Although Chancellor Konrad Adenauer had given his agreement on the principle at that time all the technical details had still to be worked out and discussed.
- From its very beginning this project was destined to be the seed for a broader agreement. This can be seen through the fact that it involved a Common Assembly composed of national parliamentarians, a Special Council composed of nation minister and a Court of Justice. Those institutions clearly show that the ECSC was intended to be more than just a free trade agreement for coal and steel.]

**Aug 11, 1950:** The plan for an European army was presented by Winston Churchill to the Assembly of the Council of Europe. He proposed the following motion to the Assembly [my translation]:

The Assembly proposes that a unified European Army be created shortly which will operate in full cooperation with the United States and Canada.

[http://www.cvce.eu/obj/discours\\_de\\_winston\\_churchill\\_devant\\_le\\_conseil\\_de\\_l\\_europe\\_strasbourg\\_11\\_aout\\_1950-fr-ed9e513b-af3b-47a0-b03c-8335a7aa237d.html](http://www.cvce.eu/obj/discours_de_winston_churchill_devant_le_conseil_de_l_europe_strasbourg_11_aout_1950-fr-ed9e513b-af3b-47a0-b03c-8335a7aa237d.html)

or: [http://www.coe.int/t/dgal/dit/ilcd/archives/selection/churchill/default\\_en.asp](http://www.coe.int/t/dgal/dit/ilcd/archives/selection/churchill/default_en.asp) [This motion already contained the two main ideas of the ECD namely (i) That, in contrast with NATO, it should be an integrated army (ii) That it should operate in the framework of NATO that is to say under US command. Although this second point is not made very clearly (and for good reason), it would anyway result from the fact that the United States was the only country which could equip such an army.]

**Oct 26, 1950:** The French Assembly passed Bonn Arms Plan. (NYT 26 October 1950 p. 18)

[This plan that the NYT calls “Bonn Arms Plan” is the “European Defense Community” project. Needless to say, to suggest that it was put forward by the German government was a misrepresentation because Germany regained its full sovereignty only on 5 May 1955, when the occupying powers (United States, Britain and France) issued a proclamation declaring an end to the military occupation of West Germany. In other words, by first calling it the “Bonn plan”, then by convincing René Pleven to present it to the French National Assembly, the objective was to make it appear as an European project. The strong pressures applied by the United States (see below the entries between April 1953 and September 1954) to coerce France and Italy into ratifying it, clearly points to the real initiator of the project.]

**May 28, 1952:** The Allies will allow Germany to make some arms such as artillery and tanks. However, planes and atomic weapons will be banned. (NYT p. 1)

**May 30, 1952:** Strasbourg. Calling for speed and audacity, Paul-Henri Spaak of Belgium drew applause from both opponents and adherents when he pleaded with the Council of Europe's Assembly to make a European federal union at once in order to save Germany from being drawn into the Soviet orbit. His plan was rejected on the following day. (NYT 30 May 1952 p. 3; NYT 31 May p. 9)

[Nowadays (2014) the Council of Europe has no longer any real function as far as European unification is concerned. The present entry shows that in 1952 it was still instrumental in this respect, particularly in a Cold War perspective.]

**Jan 31, 1953:** Secretary of State John Foster Dulles was en route to Western Europe today on his delicate assignment of persuading the Allies of the United States that their unification for defense might well determine the future of the American aid policy. He will visit Rome, Paris, Bonn, London, (NYT p. 1)

[In other words, Mr. Dulles did not only wish to praise the concept of a European defense community, but wanted to apply pressure by emphasizing that this was a necessary requirement.]

**Apr 30, 1953: US pressure (1)**

Secretary of State Dulles warned the Parliaments of Western Europe tonight that delay in their approval of the European Army was holding back the only "good solution". (NYT p. 1)

**Dec 15, 1953: US pressure (2)**

Secretary of State Dulles warned the European Allies that if an European army was not established soon the United States would be forced into an "agonizing reappraisal of its own basic policies". (NYT p. 1)

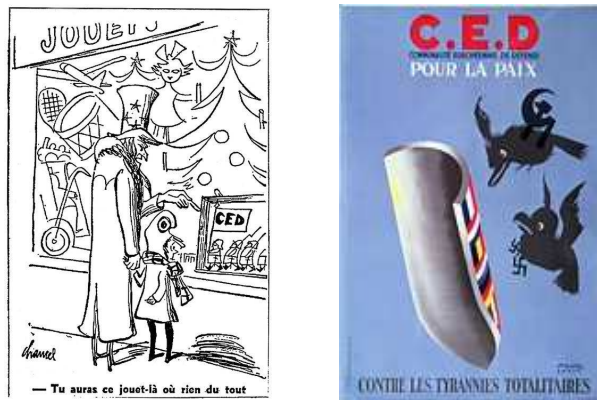
**Dec 17, 1953: US pressure (3)**

President Eisenhower emphasized today that he was bound by law to reduce drastically United States military aid to Europe if the European Defense Community did not materialize. (NYT p. 18)

**Apr 1, 1954:** Excerpt of a message about Indochina sent by the US Secretary of State to the US embassy in London.

"We will actively oppose any solution of any kind which directly or indirectly could lead to loss of Indochina to the Communists. (FRUS, Vol. 1 about Indochina, p. 1203)

[This was a strong language and helps to understand why the United States did not sign the Geneva Agreement when it was concluded in late July 1954. This excerpt



**Fig. xx: Debate in France on the EDC (in French CED).** Left-hand side: Uncle Sam shows some soldiers to his child (France) and says: “These are the soldiers you will get for Christmas. Don’t expect any others”. Right-hand side: Advertisement for the EDC. The two black birds symbolize the Soviet Union and nazism. The EDC shield protects Europe against them. *Source: Internet.*

also shows that the circumstances leading to the end of the Indochina war created a tension between France and the United States which can explain that the EDC was rejected by the parliament almost without discussion.]

**Apr 10, 1954:** Congratulations are due to Luxembourg for becoming the fourth of the six nations involved to ratify the “European Defense Community”. Its action completes ratification of the project by Benelux which also comprises Belgium and the Netherlands. (NYT 10 April 1954 p. 14)

[So, at this date, the EDC had been ratified by Germany and the three Benelux nations. The ratification by France and Italy was expected within a short time. However, it was rejected by France two months later.]

**May 7, 1954:** French defeat of Dien Bien Phu (Indochina).

[From that point on, there is good reason to think that the French decision about the EDC was conditioned by the events in Indochina and the attitude of the United States in this respect.]

**May 29, 1954:** France advanced call to 80,000 men to help Asia war. (NYT 29 May 1954)

[Clearly, the United States wanted France to continue the war against the Vietminh.]

**Jun 1954:** A document issued by MAAG France indicates the composition and strength of 14 planned French EDC divisions and 14 French national divisions. It can be seen that although the total strength is about the same (223,842 versus 282,116) there were almost three times more armored units in the EDC forces (32,956 versus 12,140). (MAAG 3)

[This detailed table shows that much planning had already been done in order to implement the EDC in French forces.]

**Jun 3, 1954: American embassy in Paris to Secretary of State.** Excerpts.

MAAG Paris was approached yesterday by the French Minister of Defense [René Pleven] regarding the formation of 3 new divisions in Indochina, using cadres from existing French NATO divisions in Germany. The French said they would require equipment for these divisions which could be delivered to Indochina from our Far Eastern stocks. MAAG will forward detailed French request to Defense [i.e. US Department of Defense] in due course.

I would like to make the following purely political comments on this subject.

1 In order to maintain French will to resist in Indochina, I feel it is most important to tell French promptly that in principle we will do whatever is necessary to get them equipment for these divisions.

2 We should make no objection to the weakening of French NATO forces that will result from organization of these new divisions. This is particularly important in view of the coming debate on EDC as creation of these divisions will provide example of flexibility in European situation.

