





Sotto l'Alto Patronato del Presidente della Repubblica

XXXIV Congresso della Commissione Internazionale di Storia Militare

Conflitti militari e popolazioni civili.

Guerre totali, guerre limitate, guerre asimmetriche

Conflits militaires et populations civiles.

Guerres totales, guerres limitées, guerres asymmetriques

Military conflicts and civil populations.

Total wars, limited wars, asymmetric wars



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Le Nazioni Unite e la protezione delle popolazioni civili, dai documenti alle azioni

ENRICO MAGNANI

La protezione delle popolazioni nel corso di conflitti e' un fenomeno relativamente recente, ma e' cresciuto parallelamente con la maggiore letalita' degli armamenti e i primi passi della costituenda comunita' internazionale. Il tema fu discusso nelle Conferenze della Pace dell'Aja, ma in maniera marginale e indiretta, relativa all'uso di armamenti e tecniche belliche (armi chimiche, bombardamenti aerei e proiettili a frammentazione), per gli effeti che potevano avere sulle popolazioni civili.

La fine del primo conflitto mondiale vide un impegno massiccio a favore delle popolazioni civili coinvolte in una guerra soprattutto quando, a fronte della drammatica situazione umanitaria delle popolazioni civili delle Potenze Centrali stremate da tre anni di blocco, gli Alleati e Associati istituirono un comitato per gli approvvigionamenti che avvio' una prima ripresa della fornitura di prodotti alimentari, ma era una azione estemporanea.

Nel giugno 1921, il Consiglio della Societa', pressato dalla Croce Rossa Internazionale e da altre organizzazioni, creò un'organizzazione per i profughi, la cui direzione fu affidata all'esploratore norvegese Fridtjof Nansen (che aveva concluso con successo il rimpatrio di oltre 500.000 prigionieri di guerra, sempre su incarico della Societa'), con il titolo di alto commissario, gesti' lo spostamento dei cittadini greci, armeni, assiri e turchi a seguito degli accordi di Losanna, (quasi 2.000.000 di persone). Nel 1925 Nansen elaboro' un programma per la costituzione di focolare nazionale per gli Armeni; fu possibile spostare solo 10.000 di essi nella Armenia sovietica e 40.000 in Siria e Libano, ma non entro' nella gestione, ricollocazione e protezione delle popolazioni civili colpite dalla ridefinizione delle frontiere in altre aree, come nel caso di quelle tedesche (circa 700.000 di essi emigrarono dalla Polonia tra il 1920 e il 1926). Alla morte di Fridtjof Nansen nel 1930, l'Ufficio dell'Alto Commissariato per i Profughi diventò l'Ufficio Internazionale Nansen per i Profughi e ricevette il Premio Nobel della Pace nel 1938 (1). L'Ufficio Nansen restò attivo nel corso del secondo conflitto mondiale, diventando organizzazione internazionale per i profughi, creata dall'ONU nel 1947 e nel 1951 sostituita dall'Alto Commissariato ONU per i Rifugiati.

L'IMPERATIVO UMANITARIO NON PREVISTO

Le crisi del secondo dopoguerra hanno come corollario un doloroso seguito nelle pesantissime sofferenze verso le popolazioni civili, colpite in maniera scientemente in maniera crescente, per indebolire la capacita' della controparte. Di fronte a questa situazione, che e' in tempi recenti ha preso aspetti apocalittici, le Nazioni Unite hanno tentato di rispondere con una panoplia di azioni e organismi, adattandoli il meglio possibile, secondo i termini politici, legali e operativi dei mandati erogati dagli organismi decisionali dell'organizzazione (*in primis* il Consiglio di Sicurezza e l'Assemblea Generale), operando attraverso strutture civili, militari, gestendole direttamente o delegando tale attivita' alle cosiddette *coalition of willing*.

Palestina - Il primo case study e' l'azione delle Nazioni Unite a sostegno delle popolazioni palestinesi. L'agenzia, costituita appositamente dall'Assemblea Generale (2), aveva il mandato di assistere le popolazioni dell'ex mandato inglese, coinvolte in un massiccio spostamento seguito al primo conflitto arabo-israeliano. L'UNRWA (UN Agency Relief and Work for Palestinian Refugees) ha iniziato ad operare il 1º maggio 1950 e l'Assemblea Generale ne ha rinnovato regolarmente il mandato (il prossimo scade il 30 giugno 2011). L'UNRWA asssite coloro che hanno vissuto almeno due anni nel mandato britannico della Palestina, o coloro che avevano perduto la loro abitazione o avevano dovuto abbandonarla a seguito del conflitto del 1948, o, loro discendenti. Questa situazione ha portato l'UNRWA a fornire assistenza sanitaria e sociale e educazione a 4.618.141 persone (al 30 giugno 2008). L'UNRWA oggi conta oltre 28.000 dipendenti (il 99% sono palestinesi, il resto internazionali, la maggior parte dirigenti). Inizialmente il personale era assai ridotto ma l'espansione dei servizi erogati e l'ampliamento del numero degli assisiti ha portato l'UNRWA ad essere l'agenzia ONU piu' ampia in termini di personale. Questa e' la piu' lunga operazione di protezione e assistenza a una popolazione civile mai registrata ed e' diventata terreno di scontro politico quale parte del piu' ampio conflitto mediorientale a causa delle costanti accuse da parte israeliana verso l'UNRWA di avere degli atteggiamenti e tollerare situazioni fuori dalla lettera e spirito del mandato.

Cipro - Il secondo case study e' riferito all'azione dell'ONU a Cipro, dove la missione di peacekeeping UNFICYP è stata schierata nel 1964 nell'isola (3) per impedire scontri tra le comunita' greche e turche. Dopo le ostilità del 1974, l'UNFICYP si e' riposizionata a presidio e sorveglianza della linea di tregua che divide in due Cipro (lunga 180 chilometri, la cui ampiezza varia dai 20 metri ai 7 chilometri, per una superfice equivalente al 3% dell'isola, dove risiedono quasi 9.000 persone, appartenenti a entrambe le comunita') e ha visto progressivamente ampliate le sue responsabilità dalla sorveglianza del cessate il fuoco e al pattugliamento della zona cuscinetto alla effettuazione di attività umanitarie (4). In questa ottica l'UNFICYP ha cosituito un servizio di assistenza alle popolazioni residenti nella cosiddetta zona smilitarizzata, attraverso la componente degli affari civili, attivata nel 1998, le sue radici risalgono al mandato originale della missione e nella speciale sezione economica-umanitaria costituita a seguito degli eventi del luglio agosto 1974 e formata da personale militare e di polizia dell'ONU. La sezione affari civili e' una componente integrata con personale militare, di polizia e alcuni funzionari per gli affari civili (24 unita'). Le funzioni espletate vanno dal rilascio di permessi di transito e lavoro per agricoltori che hanno terreni in quella area, allaeducazione delle popolazioni al rischio di mine e altri oggetti inesplosi, dalla scorta a gruppi che conducono pellegrinaggi religiosi nell'area cuscinetto, alla assistenza al restauro e recupero di siti religiosi e culturali nella zona cuscinetto e nelle aree a controllo delle parti e alla asssitenza alle comunita' greco-cipriote e maronite residenti nel nord e a quelle turcocipriote residenti nel sud dell'isola.

Libano – La vita dell'UNIFIL, la missione ONU che opera in Libano, si puo' articolare in cinque fasi: la prima dal 1978 al 1982; la seconda dal 1982 al 1985, la terza dal 1986 al 2000, la quarta dal 2000 all'estate 2006, la quarta, tuttora in corso dall'11 agosto di due anni fa. Nelle prime quattro fasi l'UNIFIL, in ossequio alla dottrina prevalente e in ossequio alla risoluzione di attivazione, non e' stata mai delegata da parte del Consiglio di Sicurezza di proteggere le popolazioni civili locali, ma di presidiare una area in territorio libanese, contribuire

alla integrità del Libano e di vigilare sul cessate-il-fuoco tra le varie parti armate operanti nell'area. Nel 1982, a seguito di un attentato terroristico contro la propria rappresentanza diplomatica in Francia, Israele lancia una offensiva contro i santuari palestinesi in Libano, e attraversa la zona presidata dall'UNIFIL; da allora e sino al luglio 2000, quando gli israeliani si ritirano dal Libano, l'UNIFIL opera in una area dove si succedevano scontri violentissimi tra forze israeliane, milizie locali ad esse alleati, milizie libanesi e palestinesi. Sino al 2000 l'interazione dell'UNIFIL con le popolazioni civili fu limitata ad attivita' di assistenza umanitaria per le comunita' collocate vicino alle proprie basi, ma non di protezione sistematica. Tuttavia in casi di emergenza, alcune installazioni hanno aperto le loro porte a civili in fuga dai combattimenti e in questo quadro si registra il tragico incidente di Qana nell'aprile 1996 quando migliaia di civili trovarono rifugio in una base dell'UNIFIL, che venne colpita dall'artiglieria israeliana causando un centinaio di morti. Nel luglio 2000, a seguito del ritiro delle forze israeliane entro i propri confini nazionali, l'UNIFIL si e' riposizionata sul lato libanese della frontiera, la cosiddetta 'Linea Blu'. In questa fase, durata sino all'estate del 2006, l'UNIFIL ha svolto una funzione di supplenza civile soprattuto verso alcune comunita' libanesi (quelle cristiane maronite) a causa del persistente rifiuto da parte del governo di Beirut di svolgere alcune delle funzioni tipiche dello stato, mentre per le comunita'sciite tali funzioni gia' da tempo erano svolte dal movimento degli Hezbollah, in aperta antitesi al governo libanese. Tale supplenza e' stato in qualche misura una attivita' obbligata visto che il governo libanese non ha fatto nulla, nonostante i pressanti inviti delle Nazioni Unite, per ristabilire la propria sovranita' (e quindi la tutela) verso le proprio popolazioni medesime (6). Nella sua piu' recente riconfigurazione, l'UNIFIL, secondo la UNSCR 1701 (2006) dell'11 agosto 2006 (7), in osseguio alla dottrina prevalente, oltre alla applicazione degli aspetti militari della risoluzione, vede la formalizzazione di un impegno nella protezione delle popolazioni civili libanesi contribuendo ad una cornice di sicurezza per il loro accesso agli aiuti umanitari e al reintro di profughi e rifugiati. Nell'UNIFIL e' stato costituita una sezione affari civili, a livello di comando della Forza, che coordina le sezioni CIMIC dei vari contingenti nazionali. La costituzione di tale entita', in ossequio alla dottrina prevalente, risale anche alla ampiezza delle necessita' di assistenza alle popolazioni civili libanesi toccate dalle operazioni militari (1.200 morti, 1.000.000 di sfollati, 15.000 abitazioni, 140 ponti distrutti, vaste aree infestate da oggetti esplosivi di vario tipo, quali cluster bombs, e mine e seri danni ambientali) (8). Il caso della evoluzione mandataria dell'UNIFIL tra il 1978 e il 2006 riflette le problematiche giuridiche e operative dell'ONU, considerando che il mandato incluso nella risoluzione approvata del Consiglio di Sicurezza e' un punto assai sensibile, la cui mutazione e' sempre soggetta a molte resistenze, una volta che e' stato approvato.

I nuovi conflitti, l'emergenza umanitiaria e il diritto d'ingerenza

Kurdistan Iracheno - La sconfitta irachena in Kuwait scatenò l'insurrezione delle popolazioni curde, ma in pochi giorni venne schiacciata dalle forze di Baghdad con un bagno di sangue e solo la minaccia da parte della coalizione di riprendere le operazioni militari sospese il genocidio, ma il 2 aprile 1991 la Turchia chiese l'aiuto internazionale per l'emergenza umanitaria che si stava profilando a causa dell'arrivo in Anatolia orientale di decine di migliaia di profughi in fuga dalle persecuzioni. L'ONU, oltre ad inserire provvedimenti a favore delle popolazioni curde dell'Iraq nella UNSCR 687 (9), ne varò una specifica, la UNSCR

688 (10), in cui si chiedeva l'aiuto internazionale per prestare soccorso alle decine di migliaia di profughi curdi iracheni in fuga verso l'Iran e la Turchia. In dettaglio, la UNSCR 688 vietava all'Irak di perseguitare le proprie minoranze etniche, politiche e religiose (curdi, sciiti, beduini, assiri, cristiani, ecc.) e gli imponeva di accettare la presenza sul suo territorio di truppe straniere (anche se in maniera non esplicita), infatti chiedeva al Segretario Generale di mettere in opera tutto il necessario per assistere e proteggere le popolazioni curde. Nella forma e nella sostanza si assisteva a una mutazione radicale della dottrina giuridica internazionale e ONU; nel primo si dava corpo al concetto del diritto di ingerenza umanitaria, in via di progressiva articolazione e nel secondo si derogava al principio che una operazione di sostegno alla pace (o di assistenza umanitaria nello specifico) dovesse avere l'approvazione o avallo dello stato in cui andava a operare (al punto 7, dello strumento della risoluzione si chiedeva perentoriamente all'Iraq di cooperare), ponendosi piu' vicina ai termini delle risoluzioni del Consiglio di Sicurezza e dell'Assemblea Generale che sancirono l'azione internazionale in Corea, negli anni '50. Infine, caso unico nella produzione normativa del Consiglio di Sicurezza, non vi era un limite di mandato per l'applicazione di tali funzioni, lasciando cosi' aperta la porta ad un intervento prolungato senza la necessita' di ulteriori strumenti. Si mise così in moto l'operazione Provide Comfort nel maggio 1991, una forza multinazionale di quasi 30.000 militari a guida statunitense (11). Il contingente, prendendo terra da aeroporti turchi penetro' via terra in Iraq e si schiero' senza trovare ostacoli da parte delle forze di Baghdad, che ripiegarono evitando ogni contatto con gli alleati che stabilirono una cintura di sicurezza terrestre e area nel Curdistan iracheno nella regione di Zakho, iniziando una massiccia operazione di assistenza umanitaria alle popolazioni curde. Questa termino' nel settembre 1991 con il rientro in Irak di oltre 7000,000 rifugiati e la ricostruzione dell'80% dei villaggi distrutti dalla forze irachene, queste nell'ottobre 1991 evacuarono completamente il Kurdistan, che ottene una indipendenza de facto, sino al 1996, quando la regione venne parzialmente rioccupata dalle forze di Baghdad. Gia' dal luglio 1991, quando termino' la prima fase dell' Operazione Provide Comfort, l'ONU, principlamente attraverso l'UNHCR, subentrava alla forza multinazionale, che continuava a d assicurare la sicurezza dell'area, soprattutto attraverso assets aerei. La peculiare articolazione della UNSCR 688 permise a Stati Uniti, Francia e Gran Bretagna, di proseguire nelle attivita' di protezione aerea e di interdizione a nord del 36° parallelo, operanti da basi turche, anche dopo il ritiro delle forze di terra, praticamente sino al 2003, anche se con il nome di Northern Watch (senza la partecipazione della Francia che si ririto' nel 1997). Mentre l'Irak ha sempre contestato la legittimità di tale NFZ, (analogamente a quella imposta nella parte meridionale del paese a partire dal 1994, interpretando in modo estensivo la medesima risoluzione), in quanto non specificamente definita da una UNSCR. Le ragioni di tale architettura stavano nel contesto politico di quella fase storica, risalente alla coesione della comunita' internazionale e alla sostanziale assenza di particolari divergenze tra i membri permanenti del Consiglio di Sicurezza (10 voti a favore, 3 contrari [Cuba, Tanzania, Yemen] e due astenuti [Cina e India]). La immediata disponibilita' di forze, principalmente statunitensi, gravitanti nell'area, fu l'elemento che fece optare il Consiglio di Sicurezza nella formula mandataria indiretta che permetteva l'unicita' della gestione militare e umanitaria della situazione. Alcuni esperti opinarono che si era di fronte al classico mission creep che caratterizza le operazioni di sostegno alla pace, in particolare quelle multinazionali delegate dall'ONU, dove l'organismo internazionale riceve solo i rapporti da parte

della lead-nation ex post facto senza possibilità di verificare la rispondenza dello spirito e della lettera sul terreno. La inopportunita' del prolungato mantenimento di una forza di tali dimensioni e il ritiro delle forze irachene dalla regione, mutarono sostanzialmente il quadro operativo e trasferirono la gestione delle operazioni di assistenza umanitaria al sistema ONU, in primis all'UNHCR, che nel quadro piu' ampio delle sue attivita' i in Iraq, sottoposto ad embargo, mantenne una specifica presenza e funzione nel Kurdistan iracheno. Per completezza si vuole citare che, in occasione del dispiegamento della forza internazionale in Turchia ed Irak settentrionale, si pose il problema del soccorso ai profughi curdi che si erano rifugiati in Iran sempre per sfuggire alla repressione di Baghdad. Il governo di Teheran aveva difficoltà nell'assistere questi profughi e chiese un aiuto internazionale ma impose regole molto rigide, quali personale militare di un paese neutrale, rigorosamente disarmato, con personale femminile (per l'assistenza a donne e minori) che si sarebbe dovuto adeguare alle regole locali (capo coperto ed abiti lunghi). Le Nazioni Unite ottennero la disponibilità dell'Austria che inviò, utilizzando aerei civili noleggiati, l'UNAFHIR (UN Austrian Field Hospital in Iran) (12). Le operazioni di soccorso alle popolazioni curde del nord dell'Iraq, dopo il ritiro della CJTF *Provide Comfort*, presentarono un rilevante problema di sicurezza per l'UN High Commissioner for Refugees, responsabile dei campi profughi, e dall'UNIHAP (UN Interagency Humanitarian Assistance Program), che coordinava l'azione umanitaria delle diverse agenzie ONU e nongovernative in quella regione. Dal luglio 1991 l'Alto Commissario schierò l'UNGCI (UN Guards Contingent in Iraq) (13). Gli agenti dell'UNGCI ricevettero successivamente la responsabilità della sicurezza delle installazioni ONU in tutto l'Irak ed e' stato posto sotto la giurisdizione dell'UNOIP (UN Office of Iraq Program) sino al 2003, quando ha terminato la sua missione.

Ex Iugoslavia - Le operazioni ONU nell'ex Iugoslavia sono stato il primo esempio di una operazione di peacekeeping il cui CONOPS (Concetto operativo) ruota intorno non solo alla supervisione della tregua e/o alla separazione di forze contrapposte, ma ha una parte importantissima, nella protezione delle popolazioni civili. Questo salto qualitativo avviene per il particolare contesto del conflitto iugoslavo, dovuto alla implosione di una struttura federale/federativa precaria che non era riuscita a limare divisioni etniche, poltiiche, socilai, culturali e religiose. Inoltre questa operazione e' stata condotta in prima facie dall'ONU con lo schieramento di una forza di caschi blu apparentemente imponente, arrivando a quasi 60.000 unita', tuttavia senza capacita' di deterrenza aerea (se non nelle ultime fasi, messo a disposizione dalla NATO) e un blocco navale/fluviale esercitato dalle forze NATO/UEO; ma senza una effettiva capacita' giuridica e operativa di agire; le forze ONU hanno operato per lungo tempo nell'ambito del capitolo VI della carta dell'ONU, che lascia l'uso della forza solo come extrema ratio, solo per autodifesa e in misura proporzionata all'offesa ricevuta e solo nelle fasi piu' drammatiche il Consiglio di Sicurezza ha modificato la nautra delle sue risoluzioni in merito colloncandole nell'ambito del Capitolo VII (14) della Carata dell'ONU. Il cambiamento registra le evoluzioni della dottrina, a cominciare dall'acronimo, UNPROFOR (Forza di Protezione delle Nazioni Unite), che racchiudeva un doppio profilo eoperativo e di missione: 1) operazione provvisoria che mira a creare le condizioni di pace e di sicurezza necessarie al negoziato d'un regolamento d'insieme della crisi iugoslava; 2) vegliare su zone protette (UNPAs) in Croazia (15). Per ottemperare a questo mandato si cerco' di costituire un apparato militare dotato di credibile deterrenza (16). Nel 1992, a seguito dell'estendersi degli

scontri, il suo mandato è stato ampliato ed è stata incaricata di sorvegliare altre zone della Croazia chiamate zone rosa (pink zones), prossime alle UNPAs, controllare il movimento di civili nelle UNPAs, esercitare funzioni in materia d'immigrazione e di dogane alle linee di delimitazione delle UNPAs quando queste coincidevano con le frontiere internazionali. Nel giugno 1992, estendosi il conflitto alla Bosnia-Erzegovina, il mandato della UNPROFOR è stato ampliato e analogamente a quanto fatto in Croazia, l'ONU costitui' delle zone protette, in questo caso chiamate safe areas, dove si ammassavano le popolazioni musulmane in fuga dagli attacchi di serbi e croati di Bosnia (17) ma non ebbe mai a disposizione forze di terra sufficienti e la copertura aerea della NATO registro' problemi di interfaccia. Nel settembre 1992 l'UNPROFOR fu incaricata di proteggere l'aeroporto di Sarajevo, di proteggere i convogli umanitari dell'UNHCR in tutta la Bosnia-Erzegovina e scortare i convogli di prigionieri civili liberati dalle parti in conflitto qualora il Comitato Internazionale di Croce Rossa ne facesse richiesta. Inoltre, nella dimensone prettamente militare, ma con effetti sulla protezione delle popolazioni civili, l'UNPROFOR, ha controllato il rispetto della tregua tra il governo croato e le forze della autoproclamata repubblica serba di Croazia nel 1994; ha controllato il rispetto del divieto dei voli militari negli spazi aerei delle safe areas. La elencazione di queste funzioni rappresenta quanto massiccio sia stato l'impegno dell'ONU e tuttavia non si puo' non citare il dramma della mancata protezione della safe area di Sebrenica, quando nell'estate del 1995, oltre 8.000 uomini (tutti oltre i 16 anni) vennero fucilati dalle forze della autoproclamata repubblica Serba di Bosnia. Le operazioni, che hanno visto il sacrificio di 200 caschi blu e il ferimento di 1.000 di essi, si sono svolte in un contesto operativo difficilissimo, quando a fronte di continui appelli inclusi nelle varie UNSCRs (18), le forze disponibili erano sempre insufficienti e la formula compromissioria dei mandati non facilitava le cose. L'UNPROFOR e le sue articolazioni istituite nella primavera del 1995, per gestire la espansione delle operazioni nella ex Iugoslavia (UNPF, UNCRO, UNPROFOR-II e UNPREDEP) hanno rappresentato un passo importante nella dottrina ONU della protezione delle popolazioni civili, pur con tutte le manchevolezze registrate (19).

Darfur - La menzione di questa operazione porta questa relazione direttamente dalla storia alla cronaca. La UNAMID (UN-African [Union] Mission in Darfur) e' operativa dal 1 gennaio 2008 ma ha gia' una importante produzione normativa (20) ed e' il piu' recente e completo esempio di come la comunita' internazionale, in questo caso attraverso l'azione dell'ONU e dell'UA decidono di costituire una forza interamente dedicata alla protezione di popolazioni civili, minacciate e/o vittime di conflitti. La crisi del Darfur e' una delle numerose crisi che affliggono il Sudan e, per le sue dimensioni umanitaire, una delle piu' gravi. Tralasciando l'intricatissimo quadro di riferimento, l'ONU era comunque presente in Sudan sin dal 2005 quando schiero', dopo lunghissime trattive, una missione di interposizione tra il Nord e il Sud del Sudan, che avevano trovato una pace precaria. La guerra civile tra il Nord e il Sud ha fatto da catalizzatore per altre crisi sudanesi che covavano sotto la cenere, di cui il Darfur appare la piu' grave dal punto di vista umanitario. L'UNAMID, destinata a divenire un delle piu' numericamente ampie di tutta l'organizzazione (20.000 soldati, 7.000 agenti di polizia/gendarmi, 5.000 civili), funzionalmente appare come una tipica missione di peacekeeping. La differenza tra l'UNAMID e tutte le altre missioni ONU precedenti, sta nella risoluzione del Consiglio di Sicurezza (21) che stabilisce chiaramente i compiti della forza

riferendosi ai punti 54 e 55 del Rapporto del Segretario Generale dell'ONU e Chairperson dell'UA (22): a) contribuire al ristabilimento delle necessarie condizioni di sicurezza per la normale e sicura distribuzione della assistenza umanitaria e facilitare l'accesso delle organizzazioni umanitarie; b) contribuire alla protezione delle popolazioni civili e prevenire attacchi contro di esse, senza pregiudizio delle responsabilita' del governo sudanese nell'esercizio delle sue funzioni. L'UNAMID applica i termini del DPA (Darfur Peace Agreement) (23) nell'ambito del capitolo VII della carta dell'ONU, autorizzando l'uso della forza, ma la missione, a tuttoggi essa e' poco piu' della missione dell'UA che rileva, l'AMIS (24). La forza resta sottodimensionata rispetto alle esigenze, sottoequipaggiata e soffre di seri problemi, quale la carente cooperazione (o sorda ostilità') di Khartoum, che e' riuscito, merce' un constesto internazionale di cui ha ampiamente approfittato, ad imporre vincoli e limitazioni di ogni genere, che ne riducono seriamente la credibilita'operativa e politica. Inoltre i sospetti di contiguita' tra le milizie dei janjaweed e personalita' del governo di Khartoum rendono lo scenario oscuro e difficile in prospettiva. Per completezza si vuole citare la MINURCAT, operante in Chad e Repubblica Centroafricana, confinanti con il Sudan (25), che unitamente a una forza della UE, autorizzata dal Consiglio di Sicurezza, l'EUFOR-Tchad/CAR (26), protegge i campi profughi dei darfuriani, che hanno trovato rifugio nei due stati, e assiste le forze locali.

Conclusioni

Questa disamina necessita di una breve nota esplicativa: il meccanismo ONU demanda il potere decisionale al Consiglio di Sicurezza (*in primis*) e Assemblea Generale e relega Segretario Generale a una funzione esecutiva, seppur di elevatissimo profilo. E' quindi sulle decisioni del Consiglio e dell'Assemblea che si deve misurare la magnitudo dell'azione dell'organizzazione, che puo' solo applicare quello che viene deciso dagli stati membri. Senza considerare tutto cio', una cosciente analisi dell'azione della organizzazione internazionale non puo' avere luogo, oltretutto che e' sempre nelle mani degli stati membri l'erogazione delle risorse finanziarie e umane.

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- Report of the Secretary-General S/2006/670 18 August 2006 [On the implementation of resolution 1701 (2006)];
- UN Security Council Resolution 687 (1991), 03.04.1991;
- UN Security Council Resolution 688, (1991), 05.05.1991;
- La Combined Joint Task Force *Provide Comfort*, tipologicamente una operazione NATO, vedeva la partecipazione di USA (18.000 uomini e donne), Gran Bretagna (4.000), Francia (2.000), Italia (1.200), Turchia (1.200), Olanda (1.000), Spagna (700), Australia (100), Belgio (200), Germania (200), Lussemburgo (50), Portogallo (20), Canada (200).
- L'UNAFHIR (UN Austrian Field Hospital in Iran) era un ospedale da campo con 141 uomini e donne nella zona di Ziveh nell'Iran nordoccidentale, che dal 17 aprile 1991 al 3 giugno 1991, svolsero operazioni di assistenza verso i profughi curdi, sino a quando venne sostituito da personale di soccorso iraniano. L'unica altra nazione occidentale che poté inviare aiuti in Iran fu la Francia che con l'operazione *Ramure*, tramite i propri aerei militari trasportò soccorsi ai profughi curdi.
- L'UNGCI (United Nations Guards Contingent in Iraq), era formato da 50 agenti dell'UNSSS (UN Security and Safety Service), messi a disposizione dall'ONU e da 500-550 UN Guards, agenti di polizia e/o gendarmi e/o appartenenti alla polizie militari di Austria, Danimarca, Grecia, Polonia, Filippine, Nepal, Figi, Thailandia, Cecoslovacchia (poi Repubblica Ceca e Slovacchia), Ghana, Bangladesh; a essi si aggiungevano 2.500 agenti locali. Tutto il personale indossava l' uniforme dell'UNSSS, secondo i regolamenti ONU quelli locali erano sprovvisti del simbolo di 'Security Officer' (riservata al solo personale internazionale) ed erano equipaggiati solo con armi da fianco. L'UNGCI e' poi passato dai 600 agenti (internazionali) del 1992 ai 300 del 1993-4 e ai 200 del 2003, quando ha terminato la sua missione. L'operazione non è mai stata specificamente autorizzata dal Consiglio di Sicurezza ma è stata regolata da un MoU (Memorandum of Understanding), siglato tra l'UNHCR e l'Iraq, scaduto il 20 giugno 1992, ma applicato successivamente per tacita volonta' delle parti.
- A) Risoluzioni relative alla UNPROFOR:
- UN Security Council Resolution 743 (1992), 21.02.92; UN Security Council Resolution 719 (1992), 07.04.92; UN Security Council Resolution 758 (1992), 08.06.92; UN Security Council Resolution
- 761 (1992), 29.06.92; UN Security Council Resolution 762 (1992), 30.06.92; UN Security Council Resolution 764 (1992), 13.07.92; UN Security Council Resolution 769 (1992), 07.08.92; UN Security Council Resolution 776 (1992), 14.09.92; UN Security Council Resolution 779 (19992), 06.10.92; UN Security Council Resolution 781 (1992), 09.10.92; UN Security Council Resolution 786 (1992), 10.11.92; UN Security Council Resolution 795 (1992), 11.12.92; UN Security Council Resolution 807 (1993), 19.02.93; UN Security Council Resolution 815 (1993), 30.03.93; UN Security Council Resolution 819 (1993), 16.04.93; UN Security Council Resolution 824 (1993), 06.05.93; UN Security Council Resolution 836 (1993), 04.06.93; UN Security Council Resolution 847 (1993), 18.06.93; UN Security Council Resolution 847 (1993), 18.06.93; UN Security Council Resolution 847 (1993),

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30.06.93; UN Security Council Resolution 869 (1993), 30.09.93; UN Security Council Resolution 870 (1993), 0.10.93; UN Security Council Resolution 811 (1993), 04.10.93; UN Security Council Resolution 900 (1994), 04.03.94; UN Security Council Resolution 908 (1994), 31.03.94; UN Security Council Resolution 914 (1994), 27.04.94; UN Security Council Resolution 947 (1994), 30.09.94; UN Security Council Resolution 982 (1995), 31.03.95.

- B) Risoluzioni relative alla UNPF:
 - UN Security Council Resolution 982 (1995), 31.03.95; UN Security Council Resolution 1031 (1995), 15.12.95;
- C) Risoluzioni relative alla UNCRO, gia' UNPROFOR Croatia Command:
 - UN Security Council Resolution 981 (1995), 31.03.95; UN Security Council Resolution 990 (1995), 28.04.95; UN Security Council Resolution 994 (1995), 17.05.95; UN Security Council Resolution 1025 (1995), 30.11.95;
- D) Risoluzioni relative alla UNPROFOR, gia' UNPROFOR BH Command:
 - UN Security Council Resolution 982 (1995), 31.03.95; 998 (1995), 16.06.95; UN Security Council Resolution 1026 (1995), 30.11.95;
- E) Risoluzioni relative alla UNPREDEP, gia' UNPROFOR FYROM Command:
 - UN Security Council Resolution 983 (1995), 31.03.95; UN Security Council Resolution 1027 (1995), 30.11.95; UN Security Council Resolution 1046 (1996), 13.02.96.
- Le UNPAs erano in Slavonia orientale, occidentale, Krajina, tutte populate largamente da popolazioni serbe.
- F.T. Liu The Blue Helmets, UN, 1996, New York, p. 496; 12 battaglioni di fanteria mononazionali rinforzati, un raggruppamento di supporti tattici e logistici su 3 battaglioni multinazionali, osservatori militari e di polizia.
- Biha, Sarajevo, Goražde, Žepa, Srebrenica e Tuzla. Per queste aree era prevista la disponibilita' iniziale di poco piu' di 7.000 soldati, ai quali nel marzo 1994 a fronte del continuo peggioramento della situazione sul terreno, il Consiglio di Sicurezza decise di aggiungerne altri 8.000, che dovevano proteggere anche altre aree quali Mostar e Vitez, ritornando sul modello 'leggero' di protezione inizialmente concepito e adottato, anche in funzione delle difficolta' nel reperimento di truppe. Tuttavia questi livelli forza vennero raggiunti solo nell'estate-autunno 1995.

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- A/54/549 15.11.99 Report of the Secretary-General pursuant to General Assembly Resolution 53/35: the fall of Srebrenica.
- UN Security Council Resolution 1591 (2005), 29.03.05 [che impone le prime sanzioni al Sudan per il Darfur]; UN Security Council Resolution 1706 (2006), 31.08.06 [che assegna all'UNMIS alcune funzioni di assistenza alla AMIS]; UN Security Resolution 1755 (2007) 30.04.07 [che estende il mandato dell'UNMIS, comprese le funzioni a favore dell'AMIS, sino all'Ottobre 2007]; UN Security Council Resolution 1769 (2007) [che costituisce l'UNAMID]; UN Security Council Resolution 1828 (2008), 31.07.08 [che estende il mandato della UNAMID sino al 31.07.09]); l'UNAMID sostituisce una missione promossa dalla UA, l'AMIS (African [Union] Mission in Sudan, istituita nel 2006 con lo stesso mandato, quello di proteggere le popolazioni civili del Darfur dalle violenze delle milizie *janjaweed* (i diavoli a cavallo). La missione ha sofferto di seri problemi organizzativi e funzionali, nonostante gli aiuti finanziari e di altro tipo messi a disposizione da ONU (attraverso l'UNMIS), la NATO, l'UE e vari stati a titolo specifico, quali Canada, USA, Olanda, Gran Bretagna.

