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Maj. Filden: *gpe*

Sorry not to have sent
over sooner. We think
this is pretty good &
will correct a lot of
miscomprehensions. Hope
you agree.

5730
W. F. Newfield, Capt
Pd to RC

FASCISTS AND FOOD - ADD IN ITALY

by

COLONEL CHARLES POLETTI, REGIONAL COMMISSIONER, ROME REGION

When British and American AMG officers and enlisted men landed in Sicily with the troops a year ago, they started to govern a people weary of war-scarred rations and Fascism. With no military police forces of its own, with no military and therefore reliable transport, with no supplies for industrial and commercial rehabilitation, and with never enough officers to cover adequately the wide areas liberated by the troops, AMG had to restore the normal flow of life. AMG's first and essential task is to insure to the Army a peaceful and cooperative rear zone of communication - AMG officers consider this as their prime military job. In a country whose spiritual fiber and sense of moral responsibility have been corroded by twenty years of corrupt Fascism, and whose governmental structure has been debased by a vast maze of agencies created to give jobs to deserving Fascists, this is no easy assignment.

The problems of government anywhere in the western world are similar, and the principles of sound public administration work in Italy as well as in the United States or Great Britain. But the task of governing, complex enough under normal conditions in any country, is complicated seven-fold by limited food supplies and a destroyed sense of public morality, the most evil result of Fascism and its most overlooked aspect in the charges hurled against it. Although AMG must solve all the problems of government proper, like relief, public health, finance, postal services, and public works, in addition to operating all public utilities and supervising the industrial economy, the central problems are always Fascists and Food.

My group of all officers landed on 1 May on the south coast of Sicily and worked through to Palermo with the troops of the Seventh Army and then east to Messina. We left officers and men in the rear provinces to restore normal life and to protect the rear zones of communication for the Army. Our officers continued to march with the advancing divisions into Italy proper as the rear zone fell to our responsibility. Everywhere we go, large city or small country village, the cry is always the same: *Pace e Pasta* (peace and spaghetti) and *Band out the Fascists*.

For a long time in Sicily and Naples there were no powdered soups or canned milk to distribute. Even if we had that, that is not the diet this voracious-food-loving people crave. Nor can they feel satisfied with vitamin-filled fruits and vegetables which grow in abundance in the country. The habits of centuries cannot be broken by well-intentioned lectures on proper eating habits. They want *pasta* and *pasta*. But the ships and their precious cargoes of flour and grain did not begin to arrive and would not for weeks to come. For eight days after taking up our posts in Palermo, we were not able to make a regular distribution of bread in that large city. Why? The heads of the Italian food agencies had fled in fright. All water transport had either been taken away or destroyed by the retreating Germans. Every flour mill had been bombed to pieces. Even when conditions were later fairly normal in most of Sicily, in Messina only 150 grams per person could be given, and often only irregularly. When Naples was taken only 100 grams was distributed by AMG. This was later increased to 200. In Rome, the Germans gave only 100 grams. The first day we gave 100; a week later we raised the ration to 150. Now we are distributing 200 grams per person per day.

Why this shortage of flour? Where is the native-grown supply of grain? 5748

We landed in the middle of the harvest. There was therefore no time to organize a collection system of our own. The Fascist collection system broke down, before we came, of its own weight. The black market flourishes long before we arrive in any area. There was, under Fascism, a local office which kept elaborate records of how many hectares of what product each farmer was to plant. In this way the local amassing, or collection, agency knew what to expect. Each farmer was compelled by law to turn in all of his grain to the amasso, except the amount legally set for retention by the family. But before we arrive in an area, the top officials are gone, the local officials of this mass of records are never at their posts, and the whole system, already tottering under the curse of the black market, collapses. This is the circle of events. The farmers were not turning the grain in because they could get on the black market 3000 or 4000 lire for 220 pounds instead of 300 lire, the official political price. This price was based on a system of government subsidies enabling the baker to sell bread to the people at a low, political price. But the bread ration was never enough, and as far back as the Abyssinian war, the black market began to flourish. Besides, our own Allied propaganda implored the farmers not to turn over their grain to the Fascists and Germans. They followed instructions and did not.

When we arrive in an area and post proclamations stating that all Fascist institutions are abolished, the farmers assume that that means the whole amassing system as well, and they act under that assumption. Our task is to disabuse them, to reorganize a system of collection and distribution, and to show all Italians that their obligation now, in preparing to rule themselves, is to respect law, the basis of all democratic government. There is no valid reason now to flaunt it. But after 20 years of sabotage and cynicism concerning government, this is not an easy lesson to teach.

All attempts to teach this lesson as well as to enforce it. We have to enforce our proclamations and decrees by use of the Italian police - the Carabinieri and the Agenti di Pubblica Sicurezza. Mussolini distrusted the Royal Carabinieri, one of the oldest police forces in Europe. He degraded their position and created his own Black Shirts and ^{other} Black Militias. The Carabinieri and the Agenti, like most Italian Civil Servants, were pitifully underpaid, getting at the lower levels as little as ~~3~~ 4 a month. Our own troops, mistaking these uniformed police for Fascist troops, often dismissed them publicly and otherwise humiliated them, destroying still further their status among the people. With these men we have to enforce the law. A strong head of the police has to be chosen, a man with integrity, honesty, democratic principles, and with no tinge of Fascism. The morale of the police has to be rebuilt. Corruption within their own ranks has to be stamped out - a difficult task when a policeman, underpaid, has a hungry family to feed. And the answer is no simple raising of wages.

Although wages of public employees are notoriously low, we can not embark on a wholesale hike of salary increases because of the fear of inflation, already spiralling because of the rate of exchange, scarce products, and money to burn in the pockets of our troops. The wage increases finally allowed are permitted always with this fear in mind. But raising the salary of a policeman earning 4 a month by 100% still leaves a problem. Our job is further complicated by the Army's entry into the market for the purchase of certain fresh foods needed for men who have been living out of cans for months. Prices of fruits, vegetables, and meat soar. It becomes a seller's ⁵⁷⁴⁸ market. And the troops themselves, in town after the fray, have money to throw away, and they do. Prices rise still further. In cooperation with the Army, we set prices on essential foods and commodities and on articles in shops frequented by soldiers. Citizens' Squads against the black market,

selected by the local mayors and councilmen, are encouraged. These measures help, but enforcing laws in Italy with the Italian police force, and even with military police sometimes borrowed for a short time, is just as difficult and often as impossible as enforcing rationing and price regulations at home.

Despite these difficulties, if AMG had adequate transport to go out into the country to collect foodstuffs during the first critical days of entry into liberated territory, the job would be easier and the problem half-solved. But Army vehicles are scarce and needed for the fighting troops, an incontestable first priority. AMG is set up to take civilian burdens from the shoulders of military commanders and not to add to them. We have to depend therefore on civilian cars and trucks. After years of war, Italy is running on its fumes. Tires and tubes are now almost non-existent. For all precious things still around, the Italians have created a system of insuring them, literally in walls, against the Fascists and the Germans. The habit often lingers on. But improvisation is the key to AMG operations, and with tremendous expenditure of energy, movement of food supplies is kept going.

In the areas long liberated by us, where the forces of life have been allowed to weave themselves into positions of normality, the food situation is now good. All over Italy at present, with the exception of the forward areas - Rome and north - the bread ration is 300 grams per person per day. In a short while, it is hoped that the Rome ration will also be increased from 200 to 300. In Naples, where the 300 gram ration began on July 1, either 300 grams of bread or 200 grams of bread and 80 grams of pasta are allowed. The potato harvest, the result of seed brought from England, is beyond all expectation and potatoes in the Naples area are selling even below the low price set by AMG. There are even large quantities of potatoes to bring to Rome. Everywhere fruits and vegetables are coming into the markets too.

This is the way. Grant enough bread, or bread and pasta, to those bread-loving people, and the black market will vanish. That is our program: through maximizing the meager yield from the Italian harvest and importing the rest, grant an adequate bread ration which makes additional, illegal, purchasing unnecessary. The solution is simple; the execution requires skill, patience, and constant energy and vigilance.

The cardinal principle of administration in the three Regions I have headed - Sicily, Naples and Rome - has been turning over responsibility to the anti-Fascist Italians as soon as possible. Make them do the work, and assign the responsibility, for two reasons: first, because AMG has too few officers and limited knowledge to guide the destinies of millions of people without such help; and secondly, because it is our responsibility to prepare each region for the day when it is turned over to the Italian government and must rule itself with its own officials. This principle implies the selection of the right man for the right job, men with no Fascist taint. But you cannot throw all Fascist officials out during the first days or weeks or you arrive because the government agencies they work in start to go on and they have information you need. The chief, notorious Fascists per se are, of course, jailed immediately. In the meantime, you get to know the community and the people; you make inquiries through your security officer and Italians you can trust; and gradually the right people are brought into public office. And they are usually not the men who rush into our offices the first days. Of these, we are wary. The real anti-Fascists usually must be dug out. Of course, as soon as an area is liberated, everyone becomes an anti-Fascist. That makes life for AMG a little more difficult too.

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As a result of a year's experience in this complex job of finding able anti-Fascists, a technique has been evolved that is now in force in the Naples and Rome areas, one based on sound administrative and democratic principles.

In a decree issued by me, a specific list of Fascist jobs, honors, and titles is given. Also listed are the agencies and administrations, public and semi-public, affected. All persons with such designations in such agencies are automatically dismissed from their jobs. All persons, moreover, working in the agencies listed, whether or not they have such designations, must fill out an elaborate questionnaire specifically designed to ferret out Fascists from dark corners. Then a commission is established, composed of approved anti-Fascists, whose names are proposed to the Regional Commissioner by the six anti-Fascist parties, to consider all cases of appeal. There are often cases worthy of appeal, like an old public servant who received an honorary March on Rome decoration for his years of diligent service disciplining institutional records, or the Fascist who during the nine months of German occupation courageously worked with the underground movement, at great personal danger, for the liberation of his country. This Commission will proceed with a sense of justice and equity, but under no circumstances will it show pity to the real Fascists or collaborators with the Nazis.

Looking back over the experience of a year, the record of AMG, despite shortcomings, stands on its own. When the history of this period of human evolution is written, AMG will represent, more clearly than any other contemporary experiment, the desire of the democratic peoples to meet fairly and honestly with all other peoples of the world. This experiment, begun during the turmoil of war, has already established in Sicily, the Naples area, and in Rome certain forms of democratic governmental structure and administration which will long survive the Allied occupation. Our philosophy, ^{our} conduct, ~~disinterestedness~~, and the spectacle of officers of former enemy powers working long hours, day and night, to feed the Italian people, to keep them in good health, and to restore all those governmental and private services which mean normal life, are facts the Italian people and Europe will not easily

forget. When an international organization is established to guide the destinies of humanity, the good-will built by AMO in Italy will not be the least of its great cornerstones.

5742

File
with copy.



Executive Commission.

I should be grateful for your comments on this.
It is dull, but safe - at least I think so.
I feel myself that the idea of philanthropy
should be discouraged at this point and that
Italians need reminding that they did
declare war & that's why we are here. On
a long run we shall be better if we start
by being fairly harsh and avoiding promises.

PRO

L. Hillman.
6.6.44

Thank you. I think it is good. I suggest
substituting Deputy for Acting (Head) in para 2
& the insertion of Local Govt. at top of p 4

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5741

Draft of article for "Politica Estera"

The Allied Control Commission, which includes and controls Allied Military Government, was established on November 11, 1943. The task which it was designed to fulfill may be divided into three separate, but interdependent, categories, viz:

(1) To ensure that law and order prevail, and communications are kept clear and efficient, in the areas behind the advancing armies. This duty overrides all others.

(2) To see that the terms of the Armistice signed by Italy on September 29 are fully and faithfully observed.

(3) To assist as far as possible in bringing about such stable conditions as may permit the return, without undue delay, of conquered and occupied territory in Italy to a democratic and popular Italian Government.

General Alexander, Commander-in-Chief of the Allied Armies in Italy, has referred to the Allied Control Commission as his "Third Army".

In other words, as the Fifth and Eighth Armies move forward, the Allied Control Commission takes their place and ~~protects their rear~~. This point must be strongly emphasized because it is not always realized that the A.C.C. is a part of the Allied Armies and that it is first and foremost a military organization. 5711

It must be remembered, therefore, that the Allied Control Commission's task of bringing peace, liberty, and as far as possible prosperity, to occupied territory must

/ always

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be subservient to the task of ensuring that in Italy nothing obstructs, and everything sustains, the war effort. Thus, the shipment of food supplies must be subservient to the shipment of munitions: the freedom of labour to negotiate or strike must be subservient to the war needs of industry: the liberty of the press must be subservient to military security.