[signed] Dillon [US ambassador in Paris]  
(MAAG 3)

[It was the wish of the US State Department that despite the Dien Bien Phu defeat (7 May 1954) France continues in its role as an anti-Communist bulwark in Indochina. The demand made by René Pleven shows that this was indeed the intention of the French government. However, the government of Joseph Laniel fell on 12 June 1954. Under the government of Pierre-Mendès France, all French forces were withdrawn from the northern part of Indochina even before an agreement was reached in the Geneva negotiations on 20 July 1954.

The previous excerpt also shows that the success of the EDC was a central-objective for the United States.

The following entry shows that the wise advice given by the US Ambassador in Paris was not followed.]

**Jun 11, 1954:** The United States has turned down a French request that it provide Globemaster planes and Air Force crews to fly about 3,000 additional troops from North Africa to Indochina. (NYT p. 1)

**Jun 12, 1954:** The French cabinet lead by Joseph Laniel comes to an end after a vote in Parliament. He was succeeded by Pierre Mendès France.

**Jun 16, 1954:** The Foreign Affairs Committee of the National Assembly rejected the EDC treaty, 24 to 18 with 2 abstentions. Six Socialists, defying their party's directives, voted against the EDC. (NYT 10 June 1954 p. 10)

[It is often said that it is the opposition of the Gaullists and Communists which made



this project fail. The present entry shows that this is not completely true.

This rejection came two months after the French setback at Dien Bien Phu in Indochina. During the last phase of the battle, the French government had been seeking and expecting US air support, in vain however.]

**Jun 16, 1954: US pressure (4)**

Some military aid to Europe is already being cut off under the terms of the Richards amendment, Secretary of State Dulles disclosed today. (NYT p. 1)

**Jun 18, 1954: US pressure (5)**

US prods allies about the EDC. The House Foreign Affairs Committee, with Administration backing, moved again to put new pressure on France and Italy for ratification of the EDC treaty. (NYT 18 June 1954 p. 4)

**Jul 11, 1954: US pressure (6)**

The Senate acts to speed EDC ratification. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee voted to halt military and other aid to France and Italy on December 31 unless by that time they had ratified the EDC treaty or an acceptable alternative. (NYT 11 July p. 1)

**Jul 15, 1954:** In the Geneva negotiation France, backed by the United States, is determined not to fix a date for holding elections in Vietnam, even if the Communists make this the price for agreeing to an armistice. (NYT p. 1)

[This suggest that from the very beginning the United States decided not to support the organization of elections in Vietnam.]

**Jul 20, 1954:** An agreement was reached in the Geneva peace negotiation. Then, on July 24, Premier Pierre Mendes-France won the approval of the French National Assembly for the truce in Indochina. The vote was 462 to 13. (NYT p. 1)

**Jul 25, 1954:** Title: The setback of the West in Geneva may be costly later. (NYT July 25, 1954)

**Aug 17, 1954: US pressure (7)**

The State Department expressed its official opposition to major revisions of the EDC treaty proposed by the French Prime Minister Pierre Mendes-France. (NYT 17 August 1954 p. 1)

[The EDC was supposed to be a plan proposed by France for military cooperation in Europe. This was mere window-dressing, however. A further confirmation is provided here by the fact that the refusal of any revision in fact is spelt out by Washington.]

**Aug 31, 1954:** The EDC treaty was rejected by the French National Assembly by a

vote of 319 to 264. (NYT 31 August 1954 p. 1)

[This outcome was of course expected on account of the decision reached by the Foreign Affairs Committee on 16 June.

Here again, it can be observed that the 319 votes against the EDC extended beyond the opposition of the Gaullists and Communists. The detailed count was as follows (total party membership is given within parentheses):

Communists: 99 (103), Gaullists (RPF=Rassemblement du Peuple Français): 67 (73), Radicals: 44 (100), Socialists: 53 (105), non-affiliated members: 54<sup>51</sup>. In other words, opposition to the EDC came from all sides.]

### **Sep 26, 1954: US pressure (8)**

Italy faces loss of US help soon. (NYT 26 September 1954 p. 15)

**Oct 23, 1954:** After the failure of the EDC, seven countries (the 6 of the EDC plus the UK) formed the Western European Union. (Wikipedia article entitled “Western European Union”)

[This organization was supposed to be a link between NATO and the Economic Union (commonly called “Common Market”). However, its role remained unclear. It was definitely abolished in 2011.]

**Dec 8, 1957:** The French and West German Governments have established a joint armament research center. The joint research to stress rockets and missiles. (NYT p. 26)

[It is against this bilateral cooperation that the statement (given above) made in the US National Security Council of 22 May 1958 was directed. Later on, this bilateral agreement was, so to say, “diluted” through the joining of other countries: first Italy in late January 1958, then Britain at the end of March 1958. The wish of the State Department (as expressed in the excerpt given above) was that this cooperation should take place in the framework of NATO. Basically, this would give the United States *de facto* control.]

## **A test-experiment: is the US in favor or against the euro?**

### **Looking beyond official statements**

Are the State Department and the US Treasury in favor or against the euro? This is certainly an important question, however it is not easy to provide a clear answer. Why is this so? For many issues, the official position of the State Department is quite different from the actual policy that is being developed. In other words, there is often

---

<sup>51</sup>Sources: Wikipedia article entitled “Composition de l’Assemblée nationale française par législature”; “Une certaine idée de l’Europe by Laurent de Boissieu.

a wide gap between official and actual policy.

A fairly clear example is the US policy with respect to Taiwan. Officially, the US supports a “one China” policy. However, at the same time, Taiwan is treated by the US as an independent state. This manifests itself in several ways.

- Of course, there is no US embassy in Taiwan but the “American Institute in Taiwan” (AIT), a private nonprofit corporation, provides almost all services expected from an embassy. For instance, it is authorized to accept passport applications and issue visas. In short, except for its name, it is an embassy.

- Whereas members of the US government do not meet the president of Taiwan in Washington there are frequent meetings in other places. For instance, on 3 July 2014 President Ma Ying-jeou of Taiwan met with Secretary of State John Kerry in Panama<sup>52</sup>. Ma previously met with US Vice President Joe Biden in the Vatican in March 2013 at the inauguration of Pope Francis.

- The United States sells large amounts of weapons to Taiwan. To put such sales in comparative perspective one should think of weapons officially sold by a foreign government to a separatist movement in Puerto Rico.

Coming back to the euro how can one discriminate between official and actual US attitude?

- Some semi-official medias such as the New York Times or the Wall Street Journal may say more clearly what the State Department does not wish to say.

- Instead of paying too much attention to statements one should rather analyse the actions of the US government.

### **US vision of a United Europe**

In the years after World War II, the US policy consisted in encouraging the formation of a “United States of Europe”. What was the real intent? Here again one cannot rely on official statements. As already mentioned, the State Department encouraged and funded the creation of the “European Movement”. There can be little doubt that some of its members were sincerely in favor of a true European unification. However, the first (and so far main) achievement of the “European Movement” was the “Council of Europe”, an organization which can hardly be said to have opened the road of an effective European Union.

### **The European Free Trade Association: a British watered-down version of the Common Market**

The New York Times (29 January 2003) summarized the role of the UK in the European construction in the following terms: “It [UK] tried to sabotage the plan for a

---

<sup>52</sup>Ma said that he and Kerry talked about a wide range of topics, including the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP), a US-led trade bloc that Taiwan hopes to enter (Taipei Times 3 July 2014). “One China” implies that Taiwan is a province of the PRC; however the scope of such discussions was far beyond province-level discussions.

customs union by a proposal for a free trade area. When a single currency began to be discussed, it tried to derail this with a dotty plan for a 'hard ecu'. In 1991, when the Maastricht treaty was drafted, Britain insisted on removal of the word 'federal' from its aims. Britain has steadily given priority to the United States over Europe and Blair has pursued this line so sedulously that he is widely regarded in Europe as an American stooge".

What was this free trade area?