UN Security Council Resolution 1769 (2007) [che costituisce l'UNAMID];

Joint Report of Secretary-General and the Chairperson of the African Union Commission to the Security Council and AU Peace and Security Council (S/2007/307/Rev.1), 05.06.07;

Darfur Peace Agreement (05.06.08), US DoS doc 2006-05-08);

- 9th Meeting of Peace and Security Council, African Union, 25.04.08; 3rd Meeting of Military Staff Committee, African Union, 25.04.04; istituita come missione di osserviazione congiunta AU-EU, nel 2004, nel giugno 2005 arriva a circa 5.000 militari e 2.000 poliziotti/gendarmi. L'AMIS era l'unica forza militare internazionale nel Darfur fino alla costituzione dell'UNAMID, ma non e' mai stata in grado di bloccare le violenze dei *janjaweed*. Una forza dell'ONU, piu' robusta e con un mandato piu' stringente era stata proposta nel settembre 2006, ma per l'opposizione sudanese non fu possibile costituirla.
- UN Security Council Resolution 1778 (2007), 25.09.07 [che costituisce la MINURCAT, di concerto con l'UE); nello specifico la MINURCAT, sinora limitata a una nucleo di personale di polizia incaricata di formare una forza mista di polizia e gendarmeria in entrambi i paesi, incaricati della protezione diretta dei campi profughi, mentre l'EUFOR si occupa della protezione d'area.
- Décision 2008/101/PESC du Conseil Européen, 28.01.08 relative au lancement de l'opération militaire de l'UE en République du Tchad et en République centrafricaine (EUFOR Tchad/RCA); questa EUFOR, che ha sostenuto scontri con le milizie janjaweed e irregolari chadiani e del centrafrica loro alleati, appare in condizione di garantire una cornice di sicurezza. La forza europea in un periodo di due-tre anni sara' rimpiazzata da una forza ONU, che ampliera' ruoli e funzioni della MINURCAT.

Le Canada, société non militariste : quelques jalons historiques

CHARLES RHÉAUME

Terre immense, le Canada a toujours été sous-peuplé. Voilà qui en fit un pays pratiquement impossible à défendre sans des alliances, d'abord avec la Grande-Bretagne, puis les États-Unis. Étant donné l'absence d'envahisseurs potentiels autres que les États-Unis et à partir du moment où une paix durable fut assurée au 19^e siècle avec ce pays, le Canada a été amené à se percevoir lui-même comme une nation non militariste.

L'histoire montre qu'une bonne partie des immigrants qui sont venus au Canada au fil des décennies fuyaient des pays où la violence d'État avait sévi de façon cruelle et que le Canada n'était pas véritablement destiné à devenir un foyer de militarisme. Il ne faut cependant pas croire que l'histoire canadienne a été complètement exempte de violence d'État, l'écrasement du soulèvement des Métis dans le Nord-Ouest du pays dans les années 1880, par exemple, étant là pour le prouver. Ce triste épisode est cependant resté jusqu'à nos jours un traumatisme dans la conscience nationale. S'il est vrai que ceux qui combattirent la dite rébellion furent décorés par les autorités canadiennes, ils furent aussi les derniers à l'être pour une telle action de Canadiens à l'encontre d'autres Canadiens. Même des crises nationales majeures comme celle du séparatisme québécois ayant culminé avec la Crise d'Octobre en 1970, ou encore des demandes territoriales autochtones au Québec en 1990 ne sont pas reconnues par le gouvernement du Canada comme dignes d'être récompensées pour les militaires qui les ont endiguées.

Si l'on se fie à David Rudd, de l'Institut canadien d'études stratégiques, l'histoire relativement paisible du Canada a favorisé dans ce pays l'essor d'une culture politique qui met l'accent sur les libertés fondamentales et la suprématie du droit, équilibre individualisme et collectivisme, génère un nationalisme modéré et rejette l'aventurisme mélodramatique, et vise la stabilité sociale. Une telle culture politique a donné naissance à une conception particulière de la sécurité, pragmatique à l'excès, où l'on hésite à agir, teintée d'un anti-américanisme bénin, et vertueuse à ses propres yeux. Dans un tel contexte, il n'est pas surprenant de voir l'idée d'appliquer la force militaire rejetée dans la plupart des circonstances. I

Il ne faut pas se surprendre alors que dans la tradition canadienne, les militaires, qui ont pour métier de régir la violence d'État, aient été perçus presque avec mépris. "Rares sont les pays où les chefs militaires et navals ont récolté aussi peu de prestige en temps de paix comme de guerre", commente l'historien militaire canadien Desmond Morton. Le comportement distant des Canadiens à l'endroit de leurs militaires aura découlé notamment de circonstances historiques où le Canada se retrouvait sur la scène internationale comme un allié

¹ David Rudd, "What is the Canadian military? Whatever we want it to be" (communication livrée lors d'une table ronde organisée par la Canadian Broadcasting Corporation et le Calgary Institute for the Humanities le 16 juin 2005; copie en possession de l'auteur).

² Desmond Morton, Canada and War. A Military and Political History, Toronto: Butterworth & Co. (Canada) Ltd., 1981, p. 1.

mineur ou colonial. Les décisions stratégiques majeures, se disait-on, se prenaient de toute façon à Versailles, Whitehall ou au Pentagone.³

Le grand public canadien a été porté au fil du temps à considérer les activités de ses militaires comme fonctionnelles d'abord et à ne les prendre véritablement au sérieux qu'en temps de crise. Ainsi il se montre fier d'avoir fourni lors des conflits internationaux des armées de citoyens-soldats qui ont connu de brillants succès dans plusieurs opérations. Cela s'est cependant produit au prix de plus de 100,000 morts pour les deux guerres mondiales, un prix humain dont Morton considère qu'il aurait pu être sensiblement moins élevé à la faveur d'un meilleur entraînement des troupes et d'un meilleur leadership de leurs chefs.⁴

Ayant appris à mieux se connaître et réfléchissant aux pertes subies lors des deux guerres mondiales, les Canadiens en vinrent à la mi-siècle à la conclusion qu'ils avaient payé trop cher pour défendre ce qui finalement pouvait se résumer largement comme les intérêts d'autres nations. Cela allait contribuer au renforcement des penchants non militaristes des Canadiens. Par contre, le Canada, comme le reste du monde, se trouvait confronté à une nouvelle réalité, celle d'un génie nucléaire désormais révélé.

Pas de bombe pour le Canada

Vu le rôle actif qu'il avait joué dans l'invention de la bombe atomique par les États-Unis durant la Seconde Guerre mondiale, le Canada pouvait prétendre être au fait de secrets qui étaient connus des seuls Américains et Britanniques à cette époque. Il s'agissait là d'un avantage dont il aurait pu se servir pour devenir la deuxième ou troisième nation seulement à posséder l'arme nucléaire. Or il n'en a pas profité, pour diverses raisons.

L'ancien Premier ministre canadien Pierre Elliott Trudeau, c'est bien connu, a chanté les mérites du Canada sur plusieurs tons, dont un en particulier à l'effet qu'il ait été le premier pays à renoncer volontairement à posséder ses armes nucléaires en propre. Même si cette affirmation n'est pas fausse, elle mérite certaines nuances. Le Premier ministre Louis Saint-Laurent annonçait le 9 novembre 1949 que le Canada renonçait à la bombe mais il n'est pas clair si même une décision avait été prise sur la question. Au plan stratégique, son puissant voisin américain n'aurait évidemment pas vu d'un bon œil que le Canada posséda la bombe. Il s'avère aussi que ce voisin pouvait prévenir le développement d'une bombe canadienne en offrant au Canada sa protection nucléaire. Il faut tenir compte également des ressources gigantesques qu'aurait requises la construction d'une bombe atomique au Canada, au détriment de l'économie.

Quant à savoir si un certain idéalisme a pu jouer un rôle dans la décision du Canada, voilà qui reste sujet à débat. Certains historiens affirment que le Canada n'a pas développé sa propre bombe de crainte que cela n'encourage d'autres pays à en faire autant mais d'autres signalent qu'il n'en fut rien. John Holmes, l'une des figures centrales du ministère canadien des Affaires étrangères dans les années 1950, considère pour sa part que le Canada n'a pas

³ Desmond Morton, A Military History of Canada, Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1990, p. xi.

⁴ Desmond Morton, Canada and War. A Military and Political History, op. cit., p. 2

⁵ Jean-François Rioux, La politique canadienne de non-prolifération nucléaire: 1943-1991 (thèse de doctorat), Ottawa: Université Carleton, 1991, p. 117.

⁶ Ibid., pp. 118-120

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fait un énorme sacrifice en renonçant à la bombe et souligne que les prétentions de supériorité morale affichées après les faits par certains Canadiens à ce propos suscitent l'agacement sur la scène internationale.⁷

Face aux initiatives de non-prolifération nucléaire, en dépit de quelques occasions où le Canada a démontré une certaine indépendance philosophique comme lors d'appels au désarmement nucléaire lancés par le Premier ministre Trudeau, le Canada a la plupart du temps adopté les vues américaines. C'est ainsi qu'il accepta d'imposer des restrictions sévères sur ses exportations nucléaires. Le Canada s'est aussi montré très partial en s'opposant au développement des programmes nucléaires allemand, soviétique, français, chinois, indien et pakistanais tout en aidant les Britanniques dans le leur, en fermant les yeux sur le développement des programmes israéliens et sud-africains et en s'associant au réseau nucléaire américain pour contrer les visées soviétiques.⁸

DEUX SCORPIONS FACE À FACE... ET LE CANADA AU MILIEU

L'un des tout premiers événements de la Guerre froide s'est produit au Canada au début de septembre 1945, lorsqu'un employé de l'ambassade soviétique à Ottawa, Igor Gouzenko, passa à l'Ouest et divulgua les noms d'espions soviétiques actifs au Canada. Cela affecta grandement le capital de sympathie que s'était mérité l'effort de guerre soviétique dans l'esprit des Canadiens. Le célèbre écrivain soviétique Ilya Ehrenbourg devait ainsi recevoir des Canadiens un accueil plutôt tiède lors d'une tournée nord-américaine d'amitié à l'été de 1946. Dans ses reportages pour *Izvestia*, il blâmerait alors la propagande anti-soviétique émanant des États-Unis pour une telle réception. Il conclurait cependant en affirmant que les Canadiens étaient un peuple qui aimait la paix et se montrait dans son ensemble peu sympathique à la propagande anti-soviétique.

Le Canada, dans la Guerre froide, s'est rangé du côté des États-Unis et il est évidemment peu contestable qu'il l'ait fait parce qu'il n'avait pas d'autre choix. Il ne pouvait tout simplement pas être allié *de facto* de l'Union Soviétique. Certes, le gouvernement canadien considérait que l'U.R.S.S. était une puissance agressive et expansionniste mais il n'était pas rare d'y trouver des gens qui pensaient la même chose des États-Unis. S'inspirant d'Oppenheimer, le Père de la bombe, on peut dire qu'Américains et Soviétiques étaient comme deux scorpions l'un en face de l'autre... avec les Canadiens au milieu.

En fait, la perception qu'avait le Canada de la Guerre froide reflétait sa culture politique propre. Cette perception, par exemple, était compatible avec une méfiance face aux arguments idéologiques et à la formulation de grandioses desseins, un souci de préserver les institutions reliées au processus politique et de limiter les conflits, tout en privilégiant le

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 510.

Andrea Chandler, "A Soviet Writer's Cold War Impressions of Canada: Ilya Ehrenburg in 1946", in J.L. Black et Norman Hillmer, dir., *Nearly Neighbours. Canada and the Soviet Union: from Cold War to Détente and Beyond*, Kingston (Ontario): Ronald P. Frye & Company, 1989, p. 19.

¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 26-27.

¹¹ Don Page et Don Munton, "Canadian images of the Cold War 1946-7", *International Journal*, Vol. XXXII, No. 3, été 1977, pp. 585-591.

pragmatisme et le recours à la négociation. ¹² Ayant comme objectif essentiel de prévenir une guerre, le Canada choisirait une approche qui évita de provoquer les Soviétiques. ¹³

L'OBJECTIF D'ÊTRE UNE PUISSANCE INTERMÉDIAIRE

Pour des raisons reliées au développement de son identité nationale, le Canada fut amené à exagérer le rôle qu'il avait eu dans la définition d'un nouvel ordre mondial suite à la Seconde Guerre mondiale. De fait, c'est en proposant d'inclure des facteurs autres que celui de la force militaire dans l'équation de la sécurité internationale, les facteurs sociaux et économiques notamment, que le Canada aurait le plus d'influence dans l'élaboration des principes fondateurs de l'Organisation des Nations unies. Et même s'il n'a pu voir officiellement reconnu pour lui-même et quelques autres pays le statut de puissance intermédiaire par les Nations unies lors de leur création en 1945, il semble que le Canada se soit acquis un tel statut à travers ses engagements sur la scène internationale au cours des décennies qui ont suivi.

À travers certaines commissions internationales, avec ou sans le parrainage direct de l'ONU, le Canada a ainsi aidé les Britanniques à se tirer d'affaires dans quelques situations fâcheuses comme à Chypre. Il a aussi assisté au retrait des Français de l'Indochine, puis des Américains du Vietnam à une époque où les médiateurs étaient particulièrement en demande. En regardant de plus près aux deux commissions internationales auxquelles il a pris part pour superviser des cessez-le-feu dans la péninsule indochinoise de 1954 à 1973, on voit que le Canada a pu de la sorte plaider pour une approche multilatérale plutôt que bipolaire des conflits internationaux.¹⁶

Ainsi les opérations de maintien de la paix ont donné au Canada la possibilité de contrebalancer ses alliances dans l'OTAN et NORAD. ¹⁷ De plus, cela a servi à maintenir le vieux rêve d'un mécanisme collectif de sécurité internationale sous l'égide de l'ONU. Il faut dire également que les opérations de maintien de la paix ont servi à justifier des dépenses militaires dans un environnement domestique canadien d'après-guerre dont il n'était pas exceptionnel qu'il fut hostile à de tels investissements. ¹⁸

Dès le départ, le style du maintien de la paix à la canadienne fut caractérisé des traits personnels mêmes de celui qui lui donna naissance, Lester B. Pearson. Voilà un homme en effet qui était tout près à s'engager sur la scène internationale, mais qui aimait aussi pour cela

¹² Denis Stairs, *The Diplomacy of Constraint: Canada, the Korean War, and the United States*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974, cité dans Don Page et Don Munton, *op. cit.*, p. 602.

John W. Holmes, "Moscow 1947-1948: Reflections on the Origins of my Cold War", in J.L. Black et Norman Hillmer, *op. cit.*, pp. 51-52. Voir aussi Don Page et Don Munton, *op. cit.*, pp. 593-597.

¹⁴ Adam Chapnick, *The Middle Power Project: Canada and the Founding of the United Nations*, Vancouver: UBC Press, 2005, p. 3.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 151-152.

¹⁶ Douglas A. Ross, In the Interests of Peace: Canada and Vietnam 1954-1973, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984, p. 346.

¹⁷ Fred Gaffen, In the Eye of the Storm. A History of Canadian Peacekeeping, Toronto: Deneau & Wayne Publishers Ltd., 1987, p. 252. Voir aussi J.S. Finan et S.B. Flemming, "Public Attitudes Toward Defence and Security in Canada", in David B. Dewitt et David Leyton-Brown, dir., Canada's International Security Policy, Scarborough (Ontario): Prentice Hall Canada Inc., 1995, p. 310.

¹⁸ Fred Gaffen, op. cit., p. 252.

être aimé, ce qui devint caractéristique de la logique du Canada lui-même pour s'engager. ¹⁹ Il importe de souligner tout de même que le Canada a pris part d'une manière ou d'une autre à toutes les missions de paix pilotées par l'ONU entre la toute première où Pearson fut l'inspiration clé durant la Crise de Suez en 1956, et 1987. De fait, le Canada a participé à plus de missions qu'aucun autre pays pendant cette période. Quelque 50 000 militaires canadiens s'y sont trouvés engagés et plus d'une centaine d'entre eux y ont laissé leur vie. ²⁰

L'AFFAIRE SOMALIENNE

La fin de la guerre froide et l'émergence de nouvelles menaces ont conduit les forces armées de pratiquement toutes les démocraties libérales occidentales à une crise d'identité. Cela a donné lieu au Canada dans les années 1990 à un conflit de valeurs important entre les militaires et la société civile. Parmi les symptômes d'incompréhension entre les deux entités, les militaires en viendraient à considérer les valeurs d'une société canadienne bienveillante, compatissante et politiquement correcte comme nuisibles à l'efficacité des forces armées. Il ne faut pas se surprendre alors qu'aux échelons inférieurs de la hiérarchie militaire canadienne, en l'absence d'un leadership éclairé, se soient développés des comportements grégaires, paranoïaques, marqués par l'esprit de clique et le racisme.²¹

La manifestation la plus tristement célèbre de cet état de choses allait être l'affaire somalienne. Vers la fin de 1992, le Conseil de Sécurité de l'ONU avait donc approuvé le déploiement d'une force unifiée sous leadership américain appelée UNITAF afin de restaurer l'ordre dans une Somalie dévastée par la famine. Comme il n'y avait pas d'autre unité disponible au Canada à ce moment-là et en dépit des rumeurs de problèmes disciplinaires qui l'affectaient, ce fut le Régiment aéroporté qui fut désigné pour assumer la part du Canada à cette mission.²²

Les Canadiens furent déployés à Belet Huen, quelque 350 kilomètres au nord de la capitale Mogadiscio, en janvier 1993, avec pour tâche de protéger les secours humanitaires dans cette région. Dès le début de la mission, les soldats canadiens éprouvèrent des difficultés à prévenir les vols de nourriture et de matériels divers dans leur campement. Il y eut des incidents où les membres de la troupe semblaient ne pas comprendre les règles d'engagement qui devaient les régir. Leurs officiers ne leur avaient pas expliqué clairement ce qui devait être considéré dans leur situation comme un acte hostile.²³ Et puis un jour, il fut apparemment suggéré par un officier qu'afin de servir une leçon aux voleurs, le prochain Somalien capturé pourrait être passé à tabac. C'est ainsi que le 16 mars 1994, un jeune Somalien non armé du nom de Shidane Arone fut arrêté. En bonne condition physique au moment de sa

¹⁹ Adam Chapnick, op. cit., pp. 151-152.

²⁰ Fred Gaffen, op. cit., pp. 252-253.

²¹ Arthur Schafer, The Buck Stops Here. Reflections on Moral Responsibility, Democratic Accountability and Military Values (étude pour le compte de la Commission d'enquête sur le déploiement des Forces canadiennes en Somalie), Ottawa: Ministre des Travaux publics et Services gouvernementaux Canada, 1997, pp. 29-31.

²² Commission of Inquiry into the Deployment of Canadian Forces to Somalia, Dishonoured Legacy. The Lessons of the Somalia Affair (rapport de la Commission d'enquête sur le déploiement des Forces canadiennes en Somalie), Ottawa: Ministre des Travaux publics et Services gouvernementaux Canada, 1997, Vol. 1, pp. 258-261.

²³ Ibid., Vol. 2, pp. 658-666.

capture, Arone n'en mourrait pas moins quelques heures plus tard, après avoir été battu par deux soldats canadiens.²⁴

Les révélations dans cette affaire bouleversèrent le public canadien, comme s'il perdait tout d'un coup son innocence. Le gouvernement canadien instaura une commission d'enquête pour faire la lumière sur ces événements sordides. Cet épisode allait sensiblement altérer l'image que se faisait le Canada de lui-même depuis le milieu du 20^e siècle. Le rapport final de cette commission allait être intitulé de façon intéressante *Un héritage déshonoré*, une référence très nette à la fierté qui avait jusque-là été celle des Canadiens vis-à-vis de leurs engagements dans le domaine du maintien de la paix.²⁵

La commotion créée par l'affaire somalienne rappelait la réaction qu'avait eu le public américain face au massacre de Mylai commis par l'armée américaine au Vietnam en 1968, non pas en amplitude mais de par le dégoût ressenti par plusieurs à l'idée que les militaires devenaient hors de contrôle. En pas moins de 1 600 pages, le rapport de la commission blâmait toute la hiérarchie militaire. L'on y formulait en outre le désir de voir se développer au sein des forces armées canadiennes une nouvelle culture caractérisée d'une meilleure éthique, ce qui s'est produit depuis.²⁶

Une image de soi sous pression

À l'ère du village global et devant les nouvelles formes que prennent les menaces à la sécurité des États, le Canada cherche à s'adapter. Il s'y est notamment opéré ces dernières années une transition d'opérations de maintien de la paix à de nouvelles orientées vers la fabrication de la paix.²⁷ Cela mène à des initiatives de prévention comme celles dont on dit qu'elles sont nécessaires pour combattre le terrorisme international.

La principale de ces missions se déroule en Afghanistan. Avec la mort de près d'une centaine de leurs soldats et réalisant également qu'un nombre indéterminé d'ennemis sont tués dans cette opération, les Canadiens voient qu'un intermède d'un demi-siècle est maintenant terminé et qu'il s'agit de la guerre pour vrai. Leur image d'eux-mêmes en tant qu'occupants non belliqueux d'un royaume paisible est donc ainsi sérieusement mise en question. Ils s'en accommodent toutefois dans l'après 11-septembre comme d'un mal nécessaire mais temporaire, alors que la date du rapatriement des troupes canadiennes semble ce qui les préoccupe le plus. Voilà pourtant qui est logique de la part d'une société qui persiste à voir dans la chose militaire un rôle essentiellement fonctionnel.

²⁴ Ibid., Vol. 1, pp. 318-324.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 5 volumes, 1679 p.

²⁶ Ibid., "Executive Summary", pp. ES-47—ES-51.

²⁷ J.S. Finan et S.B. Flemming, op. cit., p. 310.

Civili e guerra. Armi, popolazioni e territorio nella repressione della rivolta del 'Mad Mullah' in Somalia*

GIANLUCA PASTORI**

Nella ribellione di Muhammad b. Abd Allah Hassan (talora noto, nelle fonti inglesi, con l'epiteto di "Mad Mullah"), scoppiata nei territori di frontiera fra il Somaliland britannico e la Somalia italiana alla fine degli anni Novanta dell'Ottocento, e proseguita fra alterne vicende fino al 1920, l'esperienza e la prassi del *jihad* si saldano con quella delle faide interclainche e del proto-nazionalismo africano, ricalcando per vari aspetti la vicenda del mahdismo sudanese (1881-99). Il coinvolgimento delle popolazioni locali e lo sfruttamento, ai fini della loro mobilitazione, da una parte, del discorso religioso, dall'altra del sistema delle fedeltà clanico-tribali, costituiscono tratti importanti di questa esperienza. Le vicende legate alla repressione della stessa ribellione rappresentano, inoltre, un passaggio importante nella transizione all'azione controinsurrezionale intesa in senso moderno.

Vicenda "minore", in una prospettiva imperiale, nonostante la durata e l'entità delle forze coinvolte (lo stesso Callwell ne accenna solo di sfuggita, e solo per notare l'uso esteso fatto delle *zeriba* nel corso della campagna¹), quella di Muhammad Hassan si inserisce, infatti, in un momento storico caratterizzato dall'affermazione di un nuovo ruolo "militante" delle popolazioni civili e dal loro crescente coinvolgimento come soggetto attivo nelle operazioni belliche. A tali trasformazioni si legano, fra l'altro, la vitalità e la "resilienza" del movimento mullista, il suo carattere polimorfo, con ramificazioni (per quanto spurie) fuori dai teatri principali di guerra, la natura mutevole delle sue manifestazioni e le difficoltà – politiche e militari – incontrate dalle autorità coloniali nella sua repressione. Sul piano degli equilibri locali, l'azione del Mullah appare, inoltre, profondamente correlata agli assetti di potere presenti sul territorio, alle caratteristiche del sistema di sicurezza locale, e alle dinamiche instauratisi fra potenze occidentali e realtà politiche autoctone, non ultimo l'impero etiope, impegnato in una faticosa penetrazione verso l'Ogaden e tradizionalmente in rapporti difficili con le popolazioni somale della frontiera². A questo proposito, si possono evidenziare alcuni pa-

Nella traslitterazione dei nomi propri, si è fatto ricorso a una versione semplificata – con la soppressione dei segni diacritici – dei criteri adottati dall'*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, CD-ROM ed., Leida, 1999; per la traslitterazione dei toponimi, si è privilegiato il criterio di riconoscibilità, integrato dall'uso della forma italiana riportata dalle fonti coeve; nei brani citati, sono stati rispettati i criteri originali, salvo – ove necessario – l'inserimento della forma "normalizzata" fra parentesi quadre.

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¹ C.E. Callwell, *Small Wars. Their Principles and Practice*, 3[^] ed., with an introduction by Douglas Porch, Lincoln, NE – Londra, 1996 (rist. della 3[^] ed., Londra, 1906).

² Sulle relazioni somalo-etiopiche nel quadro più ampio del processo di sviluppo socio-politico del Corno d'Africa cfr., per tutti, I.M. Lewis, A Modern History of Somalia. Nation and State in the Horn of Africa,

rallelismi fra la tipologia delle operazioni condotte per la repressione del movimento mullista e le guerre 'asimmetriche' di recente esperienza:

- 1) L'assenza di un potere politico effettivo sui territori contesi e il proliferare, su questi stessi territori, di rivendicazioni contrastanti da parte da soggetti diversi.
- 2) Il carattere transfrontaliero delle operazioni belliche, con il coinvolgimento in vari momenti di porzioni del Somaliland, della Somalia italiana, dei protettorati di Obbia e dei Migiurtini, dell'impero etiopico e (marginalmente) del Sudan post-mahidsta.
- 3) La partecipazione diretta o indiretta di numerosi attori regionali e l'ancoraggio del conflitto al mutevole sistema delle alleanze e delle ambizioni politiche locali.
- 4) Il carattere di lunga durata della crisi, la sua evoluzione da ribellione locale a movimento a carattere messianico e proto-nazionalista, e la diversa percezione sviluppata, dai diversi attori coinvolti, riguardo all'effettiva natura del movimento stesso.
- 5) Il confronto fra strategie e modalità operative diverse, e la necessità per le potenze coloniali di adattare la loro azione ai tratti di un conflitto "non convenzionale", radicalmente diverso sia dalle guerre "di tipo europeo" fra grandi Potenze, sia dalle "tradizionali" campagne coloniali 'di conquista', basate, di norma, sullo sfruttamento in un unico scontro risolutivo della superiorità tecnico-operativa "occidentale" rispetto al nemico.

Dimensione politica e militare si fondono, quindi, in modo pressoché inscindibile sia nell'esperienza mullista, sia in quella della sua faticosa repressione. La stessa compenetrazione caratterizza sottotraccia le vicende politico-diplomatica della (problematica) collaborazione anglo-italiana per il soffocamento del movimento insurrezionale. La diversa valutazione data dalle autorità dei due Paesi all'azione e alla figura di Muhammad Hassan giustifica, in larga misura, le difficoltà incontrate da questa collaborazione, già complicata da problemi di ordine materiale legati all'estensione del teatro operativo e alla labilità del suo controllo. Essa giustifica, inoltre, l'atteggiamento in parte diverso tenuto dalle due Potenze nei confronti del Mullah e dei suoi seguaci, almeno fino al fallimento, fra il 1908 e il 1909, dell'assetto politico e territoriale definito dagli accordi di Illig³.

Anche in questo senso, le vicende in esame riflettono sostanziali affinità con quelle di anni più recenti. Come in varie esperienze successive, l'assenza di una percezione condivisa

Londra – New York, 1980; per una chiave interpretativa cfr. le osservazioni iniziali di G. Calchi Novati, *Il Corno d'Africa nella storia e nella politica. Etiopia, Somalia e Eritrea fra nazionalismi, sottosviluppo e guerra*, Torino, 1994; le interazioni che, al di là delle ripartizioni geografiche, connettono i territori degli altipiani, dell'interno e della costa sono esposte sinteticamente in F. Grassi, *Nazionalismo, guerriglia ed imperialismo italiano nella Somalia del Nord (1899-1905)*, "Storia Contemporanea", vol. 8 (1977), n. 4, pp. 611-81 e, più dettagliatamente, in I.M. Lewis, *A Pastoral Democracy: A Study of Pastoralism and Politics among the Northern Somali of the Horn of Africa*, Londra, 1961 (ed. it., *Una democrazia pastorale: Modo di produzione pastorale e relazioni politiche tra i somali settentrionali del Corno d'Africa*, Milano, 1983).

Sulla posizione italiana verso il Mullah cfr., per tutti, Grassi, *Nazionalismo, guerriglia ed imperialismo...*, cit., spec. pp. 629 ss.; per un inserimento di tale posizione, da una parte nel quadro della politica di penetrazione italiana in Somalia, dall'altro nel sistema degli equilibri internazionali dell'epoca cfr. Id., *Le origini dell'imperialismo italiano. Il caso somalo. 1896-1915*, Lecce, 1980; in inglese, cfr. R.L. Hess, *Italian Colonialism in Somalia*, Chicago, IL, 1966; sulle vicende generali della colonizzazione italiana in Africa orientale cfr., diffusamente, A. Del Boca, *Gli italiani in Africa orientale*, 4 voll., Milano, 1992 (prima ed., Roma-Bari, 1976-84), spec. vol. I, *Dall'Unità alla marcia su Roma*, parte III, capp. VIII ss.; con un approccio tematico cfr., per quanto di interesse, N. Labanca, *Oltremare. Storia dell'espansione coloniale italiana*, Bologna, 2002.

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della minaccia e dei mezzi più adatti ad affrontarla ha rappresentato, nel caso della repressione del movimento mullista, uno dei tratti salienti di una campagna rivolta essenzialmente verso un nemico 'non convenzionale', e nella quale modi e tempi dell'azione militare dipendevano in larga parte da considerazioni di carattere politico. Anche a questo livello appare, quindi, centrale il ruolo della popolazione civile: colonna portante e – allo stesso tempo – vittima prima del movimento insurrezionale, questo suo duplice ruolo è stato sottovalutato, in molte occasioni, dalle autorità coloniali. Solo dopo lo scoppio della prima guerra mondiale, il rischio di un nuovo allargamento della rivolta e di una sua possibile trasformazione in movimento di resistenza a carattere panislamico ha spinto a riconsiderare in qualche misura questa valutazione, stabilendo così i presupposti di quelli che sarebbero stati i successi sul campo dell'immediato dopoguerra.

La nascita di un profeta

I primi anni di vita di Muhammad Hassan competono più alla leggenda che alla storia. Secondo le varie fonti, il futuro Mullah sarebbe nato fra la metà degli anni Cinquanta e la fine dei Sessanta dell'Ottocento (alcuni autori si spingono a parlare dei primi anni Settanta), in un luogo della Somalia nord-orientale solo vagamente identificato. Appartenente, per parte di padre, al sotto-clan dei Darod Ogaden, per parte di madre era legato a quello dei Darod Dhulbahante che, sia negli anni della parabola derviscio, sia in quelli successivi, rappresenteranno una delle principali forze di opposizione alla colonizzazione francese, britannica e italiana della Somalia. Il ramo paterno della famiglia aveva solide tradizioni religiose, che risalivano all'epoca del bisnonno, lo *shaikh* Ismaan di Bardera. Proprio lo *shaikh* Ismaan avrebbe lasciato per primo la zona d'origine della famiglia (nella regione dell'alto Uebi Scebeli) per insediarsi nel Giuba, da dove il nonno di Muhammad, Hassan Nur, sarebbe partito per trasferirsi, intorno al 1821, nelle regioni del nord-est⁴.

L'inclinazione religiosa di Muhammad Hassan si manifestò assai presto ma assunse una connotazione 'militante' solo intorno alla metà degli anni Novanta. Fino a questa data sembra, anzi, attestata la sua posizione d'intermediario fra le autorità britanniche di Berbera e le tribù dell'interno, rispetto alle quali il controllo esercitato dai vertici coloniali era poco più che nominale. Nel 1894, durante l'*Hajj*, entrò in contatto con gli insegnamenti della *tariqa* (confraternita) Salihiyya, fondata da Mohammed b. Salih da una costola della sudanese Rashidiyya, come parte del più ampio "risveglio" neo-wahhabita di seconda metà Ottocento. L'anno seguente, dopo una permanenza ad Aden (anch'essa possedimento britannico), rien-

⁴ Per un profilo biografico di Muhammad Hassan cfr. D. Jardine, The Mad Mullah of Somaliland, Londra, 1923 (rist., New York, 1969; ed. it., Il Mullah del paese dei Somali: 1916-1921, Roma, 1928) e, fuori dagli stereotipi coloniali, A. Sheik-Abdi, Divine Madness. Mohammed Abdulle Hassan (1865-1920), Londra, 1993; in sintesi, cfr. anche R.L. Hess, The Poor Man of God: Muhammad 'Abdullah Hassan, in N.R. Bennet (Ed.), Leadership in Eastern Africa: Six Political Biographies, Boston, 1968, pp. 65-108; sul movimento mullista cfr., in italiano, G. Nicolosi, Imperialismo e resistenza in Corno d'Africa. Mohammed Abdullah Hassan e il deriviscismo somalo (1899-1920), Soveria Mannelli, 2001 e, in inglese, R. Beachey, The Warrior Mullah. The Horn Aflame. 1892-1920, Londra, 1990; sugli aspetti militari dell'insurrezione cfr. F.S. Caroselli, Ferro e fuoco in Somalia, Roma, 1931; sulle operazioni antimulliste fino all'epoca del trattato di Illig, cfr., dal punto di vista britannico, General Staff – War Office, Official History of the Operations in Somaliland, 1901-1904, 2 voll., Londra, 1907.

trò in Somalia, insediandosi a Berbera, capoluogo del Somaliland, dove si trattene per circa due anni. Nel contesto urbano di Berbera, caratterizzato dalla presenza di una popolazione composita, di forti interessi mercantili (legati, anzitutto, all'approvvigionamento di Aden) e dall'influenza della più radicata e meno rigorosa Qadiriyya, la sua predicazione rigorista, improntata al ritorno alla "purezza" dell'Islam "originario", ottenne scarsi risultati. Fu soprattutto questo a spingerlo a tornare presso i nomadi Dhulbahante, che avrebbero costituito il nucleo del primo movimento mullista⁵.