The President of the Allied Control Commission is, ex-officio and as long as the war lasts, the Supreme Commander of the Allied Armies. He it is who, as long as the war lasts in Italy, must have the decisive word on all policy. ^{Execution} The ~~Army~~ Head, or Chief Commissioner, of the A.C.C. is Lieutenant-General Sir Noel Mason MacFarlane who stands in the same relation to General Alexander as do the Commanders of the Fifth Army and the Eighth Army, ^{Notably} ~~except that~~ his responsibilities ^{Each} ~~and to~~ become greater as the armies move forward and more territory comes within the scope of the Allied Control Commission.

The Allied Control Commission falls naturally into three main sections, although these sections are by no means watertight compartments, the personnel being interchangeable and the whole controlled by General Mason MacFarlane. First is the "spearhead" group of Allied Military Government, which follows closely on the heels of - sometimes with - the ^{fighting troops} ~~advancing armies~~, and whose main tasks are the speedy 5730 restoration of supplies, the establishment of local government, the immediate needs of refugees and the sick or wounded, and ^{This is the primary function of the military government in Italy for Italy} the temporary rehabilitation of shattered towns. Second, and merging into the first, is the direct rule of Allied Military

/ Government

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Government, assisted by Italian local government, under more settled conditions, the executive power still being held by the Allies while every effort is made to pave the way for a transfer to Italian hands. *This is the hope of the Allies and the Italian Government.* Third and last, the "advisory" stage at which territory has been handed over to the Italian Government, Allied officers nevertheless remaining - though in very small numbers - to assist the Italian Government and to ensure adherence to the terms of the Armistice.

This grouping is of course dependent on the course of events. Whether more, or less, territory is handed over to the Italian Government, and whether direct Allied Military Government lasts for a long or a short time in any given area, must depend upon conditions in Italy itself, and upon the *measure of* support given, ~~on a scale~~, by the Italian population in the prosecution of the war effort and the maintenance of law and order.

By the nature of its duties the Allied Control Commission must, obviously, cover the whole field of Government, whether in a direct or advisory capacity. For this purpose the Headquarters staff is grouped into 26 sub-commissions, covering such questions as Public Health, Public Safety, Law, Food, Transport, Labour, Finance, Education etc. For the purpose of control, Italy is divided into Regions; thus Sicily is Region I, Sardinia Region VI, Calabria Region VII, and so on. *The Roman Region is actually the largest.* Each Region is supervised by a Commissioner 5739 responsible to General MacFarlane, and each Region carries a staff of expert advisers drawn from the Sub-Commissions at Headquarters.

/ Apart

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Apart from these "experts" there are - each Region the Civil Affairs Officers, who may themselves be experts, since all staff is interchangeable as conditions dictate, but whose chief duty is the general supervision of ^{local government in} towns or districts, from the moment when it is cleared of the Germans until the day when it is handed back to Italian authority.

Such is the framework of the Allied Control Commission and Allied Military Government. It represents and implements the control exercised by the United Nations over Italy, the degree and extent of such control depending on the necessities of the war.

What has the A.C.C. accomplished in Italy? It must be remembered that its organization and activity have been, and to some extent must be, empirical. The attempt to restore democracy and freedom to a conquered people while the war still continues in their country is a new experiment in history. At first it was considered that direct Allied Military Government would suffice for the duration of the war, and that policy governed the actions taken in Sicily, Calabria and Campania up to October 13, 1943. On that date the Badoglio Government declared war on Germany and Italy was named a "co-belligerent". In the words of Churchill, Italy was to be given the opportunity, in spite of the fact that she had declared and waged war against the United Nations (and at a time when it was conceivable that she could have swung the balance towards their defeat) to work her passage home".

The Allied Control Commission was established to make that opportunity possible. Part of its job, therefore, is to allow the freest play consistent with the war effort to public

/ opinion

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opinion in Italy - through the Press, through free assembly, through the ~~form~~ formations of labour unions, and through the untrammelled evolution of an Italian Government based on the most representative elements of the population. The extent to which these first principles of democracy could and can be permitted was and is governed by the necessities of war. While the war rages in Italy, elections and strikes are out of the question. And it is clearly impossible to achieve any final solution of institutional problems until the voice of all Italy is free.

Nevertheless, even with such inevitable limitations, much has been achieved. Throughout Sicily, Sardinia and Southern Italy, local government, the basis of all democracy, is getting into its stride. Labour unions, both industrial and agricultural, have been set up with power to hold meetings and conduct negotiations. Schools and universities, cleared of Fascist teachers and teachings, are beginning to function smoothly. The Italian Government has been broadened to include representatives of the six parties included in the Committee of Liberation. The political picture is therefore one of a people finding their way - and their own way - towards the freedom and democratic self-government which they lost 22 years ago.

5736

The economic and humanitarian picture cannot, under war conditions, be altogether a happy one. Although the United Nations has brought no less than 100,000 tons of grain per month into Italy for Italian civilians alone - and Southern Italy should be self-sufficient in grain - the Black Market, fomented and encouraged by Italians themselves, has prevented

/ full

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full supplies in reaching the whole Italian people. Nevertheless there has been no starvation - and in conditions comparable with those of Greece or Norway - in Southern Italy, and the general high level of public health shows that food conditions are, if not luxurious, at least adequate. With the repression of the Black Market these conditions are improving and will improve. The inflation of the currency, an inevitable factor in the invasion of any country by large armed forces, has been followed by a corresponding increase in wages; and energetic steps have been taken to prevent further inflation. In the field of relief and welfare, over 50,000 Italian refugees, and nearly the same number of other nationalities, have been cared for; among other things, 90,000 garments have been distributed, and epidemics have been successfully arrested or avoided by vaccination, inoculation and disinfection. Sicily now presents a picture of life as nearly approaching normal conditions as war will permit, and Southern Italy is nearing the same standard. ~~So long as the war lasts, prosperity and plenty cannot be expected; yet it can fairly be claimed that no country in Europe today enjoys greater freedom, or relatively greater ease, than Southern Italy.~~

The Allied Control Commission is not in Italy, however, for purely philanthropic ends: it is here because the United Nations are winning the war and because Italy declared war against them: it is here to see that justice is done and that those responsible for Fascism and war do not escape. It is here, too, to temper justice with mercy, because that is the intention and desire of the United Nations. In that task it associates itself with all those Italians who have refused to

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support Fascism and who are prepared to work for a world in which honesty, tolerance and justice shall prevail.

5734

IMPRESSIONS OF A DIVISIONAL CAO

We entered the town just two days after it had been taken by the forward brigade of infantry. The Boche-prepared demolitions had been left, for exploding, in the hands of an Italian who had decided, luckily, that "dopo domani" would be soon enough; as a result, after finding the plan of destruction the RE were able to start work, and a town, scheduled for powdered punice had been damaged by shell fire only.

The civilian population, who were living in the cellars of their homes, did not appear, giving the whole town and areas a Pompeian appearance. The picture of devastation was complete and there was no evidence of military control. Everywhere glass, shattered doors or shutters, rubble and burned out or mined vehicles lay strewn around, telling the bloody story of chaos and war.

Two civilians, with AMG armband denoting FSS appointed police, came, like ghosts in a dreadful nightmare, to blubber the history of the past two weeks and to moon their anxiety for the present and future. Their tale, told with flowing tears and quivering voice, added to the chaotic scene by introducing the shadows of disease and death. The mayor, they said, had been shot by the Fedeschi some four weeks previously, and the new, German-appointed mayor had been arrested the previous day by the FSS. The municipal staff had left with the Germans. The Municipio had been wrecked by British shelling and so had the water supply. Many of the wells had been polluted by the Germans. The dead were unburied and beginning to smell. The population were starving and many were dying of fever and wounds, but were unable to leave their cellars for fear of the shelling.

Listening to this tale we made our way to the first of a number of cellars, the only dwellings in the town. The conditions we encountered were indeed frightful but merit description as illustrating the abject helplessness of a terror-stricken and morally broken citizenry. The room was some 30 ft by 20 ft with a grated window at one end and a door at the other, earth floor and vaulted roof, just an ordinary filthy Italian cellar. It was, and had been for four weeks, the bedroom, living-room, dining-room, kitchen and lavatory for six men, nine women and girls, and fourteen children, not to mention five sheep, a pig, half a dozen hens and a horse, fleas, lice, ticks, bugs and rats. The food, the same for all, except the parasites, was beans or lupini, wheat or maize ground into flour in a coffee grinder, and oranges, the peel from the latter decorating the floor in true mosaic style. In one corner, near an open fire, a man lay on the floor covered with a British overcoat: he was dead. Near him lay an old woman aged 78 slit from breast to thigh by shrapnel, with flies and lice crawling everywhere. In another corner lay a young girl of nineteen giving birth to her second. She was happy, poor girl, she thought she would be eligible for the 2,000 lire reward, granted by the philanthropic Fascists to encourage bestial reproduction to fill the ranks of their

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Two civilians, with AMC emblems denoting FSE appointed police, came, like ghosts in a dreadful nightmare, to blubber the history of the past two weeks and to mean their anxiety for the present and future. Their tale, told with flowing tears and quivering voice, added to the chaotic scene by introducing the shadows of disease and death. The mayor, they said, had been shot by the Tedeschi some four weeks previously, and the new, German-appointed mayor had been arrested the previous day by the FSE. The municipal staff had left with the Germans. The Municipio had been wrecked by British shelling and so had the water supply. Many of the wells had been polluted by the Germans. The dead were unburied and beginning to smell. The population were starving and many were dying of fever and wounds, but were unable to leave their cellars for fear of the shelling.

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Such visits - and there were other similar ones that morning - are depressing but in a way also invigorating; one feels a stimulating intensity of anger towards a form of society which can tolerate such horrors.

Meanwhile the spectral arm of the law had left to find the priest and some prominent citizens. The priest, who arrived first, was clean, well-fed and not in rags; he was, in fact far more presentable than many seen in undamaged towns miles behind the lines. An ex-Italian Army padre, having served in East Africa and North Africa, although not above suspicion, he proved to be a gallant man who did his duty to his citizens and to the British forces. During the next three days he organized, in conjunction with the nuns, a hospital in the chapel of the convent, for all the sick and tormented civilians in the town. He also

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supervised the cooking and distribution of the free meals for the population.

The citizenry who arrived were interesting. There was a serjeant of Marines, who became Chief of Police, a butcher who spoke very good English and who became a soldier-keeper and three days later a soldier-bird, three others who later became policemen, a youth who became communal secretary, a baker who later became communal head baker. To these may be added a consorzio who later became a pair in the neck and an asthmatic man who as we learned later used to be a timber merchant. The last, the youth and the serjeant of Marines, were the only members of the party who could write fluently, and so "asthma" got the job of mayor, where he proved himself quite valueless.

After three days, with the sick and wounded cared for, with food, soup and biscuits issued to holders of our improvised ration cards once daily, with the surface dead buried, the moral and physical strength began to return and the time had come for more strenuous labours.

The youth, with four men, started to clean up what was left of the Municipio.

The mayor made a census of his population, helped by the Police.

The priest collected the valuables from the churches and cleaned up the only undamaged one. Every day he helped with the issue of food.

The nuns supervised the sick and wounded and did the daily feeding, which was still free but on the principle of no work no food for men, and no food for women and children not washed and clean.

The police supervised road cleaning and debris removing.

The baker cleaned and whitewashed the bakehouse.

And lastly, an Italian Red Cross woman, mistress of a German officer, plied her trade I think, but did good work in de-lousing children and shaving heads. She set up a small emergency hospital and first-aid station to relieve the hospital, all medical equipment being provided by AMG.

Within three weeks the daily ration strength had risen from 176 to 2,500 odd. The hospital was divided into three sections: one served for the wounded, another for those sick with fever, and the third became an old people's home. The streets were clean and only five families were living in cellars. There was only one new case of fever and only one death, that of the old woman previously mentioned. Eleven people were wounded by shrapnel, due to leaving the cellars, but not one badly, and four infants were safely brought into the world.

The only form of transport was by jeep and trailer which brought in rations daily and evacuated the surgical cases.

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The only form of transport was by jeep and trailer which brought in rations daily and evacuated the surgical cases. The road travelled was under German observation and always shelled if you made any dust. The ditches and bridges were all mined, so if you had the misfortune to leave the road because of a shell you probably left the ditch because of a mine.

Luckily the General in command saw the impossibility of keeping a town fed and safe under such conditions and ordered complete evacuation. This was an operation more easily carried out. A meeting was called outside the main church and addressed by the Padre, who had previously been told what to say. The result was that in two days 5,553 able-bodied people travelled five miles on foot and were then picked up by divisional trucks and evacuated to a refugee centre.

The wounded, sick and old people, 97 altogether, were evacuated in three-ton trucks used as ambulances during the

-3-

night - the operation taking four days.

noteworthy

The evacuation was carried out with only two incidents. A woman who said she was well enough to manage the necessary five miles actually only walked fifty yards and then fell and had a baby in the street with the help of the Red Cross women and the CAO. A bed-ridden man weighing 18 stone who was too big to get downstairs had to be let down by ropes after a hole of the necessary dimensions had been made in the side of the house.