Called the "European Free Trade Association" (EFTA), it was established on 4 January 1960 by 7 European countries: Austria, Denmark, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland and the UK<sup>53</sup>. It was a watered-down version of the Common Market (also called European Economic Community or EEC) for two main reasons:

- 1 The EFTA planned the progressive elimination of customs duties on industrial products, but not on agricultural products or maritime trade.
- 2 The crucial difference between the EEC and the EFTA was the absence of a common external customs tariff. Therefore each EFTA member was free to establish individual free trade agreements with non EFTA countries.

It seems that the US State Department welcomed the creation of the EFTA. In January 1960 the New York Times devoted some 20 articles to this event. In the US the EFTA was called the "Outer Seven". From the very beginning those articles emphasized the perspective of close ties between the US and the "Outer Seven". Here are two examples:

- "The US is optimistic on Europe trade; it expects to share any tariff cuts negotiated by the two blocs" (NYT 16 Jan 1960 p.8). In other words, the article suggests that if the individual members of the EFTA cut their tariff rates for US imports the EEC will have to follow suit.
- "American support and participation in efforts to maintain trade cooperation by West European nations was urged yesterday by representatives of the new Outer Seven free-trade alliance". (NYT 26 Jan 1960 p. 44)

In summary, the US plan was the following. Because the members of the EEC and EFTA were close neighbors, by necessity the two blocs had to find tariff agreements. Despite not being a close neighbor, the US expected to benefit from any lowering of custom duties between the EEC and the EFTA.

Negotiations between the two blocs quickly became contentious with Germany (probably backed by France) taking a fairly resolute position with respect to the EFTA:

---

<sup>53</sup>This Free Trade Association should not be confused with the Benelux which was an association of Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg. So, at that time there were three different European free trade associations (in chronological order of their creation): the Benelux (1947), the European Economic Community also called Common Market (1957) and the EFTA (1960).

Chancellor Konrad Adenauer is determined to maintain West Germany's support of the controversial Common Market tariff proposal that threatens to split Western Europe into two warring factions. (NYT 3 April 1960 p. 22)

What was eventually the fate of the EFTA? Almost all its members left it and joined the European Union: the UK and Denmark in 1973, Portugal in 1986, Austria and Sweden in 1995.

### **Amero or dollarization?**

What are US wishes in terms of monetary unification? This can best be seen by considering the case of the dollar. While dollarization is the ultimate objective, there are some intermediate stages which have been implemented in several countries.

1 The first stage consists in countries whose currency is pegged to the dollar through a fixed exchange rate. A well-known example is the Hong Kong dollar.

2 The second stage consists in countries where payment can be made in dollars as well as in the national currency. Thus, the US dollar is officially accepted alongside local currencies in Belize, Bermuda and Barbados, Cambodia, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Haiti, Honduras, Iraq, Lebanon, Liberia, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru<sup>54</sup>, Uruguay, Vietnam, Zimbabwe (Wikipedia articles entitled "North American monetary union" and "Currency substitution")

3 The third step is the establishment of what is called a "currency board". This expression is in fact somewhat misleading because a country which adopts this system has no longer any real need of a central bank, except in name. In this system the national currency still exists but it is pegged to the dollar and all decisions in its regard are taken in Washington. The central bank has a completely passive role consisting in exchanging its notes for dollars and vice versa. Such a currency board cannot lend money to the domestic government. Compared with dollarization, the main difference is that the domestic "central bank" can collect so-called "seigniorage", the profit gained by issuing coinage which is due to the fact that producing the currency costs less than the actual value of the currency (especially for paper currency).

In the decade 1991-2000 many countries (e.g. Argentina) adopted currency boards. In this decade the New York Times had about 10 articles a year containing the word "currency board" against 0.2 per year in the previous decade. Before it ended in disaster in 2001, the Argentinian currency board was at first successful in reducing inflation. It served as a model for the purpose of encouraging other countries to adopt the same system. After the crash in Argentina, the interest in currency board waned. In the period 2001-2009 the number of articles on this topic in the New York Times

---

<sup>54</sup>For instance, in 1999 64% of the money supply in Peru was held in US dollars



dropped to 1.7 per year.

4 The final step is full dollarization. When it was hit by the crisis, Argentina was on the way of full dollarization. Panama and Ecuador are two countries which are fully dollarized.

One may be surprised that after the NAFTA free-trade agreement came into effect in 1994 the North American countries did not try to go toward monetary unification. The explanation seems to be as follows. The United States is not interested in anything short of dollarization. Thus, the creation of a common currency called the “Amero” raised no interest whatsoever in Washington. On the other hand, Canada and Mexico do not seem eager to embrace full dollarization.

However, in March 1999 the influential “Mexican Businessmen’s Council” and the “Mexican Bankers Association” presented President Zedillo with a dollarization proposal. President Zedillo has staunchly opposed dollarization and, somewhat more surprisingly, Slim Helu, chairman of “Telefonos de Mexico” and one of the most important businessmen in Mexico, has joined Zedillo in his opposition.

The previous points suggest that when promoting monetary integration in Europe in the late 1940s, the United States had in mind a form of currency board. This would have paralleled in monetary affairs the steps planned in military affairs.

**Table x: Planned European unification under US leadership: military versus monetary**

	Military	Monetary
Loose partnership	NATO	IMF
Integrated organization	EDC (not passed)	Currency board (not made public)

Notes: NATO: North Atlantic Treaty Organization, IMF: International Monetary Fund, EDC: European Defence Community, Currency board: see text. The European Union is a fairly weak construction; however, it would be even weaker if built on the “Council of Europe” and the EDC.

### **The “Hard Ecu”: a British watered-down version of the euro**

In the same way as the the “Council of Europe” was a weak and ineffective unification scheme, the “hard Ecu” was a proposal for a common currency that would have been even weaker than the euro.

It was put forward by the Chancellor of Exchequer (i.e. Ministry of finance) John Major on 20 June 1990. The announcement followed Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher’s comments that she did not believe a commitment to a single currency would be made in her lifetime.

What was the “hard Ecu” and why was it a watered-down version of the euro?

- Ecu is an acronym of “European currency unit”; it was the first name of the common currency before being replaced by the term “euro”. This currency would not have replaced the national currencies but would have circulated alongside with them.

- The “hard Ecu” would not been used by all people but only by those who had a special need for it, as for instance investors or tourists.

- It was planned that initially the “hard Ecu” would be equal in value to a bundle of European currencies, Subsequently it may not be devalued relative to any member currency.

- The hard ecu would not be managed by a central bank but by a fund.

It is of course impossible to say how such a system would have worked had it been implemented. However, it is clear that it would have generated little fervor, commitment or interest among citizens. The system would have been similar to those countries mentioned above in which the dollar is accepted together with the national currency.

Would a currency with such a low status have been attractive as a reserve currency for non-European central banks or as a currency used in international trade?

The proponents of the “hard Ecu” claim that there would have been a healthy competition between the new currency and the old national currencies. One may think as well that it would have been a source of division. After all, the fifty US states do not have their own currency. There is perhaps a good reason for that.

### **US support to the “hard ecu” plan led to the “dropping” and eviction of Margaret Thatcher**

As noted elsewhere the United States was not in favor of a common currency but did not state this position openly. The circumstances which led to the resignation of Margaret Thatcher provide a rare occasion in which the US position is brought to light.

Margaret Thatcher was Britain’s Prime Minister from 4 May 1979 to 28 November 1990. Her time in office almost coincided with the two terms of President Reagan of whom she was a staunch supporter.

It is on 14 November 1990 (in the middle of the Koweit crisis which led to the First Gulf War) that her leadership of the Conservative Party was challenged by what was first a small minority . At this moment she indicated her intention “to fight and fight to win”. Curiously however, on 19 and 21 November the “New York Times” ran articles entitled “Time to go” and “Twilight for Mrs. Thatcher”. Then, on 23 November, she announced that she would resign as party leader and prime minister. As a result, Britain’s stock market raised sharply.