Secondo le versioni ufficiali britanniche, i primi atti di aperta ostilità di Muhammad Hassan risalgono agli inizi del 1899, quando, prendendo a pretesto un furto di cammelli, i suoi seguaci (dervisci) saccheggiarono alcuni insediamenti nel territorio degli Isaaq Habr Yunis (ramo del più ampio sotto-clan degli Habr Gerhajis, tradizionalmente soggetto alla protezione britannica), minacciando nello stesso tempo di occupare Burao⁶. In questa fase, il numero dei suoi seguaci è ancora limitato. Se la consistenza complessiva del movimento si situa, nell'aprile 1899, intorno alle 3.000 unità (fra uomini e donne), l'ampiezza dell'inner circle (che costituisce anche la forza combattente) non supera i 200/300 uomini⁷. La sua capacità di attrazione è, comunque, notevole. In agosto, quando il Mullah lancia il suo appello al jihad contro gli etiopi, i britannici e i loro ausiliari somali, le autorità di Berbera quantificano il suo seguito in 5.000 uomini, di cui almeno 1.500 montati e 200 provvisti di fucili "moderni" (soprattutto Gras francesi, ma anche altri modelli, di provenienza britannica, francese e russa), acquisiti attraverso i circuiti del traffico d'armi clandestino. Mobilitazione religiosa, fedeltà clanica e ragioni d'interesse sono gli elementi che spiegano il successo del suo appello. Sebbene l'azione del movimento derviscio assuma, talora, i tratti del proto-nazionalismo, il richiamo patriottico non riesce, invece, a dare a essa una vera unitarietà, né a impedire che finisca con l'esprimersi in larga misura contro i segmenti somali ostili, assumendo talora i

Sugli aspetti religiosi della predicazione di Muhammad Hassan cfr. B.G. Martin, Sayyid Muhammad 'Abdallah Hasan of Somalia, in Id., Muslim Brotherhoods in Nineteenth-Century Africa, Cambridge et al., 1976, pp. 177-201; sulle origini della Rashidiyya e le sue germinazioni nel vasto panorama del sufismo sudanese cfr. A.S. Karrar, The Sufi Brotherhoods in the Sudan, Londra, 1992; per un inquadramento generale dell'Islam africano cfr. i contributi contenuti in N. Levtzion – R.L. Pouwels (Eds.), The History of Islam in Africa, Athens, OH – Oxford – Claremont, 2000, spec. parti II (West Africa and the Sudan) e III (Eastern and Southern Africa).

I rapporti fra il Mullah e le autorità di Berbera erano, comunque, già tesi a causa del presunto furto di un fucile da parte dei dervisci, fucile che Muhammad Hassan sosteneva essergli stato venduto da un ausiliario somalo della *Constabulary Force*; in seguito, sempre a Berbera, avevano iniziato a circolare delle voci sull'intento di Muhammad Hassan di lanciare la "guerra santa" contro gli "infedeli" britannici, voci apparentemente suffragate dall'azione svolta da *Hajji* Muhammad per costituire una sorta di "fronte unito", componendo i dissidi sino allora esistenti fra i Dhulbahante, gli Isaaq Habr Yunis e gli Isaaq Habar Jaalo.

La stima è del Console Generale a Berbera, Hayes-Sadler, secondo il quale il numero dei fucili a disposizione dei dervisci sarebbe stato, all'epoca, circa sessanta; è la stessa fonte ad attestare le cifre dell'allargamento del movimento nei mesi successivi (*Official History...*, cit., p. 49). Fino al 1898, quando l'amministrazione del Somaliland era affidata al Governo dell'India, il dispositivo militare del Paese comprendeva 110/120 uomini dei reparti di fanteria indigena distaccati dalla guarnigione di Aden, 25 ausiliari del *Somali Camel Corps* e 95 uomini della polizia locale. Con il passaggio dell'amministrazione delle mani di Londra, questo dispositivo fu progressivamente riorganizzato. Nel 1900, dopo il rimpatrio del contingente indiano, esso comprendeva il 2° battaglione, *Central African Rifles*, 53 ausiliari del *Somali Camel Corps*, 78 agenti permanenti e 50 avventizi della polizia locale, 110 agenti civili di polizia e 470 uomini della leva tribale (*Somali levies*).

tratti dell'imperialismo interno. Significativo è, piuttosto, il modo in cui, pur alimentandosi in certa misura delle dinamiche "tradizionali" della società somala, il movimento mullista cerchi, in qualche modo di travalicarle, sia enfatizzando il ruolo del suo *leader* come centro della normazione e della "rete delle fedeltà", sia istituendo, intorno alla sua figura, un embrione di struttura istituzionale, ordinata gerarchicamente e comprendente, fra l'altro, il primo nucleo di un esercito "regolare".

La prima campagna militare contro il Mullah iniziò solo nell'aprile 1901, ritardata dalle più pressanti esigenze della seconda guerra boera. Fra la fine del 1899 e gli inizi del 1900, il movimento mullista aveva sperimentato una prima frattura, seguita alla morte di Garad Ali e all'allontanamento del ramo Farah Garad dei Dhulbahante; nello stesso periodo, il centro della sua azione si era spostato verso sud-ovest, a cavallo della frontiera meridionale del protettorato. A questa data, le fonti britanniche quantificano il suo seguito immediato in circa 1.200 uomini, registrando voci secondo cui l'intero sotto-clan degli Ogaden si sarebbe sottoposto alla sua autorità9. La campagna di repressione, condotta congiuntamente dalle forze britanniche e da quelle etiopiche per un totale di circa 17.000 uomini, inflisse un duro colpo al movimento (1.200 fra morti e feriti, 800 prigionieri, e un numero imprecisato di capi di bestiame confiscati, secondo il rapporto finale del comandante della spedizione, colonnello Swayne, a fronte della perdita, da parte britannica di 25 morti e 27 feriti), ma non condusse a risultati definitivi, a parte spingere per la prima volta il Mullah nei territori del sultanato dei Migiurtini, protettorato italiano dal 1889 insieme al confinante sultanato di Obbia. Già nel giugno 1902, all'epoca della seconda campagna (anch'essa condotta, come la precedente, soprattutto da ausiliari locali appoggiati da un contingente dei neo-costituiti King's African Rifles), la forza del movimento era stimata fra i 15.000 e i 20.000 uomini, di cui 8.000/12.000 montati e 1.000/1.500 armati con fucili "moderni", e l'ambito d'azione del Mullah era tornato a includere i territori dei Dhulbahante abbandonati due anni prima. L'accresciuta della presenza etiope in Ogaden e il moltiplicarsi delle razzie ai danni delle popolazioni somale di frontiera svolsero una parte importante nel favorire la ripresa del movimento¹⁰. Allo stesso

Su questi aspetti cfr., seppure con qualche riserva, A.M. Issa-Salwe, The Failure of the Daraawiish State. The Clash Between Somali Clanship and State System, testo dell'intervento presentato al 5° Congresso internazionale di studi somali, College of the Holy Cross, Worcester, MA, 1-7 dicembre 1993; sui rapporti (non sempre lineari) fra il movimento mullista e le strutture di potere tradizionali della Somalia coeva cfr., sinteticamente, Lewis, A Pastoral Democracy..., cit., pp. 226 ss.; sul carattere sostanzialmente acefalo della società somala cfr., per quanto rilevante, le osservazioni di M.V. Höhne, Traditional Authorities in Northern Somalia: Transformation of Positions and Powers, Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology, Working Paper n. 82, Halle/Saale, 2006. Il carattere "eversivo" dell'azione del Mullah rispetto gli assetti tradizionali del Paese e la natura "secondaria" della sua ostilità alla presenza europea è chiaramente percepito dalla letteratura coeva. Come osserva Caroselli (Ferro e fuoco..., cit., pp. 14-15): "Scech Agi Mohamed bin Abdullah Hassan fu prima rivoluzionario che ribelle, attentò all'ordine sociale costituito delle tribù somale, all'autorità dei Capi, al legittimo dominio sulle terre; urtò contro l'autorità del governo britannico soltanto quando ne attaccò le tribù protette; ma la sua ostilità verso gli infedeli europei fu soltanto secondaria; difensiva quasi. Troppo egli era impegnato nella più circoscritta lotta pel trionfo della sua 'tariqa' - che era il suo trionfo sulle 'tariqe' rivali e sull'indifferentismo predominante, cioè sulle tribù, per iniziare una vera guerra santa in grande stile".

⁹ Official History..., cit., p. 50.

¹⁰ In questo senso cfr. la relazione (peraltro assai critica riguardo all'efficacia del proselitismo mullista e alle stesse capacità militari del movimento) indirizzata dal Governatore del Benadir, Emilio Dulio, al R. Conso-

modo, il sostegno di Osman Mahmud, sultano dei Migiurtini, che aveva iniziato a spalleggiare il Mullah già agli inizi del 1900, permise al movimento stesso di accedere a più consistenti forniture d'armi, provenienti soprattutto dal possedimento francese di Gibuti¹¹. I legami fra il movimento mullista e i difficili equilibri della Somalia nord-orientale sono inoltre attestati dal fatto che, sempre nel territorio dei Migiurtini, Mohammed Hasan si sia rifugiato anche nel 1904, dopo la sconfitta subita a Jid Ali nello scontro con le forze del generale Egerton, nel corso della quarta campagna per la repressione del suo movimento. Proprio l'insediamento dei *darwish* nel territorio dei Migiurtini favorì, in questo periodo, la stipula degli accordi di Illig (5 marzo 1905), destinati a produrre una nuova stasi nelle ostilità inquadrando – almeno formalmente e non senza problemi – Muhammad Hassan nella sfera di influenza italiana¹².

Origine e fallimento degli accordi di Illig

I mesi successivi alla stipula degli accordi di Illig¹³ non furono, quindi, esenti da difficoltà, legate soprattutto all'ostilità progressivamente emersa fra i dervisci e le popolazioni stanziate nei territori dell'Obbia e dei Migiurtini, fra i quali era stata ricavata la loro area di insediamento. Questa ostilità – prodotto soprattutto di tensioni ambientali – si saldava alle rivalità politiche esistenti fra Muhammad Hassan e i capi dei due potentati confinanti per il controllo di alcune aree interstiziali, prima fra tutte quella di Modugh. Già alla fine del 1905

- lato italiano di Zanzibar in data il 20.10.1902, Allegato 20 in Ministero della Guerra, Comando del Corpo di S.M. Ufficio Storico, *Somalia*, vol. I, *Dalle origini al 1914*, Roma, 1938, p. 284.
- Sul ruolo di Gibuti nella rete del traffico clandestino d'armi cfr. R. W. Beachey, The Arms Trade in East Africa in the Late Nineteenth Century, "Journal of African History", vol. 3 (1962), n. 3, pp. 451-67; sul più ampio sistema del contrabbando d'armi nell'Oceano Indiano occidentale cfr B. Nicolini, The Traffic of Arms and Ammunitions in the Gulf and in the Western Indian Ocean between the Late 19th and Early 20th Century, testo dell'intervento presentato alla conferenza "The Global Gulf", University of Exeter, 4-6 luglio 2006.
- 12 Sullo scontro di Jid Ali [Jidbali] cfr. Official History..., cit., pp. 238 ss.; sul ruolo del Mullah negli equilibri della Somalia orientale cfr. F. Battera, Dalla tribù allo Stato nella Somalia nord-orientale: il caso dei sultanati di Hobiyo e Majeerteen, 1880-1930, Trieste, 2004, spec. cap. 5; in parte diversa è la posizione di R.L. Hess, The 'Mad Mullah' and Northern Somalia, "Journal of African History", vol. 5 (1964), n. 3, pp. 415-33. La terza campagna aveva avuto luogo nel 1903, sempre con il sostegno delle forze etiopiche e, questa volta, anche con l'appoggio politico delle autorità italiane, che avevano autorizzato (non senza esitazioni) il passaggio delle colonne britanniche nel territorio di Obbia. Nonostante l'ambizioso obiettivo di costringere il Mullah ad accettare battaglia in campo aperto in condizioni per lui sfavorevoli, la campagna si era conclusa con pesanti perdite da parte britannica, la maggior parte (187 morti, fra cui nove ufficiali, e ventinove feriti, oltre a dieci mitragliatici Maxim e a una quantità imprecisata di rifornimenti) nel corso della battaglia di Gumburu, il 17 aprile 1903. Le perdite subite a Gumburu dai dervisci sono stimate nell'ordine dei 2.700 uomini; l'impatto psicologico della sconfitta fu, comunque, notevole se si considera come "'nativi' africani non avevano mai imposto una simile sconfitta a una forza britannica dai tempi del Mahdi sudanese, i cui seguaci, nel corso degli anni Ottanta, avevano mandato frequentemente in rotta i 'quadrati' britannici". Cfr. Martin, Sayyid Muhammad..., cit., p. 185; i dettagli della vicenda sono in H. Moyse-Bartlett, The King's African Rifles: A Study in the Military History of East and Central Africa, 1890-1945, Aldershot, 1956.
- Sulla complessa trattativa che aveva portato alla stipula di tali accordi e per un'esposizione sintetica delle loro previsioni cfr. il rapporto indirizzato dal Console Generale a Zanzibar, Giulio Pestalozza, al Ministero degli Affari Esteri, in data 16.10.1904, Allegato 30 in Ministero della Guerra, Somalia, cit., pp. 306-17; in Allegato 31, ivi, pp. 318-19, cfr. anche i termini dell'Accordo provvisorio di pace fra Sayed Mohamed bin Abdillah e il Commissario di S.M. Britannica per il Protettorato del Somaliland, W.M. Yones, dato in Berbera il 14.3.1905 e controfirmato dallo stesso Pestalozza.

"Il gioco di tre sultani [Muhammad Hassan, che tale era considerato dalle autorità italiane a seguito degli stessi accordi Illig, il sultano di Obbia, Yusuf Ali, e Osman Mahmud dei Migiurtinil appariva chiaro; ognuno tentava di spodestare l'altro... e la responsabilità degli incidenti rispetto alle popolazioni e alle Potenze ricadeva in definitiva sul Governo italiano che non riusciva a evitarli, e solo interveniva come paciere fra i contendenti"¹⁴. La posizione del Mullah era ambiguo anche rispetto alle sollevazioni che agitavano i Bimal e i Wadan del Benadir, altra tradizionale area d'interesse italiano. Pur dichiarandosi a favore della pace con le autorità di Roma, "[c]orreva voce che il Mullah, temendo che l'inazione fosse causa della perdita del prestigio che quale condottiero aveva saputo acquistarsi, avesse inviato alle tribù somale un proclama, esortandole a comporre i loro dissidi e a unirsi tutte a lui per muovere guerra ai bianchi"15. Incapace di agire come vero elemento unificante le varie identità tribali, il mullismo finiva così, comunque, per agire da riferimento obbligato di tutte le forze di resistenza alla presenza coloniale. Come è stato rilevato: "[s]ebbene il messaggio profetico del Mullah non fosse ben accolto fuori dalle aree tribali dei Darod, gli altri Somali vedevano in lui un simbolo di rivolta, l'incarnazione del loro concetto nomadico di libertà e della loro antipatia verso i non somali"16. In ciò, esso non si distacca da altre esperienze che fra la fine del XIX e l'inizio del XX secolo hanno evidenziato la stessa saldatura fra elemento politico e religioso, come quella – già ricordata – del mahdismo sudanese (1881-1898) e le rivolte a carattere tribal-religioso della North West Frontier indiana¹⁷.

Il permanere delle tensioni con l'Etiopia (soprattutto con i *ras* dell'Harar, che vedevano nell'Ogaden e nella valle dello Uebi Scebeli i propri assi di penetrazione principali), le scorrerie compiute da entrambe le parti e la crescente presenza (soprattutto) italiana nella regione, costituivano altri catalizzatori del movimento. Lo nota anche governatore generale Tommaso Carletti (1907-10) riguardo ai territori del Nogal e dell'Haud, in cui i dervisci erano insediati. "Come si fa a vivere, specialmente quando si ha un largo stuolo di seguaci da mantenere? In un solo modo: colla industria della razzia, vivendo cioè a spese dei vicini ... anch'essi nostri protetti" Una visione, questa, confermata anche dal suo successore, Giacomo De Martino (1910-16): nel rilevare come larga parte del successo del Mullah si

¹⁴ Ministero della Guerra, Somalia, cit., p. 129.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 135.

Hess, *The 'Mad Mullah'*..., cit., p. 422; sulla mancanza di un progetto nazionale coerente all'interno del movimento derviscio cfr. anche E.R. Turton, *The Impact of Mohammad Abdille Hassan in the East Africa Protectorate*, "Journal of African History", vol. 10 (1969), n. 4, pp. 641-57. Riguardo ai rapporti del movimento con la rivolta dei Bimal e dei Wadan nel Benadir è stato osservato (Grassi, *Le origini*..., cit., p. 146) che, nonostante "i contatti che vi erano stati e che vi saranno ancor più in seguito ... il nazionalismo mullista e la ribellione dei tradizionalisti Bimal e Uadan erano movimenti assolutamente diversi e politicamente contrastanti", pur ammettendo la possibilità che vi fossero, fra loro, momenti di convergenza "tattica".

Sul mahdismo sudanese cfr. P.M. Holt, The Mahdist State in Sudan 1881-1898. A Study of Its Origins, Development and Overthrown, Oxford, 1970; sulla rivolta dei Pashtun della North West Frontier nel 1897 cfr. H. Woosnam Mills, The Pathan Revolt in North-West India, Lahore, 1996 (prima ed., Lahore, 1897), per uno studio della rivolta in propettiva "postcoloniale" cfr. D.B. Edwards, Mad Mullahs and Englishmen: Discourse in the Colonial Encounter, "Comparative Studies in Society and History", vol. 31 (1989), n. 4, pp. 649-70.

¹⁸ Cit. in Ministero della Guerra, Somalia, cit., p. 154.

leghi ai benefici che possono derivare per i suoi seguaci dalla partecipazione al movimento, De Martino, osserva, infatti, come la potenza di Muhammad Hassan sia "guerresca 'più che religiosa ... Egli mantiene con le depredazioni fedeli a sè [sic], i propri seguaci, paurosi gli altri [i sultanati di Obbia e di Migiurtini] che, divisi tra loro, non muovono a guerra con uno scopo, ma a razzia oppongono razzia, a depredazione depredazione"¹⁹.

Nonostante il consolidamento del movimento mullista in una struttura territoriale parastatuale e istituzionalizzata, anche dopo Illig il seguito del Mullah e la sua capacità di generare consenso si fonda, quindi, in larga misura, su meccanismi di fedeltà "tradizionali", integrati – ove necessario – da un'accorta politica di alleanze matrimoniali. Queste dinamiche operano sia come fattori aggregativi del movimento, sia come elementi di disgregazione. La sconfessione di Muhammad Hasan da parte di Mohammed b. Salih (1909), ad esempio, richiesta da Abd Allah Sheheri (che era stato, in precedenza, uno dei negoziatori degli accordi di Illig e uno dei più stretti collaboratori del Mullah) proprio a seguito di divergenze nel campo delle scelte matrimoniali, porta a una grave spaccatura all'interno del movimento e a una ripresa del proselitismo verso le popolazioni del Somaliland, in particolare verso alcuni sotto-clan dei Darod-Warsangali. Gli effetti pratici della "scomunica" ... si fanno sentire soprattutto nel Benadir ... Nella Somalia settentrionale ... le ripercussioni ... sono assai minori del previsto, sia perché l'atto non è conosciuto, sia a causa della lealtà che il Mullah è riuscito a instillare nella maggioranza dei seguaci"20. La consapevolezza del fallimento del tentativo (per molti aspetti velleitario) di 'normalizzare' la posizione del Mullah vincolandolo al rispetto delle clausole di Illig, aveva portato già nel 1908 le autorità italiane a elaborare una strategia di contenimento articolata in quattro punti principali:

- 1) Intensificazione dei pattugliamenti navali lungo la costa orientale per limitare l'afflusso di armi al movimento mullista, soprattutto attraverso i Migiurtini;
- 2) Contenimento dell'espansione del raggio d'azione del movimento con la collaborazione delle Potenze e delle tribù confinanti, nonostante i timori esistenti rispetto alle effettive intenzioni delle autorità britanniche e di quelle etiopiche²¹;
- 3) Delegittimazione del Mullah come autorità religiosa, a seguito della posizione assunta da Mohammed b. Salih, anche con interventi diretti sulle autorità della Mecca, in modo da ridurre la capacità di attrazione del suo appello al *jihad*;
- 4) Istituzione di presidi fissi a Balad, Dolo, Makanne e Bur Aceba, per impedire al Mullah

- 20 Hess, The 'Mad Mullah'..., cit., p. 424; sui rapporti fra l'iniziativa di Abd Allah Sheheri e la politica delle autorità italiane cfr. Nicolosi, Imperialismo e resistenza..., cit., pp. 199 ss.; sostanzialmente concorde è la posizione di Lewis secondo cui "[a]ppare probabile che la manovra sia stata concordata congiuntamente dalle autorità italiane e britanniche, anche se non vi sono dubbi che sul fatto che Haji 'Abdallah Sheheri, come molti altri ex-aderenti [al movimento], considerasse ora i dervisci fanatici, che pagavano solo una minima attenzione ai precetti dell'Islam o alle regole della Salihiyya" (Lewis, A Modern History..., cit., p. 75).
- 21 Secondo il Capo di Stato Maggiore, generale Alberto Pollio, l'azione delle autorità del Somaliland mirava soprattutto a spingere il Mullah ad allontanarsi dalla colonia, riparando presso i Bah Geri, la sottosezione dei Darod-Ogaden da cui proveniva la famiglia di suo padre. Quanto all'impero etiopico, sempre secondo Pollio: "si è indotti a ritenere che possa corrispondere all'interesse dell'Abissinia di non intralciare l'azione del Mullah. Sembra infatti, che qualora il Mullah si stabilisse sotto il dominio abissino e nello stesso tempo potesse esercitare la sua azione sul Nogal e sulla Migiurtinia, l'Abissinia verrebbe a includere, sia pure indirettamente la Somalia settentrionale ed avere il suo mare".

¹⁹ Ivi, p. 165.

di estendere il suo controllo alla riva destra dello Uebi Scebeli.

APOGEO E DECLINO DEL MULLISMO

Dopo un periodo di relativa tranquillità, nello stesso 1908 anche l'azione militare del Mullah era ripresa. Le sue alleanze comprendevano ora ampi segmenti degli Ogaden, dei Warsangali, dei Bah Geri e (pur fra alti e bassi) dei Dhulbahante. La sua azione si orienta, quindi, soprattutto verso i segmenti dissenzienti di tali raggruppamenti, oltre che contro il sultano di Obbia per il controllo di Mudugh; l'acquisizione di questo territorio avrebbe, infatti, garantito al potentato mullista il controllo di un importante tratto di collegamento fra la valle del Nogal e le aree d'insediamento Bah Geri nell'alto Uebi Scebeli. Proprio per avvicinarsi ai territori del clan paterno, nel 1910 il Mullah lascia Illig risalendo la valle del Nogal fino Taleh, dove stabilisce il suo nuovo quartiere generale. In questo periodo, la sua strategia militare subisce un'importante evoluzione. Alle razzie e alle azioni di guerriglia che avevano caratterizzato sia gli anni precedenti gli accordi di Illig, sia quelli successivi a tali accordi, si affianca, in questa fase, un'azione di sistematica occupazione del territorio, attraverso la realizzazione d'insediamenti permanenti e la costruzione – anche con il ricorso a manodopera yemenita -- di fortezze in pietra e mattoni. Fra gli altri, nascono gli insediamenti di Jid Ali e Medishe in territorio Warsangali, di Wreder e Gorrahei nell'Ogaden, e di Belet Uen nella Somalia meridionale. Il successo di questa strategia è favorito dalla scelta dei rappresentanti britannici, Sir Reginald Wingate (Governatore generale del Sudan anglo-egiziano) e Rudolf von Slatin (Slatin Pasha, Ispettore generale del Sudan), di abbandonare l'interno del Somaliland per concentrare la presenza politica e militare di Londra esclusivamente nelle aree costiere (marzo-aprile 1910).

Nel novembre 1911, il Mullah rientra in Somaliland con circa 6.000 uomini, attaccando di nuovo i segmenti "dissidenti" dei Dhulbahante. La catena dei suoi avamposti si snoda, in questi anni, da Scimber Berri a Jid Ali con l'obiettivo (forse) di costituire uno Stato territoriale comprendente l'alta valle di Nogal, quella dell'Ain e una parte del territorio dei Warsangali²². In questi anni, il movimento mullista riesce inoltre a esprimere, da una parte, la sua massima forza di attrazione, dall'altra il suo massimo potenziale militare, raggiungendo una consistenza stimata (forse ottimisticamente) in circa 10.000 uomini. Il 9 agosto 1913, a Dul Madoba, nei pressi di Burao, le forze del Mullah impongono una pesante sconfitta agli ausiliari (*illalo*) del *Somaliland Camel Constabulary*, il cui comandante, colonnello Corfield, rimane ucciso²³. Il 5 settembre cavalieri dervisci saccheggiano Burao e, fra il 12 e il 13 marzo 1914, raggiungono i sobborghi di Berbera. In tale anno, la costituzione del *Somaliland Camel Corps*, per quanto avversata dai vertici politici britannici, consentirà alle autorità del protettorato di riprendere gradualmente il controllo dell'interno del Paese; ancora durante la prima guerra mondiale, però, l'azione anglo-italiana avrà come obiettivo principale contenere l'azione del Mullah più che reprimerla²⁴.

²² Un riferimento in questo senso è in Del Boca, Gli italiani in Africa orientale, vol. I, cit., p. 824.

²³ Su questo episodio cfr. il resoconto (non privo di derive agiografiche) contenuto nella biografia dello stesso Corfield (H.F.P. Battersby, *Richard Corfield of Somaliland*, Londra, 1914); sulla sconfitta di Dul Madoba come "serio colpo a rinascente prestigio britannico" cfr. Maritin, *Sayyid Muhammad...*, cit., p. 191.

²⁴ Nel 1914, l'Italia aveva occupato il Mudugh, spostando la frontiera dei suoi possedimenti sulla linea Gallacaio-Bulo Burti.

Sfumata nel 1916 l'alleanza con Ligg Jasu a causa della deposizione di quest'ultimo, Muhammad Hassan è comunque costretto sulla difensiva. Nonostante le promesse sia da parte della Germania, sia dell'Impero ottomano, gli aiuti che raggiungono i dervisci sono, infatti, ridotti. Nemmeno la nomina (peraltro meramente simbolica) di Muhammad Hassan a emiro della nazione somala e la sua investitura (altrettanto simbolica) al governo del Paese riescono a risollevare le sorti del movimento. L'azione delle sue forze torna a indirizzarsi contro le popolazioni poste sotto la protezione anglo-italiana con una serie di razzie e di contro-razzie, e anche dal punto di vista territoriale si assiste a un ripiegamento rispetto alle posizioni raggiunte nel 1913. Nel Somaliland, il movimento si concentra soprattutto nelle roccaforti di Taleh e Jid Ali; nel settore italiano, esse ripiegano invece su Belet Uen, dove resisteranno fino all'estate 1921. E' in questo periodo che il fronte antimullista si salda definitivamente. Esso comprende l'Italia, la Gran Bretagna, l'Etiopia di Zauditù e di Tafari Makonnen e i sultanati di Obbia e dei Migiurtini, ormai parte pressoché stabile dell'orbita di Roma. Questo ultimi in particolare sperimentano (grazie al sostegno delle autorità italiane) un importante rafforzamento sul piano militare. La consistenza delle loro forze raggiunge, nel corso della prima guerra mondiale, i 7.000 uomini; secondo stime della fine del 1922, su un totale di 16.000 fucili presenti nel territorio della colonia e dei protettorati, solo 3.000 sarebbero stati nelle mani di forze regolari.

Alla fine della prima guerra mondiale, soprattutto a causa delle defezioni, la consistenza del movimento mullista si era ridotta a circa un migliaio di sostenitori. Nel gennaio 1920, ha inizio la campagna finale. Il 21 gennaio, l'Unità 'Z' della *Royal Air Force* attacca il quartiere generale del Mullah a Medishe, provocando una ventina morti e altrettanti feriti. Altri due attacchi aerei, il 22 e il 23 gennaio, precedono l'offensiva terrestre del 25 gennaio²⁵, che vede impegnati – fra gli altri – 700 uomini dei King's African Rifles. Fra il 2 e il 3 febbraio, un nuovo attacco aereo a Taleh, contro il nemico in fuga, precede la battaglia finale, che si chiude con la sconfitta definitiva delle forze mulliste e la cattura, fra l'altro, di 600 fucili. Il 20 febbraio 1920, le autorità britanniche annunciano a quelle italiane la fine definitiva della campagna. Durata sei settimane, era costata allo Scacchiere 83.000 sterline. A titolo di paragone, la terza e la quarta campagna (1902-03 e 1903-04), a fronte di nessun risultato duraturo, ne erano costate due milioni e mezzo su un totale di 73 spesi, negli stessi anni, per tutte le campagne coloniali; fra il 1904 e il 1909, prima dell'adozione della strategia di Wingate e Slatin di concentrare tutte le forze nelle aree costiere, le assegnazioni finanziare al protettorato erano aumentate da 78.000 a 190.000 sterline. Pur non portando alla attesa

²⁵ Per una sintesi delle attività dell'Unità 'Z' in Somaliland cfr. R. Gray, Bombing the "Mad Mullah" – 1920, "RUSI Journal", vol. 125 (1980), n. 4, pp. 41-47 e, per un racconto di prima mano, F.A. Skoulding, With 'Z' Unit in Somaliland, "The RAF Quarterly", vol. 2 (1931), n. 3, pp. 387-96; per una lettura critica dei risultati ottenuti nella campagna cfr. J.S. Corum, The Myth of Air Control. Reassessing the History, "Aerospace Power Journal", Winter 2000, pp. 61-71; on RAF and 'imperial policing' in Africa see D. Killingray, 'A Swift Agent of Government': Air Power in British Colonial Africa, 1916-1939, "Journal of African History", vol. 25 (1984), n. 4, pp. 429-44; a broader picture is in D. Omissi, Air Power and Colonial Control: The Royal Air force, 1919-1939, Manchester, 1990; an exposure of the theoretical basis of this commitment are in B. Hoffman, British Air Control in Peripheral Conflicts, 1919-1976, Santa Monica, CA, 1989 and M. Longoria, A Historical View of Air Policy Doctrine: Lessons from the British Experience between the Wars, 1919-1939, Maxwell AFB, AL, 1992.

²⁶ Nel 1899, il costo totale delle campagne coloniali era stato di 23 milioni di sterline. Vale la pena di osservare come l'arrivo al potere, a Londra, del governo liberale guidato da Henry Campbell-Bannerman (dicembre

cattura del Mullah (che morirà in Ogaden, nel dicembre dello stesso anno, di cause naturali), la campagna-lampo del 1920 aveva condotto, dopo più di vent'anni di sfrozi, alla definitiva sconfitta del movimento derviscio.

Conclusioni

Il prezzo maggiore di questa lunga avventura era, comunque, ricaduto sulla popolazione civile. L'adozione da parte del Mullah della dottrina del takfir nell'accezione attribuitale dal giurista hanbalita Ibn Taymiyyah (1263-1328) faceva di ogni soggetto esterno al movimento derviscio un nemico "legittimo" e, pertanto, non protetto dalle regole dello jus in bello. "I Darwaawiish potevano bruciare i villaggi e appropriarsi delle donne e dei beni di altri musulmani ... uccidere somali devoti e violare la santità dei corpi mutilandone i cadaveri ... Il Sayvid non risparmiava né uomini, né donne, né bambini ... Durante una faida con i Warsangali, nel maggio 1916, i *Darwaawiish* massacrarono 300 donne e bambini dopo avere catturato la città di Las Khorai. Allo stesso modo, Maxamed Cabdulle Xasan, non poteva perdonare la neutralità dei Dhulbahante, che razziava non ufficialmente ma permettendo ai suoi seguaci di agire come buraad, o bande autonome"27. Sotto questo punto di vista, è stato rilevato come "la guerra anti-coloniale dei daraawiiish è stata soprattutto una devastante guerra civile ... che ha contrapposto i Somali costringendoli a scegliere tra l'alternativa della soggezione al potere coloniale e quella dei daraawiish"28. Ovviamente, gli effetti di tale stato di cose sono stati sentiti in modo diverso in base alle zone e ai raggruppamenti interessati. Il Nogal, teatro di guerra per tutti i vent'anni della parabola mullista, è stata, senza dubbio, la regione che ha pagato il prezzo maggiore; allo stesso modo, alcuni clan (primi fra tutti i Dhulbahante), sia a causa del ruolo svolto da alcune loro sezioni all'interno del movimento. sia a causa delle divisioni interne che hanno fatto seguito a questa scelta. In mancanza di dati precisi, alcuni autori sono giunti a ipotizzare che le campagne di Muhammad Hassan e la spirale di rappresaglie e spedizioni punitive che queste hanno innescato, sommate alla carestia che negli stessi anni ha colpito la regione, abbiano portato – direttamente o indirettamente - alla morte di almeno un terzo della popolazione maschile del Somaliland, in quella che, pochi anni dopo i fatti, Jardine ha definito "l''orgia di violenza interetnica' che ha seguito il

¹⁹⁰⁵⁾ e i tagli da questo apportati alle spese militari, abbiano influenzato negativamente anche la condotta delle operazioni contro il Mullah, con un certo malcelato fastidio delle autorità di Berbera, secondo le quali, ancora nel 1909, le forze del Protettorato "non [erano] abbastanza numerose da trarre vantaggio della scossa prodotta dalla denuncia di [Mohammed b.] Saleh e della graduale demoralizzazione del seguito derviscio" (L. Siberman, *The "Mad" Mullah. Hero of Somali Nationalism*, "History Today", vol. 10 (1960), n. 8, pp. 533-34).

²⁷ G.L. Simpson, Jr., Mad Mullahs and the Pax Britannica. Islam as a Factor in Somali Resistance to British Colonial Rule, testo dell'intervento presentato all'AMSEA Conference 2008, The Evolution of Islamic Politics, Philosophy and Culture in the Middle East and Africa: From Traditional Limits to Modern Extremes, Washington, DC, 25-26 aprile 2008; come è ovvio, l'elencazione -- sovente dettagliata -- delle "atrocità" mulliste trova ampio riscontro nella letteratura britannica dell'epoca; oltre al già citato lavoro di Jardine cfr. anche, fra gli altri, M. McNeill, In Pursuit of the "Mad" Mullah. Service and Sport in the Somali Protectorate, Londra, 1902, e -- con un taglio dichiaratamente romanzesco -- F.S. Brereton, In the Grip of the Mullah. A Tale of Adventure in Somaliland, New York, 1903.