5731

PUBLIC RELATIONS BRANCH
ALLIED CONTROL COMMISSION

PRB 12.

23rd May 1944.

Subject: ACC Journal.

To: Chief Commissioner.

To remind you that we want to publish the journal.

If you do not want to alter my ACC/AMG article, may we publish it as it is?

(Sd)

LIONEL FIELDEN,
Major,
Public Relations Director.

5730

PUBLIC RELATIONS BRANCH
ALLIED CONTROL COMMISSION

PRB 12.

23 May 1944.

The gentle wisp of smoke floating lazily up from the crest of Vesuvius has become a symbol of normality to the officers and men of ACC/AMG located in the area, familiar, homely, reassuring. When on March 13 the ~~mountain~~ ceased smoking and the plume vanished the more observant remarked on its disappearance with some feeling of discomfort and uneasiness. Perhaps too a sense of disappointment; Vesuvius had become "tame" and in some way had let us down. The native population, more familiar with the habits of the monster was definitely worried. They sensed a "brutto tiro" in preparation. Their gloomy anticipation was justified. On 16 March the ~~mountain~~ burst into eruption and lava poured from the crater. In the course of the next four days the molten flow engulfed two villages and menaced several others. Showers of volcanic ash were carried as far away as Bari, the towns and roads from Naples to Salerno were covered with volcanic dust. The mischievous and diversified activities of the monster destroyed homes and crops, raised havoc with communications and presented AMG/ACC with a problem for which the training at Charlottesville, Wimbledon and Tizi-Ouzou had given no specific preparation. The operations of relief, policing and supervision in which many units collaborated under ACC leadership, are, taking the attendant circumstances into consideration, definitely unique in the annals of war.

volcano

According to Prof Giuseppe Imbo, the occupant of the Royal Observatory who followed the progress of the phenomenon from his post of vantage half way up the slope, the origin of the eruption was not serious. A collapse of the cone had led to compression within the crater. Built up over a period of several days this accumulated violence finally exploded and sent a river of lava pouring down the western slope. In its early stages the stream was some 150 feet in width and 40 feet deep. The rate of advance was at first 4 yards per hour but by Monday evening, it had accelerated to 150 yards per hour. The estimated output of lava at the peak of activity was 500,000 cubic metres per hour. The "smoke phase" set in after noon of 21 March and lasted 104 hours; it was during this period that smoke, mud, dust and ashes were borne to the Adriatic. At this stage there was some fear of another collapse of the cone with a consequent eruption but the smoke gradually subsided and the cone held firm; by 24 March the danger was over - until the next time.

Seismic

By the morning of the 20th the lava stream had reached San Sebastiano, Masse di Somma and Cercola, but AMG had got there first. On the 19th Lt Col Kincaid, Provincial Commissioner, Naples Province, had organized two reconnaissance parties, one consisting of himself and Lt Col Warner, Public Safety Officer, exploring the northwest slope in the region of the Observatory and another, Lt Col Guy Warren and Capt Lummus,

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additional vehicles were supplied by PBS 57 Area and British and American Air Corps Units. Lt Col Poletti, Regional Commissioner, Region III, after a conference with Lt Col Kincaid, ordered the evacuation of Cercola for 0600 hours the following morning.

During the early morning of the 21st the most intensive phase was reached. The lava engulfed San Sebastiano and Massa between 0300 and 0700 hours and by 0600 hours, the time set for evacuation the stream was only some 2,000 yards from the main street of Cercola. An emergency HQ of Naples Province was set up in the town, some 200 trucks were called into service and food was sent in by the provincial Civilian Supply Section. The Red Cross collaborated with a soup kitchen. All in all the population of Cercola was swollen by some 500 Allied Officers and men, not including Carabinieri, civilian helpers and more or less official visitors lured by their comrades' graphic accounts of the scenes at San Sebastiano and Somma. Refugees from Cercola were cared for by setting up food distribution centres in San Giorgio and Pollena-Trocchia.

The lava stream did not however enter Cercola. Perhaps the intervention of San Gennaro, powerless to save Massa and San Sebastiano, prevailed, possibly the completeness of AMG preparations frustrated the enemy. By March 22 the intensity of the eruption had subsided and the movement of the lava had ceased. Over 600 people had lost their homes in Massa and the small town of San Sebastiano had 2,150 homeless. Spectators of the relentless, impersonal, almost casual force of destruction that crushed the stone walls of houses and churches with the effortless nonchalance of a boa-constrictor cracking the ribs of a goat will not soon forget the awesomeness of the sight.

The cessation of the flow of lava did not however mean the end of all danger. The ensuing shower of ash and dust further clogged the highways already encumbered by cinders and lapilli and, piling up on the flat roofs of the houses broke down many of them and caused over 20 deaths. The clearing of roofs became a major operation. There was also some fear of gas though this proved to be somewhat exaggerated.

Transportation was indeed a problem throughout the whole period of the operation. The black lapilli covered the highways to the depth of four feet and in many places on the road drifting increased the depth. The roads were impassable for civilian cars and were formally closed to all but military traffic on March 22. This transferred to ACC authorities the burden of supplying food and forage and ACC officers aided in supervising. 57 Area supplied trucks, bulldozers and scrapers to clear the roads. Finance Officers of Region III toured the communes and advanced sums of money to aid those in need. If ACC/AMG carried the responsibility of direction, credit must also be given to the local authorities and charitable organizations which cooperated with energy and intelligence. Perhaps the MFs of PBS 57 Area and of Gp Capt Culley's HQ RAF deserve a special word of praise. Under their vigilance the whole area was well policed and practically no looting took place. Testimony of the appreciation of the Italians may be found in the messages of gratitude, including him

OK - 7

5726

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The aftermath of the eruption is still visible. The main highways have been cleared but the back roads and the sidewalks of many towns are still covered with black cinders. The crops have suffered somewhat though not as badly as first feared and in the long run the volcanic matter will contribute to the fertility of the fields.

At present writing, some two months after the event, the fields along the Naples-Salerno highway are lush and green, the villages - and apparently the villagers - have regained their composure and Vesuvius himself has gone back to sleep. But we look at him now

with a difference, we are no longer inclined to take his somnolence for granted nor to disparage his temerity. The old familiar affection in our glance now mingles with new emotions and ~~and suspicion~~ - suspicion perhaps and, if truth be told, a new respect.

But let us be fair to the monster. If its misbehavior added to the worries of the Regional and Provincial Commissioners, if it disturbed the noiseless tenor of the ways of Finance and Agricultural Officers, if it swept into its net the members of guileless sub-Commissions such as Education, it also presented Naples and adjoining area with one of the most grandiose spectacles in the world. All phases of the phenomenon were picturesque and magnificent. The rivers of fire, flowing down the mountain, lacing it with golden bands, the huge pillar of flame reaching 15 and 20 thousand feet into the sky and visible for miles about the countryside, these are sights which defy description. On the night of the 23rd the display of celestial fireworks was surely unique. A spectator in Resina could look at the column of fire shooting into the air to the accompaniment of literally earth-shaking roars, while around and about the crimson plume lightning flashes were visible. To his right dark and massive clouds of smoke blotted out the stars and the horizon, and looking to his left he could see a flurry of tracers in the sky above Naples, for the enemy too found the spectacle irresistible and had come over for a closer view, surely a tribute to its magnetism and to man's deep-seated rubberneck instinct.

Nor was the sight less striking by day. In the later phase particularly the thick, iron-black smoke rose to a formidable height before being broken up and nudged to the south-east by the wind. So solid were its convolutions as to seem not so much smoke and soot as that type of rococo stucco so dear to the builders of 17th century Jesuit churches. Even out of sight of the volcano its manifestations were impressive. A heavy, continuous shower of black ash fell and blanketed the towns from Pompeii to Battipaglia. The sun was obscured and the weird half light had an unearthly pictorial quality of its own. The steady flow of cinder, the muted footsteps of the pedestrians, the brisk sound of shovelling were all reminiscent of a heavy snow fall. Indeed one American officer remarked to a British colleague: "Black Snow, what a title for a novel!" To which the answer was: "Yes, you could sell it in America with the title: The Mountain Means Business" ... It did indeed - for all of us in the area.

(Account based on orders, reports and sitreps as summarized by Capt Owen of the FRB, Final Report on the Vesuvius Operation published by Lt Col Kincaid, and some personal experience).

PUBLIC RELATIONS BRANCH
ALLIED CONTROL COMMISSION

PRB 12.

16 May 1944.

Subject: ACC Journal.

To: Chief Commissioner.

Have you by any chance finished the article on ACC which I wrote for you about 3 months ago? I am very keen to put the Journal in hand as there is quite obviously a demand for more facts about ACC and we have quite a lot of articles laid by now.

(Sd)

LIONEL FIELDEN,
Major,
Public Relations Director.

PUBLIC RELATIONS BRANCH
ALLIED CONTROL COMMISSION

PRB 12.

4 May 1944.

Dear Major Simson,

I am abjectly and suitably ashamed of myself for not having thanked you before this for your letter of April 20th and the article which you kindly wrote. There have been a lot of trivial fireworks going off round me and somehow I haven't had the opportunity of reading the article carefully until now.

Parts of it - especially the beginning - I like immensely: but I am inclined to think that it has got a bit out of shape since I asked you to rewrite it. The latter part seems to me to need more actual illustration and less generalization.

The proposed journal is something of a headache. Good writing is usually controversial (at least in the context of this present) and I don't yet know how much controversy I am going to get past the pundits. With your permission I shall keep the article until I have the whole project further advanced, and I may then ask you to add to it or modify it according to the dictates I receive from on high.

Meanwhile many thanks for your help.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd) Lionel Fielden

Major H.B. Simson,
Principal Provincial Officer,
Northern Division, ACC,
Naples Province,
Santa Maria C.V.

5725

Quarterly Journal 1.

1. A.C.C. (General)
2. Veterans.
3. Education (Arked Smith)
4. Local port (Simson)
5. Fine Arts.
6. Day in the life (H.G. (Barber))
7. Lush.
8. New legislation.
9. Poetry.
- 10.

ALLIED CONTROL COMMISSION
~~ALLIED MILITARY GOVERNMENT~~

II. Q. 28 VIA SIRTORI
ST. MARIA C. V.
(REAR OF CATHEDRAL)

NORTHERN DIVISION.
NAPLES PROVINCE.
SANTA MARIA C. V.

20th April, 1944.

Subject - ACC Journal.

To - Major Lionel Fielden,
Director of Public Relations, ACC H.Q.

I was somewhat overwhelmed by the generous statements in your letter of 7th April. This new periodical should contain matter of general interest to all concerned but it is a great pity we cannot let go on the political side because so much hinges round that subject in Italy and I am equally certain much good would result in ventilating the business. I often wonder if London, Washington and Moscow really know conditions as they exist here?

I hope you have great success with your Journal.

My Area is a large one and I have no assistant.

I am sorry I have not got this article down to you sooner. I made a determined effort last night and rattled it off on the typewriter finishing about midnight. It is not as long as you perhaps wanted but if there is any particular portion you would like enlarged let me know. There is a vast amount of material available in this work but unfortunately some of it becomes mixed with criticism. Anyway I shall be glad to help any time.

H.B. Lindsay

Major

Principal Provincial Officer.

5729

Thoughts on Italy.

On reflection, one wonders how far the old order of things in Italy has sunk into the minds of Italians. In speaking to old and young, it is realised that the aged remember the days of greater freedom but the younger generation have known only one form of control and to them there would appear nothing very serious or detrimental about it. Such an aspect is typical of youth and particularly so in Italy where youth was indulged.

There is an old Chinese saying "To govern perfectly it is not necessary to govern too much". Continual admonitions never do good and a spate of orders, frequently interpreted individually, therefore contradictory or misconstrued, have added to confusion.

In many ways Italy is a land of make believe; a land of romance, opera, lightheartedness with an easy generous climate. The people have accepted conditions easily and equally light heartedly and have set out to exploit prevailing conditions.

To lack any sense of humour, or to be without this fundamental safety valve, is to court disaster. In our more occidental eyes the insanitary conditions in every respect in Italy are abhorrent and we come to the belief the Italians are immune to diseases which would cause epidemics in our own countries. It may be again just an easy climate and a generous sun. The male Italian illuses and overloads his work animals and prefers to see his women working hard while he supervises presumably in contemplative study. In many directions he is a true descendent of the old Roman. Time is still of no particular value, and a lengthy discussion in which all take full parts, and each comprehends the other, is a mystifying wonder. This is especially diverting when the stranger seeks a particular road and finished up wondering whether he is in the Nether or Celestial regions or merely in Italy where all join in the laugh.

A Civil Affairs Officer's job is constructive as well as directive. His job is also highly dignified and to be an example to the Italians and he should work at his correct level. In the earlier days it was clearly indicated that for the time being the Italians had lost their balance and we had to take up the directive for which they were extremely thankful. To give a share in the management of local affairs has always

(2)

seemed the proper method of creating order and progress.