It is true that the domestic economic situation was not very good. Inflation was running at nearly 11%, three times the figure in Germany or France, the introduction of the “poll tax” was widely unpopular and her support as reflected in the latest polls had dropped markedly. Yet, domestic reasons do not explain why she was pushed to resignation precisely at that moment in the middle of an international crisis.

If we read the American newspapers it becomes clear that her euro-sceptic attitude was a triggering factor in her eviction at this moment. A meeting of European leaders would take place in Rome in the following month (December 1990) to begin mapping plans for speedy monetary union. Clearly, this was a time during which the integration of the European Union was progressing rapidly. The “New York Times” of 4 November 1990 observes that there were even “plans to develop an independent defense capability to which the Americans and Britons have reacted ambivalently”. Thus, for the State Department it became important to slow down this movement. Traditionally, applying brakes was the role of the UK, but because of Mrs. Thatcher rigid attitude, she had lost her credibility and was no longer able to fulfil this role. Thus, it became urgent to replace her by someone who could rally other pro-US European countries around an alternative plan.

This scenario is made fairly plain through the excerpts given in the box.

### **Euro: a long history of delayed and failed attempts**

The decision to establish a full monetary union within 10 years was taken at the Hague Summit in December 1969 at the initiative of France and Germany. Yet, at the European Council meeting at Luxembourg in April 1980 the heads of government abandoned the objective of setting up an organization with central banking power. In fact, this decision followed a February agreement between France and Germany to delay plans to set up a central bank (New York Times 19 February 1980, p. D2). It would be interesting to know more precisely what led to this decision.

**Britain’s exit in 1992** Why did Britain not become an eurozone member? The standard story goes as follows (Wikipedia article entitled “Black Wednesday”).

On 16 September 1992 the British Conservative government was forced to withdraw the pound sterling from the European Exchange Rate Mechanism (ERM) after it was unable to keep the pound above its agreed lower limit. This is a fact.

The story goes on by telling us that this was due to short-selling by speculator George Soros. This last point is more difficult to check. In his book entitled “The Vandals’ Crown” Gregory Millman explains that this view is wrong in several respects. He mentions mostly technical reasons, but in a broader perspective two facts appear clearly.

- In September 1992 it was not only the pound which came under attack but also

### **Main reason for the eviction of Margaret Thatcher in November 1990.**

He [Geoffrey Howe] accused her of undercutting her Cabinet ministers while they tried to promote a British alternative to the proposed creation of a single community currency and central bank: the creation of a 13th currency whose value would be made up of the 12 others (NYT 14 November 1990).

America can only welcome a turn away from Mrs. Thatcher's Little England nationalism. On the issues that affect America most, substantial continuity is assured under any of the Conservative contenders, Michael Heseltine, Douglas Hurd or John Major (NYT 23 November 1990).

Mrs. Thatcher's belligerence on the issue of a unified Europe often backfired, making it easy for her European peers to ignore her; that is what the 11 other leaders did at a meeting in Rome last month. With John Major as Prime Minister of Britain, the 11 other leaders of the 12-nation community may find it a lot more difficult to ignore Britain's opposition. John Major has made it clear that he does not like, any more than Margaret Thatcher, the idea of a single currency and central bank for the European Community. Mr. Major, with his calm demeanor, will be a more reasonable voice than Mrs. Thatcher. Some community members who are less enthusiastic than others about a single currency or an independent central bank may want to listen to him. As Britain's Prime Minister, he will also be in a much stronger position to promote Britain's alternative proposal for a system that would push the adoption of a single currency and central bank to the distant horizon, if not beyond. (NYT 28 November 1990)

**Excerpts of the "New York Times" in the days preceding and following the eviction of Margaret Thatcher in November 1990.** The last sentence shows fairly clearly that the US was not in favor of a common currency controlled by an European Central Bank. Although the British plan was not adopted, its mere existence probably dissuaded a number of European countries from becoming eurozone members. *Source: Website of the New York Times.*

the currencies of Finland, Italy, Norway, Spain and Sweden. For instance, in the 4th quarter of 1992, the real effective exchange rate of the lira fell by 10% whereas for the British pound the fall was only about 3%. On 8 September 1992, Finland let its currency float. On 13 September Italy devalued the lira by 7%, on 16 September Spain devalued the peseta by 5%, on 19 November Sweden let its currency float (Temperton 1993, Fig. 6.1)

- The British move out of the ERM can certainly not explain why Britain did not become a eurozone member for indeed Italy also had to leave the ERM under the pressure of speculation but joined it again later on.

- In August 1993 speculative attacks targeted the French franc which led to a suspension of the ERM and its redefinition in a looser form. The previous 2.25% allowed fluctuation range (but for the pound it was 6%) was enlarged to 15%. This was a setback for the convergence scheme but at the same time it would have allowed re-entry of the pound into the ERM if there had been a political will.

- Finally, there is one intriguing question for which we have no answer yet: why did speculative attacks against European currencies cease after September 1993? The

broadening of the fluctuation range should have made such attacks easier rather than more difficult.

In short, the UK did not become an eurozone member because it did not welcome the idea of an European Central Bank. As already noted, when John Major became Prime Minister he made clear that he was not in favor of a common currency. His only objective was to promote the alternative plan of the “hard ecu”.

### **Crisis of 2005: Roberto Maroni**

After the rejection of the European constitution in referendums held in France and the Netherlands, Roberto Maroni, Italian welfare minister, started a campaign to collect signatures for the organization of a referendum on whether to re-introduce the lira in Italy. He suggested that the new lira should be pegged to the dollar (The Economist 11 June 2005). This single declaration received an enormous coverage in British and American media.

In the same issue of “The Economist” there were 3 articles about the euro. Their titles convey fairly well their main purpose.

- 1 “The euro is not in danger of breaking up, *yet*” (p. 12)
- 2 “That lovely lira” (p. 28)
- 3 “The euro and its troubles” (p. 67)
- 4 There were similar articles in US newspapers, e.g.: “Lira nostalgia. Kicking the euro when Europe is down” (New York Times 19 June 2005)

### **Crisis of 2010-2013**

During the so-called European debt crisis the question raised by British and US media was not whether the eurozone would break apart but rather when that would occur. Here are a few examples.

- Title: “Europe’s piecemeal failure” (NYT 5 December 2010)
- “My current best guess, writes Gideon Rachman in the Financial Times, is that the single currency will indeed eventually break up and that the euro’s executioner will be Germany.” (NYT 7 December 2010)
- “Let me say that in English: the European Union is cracking up.” (Thomas Friedman in the NYT of 27 August 2011)
- Title: “This is the way the euro ends” (NYT 9 November 2011)

Among the articles published during this crisis we did not find a single one trying to figure out how the United States could come to the help of the European countries. Incidentally, the same attitude prevailed during the crisis of 1997-1998 in south-east Asia.

### **Metrics for measuring the role of a currency in the world economy**



There are several ways for assessing the role played by a currency  $C$  in the world economy.

1 The first is the share of  $C$  in official central bank reserves.

A useful distinction can be made between industrial countries and emerging countries which comes from the fact that the situation in industrial countries is almost frozen in the sense that the shares of the dollar and euro have remained basically unchanged since 2000 whereas the picture is changing fairly rapidly in emerging countries.

In the later case, between 2002 and 2006 the share of the euro increased from 20% to about 30%. As a consequence of the European debt crisis the share of the euro fell back to 25% between 2010 and the last quarter of 2012. However this fall did not translate into a same-size increase of the dollar's share (the increase was only 2%).

2 Share of  $C$  in financial and economic transactions.

One should keep in mind that financial transactions (i.e. transaction in futures markets, currency markets, share markets, and transactions in other financial products) dwarf economic transactions (commodity spot markets, international trade) by a wide margin.