²⁸ Battera, Dalla tribù..., cit., p. 211; cfr. ivi, pp. 212 ss., per un elenco dei clan maggiormente colpiti.

ritiro britannico dall'interno della Somalia nel 1909"29.

Altrettanto importanti sono stati, però, gli effetti a lungo termine. Il perdurare di uno stato di guerra semipermanente e le conseguenze che ciò ha avuto sulle rotte migratorie tradizionali, hanno comportato pesanti ricadute sulla popolazione civile. Lo stesso vale per la scelta del Mullah di scardinare i principi del diritto tradizionale (xeer) sostituendoli con quelli della sua autorità personale basata, in funzione delle esigenze, su una interpretazione talora letterale, talora profetica della shari'a. Non a caso, una delle eredità durature dell'esperienza mullista è stata individuata nel peso assunto dalla religione come fattore di legittimazione politica all'interno della società somala, e al parallelo ridimensionamento del ruolo delle leadership tradizionali. In questo senso, lo scontro iniziale fra Muhammad Hassan e Gerad Ali, capo tradizionale dei Dhulbahante, assume un aspetto quasi paradigmatico. Rispetto alle configurazioni di potere prevalenti, "Non solo Maxamed Cabdulle Xasan è stato coinvolto nelle dispute fra clan ... ma è andato ben oltre, cercando di ribaltare i ruoli del rapporto patrono/cliente" che vedevano i leader religiosi occupare -- normalmente -- una posizione subordinata rispetto ai capi dei rispettivi gruppi di appartenenza. Nonostante la sconfitta del movimento mullista, la tensione a superare questo stato di cose sarebbe rimasta un tratto ricorrente della cultura politica somala. Anche per questo, la figura di Muhammad Hassan ha potuto, nel corso degli anni, trasformarsi in simbolo di unità nazionale per molte delle parti che si sono alternate al potere o che hanno cercato di unificare un Paese che rimane tuttora profondamente diviso.

²⁹ Jardine, The Mad Mullah..., cit., pp. 196-98.

The Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902) and its consequences: a South African case study of military conflict and the civilian population

ANDRÉ WESSELS

Introduction

From 11 October 1899 to 31 May 1902, the Anglo-Boer War raged in what is today South Africa. This bitter conflict may be regarded as the first liberation struggle of the twentieth century, with the Afrikaners/Boers being the first African freedom fighters. So far, it is the most extensive and destructive war that has been fought in southern Africa. In this paper, it will be shown how the military conflict between the world's only superpower on the cusp of the nineteenth and twentieth century (i.e. the British Empire) and two small Afrikaner/Boer republics (i.e. the Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek / South African Republic / Transvaal and the Oranje-Vrijstaat / Orange Free State) wreaked havoc on the civilian population. What started as a white man's war and a so-called gentleman's war, soon degenerated into a conflict that displayed characteristics of both a civil war and a total war, affecting the lives of all the inhabitants (i.e. white, black, "coloured"/brown and Asian) in the region.

In the first part of the paper, a brief review of the causes of the war will be provided, and more light will be cast on the false expectations both sides had regarding the duration of the conflict. A closer look will also be taken at the Boer and British strategies, and how these strategies were implemented during the first three (semi-)conventional phases of the struggle. It will then be pointed out how and why the character of the war changed from March 1900 onwards (i.e. when the Boers changed their (semi-)conventional strategy to that of guerrilla warfare), and what measures the British Army in South Africa took in a desperate effort to counter the new Boer onslaught. The consequences of the British counter-guerrilla strategy will then be discussed, including the "collateral damage" it inflicted on the country and its inhabitants. The British scorched-earth policy, for example, led to the destruction of approximately 30 000 Boer farmsteads; and the houses of thousands of black labourers, as well as approximately 40 towns and villages, were partially or totally destroyed. The fact that more than half of the total (only 219 000 strong) Afrikaner population of the Transvaal and Orange Free State and more than a 100 000 black civilians were left destitute, and that in due course the British authorities established internment camps (a term preferred to the emotionallycharged term "concentration camps") where these civilians were housed - most of the time under unsanitary conditions, and without sufficient food or medical facilities - speaks for itself. The result was a humanitarian disaster, which led to the death of approximately 28 000 white civilians (80% of them children, aged sixteen years and younger), and at least 23 000 (but probably many more) black civilians.

Finally, the traumatic consequences and legacy of the Anglo-Boer War, which may be traced throughout the twentieth century, will be evaluated briefly. After all, one cannot un-

derstand the history of twentieth-century South Africa (including the country's political development) without knowledge of or insight into the traumatic history of the Anglo-Boer War and the consequences it had for the country's white, black, brown and Asian inhabitants. Indeed, the war left deep spiritual and psychological scars whose powerful effects continue to be felt in the third millennium.

THE SCENE IS SET

The causes of the Anglo-Boer have to be evaluated in the context of the renewed interest that Europe took in Africa, especially since about 1875, the renewed scramble for colonies, and Britain's colonisation of large parts of Africa (see the Cape-to-Cairo ideal preached by many British imperialists). By the end of the nineteenth century, the question was: Who would in the foreseeable future be in charge of southern Africa? Two small Boer republics stood in the way of British supremacy in the region. So, the causes of the conflict of 1899 to 1902 should be seen against the above-mentioned background, and can be summarised as the culmination of a very long struggle between British imperialism and Afrikaner nationalism. Milestones along the way included events such as the following: the establishment of the two independent Boer republics; the failed British federation efforts; the discovery of diamonds at what became Kimberley, and the consequences of this discovery; the British annexation of the Transvaal (1877) and the Transvaal War of Liberation (1880-1881) that followed; the discovery of rich gold deposits on the Witwatersrand (1886); the financial interests of the mining magnates; the fact that thousands of foreigners ("uitlanders") flocked to the goldmines, their agitation for political rights, and the Jameson Raid (29 December 1895 – 2 January 1896); and the failed Bloemfontein Conference (31 May – 5 June 1900).

The Anglo-Boer War was the 226th of 230 wars, campaigns and punitive expeditions in which the British Army took part in the 64 years of Queen Victoria's reign from 1837 to 1901.² One would think that the British Army (and British politicians) would have been experienced enough by 1899 to have prepared in good time and thoroughly for a war against the Boer republics. In practice, however, this was not the case³ and although many British subjects held the view that the war would be something of the past by Christmas of 1899, the war would eventually last longer than two-and-a-half years. The Boers also had false expectations about the coming conflict, mainly because they still thought and planned in terms of

As far as the causes of the war are concerned, see, for example, I.R. Smith, *The origins of the South African War, 1899-1902* (London, 1996), *passim*; I.R. Smith, "The origins of the South African War (1899-1902): a re-appraisal", *South African Historical Journal* 22, November 1990, pp. 24-60; G.D. Scholtz, *Die oorsake van die Tweede Vryheidsoorlog 1899-1902* 1-2 (Johannesburg, 1948), *passim*; M.J. Hugo, *Die Kruger-ultimatum: vier maande van spanning* (M.A., University of Pretoria, 1943), *passim*; J.C. Boltman, *In how far was the quarrel between Sir Alfred Milner and the Pretoria government on the franchise question the real cause of the South African War of 1899 to 1902? (M.A., University of Cape Town, 1943); S. Trapido, "Imperialism, settler identities and colonial capitalism: the hundred year origins of the 1899 South African War", <i>Historia* 53(1), May 2008, pp. 46-75.

² B. Farwell, Queen Victoria's little wars (London, 1973), pp. 364-371.

For an outline of the poor preparations made by the British for the war, see, for example, A. Wessels, *Die Britse militêre strategie tydens die Anglo-Boereoorlog tot en met die Buller-fase* (D.Phil., University of the Free State, 1985), pp. 204-256.

their relatively easy victory over the (small) British force in South Africa during the Transvaal War of Liberation, and because they underestimated the British Army's fighting ability and resolve.⁴ Although both sides initially saw it as a "gentleman's" war, as well as a white man's war, the conflict was from the start neither the one nor the other.⁵

As far as resources were concerned, the British Empire (the world's only superpower in those years) by far overshadowed the two small Boer republics. The British Army could – if the Indian Army was included – field more than a million soldiers (i.e. five times the total white population of the two Boer republics), including 235 500 white permanent force soldiers. In practice, however, a large portion of the Army was deployed around the globe in the Empire's many colonies. On the eve of the war in South Africa, there were only 22 104 British soldiers in or en route to South Africa.⁶ Together with the local colonial units, the British initially had only about 27 000 soldiers in the war zone.⁷

The Boers' resources were very limited. Neither the Transvaal nor the Orange Free State (OFS) had standing armies. Their only regular forces were their respective state artillery and police forces, but they numbered in total only about 2 500. The artillery was armed with modern French and German guns, but in total there were fewer than 100 artillery pieces. The mainstay of the republican armed forces consisted of citizen armies, i.e. the approximately 32 500 Transvaal and 22 500 Free State burghers (male citizens, between sixteen and 60 years of age) that were eligible for military service. These men were organised in a decentralised commando system, whose officers were democratically elected – which in practice meant that the best persons were not always placed in positions of command. Like most of the ordinary burghers, the majority of the officers, including generals, were farmers with no formal military training and very little if any theoretical knowledge of the art of war.

The British planned to follow a defensive strategy initially, defending the garrison towns and strategic communication (especially railway) links as best as possible, until sufficient reinforcements arrived, so that they could then go on the offensive. Initially, the plan was to concentrate the vast majority of the assembled army corps south of the Orange River, invade the OFS, capture that republic's capital (Bloemfontein), and advance further northwards, all along the main railway line, to Johannesburg, and then to Pretoria (the Transvaal's capital). As far as the Boers' strategic planning (or lack of it) was concerned: they were

⁴ A. Wessels, "Afrikaners at war" in J. Gooch (ed.), *The Boer War: direction, experience and image* (London, 2000), pp. 83-84.

To gain an understanding of how the British in particular involved the civilian population and black people almost from the start of the war, see, for example, S.B. Spies, *Methods of barbarism? Roberts and Kitchener and civilians in the Boer republics, January 1900 - May 1902* (Cape Town, 1977) and P. Warwick, *Black people and the South African War, 1899-1902* (Cambridge, 1983).

⁶ Report of His Majesty's commissioners appointed to inquire into the military preparations and other matters connected with the war in South Africa (Cd. 1789, London, 1903), pp. 21, 34.

⁷ J.F. Maurice (ed.), History of the war in South Africa 1899-1902 1 (London, 1906), p. 2.

⁸ L.S Amery (ed.), The Times history of the war in South Africa 1899-1902 2 (London, 1902), p. 72; H.C. Hillegas, With the Boer forces (London, 1900), pp. 93-94; J.H. Breytenbach, Die Geskiedenis van die Tweede Vryheidsoorlog in Suid-Afrika, 1899-1902 1 (Pretoria, 1969), pp. 52-60, 85-97; D.J. Haupt, Die Staatsartillerie van die Suid-Afrikaanse Republiek (M.A., University of Pretoria, (1947), passim.

⁹ As far as the initial British strategic planning is concerned, see Wessels, *Die Britse militêre strategie*, pp. 257-315.

intent on merely defending their borders against any British advance, and had no inclination to deeply penetrate British territory or to capture large areas of the adjacent British territories. Consequently, they invaded the Cape Colony and Natal on a limited scale, besieged the British garrisons in Mafikeng, Kimberley and Ladysmith, and took up defensive positions (for example, on the northern banks of the Thukela River in Natal) from where they hoped to force back any advancing British forces.¹⁰

The war that followed did not take the course that either the British or the Boers had foreseen. The drawn-out struggle can be divided into four main phases: the limited Boer offensive of October – November 1899; the first and unsuccessful British offensive under Buller, November 1899 – January 1900; the second and relatively successful British offensive under Roberts, January – November 1900 (when he defeated Cronjé at Paardeberg, and captured both republican capitals); and the guerrilla phase, which overlapped to some extent with the third phase, and lasted from March 1900 – May 1902 (with Kitchener being the Commanderin-Chief of the British forces in South Africa most of the time).

The semi-conventional phases of the war, october 1899 – september 1900

It may be argued, in a certain sense, that the Boers lost the war when, on Monday 9 October 1899, they handed over an ultimatum to the British government, demanding, inter alia, that all British troops deployed on the Transvaal's border be withdrawn, and that troops on their way to South Africa be ordered not to land. Strictly speaking, the two small Boer republics could not win a war against the mighty British Empire. If the Boers wanted to stand a chance of being able to enforce a negotiated settlement by means of military action (as they had done in February–March 1881, at the end of the Transvaal War of Liberation), they should have prepared better for war, and acted with optimal force in 1899, implementing a carefully-considered strategy. In other words, they should have acted decisively before the British were able to send large numbers of reinforcements to South Africa. For example, the Boers should have divided their forces into as many small mobile commandos as possible, should have invaded the British colonies at as many places as possible, and should have disrupted the British lines of communication.

Initially, the Boers fielded some 35 000 burghers. (In due course, approximately 70 000 men served on the Boer side, including Cape and Natal rebels and foreigners, albeit that there were never more than 47 000 in the field at any given time.) But the Boers did not exploit their initial numerical advantage, merely invaded British territory on a limited scale, and squandered strategic opportunities by laying siege to Mafikeng, Kimberley and Ladysmith. This allowed the British to send an army corps of 46 000 men to South Africa, which were deployed under the command of General Sir Redvers Buller. Initially, Buller planned to

¹⁰ Wessels, "Afrikaners at war", pp. 82-86.

For an assessment of the lack of sound strategic planning on the Boer side, see, for example, A. Wessels, "Die Boere se strategie aan die begin van die Anglo-Boereoorlog", *Tydskrif vir Geesteswetenskappe* 39(3 & 4), September & December 1999, pp. 227-242. For General J.C. Smuts's views re the strategy that the Boers should have followed, see W.K. Hancock and J. van der Poel (eds), *Selections from the Smuts papers* 1: *The sanguine years*, 1870-1919 (Cambridge, 1962), pp. 315-318.

concentrate his force to the south of the Orange River, but in the light of the pleas for assistance he received from the besieged garrisons in Kimberley and Ladysmith, he decided to temporarily deviate from his planned strategy. Consequently, he divided his army corps into four portions: one section, under Lord Methuen, was sent to Orange River Station, from where they were to relieve Kimberley; another section, under Major-General John French, was sent to the Colesberg front; Major-General W.F. Gatacre was sent to the north-eastern Cape Colony front, and Buller went to Natal (to relieve Ladysmith) with the largest portion of the army corps. French succeeded in keeping the Boers at bay at Colesberg, but all three other senior officers failed: in the space of one week, Gatacre was defeated at Stormberg (10 December 1899), Methuen at Magersfontein (11 December) and Buller at Colenso (15 December). There was an outcry in Britain, and in the wake of the so-called "black week" defeats, Lord Roberts (with Lord Kitchener at his side) was sent to South Africa to replace Buller as Commander-in-Chief.¹²

After their arrival in Cape Town on 10 January 1900, Roberts and Kitchener consolidated the British position in South Africa. Large numbers of reinforcements arrived and were sent to the various fronts, and Kitchener assisted Roberts with transport arrangements and the forming of more detachments of mounted infantry. On 8 February 1900, these two senior officers arrived at their operational base at the Modder River, south of Kimberley, where Roberts had concentrated the largest portion of his available forces. On 11 February, at the start of the third phase of the war, Roberts launched an elaborate indirect strategy: he outflanked General Piet Cronjé's entrenched army at Magersfontein, surrounded Cronjé at Paardeberg, and, after some heavy fighting and bombardments, forced him to surrender on 27 February. In the meantime, French relieved Kimberley on 15 February. From Paardeberg, Roberts marched to Bloemfontein, the Orange Free State capital, which was occupied without any fighting on 13 March.¹³

As a result of their drinking contaminated water from the Modder River in the vicinity of the Paardeberg battlefield, coupled with the gross neglect of elementary sanitary precautions in the military camps, several thousand British soldiers went down with typhoid (then called enteric fever), and more than a thousand died in Bloemfontein alone. As a consequence, Roberts was forced to remain in Bloemfontein for seven weeks, and only resumed his advance towards the north, all along the main railway line (with Kitchener at his side), on 3 May 1900. There was little opposition. Kroonstad was captured on 12 May, the Vaal River was reached on 28 May (and the Orange Free State consequently annexed and renamed the Orange River Colony, ORC), Johannesburg was occupied unopposed on 31 May, and Pretoria likewise on 5 June. In terms of European warfare, the war was now supposed to be over, but in practice, a completely new conflict had in the meantime broken out. (More on that in the next section.) After Roberts consolidated his position in Pretoria, French was ordered to lead the British advance eastwards, along the Delagoa Bay railway line, all the way to Komatipoort, on the border with Mozambique (then a Portuguese colony). At Bergendal (21-27 August 1900),

¹² For the events of October-December 1899, see, for example, Amery (ed.), pp. 98-467; Breytenbach, pp. 179-462 and 2 (Pretoria, 1978), *passim*; B. Nasson, *The South African War* (London, 1999), pp. 81-135.

¹³ Amery (ed.), 3 (London, 1905), pp. 338-342, 392-396, 401-458, 473-487, 560-569; Breytenbach, 4 (Pretoria, 1983), pp. 204-430; Nasson, pp. 149-163.

the last major conventional battle of the war took place. The Boers were driven from the battlefield, and on 1 September 1900, Roberts annexed the Transvaal. By the time Roberts handed over supreme command in South Africa to Kitchener at midnight 28-29 November 1900, the guerrilla phase of the conflict, which had already started in March 1900, was about to gain momentum.¹⁴

GUERRILLA WAR, MARCH 1900 TO MAY 1902

On 17 March 1900, the Boer presidents and senior officers met at Kroonstad (then still in Boer hands) to discuss the way forward. It was decided to continue with their freedom struggle, but henceforth to implement a guerrilla type of warfare. If the Kroonstad conference represented the theoretical starting point of the guerrilla phase of the war, then General Christiaan de Wet's defeat of Brigadier-General R.G. Broadwood at Sannaspos, near Bloemfontein, on 31 March 1900, was the opening salvo of this new type of warfare. De Wet followed up this success with victories at places like Mostertshoek (3-4 April 1900) and Roodewal (7 June).¹⁵

By the time Kitchener took over as Commander-in-Chief, the British forces controlled most of the towns and villages, but in the vast expanses of the South African veldt, the Boers to a large extent roamed about freely, threatening the British garrisons and lines of communication. The conflict had in fact become a war against space.

During the guerrilla phase of the war with which Kitchener had to deal, there were several invasions (by mobile Boer commandos) of the Cape Colony, for example by General J.B.M. Hertzog, Commandant P.H. Kritzinger, Captain Gideon Scheepers and General C.R. de Wet, and later also one such invasion by General Louis Botha in Natal. The war escalated geographically and numerous clashes took place all over the war zone, including fairly large battles at places like Nooitgedacht (13 December 1900), Vlakfontein (29 May 1901), Moedwil (30 September 1901), Bakenlaagte (30 October 1901), Groenkop (25 December 1902), Yzerspruit (25 February 1902) and Tweebosch/De Klipdrift (7 March 1902). Although Roberts started the scorched-earth policy, Kitchener expanded it. Other anti-guerrilla measures included the building of blockhouses, the launching of elaborate drives against the Boers, and the increasing use of blacks and coloureds in a combatant role in a desperate effort to corner and destroy the elusive mobile Boer forces. Although the British were unable to completely defeat the Boers in the field, they were able to wear them down, and on 31 May 1902, after lengthy negotiations (during which Kitchener, rather than Lord Milner, played a crucial role), the Boers finally accepted and signed the terms of surrender. In the surrender of the surrender of surrender.

¹⁴ Amery, 4, pp. 77-164, 269-296, 380-413, 434-502; History of the war in South Africa 1899-1902 3 (London, 1908), pp. 273-283, 396-403; Breytenbach, 6 (Pretoria, 1996), pp. 317-346; B.G. Schultz, Die slag van Bergendal (Dalmanutha) (M.A., University of Pretoria, 1974), passim.

¹⁵ Breytenbach, 5 (Pretoria, 1983), pp. 196-225, 240-258 and 6 (Pretoria, 1996), pp. 222-228.

For more on the guerrilla phase of the conflict and the peace that was eventually concluded, see, for example, Amery (ed.), 5 (London, 1907), passim; M.H. Grant, History of the war in South Africa 1899-1902 (London, 1910), passim; Nasson, pp. 195-231; S.J. du Preez, Die vrede van Vereeniging (D.Phil., University of Pretoria, 1986), passim; J.D. Kestell and D.E. van Velden, The peace negotiations between the governments of the South African Republic and the Orange Free State, and the representatives of the British government, which terminated in the peace concluded at Vereeniging on the 31st May, 1902 (London, 1912), passim.

After the battle at Sannaspos (31 March) 1900, but especially in the course of the second half of 1900 and thereafter, the British found themselves increasingly embroiled in what may be regarded, in retrospect, as a Vietnam-like (or Iraq-like) situation. At that time, Britain, as the world's only superpower, had at its disposal a formidable army with remarkably extensive experience in colonial warfare. Nonetheless, this army was neither prepared nor equipped for a war against an enemy that had modern arms available, was mobile and could live off the veld, in a manner of speaking; in other words, an opponent that was not dependent on large formal provisions depots and their associated logistical infrastructure.

During the guerrilla phase of the Anglo-Boer War, the conflict escalated geographically (in other words, the war spread over a larger geographical area¹⁷), a situation that intensely frustrated the British Army Command. In the course of time, they developed and applied a comprehensive anti-guerrilla strategy. This entailed, among other actions, building approximately 8 000 blockhouses, crisscrossing the war zone,¹⁸ the implementation of hot-pursuit operations and military drives, and – to eliminate the Boer commandos' most important source of information, food and shelter – the destruction of Boer farms, an action that was launched as early as the autumn of 1900. As a matter of fact, the first Boer farm homestead was burnt down in the second week of January 1900 in the south-western Orange Free State,¹⁹ even before Roberts started his advance.

During the Anglo-Boer War, the distinction between soldiers and civilians, combatants and non-combatants, in due course became blurred; and likewise, clearly defined operational fronts fell away during the guerrilla phase of the conflict. Civilian casualties (collateral damage), including deaths in internment camps, henceforth had military significance; for example, news (or even rumours) about the plight of loved ones in camps made burghers serving in commando units think seriously about their role in the continuation of the struggle. On another level, the idea that military conflict should be coupled with respect for the enemy, gradually faded away. In this sense, the Anglo-Boer War was – albeit on a small scale – a precursor of the total wars of the twentieth century.

Since the farms indeed formed part of the republican forces' logistical and information network, many Boer farms were legitimate military targets, and in a military sense, British actions were justified. The British internment camp system, which flowed from the scorchedearth policy, should therefore not be assessed in isolation. In practice, this strategy led to the destruction of approximately 30 000 farmsteads, including outbuildings, as well as the homes of thousands of black labourers, and also the partial or total destruction of approximately 40 towns and villages. In some cases, the homes of innocent persons (i.e. those who did not render assistance to the commandos), were also destroyed. Apart from the enormous material losses suffered by the Boers, the most important consequence of the scorched-earth policy was the fact that thousands of black and white civilians were left without shelter. To ensure that the (white and black) civilians would not play any further role in support of the Boer war effort, and not for humanitarian reasons, the British decided to establish camps

¹⁷ The Boer invasion of the Cape Colony in December 1900 is a case in point.

¹⁸ For an outline of the British blockhouse system in the war, see, for example, J. Hattingh and A. Wessels, *Britse fortifikasies in die Anglo-Boereoorlog (1899-1902)* (Bloemfontein, 1999), p. 19 *et seq.*

¹⁹ Breytenbach, 4, p. 85.

where civilians could be kept. Initially – and in many cases up to the beginning of 1902, in other words, after the Fawcett Commission investigated conditions in the camps²⁰ – conditions in the camps varied from poor

to extremely bad. Camp administration was generally poor, medical services were in-adequate, there was a shortage of food, disease was rampant, and death was a common occurence. A tragic combination of incompetence and indifference resulted in the death of more than 50 000 white and black civilians. This led to psychological disruption and trauma being inflicted on many black and white civilians. For a small nation, such as the Afrikaner in particular, a death toll of approximately 28 000 women and children, plus approximately 6 000 burghers on commando, entailed enormously negative demographic implications for the future. (Keep in mind that the total Afrikaner population of the Transvaal and Free State was only about 219 000 persons.)²²

Boer civilians were not sent to internment camps primarily for what they did, but for what they were.²³ Although the British justifiably regarded the Boer farmsteads and Boer civilians as legitimate military targets, and although the Afrikaner was correct in arguing that the British waged war against civilians, it has to be understood that there were no intentional attempts on the part of the British to exterminate Boer civilians in the camps – as happened during the Second World War to the Jews in Nazi extermination camps. However, it is true that when the camps were first erected, as well as in the course of 1901, administration was sometimes very poor and that this – and negligence with regard to the provision of food and medical services, for example – led to the deaths of many women and children. Thus, it is understandable that during the war the camps were already known among Afrikaners as "murder camps" and "hell camps". If conditions in the white internment camps were bad, they were, generally speaking, worse in the black internment camps; as a matter of fact, one could regard the lack of planning and the limited supplies these camps received as criminal neglect on the part of the British authorities.²⁴

²⁰ As far as the Fawcett Commission's report is concerned, see, for example, A.W.G. Raath, The British concentration camps of the Anglo-Boer War 1899-1902: reports on the camps (Bloemfontein, 1999), pp. 118-172; Report on the concentration camps in South Africa by the committee of ladies appointed by the Secretary of State for War, containing reports on the camps in Natal, the Orange River Colony, and the Transvaal (Cd. 893, London, 1902), passim; M.G. Fawcett, What I remember (London, 1925), pp. 153-174.

²¹ See, for example, A.W.G. Raath and R.M. Louw, Die konsentrasiekamp te Springfontein gedurende die Anglo-Boereoorlog 1899-1902 (Bloemfontein, 1991); A.W.G. Raath and R.M. Louw, Die konsentrasiekamp te Vredefortweg gedurende die Anglo-Boereoorlog 1899-1902 (Bloemfontein, 1992); A.W.G. Raath and R.M. Louw, Die konsentrasiekamp te Bethulie gedurende die Anglo-Boereoorlog 1899-1902 (Bloemfontein, 1991); A.W.G. Raath, R.M. Louw and D. Olivier, Die konsentrasiekamp te Bloemfontein gedurende die Anglo-Boereoorlog 1899-1902 (Bloemfontein, 1993); J.C. Otto, Die konsentrasiekampe (Cape Town, 1954); A.U. Wohlberg, The Merebank Concentration Camp in Durban, 1901-1902 (M.A., University of the Free State, 2000); J.J. Roodt, Die Port Elizabethse Konsentrasiekamp, 1899-1902 (M.A., University of Port Elizabeth, 1990). The most definitive study re black internment camps is that of S.V. Kessler, The black concentration camps of the South African War 1899-1902 (D.Phil., University of Cape Town, 2003).

²² A. Wessels, "Afrikaners at war", p. 73.

²³ H. Giliomee, The Afrikaners: biography of a people (Cape Town, 2003), p. 354.

²⁴ See S.V. Kessler, passim and S.V. Kessler, "The black and coloured concentration camps of the Anglo-Boer War 1899-1902: shifting the paradigm from sole martyrdom to mutual suffering", Historia 44(1), May 1999, pp. 110-147.

Although conflict (struggle, war) is a *Leitmotiv* in the history of the Afrikaner, this does not necessarily mean that Afrikaners had a proper understanding of war (military conflict). It sometimes appears as if there were Afrikaners who held the view that Buller, then Roberts, and later Kitchener came to (or had to come to) South Africa to lose the war! From a military point of view, it has to be noted that the purpose of war is to defeat the enemy and to subject the defeated to the victor's will.²⁵

Through the ages, it has always been innocent civilians who suffered most during wars – and innocent civilians continue to bear the brunt of present-day conflicts. In the South African context, however, the Anglo-Boer War is prominent as a conflict in which civilians had intentionally been targeted by a military strategy – and since then, numerous examples can be found in history – and for this reason, this war, more than any other local conflict, had an incredibly negative effect on the civilian population (white and black). In a military sense, Roberts and Kitchener did not have much choice other than to implement a scorched-earth policy, and to move civilians into camps. These British commanders' orders were clear: defeat the Boer republics. Thus, they would indeed use all the means at their disposal to achieve victory. In practice, however, their actions not only left a trail of collateral damage and physical destruction, but also a legacy of bitterness and even hatred – and thousands of traumatised civilians, both white and black.

Ideally, the British had to defeat the Boers in the field. However, the Boers' guerrilla strategy made such a defeat almost impossible. Although Roberts occupied Bloemfontein on 13 March 1900 and Pretoria on 5 June 1900, the last time the British did battle with a fairly large Boer force was on 10 March 1900 at Abrahamskraal-Driefontein. The Boer commandos were dispersed rather than defeated. If the British truly felt they were forced to destroy Boer farmsteads and towns, ideally they should not have transported white and black civilians in open train carriages, but in passenger trains; they should not have housed them in tents, but in buildings with adequate ventilation and sanitary facilities; and they should have ensured that adequate food supplies and medical facilities were available. In a time of war, however, an enemy occupation force does not operate along these lines. It is self-evident that the British, in the first place, had to take care of their own soldiers' nutritional and medical needs – an aspect that also left much to be desired for some time.

However, it was not only the internment camps that impacted negatively on relations in South Africa and led to trauma. Relations were also strained by other traumatic events during the war, such as at Derdepoort on 25 November 1899 (when members of the baKgatla tribe attacked a Boer settlement, killed seven men and two women, and abducted seventeen women and children); the murder of Abraham Esau (the coloured man who was tortured at Calvinia by the invading Boer commando and who was killed on 5 February 1901); the Boer attack at Leliefontein on 27 January 1902 when approximately 30 coloured people were shot or beaten to death by General Manie Maritz and his commando (some even after they

²⁵ For a discussion of the strategic purpose of war, see, for example, Wessels, *Die Britse militêre strategie*, pp. 90-98. See in general also C. von Clausewitz, *On war* (London, 1968), H.E. Eccles, *Military concepts and philosophy* (New Jersey, 1965) and F. Maurice, *British strategy: a study of the application of the* principles *of war* (London, 1929).

²⁶ A. Wessels (ed.), Lord Roberts and the war in South Africa 1899-1902 (Stroud, 2000), p. 38.

had already surrendered); the Zulu attack on the commando of Field-Cornet Jan Potgieter at Holkrans on 6 May 1902 (when the Boers were literally caught asleep and 52 of them died in the subsequent battle);²⁷ and the British forces' scorched-earth policy (which, as indicated, left approximately 30 000 Boer farmsteads and 40 towns and villages destroyed, and led to tens of thousands of white and black civilians being interned in camps, where about 28 000 white and at least 23 000 black civilians died). The legacy of suspicion, bitterness and even hatred that remained, strained relations in South Africa long after the conflict had been concluded.

It was not only civilians in the Transvaal and Orange Free State who were traumatised. The war affected the Cape Colony right from the outbreak of hostilities when the Boers invaded the northwestern Cape, albeit only on a limited scale, to lay siege to Mafikeng²⁸ and Kimberley.²⁹ On 13 November 1899, there was also a limited invasion of the northeastern Cape and the Boer forces occupied towns such as Aliwal North, Colesberg, Burgersdorp and Jamestown.³⁰ The Boer invasions put the Cape Afrikaners (who constituted some 60 % of the white population of about 400 000 in the Cape Colony) in a very difficult position, as they were torn between their loyalty towards the British Empire (and in particular a genuine love for Queen Victoria), and their sympathy towards their fellow Afrikaners to the north of the Orange River.³¹ Blood is thicker than water, and in practice, some 10 000 rebelled and took up arms against the British. In February 1900, when Roberts' indirect strategy succeeded in driving the Boers from Cape territory, the Cape rebels were left in the lurch. Some of them, fearing prosecution, accompanied the republican forces in their retreat northwards,³² while others stayed behind to face the music. At the end of 1900, the Boers – as part of their elaborate guerrilla strategy – once again invaded the Cape Colony. In December 1900, two fairly large commandos entered the Cape Colony,³³ and in February 1901, even De Wet invaded, though he was soon forced to return to the Orange River Colony.³⁴

Fearing a large-scale rebellion, Kitchener sent thousands of troops to the Cape Colony

²⁷ A. Wessels, Die militêre rol van swart mense, bruin mense en Indiërs tydens die Anglo-Boereoorlog (1899-1902) (Bloemfontein, 1998), pp. 27-30; B. Nasson, Abraham Esau's war: a black South African War in the Cape Colony 1899-1902 (Cambridge, 1991), passim; J. Laband, "Zulus and the war" in Gooch, (ed.), pp. 123-124; H.J. Botha, "Die moord op Derdepoort, 25 November 1899: nie-blankes in oorlogsdiens", Militaria 1(2), 1969, pp. 3-98.

²⁸ See, for example, B. Gardner, *Mafeking: a Victorian legend* (London, 1966) and I.R. Smith (ed.), *The siege of Mafeking* (2 volumes, Johannesburg, 2001).

²⁹ See, for example, B. Gardner, *The lion's cage* (London, 1969) and H.J. Terblanch, *Die beleg van Kimberley* (M.A., Potchefstroom University, 1974).

³⁰ Breytenbach, 1, pp. 447-455; Amery (ed.), 2, pp. 292-294; Maurice (ed.), 1, p. 275; C.J.S. Strydom, *Kaapland en die Tweede Vryheidsoorlog* (Cape Town, 1943), pp. 42-43.

³¹ See, for example, J.H. Snyman, *Die Afrikaner in Kaapland 1892-1902* (D.Litt., Potchefstroom University, 1974).

³² See, for example, A. Wessels (ed.), "Die oorlogsherinneringe van kommandant Jacob Petrus Neser", *Christiaan de Wet-annale* 7, 1987, p. 27 *et seq*.

³³ See, for example, A. de Wet et al., Die Buren in der Kapkolonie im Kriege mit England (Munich, s.a.), p. 87 et seq. and R.D. McDonald, In die skaduwee van die dood (Cape Town, 1943), p. 22 et seq.