In Castellammare last September when the tide of battle was still within sight of the City, where there was much confusion combined with relief, mental and physical, in their regained freedom, a City Council was selected and their respective duties suggested to them. The Council did the work and in a remarkably short space of time, got down to facts by encouragement and guidance, and soon there was price control, assessing of food stores for local needs for a period and a possible exportable quantity for the anticipated needs of Naples, the restoration of public utilities and the like. The officer in charge was a kind of benevolent referee from interest and duty on his side, to courtesy on the other or maybe even to make sure it was not all a dream.

Councils have been set up in various other cities and towns and much depends on local officers as to the success of Councils. It should be remembered that a considerable gap existed between the period of Councils and the landing of the Allies last year. Sometimes the local officer was not sure of his ground and the Council became moribund, dependent on AMG for everything. Sometimes the agile Italian mind, politically inclined, seized the opportunity to try and gain control. If the local officer believed that Italy could exist without him - many appeared to think otherwise - and his advice and encouragement sound and logical, then Councils succeed. It was quickly realised by many that in giving a share in Communal management, a measure of stability was instilled into the Italian mind awaking pride in self and country without which Italy cannot succeed.

A further step in sharing management was to institute periodic Municipal Conferences attended by Mayors and their Secretaries. Social intercourse was encouraged and items of local government were and are discussed for these Conferences still take place but always consonant with AMG directives. The first such Conference met last December and elected its executive of Chairman and six members.

At the beginning of January local Italian Courts were either open or about to open. In encouraging the ceremonious openings of Courts the High Court officials with local lawyers treated such occasions seriously and planned their judicial restoration with great and fitting deliberation.

5721

(3)

The next step in the resumption of civil life was to get the schools going. War devastation and troop occupation often prevented the reopening of schools. Enterprise overcame many difficulties and by utilising other buildings, or working double shifts, that is to say, so many scholars had four hours schooling in the mornings and another batch had a similar period in the afternoons.

In St. Maria C.V. there existed a High School with a considerable number of students of both sexes 16-20 years of age. The school was occupied by the Army. This impressionable age was something to be taken advantage of. I arranged a gathering of the students together with the Director of Education and gave a talk on "Citizenship and Their Future". There was a very clear interest and it did much to allay feelings of frustration by delay. Later I discussed the subject with the Director of Education and the Head of the Monastery where a part of that institution was set aside temporarily for the High School.

A critic of these reflections might say why bother about Councils and Education when food, work, and so on are considered more important. The reply is that generally speaking there was a considerable quantity of food about in the country, hoarded admittedly but nevertheless present, and by encouragement it was produced. During the latter part of last year it was physically almost impossible to ship food to Italy and economically it was sound policy to make Italy feed itself as far as possible. Idle hands make for mischief and a full belly plus idle hands can make the position worse. In setting up Councils, representative of all classes, they were setting out to reorganise and to begin rehabilitation.

There were and still remain a number of contrasts the chief of these being the differences existing between densely populated urban areas and the remote rural communities. These latter live almost self-contained isolated lives and they provide the bulk of their own needs including homespun wool for garments. To this type of people AMG officers have to apply directives rather differently. They need not be neglected because of their economic circumstances of a better variety than the town dweller who needs hustling along more certainly - the first is thrifty and the latter improvident.

The shocks of war seemed to be less felt by the rural population or it may be they recovered more quickly

(4)

but the fact remains that within a few days of the passing of battle conditions the people were back in their fields again apparently indifferent and forgetting. Many became casualties from mines but this not deter them from a determination to get the land tilled.

Officers are instructed not to discuss politics. The warning is wise lest indiscretions involve them too deeply. Politics comprise a wide field and an interesting one and those politics of Italy are and will become more interesting as time goes on. There are undoubtedly many self seekers in the Italian political ranks quite unfitted for power or control.

Officers cannot completely avoid hearing or knowing some forms of political opinion but the diplomatically minded officer hears but says little. I feel it is an officer's duty to keep himself informed politically, otherwise he may emulate Nero in miniature. I have met several political committees and while in general they claim to be representative of all parties, and to present a correct exhibition to the Allies, I feel that as the appropriate moment approaches, the revolving wheel will disintegrate and contentious arguments finally decided upon by the strongest section of political opinion.

A political committee in a rural community is often simple or elementary in expression and they are more concerned with personal affairs measured in terms of food, freedom, and equity. There are, on the other hand, other political bodies numbering many intelligent, educated men, who know some of the answers but lacking the environment or the apprenticeship. It is by example and intelligent discussion we can hope to change Italy.

Following the entry of the Allies into Italy we exhibited a somewhat curious generosity. Italians were somewhat hysterical in their relief and we commiserated; they tentatively stretched out but later seized with avidity the golden opportunity.

Italy is a defeated nation now tied up in the nebulous term cobelligerency, whatever it may mean, but which in many places seems to indicate equality. We unfortunately did not take a firm line dealing equitably but always remaining a little aloof. The Italians required their lesson but instead we indulged them. Sometimes as cobelligerents we appear to have followed the scientists course of individualism and avoided

5710

(5)

the full collaboration so necessary for the consumation of our ideas. The light sometimes reflected from the gold fish in the translucent waters of intrigue have overshadowed the more sinister forms of quid pro quos.

Sometimes I think we waste time on comparatively unimportant things. I do not feel that those in the black market especially when on any scale or in food should escape but Italy is not the lone sanctuary of the profiteer or the blackmarketeer. Fixing prices of luxury goods or barring shops is a youthful form of illadvised retaliation because individuals have complained of being overcharged. No one is compelled to buy and if fools will buy then the folly is theirs. Perhaps the Italians are playing on an economic principle that that which can bear most shall pay most. If troops with more money than commonsense, and a determination to spend money, cannot exercise judgment, then the fault is theirs entirely.

Transforming Italy is an absorbing experiment. We are somewhat too strong in cooks at the present time and the ingredients are becoming rather mixed but this phase will pass and then we can turn to the good that is in Italy, bend it, guide it, and turn it out eventually a better article. Patience, firmness, dignity, and complete equity in all things will bring about that respect due to the master.

5718

ALLIED CONTROL COMMISSION
~~ALLIED MILITARY GOVERNMENT~~

H. Q. 28 VIA SIRTORI,
ST. MARIA C. V.
(REAR OF CATHEDRAL)

NORTHERN DIVISION,
NAPLES PROVINCE,
SANTA MARIA C. V.
12th April 1944.

Subject : A.C.C. Journal.
To : Major Fielden D.P.R. A.C.C.

Thank you for your letter of 7th April.
I shall be glad to assist you and will get up an article
on the lines you suggest.

H.A. Lindsay
Major
Principal Provincial Officer.

5717

PRO file

REAR HEADQUARTERS
ALLIED CONTROL COMMISSION
APO 394
Education Subcommittee

ED/TV3/tjr


ED/6-4/ACC

12 April 1944

SUBJECT: ACC Journal.

TO : Major LIONEL FIELDEN, Public Relations Branch.

1. I am happy to help on the Journal enterprise, if it be not a matter of mere days.
2. It will take me ten days or so to do the thing as I would have it; and then, I apprehend, it will take me another week to do the thing over as you would have it.
3. By the end of this month, through the delicate collaboration so congenial to both our natures, I think we might get a worthy article on education, even if not noteworthy.
4. Are the gods so temporally forbearing?


T. V. SMITH
Lt. Col., A.U.S.
Director of Education.

5716

PUBLIC RELATIONS BRANCH
ALLIED CONTROL COMMISSION

PRB 12.

10 April 1944.

Subject: ACC Journal.

To: Colonel T.V. Smith, Education Sub-Commission.

Some time ago the Chief Commissioner approved an idea of mine that we should publish a regular journal - monthly or quarterly - and I have now got almost enough material for the first number. I want to be documentary but not too heavy: it is a means of getting across stuff which the ordinary correspondents aren't inclined to use but which would be used and appreciated, I think, by many sections of the Allied Press if such a journal was in circulation. I wonder if, at your leisure, you would write me an article of about 4,000 words on the general picture of education, what we found when we came, what we have done and the difficulties we have run into. It is one of our most interesting subjects and I know you would make it fascinating.

(Sgd)

LIONEL FIELDEN,
Major,
Director of Public Relations.

5715

PUBLIC RELATIONS BRANCH
ALLIED CONTROL COMMISSION

7 April 1944.

PBB 12.

Subject: ACC Journal.

To: Major H.S. Simon, Santa Maria.

I have been given the very interesting "Thoughts on Italy" which you sent me. It is the best document I have seen from ACC and I wonder if I might ask you to take it one step further. The Chief Commissioner approved some time ago an idea of mine to publish an ACC quarterly. I felt and feel that this would be well worth while, because there is a vast amount of material which, owing to length and complexity, is not used by correspondents and does not get into the Press. There is a great deal of expert knowledge in ACC and no doubt a lot of hidden talent such as yours. I am now trying to get together a first number, which would include an article on ACC (generally by the CC), a full description of the Vowvins business, articles on food, education and fine arts, a story from the CC in the front-line area, and even perhaps some verse (we have some talent, I think). The CC has said that politics must be barred, which I regret, but your last paragraph is excellent on this point. I wonder if you would consider enlarging your "Thoughts on Italy" - say to about 3 or 4 thousand words, that is, about twice its present length or a bit more. If you don't feel so inclined I could include it as it is, but I feel that you have much more to say.

(Sd)

LENNY PERDEN,
Major,
Director of Public Relations.

5714

PUBLIC RELATIONS BRANCH
ALLIED CONTROL COMMISSION

Ref: PRB 12.

5 April 1944.

Subject: Monthly Journal.

To: ~~CAO, Teano.~~ *Main Burbury, CAO, Fifth Army.*

Dear Burbury,

Many thanks for your letter. I showed it to the General, who was pleased. It is good to know that something happens sometimes.

I have a suggestion to make to you which you may loathe. I'm keen to start a monthly journal of the ACC. There is so much to be said - stuff which never gets into the papers - on the detailed difficulties (and successes) of matters like Education, Labour, Food, Fine Arts, as well as odd excitements like Vesuvius, and I believe we could make it a useful and valuable record. I don't want it to be too dry and I want stuff from the front. You have been at Minturno and Teano and now somewhere else; could you write me something - either in the form of "A day in the life of a CAO" or as a straight description of your three places and their problems. No need to take a lot of trouble over the writing: I'll do the donkey work of that if you give me the facts. I'm sure you have material for a very good story - with humour! - and I should be awfully grateful if you could set your hand to the task in spare moments, if you have any.

Yours

(Sgd) Lionel Fielder

5712

Yeano

21st March 44

Dear Fielding -

Once again I
Am on the move, this time to
C.E.F. & S't Thomas à
Conce et Gallucio.

Very many thanks for
all you did regarding my
hospital here. Two days after
I had spoken to you I had
two Finance people here,
who have produced the
money, & my Hospital is on
the way to being rebuilt. 5712

It gives me immense

Satisfaction I feel that you
have really accomplished some-
thing worth while, & I can
honestly say that I feel I have
now done something for the
fellow little town.

Cheers. Good luck &
Many thanks

Yours
Hornely. *[Signature]*

C.C.

This is a letter from the
C.A.O. at Teano, the
town clerk which I spoke
to you a few days ago.
You may like to know that
your intervention had such
rapid and good effect.

L. Riddler.

Good. Thanks
Wm 2-4-41

PUBLIC RELATIONS BRANCH
ALLIED CONTROL COMMISSION

12
PRB 18

5 April 1944

Subject: Monthly Journal.

To : Major de Wald.

I think I have spoken to you about an article for Fine Arts for our proposed monthly journal of the ACC. Will you really get down to this? I very much want to get this journal going soon. It is up to you to decide what ground should be covered--I think myself that in a first issue there should be a general article giving a perspective of difficulties met and work accomplished in Sicily and Italy.

(SAL) Lionel Fielden, Major
Director of Public Relations

5710

PUBLIC RELATIONS BRANCH
ALLIED CONTROL COMMISSION

PRB 12.

27 March 1944.

Subject: Monthly Journal.

To: Lieutenant-General Sir N. Mason MacFarlane, Chief Commissioner.
(through Secretary-General).

There is now quite enough material to take the first steps for the issue of a regular monthly journal of ACC activities to which you will remember you agreed. The story of the Vesuvius eruption provides one excellent item; and there is plenty of material for articles on the black market, on food supplies, on education, on fine arts, on AMG activities in forward areas, and perhaps on conditions in Sicily. It might be a good thing to include the article which I wrote on ACC if you have modified and amended it to your satisfaction. Something of the kind is badly needed, as I find that there is much confusion about the set-up and functions of ACC and AMG. *May I write the article some more?*

(Sgd) LIONEL FIELDEN,
Major, Director of
Public Relations.

5700

(3)

-12-

PRO, AGO.

Article on ACCLieutenant General Sir M.
Mason MacFarlane

28 Feb

4.