Whereas in financial transactions the dollar's share is overwhelming, in economic transactions (also called "trade finance") the situation is evolving rapidly. The share of the Chinese renminbi increased from 1.9% in January 2012 to 8.6% in October 2013. In the same time interval the share of the euro decreased from 7.9% to 6.6% and the share of the dollar fell from 85% to 81%<sup>55</sup>.

If the previous trend continues, the share of the renminbi in trade finance should be around 15% at the end of 2015. These data suggest that the renminbi is quickly replacing the euro as the dollar's main competitor, at least in trade transactions.

### **The case of the Baltic states as seen by the New York Times**

Surprising as it may seem, despite the eurozone crisis three new countries joined it, namely Estonia on 1 January 2011, Latvia on 1 January 2014 and Lithuania which is expected to join on 1 January 2015<sup>56</sup>.

How did the New York Times react to these news?

- Title: "As Latvia adopts euro, future growth is slowing" (NYT Jan 1, 2014). This is a curious title for the future slowing is not presented as a possible outcome but as a fact.

- "The euro zone is a club that few potentially eligible countries are eager to join. Lithuania may be the last new member of the euro zone until the end of the decade, or even longer. Even in Lithuania, a poll last year showed that opponents of

<sup>55</sup>Source: Bloomberg; 3 December 2013, article entitled "Yuan passes euro as 2nd-most used trade-finance currency".

<sup>56</sup>From 1994 to 2002 the currency of Lithuania was pegged to the dollar.

euro membership outnumbered supporters by a wide margin.” (NYT 4 June 2014)

## Conclusion

Why did we use the expression “test-experiment” in the title of this section?

For the dollar the euro is a competitor, possibly a weak competitor but a competitor nonetheless. So, if our thesis that the United States is aiming for world leadership at all cost, is correct, one would not expect the US State Department or Treasury to welcome the success of the euro. In other words, analyzing US attitude toward the euro can be seen as a kind of “natural experiment” through which our thesis could be tested.

## Was Jean Monnet a spokesman of US interests?

It is often said that together with French minister Robert Schuman and Chancellor Konrad Adenauer, Mr. Jean Monnet was one of the founding fathers of the European Union. This may indeed be true. However, his vision was one of a subservient European Union. One may argue that he was in favor of a partnership with the United States, but in fact in the conditions prevailing at the time there could be no partnership between equals but only an association dominated by the United States. In other words, Mr. Monnet was either very short-sighted or an undercover spokesman of US Interests. The second option may be the most likely.

### Monnet’s role in Algiers in early 1943

When Mr. Monnet was sent to Algiers by President Roosevelt on the advice of Mr. Harry Hopkins he had both an official mission and an unofficial mission. The official mission was about supply problems for the French troops in North Africa. The unofficial mission was to meet General Giraud in order to make him more acceptable by the American press. During his stay in Algiers he sent numerous messages to Mr. Harry Hopkins. For some reason, he sent some of his messages to Hopkins through a third person: General Marshall on 28 May 1943 or his wife (who remained in Washington) on 7 July 1943.

In early May 1943 he became a member of the “French Committee of National Liberation”. In this Committee, for some reason that we do not understand clearly, he sided with General de Gaulle instead of supporting General Giraud. For that reason he was named a traitor by Secretary of State Cordell Hull. Probably he came to realize that even with his support, General Giraud would not prevail anyway. So he joined the winning side. It seems that when Monnet returned to Washington in October 1943 he got a fairly cool reception. In JMDS-41 (i.e. “Jean Monnet Duchene Source” from the European University Institute) there is a memorandum “concern-

ing decision not to divulge to Monnet any information on matter of supplies”. As the question of supplies was the main task of Monnet in Washington the decision to keep him in the dark is of significance.

### **Jean Monnet’s support for the European Defense Community**

In the 1950s the United States had two main objectives. The first was to organize the defense of Western Europe under American leadership. The second, which indeed resulted from the first, was to prevent any European country apart from the UK to develop nuclear weapons. In this way, the United States would remain solely in charge of providing a nuclear umbrella. This would put Western Europe in the same situation as Japan. The project of the European Defense Community would have realized these two objectives at the same time.

Indeed, the EDC would have set up an integrated European Army. Because of the German participation and of the fact that Germany had pledged to renounce to nuclear weapons the same would have been true for the other countries taking part in the EDC. In addition the Treaty even comprised a control of civilian nuclear activity in order to prevent any country from producing fissile material that could have military applications particularly plutonium.

After the EDC project was rejected by the French parliament in 1954, Mr. Monnet proposed the Euratom project which, with respect to nuclear research had basically the same objective as the EDC, namely to prevent the nations which would become members to develop nuclear weapons

### **Monnet’s support for the Euratom project**

Much can be said about the Euratom but we think that the crux of the matter was the following point. There are basically two types of nuclear reactors (i) those which use natural uranium and (ii) those which use enriched uranium that is to say uranium that contains some 4% of U235 as compared to 0.7% for natural uranium. A country with reactors using natural uranium can be independent in terms of nuclear fuel. On the contrary a country which uses enriched uranium and does not have a facility to produce it must buy it from a supplier.

Around 1955 there were only two suppliers of enriched uranium, namely the United States and the Soviet Union. If Euratom could persuade its members to choose a type of reactor which requires enriched uranium the United States will become their only possible supplier because of strenuous relations with the USSR during the Cold War. This would put the United States in a most favorable situation. First it would be able to export its reactors to Europe. Secondly, when the European countries would wish an agreement with the US for the supply of enriched uranium, the American Congress would be able to set its conditions. This is precisely what happened in

1958 when Euratom negotiated a treaty of cooperation with the United States. Thus, without being itself a member of Euratom, the United States would be able to impose conditions that are not mentioned in any of the articles of the Euratom treaty.

One may think that this was a clever strategy but in fact the outcome could have been predicted easily. When a nation holds a monopoly in a given technology this will sooner or later lead to a situation where the dominant country imposes its conditions to its unfortunate partners.

Among the 6 countries which composed initially Euratom, only France had the wish to develop a nuclear deterrence force. In other words, the Euratom treaty was (as had already been the case of the EDC) mainly directed against France. Contrary to the EDC which had been rejected by the French parliament, the Euratom treaty was approved but it would never receive the supra-national powers that its creators wanted to give it. Therefore it did not prevent France from developing a nuclear deterrence force. Whether or not this force has been of much usefulness is another debate. The same question can be raised for all countries who have a nuclear deterrence force.

### **Acknowledgments**

Many thanks to the colleagues who provided comments and encouragements, particularly to Prof. Yuji Aruka (Chuo University, Tokyo), Prof. Belal Baaquie (National Singapore University).

## **Appendix A: The American Forces Network (AFN)**

The American Forces Networks (AFN) were established in all countries where there were US troops. At first they were radio broadcasts but subsequently they also provided TV and Internet content. This Appendix provides a chronology of the development of such networks.

Source: Official Website of AFN Europe.

<http://www.afneurope.net/AboutUs/tabid/85/Default.aspx>

During the 1950s and 60s civilian audiences in Europe widely listened to AFN which contributed to make American music very popular. This was particularly the case in Communist bloc countries. It had the added bonus of not being subjected to radio jamming unlike such stations as Radio Free Europe which carried news in Eastern European languages.

1943 July 4 - The American Forces Network Europe (AFNE) provides its first broadcast to US troops in Britain from BBC Studios in London. On October 25 the 5th Army Mobile Expeditionary Radio Service began broadcasting in Naples, Italy.

1944 November AFN administrative Headquarters remains in London but operations move to newly liberated Paris. As Allied forces continue to push German Soldiers back into Germany, AFN moves east as well. Following the liberation of Belgium, Luxembourg, France and the Netherlands, more than 60 AFN stations spring up along the Allied front.

1945 June 10 - AFN Munich signs on the air. AFN Bremen and AFN Berlin sign on the air later that year. August 15 AFN Frankfurt signs on the air from a mobile radio studio on the back of a truck parked outside General Dwight Eisenhower's Frankfurt Headquarters.