³⁴ See, for example, Amery (ed.), 5, pp. 131-157 and W.L. von R. Scholtz, *Generaal Christiaan de Wet as veldheer* (D.Litt., University of Leiden), pp. 321-370.

and put Lieutenant-General John French in charge of operations. In practice, only about 3 000 Cape Afrikaners took up arms during the second rebellion, but the guerrilla war in the Cape Colony dragged on until the cessation of hostilities. The war in that operational zone was characterised by exceptional brutality, inter alia, because the war in the Cape Colony was in effect a civil war. Reference has already been made to the fate of Abraham Esau and the events at Leliefontein. There are also many other examples of atrocities committed by both sides. At Naroegas (23 May 1901), in the northwestern Cape Colony, wounded Boers were allegedly stoned to death.³⁵ When Boer and/or rebel commandos captured blacks and coloureds who, as loyal British subjects, had taken up arms against the republican invaders and the rebels, these captives were usually summarily executed.³⁶

In a desperate effort to quell the rebellion and discourage more Cape Afrikaners from taking up arms, the British authorities tried the rebels who had been caught for treason. A total of 435 were condemned to death, but only 44 were executed,³⁷ including the well-known Commandant Gideon Scheepers.³⁸ Once again, Kitchener was magnanimous in pardoning so many rebels. However, the execution (murder) of so many blacks and coloureds, and the trials and public executions of rebels (which civilians were sometimes forced to attend), plus the burning of farms in the Cape Colony (by both the British and the Boers, albeit on a limited scale) traumatised a large proportion of the Cape's inhabitants.

By the end of 1901, the British forces' counter-guerrilla strategy of directed severity began to yield results; however, in the western Transvaal and in the northern and north-eastern Free State, the Boer commandos (under the command of General Koos de la Rey and General Christiaan de Wet respectively) pursued the guerrilla war relentlessly and with relative success. No wonder, therefore, that the British forces' counter-guerrilla operations in the western Transvaal and in the northern and north-eastern Free State were more comprehensive (and more forceful) than in other parts of the war zone. For example, from February to May 1902, in the northern and north-eastern Free State, Kitchener launched five so-called "new model drives" in an attempt to contain De Wet's commandos.³⁹ The civilians in these areas suffered more, in certain respects, and they were more traumatised than civilians in other parts of the war zone.

³⁵ J. Strauss, "Die veldslag van Naroegas", *Kronos* 21, November 1994, pp. 16-31; M. Legasick, "The battle of Naroegas: context, historiography, sources and significance", *Kronos* 21, November 1994, pp. 32-60.

³⁶ See, for example, Wessels (ed.), "Die oorlogsherinneringe van kommandant Jacob Petrus Neser", pp. 89-91 and F. Pretorius, "Boer attitudes to Africans in wartime" in D. Lowry (ed.), *The South African War reappraised* (Manchester, 2000), pp. 105, 108-109, 119 (note 23).

³⁷ G. Jooste and A. Oosthuizen, So het hulle gesterf: gedenkboek van teregstelling van Kaapse rebelle en republikeinse burgers tydens die Anglo-Boereoorlog 1899-1902 (Pretoria, 1998), passim; J.H. Snyman, "Rebelle-verhoor in Kaapland gedurende die Tweede Vryheidsoorlog met spesiale verwysing na die militêre howe (1899-1902)", Archives Year Book for South African History 25, 1962, pp. 1-73.

³⁸ See, for example, G.S. Preller, *Scheepers se dagboek en die stryd in Kaapland (1 Okt. 1901 – 18 Jan. 1902)* (Cape Town, 1938) and T. & D. Shearing, *Commandant Gideon Scheepers and the search for his grave* (Sedgefield, 1999).

³⁹ See, for example, Hattingh and Wessels, pp. 115-119; Amery (ed.), 5, pp. 475-494, 554-556, 578-579.

By May 1902, the Boers' situation was hopeless. By then Kitchener had been ruthlessly successful. He had forced the Boers on commando into a position where most of them had given up hope. On the conclusion of negotiations between Boer delegates at Vereeniging, British conditions for surrender were accepted on 31 May 1902, with 54 votes to six (as has been indicated earlier). As reasons for their decision to surrender, the Boers referred, inter alia, to the decline in the number of Boer combatants in the field; their lack of horses, arms and ammunition; the overwhelming numerical superiority of British forces and resources; the fact that European powers were not willing to intervene in the interests of the Boers; the increasing number of black and coloured people who served on the British side (in this regard, the events at Holkrans, to which reference has already been made, played a significant role); and the fate of the Boer women and children in the internment camps. What the delegates at Vereeniging did not realise was that, owing to the reforms in the camps, introduced after the Fawcett Commission's visits, conditions in the camps had improved considerably by May 1902 and the mortality rate had decreased. (In October 1901, the death-rate peaked at over 3 000 per month, but fewer than 200 died in May 1902.)⁴¹

By May 1902, there were still approximately 21 000 Boers in the field on the republican side. At one stage (May 1901) Kitchener had approximately 240 000 white British soldiers under his command. All told, at least 448 435 white soldiers served in the war on the British side. As the war dragged on, the British used an increasing number of blacks and coloureds in the struggle against the Boers, both in a non-combatant capacity (for example as servants) and a combatant capacity (for example as spies, guides, blockhouse guards and as members of flying columns).⁴² By the end of the war, some 5 000 former republican burghers had, after surrendering, thrown in their lot with the British (i.e. they had become joiners), because they no longer believed in the Boer cause and wanted to end the destructive conflict as soon as possible.⁴³ Thus, about 20 % of all Afrikaners who were still under arms in May 1902 fought on the side of the British. The fact that Boer fought against Boer, led to divisions in Afrikaner ranks during and after the war – and to much trauma.

The fact that the war had ended with the loss of republican independence left most of the *bittereinders* (bitter-enders, die-hards) and their families filled with dismay. As time passed, most Afrikaners accepted the outcome of the peace negotiations – there were indeed pressing needs that had to be attended to urgently. However, some *bittereinders*' unhappiness with the conditions of surrender led to their believing that some of the negotiators had sold out the Boers at Vereeniging and Pretoria.⁴⁴

Like many Germans after the First World War, some Afrikaners believed, albeit erroneously that they were not actually defeated militarily in the war, and could therefore have

⁴⁰ Kestell and Van Velden, pp. 203-205.

⁴¹ P.G. Cloete, The Anglo-Boer War: a chronology (Pretoria, 2000), p. 344.

⁴² See, for example, Wessels, *Die militêre rol van swart mense, bruin mense en Indiërs tydens die Anglo-Boereoorlog (1899-1902)* and Warwick, *Black people and the South African War, 1899-1902*.

⁴³ See, for example, A. Grundlingh, *The dynamics of treason: Boer collaboration in the South African War of 1899-1902* (Pretoria, 2006).

⁴⁴ See, for example, Wessels (ed.), "Die oorlogsherinneringe van kommandant Jacob Petrus Neser", pp. 103-105, 109-112.

continued the war. Like the Germans who believed that they had been stabbed in the back by the Weimar politicians who negotiated for peace and had surrendered (see the *Dolchstossim-Rücken* lie that was propagated by Adolf Hitler and his Nazi followers), some Afrikaners believed (erroneously), on conclusion of the Anglo-Boer War, that they could have continued to pursue the guerrilla war against the British with success, but had been betrayed by people like Jan Smuts.⁴⁵

However, there is no evidence that prominent Boer leaders such as Louis Botha and Jan Smuts had sold out or betrayed the Boers; indeed, in many respects, their carefully considered and diplomatic initiatives during the peace negotiations at Vereeniging and Pretoria, saved the Afrikaner nation from complete destruction. In this regard, they were supported by General Koos de la Rey, who was initially against the war, but who, when it did break out, fought bravely until the bitter end. Together with other Boer leaders, Botha and Smuts negotiated exceptionally generous conditions of surrender; for example, those who decided to become British subjects would retain their personal freedom and property; Dutch could still be used as a medium of instruction in Transvaal and Orange River Colony schools (and if necessary also in the courts); the military administration would be replaced by a civilian administration; representative government (followed by responsible government) would be introduced as soon as possible; the British government would make £3 000 000 available for the reconstruction of the two former Boer republics, and the granting of voting rights to black people would only be discussed after responsible government (i.e. self-government) had been instituted.46 The last-mentioned clause meant in effect that Afrikaners would decide the political future of black and coloured South Africans, and in practice, once the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony received self-government, they did not give blacks and coloureds the right to vote. So, at the peace negotiations in Pretoria, the political and other interests of black and coloured people were sacrificed to facilitate reconciliation between Boer and Briton. Those traumatised by the Anglo-Boer War soon became the new traumatisers.

THE TRAUMATIC CONSEQUENCES AND LEGACY OF THE WAR

The Anglo-Boer War cost the British taxpayer more than £ 200 million (about £ 6 000 million in terms of the value of money today [2008]). The financial cost to the Boers cannot be determined. The British Army lost (according to official sources) 7 792 soldiers, who were killed or died of wounds, while 14 658 died of disease or in accidents. A further 75 430 soldiers were sent home, either ill or wounded.⁴⁷ The Boers lost 3 997 killed in battle, some 150 died as a result of accidents, and approximately 2 000 died of disease or wounds. It is not known how many Boers were wounded.⁴⁸ As has been mentioned earlier, "collateral damage" left approximately 28 000 white and at least 23 000 (but probably many more) black civilians dead in the internment camps⁴⁹, and many thousands of children were left as traumatised

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 103.

⁴⁶ Kestell and Van Velden, pp. 133-135.

⁴⁷ Amery (ed.), 7, pp. 24-25.

⁴⁸ T. van Rensburg (ed.), Vir vaderland, vryheid en reg: oorlogsherinneringe van Wilhelm Mangold 1899-1902 (Pretoria, 1988), p. 356 (notes 17-19).

⁴⁹ See in general F. Pretorius (ed.), Scorched earth (Cape Town, 2001).

orphans. To most Afrikaners north of the Orange River, the only way that the injustice of the "peace" of Vereeniging⁵⁰ could be reversed was by regaining the independence of the Boer republics (and much later, the establishment of a Republic of South Africa). The Afrikaners who suffered most during the war were indeed those who lived in the Transvaal and the Free State, and more specifically, the inhabitants of farms and towns whose houses had been destroyed partially or entirely by the British forces.

However, the Anglo-Boer War left almost all the race groups in what is today known as South Africa discontented. Afrikanerdom was left divided (the bittereinders versus the handsuppers and, especially, the joiners), while the bittereinders in particular were embittered and humiliated. Coloureds and especially black people were frustrated because the end of the war did not yield the expected political and other privileges. Although the British authorities hadcreated the impression during the war that they would give equal political and social rights to black people in exchange for their support against the Boers, some of them did not really intend to do so,51 while others – as has already been pointed out – were prepared, in the interest of reconciliation with the Afrikaners, to sacrifice the blacks' right to vote. Thus, black people were more suspicious of whites than ever before and would soon seek their political salvation in an organisation such as the South African Native National Congress (SANNC), which was established on 8 January 1912 (with Sol T. Plaatje, who had been besieged with the British at Mafikeng, as one of the founder members) and which was known from 1923 as the African National Congress (ANC).52 As time passed, the black resistance movement (primarily working against white domination) would come into conflict with the conservative white resistance movement (initially fighting against British domination), and an important *Leitmotiv* in the history of twentieth-century political development in South Africa would emerge, namely black nationalism versus Afrikaner nationalism; sometimes also manifesting itself in the binary opposition black expectations versus white fears.

Afrikaner leaders too intended to consolidate Afrikaner power and therefore desired to heal the rift in Afrikaner ranks. Not everyone was prepared to co-operate with English-speaking South Africans, while co-operation with other race groups was not even on the cards. There were indeed attempts to uplift the Afrikaner in a material sense,⁵³ but otherwise there were no co-ordinated initiatives to come to terms with the trauma caused by the war of 1899 to 1902. In due course, this contributed towards the development of an aggressive Afrikaner nationalism, with apartheid as one of its most important manifestations.

During the Anglo-Boer War, the humanitarian Emily Hobhouse launched the world's first (informal) "truth and reconciliation commission" when she compiled the book, *The brunt of the war and where it fell* (published in the second half of 1902), consisting of, inter alia, letters (and excerpts from letters) in which Boer women related their experiences during the

⁵⁰ Strictly speaking, there was no peace of Vereeniging, because the *conditions of surrender* were signed on the evening of 31 May 1902 in Pretoria.

⁵¹ See, for example, A.P. Walshe, "The origins of African political consciousness in South Africa", *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 7(4), December 1969, p. 599.

⁵² See, for example, A. Odendaal, *Vukani Bantu! The beginnings of black protest politics in South Africa to 1912* (Cape Town, 1984), pp. 270-277.

⁵³ See, for example, A.P.J. van Rensburg, "Die ekonomiese herstel van die Afrikaner in die Oranjerivier-Kolonie 1902-1907" in *Archives Year Book for South African History* 30(2), 1967, pp. 134-340.

war.⁵⁴ Hobhouse also tried to offer traumatised camp and other victims of British collateral damage the opportunity to provide an account of their narratives of loss, suffering and despair so that they could rid themselves in this way of the trauma of the then recent past.

Since Hobhouse's work was, in large measure, a one-person action, she could only reach a very limited number of (white) persons, and the therapeutic value of her work, viewed as a whole, was therefore also limited. There were also never any formal attempts at reconciliation between Boer and Briton. And, of course, black and coloured people were totally left in the cold to deal with their own trauma. For this reason, most of the war trauma was transferred to the next generation. The Afrikaners who suffered in the internment camps, stored the negative experiences in their memories. The trauma was internalised and for many years, some Afrikaners harboured great resentment, bitterness, frustrations and fear. Later – in some cases, only many years later, even in a succeeding generation – these traumatic experiences once again gained prominence and sometimes manifested themselves in some or other political view. As time passed, the Afrikaner developed a terrible fear of foreign (non-Afrikaner) domination. The South African government's decision to declare war against Germany in 1914, i.e. at the start of the First World War, and invade German South-West Africa (today Namibia), was an important reason why some Afrikaners rebelled and took up arms, in the hope that they would be able to regain their republican independence. On the whole, the rebellion was not well organised and the government forces were able to suppress it fairly quickly.55

In May 1924, Emily Hobhouse put the finishing touches to a second book that offered white civilian victims of the Anglo-Boer War the opportunity to "be heard". In War without glamour or women's war experiences, written by themselves 1899-1902 (London, 1927), Hobhouse included approximately 30 statements that were written during or just after the war by Boer women. She held the view that the voices of the generals and the politicians had indeed been heard, but that the voices of the wronged civilians had not yet received a hearing. This book strikingly illustrates the terrible effects (collateral damage) of war on civilians. Unfortunately, nothing was – once again – done to alleviate the plight of black, coloured and Asian South Africans. As a matter of fact, in the years following unification in 1910, the plight of black South Africans worsened, as the policy of segregation (a precursor to post-1948 apartheid) was implemented.

In May 1948, the "right-wing" National Party of Dr D.F. Malan defeated Smuts' United Party at the ballot box and introduced a new era in the history of South Africa. In contrast to the rest of the world, where the emphasis was increasingly placed on equal treatment and justice for all races (owing to the Second World War, and especially Nazi racism), the

⁵⁴ See also the Afrikaans translation (by N.J. van der Merwe, the great protagonist of the republican ideal), which was published in 1923, namely, *Die smarte van die oorlog en wie dit gely het* (Cape Town, 1923). As far as Hobhouse's correspondence is concerned, see also R. van Reenen (ed.), *Emily Hobhouse: Boer War letters* (Cape Town, 1984).

⁵⁵ As far as the rebellion of 1914-1915 is concerned see, for example, G.D. Scholtz, *Die rebellie 1914-15* (Johannesburg, 1942), *passim*; Union of South Africa, *Report on the outbreak of the rebellion and the policy of the government with regard to its suppression* (UG10-'15), *passim*; Union of South Africa, *Report of the select committee on the rebellion* (SCl-'15, Cape Town, 1915), *passim*, and A. Wessels, "The Empire goes to war: South Africa and the First World War, 1914-1918" in P. Boyden, A.J. Guy and M. Harding (eds), "Ashes and blood": the British Army in South Africa 1795-1914 (London, 1999), pp. 118-120.

National Party implemented a policy that accentuated racial differences and segregation. From 1948 to 1954, under the leadership of Malan, and after that under the leadership of J.G. Strijdom and H.F. Verwoerd, the National Party government passed various apartheid laws and implemented measures to transform South Africa into a country where racism was institutionalised.

In the years following unification (1910) up to the founding of the Republic (1961), the Anglo-Boer War, and in particular the suffering associated with the white internment camps, formed an important part of many Afrikaners' historical (and political) frame of reference. Since most inhabitants of the internment camps never resolved their trauma successfully, this psychological collateral damage was transferred to their children. In the minds of many Afrikaners, there was the idea that what the Afrikaner had to go through during the Anglo-Boer War, should never again happen to "us".

The excessive emphasis on the protection of their own interests meant that the next logical step, namely to prevent universal oppression and suffering, was never taken by the Afrikaner. The Afrikaners had not learnt from their history and they, who had been humiliated and oppressed earlier, and who suffered an immense amount of collateral damage, became the new oppressors (of black and coloured people) from 1948 onwards under the colours of apartheid. In this way, the traumatised from the era of the Anglo-Boer War (and their descendants) became the new traumatisers – and caused a new wave of collateral damage, to the detriment of mutual relationships in South Africa, and to the disadvantage of the "non-white" inhabitants of the country.

The traumatisation of the largest part of South African society continued after South Africa became a republic on 31 May 1961 (i.e. exactly 59 years after the end of the Anglo-Boer War), and at the same time, there was an ever-increasing sense of alienation among the races. South Africa's relations with the outside world were also gradually affected, an aspect that led to increasing isolation in sport, the imposition of a mandatory United Nations arms embargo in November 1977 and economic pressure. This in turn led to the emergence of a siege and laager mentality in a large sector of the Afrikaner community.⁵⁶

Meanwhile (from 1966), South Africa was involved in an armed struggle against the South-West African People's Organisation (SWAPO), who fought for the independence of Namibia, a situation that led to the government introducing compulsory military service for all white males. The result was that thousands of people were traumatised, over and above the massive destruction and disruption caused in the north of Namibia and especially in certain parts of Angola, where the South African Defence Force became embroiled in the civil war on the side of UNITA against the MPLA and its Cuban and other communist allies. So, South Africa's neighbouring states experienced serious collateral damage. A country like Angola (littered with millions of landmines) is still suffering the consequences of first a liberation struggle and then a civil war, which altogether lasted for nearly 40 years.⁵⁷

On the home front, the violence that erupted in Soweto and elsewhere (and the concomitant collateral damage), had a negative effect on South Africa's position internationally. The

⁵⁶ Giliomee, pp. 578-589.

⁵⁷ As far as South Africa's role in Namibia and Angola is concerned, and the collateral damage suffered by people in those countries, see, for example, W. Steenkamp, *South Africa's border war, 1966-1989* (Johannesburg, 1989) and F.J. du T. Spies, *Operasie Savannah: Angola 1975-1976* (Pretoria, 1989).

1980s were characterised, inter alia, by black-on-black violence (which left about 30 000 people dead) and an increase in operations by the ANC's military wing, uMkhonto weSizwe (MK) – all of which were contributing factors in the traumatisation of South African society. South Africa seemed on the verge of total anarchy. And then came the year 1990, which brought various dramatic political changes, for example: the unbanning of several organisations, the release of political prisoners (in particular Dr Nelson Mandela) and the start of negotiations between the National Party government and other political organisations that led to the first truly democratic election in 1994, with the accompanying dramatic political transformation. This also led to the establishment of a formal Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), which, like Emily Hobhouse's informal discussions with Boer women almost a century earlier, offered the marginalised victims of conflict the opportunity to voice their suffering, so that their trauma could be resolved and perhaps healed.⁵⁸

CONCLUDING PERSPECTIVES

In the light of the terrible slaughter that took place during the First World War (1914-1918)) – for example, on 1 July 1916, on the first day of the Battle of the Somme, the British Army lost approximately 19 000 soldiers; in other words, approximately two-and-a-half times as many as they had lost in the entire course of the Anglo-Boer War on the battlefield – the nature, scope and meaning of the Anglo-Boer War were relegated to the background in Britain. However, to the Afrikaner nation it was the most extensive conflict in which they had been involved in their entire history, and this war guided Afrikaner thinking for a large part of the twentieth century.

The Anglo-Boer War displayed characteristics of both a civil war and a total war, and the consequences of the conflict may be traced throughout the twentieth century. To gain an understanding of political developments in South Africa during the twentieth century, it is necessary to develop knowledge of and insight into the build-up to, the course and consequences of the Anglo-Boer War. Moreover, the history of the Afrikaner nation cannot be fully understood if we do not consider the significance of the Anglo-Boer War. Together with the Great Trek of the 1830s, the Anglo-Boer War was indeed the most epoch-making event in the history of the Afrikaner.

The consequences of the internment camps probably tower above all the other after-effects of the war. Unlike razed farmhouses that could be rebuilt, those who died in the camps could not then be restored to life. The trauma caused by the British internment camp system would continue to haunt both the Afrikaners and the other inhabitants of South Africa for many years to come. The internment camps of the Anglo-Boer War led to disruption, trauma, alienation and a slowing down of the processes of development. A large section of the Afrikaner people was impoverished, and various Afrikaners who lost everything on their farms sought a new life in towns and cities. In the course of time, some of them became part of the so-called poor-white problem. ⁵⁹ In the urban areas, fear of the British was soon replaced by

⁵⁸ As far as the TRC is concerned, see, for example, A. Jeffery, *The truth about the Truth Commission* (Johannesburg, 1999) and A. Krog, *Country of my skull* (Johannesburg, 1998).

⁵⁹ For more on the poor white problem, see, for example, R.A. Lewis, A study of some aspects of the poor white problem in South Africa (M.A., Rhodes University, 1973); J.F.G. Grosskopf et al., The poor white problem in South Africa: report of the Carnegie Commission (Stellenbosch, 1932); Verslag van die Volkskongres oor

fear of domination by black people,⁶⁰ inter alia, because the Afrikaners had to compete with black people for job opportunities. Many of these whites in due course became supporters of the National Party's policy of apartheid.⁶¹

More than a hundred years after the conclusion of the Anglo-Boer War, we are able to reflect on the immense political and social fallout of the conflict. These negative consequences include the scorched-earth policy and the internment camps of the Anglo-Boer War, the rebellion of 1914-1915, the years of political *Sturm und Drang* in the 1920s and 1930s, the political changes of 1939 and (in particular) 1948, the implementation of the policy of apartheid, the events at Sharpeville and elsewhere in the 1960s, the uprisings in Soweto and elsewhere in 1976, and the violence of the 1980s – which spilt over into the 1990s. Not all of these conflicts and their ensuing collateral damage can be directly linked to the Anglo-Boer War, but the war of 1899 to 1902 did cause immense damage, disruption and trauma and set in motion a train of events which to a large extent determined the course that twentieth-century South African history would take.

die armblankevraagstuk gehou te Kimberley, 2-3 Oktober 1934 (Cape Town, 1934).

⁶⁰ In considering the role played by fear in the history of South Africa, see, for example, H.J. du Bruijn, Vrees as factor in die regse blanke politiek in Suid-Afrika sedert 1948: 'n historiese ontleding (M.A., University of the Free State, 1995).

⁶¹ See in general, S. Dubow, *Racial segregation and the origins of apartheid in South Africa* (Cambridge, 1989).

Les répercussions des deux guerres mondiales sur les populations civiles en Tunisie sur le plan démographique

ABDESSLEM BEN HAMIDA

LES RÉPERCUSSIONS DES DEUX GUERRES MONDIALES SUR LES POPULATIONS CIVILES EN TUNISIE SUR LE PLAN DÉMOGRAPHIQUE

Perçues avant tout comme affontements entre puissances, les guerres mondiales et leurs effets ont été surtout étudiés en Europe. Les seules répercussions sur les populations civiles des pays dominés, qui ont intéressé les chercheurs se sont souvent limitées à celles sur le plan politique relatives à la naissance du nationalisme. Les autres aspects ont peu retenu l'attention des historiens.

Pour étudier l'impact des deux guerres mondiales sur les populations civiles d'un pays sous protectorat français, nous avons préféré focaliser sur le plan démographique. La Tunisie a participé à l'effort de guerre de la France en envoyant des soldats et des travailleurs en Europe au cours de la Première Guerre mondiale. Lors de la Seconde, des batailles de grande importance se sont déroulées sur son territoire, qui ont aggravé les effets de sa contribution. L'intérêt du démographique réside notamment dans la possibilité qui nous est offerte de quantifier, pour pouvoir évaluer l'ampleur d'un phénomène qui, par surcroît, n'a pas été suffisamment étudié.

Certes, nous sommes confrontés à plusieurs difficultés dont la fiabilité de certaines sources et l'imprécision de nos connaissances. En effet, le premier recensement effectué en Tunisie date du 6 mars 1921. Ce qui lui a valu d'être qualifié d'approximatif par les démographes. Des opérations de ce genre mieux maîtrisées ont été réalisées pendant la période coloniale en 1926, 1931, 1936 et 1946. Elles nous fournissent des informations utiles, mais le recensement de 1946, le plus proche de la Seconde Guerre, du fait qu'il ait été réalisé en une période où persiste le rationnement ne pouvait pas ne pas en pâtir sur le plan de la fiabilité. Néanmoins, plusieurs indices attestent que cette période est marquée par des changements importants au niveau de la démographie, qu'il serait utile de mettre en relation avec les guerres mondiales, pour tenter de répondre à quelques questions au centre de nos préoccupations.

Nous allons donc dans une première partie aborder les répercussions de la contribution tunisienne en 1914-1918 sur la croissance démographique, puis présenter dans une seconde, les pertes subies lors de la Seconde Guerre mondiale. Enfin, dans une troisième et dernière partie, nous analyserons leurs effets sur les caractéristiques démographiques pour pouvoir évaluer leurs retombées sur les populations civiles.

La participation tunisienne à l'effort de guerre français (1914-1918) et son impact sur la démographie

Les populations civiles sont concernées par cette contribution à plus d'un titre. En effet, non seulement l'essentiel des troupes envoyées est constituée de conscrits, mais elle a

consisté aussi en l'envoi de travailleurs. S'agissant de personnes en âge de procréer, et vue la durée de la guerre, les répercussions sur le plan démographique sont évidentes.

Le déclenchement de la Première Guerre a été suivi, dès le 1er août 1914, par un décret beylical convoquant les Appelés de 1911, 1912 et 1913 ainsi que les volontaires en exercice, soit un total de 11.989 pour participer au conflit. Les jeunes Tunisiens âgés de moins de vingt ans sont alors astreints à un service militaire de trois ans, suivis de sept ans de réserve, mais les exemptions étaient nombreuses. Elles concernent les Israélites, les Tunisois, les soutiens de famille, les étudiants de la Zitouna, les titulaires du Certificat d'études primaires. Un tirage au sort permet de dispenser d'autres jeunes de cette obligation et un système de rachat annulé en 1918, autorisait moyennant le payement d'une somme d'argent de se faire remplacer.

Lors de la Première guerre mondiale la Tunisie fournit à la France près de 80.000 soldats et une trentaine de milliers de travailleurs. Une thèse affirme que «si on compte aussi le recrutement de 1919, on obtient un total de 73.000 soldats (...) 10.000 de ces militaires étaient des engagés volontaires»¹. Selon le même auteur le recrutement est «poussé à ses limites»; ce qui permit d'atteindre un chiffre record en 1917.

Pour ce qui est des pertes, bien que les estimations diffèrent sensiblement d'une source à une autre, on peut affirmer qu'elles sont considérables. Dans un rapport établi par le Résident Général Flandin et envoyé au Quai d'Orsay, au début de 1920, portant sur «la main d'oeuvre indigène» il est question de 10.000 soldats tunisiens tués ou disparus pendant la guerre et de 8.000 mutilés et réformés. L'ensemble soit 18.000 représenterait d'après la même source «le chiffre de la génération annuelle des jeunes de 17 ans».

Dans un livre publié en 1926 sous le titre « l'Afrique du Nord pendant la guerre» Augustin Bernard signale 10.723 soldats tués sur les champs de bataille en Europe, et une dizaine de milliers de blessés. Ces estimations, l'officielle et l'officieuse, n'englobent pas ceux tués au Maroc ou en Orient.

Quant à celles avancées par les nationalistes, il est question d'un chiffre global de 45.000 entre morts, disparus, blessés et mutilés². Ainsi, l'ampleur des sacrifices consentis par les populations civiles est incontestable, puisque même si on retient seulement le chiffre relativement bas de 15.000 tués, nous sommes au dessus de la moyenne des pertes parmi les soldats français qui seraient de l'ordre du sixième.

Qu'on l'attribue au fait,- largement établi au moins de lors de quelques batailles-, à l'exposition aux premiers coups des soldats coloniaux ou à d'autres facteurs, cette situation a largement accrédité l'idée «d'un impôt du sang» ³. Elle a en ce qui nous concerne aussi profondément affecté la démographie. Il est aussi à signaler, à ce sujet que, plus d'un millier de travailleurs officiels (sur 26.000) perdirent la vie.

Pour ce qui est des Européens et plus précisément des Français, l'impact est également profond. En effet, nous remarquons un net ralentissement de la croissance de leur nombre, pour lequel nous disposons de données assez précises. La population européenne de Tunisie

¹ Goldstein (Daniel), Libération ou annexion. Aux chemins croisés de l'histoire tunisienne, M.T.E., Tunis 1978, p.164.

² Voir notamment Thaalbi (Abdelaziz), La Tunisie Martyre. Ses revendications, Ed. Jouve, Paris 1920.

³ Voir notamment Mahjoubi, (Ali), *Les origines du mouvement national en Tunisie (1904-1934)*, Publications de l'Université de Tunis, 1982, p. 184.

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augmente de 5% entre 1911 et 1921 contre 34% entre 1901 et 1911. Son taux de croissance descend donc au dessus de celui des autochtones pour qui «un accroissement de 0,8% l'an, admis à l'époque, donnerait un croît global de 7% pour la période 1911-1921»⁴.

Certes, cette baisse de la croissance de la population européenne de Tunisie n'est pas due uniquement à la guerre, mais cette dernière y a largement contribué. Quant à la croissance de la population tunisienne elle ne cessera de s'affirmer avant et après la Seconde guerre mondiale.

L'IMPACT DE LA SECONDE GUERRE MONDIALE SUR LA CROISSANCE DE LA POPULATION TUNISIENNE

Paradoxalement les données relatives à la Seconde guerre mondiale, sont encore plus difficiles à exploiter et nous ne disposons pas encore d'étude exhaustive sur l'ensemble des pertes occasionnées à la population tunisienne lors des différentes batailles qui la constituent. Qui, plus est, -comme c'est le cas dans plusieurs autres pays-, durant cette guerre des épidémies ont conjugué leurs effets avec les restrictions alimentaires occasionnant une surmortalité importante surtout infantile et juvénile.

Nos informations sont d'autant moins précises que lors du déclenchement de la Seconde guerre mondiale, la Statistique Générale de la Tunisie a cessé de paraître. Ce n'est qu'à partir de 1946 que le Service tunisien des Statistiques publie l'Annuaire statistique de la Tunisie. Certes, il comporte des données rétrospectives pour la période 1940-1945, mais elles ne sont pas nécessairement très fiables.

Les chiffres les plus proches de la réalité sont ceux de la capitale Tunis et ils peuvent servir de base de départ pour une évaluation crédible. Les décès dans cette ville, telles que les statistiques de son Bureau d'Hygiène les présentent toutes nationalités confondues ont évolué ainsi ⁵:

1940	5979
1941	7081
1942	8753
1943	10454
1944	9173
1945	7771
1946	4272 dont 2595 Musulmans et 1677 Français.

La surmortalité du temps de guerre y apparaît nettement bien que les lacunes de l'enregistrement soient probablement supérieures à celles de l'après-guerre. Les niveaux élevés que ces chiffres indiquent « s'expliquent notamment par l'épidémie de typhus qui sévissait cruellement en 1943 et 1944 ajoutée aux autres conséquences de la guerre (Campagne de Tunisie etc...).

⁴ Rouissi (Moncer), Population et société au Maghreb, Cérès Productions, Tunis 1977, p. 82.

⁵ Seklani (Mahmoud), La mortalité et le coût de la santé en Tunsie depuis l'après-guerre, Ière Partie : Etude quantitative, niveau et structure, Doctorat de 3ème cycle, (Dactylographiée), Université de Paris, Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines, 1966, p. 77.

Par ailleurs, des recoupements permettent d'évaluer à près de 26.000 les Tunisiens incorporés dans l'armée et le nombre de dossiers d'ayant-droit traités par les services spécialisés de l'armée étant de 2540 cela laisse supposer un nombre de tués et de disparus probablement supérieur à ce dernier chiffre.

Il est aussi évident que les années de guerre sont caractérisées par une forte baisse de la nuptialité et de la fécondité. Le nombre des naissances continuera longtemps à être influencé et sa tendance à la baisse restera perceptible, à travers les classes creuses visibles sur les pyramides des âges, bien longtemps après la fin des hostilités.

Nous ne comptons pas reprendre le débat fort connu au sujet du rôle de la guerre dans le recul des épidémies et l'amélioration de l'état sanitaire grâce notamment aux progrès de la médecine qu'elle a contribué à réaliser. Il importe toutefois de signaler que la forte progression de la croissance démographique enregistrée à la veille de la guerre reprend dès la fin des hostilités.