(2)

Herewith the article which you asked me to write and which I have done to the best of my ability. I am not at all satisfied with it, because there are obviously a thousand ways in which one can treat the subject. Perhaps, however, this effort may give you some pointers to knock down and I can write it again as often as you like.

(34) LIONEL FIELDEN,
Major,
PRO, AGO.

5709

PUBLIC RELATIONS OFFICE
 ALLIED CONTROL COMMISSION

26 Feb 44.

Angot, so they say, is Turkish for manure: it can also be made to stand for Amateur or Ancient Military Gentlemen on Tour. So a legend grows. Why does it grow? Quite simply because ACC/AMG has an awkward, slow-moving job which is inevitably overshadowed by the spectacular propinquity of battle. But the spadework of peace, though perhaps dull when compared to the march of victory, needs to be understood if it is to be successful - and not least by the armies which make it not only possible, but also, by their behaviour, easy or difficult.

When the Italy of King Victor Emmanuel and Marshal Badoglio surrendered to the United Nations, the main task of General Mason MacFarlane, Head of the Allied Military Mission which arrived in Italy on September 12, was to convert that Italy into an effective instrument of war against Germany. Note what this implies. It implies a contented people converted to active hostility from previous alliance. A contented people implies a greater measure⁵⁷⁰⁷ of freedom and independence, as well as better conditions of food and life than were experienced before. Italy, it is true, was a beaten enemy and it could be argued that she deserved harsh treatment: against that it had to be remembered, first, that a sullen, rebellious people, however weak, would draw on our manpower for the preservation of law and order; second, that we had made large promises, even printed on Italian banknotes, of freedom from want and fear and freedom of religion and speech; third, that the hesitant satellite nations of Europe, and perhaps Asia, were watching

-2-

eagerly to see what democratic victory would bring, and that our actions in Italy would largely affect their attitude, when the time came for them to hinder or help the advance of the Allied armies.

Armies advancing over large tracts of territory cannot, obviously, continuously deplete their own ranks for the job of occupation: there would soon be no armies left. For the immediate control of areas in the wake of advancing armies it therefore becomes necessary to call in senior age-groups: hence the ancient military gentlemen who are, after all, well-fitted by experience and expert knowledge for the administrative side of government. The task of military government is the immediate restoration of law and order, housing, supplies, medicine and transport. The restoration of territory and responsibility - which is an essential condition of our promises of freedom - is not the business of military government, although the success or failure of such government may hasten or impede the process.

So long as Italy was no more than a beaten and disorganized enemy, military government, or AMG, had, therefore, a clear field and a comparatively straightforward, though by no means easy, task. But as soon as the Badoglio Government declared war on ⁵⁷⁸⁸ Germany, and Italy was given co-belligerent status, a different train of events was set in motion. Italy was to "work her passage". This meant that machinery must be started through which, without endangering the war effort and indeed with the aim of assisting it, self-government would be restored as quickly as circumstances permitted to the Italian people. Thus was born the Allied Control Commission, responsible for seeing that the

/ Italian

-3-

Italian Government, loyally carried out the terms of the Armistice, but not handling (like AMG) the administrative and executive functions of the Italian governmental machine. At first the ACC, working under General Joyce from Brindisi and limited in its functions to "King's Italy" (which had never come under military government), was distinct from AMG; later, with the return of General Mason MacFarlane and the transfer of the greater part of Southern Italy to the Italian Government, the two organizations were welded into one. South of the Salerno-Bari line ACC keeps its advisers to the Italian administration advisers who - if all goes well - will be withdrawn gradually as time goes on; north of that line and up to the combat areas, AMG functions under the control of ACC. And the job of ACC/AMG, as General MacFarlane has put it, is "to take off General Alexander's shoulders the necessity for looking over his shoulder": in other words, to be responsible, directly or indirectly, for the life and progress of Italy behind the lines.

It is very easy to argue that this is all hokey and that Italy is, in fact, under military government and will remain so, whatever fancy names may be employed. Actually that isn't true: in the first place, while it always is possible to revert to out-and-out military government, it is neither easy nor desirable to ⁵⁷⁰⁵ do so; secondly, nobody can yet say how far the work of ACC is - in an unspectacular way - gradually restoring democratic self government in Italy, and thus laying the first European foundations of a stable and enduring peace.

That, of course, is not a monopoly of ACC/AMG, which is only a part of the whole Allied organization. The tendency to regard

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it as something separate, a kind of watertight compartment, is mischievous. The work of AGO/AMG must be interwoven with, and depend on, that of combat troops in the forward areas, of second-line troops and lines of communications in occupied territory behind the lines, and of organizations such as the PBI and IBC at the base. Moreover AGO/AMG is itself turn guided and controlled on the one hand by the C-in-C, who is ex-officio its active President (General MacFarlane being the Deputy President), and on the other by the Advisory Council for Italy.

The Advisory Council represents political control. It has six members, American, British, Soviet, French, Yugoslav and Greek. It meets to consider and make recommendations on behalf of the United Nations for long-term economic and political decisions. It is not actively concerned with immediate details or methods of administration and does not necessarily hold its meetings in Italy. Its members may be said to hold a watching brief in respect of the political and economic progress of Italy. It is, for instance, the Advisory Council which recommends the time and extent of the transfer of territory to Italian administration.

Thus it will be seen that AGO/AMG is only one link in the ⁵⁷⁸⁷ chain of combat-occupation-control-transfer which runs from the Allied Governments through the Commander-in-Chief right down to the man in the front line. And it is essential that officers and men of the fighting forces should realize the vital part which they inevitably play in the business of creating a world to replace the world of Fascism and Nazism. Military necessity is ruthless, but once military necessity has

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passed, ruthless ness conflicts absolutely with the promise of a free democratic world. Firm control is essential: but firm control may be interpreted in a totalitarian or democratic sense. And the interpretation is not easy. Desecration of monuments and works of art, destruction or sequestration of property, acts of discourtesy or contempt may all - when military necessity does not justify them - add up to an impression, which may go far beyond the confines of Italy, that Allied conquest and occupation is no better than Axis.

As AMG takes over administration from the combat troops as they move forward, so Italian administration, guided by ACC, takes over from AMG as things settle down. And this process is accelerated or retarded by the competence and stability of the Italian Government. If that government functions well and has the confidence of the Italian people, then the transfer of territory to Italian rule can be made swiftly, following on the armies' advance: and AMG becomes (if things go well) a briefer and briefer interlude of direct administration. ACC therefore fills the picture more and more in the quality of adviser to the Italian government.

Thus it will be seen that the ACC is a kind of shadow 5702 government. It is divided into four main sections - Administrative, Economic, Political and Regional Control. Under Administration fall the sub-commissions dealing with Public Safety, Public Health, Property Control, Law, Education, and Fine Arts. Under Economics fall those dealing with Agriculture, Industry, Labour, Food, Public Works, Electricity, Shipping, Transport and Finance. The Political Section represents

/ the Foreign Office

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represents the Foreign Office and State Department link with the ACC. Under Regional Control come all Civil Affairs Officers, and questions concerning their administration and establishment, as well as the responsibility for all refugees and "displaced persons". And outside these four main sections are the "independent" sub-commissions dealing with the Italian air, land and sea forces, and with telecommunications and Posts. Thus the whole field of government is covered, each sub-commission advising its corresponding department in the Italian Government as well as controlling its particular activity in areas still under military government. In this way - and no other way is conceivable - it is possible to have both full knowledge and firm control of Italian administration, while nevertheless giving to that administration the fullest possible scope to justify itself by its actions and gradually to "work its passage home".

Two questions immediately jump up. First, does this mean that the ACC supports the present Italian Government? Second - arising out of it, and a question frequently asked - does ACC support, or at least not always oppose the ^{appointment or} retention of Fascists or ex-Fascists? The answer to the first is that the ACC does not "support" any Italian Government, but it does, and is in duty bound to, support Italian administration. In other words, while the ACC is not interested in the personnel or party politics of any ⁵⁷⁰⁹ Italian government, it is vitally interested in the preservation of law and order by whatever government is in power. It cannot permit disorder in a country through which military lines of communication run. Moreover, the Armistice - whose observation the ACC must watch - was signed between the United Nations and

/the ^{Governor} United

-7-

the Government of Victor Emmanuel and Badoglio; and until that Government fails to carry out the terms, or another government shows itself better able to do so, and better able to command the support of the Italian people, any change may be more of a hindrance than a help.

It has been said, and no doubt will be said again, that some members of the present Italian Government, and also the King himself, were or are of Fascist sympathies. Immediately such an accusation is made, it becomes necessary to define the term "Fascist". Is it to include every man or woman who ever took any office under the Fascist regime, even if (and there are many such cases) they filled such office for a brief period fifteen or twenty years ago, and renounced it? Is it to include those who signed a treaty with, and were thus recognized by, the United Nations? Is it to include, for instance, all the Italian personnel of the Italian army, navy and air force now fighting with us?

The difficulty of answering these questions satisfactorily may be illustrated by many ACC/AMG problems. The Educational Sub-Commission, for instance, was faced with the task of "purging" some 20,000 teachers, and also, be it noted, with the duty of restarting education without delay. You cannot create 20,000 trained teachers overnight, and in point of fact 20,000 trained "anti-fascist" teachers - that is to say, trained teachers who had resisted Fascism tooth and nail - did not exist. 2,000 did not exist. Nor was it particularly easy to fasten an accusation of "Fascism" on to, say, a distinguished old gentleman who was an

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In genetics and had spent his whole life on the subject. Each one of the 20,000 teachers was, in fact, asked to fill in a form showing his subjects, record, posts, salaries, etc. These records were checked and cross-checked by official government records, old newspapers, special enquiries, and the testimony of colleagues, friendly and unfriendly. Last but not least each was personally interrogated.

This is a long and difficult process, yet experience shows that it is the only way in which "defascistization" can be carried out with justice and decency and the administration of the country carried on during the transition - and it is a transition rather than an abrupt change - from fascism to democracy.

A third question is often asked - why does ACC fail to stamp out the Black Market? People who ask this question should remember that neither democratic America nor homogeneous Britain nor ruthless Germany has succeeded in stamping out the Black Market. When supplies of necessities are short, no measures will entirely prevent the flow of supplies to the point where big money is to be found. And big money is, incidentally, to be found in the Allied armies in Italy. ACC is not idle: not only are the courts busy with Black Market cases, but a special Commissioner has been created with an organization whose sole purpose is to investigate and punish Black Market offences. But in a country where sacks of flour are carried along mountain paths by single individuals to the point where they find a high purchaser, and where you may see people selling their bread rations to the Black Market man round the next corner, the only answer is - supply. And this is the

/ answer

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answer which the Food Sub-Commission of ACC is giving to the best of its ability. In January, 70,000 tons of civilian supplies were landed and distributed; in February the figure was ; and once supply and distribution reach a normal life-supporting figure, the Black Market will automatically be swept out of existence.

Many questions, no doubt, remain; the work of ACC is not easy, and it must accept its share of criticism. But those who criticize should bear in mind the fact that this endeavour to fulfill the promise of democracy in the very midst of war is a historic process without precedent, and upon its methods and development, empirical as they may often inevitably have to be, will depend to a considerable extent the measures to be adopted throughout Europe.

5690

Ref. CC/C/64.

(2)

HEADQUARTERS ALLIED CONTROL COMMISSION
Office of the Deputy President
APO 394

FMM/rj

17th. February, 1944.

MEMORANDUM:

TO: Major Fielden,
Public Relations Officer,
Headquarters, Allied Control Commission.

(1)

Reference your letter of 9th. February.

- This is to confirm what I told you:
- (a) Go ahead with making preparations for the production of a monthly paper on the lines you suggest. Current Italian politics barred.
 - (b) Prepare as soon as possible an article of up to two thousand words for simultaneous publication in "Union Jack" and "Stars and Stripes" explaining in simple language for the benefit of their public the reason for, organisation of, and aims of, ACC/MB..

See (3)



5692

NOEL MASON MACFARLANE,
Lieutenant-General,
Chief Commissioner.

PUBLIC RELATIONS OFFICE
ALLIED CONTROL COMMISSION

①

February 9th 1944

To: Lieut. General Sir N. Mason MacFarlane
From: P.R.O., A.C.C.

I should very much like to enlist your approval of the idea of publishing, under the auspices of the A.C.C., a monthly journal for circulation to Army units - and possibly for translation into Italian also - with the following aims:

1. To explain and describe the work of ACC/AMG.
2. To give some background of Italian politics, history, geography and culture.
3. To carry articles of a general "conduct" nature e.g. reasons for avoiding looting and pilfering, ways of avoiding disease, contrasts in American-British-Russian-Italian customs, value and history of monuments etc.,
4. To carry some statements on war and post-war policy e.g. outstanding speeches in the House of Commons or Congress, articles of special interest appearing in well-known monthlies or weeklies.