1948 March 17- AFN Stuttgart signs on the air. AFN closes all stations in France.

1950 July - AFN Nuremburg signs on the air at the Grand Hotel in Downtown Nuremberg.

1958 May 23 - AFN returns to France with a station in Orleans.

1959 July 15 After being one of the 11 original transmitter sites in Europe, AFN Heidelberg becomes its own station and signs on the air.

1962 March 20 AFN Berlin becomes the first station to provide 24 hour operations.

1967 AFN Orleans shuts down as France withdraws from NATO and asks US troops to leave. The station moves to Belgium and sets up at Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe (SHAPE) as AFN SHAPE.

1970s Air Force Television at Ramstein provides TV to the troops in Central Europe until the early 70's when AFN Europe assumes the mission.

1976 October 28 AFN broadcasts the first color television signal from the Frankfurt studio.

1987 December - AFN Benelux adds satellite reception service, and adds AFN television service to Brussels audience.

1991 January AFN Europe sends troops to Kuwait and Saudi Arabia in support of Operations Desert Storm/Desert Shield. February 14 - AFN Munich signs off the air. Following the Gulf War as the US military begins a partial drawdown in Europe, a leading German politician says, "The U.S. Military can leave Europe, but AFN must stay."

1992 AFN Munich closes.

June 20 - AFN Somalia signs on the air.

1994 March 8 AFN Somalia signs off the air.

July 15 - AFN Berlin signs off the air.

December AFN mobile radio station deploys to support troops serving in the Balkans on a NATO peacekeeping mission.

2003 AFN Europe starts to send military journalists and engineers to combat zones in Iraq and Afghanistan.

2006 February 27 - AFN BC launches a new TV channel targeted at 18-24 year olds. AFN Europe's Eagle Radio goes on the air in the former Warsaw Pact nation of Bulgaria.

2009 November 7 - AFN Europe simulcasts live the 2009 DoDDS Super Six Football Championships over TV and the Internet.

2010 February 27 - AFN Europe simulcasts live the 2010 DoDDS European High School Basketball Championships over TV and the Internet.

2013 January - Two stations formerly managed by the Defense Media Activity, are moved under AFN Europe: AFN Guantanamo Bay, Cuba; and AFN Honduras.

## Appendix B: American Football leagues in Europe and Asia

In which countries does the “International Federation of American Football” have domestic affiliate organizations?

In 2007 I was surprised to see a presentation of American Football on the TV screens set up in the coaches of the Shanghai metro. Then, in 2009 as well as in following years, I saw whole weekends devoted to the presentation of American football on the campus of “Beijing Normal University”. Such weekends were organized by special teams who brought with them appropriate inflatable devices. At that time I did not realize that this diffusion of American football was in fact a world-wide phenomenon.

### Europe

Source: Official website of the IFAF (International Federation of American Football)

All European countries (with the possible exception of Iceland) have local organizations which are members of the “International Federation of American Football”.

Below, for each country, we give the dates of initial membership. For some countries the date is not given but even in such cases there is nevertheless a local organization whose address is given.

Austria (1982), Belarus (1991), Belgium (1988), Bulgaria (2008), Croatia (2006), Czech Republic (1993), Denmark (1989), Estonia (1995), Finland (1979), France (1983), Germany (1979), Great Britain (1979), Greece (?), Hungary (1992), Ireland (Irish American Football Association), Israel (Kraft Family, 2000), Italy (2002),



Luxembourg (?), Moldova (?), Netherlands (?), Norway (Norwegian Federation of American Sports: cheerleading, lacrosse, frisby, american football, 2010), Poland (2004), Portugal (?), Romania (2007), Russia (?), Serbia (?), Slovenia (?), Spain (2007), Sweden (1984), Switzerland (1982), Turkey (1993), Ukraine (2005)

## Asia

Source: Official website of the IFAF

India (?), Japan (1934, in 2012 there were 190 teams), Kuwait (2012), Mongolia (2009), South Korea (1947), Thailand (2006).

## Appendix C: Baseball leagues in Europe and Asia

Source: Wikipedia article entitled “List of organized baseball leagues”.

### Europe

Austria, Croatia, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, The Netherlands (with the UK the Netherlands is one of the two major European baseball nations), Spain (baseball was somewhat popular in the 1950s and 1960s but was eclipsed by the growing interest in soccer), Sweden, United Kingdom, Finland, Latvia, Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Belarus, Switzerland.

### Asia

Japan (1878), Korea (1905), Philippines (1898), Taiwan (1906)

## Acronyms

AC: Allied Commission (the commission in charge of Italy until the signature of the Peace Treaty)

ACUE: American Committee on United Europe.

AFN: Armed Forces Network [media network for US forces in overseas bases]

AIS: Allied Information Service (it was working hand in hand with the Psychological Warfare Division)

AMGOT: Allied Military Government of Occupied Territories

AMG: Allied Military Government

BMA notes: British Military Authority bank notes (were introduced during the invasion of North Africa in November 1942)

CAD: Civil Affairs Division

CAFT: Combined Advance Field Team (a component of the Technical Intelligence Teams whose role it was to identify useful scientific sources)

CCAC: Combined Civil Affairs Committee

CCS: Combined Chiefs of Staff (“combined” referred to the joint US-UK participation)

CINCEUR: Commander in Chief, Europe (refers to the Commander of US forces in Europe)

CINCUSAFE: Commander in Chief, United States Air Forces in Europe

ECSC: European Coal and Steel Community

EDC: European Defense Community

FCNL: French Committee of National Liberation

FEA: Foreign Economic Administration

FRUS: Foreign Relations of the United States (publication of select documents from the State Department, many volumes, available on the Internet)

G-5: Code name of the “Civil Affairs Division” within the US Army (in the same way G-1 is personnel, G-2 is intelligence, G-3 is operations, G-4 is logistics)

JAMAG: Joint American Military Advisory Group (coordinated the actions of the MAAGs)

MAAG: Military Advisory Assistance Group

NARA: National Archives and Records Administration

NATO: North Atlantic Treaty Organization

NSC: National Security Council (weekly council in charge of security issues in the US administration)

NYT: New York Times

OWI: Office of War Information

SACEUR: Supreme Allied Commander, Europe (a US four-star general or admiral who heads the Allied Command Operations (ACO) located at SHAPE, Mons, Belgium)

SCAP: Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers [Headquarters of occupation forces in Japan]

SCAPIN: SCAP Instruction [for the Japanese government]

SHAEF: Supreme Headquarters of the Allied Expeditionary Force

SHAPE: Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers (Europe)

USFET: United States Forces, European Theater

USAFIK: US Army Forces in Korea

USAMGIK: US Army Military Government in Korea

## Archive documents

MAAG 2: US National Archives and Records Administration at College Park.

Title: MAAG France, the “Top secret chronological correspondence, 1949-1954. Record Group 334, Box 6.

[MAAG2 refers to the 20 first pages of this file which has about 1,500 pages. They cover 15 June 1951 to 20 July 1951.]

## References

Aldrich (R.J.) 1997: OSS, CIA and European unity: the American Committee on United Europe, 1948-1960. *Diplomacy and Statecraft* 8,1,184-227.

[This study is mostly based on the records of the ACUE that are publicly available. However, the author is well aware of the fact that the most interesting parts of these records are probably those which are still classified.

The paper contains some 10 excerpts from Rebattet’s thesis (see below) but which are of fairly small significance.]

Boivin (M.) 2003: *Les Manchois dans la tourmente de la Seconde guerre mondiale : 1939-1945*. [The residents of the Manche département during the Second World War, 1939-1945.] Thesis, University of Caen. 8 vol (2144 p.).

[Two volumes are devoted to the time interval after June 1944: vol. 4 (the last text volume) and vol. 8 (the last volume of notes)

In 2004 the thesis was published by the Editions Euribles, Marigny (6 vol.)]