La fécondité élevée, jointe à une baisse de la mortalité, essentiellement infantile, très sensible dès les années 1945-1946 amène un accroissement de la population, qui apparaît nettement à travers le recensement de 1946. La croissance est telle que, des chercheurs en sont arrivés à affirmer que, «les événements de guerre n'avaient ni entravé, ni ralenti l'accroissement démographique», car «en dix ans, 1936-46, la population avait augmenté de 25%»⁶. Ce qui est évidemment au moins à nuancer, déjà du seul fait que la mortalité s'est considérablement accrue au cours des années de guerre. Ainsi, un démographe tunisien en a déduit que : «Ces années dures ne sont (somme toute) qu'un accident de parcours.⁷»

Les données disponibles permettent d'être encore plus précis, malgré les incohérences qu'elles comportent. L'Annuaire statistique de la Tunisie de 1947 nous fournit quelques indications rétrospectives, qui ne manquent pas d'intérêt :

Evolution des taux de natalité et de mortalité

(d'après l'état civil)

	Taux de	<u>natalité</u>	p.1.000	Taux de	<u>mortalité</u>	p.1.000
Périodes	Europ.	Musulm.	Israé.	Europ.	Musulm.	Israé.
1934-38	28,8	28,8	30,2	14,1	16,6	17,0
1939-44 (évalué)	27,3	31,0	33,4	16,6	18,8	23,5
1945-49	24,7	38,9	38,3	11,9	15,0	16,2

Les différences assez marquées entre les taux des populations musulmane et israélite,

⁶ Marnata (Raoul), La population active de la Tunisie. Aspects démographiques d'une économie sous-développée, Thèse pour le Doctorat en Sciences Economiques, Dactylographiée, Faculté de Droit de Paris, 1954, P. 216.

⁷ Rouissi (Moncer), Op. cit, p. 94.

n'ont pas manqué d'attirer l'attention des démographes tunisiens. Il s'agirait «d'une situation paradoxale quand on sait que les conditions de vie des populations musulmane et israélite étaient assez proches et plutôt éloignées de la population européenne. Dans ce cas le sous-enregistrement de la population musulmane est important alors qu'en ce qui concerne la population israélite, qui est principalement d'origine urbaine, celle-ci est mieux comptabilisée et se trouve de ce fait moins soumise au sous-enregistrement. Ce qui explique le niveau de mortalité plus élevé que pour celui de la population musulmane.»⁸

Ces remarques nous permettent de mieux apprécier les données concernant le taux de croissance naturel, qui se présentent, selon la même source, à savoir l'Annuaire statistique de la Tunisie de 1947 ainsi:

Evolution du taux d'accroissement naturel (en %)

Périodes	Européens	Musulmans	Israélites
1934-1938	1,4	1,2	1,3
1939-1944	1,1	1,2	1,0
1945-1947	1,3	2,4	2,2

Pour la période 1939-1944, il s'agit d'une évaluation.

LES MUTATIONS DÉMOGRAPHIQUES ET LEURS IMPACTS SUR LES POPULATIONS CIVILES

Les répercussions des guerres sur les caractéristiques de la démographie ont contribué à de profonds bouleversements pour la population civile sur plusieurs plans.

La reprise rapide de la croissance de la natalité, qui ne s'est pas limité à l'immédiat après-guerre et s'est même accéléré depuis, va permettre un rajeunissement de la société. Il en résulte une évolution de la population en âge de travailler, relativement réduite dont le recensement de 1946 rend déjà assez bien compte : La tranche d'âges de 0 à 14 ans constituant à elle seule 41,5 %, et ce que les démographes appellent âge médian étant de 19,7, il s'agit d'une population jeune.

Ce qui accentue les difficultés sur le plan social surtout des populations les plus démunies, le nombre d'enfants à charge par soutien de famille ayant tendance à croître. Certains parmi eux sont de surcroît amenés à prendre en charge la progéniture de parents victimes des conflits mondiaux.

«La charge des jeunes générations était lourde en Tunisie pour les hommes en âge de travailler. A titre de comparaison, le nombre des adultes (de 20 à 59 ans) était en France en 1946 de 250 pour 100 enfants ou adolescents jusqu'à 15 ans, il était en Tunisie de 107 seulement. Mais il faut encore distinguer suivant les catégories de la population.

⁸ Taamallah (Khemaïes), *Population et emploi en Tunisie*, Publ. de l'Université de Tunis, 1987, p.51.

⁹ Idem, p.113.

188 adultes pour 100 enfants en milieu européen (...)

102 adultes pour 100 enfants en milieu musulman.¹⁰»

L'accélération de la mobilité de la population à laquelle les guerres ont contribué a aggravé les problèmes sociaux. Ainsi, l'exode rural s'accentue au lendemain de la Première et surtout de la Seconde guerre mondiale. La population urbaine passe de 27% en 1936 à 32% en 1946. C'est la capitale et les autres grandes villes du littoral qui ont reçu l'essentiel des ruraux que la campagne a chassé. La population de la région de Tunis double au cours de cette période, celles de la deuxième ville, -Sfax-, et de Bizerte augmentent de prés de 50%.

L'ampleur de l'exode rural est telle que, l'accroissement du nombre d'habitants de la capitale au cours de cette décennie est six fois supérieur à l'écart entre les naissances et les décès. «Dans la seule ville de Tunis et pour la seule population musulmane un apport de 100.000 personnes venues du pays s'est produit entre 1936 et 1946; dans la banlieue de Tunis l'apport a dû représenter 60 à 70.000 habitants. "» L'ensemble de la population musulmane des villes s'accroît de 240.000 habitants au cours de cette décennie contre 123.000 personnes entre 1926 et 1936.

En plus des déséquilibres régionaux que l'accélération de l'exode aggrave, on signale que les gourbivilles les plus anciens, apparus au lendemain de la Première guerre gonflent et de nouveaux se constituent. Cette ceinture «d'habitat spontané» qui entoure Tunis rassemble ceux que la ville n'arrive pas à intégrer et attire les flux croissants de personnes réduites au chômage, victimes de nombre de maux sociaux et dont certaines contribuent à développer un secteur tertiaire refuge.

La guerre en est responsable à plus d'un titre. En effet, « au cours du deuxième conflit mondial en particulier, les réquisitions, les prélévements et les ventes forcés décidés par l'armée française provoquèrent une baisse très sensible des effectifs de cheptel de trait, baisse aggravée par la sécheresse des années 1945-47. Des dizaines de petits propriétaires se trouvèrent dans l'obligation d'hypothèquer ou de vendre les parts indivises qu'ils possédaient dans les différentes régions du Tell céréalier et d'émigrer vers les villes et en particulier Tunis.»¹²

Quant à l'émigration vers l'étranger qui a commencé timidement au lendemain de la Première et a commencé à prendre une certaine consistance après la Seconde guerre, elle se dirige presque exclusivement vers la France. Elle n'arrive pas à réduire d'une façon significative le chômage, ni à avoir le moindre impact sur la croissance de la natalité dans les villes que l'arrivée des ruraux semble avoir contribué à faire croître.

Sur le plan économique, les retombées d'ordre démographique des guerres ont contribué à ce déséquilibre majeur entre croissance de la population et celle de la population, consti-

¹⁰ Kraiem (Mustapha), *La classe ouvrière tunisienne et la lutte de libération nationale (1939-1952)*, Imprimerie de l'U.G.T.T., Tunis 1980, p.45.

¹¹ Vibert (Jean), « Tableau de l'économie tunisienne», In Bulletin Economique et Social de la Tunisie, Octobre-Novembre-Décembre 1952.

¹² Kassab (Ahmed), Etudes rurales en Tunisie, Publications de l'Université de Tunis, 1980, p.71.

tutif de ce que l'on appelera plus tard le phénomème de sous développement, en accélérant la cadence de la première et en entravant la seconde. La responsabilité de l'extension du secteur informel, en relation avec le renforcement de l'exode rural, peut être aussi en partie imputable aux incidences des guerres.

Nous pouvons ainsi conclure que les deux guerres mondiales ont profondément affecté les populations civiles à tous les niveaux. Les pertes sur le plan démographique ont eu des incidences particulièrement importantes. Elles sont suffisamment fortes dans les pays sous domination coloniale, pour renforcer les ressentiments à l'encontre d'un colonialisme qui, non seulement les implique dans des conflits sanglants, mais aggrave aussi les difficultés économiques et sociales et les inégalités. Celle devant la mort transparait pour les civils en Tunisie notamment à travers le fait que le service militaire était de trois ans pour les Tunisiens et de 18 mois seulement pour les Français.

Malgré l'importance des pertes humaines autochtones la croissance démographique à long et même à moyen terme n'a pas été entravée. Ce qui explique une accentuation de la dégradation des conditions de vie des Tunisiens, par l'alourdissement des charges sociales. L'accélération de la croissance naturelle génère aussi un rajeunissement de la population pourvoyeur d'une vitalité et d'une combativité qu'on essaie de retourner contre la puissance coloniale.

Il importe aussi d'en déduire que les répercussions démographiques des guerres semblent avoir contribué, avec celles de la crise des années trente, à un certain nombre de déséquilibres structurels qui ne cesseront de marquer les économies des pays colonisés après la décolonisation politique. Le cas tunisien est loin d'être le seul, il est largement confirmé par d'autres exemples.

Civils et guerre asymétrique: la résistance armée tunisienne aux forces d'occupation françaises en Tunisie 1881 – 1956

DAHMANI MOHAMMED SALAH

Introduction:

Les unités françaises formaient lorsqu'elles ont envahi la Tunisie en Avril 1881 une puissante armée de plus de trente mille soldats expérimentés, équipés d'un matériel de guerre sophistiqué et commandés par des officiers qui ont été formés dans des écoles militaires. Face à eu se trouvait une armée beylicale moribonde de mille huit cent combattants réguliers. Cette force n'était armée que de quelques canons et d'armes légères.

Le bey de Tunis ordonna à ses troupes de n'opposer aucune résistance à ces assaillants. Mais très vite, le peuple tunisien s'est lancé dans la résistance à l'envahisseur. Cette lutte, après sa naissance, a vécu 3 étapes : l'enfance puis l'adolescence et enfin l'âge mûr (maturité).

Il s'agissait tout au début, de **la résistance à l'envahisseur**, qui correspond en quelque sorte à **l'enfance**, lors de laquelle les tribus se sont unies pour combattre les troupes françaises avec courage et persévérance. Mais sans commandement organisé et unifié, cette résistance a dû s'incliner avec des pertes en vies humaines très importantes.

Puis vint la résistance à **l'occupant** ou **l'adolescence**. Lors de cette période, certaines tribus ou régions se sont insurgées contre l'occupant. Mais privés d'une stratégie à long terme, ces soulèvements furent voués à l'échec.

Et enfin **l'âge mûr** a fait entrer la résistance dans sa **phase décisive** après la deuxième guerre mondiale. Elle a repris la phase armée en 1952 et s'est poursuivie jusqu'en 1956. Elle a été menée sous forme de guérilla avec des actions irrégulières, isolées, menées par des maquis peu nombreux, peu entraînés et dotés de moyens rudimentaires mais très déterminés, très motivés et soutenus par toute la population tunisienne.

Dans cette intervention, nous donnerons un aperçu sur la genèse de la résistance armée tunisienne, les diverses formes qu'elle a revêtues et les différents procédés qu'elle a utilisés de 1881 à 1956. Nous soulignons que cette résistance armée contre les forces d'occupation françaises beaucoup plus puissantes sur le plan qualitatif et quantitatif avec des armements modernes était soutenue par toute la population tunisienne. Nous ferons ensuite les pertes infligées de part et d'autre.

La résistance armée tunisienne 1881 – 1883: une résistance à l'envahisseur

Au départ, cette résistance était un phénomène essentiellement montagnard, nomade et rural. Ce sont les tribus montagnardes et les villages qui ont pris la part la plus active dans l'affrontement avec les agresseurs. Même les soldats qui ont déserté l'armée beylicale pour rejoindre les rangs de la résistance sont en majorité d'origine rurale. Quant aux villes, Sfax et

Gabès étaient presque les seules à opposer une résistance farouche à laquelle, d'ailleurs, les bédouins ont pris part activement.

Et pour donner un caractère populaire à ce mouvement de résistance armée, les représentants des tribus se sont réunis à la Grande Mosquée de Kairouan (15 – 20 juin 1881) sous la présidence de Ali ibn Khalifa qui devient le commandant en chef de la résistance armée tunisienne surtout lors des batailles de Sfax et de Gabès. Ces représentants ont élaboré une charte d'honneur appelant à la poursuite de la résistance armée dans tout le territoire tunisien.

La lutte s'organisa aussi dans les autres régions du pays autour des tribus. Des troupes régulières qui refusèrent le traité de Bardo, rejoignirent les rangs de la résistance, à l'instar du commandant des artilleurs de Sfax. Cette ville, par exemple était défendue par 500 cavaliers qui sont venus d'autres régions et qui sont équipés d'armes légères, ne put opposer qu'une résistance désespérée à une escadre forte de 17 vaisseaux de ligne montés par 600 soldats et équipés de 151 canons.

La supériorité numérique et logistique des Français décida de l'issue des affrontements dont le bilan fut lourd pour les Tunisiens (800 à 1000 martyrs). L'envahisseur n'avait, quant à lui, laissé sur le champ de bataille qu'une quarantaine de morts.

La lutte armée s'est poursuivie dans le Sud et le Sahel après la prise de Sfax par les Français. A Gabes (Sud du pays) les unités françaises ont rencontré, également, une opposition farouche qui les a empêchées, à plusieurs reprises, de débarquer sur les côtes. Elles attendirent le mois de novembre pour mettre définitivement la main sur la cité (après avoir été prise et reprise 12 fois par les forces assaillantes).

A l'automne 1881, les forces françaises se sont dirigées vers le Sahel afin de le soumettre. Dans tous les bourgs et toutes les villes de cette région, elles ont dû livrer de durs combats à la résistance inattendue des autochtones renforcés par de nombreux soldats de l'armée beylicale qui ont rallié la résistance.

Malgré la hardiesse et la bravoure des combattants tunisiens, l'occupant a pu s'installer en Tunisie pour lui imposer le protectorat. L'échec de la résistance entre 1881 et 1883 est imputable à des nombreux facteurs notamment :

- la défection des autorités beylicales ;
- l'absence d'un commandement unifié sauf pour les batailles de Sfax et de Gabès ;
- l'obsolescence de l'armement des résistants ;
- le recours à des procédés de combats inadaptés ;
- la défaillance de l'aide extérieure ;
- la supériorité technique, tactique et numérique de l'agresseur.

Toutefois, la reprise de la résistance armée n'était que partie remise. L'embrasement du Sud en 1915 a apporté la preuve que la détermination des Tunisiens à libérer leur pays n'a pas été ébranlée.

La résistance armée entre 1883 et 1952: la résistance à l'occupant

La confiscation des terres des autochtones dans plusieurs régions du protectorat (1906) et d'autres exactions de la part des autorités coloniales ont provoqué des soulèvements et des affrontements sanglants entre les forces d'occupation et des autochtones tunisiens. Mais c'est au cours du soulèvement du Sud - Est (1915 – 1916) que la situation s'est beaucoup aggravée.

En effet l'insurrection des tribus du Sud – Est, est considérée comme l'un des plus grands gelons de la résistance armée en Tunisie. Les sources sont divergentes sur les pertes de chaque camp. Les Français reconnaissent 387 tués et 332 blessés dans leurs rangs, 250 victimes et 740 blessés parmi les Tunisiens. Les milieux de la résistance dressent, un bilan plus lourd : 1181 morts et 356 blessés français, mais uniquement 127 martyrs locaux.

Au cours de la seconde guerre mondiale, ce sont des Mrazigues (Sud du pays) qui se sont insurgés contre l'occupant (1943 – 1944). Plusieurs batailles ont opposé la résistance armée aux forces d'occupation, essentiellement la bataille de Douz (Sud du pays) (29 Mai 1944). Les femmes participèrent aux opérations militaires au cours desquelles la résistance infligea des lourdes pertes aux Français et s'empara d'une grande quantité d'armes et de munitions. La bataille de Zaramdine (au Sahel) (1944 – 1948) a opposé plusieurs résistants aux unités françaises et s'est soldée par plusieurs morts et blessés dans les rangs des belligérants.

Entre 1948 et 1952, des négociations politiques furent ouvertes mais leur échec radicalisa la résistance et ouvrit la porte aux grandes rebellions qui précédèrent l'indépendance.

La résistance armée entre 1952 et 1956: la résistance à l'occupant, phase décisive

A l'appel du parti destourien et de l'union générale tunisienne du travail, une vague de manifestations et de confrontations (16-17-18 janvier 1950) déferla sur plusieurs villes et villages de la Tunisie. Elle fut suivie par l'arrestation de nombreux cadres destouriens et syndicalistes. Deux ans plus tard (janvier 1952), éclata la crise politique qui déclencha le mouvement de résistance généralisé connu sous le nom du « mouvement des Fellagas « (1952-1954), (le terme de fellag désigne en arabe hors la loi, la presse française qualifie de fellaga les résistants tunisiens et ce le 9 juillet 1952 et de rebelles le 16 décembre 1952).

Dès son retour en Tunisie, le 2 janvier 1952, le leader Habib Bourguiba demanda aux Tunisiens de «se tenir prêts pour la lutte qui doit aboutir à nos aspirations » (Le Petit Matin du 3 janvier 1952). Il développa ce thème au cours des différentes réunions qu'il organisa et en particulier à Bizerte le 13 janvier 1952, où il annonça qu'une délégation ministérielle venait d'embarquer à destination de Paris pour porter la question tunisienne devant l'ONU.

Le jour même, et pour donner une image d' "homme à poigne", le nouveau résident général Jean de Hautecloque, accompagné du Général Garbey, commandant en chef des armées françaises et connu pour avoir conduit des massacres à Madagascar (plusieurs milliers morts), débarqua à Tunis à bord d'un croiseur et au milieu d'une grande armada, aussitôt déployée en démonstration de force.

Aussitôt, la résistance populaire s'organisa. Partout des manifestants affrontèrent les forces de l'ordre érigées en structure de répression. Chaque région, chaque ville et chaque village eut « ses faits d'armes », ses journées de gloire. La révolution décisive se déclencha.

La complexité de la résistance tient à son caractère populaire. Le propre de cette résistance fut qu'elle prenait, au départ, la tournure d'un soulèvement populaire mais une fois le soulèvement brisé, elle s'accomplit dans la lutte urbaine; et s'il arrivait que la ville soit épuisée, la campagne prenait la relève.

Le pays était désormais encadré par les structures de répression (fusillades contre les manifestants, arrestations massives, déploiement de forces). Et comme il devait arriver bien

souvent dans ces luttes d'émancipation coloniale, les excès de la répression qui ont pour but d'étouffer le mouvement de résistance, lui donnèrent en définitive, un caractère plus impétueux, allant jusqu'à le consacrer sur le plan international.

Le mardi 29 janvier 1952, 600 soldats de la Légion Etrangère ont mené l'opération «ratissage du Cap Bon» avec une barbarie jamais subie auparavant: exécutions sommaires, démembrement de cadavres, viols et avortements de femmes, dynamitage de plusieurs dizaines de maisons, pillages. Ces évènements, connus sous le nom d'évènements de Tazarka, suscitèrent une grande émotion en France et dans le monde ainsi qu'une insurrection en Tunisie.

Les Ultras (des colons) créèrent une organisation secrète, "la Main rouge" qui organisa impunément (des autorités françaises) un réseau de répression parallèle (terrorisme gratuit, fusillades, attentats, exécutions sommaires de dirigeants politiques, syndicalistes ...). La Main rouge acquérait une sinistre renommée en exécutant le leader syndicaliste Farhat Hached le 5 décembre 1952 et plusieurs dirigeants Néo-Destouriens dont Hédi Chaker le 13 septembre 1953. Suite à quoi, une organisation secrète, appelée "La Main noire" fut créée par le Néo-Destour dans le but de liquider les collaborateurs et les membres identifiés de la Main rouge.

LES CARACTÉRISTIQUES DE LA RÉSISTANCE

La résistance armée se déclencha un peu partout, prit plusieurs formes et connut plusieurs étapes, ce qui obligea la France à relancer de nouveau le canal des négociations, et ce malgré la poursuite de la répression et des ratissages pour débusquer les résistants et les militants. Ceux-ci présentaient une menace réelle pour la vie des colons et provoquaient un climat de tension et d'épuisement dans les rangs des troupes françaises, car la résistance désormais se généralisait. Les groupes secrets s'attaquèrent à tous les intérêts coloniaux, provoquant le départ forcé de certains colons qui se rendirent compte que les autorités coloniales étaient incapables de les protéger contre ces actions de la résistance armée. Cette résistance se distinguait par les caractéristiques suivantes.

1 Procédés de combat

Il a été remarqué qu'au fur et à mesure que la résistance évoluait, ses procédés devenaient de plus en plus adaptés.

En effet, au cours des première et deuxième phases, les résistants ont certes eu recours à des procédés tels que l'embuscade, le raid, le harcèlement et le combat des rues. Néanmoins, ils commirent la faute de lancer des attaques frontales et de se mettre en position de défense ferme face à un ennemi mieux équipé et numériquement supérieur.

Par contre, lors de la troisième phase, conscients de leurs faiblesses, les résistants ont toujours évité les attaques frontales pour recourir à la guérilla sous ses diverses formes. Misant sur la surprise, ils ont mené des embuscades, des coups de mains, attentats, des sabotages et des actions de harcèlement sur les arrières de l'ennemi pour perturber la vie économique et sociale des colons.

Des actions ont été menées aussi contre les symboles de la souveraineté coloniale, à savoir les troupes de l'armée, de la sûreté (gendarmerie et police), le domaine public, les fonctionnaires, les propriétés privées, les voies de communication, les voies ferrées, les transports en commun urbains, les lignes téléphoniques, les fermes coloniales etc.

Les résistants utilisaient dans leurs opérations des armes à feu, des armes blanches, des explosifs, des cocktails incendiaires et même les bâtons et ce, selon le type d'action à mener. Ils procédèrent à des actions d'éclat pour faire régner la terreur dans les milieux coloniaux.

· La guérilla

Ce fut la forme principale qui conduisit toutes les actions de la lutte armée, à base d'attaques surprises et de replis rapides pour minimiser les pertes. La connaissance du terrain, surtout des itinéraires, caches et abris fut la clé de voûte de cette forme d'action.

L'effet de surprise.

Cette tactique fut souvent adoptée : attaques d'objectifs ennemis pendant les jours fériés et vacances, là où les résistants furent les moins attendus; attentats sur des quartiers européens bien gardés et les fermes coloniales.

• Perturbation de la vie économique et sociale

Elle fut réalisée par la mobilisation de l'ensemble de la masse populaire dans la lutte contre l'occupant par tous les moyens pacifiques et armés. La vie économique et sociale fut touchée par les perturbations généralisées orchestrées par un commandement unifié du «Néo-Destour ou de l'UGTT (Union Générale des Travailleurs Tunisiens)». Il y eut aussi une incitation à la rébellion, au refus du service militaire obligatoire, à la désertion des incorporés pour rejoindre les groupes de résistants.

• L'attentat

Il vise surtout à saper le moral de l'occupant et à faire régner une ambiance d'insécurité chez les colons. Ces attentats ont été commis contres des P. C militaires, des postes de polices, des collaborateurs. Exemples : l'assassinat du directeur de l'Administration centrale de l'Armée française (De la Paillonne) (24 - 07 - 1954) et du colonel Durand (commandant les forces coloniales stationnées à Sousse) en plein centre de la ville de Sousse en 1954.

Le sabotage

C'est un procédé utilisé avec succès par la résistance visant à réduire le potentiel matériel et infrastructurel adverse : Sabotage des moyens de transport et des lignes téléphoniques ...

L'embuscade

Utilisée contre les troupes coloniales en mouvement, un procédé largement utilisé durant toute la période de la colonisation.

• Le coup de main

C'est une action brève, déclenchée par surprise contre les casernes visant soit à les détruire, soit à s'emparer des armes et de matériels.

Exemple:

L'opération à Bargou (Novembre 1954) ayant conduit à l'enlèvement de cinq militaires français. Cette action fut à l'origine du déclenchement de la bataille de Bargou.

• L'infiltration

La résistance a appliqué ce procédé dans plusieurs opérations.

EXEMPLE:

Malgré l'étau serré par les forces françaises, les fellagas déguisés avec des uniformes français effectuèrent une intrusion à Aïn Boussaâdia (Bargou) faisant des prisonniers français.

• Un essai de bilan

Faute d'un recensement global de toutes les opérations armées qui eurent lieu entre 1952 et 1954, nous ne pouvons donner un bilan exhaustif de toutes les opérations ou les actions menées mais seulement et à titre indicatif nous retenons le bilan allant du 20 janvier au 15 mars 1952, correspondant en fait au moment fort de la résistance soit 673 actions armées:

Type d'Action	Nombre
Action armée	76
Sabotage lignes téléphoniques	312
Sabotage voies ferrées et destruction de ponts	116
Sabotage infrastructure économique	89
Attaques contre postes de police, moyens de transports et établissements administratifs	80
Soit au total	673

GÉOGRAPHIE DES ACTIONS DE LA RÉSISTANCE

Géographiquement, les diverses actions armées se sont réparties sur toute la Tunisie et surtout dans le Sud parce qu'il constitue un territoire militaire qui, en plus de son étendu, présente des difficultés du terrain qui aident les résistants. A lui seul il représente 50,8% des actions enregistrées.

Attaques contre les troupes coloniales (%)

Bizerte-Mateur : 3,6
 Haut tell : 8,4
 Sahel : 7,2
 Centre : 30
 Sud : 50.8

Exploitations européennes attaquées (%)

Cette fois c'est le Nord de la Tunisie qui est le plus touché (avec: 88,4 % des actions enregistrées à cause des terres plus fertiles qui sont des exploitations agricoles aux mains des colons)

• Nord : **88,4** • Centre : 11,6

Collaborateurs exécutés (%)

Nord : 10
 Centre : 36
 Sahel : 27
 Sud : 27

COMMANDEMENT, ORGANISATION ET LOGISTIQUE

1 COMMANDEMENT POLITIQUE

Malgré l'arrestation des dirigeants politiques et des responsables de groupes armés, du second et troisième degré, la résistance continua à accomplir sa mission. Dès le début, le parti a fixé une tactique qui consiste à créer à chaque structure politique connue, une structure assimilée secrète qui assure la continuité dès l'arrestation de la structure principale. De même chaque région avait à sa tête un dirigeant régional.

2 Organisation des groupes de résistants

L'effectif des résistants augmenta de plus en plus lorsque les maquisards furent rejoints par bon nombre de patriotes ayant suivi, sous les drapeaux français, une formation militaire. Le nombre de résistants passa de 3.000 en 1952 à 6.000 en 1954. Les groupes de résistance avaient la même structuration interne.

On retrouvait ainsi, dans un ordre hiérarchique décroissant :

- Le chef du groupe,
- Le chef de guerre
- L'adjoint du chef,
- Le secrétaire.
- les résistants.

3 La logistique

La population mobilisée a joué un rôle logistique important pour ces groupes armés. Le bureau politique du Néo-Destour et d'autres organisations et des volontaires civils ont pris en charge le financement de cette résistance en organisant la collecte de fonds. Ces résistants furent soutenus par la population locale qui leur fournissait nourriture, habillement, parfois armement, munitions et explosifs en plus du renseignement sur la situation de l'ennemi.

• L'armement

Il s'agissait d'armes légères provenant essentiellement de la campagne de Tunisie qui eut lieu entre novembre 1942 et mai 1943 ou prises sur l'ennemi. La presse en date du 12 décembre 1954 avança aussi, sous le titre «Bilan définitif de l'opération de confiance», le chiffre de 2.105 armes rendues par 2.713 résistants.

L'armement fut surtout loin de couvrir les besoins : 1 résistant sur 4 dans la région de Thala-Kasserine ne possédait aucune arme, et 1 résistant sur 2 dans la région de Bizerte.

Les résistants utilisèrent également des explosifs de carrière, des grenades artisanales ou récupérées de la deuxième guerre mondiale (campagne de Tunisie).

• L'instruction

La préparation à cette lutte armée avait commencé depuis longtemps surtout à partir de la première guerre mondiale par l'organisation de groupes secrets. La plupart des instructeurs ayant reçu leur instruction surtout au Moyen Orient. Certains avaient suivi une instruction sur la fabrication d'explosifs et le maniement des armes par des officiers allemands lors de l'occupation de la Tunisie par les forces de l'Axe entre novembre 1942 et mai 1943, ou bien

par des anciens combattants ou militaires Tunisiens ayant servi sous le drapeau français et rallié la résistance armée.

LES OPÉRATIONS DE LA RÉSISTANCE ARMÉE

En plus des actions ciblées contre les troupes coloniales, la résistance armée a évité autant que possible, d'attaquer de front, se limitant à n'attaquer que les arrières et les petites unités attirées dans des embuscades. Néanmoins, la résistance a été obligée parfois de livrer des batailles frontales. Celles-ci sont nombreuses. A titre d'exemple la bataille de Bargou (une région montagneuse dans la dorsale tunisienne) qui a eu lieu du 8 au 14 novembre 1954 et qui a opposé une centaine de résistants qui se sont postés sur les montagnes de la région de Bargou, aux forces d'occupation françaises dont l'effectif a atteint 12.000 hommes commandés par deux généraux et appuyés par des blindés, des batteries d'artillerie et d'avions.

Bilan de cette bataille : 18 morts et 20 prisonniers parmi les résistants. 80 morts et plusieurs blessés (déclarés à l'époque par les autorités françaises) parmi les assaillants.

EVALUATION GÉNÉRALE DE LA RÉSISTANCE ARMÉE

Malgré la hardiesse et la bravoure des résistants tunisiens, l'envahisseur a pu s'installer en Tunisie pour lui imposer son protectorat. L'échec de la résistance sur le plan opérationnel et tactique surtout dans sa phase de l'enfance (début : 1881 – 1883) est imputable à de nombreux facteurs notamment :

- la défection des autorités beylicales
- l'absence d'un commandement unifié sauf pendant la bataille de Sfax et de Gabès.
- l'obsolescence de l'armement des résistants
- le recours à des procédés de combats inadaptés (combat frontal)
- la défaillance de l'aide extérieure
- la supériorité technique, tactique et numérique des unités françaises.

Progressivement, les résistants ont tiré des leçons de leur échec et ils ont changé leurs formes de combat et leurs tactiques qui deviennent plus adaptées à la situation militaire et ont fait subir aux unités françaises de lourdes pertes, ce qui a poussé (avec d'autres facteurs) les autorités françaises à renoncer à leur politique coloniale en Tunisie.

Conclusion

La décision gouvernementale de Pierre Mendès France, le 31 juillet 1954 d'accorder l'autonomie interne à la Tunisie ne fut pas seulement l'oeuvre du politique mais aussi fait suite à l'apport et l'ampleur de la résistance armée ayant contraint la France à revoir sa politique coloniale en Tunisie par l'ouverture des négociations avec les nationaliste. En effet, les unités françaises n'ont pas réussi à circonscrire cette résistance armée très complexe étant donné son caractère populaire et généralisé.

Cette guerre asymétrique qui a opposé des adversaires aux logiques différentes, les moyens humains, logistiques et économiques traduisent une profonde disparité et les objectifs poursuivis n'étaient pas les mêmes. Les Tunisiens visent par leur résistance armée la libération de leur pays et l'effondrement du système colonial en Tunisie alors que les unités militaires

françaises veulent occuper le pays et y consolider leur présence et leur système politique.

Les affrontements qui ont eu lieu entre ces deux forces dissemblables étaient parfois très létaux, surtout à Sfax et à Gabès.

Les unités françaises ont sans doute vaincu la résistance armée tunisienne en 1881 et dans tous les affrontements de front, mais le succès opérationnel et tactique des Français n'a pas conduit aux succès déterminant et permanant sur le plan stratégique et politique car les Tunisiens n'ont jamais cessé leur résistance à l'envahisseur puis à l'occupant et ce jusqu'à la libération complète de leur pays.

La phase de la bataille de la libération est achevée en mars 1956, et c'est la phase des batailles de l'évacuation qui va commencer et ce, pour obliger les forces occupantes (50.000 militaires français) à évacuer le pays, assurant de ce fait la consolidation de la souveraineté nationale.

La reprise des armes par l'armée tunisienne soutenue par les forces de l'intérieur et des volontaires civils est devenue inévitable. Plusieurs batailles contre les forces occupantes ont eu lieu, essentiellement la bataille de Rémada (mai 1958) et Bizerte en juillet 1961, (il s'agit ici beaucoup plus de guerre dissymétrique).

Il faut attendre le 15 octobre 1963 pour que le dernier soldat français quitte définitivement la Tunisie indépendante.

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L'effort de guerre en Afrique occidentale française pendant la guerre 14-18 : le cas de la colonie du Senegal

MBAYE CISSE

Introduction

Si les forces de l'Entente en général et la France en particulier ont pu gagner la Grande Guerre de 1914-1918, elles le doivent à la conjugaison de plusieurs facteurs, parmi lesquels l'exceptionnelle mobilisation de ressources humaines et économiques de leurs nations respectives, mais aussi la « possession » de vastes territoires éloignées des théâtres d'opérations. Jouant le rôle de bases arrière, ces derniers se sont révélés décisifs dans la formulation des stratégies politiques et militaires conduisant à la victoire. En effet, que serait devenue la France sans son vaste empire africain dans cette douloureuse épreuve?

Question légitime au regard de la tendance de l'historiographie occidentale de valoriser davantage la contribution venue d'outre atlantique que l'apport des colonies françaises dans l'avènement du monde dit libre. A l'évidence, les contributions des colonies françaises ont été déterminantes dans la Grande Guerre. Une implication de cette ampleur n'est pas sans conséquence sur le vécu des populations, lorsque qu'on mesure l'effort titanesque demandé aux colonies pendant la guerre. Quelle est la nature de cette contribution ? Comment a-t-elle été vécue par les populations ?

Cette étude tente de répondre modestement à ces questions à travers l'exemple de la colonie du Sénégal, fleuron de l'empire colonial français en Afrique occidentale française (AOF).

Il sera question d'abord de présenter, l'état de la colonie du Sénégal à la veille de la première guerre mondiale qui préfigure, peut être, du rôle majeur qu'elle sera amenée à jouer. La deuxième partie examinera la contribution de la colonie au plan humain et économique. Enfin les impacts multiformes de l'effort de guerre sur les populations seront évalués pour en tirer le bilan.