I make this suggestion for the following reasons:

(a) AMGOT is thoroughly unpopular with the fighting forces. It is generally thought to consist of elderly inefficient pro-fascist gentlemen. There is practically no channel, and scarcely any attempt has been made, to offset this opinion. The home papers, when they reach the troops at all, tend to criticize military government, usually with very little real knowledge. The Stars and Stripes, Union Jack and other such Army news sheets, are not of a bulk or character to carry articles of a serious or lengthy nature. Yet there is undoubtedly much potential interest (as may be seen even in the letters published in the news

PUBLIC RELATIONS BRANCH
ALLIED CONTROL COMMISSION

27 Mar 1944

PRB 12.

27 March 1944.

Subject: Monthly Journal.

To: Lieutenant-General Sir H. Mason MacFarlane, Chief Commissioner.
(through Secretary-General).

There is now quite enough material to take the first steps for the issue of a regular monthly journal of ACC activities to which you will remember you agreed. The story of the Vesuvius eruption provides one excellent item; and there is plenty of material for articles on the black market, on food supplies, on education, on fine arts, on AMG activities in forward areas, and perhaps on conditions in Sicily. It might be a good thing to include the article which I wrote on ACC if you have modified and amended it to your satisfaction. Something of the kind is badly needed, as I find that there is much confusion about the set-up and functions of ACC and AMG. *May I have the article back now?*

Lionel Fielden
LIONEL FIELDEN,
Major; Director of
Public Relations.

PRB

5096

I think you had better delay a monthly journal until if ever we stabilise again.

Mar 20 1944
6

ALLIED MILITARY GOVERNMENT

INTER OFFICE MEMO

HQ ACC, APO 2
Sec'y Gen.
Rec'd Feb 28 1944
A.B.B.

PRO, ACC.

From: _____

SUBJECT: Article on ACC

FILE No. _____

TO: Lieutenant General Sir N.
Mason MacFarlane

28 Feb 1944

Herewith the article which you asked me to write and which I have done to the best of my ability. I am not at all satisfied with it, because there are obviously a thousand ways in which one can treat the subject. Perhaps, however, this effort may give you some ninepins to knock down and I can write it again as often as you like.

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LICNEL FIELDEN,
Major,
PRO, ACC.

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PUBLIC RELATIONS OFFICE
ALLIED CONTROL COMMISSION

26 Feb 44.

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When the Italy of King Victor Emmanuel and Marshal Badoglio surrendered to the United Nations, the main task of General Mason MacFarlane, Head of the Allied Military Mission which arrived in Italy on September 12, was to convert that Italy into an effective instrument of war against Germany. Note what this implies. It implies a contented people converted to active hostility from previous alliance. A contented people implies a greater measure of freedom and independence, as well as better conditions of food and life than were experienced before. Italy, it is true, was a beaten enemy and it could be argued that she deserved harsh treatment: against that it had to be remembered, first, that a sullen, rebellious people, however weak, would draw on our manpower for the preservation of law and order; second, that we had made large promises, even printed on Italian banknotes, of freedom from want and fear and freedom of religion and speech; third, that the hesitant satellite nations of Europe, and perhaps Asia, were watching

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eagerly to see what democratic victory would bring, and that our actions in Italy would largely affect their attitude, when the time came for them to hinder or help the advance of the Allied armies.

Armies advancing over large tracts of territory cannot, obviously, continuously deplete their own ranks for the job of occupation: there would soon be no armies left. For the immediate control of areas in the wake of advancing armies it therefore becomes necessary to call in senior age-groups: hence the ancient military gentlemen who are, after all, well-fitted by experience and expert knowledge for the administrative side of government. The task of military government is the immediate restoration of law and order, housing, supplies, medicine and transport. The restoration of territory and responsibility - which is an essential condition of our promises of freedom - is not the business of military government, although the success or failure of such government may hasten or impede the process.

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it as something separate, a kind of watertight compartment, is mischievous. The work of ACC/AMG must be interwoven with, and depend on, that of combat troops in the forward areas, of second-line troops and lines of communications in occupied territory behind the lines, and of organizations such as the PBS and IBS at the base. Moreover ACC/AMG is in its turn guided and controlled on the one hand by the C-in-C, who is ex-officio its active President (General MacFarlane being the Deputy President), and on the other by the Advisory Council for Italy.

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5686

PRO

I have read the
bulk of the attached
with relish.

I don't think it
sound to publish this
in our journal
yet.

Wm ²⁶/₆ sp

5885

29 Apr 0200 (after seen
by C.C.)
DFE

Chief Commissioner.

I would like you to see the attached article which Colonel Smith (Education) has written for our proposed journal. I think it is brilliant. — if a bit in the clouds!

I still await, expectantly and anxiously, your edition of my article on ACC. Also your promised foreword in verse?

Speak.

km $\frac{29}{4}$ 21

Fielder.
Major. P.R.O.

REAR HEADQUARTERS
ALLIED CONTROL COMMISSION
APO 394
Education Subcommittee

ED/TVS/tjr

ED/6-4/ACC

27 April 1944

SUBJECT: Article on Education in Italy.


TO : Public Relations Branch.

Dear Major FIELDEN:

Here is an article on education Italy. I have written it from if not on your request for the projected A.C.C. magazine. What of it you can publish, you will know (probably none of Section V). It is the kind of thing which I think would be useful on American public opinion, more useful than statistical facts however the facts be doctored. I have a thought, half-matured, that I might later publish this in my own quarterly (International Journal of Ethics) along with whatever you think it expedient to publish now (if they differ sharply) in order, when it is safe to do so, to illustrate the uses and dis-uses of propaganda as touching the larger issues of education.

At the least you can perhaps use this paper of mine as a means of indicating to me more precisely what you want and can use.

Sincerely,


T. V. SMITH
Lt. Col., AUS
Director of Education

Inclosure.

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WARTIME
PERSPECTIVES ON
EDUCATION IN ITALY

The Allied peoples expect Italy to be re-educated, because they want peace and believe that Italian education has made for war. Democratic re-education of a nation is a sizable problem; so sizable as to loom large even in the perspective of the first half-hundred post-war years. Italy is still at war, however; and the very best that Allied educational authorities can do as battles rage in Italy is to stop the downright mis-education of Italians. That itself is so large an assignment that, while it involves the schools, it far out-runs the influence of the schools. There is great difference between our negative mission, the stopping of mis-education and our people's earnest prayer, the starting of re-education. We should avoid, as far as possible, a discrepancy between the hopes of our Allied peoples at home and the performance of Allied educators in the field. This article intends to bridge the gap of educational information so as to abridge the gap of expectations.

There are two ways, however, of setting about the job. The one is to paint a fine picture of our educational work in Italy. The other is to tell the truth. Telling the truth in wartime is not done, not all the truth at least. The very idea is so quaint, indeed, that one might find half a mind to try it. Yet the fine picture would be more palatable: it would please our own Allied peoples; it might be made to flatter the Italians; and it would feed our enemies on less material for counter-propaganda.

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This "fine picture" of our work for Italian education would begin with a country physically wrecked by war and psychologically frustrated through the

ignominious failure of its own imperial conceit. That country's schools we have re-opened in record time, from kindergartens to universities. Her school buildings we have repaired wherever possible, at least to the extent of a sheltering roof against the elements. We found all elementary textbooks, in lesser or greater part, poisoned with Fascism, devoted to War, and permeated throughout with "the barbarism of glory." These textbooks we have revised, under the guidance of Italian educators themselves. We have printed our revisions under every conceivable physical difficulty. We have distributing to be sold at a low price a quarter of a million of these required texts to the school children of Italy. (This sizable stream will be a flood of more than a million copies before summer ends.) Teachers ground down with fear we have enfreed, restoring to their rights those persecuted by Fascism. The worst Fascists we have purged from the rolls of the teaching profession with keen discrimination for degrees of guilt and high regard for the rights of injured innocence. The Universities we have re-opened, rebuilding wrecked or damaged buildings and doing the best we could with libraries and laboratories. In a word, indeed, we have within the remarkably short time of a half year purified and restored education in Italy to the point that no school facilities are unused for education (many other buildings are also being used) which are not either wrecked beyond early repair, are occupied by either Italian or Allied troops, or are being used urgently to house refugees from the devastation of war. That is the merest outlines of "the fine picture" which might be turned out if the painter were a propagandist.

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In walking around that picture, however, one skirts such ugly stretches that he is driven to flee to the perspective of great distance from the facts in order to keep his picture from jumping out of its enchanted frame at him.

To take an example, embarrassingly askance, the Education Subcommittee has cited in one of its "inspired" reports the number of honorary degrees Italian universities conferred upon Allied officers, mostly education officers. These "honors" were presented as evidence of the gratitude of the Italian people to their conquerors who, disdaining fruits of conquest, chose to become emancipators of the conquered. A "nice picture" that -- educators in uniform taking as "honors" degrees from universities which they as army officers controlled!

There is no space here, even if all facts were available and every danger of counter-propaganda were past, to tell this full story. Two observations will help any reader who knows the ways of the world to guess at the kind of substance behind that shining symbol of 'honors'. One observation is of a certain disappointed University Rector who subsequently spilled over to an Educational Officer in this dramatic vein: 'What did that officer think I gave him the honorary degree for? I'll revoke his honorary degree, I will!' The other observation is of record. It is an order from the appropriate commanding officer of the Allied Control Commission:

....."Italian authorities have been offering honorary academic degrees and honorary ranks to Allied Officers in the A.C.C.... Allied Officers will discourage such offers. Acceptance of them is forbidden just as is acceptance of gifts or other tokens from Italians. The reason must be obvious to all....."

Lest that reason be not obvious to all, any more than it was obvious to certain Allied Educational Officers, let it be here stated as it was put to the Chief Commissioner when the Education Subcommittee came to itself:

....."Our policy should be as scrupulous in competition for deference as in the acquisition of wealth. Our power is compromised, however subtly, in accepting honors from those who could not deny us them, as it would be overtly corrupted if we took money from them. What they as conquered men are not free to withhold, we as free men are not privileged to accept, not as honors."

During the ALGOT days we were indeed dictators enough to have our all but complete way and hardened enough to abide it. If we confessed at all, we con-

fessed to ourselves, forgiving our own sins. To show that this means to be an impartial account, let one other example be cited of our excesses. There was a school official in a certain city whom for reasons of our own (jealousy in part, because we had not been allowed to make the appointment) we wished to be rid of. We feared adverse publicity, however, from the only newspaper in the city, which was run by the school official's brother. So to prepare impunity for our contemplated action, we summoned the newspaper brother, berated him for a foolish letter of recommendation he had written in behalf of another brother, intimidated him, and even threatened him with prison for something he had done or might be about to do. (Adequate reasons could always be found.) The editor took all this rather pathetically, lying down, hardly guessing what we were up to. After all we wore the uniform of a conquering army, and could actually have done all that we threatened.

This part of our story will no doubt be painful to liberal opinion in both England and America; but it is none too early for such opinion to get a realistic basis in education-at-war for its hopes for re-education after the war. It is only as we learn from our sad experience that we are likely to make our experience less sad. Liberal opinion should not expect results too quick, not to say too bright, from foundations laid in war time. Having suggested a thumb-nail sketch of the bright side and less than a thumb-nail picture of the darker side, perhaps we may now try to mix the white and black into a medium no more grey than Truth is grey. Truth, while grey, is seldom thin; and we shall range circumspectly over fears and hopes that pass among all men as 'truths' more true -- to paraphrase an English poet -- than Truth itself --

That pandemonium of the heart,
Which martial prowess does impart,
A kind of truth, a kindling truth.

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Where are the sparks at random sown,
 The spendthrift fire, the holy fire?
 Who cares a damn for truth that's grown
 Exhausted haggling for its own,
 And speaks without desire?

We ourselves shall certainly not speak "without desire," not without tender desire for Italy and not without nostalgic desire for the world which Italian mis-education has done more than its share to wreck. If any educator, read through our account of this 'larger truth' in Italy and finish the reading with both a straight face and a dry eye, he will not have understood all that our words of desire connote.

III

And yet as immediate relief from that portentous forecast, let this be said at once: As war goes, not a great deal of general harm has been done by our mistakes and perpetrations in the name of education. The reason, however, may be more perturbing than the fact is reassuring. The reason for our relative harmlessness is that our general mission was negative, and our acts, so to say, nearly all negations. We were commissioned, that is, to stop the teaching of fascism and anti-Allied propaganda; but we were not specifically authorized to put something in its place. It will shock many liberals to be told that the revised textbooks which we have issued merely combed fascist propaganda out and did not insert one word of propaganda positive to our cause. The obvious reason for this is that we educators are in Italy as soldiers, not as reformers; our main mission has been and is to help win the war by keeping order behind the lines.

Here, as elsewhere, the obvious reason requires a reason. A general reason deeper, however, than war for our restraint in Italy is that the negative is nearly always a more fruitful attitude in society than is the positive. Law is negative as well as war, law at least in democratic lands. To "hinder

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the hindrances" is a sure public path to liberty than "to promote the positive." The great danger to liberty always comes in telling people what to do, thus "making easy simplicity of lives not our own." This difference, indeed, between the positive and the negative, is the fundamental difference between the dictatorships and the democracies. Democracies are negative in prescriptions, dictatorships are positive. For this reason dictators have called themselves "dynamic", us "decadent". But this very reason, rightly understood, constitutes us the peoples "dynamic" for liberty, they dynamic against liberty.