Bourliaguet (B.) 2009: *L’AMGOT: contingence militaire ou outil de politique étrangère?* [AMGOT: Military necessity or foreign policy instrument?] Master Thesis, Laval University, Canada.

[This interesting study gives a detailed view of the plans. Needless to say, it would be of great interest also to know what were the aspects of these plans which were actually implemented. Yet, one must realize that this task would be a real challenge because it requires micro-historical investigations and appropriate sources.]

Branca (E.) 2017: *L’ami américain. Washington contre de Gaulle, 1940–1969*. Perrin, Paris.

[Une analyse à la fois soigneusement documentée et qui se lit comme un roman du cas français. Le rôle joué par Jean Monnet dans le torpillage de l’accord franco-allemand par le parlement allemand est un épisode-clé qui marque bien les limites de l’indépendance française dans une optique américaine.]

Carson (J.A.) 2003: Nation-Building. *The American Way*. Report for the US Army

War College, Carlyle Barracks, Pennsylvania.

[This report by Colonel Jayne Carson was published at the time of the invasion of Iraq. It starts with the cases of Cuba and the Philippines where the United States started nation-building in 1898. Among the other cases being considered there is Haiti, and also, of course, Germany and Japan. It continues with Bosnia and Kosovo and ends with Afghanistan.

The story for Haiti starts with the US-led occupation of September 1993 (so-called “Operation Uphold Democracy”) omitting the previous US occupation which lasted from 1915 to 1934.

The account for Kosovo does not mention the establishment of the huge US base of Camp Bondsteel with its 7,000 US soldiers. One wonders what is its role in nation-building. Part of the answer may be that it is easier to establish such a base in a country ruled by a weak government brought to power and supported by Western countries. Afghanistan and Iraq are two other countries where US bases have flourished during the past decade.]

Coles (H.), Weinberg (A.) 1964: *Special studies, Civil Affairs: Soldiers become governors*. US Government Printing Office, Washington.

[This is the official US Army account of Civil Affairs activities. It contains reproductions of many archive documents, which however are not always given in their entirety (there are numerous . . .). Moreover, following a standard practice in the official history of US wars, several specific facets of the question are just omitted.

Chevènement (J.-P.) 2006: *La faute de Mr. Monnet*. Fayard, Paris.

Coulet (F.) 1966: *Vertu des temps difficiles*. Plon, Paris.

Donnison (F.S.V.) 1961: *Civil affairs and military government, North-West Europe, 1944-1946*. Published by the British Council of Foreign Relations; printed by: Her Majesty’s Stationery Office.

[This is an official British publication. That is perhaps why its main emphasis is on official documents and legal aspects.]

European Movement 1949: *European movement and the Council of Europe*. With forewords by Winston Churchill and Paul-Henri Spaak. Hutchinson and Co, London.

[The establishment of the Council of Europe by the Treaty of London of 5 May 1949 was the main achievement of the “European Movement”. The first session of the Assembly of the Council of Europe took place at Strasbourg on 10 August 1949. This book was published around June 1949 in order to celebrate this success. But was it really a success? Was such a start not an ideal recipe for a powerless Europe?

In its introduction the book contains a list of the members of the “International Council of the European movement”. Altogether there are 126 names. All of them are from European countries. There is not even a single American observer in spite of the strong interest of the United States in this project. Yet 14 members (i.e. 11%) are from East European countries<sup>57</sup>. In this respect the policy of the European Movement was (p. 155) to invite exiled leaders from East European countries “to form National Committees of the European Movement”. Therefore, one can hardly be surprised that the Soviet Union was not very pleased with the European Movement and with its creation, the European Council.

Chapter 11 is entitled “Attitude of Russia and America”. Of its 6 pages, one and a half are about the attitude of Russia while the rest is devoted to long excerpts of speeches by President Truman and by John F. Dulles, chief adviser of the Republican Party on foreign affairs.

The economic union considered in this project was a prolongation of the Marshall Plan: “The Union would start with the 16 countries included in the European Recovery Plan (i.e. the Marshall Plan). The closest association of all the members of the British Commonwealth is essential to the success of the union”. (p. 66)

In 1948-1949 Mr. Georges Rebattet already had an important role in the “European movement’. For instance, on 13 April 1948 he wrote to Joseph Retinger a letter about the organization of the Hague Congress (source: CVCE). Yet, surprisingly his name does not appear in this book. It is not in the index and even more surprisingly Mr. Rebattet did not take part in the deputation of the European Movement which visited the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs on 9 December 1948 (as shown by the caption of the picture on p. 80-81).]

Demory (J.-C.) 1995: Georges Bidault 1899-1983. Julliard, Paris.

Foreign Relations of the United States; 1943,1944,1945,1946.

[Available on Internet at: <http://digicoll.library.wisc.edu>]

Fransen (F.J.) 2001: The supra-national politics of Jean Monnet. Ideas and origins of the European Community. Greenwood Press, Westport, Connecticut.

FRUS: Foreign relations of the United States. A collection of volumes available on line on the website of the library of Wisconsin University.

Gaulle (C. de) 1954a: Mémoires de guerre. Vol. 2. L’unité 1942-1944. Plon, Paris.

[An English translation was published under the title: “War memoirs, Unity.”]

Gaulle (C. de) 1954b: Mémoires de guerre. Vol. 3. Le salut 1945-1946. Plon,

---

<sup>57</sup>It is surprising to find among the members the Minister of the Interior of the Basque Government in exile. However, this simply parallels the fact the presence of the members in exile belonging to East European countries.

Paris. [An English translation was published under the title: “War memoirs, Salvation.”]

Grosbois (T.) 2006: La stratégie de Ford à l’égard de l’intégration européenne [Ford’s strategy on European unification.] Helsinki Congress of the International Economic History Association, 21-25 August 2006.

Grosbois (T.) 2009: Ford’s Strategy towards European Integration after World War II, in American Firms in: “Europe 1880-1980. Strategy, Identity, Perception and Performance”, Bonin (H.) and De Goey (F.) editors, Geneva, p.459-483. [The Oxford thesis by F.-X. Rebattet is cited p. 471 (footnote no 20). However, whether the author was really able to read the thesis is not completely clear because the footnote gives only the title without any specific page reference.]

Grosbois (T.) 2010: La stratégie européenne de General Motors, de l’adaptation au protectionnisme à la mise en place du marché unique 1920-1993 [General Motors’ European strategy: protectionism and adaptation 1920-1993]. Revue du Nord 92,387 (October-December),857-876.

Kersaudy (F.) 2004: De Gaulle et Roosevelt. Perrin, Paris.

[The book gives a very interesting and detailed account of the political struggle between the Provisional French government of General de Gaulle and President Roosevelt. Basically, Roosevelt wanted to prevent the emergence of a strong alternative to the Vichy government. As observed by Antony Eden, the head of the British Foreign Office, that would allow the United States to shape the French political landscape in the aftermath of their invasion of France. In Roberston’s book (cited below) “When Roosevelt planned to govern France” the author tries to prove that the view expressed by the title was an exaggeration. François Kersaudy shows that “to govern France” was indeed Roosevelt’s objective throughout the war. This objective can be seen at work in all the actions regarding France undertaken by President Roosevelt.]

Lamache (S.) 2010a: La Normandie américaine. [When the Normandy was American]. Larousse, Paris.

[This book is based on the extensive research done by the author in French and American archives (see below the reference of the original academic publication).]

Lamache (S.) 2010b: Les Américains dans la région de Cherbourg en 1944 et 1945. 4 volumes. Vol. 1-160, Vol. 2 161-463 (303 p), Vol.3 464-807 (344 p), Vol.4 Annex 1-204. Thesis, University of Caen.

[This thesis provides a broad picture and describes many facets of the relations between US forces in the Cherbourg area and the French population. It gives also an interesting comparison with a city located in the eastern part of France.