LE SENEGAL A LA VEILLE DE LA 1°GUERRE MONDIALE

L'effort de rationalisation de la présence française en Afrique occidentale débute avec le Traité de Paris signé le 30 mai 1814 qui rend le Sénégal à la France, occupé alors jusqu'en 1809 par les Anglais. En effet dés 1817, la France réoccupe le Sénégal et entreprend la mise en place des conditions politiques et économiques de son exploitation. Parmi celles ci, l'introduction de la culture de l'arachide dés 1841. En 1854 Faidherbe¹ est nommé gouverneur du Sénégal avec la mission ferme d'entreprendre l'organisation administrative et de parachever la conquête territoriale. Il s'attaque aux résistants locaux, principalement, les Maures et les Toucouleurs de la rive nord du fleuve Sénégal. En 1858 il vient à bout d'El Hadj Omar le

¹ Louis Faidherbe (1818-1899) officier du génie. Gouverneur du Sénégal en 1854 et inspirateur du corps des tirailleurs sénégalais.

grand marabout musulman, obligé de céder la région de la Falémé. Dans le même temps les efforts de conquête de Faidherbe et ses successeurs se traduisent par la construction d'une ligne de chemin de fer Dakar- Saint Louis destinée à la valorisation de la culture de l'arachide. Malgré l'opposition des chefs des royaumes centraux, en particulier de Lat Dior Diop, la présence française est effective à l'intérieur du pays où se succèdent les postes militaires jusqu'à l'extrême sud du pays, en Casamance. Globalement entre 1876 et 1891, toutes les résistances sont défaites et la conquête coloniale du Sénégal est bien achevée.

C'est à partir du décret du 16 juin 1895 qui crée l'AOF que le Sénégal prend toute son importance dans le dispositif politico administratif de la France. En effet, dés 1902, Dakar est désignée capitale de la nouvelle entité coloniale, au détriment de Saint Louis. Les citoyens de la colonie du Sénégal habitant dans les quatre communes jouissent de plus d'autonomie. On assiste à l'émergence d'une élite urbaine qui donnera au Sénégal son premier député en la personne de Blaise Diagne, dés 1914.

À la veille de la guerre, la France se distingue au Sénégal par une organisation politique et administrative bien en place. Disposant de relais au sein de la chefferie locale (les chefs de canton), l'administration coloniale pouvait compter sur un maillage important pour mobiliser les populations indigènes. Au plan économique, les comptoirs commerciaux sont établis dans toutes les grandes villes côtières et connaissent un essor avec la commercialisation de l'arachide. En 1900, toutes les conditions semblent réunies pour faire de la colonie du Sénégal un pion important dans la mobilisation future de ressources indispensables à la métropole.

II CONTRIBUTION DE LA COLONIE SENEGAL A LA 1° GUERRE MONDIALE :

L'effort humain

A la veille de 14-18, la question démographique occupe une place centrale en Europe. La baisse de la natalité et la limitation du service militaire à deux ans ont plongé l'armée française dans une chute vertigineuse de ses effectifs. Par rapport à l'Allemagne capable de mobiliser plus de 6 000 000 de combattants, la France estime ses capacités de mobilisation à seulement 4 000 000 d'hommes. Partagée entre ses exigences coloniales (pacification du Maroc) et la nécessité de faire face à la montée des effectifs militaires allemands, elle est bien consciente que « la matière manque » selon le mot du Ministre de la guerre Millerand².

C'est tout naturellement qu'elle se tourne vers sa base arrière, encouragée en cela par les propositions du Général Mangin (1866-1925) favorable à la création d'une « Force Noire ». Convaincu de la combativité des troupes noires qu'il a affrontées au cours de ces nombreuses campagnes au Soudan, Mangin n'a de cesse de vanter à sa hiérarchie l'importance des troupes noires : « Quand 100 000 Arabes et 100 000 Noirs seront mobilisés, prêts à combattre sur nos frontières, à coté des soldats métropolitains, alors les français sauront que la France ne s'arrête pas aux bords de la Méditerranée, ni même au Sénégal, au Niger et au Tchad et qu'elle est partout ou flotte son drapeau »³. L'AOF, en raison de sa proximité géographique et de la sécurité relative des lignes de communications pouvait, selon Mangin, puiser annuellement de son réservoir de 12 000 000 d'âmes, 10 à 12000 combattants destinés

² Discours à la Chambre des députés du 18 juin 1912

³ Le service militaire des Sénégalais : un projet du lieutenant-colonel Mangin, Archives du gouvernement général de l'AOF, Direction des Archives du Sénégal, 4 D31, 1909.

à la métropole. Dans le cas du Sénégal, en plus des citoyens des quatre communes appelés à défendre la patrie, un effort de guerre colossal allait être consenti par le recrutement de tirailleurs sénégalais⁴.

Le recrutement des tirailleurs pendant la guerre

L'existence de troupes indigènes ne date pas de la 1° Guerre mondiale. En effet, le décret de Plombières signé par Napoléon III le 21 juillet 1857 stipule en son article 1°: « il sera formé au Sénégal un corps d'infanterie indigène sous la dénomination de Tirailleurs Sénégalais. Ce corps, composé de quatre compagnies ayant chacune trois compagnies sera commandé par un chef de bataillon ». Aux ordres de Faidherbe ces compagnies participent à l'œuvre de conquête coloniale et à la pacification.

Avant 1912, les tirailleurs étaient recrutés selon le principe de l'engagement volontaire. En effet, le recrutement était régi par une loi de 1904 qui rendait obligatoire le service militaire, pour tous les habitants de la colonie, excepté ceux des quatre communes (considérés comme des citoyens français à part entière). Le décret du 7 février 1912 modifia le recrutement des troupes indigènes en instituant l'enrôlement sous les drapeaux par voie d'appel. Ce principe déléguait aux autorités coutumières et traditionnelles le pouvoir de mobiliser le nombre d'hommes demandé par l'administration. Cependant, même la mise en œuvre de ce nouveau décret ne mettait pas la colonie du Sénégal en devoir de fournir un grand nombre de soldats. Ces faibles contingents étaient même tolérés par les populations en dépit du caractère contraignant de la voie d'appel.

Lorsque éclate en août 1914 la guerre, aucun tirailleur ne se trouve sur le sol métropolitain. Cependant, très vite, leur nombre ira crescendo du fait des besoins en troupes fraîches. De 350 hommes en 1914, le contingent fut porté à 3350 personnes en octobre 1915⁵. Mais c'est surtout le décret du 9 octobre 1915 fixant une levée d'effectifs de 50 000 hommes en AOF dont 7500 pour la seule colonie du Sénégal qui signera l'entrée effective de la colonie dans « l'effort de guerre ». Avec l'apparition des premières difficultés dans l'enrôlement des hommes, et leur impact sur le vécu des populations⁶ le Gouverneur Général de l'époque Van Vollenhoven propose de mettre fin au recrutement et de limiter la contribution des colonies de l'AOF dont le Sénégal à l'exploitation des ressources économiques.

C'était sans compter avec les pertes subies par les unités françaises en 1917 qui obligèrent le président du Conseil Georges Clemenceau à demander l'implication de Blaise Diagne⁷. « Si vous êtes capable de recruter immédiatement 40 000 Noirs, je vous nomme hautcommissaire de la République avec une situation équivalente de gouverneur général »⁸.

La mission Blaise Diagne débute en AOF par le Sénégal en février 1918. Arrivé à Dakar après une intense campagne de sensibilisation, Blaise Diagne s'appuie sur les chefs tradi-

⁴ Terme générique désignant tous les africains au sud du Sahara enrôlés dans l'Armée française

⁵ Archives nationales du Sénégal. Dakar. Fonds AOF. 4D65. Premier Rapport Picanon.

⁶ La famine et la sécheresse s'installent de 1913 à 1916 et l'exploitation coloniale commence à faire ses effets. Bakary Kamian, *Des tranchées de Verdun à l'église Saint-bernard*, Karthala, Paris, 2001, p.116

Blaise Diagne, premier député noir du Sénégal au Parlement français, commissaire de la république. Au sujet de la biographie de B Diagne voir Amady Dieng, *Blaise Diagne, premier député africain*, collection Afrique contemporaine, vol 7, Editions Chaka, 289, rue Lecourbe, 75015, Paris, 1990

⁸ Maurice Martin du Gard, Courrier d'Afrique: Sénégal-Soudan-Guinée, Flammarion, Paris, 1931, p.107

tionnels locaux pour vulgariser les attentes de la métropole et chanter tous les bienfaits que les africains pouvaient tirer de leur engagement. A la différence des autres recrutements, la nouvelle conscription par voie d'appel n'excluait pas l'usage de la contrainte.

Le câblogramme n°259 du février 1918 fixait pour le Sénégal un effectif de 7000 hommes à fournir. Sur décision du Gouverneur Général, un taux de 10% fut ajouté portant la barre à 7700 hommes. Démarré le 17 mars, le recrutement atteint ses objectifs au 20 mai avec 7691 recrues. Cette tournée de Blaise Diagne connut un véritable succès comme en témoigne le Gouverneur Général Angoulvant : « une grande part de ce résultat revient à l'action personnelle de M. Diagne, à l'autorité morale qu'il exerce sur ces compatriotes, à la popularité qu'il s'est acquise parmi eux, aux vibrants et patriotiques appels qu'il leur a adressés⁹».

Au total, la colonie du Sénégal aura fourni (entre Septembre 1914 et Juin 1918) 21.105 tirailleurs sur les 147 877 recrutés en AOF auquel il faudra ajouter les mobilisés des originaires des quatre communes de l'ordre de 7183 soldats¹⁰, soit un total d'environ 29 000 hommes.

A cet effort de guerre humain allait s'ajouter une contribution non négligeable dans le domaine économique.

L'effort économique

La colonie du Sénégal n'a pas seulement mobilisé des ressources humaines en faveur de la métropole, elle a aussi participé pleinement à l'effort économique, en mettant à la disposition de la France des ressources économiques appréciables. La participation de la colonie s'est faite sous plusieurs formes, dont les plus importantes sont l'aide financière directe et l'apport en matières premières et autres denrées nécessaires à la métropole.

L'aide financière directe

Elle a consisté à la souscription de la colonie à l'emprunt national, en versement d'or au profit de la Banque de France et à la participation aux œuvres de guerre d'assistance sociale. Pour trouver les ressources financières exigées par l'effort de guerre, la France a lancé à partir de 1915, une grande campagne de souscriptions à l'emprunt national en AOF. Le Sénégal a alors fourni 1/5 des souscriptions enregistrées en AOF avec 2 527 614 francs¹¹.

Des sommes d'or de l'ordre de 200 000 francs ont été collectées et envoyées à la Banque de France. Enfin, la colonie a très vite adopté la pratique des œuvres sociales dans le sillage de celles qui ont essaimé en France au cours de la guerre : Oeuvre Nationale pour les victimes de la guerre, Association des orphelins, Foyer du soldat aveugle, etc.... C'est ainsi que les journées spéciales dédiées à la générosité publique se sont multipliées. La journée du 75 faite en l'honneur du canon de 75 mm organisée à partir de mai 1915, celle du Poilu en 1916 ou la journée nationale des Orphelins en février 1917 ont permis de mobiliser environ 1 500 000 francs.

Au bilan la colonie du Sénégal a pu mobiliser au titre de l'aide financière plus de 3 600 000

⁹ ANS. Dakar. Fonds AOF. 4D77. Gouverneur Général des colonies. Rapport n° 1091. Dakar, 18 juillet 1918

¹⁰ ANS, Dakar, Fonds AOF, 2D8

¹¹ Pierre Varet. Du concours apporté à la France par ses colonies et pays de protectorat au cours de la guerre de 1914. Paris, Les Presses Modernes, 1927, P.45 à 56

francs. Un effort similaire sera observé dans le domaine du ravitaillement de la métropole.

Le ravitaillement

Même si le ravitaillement de la métropole a toujours été assuré par la colonie, il convient de reconnaître qu'il ne s'inscrira dans une phase méthodique et organisé qu'à partir de 1917. Ce retard s'explique en partie par la préférence initiale donnée à la mobilisation des ressources humaines, malgré la création dés 1915 par le Ministère des Colonies du *Service d'utilisation des produits coloniaux pour la Défense Nationale*. A cette raison s'ajoute aussi le besoin aigu de matières premières, surtout d'oléagineux, ce qui justifiera la création du Ministère du Ravitaillement.

Le ravitaillement portait essentiellement sur les prestations imposées aux populations locales avec la création de nouvelles terres cultivables et les réquisitions de l'administration. Il pouvait également se traduire par la mainmise de la France sur certains produits et, surtout l'utilisation d'une main d'œuvre militaire abondante dans l'agriculture.

Les prestations demandées aux populations autochtones comprenaient pour la plupart du temps des travaux champêtres sur les nouveaux périmètres aménagés par l'administration. Ces populations étaient également fortement impliquées dans des activités de transformation des produits céréaliers, l'aménagement de pistes de production et de magasins de stockage. C'est aussi pendant cette période que l'activité de portage sera très développée avec notamment ces longues colonnes d'hommes et de femmes transportant les produits de la récolte de l'intérieur vers les ports d'embarquement.

Quant à l'utilisation de la main d'œuvre militaire, elle concernait la 2° portion du contingent, celle qui était déjà mobilisée, et en attente d'être projetée. C'est ainsi que de nombreuses compagnies furent engagées dans la mise en valeur de nouvelles terres au point de produire à elles seules plus de 610 tonnes d'arachide, 350 tonnes de mil et 3000 tonnes de bois à la satisfaction du Gouverneur Général de l'AOF¹².

Le ravitaillement en denrées portait sur les céréales, les farineux, les poissons séchés, les conserves et les viandes frigorifiées.

La rareté de l'avoine dans la métropole a obligé le service de l'intendance militaire à se tourner vers les produits de substitution parmi lesquels le mil. C'est ainsi qu'à la fin de 1916, la colonie du Sénégal avait déjà exporté 860 000 tonnes de mil vers le théâtre métropolitain dont une bonne partie était destinée à l'alimentation de la cavalerie française. Ces envois vont se poursuivre en 1917 avec la diversification des produits (sorgho, manioc, paddy et riz, huile de palme, noix d'amande).

La mobilisation des ressources céréalières s'est accompagnée d'une exploitation intensive des produits animaliers avec notamment les viandes frigorifiées et les conserves. Au Sénégal, l'abattoir industriel et frigorifique de Lyndiane, port situé à quelques 200 km de la capitale Dakar, va jouer un rôle crucial dans l'alimentation des soldats au front¹³. Crée en 1914, l'abattoir traite 18 000 têtes en 1914, puis 27 000 têtes en 1915, et enfin 54 000 en 1917. La viande était congelée ou mise en conserve. Comme le souligne le directeur de l'usine « *dés*

¹² A N S. Dakar. Fonds AOF 6D31. Gouverneur Général à Ministre colonies. Dakar, 31 décembre 1917.

¹³ Iba Der Thiam, le Sénégal dans la Guerre 14-18 ou le prix du combat pour l'égalité, Nouvelles Editions Africaines du Sénégal, 1992, p. 102-105

le milieu de 1916, l'entreprise était en plein rendement...fournissait de la viande aux troupes métropolitaines et des conserves aux troupes d'occupation du Cameroun et du Togo¹⁴ ». Il convient également d'ajouter les 328 tonnes de cuir de bovidés expédiées à la Métropole pour les besoins de la défense nationale.

Au total l'effort économique de la colonie du Sénégal aura été colossal. Les dépenses du Ministère du Ravitaillement mandatées par la Délégation du Gouvernement du Sénégal se sont élevées à plus de 49 millions de francs tandis que les exportations de la colonie à destination de la métropole sont estimées à 280 millions de francs.

LES IMPACTS DE L'EFFORT DE GUERRE SUR LA COLONIE DU SENEGAL

Le Sénégal a vécu la guerre 14-18 sur fond de calamités naturelles. Outre l'épidémie de peste constatée à Dakar en 1914, il connaîtra une invasion de sauterelles sans précèdent en 1915 sans compter la peste bovine à la fin de 1917. Cette conjoncture difficile a accentué chez les populations autochtones les répercussions politiques, économiques et sociales de l'effort de guerre fourni.

L'impact politique et administratif

La guerre de 14-18 a entraîné un bouleversement de l'administration coloniale. Ce dernier s'est manifesté par la réduction des effectifs, mais surtout par une politique musclée de reconquête de certaines parties de la colonie, comme la Casamance, et un réaménagement des principes de l'administration directe locale.

La réduction des effectifs de l'administration induite par la mobilisation s'est traduite par un rendement insuffisant des services. A titre d'exemple, la lutte contre la peste humaine et bovine a beaucoup souffert de l'absence d'un personnel médical en nombre suffisant. Dans le domaine scolaire, le calendrier fut fortement perturbé affectant du coup la capacité de l'administration à former les cadres subalternes dont elle avait besoin pour mener à bien ses missions régaliennes. Cette absence de relais efficaces conjuguée aux manquements de l'administration coloniale va donner naissance à un climat grandissant de défiance qu'elle se chargera d'éradiquer, à l'image de la reprise en main énergique de la partie sud de la colonie, la région de Casamance.

Longtemps délaissée par l'administration coloniale en raison de son éloignement de la capitale, la Casamance s'est toujours signalée par son opposition aux opérations de recrutement. Pour mettre fin à cette situation d'insoumission, le Gouverneur Général décida du désarmement de la population doublé d'un renforcement de la présence militaire française. Un militaire fut nommé à la tête de cette province avec le titre d'Administrateur Supérieur. En juin 1917, plus de 15 000 fusils sont saisis dont 1/10 provenant de la seule région de Casamance. Cette reprise en main de la colonie, surtout en Casamance traduisait bien l'existence de velléités réelles de résistance à l'ordre colonial devenu insupportable en raison de l'effort de guerre surhumain exigé des populations. C'est sans doute pourquoi l'administration coloniale s'évertuera à lancer une nouvelle politique indigène de guerre visant à améliorer ses

¹⁴ L'industrie frigorifique aux colonies, l'Abattoir industriel et frigorifique de Lyndiane (Sénégal), notice rédigée par C. de Chesson, ingénieur des arts et manufactures, ancien directeur de l'usine de Lyndiane. ANSOM 2G13 dossier n°3

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rapports avec les administrés.

Cette dernière consistait à rapprocher l'administration des administrés en s'appuyant sur les relais sociaux que constituent les chefferies traditionnelles légitimes. Trop souvent, l'erreur de l'administration coloniale a été de promouvoir des chefs locaux perçus dans les cantons comme des étrangers¹⁵. Cette situation avait le désavantage de les faire passer pour des suppôts du gouverneur et de susciter l'ire des populations. C'est pourquoi, note le Gouverneur Général, pour mettre en œuvre sa nouvelle politique indigène, « le choix devra se porter de préférence sur les indigènes faisant partie des familles qui ont des droits historiques de commander à ces populations ¹⁶».

Cette réorganisation administrative du commandement territorial s'est accompagnée de certaines mesures préconisant plus de souplesse dans les amendes, l'espacement des réquisitions, autant de dispositions destinées à alléger les rigueurs de la guerre mais surtout à prévenir le vent insurrectionnel soufflé par la propagande allemande pour déstabiliser les colonies françaises.

Les conséquences socio-économiques

La guerre 14-18 a profondément déstructuré le tissu socio-économique de la colonie. Au plan économique, les récurrentes réquisitions ont spolié les populations de leurs moyens de subsistance. Cette situation alimentaire catastrophique s'est aggravée avec l'absence de bras valides pour cultiver la terre du fait du dépeuplement des villages entiers. A l'image de toutes les colonies de l'AOF« la sécheresse persistante de 1913 à 1916, les invasions de sauterelle, les mauvaises récoltes (...) les livraisons à vil prix de produits de traite, augmentaient la misère paysanne »¹⁷. Malgré ces conditions difficiles, les indigènes étaient toujours tenus de payer l'impôt, qui prenait dés lors de nouvelles formes : le travail gratuit pour l'administration ou son représentant, restaurant du coup une nouvelle forme d'esclavage. Dans les villes, l'inflation galopante et le bas niveau des salaires expliquent l'apparition des premiers mouvements de grève en 1917.

Dans le domaine social, la guerre a modifié le tissu social traditionnel. Elle a d'abord fortement affaibli l'autorité du chef coutumier, accusé de tous les maux et surtout jugé incapable de protéger ses sujets face aux abus coloniaux. Cette perte d'autorité fera le lit des élites maraboutiques musulmanes, nouvelles légitimités donnant refuge aux populations fuyant les exactions coloniales.

Le dénuement des campagnes et la perte d'autorité des relais traditionnels ont aussi entraîné la naissance d'un phénomène jusque là inconnu : l'exode des ruraux vers les centres urbains, abandonnant ainsi progressivement la culture de la terre.

Enfin, comment passer sous silence l'apparition de cette nouvelle population faite parfois de manchots, d'aveugles, d'unijambistes : les anciens combattants. Souvent confrontés à des difficultés de réinsertion, revenus du front avec une « autre idée du Blanc », ces derniers

¹⁵ Iba Der Thiam, le Sénégal dans la Guerre 14-18 ou le prix du combat pour l'égalité, Nouvelles Editions Africaines du Sénégal, 1992, p. 128

¹⁶ ANS Programme de politique indigène pour le Sénégal du Lieutenant Gouverneur du Sénégal Série 13G 75

¹⁷ Bakary Kamian, Des tranchées de Verdun à l'église Saint-Bernard, Karthala, Paris, 2001, p.161

seront sans aucun doute à la base d'un réveil nationaliste qui ira grandissant jusqu'à la veille de la deuxième guerre mondiale.

Conclusion

Le Sénégal, à l'image de plusieurs colonies africaines françaises, a payé un lourd tribut à la guerre, en hommes et en ressources économiques. Fleuron des possessions françaises en Afrique occidentale, la colonie allait très vite jouer un rôle prépondérant dans la mobilisation des ressources nécessaires à la métropole.

Le recrutement d'environ 30 000 hommes a affaibli les forces de production et porté un coup au développement socio économique de la colonie. Outre la contribution financière importante consentie par les populations, la colonie a été vidée de ses matières premières pour nourrir et entretenir l'industrie de guerre de la métropole.

Cet effort demandé de la colonie va avoir de graves conséquences au plan politique, économique et social. Il signera toutefois l'amorce d'une émancipation des colonies désormais éprises de souveraineté.

Après la signature de l'armistice en 1918, le drapeau des tirailleurs sénégalais déjà décoré de la légion d'honneur, se vit attribuer en plus la croix de guerre avec quatre palmes ainsi que la fougère aux couleurs de la médaille militaire. Le Ministre français des colonies ne puit s'empêcher d'ajouter au cours de cette cérémonie : « la France, en vous appelant à sa défense, vous a associés en même temps, à la défense des droits les plus sacrés de l'humanité, et des conquêtes les plus précieuses de la civilisation. Vous avez accepté sans vous plaindre, engagements, appels, levées, exils, risques de mort, loin de vos terres natales, consentant de grand cœur tous ces sacrifices, pour contribuer à l'ascension de votre race 18»

En cela le Sénégal et ses fils figurent en bonne place au panthéon des bâtisseurs du monde libre.

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¹⁸ Iba Der Thiam, le Sénégal dans la Guerre 14-18 ou le prix du combat pour l'égalité, Nouvelles Editions Africaines du Sénégal, 1992, p. 173-174

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Impacts de la participation marocaine à la Seconde Guerre Mondiale sur la population civile

BAHIJA SIMOU

Analyser, en vue de mieux appréhender les divers impacts de la participation marocaine à la Seconde Guerre mondiale sur la population civile : tel est l'objectif que nous assignons à la présente communication. Ceux qui ont traité de cette péripétie ont trop souvent eu tendance à focaliser leur étude sur l'aspect stricto-militaire. Toutefois, une approche qui tenterait de dévoiler des zones d'ombre dans l'Histoire d'une nation ne saurait se réduire à cette dimension singulière. C'est dans ce sens que la guerre 39-45, affrontement incontestablement planétaire, convoque plus d'un aspect. A cet effet, notre réflexion se propose d'interroger les multiples incidences sociales, culturelles, économiques, sur la population civile marocaine, pendant les hostilités, et même durant la période de l'après-guerre.

En réaction aux provocations de l'Allemagne nazie, la France et le Royaume-Uni s'allient pour déclarer le 3 septembre 1939 la guerre au III^{eme} Reich. C'est ainsi que la Seconde Guerre mondiale éclate en Europe. Son pays étant sous Protectorat français depuis 1912, Sidi Mohammed ben Youssef, Sultan du Maroc depuis 1927, montre, dès l'entrée en guerre de la France, son engagement total envers les Alliés.

A cet effet, le sultan Sidi Mohammed invite, dans un discours officiel datant du 3 septembre 1939, la nation marocaine à apporter à la France un soutien inconditionnel, « *un concours sans réserve* ». Dans cette lettre lue dans toutes les mosquées du Maroc, puis largement reproduite dans la presse écrite¹, le Sultan appelle les citoyens à « ne lui marchander aucune de nos ressources et [à] ne reculer devant aucun sacrifice »².

Le discours du Sultan et Commandeur des croyants a eu un impact retentissant et a suscité une mobilisation massive³. Cette adhésion a été rapidement enregistrée auprès de toutes les représentations sociales du pays, ainsi qu'en témoignent la presse écrite et les correspondances de l'époque⁴...

Dix mois plus tard, l'appel lancé à Londres par le Général de Gaulle se plaçait dans une même logique que celui du sultan Sidi Mohammed ben Youssef: mobiliser toutes les forces disponibles pour mener la lutte et remporter la victoire.

¹ L'Echo du Maroc du 5 septembre 1939

² Discours du Sultan Sidi Mohammed ben Youssef le 3 septembre 1939.

[«] Les troupes marocaines qui ont participé à la deuxième guerre mondiale n'étaient pas des troupes coloniales. Elles n'ont pas été levées par le régime colonial, ce n'est pas le Potectoral qui les a levées. Ce sont les lettres lues dans les mosquées le jour du vendredi, dans le prêche du vendredi, les tournées qu'a faites mon père lui-même à travers tout le pays, qui ont entraîné ces hommes marocains à devenir, à vos côtés, les soldats de la liberté ». Discours de Hassan II le 5 septembre 1993, devant les sénateurs français au sujet des anciens combattants.

⁴ Le Président Albert Lebrun, répond au télégramme envoyé le 6 septembre 1939 par le Sultan du Maroc : « Je lui suis reconnaissant d'avoir bien voulu, en son nom et au nom de son Makhzen, me réitérer solennellement l'assurance de l'indéfectible loyauté de ses sujets envers la France »

L'appel lu dans les mosquées du Maroc et celui qui est lancé sur les ondes de la BBC le 18 juin 1940, témoignent en effet de la même détermination : volonté de combattre jusqu'à la victoire.

Les deux appels, adressés à plus de neuf mois d'intervalle, soulignent la communauté des idéaux prônés par les deux hommes, leur volonté de sauvegarder les principes démocratiques et de rejeter le nazisme. Pour Sidi Mohammed ben Youssef, son action témoigne de sa perception du sens profond donné au concept de libération, conjugué à celui de liberté et d'indépendance.

Ordre et loyauté ont été les maîtres mots de la mobilisation. Caïds et pachas, Oulémas de Marrakech, chefs des tribus, dignitaires de confréries religieuses assurent solennellement le gouvernement de leur « dévouement absolu » à la cause française. Même les nationalistes accordent aussi leur solidarité aux Français bien que depuis le début des années 1930, ils aient manifesté leur opposition aux dérives du Protectorat.

Selon les autorités françaises, la mobilisation des Marocains crée un choc psychologique qui a pour effet l'afflux de demandes d'engagement volontaires et l'engagement des services de recrutement.⁵ Le rythme des engagements volontaires se maintient à un bon niveau jusqu'en mai 1940.

La présence des soldats marocains sur les champs de bataille en Europe lors de la Seconde Guerre Mondiale honore le Maroc. Ceux-ci se sont battus aux côtés des Allies avec bravoure et sens du devoir. Cette contribution active et massive a engendré des impacts à plusieurs niveaux.

IMPACTS SOCIAUX

Sur le plan social, nous voyons une société privée de son indépendance aider une autre société à retrouver sa liberté. Le Maroc qui résistait contre la France depuis l'établissement du Protectorat est appelé à combattre aux côtés de ce même pays. C'est donc dans le cadre de ses contradictions culturelles, religieuses, militaires et politiques que les Marocains ont participé à la seconde Guerre mondiale.

Cette participation fut une cause essentiellement complexe. En effet, les anciens combattants marocains n'étaient pas des militaires organisés, mais des soldats qui étaient mobilisés à la suite de l'appel du Sultan pour participer à cette guerre. Issus pour la plupart du Moyen Atlas et du Haut Atlas, ils constituaient le plus souvent une catégorie d'origine berbère, menant une vie quotidienne loin d'être citadine et devant s'adapter à une autre situation. En plus, ces combattants musulmans qui ont hérité des traditions guerrières liées à leur foi religieuse, sont paradoxalement sollicités pour s'engager dans ce combat universel aux côtés d'une armée non musulmane.

Combattants marocains et soldats français partagent l'espace d'une étape historique une fraternité d'armes ; la différence de culture, de langue ou de religion était oblitérée. Rien ne subsistait que cette fraternité d'armes dans le combat où le Marocain, au-delà de supporter les souffrances physiques de la guerre, était convié à s'adapter à des techniques militaires étrangères, à un climat rude et surtout à des motivations qui ne lui étaient pas pro-

⁵ Christine Levisse-Touzé, « L'Afrique du Nord, Recours ou secours, septembre 1939 – juin 1943 », Paris, 1998.

pres. Héritiers d'une longue tradition guerrière, ils mirent dans le tumulte des combats toute leur connaissance et firent preuve d'une adaptation remarquable au terrain.

Le destin sépara cruellement ceux qui devaient mourir, et ils furent nombreux, laissant au loin, dans les montagnes de l'Atlas, une veuve qui attend toujours⁶, et ceux qui devaient survivre au feu. Ces derniers ont repris le rythme de leur vie dans leur village, comme s'ils avaient accompli quelque chose de simple, de banal. Les seules traces visibles de la guerre se lisent chez certains qui portent dans leur chair des blessures qui témoignent de ce passé douloureux. En effet, les soldats marocains ont enduré beaucoup de souffrances: des milliers de martyrs musulmans reposent en paix dans les nécropoles marocaines et françaises aux côtés de leurs frères d'armes chrétiens. Les blessés, les infirmes, les « portés disparus » ou encore les valeureux combattants faits prisonniers sont plus nombreux encore⁷. De surcroît, les familles de ces glorieux vétérans marocains souffrent même pendant et après la fin de la Seconde Guerre Mondiale. De pères ayant été exposés à la mort, aux immenses souffrances physiques et morales engendrées par le conflit armé, les enfants ayant grandi loin de leur géniteur ou encore orphelins dès leur plus jeune âge ne font que survivre aux côtés des leurs dans des conditions de vie précaires, nous serions plutôt tentée de dire de survie. Nombreux sont ceux qui ont été, depuis cette guerre meurtrière, à la recherche d'un père ou d'un frère ou encore d'un proche ; ils ont vécu des souffrances morales souvent vaines. Imaginez l'état d'âme d'un(e) Marocain(e) après la perte d'un parent qui n'est jamais revenu de la guerre 39-45.

«Sans son Empire, la France ne serait qu'un pays libéré. Grâce à son Empire, la France est un pays vainqueur.» Lorsque Gaston Monnerville prononce cette phrase au lendemain de la victoire sur l'Allemagne nazie, le 25 mai 1945, il résume bien ce que la France doit aux hommes venus des divers horizons de l'Empire, qui, en combattant sous le drapeau tricolore, ont permis à la France d'être du côté des vainqueurs.

Le Maroc y a laissé beaucoup d'hommes, et en a retiré un bon nombre de veuves, d'orphelins et d'infirmes sans compter la venue d'enfants naturels en quête de l'auteur de leurs jours.

De leur côté, les unités marocaines se retrouvent, à l'instar des autres soldats issus de l'Empire colonial, tiraillés entre deux légitimités, le gouvernement de Vichy et la France Libre. D'une part, la loyauté des soldats marocains est incontestable quand ils servent sous le drapeau du régiment et ses chefs mais sans état d'âme, ainsi que l'attestent les événements de Syrie, territoire sous mandat français, en 1941. D'une autre part, fidèle, certes, au gouvernement *légal* de la France, celui du maréchal Pétain, Sidi Mohammed ben Youssef honore cependant ses convictions, celles de refuser tout contact avec les agents allemands ou italiens à la suite de la défaite française de 1940.

Le régime de Vichy n'a pas épargné également la communauté juive marocaine, composante de cette société qui va subir, dans une dimension plus large, un traitement qui ne peut

^{6 «} J'attends avec un souvenir qui s'est mis à vivre, avec lequel je partage mes repas et mon lit, avec lequel je me dispute parfois et me réconcilie... », Bahija Simou - Frédirec Garan – Thierry Dubois, Frères d'armes, mémoire marocaine d'une histoire partagée, 1999, p.72.

[«] en juin 1940... les troupes marocaines accusent 2100 tués, des milliers de blessés et 18000 prisonniers, soit plus de 50% des effectifs engagés dans la campagne de France mis hors de combat », selon Ana! Frères d'armes marocains dans les deux guerres mondiales, ouvrage de Jean Pierre Riera et Christophe Touron, publié en 2006.

être qualifié de proprement politique. Ce serait plutôt une tendance discriminatoire, un acte de barbarie et une guerre inhumaine. Plusieurs mesures antisémites ont été prises sous le régime de Vichy⁸. Le Protectorat met ainsi en place la législation discriminatoire promulguée par l'Etat français, en 1940 et 1941, qui limite l'accès des Juifs marocains aux établissements d'enseignement, les exclut de la fonction publique et les écarte de secteurs majeurs des activités économiques.

Le Sultan se trouve ainsi confronté à deux interrogations problématiques : comment pourrait-il honorer son engagement envers la France ? Et comment ferait-il face à la politique de Vichy qui vise à nuire à la communauté judaïque en général, et aux sujets juifs marocains protégés par le Sultan.

Quant à sa condamnation des tendances discriminatoires, le Sultan déclare dans son discours à l'occasion de la fête du Trône, en 1941 : « Je n'approuve nullement les nouvelles lois antisémites [...] Comme par le passé, les Israélites restent sous ma protection et je refuse qu'aucune distinction soit faite entre mes sujets ». La communauté juive marocaine est ainsi épargnée. Les clauses de l'armistice du 22 juin 1940 accordent à la France une présence militaire dans ses colonies et protectorats afin d'y assurer le maintien de l'ordre, mais sous le contrôle des commissions d'armistice allemande et italienne. A partir de ces forces aux effectifs réduits, une armée dite « de transition » pourra ainsi se reconstituer en vue de préparer la revanche.