Consider, for instance, how Mussolini had chalked up on every other building in Italy and written into his textbooks the highly positive imperatives: Credere, obbedire, combattere. Consider, further, how that great American document for liberty, the Bill of Rights, begins with a sweeping negative to the effect that "Congress shall make no law"-- no law at all as touching beliefs and few laws as touching major matters of positive moment. The number of things which can be specifically forbidden is in the nature of the case limited; and so the great ocean of life remains positively to be explored after certain paths to the seashore have been interdicted. Slowness in comprehending this general moral principle -- that negations are more hospitable to liberty than affirmations -- explains in germ at least the harm that good men chronically do in the world. To begin by telling people that they must believe is to end by telling them what it is that they must believe. To begin by telling them that nobody shall be allowed to tell them what to believe, or even that they need not believe at all, is to end by each man's treasuring whatever the faith that he has found for himself. If the faiths, thus authentically achieved, agree, then and then only you have a democracy that "democs", or even a religion that "joins" and enjoins. And so it goes:

negation of a few avenues (nobody can think up all of them), opens up all avenues beyond these few, setting a premium upon vision to discover them, ingenuity to develop them, courage to effect them. Affirmations from without spell tyranny within: if in no other way, then by depletion of creative energies through the execution of positive demands.

Our original negative charter in Italy has been lifted into educational statesmanship by a later official declaration of Mr. Cordell Hull. "It would be unwise," says the American Foreign Secretary, "for this Government to undertake to apply, much less impose, a foreign education program or system in any liberated country, or to develop a program for the placement of American teachers in the schools of those countries, or for the preparation of text-books in the United States for use in such schools."

It was this prudence, elevated into a philosophy, which led the present Director of the educational work of the Allied Control Commission, to write down, before he landed in Sicily, this guiding polestar of self-counsel: "Not to straighten the Tower of Learning in Italy, however much that Tower seems to lean." Once our war objective of stopping the positive teaching of Fascism and anti-Allied propaganda in the schools could be accomplished (and this was hardly more than pulling the poison ivy off the 'leaning tower') our overt job was done. We were to start the educational machinery and to stop mis-educational practice. Who, then, was to do the straightening (involved in re-education); and how and how much will they likely do of it? The Italians are to do that job, and they have done nothing yet. But can we leave it for them? We must. "Historical continuity with the past," says our own Justice Holmes, "is not a virtue; it is only a necessity." But can they, will they, re-educate themselves? Who knows? Since, however, we must stand by, -- we would hardly more than muddy the eddies even if we rushed in -- it behooves us to estimate the prob-

abilities so that we shall at least escape the frustration of self-fooling. Understanding of the situation will help us greatly, and it may well prove the only way we can help the Italians. Their schools will become liberal, or not, largely through influences beyond the control of Italian educators, and certainly beyond the reach of us alien educators.

IV

We ask, then, what are the resources of the Italian people for liberty, how are those resources likely to impinge upon the schools and how are those resources likely to be exploited in the schools? In developing perspectives upon these issues, it will be seen that first things both come and stay first: the schools will be kept in the focus of the larger political atmosphere and of the spiritual climate of Italy. Mussolini had taught Italians that "a poor country cannot afford liberty". He probably convinced most Italians that so long as they remained poor, they could not afford liberty; and so they sought empire that they might be rich enough for freedom.

But liberty has many forms and its various names are not always rightly distributed among its forms. In one of its forms, the first and greatest force for liberty, as it is the oldest and latest, is the Roman Catholic Church. This is so because liberty involves order, and the Church is an instrument per excellent for Order in the modern world. It prides itself on this virtue, not without reason and not beyond justice. It not only has, but it also glorifies, hierarchy as its principle of organization. It enshrines this principle sacerdotally, and it recommends it secularly. Now for every man to have his "station" and to know and do its "duties," that is the simplest order and it yields an elementary form of liberty. The Roman Church is allowed by the Concordat of 1929 to prescribe its dogmas as the sole meaning of religion in the elementary textbooks of all the schools for Italian children.

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I

Catholic theology alone is written into the books, and Catholic religion alone is taught in the schools. We have left all that exactly as we found it, not out of any religious motivation; for we have no religious mission in Italy. We have left it as we found it, formally, out of respect for international treaties and, materially, because of the efficiency of Catholicism as an instrument of Order. As AMGOT officials we came to keep order behind the fighting lines for the sake of our fighting men, and the Church was our natural and willing ally. Since every institution sometimes forgets its own strength, it is well to emphasize Order as the functional basis of our common front in Italy with the Catholic Church. Our great need for the Church in Italy makes us take all the more lightly certain misunderstandings of us, especially of us Americans, by the Church.

V

It will be amusing -- though not amusement without a moral -- to turn aside a moment to glance at our recent relations with the Church; for I fancy the wry turn those relations have taken toward American officers is more due to the Church's fear of what it regards the foes of Order than to any dislike it may have for American officers as such. We found in Sicily this ambiguous setting for our educational work. We found Fascism morally defunct through our defeat of the State it had founded. We found Catholicism spiritually triumphant in the schools through a pact made with that now defunct State. Our mission was double, not to say duplex: to extirpate the doctrines of Fascism from educational institutions but to enshrine the doctrines of Catholicism in the schools (as distinct from the universities). This relation between the two was more delicate than it sounds, and more delicate therefore our required job of dissociating them. Religion is likely everywhere to body forth, even if it does not activate, the spirit of the cultural complex known as the State. Deep-

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er than other similarities between Fascism and Catholicism, and deeper than all their many dissimilarities, is their common doctrine of hierarchy as the proper pattern of society, secular and sacerdotal. The rightness of the vertical form of human organization is common to them and constitutes a common derivation for the ideal of Order so close to both of them; and this contrasts sharply with the democratic dogma of a horizontal type of organization that goes with egalitarian ideology from Rousseau through Jefferson. To further complicate our task, the general direction of formal education in any country is that pointed by the country's prevailing religion, because both are in general effects of common causes even if not themselves related as cause and effect.

As educators we were of course happy to discharge our duties under international law, the duty of respecting fully the advantages that Catholicism had wrested from Fascism through high diplomacy in 1929. We were doubly happy to respect it, as we have said, because no soldier could other than welcome such an Organum of Order as the Catholic Church is in a Catholic land. We were content, indeed, and fortunate as soldiers, to be able to accept fully and to work under the Lateran Treaty and the Concordat, but this acceptance introduced complications from the beginning and developed a shadow under which we shall probably work to the end.

The complication was that the Church began at once to try to make absolute the limited ordination it had in 1929 wrested from Fascism. Mussolini early gave the Church a monopoly of religious instruction in elementary schools and later extended this monopoly to secondary education. The Concordat withdrew from the Church the right to maintain schools of its own outside of state inspection, and it withheld rights from the Church as touching universities. (Gentile, the Fascist Minister of Education, had thought that man needs myths and dogmas while young, but that man should outgrow dogmatic religion as he

matures intellectually.)

Pressure began upon us at once as touching the extension of Churchly power beyond what Fascism had granted. High-voiced demands were made upon us, for example, not permit a certain university to be headed by a scholar whom the Church did not approve. (He is now, unprovidentially, Minister of National Education!) This demand we could not accede to in principle, though we have seldom violated it in practice. The Church further demanded, also in access of the Treaty and Concordat, the right to establish new schools and progressively it demanded that its schools be unsubjected to State circumspection. The first part of this demand we acceded to, the latter matured only after we had lost to the Italian State the initiative in decision. Educationally, we acceded to the Church's demands for its own schools because the Church claimed, and we did not go back of their insistent story, that in the heat of the invasion of Sicily some of our Higher Authorities had promised them this right. These complications are in addition to the Church's chronic effort to get money out of the State for Church schools.

The shadow to which earlier reference was made grew out of the Church's noble impartiality of self-preference. We had distributed or were in the process of distributing to teachers, in Sicily, helpful modernistic hints made into a pamphlet by an Italian psychologist under our supervision. Church authorities took violent exception to the pamphlet because the author was anti-clerical (which we knew and so instructed him not to touch religion at all, instructions which he had followed). Exception was also taken, by a delegate from the Vatican Secretariat of State, to our getting rid of Fascism in the schools. The first exception, however, we sustained and satisfied all parties by cancelling the pamphlet and even recalling from the field such 5472 copies as the Church's representatives thought it prudent to demand.

This should have dissipated without a shadow what after all was hardly

more than a tempest-in-the-chalice. But facts, even if happily adjusted, seldom close questions of faith. (How could they?) This minor incident and our quickly surrendered initiative to modernize the schools became the occasion (one would hardly dare guess it to be the cause) for a memorandum from the Vatican Secretariat of State and a report by the Apostolic Delegate in Washington to Cordell Hull both so intemperate in language and so catastrophic in surmises of suspicion that it is prudent not further to tax credence until the documents themselves can be allowed to speak, or rather to shout, for themselves. Political alarms and uncharitable inelegancies apart, the memorandum insisted upon a comparison so invidious between British and American Educators in Italy as to conclude with a demand that all the ranking American educators be withdrawn from the work in Italy. Since there was no known difference in policy between educators of the two nationalities as affecting both the Church's privileged position under international law and our Allied prudence in favoring it as the great custodian in Italy of social Order, the Americans would have wholly laughed off, as almost they did, the invidious allegation at their expense, had it not been for the embarrassing position our Churchly ally in the business of Order thus got itself into. The immediate position the Church got itself into with reference to the American educators is a light symbol (light because no American would take advantage of the situation) of something unquestionably gravid. In the unprovidential evolution of impersonal events, ranking American officers alone are now left in charge of Allied educational effort in Italy! (This is a situation which on general grounds should be corrected as soon as possible, not that it makes or will⁵⁶⁷⁹ make, however, the slightest difference in our determination to do evenhanded justice to religion to Italy.)

VI

There is now another force rising in Italy which lays claim to the custody

of Progress, as the Roman Church to that of Order. In a word, this force is Communism. Since Russia is our ally against Nazism as the Roman Catholic Church is our ally for Order in Italy, we are ourselves caught between two friends. The embarrassment is not chiefly ours, for we are friends to both ideals and know how, or think we know how, to reconcile the ideals. The major predicament is to the Church; for even here in its ancient homeland, its friends, yea, its children, who would never think of denying its effectiveness as an agency of Order, seem to distrust it profoundly as an instrument of Progress. Else how such widespread Communism out of such universal Catholicism? Communism has gained the initiative in Italy, and is bidding for a monopoly of the symbols of Progress. And this is no smiling matter for the Church. It is a body blow, a leveling thrust at the very principle of Hierarchy. Indeed, the readiest explanation of the invidiousness against Americans, already mentioned, is that Catholic authorities have grown jittery and in laying about them ~~then~~ would run their friends through in haste to be at their enemies. This is understandable but it is neither prudential nor praiseworthy.

When our Allied need for Order in Italy is over (and after we Allies are gone home), Italy's need for Order will be intensified. If Italians turn for their Progress to those who make a religion of the belief that great and lasting Progress is possible only through disorder (revolution), the Prophet of Order may well grow to be without honor in his own house. We make bold to speak of this in advance, because it is of fundamental concern to us as democratic Allies and no less to us as educators. As agents of democracy we are prepared to mediate between our friends to the Right and to the Left; because we believe equally in Order and in Progress. As educators, we think we have achieved a technique of gaining the one without forfeiting the other. We Americans are, like the British, for orderly change which spells Progress; but we are for it through evolutionary means, letting liberty, as the English poet

says, "settle down from precedent to precedent." We Anglo-Americans have indeed together and separately achieved a technique of swinging from right to left, and from left to right, without liquidating the center as we swing. Through our respect for constitution and our patience to abide parliamentary devices, we have in truth "institutionalized the very principle of revolution" and have thus in our own lands made Order dynamic and Progress peaceful. As educators we are habituated at home to the process of letting this social environment seep into the minds of our students until the schools themselves become an agency of Progress through institutions of Order. We are estopped as democrats from trying to force our mediation upon other peoples, estopped as much by the certainty of foredoomed failure as by a devotion to the principle that each people has the right no less deep than the necessity to find its own way out of its spiritual difficulties. Therefore our strategic negativity in Italy.