However, on some crucial points it provides but a fairly superficial view. For instance the question of the currency introduced in France by the Allies is treated in a few pages which do not go to the bottom of the story. It is said that the Allied currency was introduced to pay French workers in the reconstruction of crucial facilities but this explanation cannot be the whole truth for it does not account for the introduction of Allied currency in Denmark or Norway which were liberated in May 1945 that is to say at the end of the war.

A similar comment can be made about the chapter concerning public safety. Despite its length (71 pages) the chapter does not contain any statistical data about crimes and other incidents. It is true that there is a table in the Annex (p. 4) but it covers only one and a half month from 1 August to 14 September 1944. As the thesis covers a much longer time interval (1944-1946) such a table seems fairly inadequate.

Incidentally, for persons who care about objectivity there seems to be a kind of paradox in the work of the author. On the one hand, as is indeed natural for an historian, the author claims that his objective is to give a balanced account. In line with this pledge, he denounces (p. 621-623) the well-known fact that the pictures made by the "Signal Corps" were a major element in a vast public relation campaign and therefore cannot be seen as providing an objective view. Often, before a picture was shot, the very scenery was set up following guidelines given by Public Relations Officers. Yet, the author took an active part in this disinformation operation.

- Firstly, about one half of the Appendix is devoted to the reproduction of some 200 photographs all of which come from the "Signal Corps" collection. In order to give a balanced view would it not be essential to also include pictures from other sources? The author has had many contacts with residents who certainly had personal collections of pictures. Would it not have been of much greater interest to include such pictures rather than the "Signal Corps" pictures many of which anyway are (or will be) made available on the Internet by NARA?

- During the summer of 2003, the author visited the American National Archives on a mission paid by French taxpayers and planned by the "Conseil Général de la Manche", a local elected assembly for the département of the Manche. The purpose was to digitize 3,956 "Signal Corps" photographs which would later be included into the collections held by the Archives of the département of the Manche. May be the members of the Conseil Général who gave their agreement to this operation were not aware of the fact that the pictures were mostly for propaganda purpose; however, Mr. Lamache himself was well aware of this aspect. These pictures would anyway have been digitized by NARA in the near future. Was it wise for the département of the Manche to subsidize this operation?]

McClintick (D.) 2006: How Harvard lost Russia. Institutional Investor magazine.

[A 18,000 word investigative article about the inappropriate role played by the “Harvard Institute for International Development” during the privatization process in Russia.]

Marty (D.) 2006: Information memorandum II on the alleged secret detentions in Council of Europe state. Published on 22 January 2006 by the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe. [Available on the Internet]

Mazon (B.) 1985: Fondations américaines et sciences sociales en France, 1920-1960. De la genèse de la VIe Section de l’Ecole pratique des hautes études à la fondation de la “Maison des sciences de l’homme”. [Influence of US foundations on the development of social sciences in France, 1920-1960. From the creation of the 6th section of the “Ecole pratique des hautes études ” in 1868 to the creation in the 1960s of the “Maison des sciences de l’homme”].

Thesis (thèse de 3e cycle), Two volumes. Vol. 1: pp.1-198, Vol.2: pp.199-369 Paris.

[In 1975, the 6th section of the “Ecole pratique des hautes études ” became the “Ecole des hautes études en sciences sociales”. The thesis advisor was the historian François Furet (1927-1997). It is probably an understatement to say that, except in his 20s when he was a member of the French Communist Party, he was fairly pro-US. As a matter of fact, after 1979 he has been working much of the year at the University of Chicago where he served as a professor in the “Committee on Social Thought” This was the committee which recruited Friedrich Hayek, the proponent of neoliberalism. It may be remembered that in 1950, despite the financial support of the Volker’s fund (who would have covered his salary) and of the President of the University, Hayek was refused by the Department of Economics of the University of Chicago and became instead a member of the Committee.

It comes hardly as a surprise that with Furet as advisor the thesis proposes a fairly sanitized account. For instance the fact that almost immediately after being recruited in March 1955, Jean Chesnaux was barred by the Rockefeller Foundation (“none of the RF assistance would go to Chesnaux”, 9 December 1955) for his studies on China, is told in a footnote (p. 196). So, in spite of mentioning Chesnaux 8 times, the thesis reports this important fact in such a way that few readers will be able to notice it.]

Monnet(J.) 1976: Mémoires. Fayard, Paris.

Rebattet (François-Xavier) 1962: The European Movement 1945-1953. A study in national and international non-governmental organisations working for European unity. PhD Thesis, Oxford, St Anthony’s College.

[A copy of this thesis is held at the Bodleian Library. Unfortunately it cannot be borrowed through the inter-library loan. According to Worldcat there is no other library holding this thesis.]

Robertson (C.L.) 2011: When Roosevelt planned to govern France. University of Massachusetts Press, Amherst.

[The author has found and read many documents about the case of France and he gives a vivid account of this episode. However, because he did not have the curiosity or perhaps the time to study other cases (e.g. South Korea or Denmark) he comes to the conclusion that introducing Civil Affairs officers in a liberated country like France would have been something exceptional. It can hardly be denied that banknotes printed in the United States were introduced in almost all liberated European countries just as they were in France. Moreover, agreements for the establishment of US bases were signed with almost all European countries. Historically, this was something completely new.

So, the real challenge would be to identify the issues for which “Civil Affairs” did have a determining influence. No doubt that among these issues there will be the important question of the reconstitution of armed forces in all European countries. The relevant sections of Civil Affairs started these processes and the Military Advisory Assistance Groups (MAAG) continued it. Unfortunately, most of the NARA archives about the activities of the MAAGs are still classified (as of January 2014).

In short, France and other European countries were of course not openly ruled by Civil Affairs as were Italy, Germany and Japan but substantial encroachments on their sovereignty occurred in the wake of their occupation.]

Roehner (B.M.), Syme (T.) 2002: Pattern and repertoire in history. Harvard University Press, Cambridge.

[The book is an invitation to develop a comparative approach in history.]

Roussel (E.) 1996: Jean Monnet 1888-1979. Fayard, Paris.

[This is a dense and detailed biography of Jean Monnet. For instance it gives *in extenso* the text of several of the long letters that Monnet wrote to Harry Hopkins from Algiers, notably those of 6 and 9 May 1943 (p. 336 and following).]

Schrijvers (P.) 2012: A modern liberation. Belgium and the start of the American Century, 1944-1946. European Journal of American Studies, Special issue: Wars and new beginnings in American history.

Stimson (H.L.): Diaries. Microfilm, reel 8. [available at the National Diet Library in Tokyo]

Stirk (P.M.) 2009: The politics of military occupation. Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh.

[This study focuses mostly on international law and legal aspects of military occupations. As a great number of cases are considered which range from 1800 to 2006 and cover many countries, one can hardly expect detailed descriptions.]

Temperton (P.) 1993: *The European currency crisis. What chance now for a single European currency?* Irwin Professional Publishing (1 Septembre 1993).

Thomson (A.A.) 1996: *Americans in France, 1944-1945. Americans in the Liberation of France: their perceptions of and relations with France and the French.* PhD thesis, University of Kent at Canterbury, England.

[This thesis has some sections about “Civil Affairs” but the emphasis is mostly on interactions between US soldiers and French people at a personal level. In order to find out what were the opinions of French people about American soldiers (some 50 years after the war) the author organized a survey which was answered by about 200 persons.

Needless to say, such a study cannot explain why the French government authorized the establishment of US bases along with the “American Forces Network” or why the French army accepted to host a “Military Assistance Advisory Group”.

Was that an inevitable consequence of the Cold War? Probably not, because these agreements were made before the Cold War really started. Moreover, the end of the Cold War did not terminate the occupation of US bases in Germany or in other European countries.]

Wedel (J. R.) 2009: *Shadow Elite: How the World’s new power brokers undermine democracy, government, and the free Market.* Basic Books Group, New York.