VII

Our two peoples back home are sympathetic with this forbearance but they grow impatient because they are intermittently drawn into war, which free peoples hate and liberal peoples despise, by other peoples' refusal when left alone, like the Italians, to use their independence for their own emancipation. We Anglo-Americans will both go home to a people who will demand of us reasons for our not having re-educated Italy and for not having democratized the younger generation in the process. What hope can we hold out to our own peoples that Italy is on its way? Certainly not much hope in our time if the outcome in Italy of this War is to be a war between two religions, Catholicism and Communism, each of whom shows itself equally sectarian by regarding the other as Anti-Christ. There might be hope if they could come together, the Church content, so to say, to make the Sign of the Cross over a communized social order or the

Soviets content to implement as its economic program the liberal doctrine of Pope Pius instead of insisting upon the Gospel according to St. Marx. If this sound whimsical, it is not so to fear catastrophe for either Order or Progress until the same social organ can symbolize both, as Commons and Congress do in Anglo-Saxony. We British and Americans have indeed wedded the two ideals through the ^{cooperative} / procedures of parliamentary conflict.

VIII

Our positive helpfulness to Italy is severely limited, not only by our prudence and forbearance, but finally by two great obstacles which only Italy can solve and which she can solve, if at all, only with patience and courage. The most obvious for peace is the population problem and the most important for Progress is some softening of the principle of Hierarchy.

As touching the first problem, Italy not only has more children than she can educate but they grow into more men and women than she can accommodate. During the Nineteenth Century, through a coincidence of interests, North America and especially the United States became in part Italy's safety valve against her fecund germ plasm. Industrialism and agrarian reclamation took up some of the slack under Fascism. South America may help some after the war. But it is a problem never solved until it solves itself, and the only stable way to solve over-population is to stop over-populating. There is historic irony in the fact that the Church, custodian of Order, is everywhere in Italy credited with keeping open this running sore. 5669

We call it what it is, "a running sore." A chronic pressure of population upon natural resources has been and will probably go on being the surest continuing excuse for if not indeed provocation of war. It is doubly potent because other solutions than war to over-population are in turn themselves made means to war. For, summarily, when a modern nation gets consciously over-

populated, (1) it must be adroit enough at negotiations to persuade other countries to accept its labor overflow or to send it raw materials (both of which have in the modern world passed beyond persuasion to a kind of prowess not unrelated to war); or (2) it must have stamina enough to get and keep an empire to drain off its excess (which means prowess again to threaten if not to wage successful war); or (3) must it not surrender itself to interneine catastrophe or chronic starvation? Since Italy has shown herself too weak to will an empire into being, and since the world is too strong and heedless to adopt her as a populational wanton or an industrial orphan, if Italy's excess population to starve?

Now people do not starve contentedly, or orderly. So rowdy, indeed, do they get about it that foreign wars have from time immemorial seemed preferable to domestic disorders. We are ourselves content for Italy to find her own way out of this, if she only finds her way out of trouble of her own making without involving us in endless trouble not of our making. Agencies of Order which nurture, however sacrosanctly, such fecund and sure fountains of disorder as chronic over-population can hardly profess injured innocence when the democracies point an accusing finger at Italy as one of the modern mothers of war.

Italian education is relatively helpless to condition what is already authorized to condition it. "The Public," said the great Greek Plato after visiting Italy some 2,000 years ago, "The Public is the great Sophist." By this Public, population is made a moral matter with all the "morality" aligned (a fact spiritually most strange to Anglo-Americans) on the side of quantity rather than quality of life. It may be admitted that in Heaven quantity and quality would coincide, for Heaven is spacious; but Italy is long since spaceless and in cramped quarters quantity negates quality -- or the world makes up the deficit. It is not merely the Church but for nearly a quarter of a

century the Fascist State also which has fostered a population problem whose undertow is toward squalor or empire, both of which make for war. What does it matter that the Church wants peace? Fascism wanted war. Motives apart, it was as if a malign Fate had made them cooperants for common ends -- and how magnificent the collaboration, how deplorable the eventuation! The Church contributed a sense of guilt for ^{any practical} procreative omission, the State provided a sense of pride for ^{any such productive} commission, the State screaming all the while, and scheming, for more land, more land, more land, for the more people, more people, more people a-borning through their common population policy. Already Italian educators are talking of reducing the number of Italian universities since there are too many to support; and now and ever more children are furnished the schools than can be provided education at other than low standards. We think in America, and not without some truth, that education can cure almost everything, given time! And the English even in wartime are debating and enacting a great New Education bill. But our educators are not crippled to begin with by such dilemma of quantity, nor by a superimposed dogma as to how this and other dilemmas shall be faced (or ignored).

IX

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Italian educators are not only estopped from quality of teaching by the sheer quantity of life, but they operate in an atmosphere which does to the death what democratic educators prize most dearly and use most freely, individual and community initiative -- creative energies of voluntary groups larger than the individual but smaller than the State. Though more fatal in its results than most, the population problem does not otherwise differ from other Italian problems. The population policy is dictated from the top, and so are all other policies. In the determination from the top, other policies, like this one, achieve a large cooperation between Church and State, thus uniting the outer and the inner drives toward uniformity. Nor is it merely the practice

of centralization which is involved. That would yield only the brat of Bureacracy, bad enough for initiative but a common problem of all complex societies and one that can be met on external grounds. In Italy, however, the practice of centralization is supported and complicated by the principle of Hierarchy.

This is a feeling of rightness, and even a philosophy of value, which is subjective but very tenacious. Here the Church and the State (Fascist State notably, but probably any and every Italian State in sight) unite internally, as on the population plicy we have seen them to be united externally. This is the vertical propensity to which reference has already been made, as distinct from the democratic principle of horizontal organization. Going up this vertical ladder you approach nearer and nearer to perfection (Papal infallibility, Fascist finality); coming down the ladder you approach nearer and nearer to rottenness. The foundation of such a society is not below; it must be, as it were, above. The Church is of course built upon a profound distrust of human nature in the raw. The Italian State is no different. Before Fascism, politicians flattered the people, but did little else. Fascism dropped the flattery, openly flouted popular liberty, blatantly glorified unquestioning obedience to Higher Authority as adequate substitute for popular sovereignty.

This principle of Hierarchy is not so much either the theological negative dogma that all men are naturally sinful or the political negative prejudice that the many will not do to trust. It is, rather, in both theology and politics, the positive principle that the few will do to trust. But which Few? Who indeed shall lead? -- that's the crux. Either the self-sanctioned, or all men in turn. Hierarchy takes the first alternative, Democracy the second. We Americans at least believe in rotation in power without anybody's being permanently excluded or anybody's being permanently enshrined. Even in Britain, the aristocracy, an inherited elite, is not by any inheritance given the political

balance of power. The profound distrust of the many's ability to rule themselves is not more noteworthy in Italy, however, than the profound confidence that a few have the right to make the rules and to umpire the game of life.

There is left in Italy an older generation that had some ideal of democracy and some confidence in a liberty (which was neither Order nor License), but it now lacks the energy to implement its nostalgia. There is a younger group which feels within itself the prod to Progress but which fears orderly processes as seductions from its shining goal. The whole middle generation with energy and intelligence seems to have lost faith in the worthiness of the people as a whole. The worst of them are profoundly anti-democratic and even the best accept as a matter of course for education as for life the distinction between a ruling class, the elite, and the great body of people, sharing thus the distrust held by the Hierarchy, whether as sacerdotal dogma (imputing sin to the people) or as secular prejudice (imputing disorder).
 In both ^{presuppositions} / alike, by the sacred principle of Hierarchy, virtue is at the top; and from the top alone can society be saved. Neither branch of Hierarchy finds meaning to ^{popular} / liberty save what is subsumed under Order. All else is license.

In such a land, where the organs of authority and influence alike unite to create such a climate of opinion, the schools would naturally reinforce what the larger environment creates. No schools make over a society until the society has made the schools over. This result, which is natural enough, is not in Italy left to any chance. The school system itself is so centralized that the operation in education of the principle of Hierarchy is guaranteed. The Minister of National Education is, so to say, both Duce and Pope. It is not that he operates without law, but rather that the law is itself fully informed of the spirit of Hierarchy. Under such laws, teachers are licensed by him, employed by him, paid by him, transferred by him, promoted or demoted

by him, and directed by him.

Ay, there's the rub -- "directed by him!" The spirit of Hierarchy -- the spirit of both the Roman Church and the Italian State -- breathes through the educational machinery of Italy to tell teachers what to do, to tell students what to believe. It is just here, as already suggested, that Hierarchy is so much worse than what Anglo-Americans know as Bureauracy. Our Bureauracy is It is subject to the constant attrition of influences that are lateral and leveling. informed not of a positive but of our negative spirit. / It tends indeed to retard efficiency. But Hierarchy is filled with the presumption of positive interference. Since the school system is a Bureauracy as well as a Hierarchy, it is too inefficient at doing the negative things compatible with liberty and too efficient at doing the positive things incompatible with liberty. As between its presumption and its ineptitude, the over-positive teaching of the schools tends to develop cynicism, and the under-negative operation of the schools tends to develop paralysis. Though the State tells children they must go to school, they mostly don't. When they do, however, they get too big a dose of what they are to believe. The Church tells them what they have to believe on Sunday. The State tells them what they have to do on Monday; and between the two they only half believe what they believe and only half do what they do.

The Principle of Hierarchy has eventuated in Italy in a form of centralization which is deadening enough to indigenous social energies and to personal spontaneity. Diverse promptings of different communities are largely reduced to the dead level of educational uniformity. Marvelous spontaneities of differing personalities are poured into common national molds of curricula. Individuals are not permitted to compete against individuals in organizational originality; communities are not encouraged to develop through the schools their equally precious indigenous. Not that there is not much variety in Italy itself. Of course there is. But what there is, is left to irresponsible

growth and does little to fertilize the common genius, so to say. The differences run to dialects, as it were, rather than to an enriched national idiom. Impulses to variety remain culturally embryonic, over-tensional in politics and under-tensional in religion.

No doubt all this principle of Hierarchy, all this paraphenelia of order, served us well while we were the Allied Military Government. People tamed by tyrants are the easiest for conquerors to govern. We ourselves in education took the place of the Ministry of Education, became the God of the Pedagogical Machine, and made its cogs click as we saw fit. A people easy to govern is a people hard to educate, at least to educate in the art of self-government. So the making of military government easy had nothing to do with education, or next to nothing. As to what our Allied peoples call education -- i.e. re-education -- we had far better left the schools unopened as long as possible. Sustained pedagogical abstinence would be the best seed-bed for the re-education of the Italian people. Most probably. But as the one was not our mission, so the other was not our option. The ease with which we have governed the Italian people is, however, the surest indication of how slight are the prospects of re-education in Italy in any measurable time.

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It would be disingenuous, however, to close without a word upon our Educational gestures toward positivity. No people can jump out of their own skins. We do not expect it of the Italians, nor claim it for ourselves. Though our mission is negative, and our intent has been not to impose an American or British system of education, the line between the negative and the positive is not always wholly clear. Let us get catharsis for any positive perpetrations we have made by confessing in conclusion such sins of commission as we can think up.

1. We have kept alive as far as we could, and have recommended to the Italian Ministry to keep alive for good, the Fascist innovation of postponing as long as possible the child's choice of the kind of standardized education he will take. This is our strongest play for individualization of education as against the school's pedagogical blessings in Italy upon a social system of occupational rigidity.

2. We have organized, and are organizing, youth for out-of-school activity but, unlike the Fascists, are doing it around the school as functional centers. In this way we are encouraging the youth to take responsibility, to learn the know-how of initiative, and to master the techniques of self-management. The youths themselves are singularly responsive to such an approach; and they join heartily in it when they see that they are actually allowed to run their own shows. The Italian spirit of initiative is not dead; it is only deadened.

3. We are encouraging teachers to form discussion groups for self-improvement and for professional advancement. These are democratic cells, so to say, which give a certain relief to the formality of over-head management. They may develop initiative and change things from the bottom, which could conceivably emancipate local groups from the dead dominance of the center and might in the event have some effect at the center for the spread of such leeway.

4. We are responding to a continuous plea for British and American books, especially books which have for long been banned. A Cabinet Minister recently remarked, almost pathetically, that the Italians have been so conditioned against the idea of Liberty that they do not know what others mean by the term. Could we not hurry some books over to explain the meaning and the techniques of what we call "Liberty?" The developing of reading centers is one highly positive path to an influence that still leaves them free as to choices between what they read, since there will be great variety

in the books from any free land.

5. We have undertaken a survey of the Italian school system as comprehensive as time and staff allow, but at any rate intensive as far as it goes. We mean it as an account to Italians, among others, of our stewardship. To this end we show what we found when we came and what we leave as given territory is surrendered to the Italian Government. But the project goes beyond a factual accounting, and so is included in this list. By indicating what we do not find in Italian schools that schoolmen have long come to look for in democratic lands, we dramatize the differences with delicate silences as to what, if anything, ought to be done to repair the observed and reported lacks.

Thus through a touch of our methods, a taste of our ideology, a feel for free-functioning groups, a sensitivity to international emulation, we have bidden gently for influence beyond the purely negative and the merely formal. If they like the taste of our freedom, they may pay it the deference of imitation, and proceed to develop their own brand. But here, as elsewhere and always, it is probable that what we are and what we have been among them will speak louder than what we say or what we do. That is a test which leaves even educators in wartime unconfident of expectation.

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