Dans ce sens, les Etats Unis acceptent à partir de 1941, en application des accords Weygand-Murphy, d'assurer l'approvisionnement de l'Afrique du Nord en denrées de première nécessité. La coopération américaine intervient afin de limiter la dépendance par rapport à l'Allemagne nazie. Toutefois, le soutien des Etats Unis ne saurait empêcher la pénurie de sévir au Maroc, surtout dans les grands centres urbains. Les Américains tentaient plutôt d'atténuer les affres que traversait la communauté juive du Maroc sous la législation de Vichy.

Il faudra donc attendre 1943 pour que tous les élèves juifs retrouvent leurs classes et leurs camarades¹⁰. Aucun Juif au Maroc n'est cependant arrêté ou déporté durant la période de Vichy. Si les israélites du Maroc ont ainsi pu éviter le triste sort des Juifs d'Europe, ils le doivent à la protection du sultan Sidi Mohammed ben Youssef et aux aménagements à la politique antisémite, qu'ont dû lui concéder les autorités du Protectorat.

Somme toute, l'impact social ainsi examiné nous invite à interroger une autre composante indissociable, à savoir l'impact culturel et sociolinguistique.

IMPACTS CULTURELS ET SOCIOLINGUISTIQUES:

Dans le domaine culturel, nous voyons deux civilisations différentes conjuguer leurs efforts au service de la défense d'un même idéal. Cette guerre a laissé derrière elle une histoire partagée et un patrimoine commun d'une grande richesse. D'une part insignes, fanions, uni-

⁸ Dahir du 5 août 1941,, relatif aux mesures discriminatoires contre les Juifs au Maroc, sous le gouvernement de Vichy.

⁹ Cette sensationnelle déclaration a été vivement commentée par toute la population française et indigène. Archives du Quai d'Orsay, Coupure d'une dépêche d'agence de presse jointe à un rapport daté du 21 mai 1941..

¹⁰ Dahir du 31 mars 1943, dans le Bulletin officiel du Protectorat français, abrogeant les mesures discriminatoires contre les Juifs au Maroc, prises à l'époque de Vichy.

formes, dessins, croquis, documentation iconographique ou lieux de mémoire, témoignent de l'existence d'un héritage historique commun. D'autre part, poésie, roman, théâtre, peinture, film, constituaient une création littéraire et artistique, inspirée de ces circonstances socio-historiques témoignant ainsi de cette acculturation conséquente. Elle a laissé aussi le souvenir d'une fraternité d'armes, que l'on retrouve dans ces nécropoles où musulmans et chrétiens reposent côte à côte, dans la mélancolie des grands cimetières.

En effet, elle illustre une histoire partagée concourant aux remaniements du paysage linguistique au Maroc.

Le contact des langues occasionné par la présence notamment de l'armée française sur le territoire marocain, au cours de la deuxième guerre mondiale, a généré un transfert linguistique très important. Ce processus connu sous des phénomènes divers s'est manifesté dans le passage de vocables, d'expressions, de pratiques langagières du français à l'arabe dialectal marocain et inversement. Force est de constater que le nombre d'emprunts et d'interférences linguistiques générés de part et d'autre, pendant cette période, est très élevé ; on assistera à l'introduction dans les deux langues, de plusieurs mots ou de locutions toutes entières avec, bien entendu, les transformations d'ordre phonétique, morphologique et sémantique, qu'exige le système de chacune des langues en contact¹¹.

Parmi ces mots et ces expressions nous citerons, à titre d'exemple, ceux qui concernent le champ lexical de la guerre, de l'armement et du maniement des armes. Les combattants marocains enrôlés dans l'armée française, analphabètes pour la plupart, devaient apprendre le métier de soldat de la bouche des instructeurs français qui ne parlaient ni l'arabe dialectal marocain, ni le *tamazigh*. Les uns et les autres devant communiquer surtout par le moyen du français, déployaient des efforts considérables pour se faire comprendre.

L'interlangue qui va servir de médium aux instructeurs pour parler aux soldats marocains et à ces derniers pour communiquer avec leurs instructeurs, donnera naissance à un certain nombre d'emprunts ; principal processus sociolinguistique par lequel chacune des deux langues en contact déteint sur l'autre, en y laissant ses empreintes qui vont évoluer avec l'usage et les circonstances discursives. Il va sans dire que ces mots et ses expressions en passant d'une langue à l'autre vont subir un certain nombre de mutations sur tous les niveaux morpho-phonologique et sémantique. Ils seront affectés le plus souvent par glissement sémantique ; caractérisé notamment par la péjoration, puisque dans la plupart des cas ces vocables auront des signifiés autres que dans la langue d'origine. Ainsi, clébard, clebs, toubib, bled ou blédard, n'ont aucune connotation péjorative en arabe ni en dialectal maghrébin, mais une fois passés dans le français, ils acquièrent un sème négatif qui les fait dévier légèrement de leur sens initial¹². Ceci traduit une vision du monde, à travers le point de vue des Français, émerge une façon différente de représenter le monde de l'autre : "l'autochtone".

La langue cible a souvent tendance à phagocyter les mots empruntés en les faisant obéir à son système morpho-phonologique ; aussi, les Maghrébins d'une manière générale, pour s'approprier d'un lexique technique relatif à leur apprentissage, l'assimilent à leur langue

¹¹ Mustapha Seghieri, Contacts des langues entre français et dialectal marocain : approche sociolinguistique travail en cours de publication.

¹² Toutefois, dans la langue française, le mot acquiert un sens particulièrement péjoratif à travers le suffixe « ard » qui donne un sens plutôt défavorable.

maternelle et le mémorisent à travers leur système linguistique. Les exemples suivants illustrent parfaitement ce phénomène :

- [alkabus] de « arquebuse »
- [sasbu] de « chassepot »
- [elcanu] de « le canon »
- [elkaskas] provenant de « la carcasse »
- [mšaš capti] pour « message capté »
- [serbis smen u f ktif tuarek] pour « service de la semaine et effectif théorique »
- [1 difrât sort de tir sa : tirdabu tir¿ nu tir wa abla] pour vouloir dire : « les différentes sortes de tir sont : le tir debout, le tir à genoux et le tir à plat ».

Du côté du français, nombre de mots ou d'expressions ont été intégrés par cette langue ; durant cette époque de l'histoire de la langue française, les soldats et les colons français furent les principaux vecteurs de ces emprunts. Nous citerons les exemples suivants: Fissa [fisa]¹³ – Chouia, Barda [barda]¹⁴ - Goum [gum]¹⁵ - Harki ['aYki]¹⁶ – Baroud – Bled – Caid – Flouze – Guitoune – Méchoui – Nouba...

Enfin, si la guerre était un instrument ayant détruit un potentiel humain, matériel et immatériel, sa productivité scientifique et artistique, pourrait être un vecteur de la création et également d'un autre patrimoine, qu'on ne saurait comparer. Ainsi, l'impact culturel et sociolinguistique étant évoqué, nous nous proposons à présent d'analyser l'impact économique de la participation marocaine à la Seconde guerre.

IMPACTS ÉCONOMIQUES

Au niveau économique, le Maroc constitua un réel point d'appui dans le second conflit mondial en ce sens que la contribution marocaine ne fut pas exclusivement une forte mobilisation de ses hommes conjuguée à une fourniture considérable de combattants. Les richesses naturelles et les ressources matérielles ont été, de surcroît, fortement impliquées lors du Protectorat au Maroc, moyennant un arsenal juridique produit par les instances françaises. De plus, le Royaume s'est engagé explicitement aux côtés des Alliés contre l'Allemagne nazie, comme on peut le comprendre à travers le rappel de la lettre précitée : « Nous devons

¹³ Fissa [fisa] adv. Etymologie : 1909; utilisé par les soldats français en Afrique du Nord, av. 1870; arabe f s-s ' « à l'heure même ». Cf. Le Grand Robert de la langue française; version électronique : 2.0 ; 2005.

¹⁴ Barda [barda] n. m. Etymologie. 1848, berdâa, Daumas; arabe maghrébin barda a « bât » et « selle ». 2. Barde.

⁻Argot militaire. (puis familier). L'équipement du soldat.

⁻Fam. Bagage, chargement encombrant. | Prenez tout votre barda.

Le Grand Robert

^{15 -}étymologie : 1844, Vidocq; arabe d'Algérie gum, arabe classique q wm «troupe».

[&]quot;Anciennement : Contingent militaire fourni par une tribu, en Algérie.

^{- «} Le goum est rassemblé devant la porte. Il y a là deux ou trois cents cavaliers groupés confusément autour de l'étendard (...) » E. Fromentin, Un été dans le Sahara, p. 81.

^{-« (...)} ces goums, ces contingents fournis sans délai par les tribus même qui luttaient contre nous hier, sont aujourd'hui des alliés inappréciables dans notre œuvre de pacification (...) » L. H. Lyautey, Paroles d'action, p. 390. Dérivé : Goumier.

¹⁶ Etymologie : répandu vers 1960; mot arabe, de harka (dial.), harakah «mouvement ». Harka Militaire indigène d Afrique du Nord qui servait dans une milice supplétive Harka aux côté de Français Supplétif.

apporter à la France un concours sans réserve, ne lui marchandez aucune de nos ressources et ne reculez devant aucun sacrifice ». Cette décision a été même partagée par les leaders du mouvement national exilés à l'époque.

En effet, dès 1939, la France décide de «contribuer financièrement à l'effort de la défense nationale». Ainsi, des sommes considérables provenant de la hausse des recettes fiscales préexistantes et la création de nouveaux impôts ont été mobilisées selon deux tranches : 15 millions de francs puis 30 millions pour chacune des années suivantes. En outre, le concours apporté par le Maroc consistait à mettre en chantier plusieurs campagnes de solidarité qui associaient les populations marocaine et française. «La Fraternité de guerre», organisme marocain venant en aide aux soldats mobilisés dans les unités marocaines de l'armée d'Afrique, «l'Association des Femmes de Prisonniers et Déportés du Maroc», «La Croix Rouge française» et autres en sont des exemples majeurs.

Outre le soutien financier, le Maroc déploie d'autres réels efforts dans le domaine économique. Dans le secteur agricole, le développement de la culture des oléagineux, du coton et l'accroissement de la production des céréales sont mis en œuvre dans un plan de production afin de subvenir aux besoins accrus de la métropole.

Par ailleurs, le domaine minier fournit d'importantes ressources minérales ; le manganèse, le plomb, le fer, le zinc, l'étain, le cobalt, le molybdène procurent un immense encaissement de fonds et de considérables rentrées de devises à l'Etat français grâce aux phosphates. A l'échelle industrielle, le soutien des entreprises a été une valeur ajoutée dans le ravitaillement de la France en guerre.

Encore est-il à souligner que la main-d'œuvre marocaine a été un contingent énorme tant au niveau local qu'en France, ainsi qu'en Algérie, alors colonie divisée en départements français. Ainsi, 12000 ouvriers sont appelés pour répondre aux besoins des activités économiques de la métropole; 24.000 citoyens marocains ont été accueillis en Algérie notamment en qualité de travailleurs agricoles saisonniers. La presse écrite fut même impressionnée par les motivations étrangement logiques au service de l'effort de guerre : « Des hommes par milliers, des bateaux pleins de vivres. Voilà ce que donne le Maroc à la France » 17. En outre, il ne faut pas omettre de rappeler les efforts déployés en plus par la main-d'œuvre locale, notamment à partir de 1943. Ces ouvriers exerçant un métier manuel ou un travail mécanique moyennant un salaire de misère étaient embauchés sans trêve ni relâche; les journaliers étaient contraints d'accepter des durées de travail plus longues et se retrouvaient parfois privés du repos hebdomadaire.

Il est indéniable que la contribution économique du Maroc à l'effort de guerre en France est attestée à maints égards. Il importe néanmoins de mettre l'accent sur les incidences plurielles sur la population civile marocaine lors de ce conflit mondial. En effet, d'énormes réquisitions ont été effectuées par la métropole. Dès 1939, les produits alimentaires de base indispensables à l'approvisionnement de la France en guerre sont l'objet de sérieux impératifs de réglementation en ce sens que producteurs, vendeurs ou propriétaires sont soumis à d'innombrables mesures de restriction. Le recensement, la déclaration des stocks, la circulation limitée et contrôlée et l'interdiction de l'exportation en sont une illustration très significative. Sont ainsi réquisitionnés la viande, les produits laitiers, les céréales, les légumes, les

¹⁷ le journal de *La Petite Gironde* au début des années 1940

jus de fruits, le thé, le café, etc. Les autorités françaises ordonnent également la fermeture temporaire des pâtisseries en 1943¹⁸.

De plus, l'effort de guerre de la France a soumis le secteur énergétique à une réglementation extrêmement restrictive surtout au niveau de la consommation. Au sujet des carburants, le Résident général Noguès rappelle en 1939 : « durant les hostilités, [ils] ont la même valeur que la poudre et les munitions »! Le régime de livraison d'essence et l'exportation du charbon ont constitué une priorité pour l'économie de la métropole au cours de la guerre 39-45¹⁹. Outre ces ressources naturelles, les biens industriels en termes de machines, tissus, sacs de jute, carton, ferraille, cuir... ont été recensés en vue de leur réquisition.

De même, il est plus que judicieux de mettre en lumière les multiples privations et sacrifices consentis par la population marocaine en conséquence du déclenchement de la seconde Guerre Mondiale. L'effort de guerre du Maroc en faveur de la France et de la cause alliée ne se limitait pas uniquement aux réquisitions très importantes, aux restrictions de liberté de mouvement et aux contrôles incessants. Il faut souligner, de surcroît, les incidences fâcheuses d'un contexte militaire fort difficile, à plus forte raison entre juillet 1940 et novembre 1942.

De telles circonstances de guerre ont lourdement grevé les échanges avec l'extérieur ; elles ont entraîné, par voie de conséquence, un sérieux problème en matière de ravitaillement surtout après la défaite de la France face à l'Allemagne nazie et l'armistice.

Le vécu de la société marocaine en période de guerre 39-45 étant réduit à des réquisitions et des privations, le Protectorat français entreprend d'établir une mesure dérisoire de rationnement fixe des populations quand la Résidence instaure un «carnet de ravitaillement»²⁰. Instituées à partir de 1940, des cartes de consommation permettaient de subvenir à un minimum de besoins vitaux en nourriture de base. Il s'agit de «aâm l'boun», littéralement : « l'année du bon » ; elle fut un épisode plus que macabre en ce sens que pour une poignée de blé, des Marocains misérables devaient défiler quotidiennement dans une queue interminable. Chaque mois, le citoyen marocain avait droit en conformité avec les coupons numérotés de la carte individuelle à des quantités de produits se présentant comme suit : en janvier 1943, 500 grammes de sucre, 250 grammes de café, 1/3 de litre d'huile de table, 250 grammes de savon.

Quelques mois plus tôt, en juillet 1942, les Rbatis avaient reçu une ration mensuelle de 230 grammes de farine et 5 grammes de sucre seulement, deux fois moins que le mois précédent. Au cours du conflit ces distributions de denrées étaient sujettes à des fluctuations en fonction des stocks et des exigences de la France. « Ces baisses pouvaient aussi s'expliquer par le fait que la municipalité augmentait occasionnellement les rations à l'occasion des fêtes religieuses avant de les réduire par la suite », explique le professeur Boujemaâ Rouayane, un des chercheurs marocains qui se sont attachés à l'étude de cette période tumultueuse de

¹⁸ Arrêté du 5 décembre 1943, extrait du Bulletin officiel du Protectorat français, relatif à la fermeture temporaire des pâtisseries au Maroc.

¹⁹ Dahir du 13 septembre 1939, extrait du Bulletin officiel du Protectorat français, évoquant les restrictions liées à la consommation des hydrocarbures au Maroc

²⁰ Plusieurs articles ont été publié dans se sens, à savoir « le ravitaillement », publié par La Vigie Marocaine, du 11 février 1944, lié aux questions du ravitaillement de la population civile. Souci quotidien pour tous les habitants du Maroc à partir de septembre 1939. Ces difficultés de ravitaillement vont perdurer plusieurs mois encore après la fin de la guerre.

l'Histoire du pays, auteur d'une thèse sur « L'impact de la Seconde guerre mondiale sur la situation sanitaire au Maroc » soutenue en 1989.

Ce programme sévère de rationnement a engendré un mécontentement de la population autochtone. A l'encontre des Européens, les Marocains ne pouvaient être satisfaits des rations de vivres et de tissus si chichement octroyées. Soumis à l'arbitraire des *chioukh* et des *moqaddem*, les bons étaient délivrés par les autorités locales sans pour autant être à la portée de tous les « indigènes ».

D'une autre part, une véritable pénurie ravage le Maroc de la guerre 39-45. Outre les prélèvements céréaliers et la cupidité des auxiliaires du Makhzen, la sécheresse qui sévit entre 1944 et 1945 aggrave la famine et les Marocains ont vécu une disette générale dont la population souffrait jusqu'à mourir de faim. A titre d'exemple, contre quelques bons, les ruraux n'avaient droit qu'à une moyenne de 50 grammes de pain par jour. Au sujet de cet aliment de base, même les Français du Maroc étaient assujettis à des restrictions très rigoureuses : il leur était interdit par une décision de la Résidence de fabriquer du pain de bonne qualité ou des pâtisseries ; ils étaient contraints de ne consommer que du pain de 350 grammes, vendu alors 24 heures après sa fabrication. Tandis que certains se contentaient des miettes obtenues, d'autres devaient cacher le pain reçu contre un bon pour pouvoir rentrer chez eux sans être agressés en pleine rue, en ces temps de pénurie générale.

Le sucre, quant à lui, était rarissime au cours de cette guerre 39-45; les quelque 7000 tonnes produites chaque mois étaient par trop insuffisantes. Il est à rappeler que la Une du journal *Assaâda* faisait mention en 1942 de l'invention en Finlande d'un sucre extrait du bois. Succédané de sucre à base de charbon, la saccharine était également autorisée par un dahir dès le 30 août 1940. De surcroît, dattes, carottes et betterave séchée répondaient bon gré mal gré au besoin de sucrer cette boisson populaire, qui n'était que de la menthe séchée. Aux dires du chercheur, le miel était utilisé pour adoucir le thé avant que les instances françaises n'en triplent le coût devant une demande croissante.

De même, au cours de cet épisode historique de privations et de restrictions alimentaires, le café était devenu, à défaut de thé, une denrée plutôt mondaine, un signe extérieur de richesse. Ce n'est pas un hasard si la population marocaine cite un proverbe qui avait cours à l'époque: « un franc (l'équivalent de 0,01 dirham) de café, et c'est tout Oujda qui le sent »,. Cela veut dire que l'odeur du café, une fois broyé au pilon (mehraz) avec des pois chiches, préparé puis servi à table se répandait dans doute la ville.

D'autant plus que le citoyen n'avait droit qu'à un peu de légumes et pratiquement pas à la viande. C'est ainsi que les Marocains se trouvèrent graduellement réduits à la condition de véritables herbivores. De mauvaises herbes comme «guernina» ou la «hemmida», rejoignaient les glands et les épinards «bakkoula» pour composer la nourriture quotidienne des citadins aussi bien que des ruraux. Sans doute ne faut-il pas omettre d'évoquer «aâm irni», dit littéralement « l'année d'irni », Issu du nom d'une racine végétale désignée sous le nom de « pomme de terre beldie »: en cette période de famine des plus dévastatrices, sur les huit millions d'habitants que compte alors le Maroc, près de 90% partaient en groupe afin de cueillir l'irni. « La plante est lavée et séchée au soleil avant d'être moulue pour obtenir une

sorte de farine que l'on cuisine comme du pain », avance l'historien.²¹ Le pain « d'irni » a beau occasionner de redoutables diarrhées, les Marocains persistaient à le consommer pour subsister.

Dans cette même perspective, celle de la survie, il est impératif de citer les plats de résistance qu'il fallut *inventer* en ces temps de pénurie générale : A Oujda, le « tourtou » est un pain à base de mélange de racines de plantes ; dans toute la région du Moyen-Atlas et de l'Anti-Atlas (dans le Souss), les sauterelles communément appelés « jrad » sont grillées pour constituer une nourriture consistante. De ce plat de circonstance vient aux colons l'idée ingénieuse d'exporter le cornet de friture de sauterelles. De plus, le « Terda » fut un plat souvent servi lors des repas des Marocains ; ce n'était que des miettes de pain sec imbibées d'un bouillon aux oignons.

Le Maroc criant famine, les Marocains émigraient en masse des campagnes vers les centres urbains. Des bidonvilles se multipliaient ainsi à la périphérie des métropoles, lieu de distribution de rations minimales. Chaque jour, la population défilait longuement et lentement, très souvent jusqu'à minuit, devant les magasins de blé, les dépôts de sucre et de thé. Le monde rural dépeuplé, ce fut donc une fuite en avant pour pouvoir survivre.

A l'instar des autres grandes villes Casablanca était devenue un mouroir; des cadavres d'individus morts d'inanition jonchant les ruelles des quartiers insalubres donnaient quotidiennement des spectacles atroces. Pire, les cadavres de ceux qui avaient été inhumés avec leurs quelques haillons, étaient parfois même dévêtus nuitamment. Nombreuses étaient les familles très pauvres qui cédaient leurs propres enfants à des gans aisés en vue d'assurer leur survie, quitte à ne jamais les revoir.

« Des millions d'hommes, de femmes et d'enfants sont en haillons, habillés de chiffons ou de sacs. Ils ne s'agit plus pour eux de se vêtir, mais simplement de ne pas choquer la décence ».²² Cette circonstance de disette générale a été à l'origine de l'apparition de quelques sobriquets attribués à des Marocains en relation avec la profanation des sépultures tel que « Boulaqbour » qui signifie littéralement « Monsieur du cimetière » .

Par voie de conséquence, « kettan», un mauvais tissu, rêche comme de la toile à bâche, investi plus tard dans la confection des sacs de sucre en pain, était l'apanage des gens les plus chanceux. Pour coudre et donc raccommoder les habits, l'aiguille devenait une nécessité très rare. Selon un communiqué officiel de la municipalité de Rabat d'août 1942, « les aiguilles de couture sont disponibles dans les magasins de la Rue des Consuls ».

Un autre produit, en l'occurrence le savon, était devenu un luxe rare. Mensuellement, le Marocain n'avait pas droit à plus de 100 grammes. C'est ainsi que des villageois utilisaient du lait de figue cru et séché ou encore le « tighecht», plante saponaire utilisée comme savon traditionnel. Mais cela n'empêchait pas la prolifération des poux et des punaises dans une population nombreuse et très malpropre. Des maladies voire des épidémies telles que variole, peste ou typhus ravageaient le Maroc comme dans le passé. 200.000 décès environ ont été enregistrés entre 1940 et 1945. La moitié des médecins militaires en exercice au Maroc avait regagné la France en guerre ; il ne restait que 150 médecins et 5000 lits d'hôpital pour une

²¹ Boujemaâ Rouayane, l'impact de la contribution marocaine à la deuxième Guerre Mondiale sur la situation sanitaire au Maroc, 1989

²² Barda, journal proche du Parti communiste français de l'époque, dans son édition du 18 janvier 1945.

population de 8 millions d'habitants. De plus, les produits pharmaceutiques étaient devenus rarissimes. Des campagnes de vaccination obligeaient les indigènes à se soumettre à la médecine de prévention comme le cas de Douar Doum à Rabat et Ben Msik à Casablanca.

« Aâm l'boun » fut une époque qui a été dénoncée par plusieurs formes d'expression. La chanson marocaine a tenté de rendre compte des horreurs de cet épisode tragique. En effet, des poèmes composés témoignent de l'ingéniosité des tribus de Smaâla et de Bni Khirane pour fabriquer du détergent. «Aâm l'ajjouaâ» de Nass El Ghiwane illustre aussi cette pénurie. Dans le patrimoine populaire des cheikhate, «aâm lalimane», littéralement «l'année des Allemands», on perçoit une évocation des morts inhumés sans linceul.

Toutefois, Houcine Slaoui demeure le chanteur parolier qui a su composer un texte qui peint la ville au Maroc des années 1940, et ce, à travers son chef d'œuvre musical « H'di Rassek, littéralement «Prends garde !». La chanson retrace les longues files d'attente pour se procurer du «kettan» à la veille des fêtes religieuses. Mépris du marchand, cynisme des conjointes, querelles des habitants et autres images sont mis en scène de manière plus réaliste.

D'autres répercussions davantage déplorables doivent être notées à la suite de ces mesures draconiennes de réquisition et de restriction conjuguées à la mise en vigueur du sévère programme de rationnement. Une forte spéculation et une hausse vertigineuse des prix ainsi que l'apparition du marché noir en ont été la conséquence. La France à beau mettre en œuvre d'incessantes répressions, elle a éprouvé du mal à combattre ce fléau économique. Les attitudes traduisant le mécontentement de la population la plus démunie a conduit à des réactions plus ouvertes. Tel est le cas de la manifestation des femmes marocaines qui, en marge de la conférence interalliée tenue en janvier 1943 au quartier d'Anfa, cherchaient à faire part de leurs doléances au général de Gaulle, chef de la France libre et futur chef du gouvernement provisoire de la République française. En effet, la valeur du quintal de blé était passée de 1700 francs en mars 1944 à 2500 francs six mois plus tard, tandis que le coût de l'orge triplait dans les mêmes temps. Cette crise économique se trouva aggravée par la pratique de certains commerçants en produits de première nécessité de stocker les denrées afin de les écouler au « marché noir ».²³

« Aam alboun » ou « Aam Irni » est désormais un marqueur historique sans conteste, qui rappelle une période en constituant un repère de datation pour les Marocains : dans une conversation quotidienne de cette génération, on situe, à titre d'exemple, un événement par apport à ces années difficiles qui ont marqué la mémoire marocaine. (Les Français parlent de même de « l'année des rutabagas »). D'ailleurs, le patrimoine musical ne néglige pas cette circonstance sociohistorique à travers les chants de Houssine Slaoui qui fut le porte parole de la société de l'époque. Ce chantre de la crise économique qualifie le débarquement des Américains d'événement salvateur pour une nation en proie à une misère générale. Dans ce sens, peut on se demander si cette circonstance de débarquement, qui fut un épisode transitoire dans l'histoire militaire de cette guerre, avait une incidence au niveau politique. Autrement dit, quel fut l'impact politique de la contribution marocaine à la seconde Guerre mondiale ?

²³ Maghreb et Al Ouidad, publient à ce propos : « 38 commerçants (19 Européens, 13 juifs et 9 musulmans) sont condamnés à Rabat pour dissimulation de marchandises.

L'IMPACT POLITIQUE

La 2^{ème} guerre mondiale est aussi un tournant pour la politique du Maroc. Le 7 novembre 1942, les forces américano- britanniques débarquent à Safi, Casablanca, Kenitra, Oran et Alger dans une intervention militaire baptisée *Opération Torch*. C'est une totale surprise, tant pour le Sultan et les Marocains que pour les Français et le Résident général Henri Noguès. Pendant quelques jours, un affrontement sanglant et douloureux va mettre aux prises forces américaines et forces françaises sur le sol marocain.

Lors de ce débarquement, le sultan Sidi Mohammed Ben Youssef, passant outre à l'injonction du Résident général, refuse de quitter Rabat pour Fès. Le 9 novembre, il invite Noguès à cesser le combat, afin d'épargner une effusion de sang inutile, devant des forces invincibles qui d'ailleurs viennent en amies. Fidèle à ses aspirations, le Sultan s'affirme ainsi comme le représentant d'un peuple acquis à la cause des Alliés.

Il fait comprendre au Général Noguès, le 9 novembre, ce qui suit : «Le sang français et le sang marocain des soldats et des populations civiles coulent. Le Président Roosevelt et le général Eisenhower ont proclamé que les forces alliées venaient en amies. Vous savez mieux que moi, à présent, que ces forces sont invincibles. Il faut arrêter le combat. Souverain de la nation marocaine, mon premier devoir est d'épargner son sang». Le général Noguès est convaincu par les paroles du Sultan. Le lendemain, 10 novembre, «l'amiral Darlan lui transmet un ordre de cessez le feu qu'il tient directement du maréchal Pétain».

En marge de la conférence d'Anfa,²⁴ le sultan est reçu deux fois par Roosevelt. Des contacts secrets ont, d'ailleurs eu lieu, quelques semaines auparavant avec l'envoyé spécial américain en Afrique du Nord, Robert Murphy. Une de ces entrevues se tient le 22 janvier, lors d'un dîner officiel auquel assiste le jeune prince héritier, le futur Hassan II, en présence de Churchill et de nombreuses personnalités. Fidèle à son engagement vis-à-vis de la Charte de l'Atlantique, Roosevelt laisse alors clairement entendre à Sidi Mohammed ben Youssef que le temps des colonies est parvenu à son terme et que les Américains sont prêts à aider le Maroc, le moment venu.

Désormais, le nouveau contexte mondial, issu de la guerre, semble favorable aux courants nationalistes, qui existent dans les empires coloniaux européens... Pour Sidi Mohammed ben Youssef et le mouvement nationaliste de son pays, l'entrevue d'Anfa, le but de cette conférence est la définition d'une stratégie commune contre les puissances de l'Axe sur tous les fronts, ouvre donc de nouveaux horizons.

Au printemps 1943, quelques mois après la conférence d'Anfa, le sultan Mohammed ben Youssef fit part au gouvernement provisoire d'Alger (CFLN présidé par De Gaulle et Giraud) de son désir de déclarer la guerre aux puissances de l'Axe (Allemagne et Italie) Il reçut une réponse négative de M. René Massigli commissaire (ministre) aux Affaires Etrangères. L'autoriser à déclarer la guerre ou à conclure la paix eût été le considérer comme un chef

Début 1943, les propriétaires des luxueuses villas de la colline d'Anfa, à Casablanca, sont priés de quitter les lieux; le quartier, isolé, est transformé en camp retranché. Du 14 au 24 janvier 1943, s'y déroule une conférence interalliée, avec Roosevelt et Churchill. Informés par les services secrets espagnols, les Allemands, qui ont bombardé Casablanca, quinze jours auparavant, se laissent abuser par la traduction littérale du nom de cette ville (Maison blanche), en croyant que cette rencontre se déroulerait à la Maison Blanche de Washington!

d'Etat indépendant, ce qui revenait à abolir le protectorat.

Un an plus tard, le 11 janvier 1944, le parti de l'Istiqlal présente au Sultan un texte intitulé en arabe « *Wathiqat Al Istiqlal* » : le Manifeste de l'Indépendance. Il « l'examine et en approuve les termes.

Ce document comporte plusieurs revendications dont notamment : l'indépendance du Maroc et le rétablissement de son intégrité territoriale sous l'autorité de Sa Majesté le Sultan Sidi Mohammed Ben Youssef et la signature de conventions déterminant les intérêts légitimes des étrangers dans le cadre de la souveraineté marocaine. Il estime que le régime du protectorat ne correspond plus aux réalités du monde moderne. Signé par 58 personnalités, le Manifeste de l'Indépendance est élaboré avec le soutien total du Sultan. Il est communiqué simultanément au Résident général de France au Maroc et aux représentants diplomatiques des Etats Unis et du Royaume-Uni. L'ambassadeur d'U.R.S.S. à Alger en reçoit également un exemplaire. Ainsi, les gouvernements des grands Etats du monde de l'époque (Les Allies) sont tenus informés du contenu du Manifeste.

A l'intérieur du Maroc, le retentissement du Manifeste dans la population est immédiat. La réplique française se fait entendre vigoureusement : le 18 janvier 1944, « le Résident général, M Puaux rencontre le Sultan dans son Palais et l'informe qu'il vient de recevoir des instructions du Comite Français de Libération Nationale l'invitant à couper tout contact et communication visant le changement du régime de protectorat en place» Et Puaux d'ajouter «le gouvernement français n'admettra aucune discussion à ce sujet. Il appartient à la France de proposer les reformes qu'elle jugerait utiles d'introduire au Maroc ».

Les nationalistes marocains, jusque là modérés dans leurs revendications, réclament l'indépendance du Maroc dès le 11 janvier 1944, dans le Manifeste du Parti de l'Istiqlal^{25.} On peut dater de janvier 1944 le discrédit total du protectorat, non seulement au Maroc, mais dans tout le monde arabe. Il apparut aux esprits avertis que l'initiative de la Résidence n'avait abouti qu'à un flagrant échec²⁶.

Pour autant, l'attitude du sultan et du Maroc à l'égard de la France reste la même jusqu'à la fin du conflit : un loyalisme indéfectible et un soutien absolu à l'effort de guerre!

En effet, en témoignage de reconnaissance et sur invitation du général De Gaulle, le Roi Mohammed V se rend en France Ie 18 juin 1945 pour participer aux festivités de la victoire. Le chef de la France libre fait de Lui un «Compagnon de la Libération» en épinglant sur sa poitrine la «Croix de la Libération» lors «d'une cérémonie à la fois simple et émouvante ». Il est le seul chef d'Etat africain, asiatique et arabe à recevoir cette haute distinction française

Par ailleurs, le sens de l'indépendance était mêlé à la libération, nombreux sont ainsi les Français qui, à l'accueil du Sultan, chantaient la libération et réclamaient l'indépendance pour le Maroc.

Par conséquent, ceci a procuré pour le Sultan une place si distinguée au sein de la communauté internationale et a consolidé les multiples raisons de la revendication de l'indé-

²⁵ Sidi Mohammed ben Youssef a présenté, le 11 janvier, le Manifeste de l'indépendance au résident général et aux représentations diplomatiques des Etats Unis et de Grande Bretagne. Ce document, rédigé par un groupe de nationalistes, sous la supervision directe de Sa Majesté le Sultan Sidi Mohammed ben Youssef, porte essentiellement sur la revendication de l'indépendance totale et la reconstruction du Maroc indépendant.

²⁶ Charles André Julien, Le Maroc face aux impérialismes 1415 – 1956, p.192.

pendance. Ce droit sera internationalisé dans le discours de Tanger de 1947. Dans une ville considérée jusque-là comme relevant d'un statut international, Sa Majesté le Roi Mohammed V, ainsi nommé depuis cette date emblématique, a su situer la question marocaine au centre de la réflexion de la société politique internationale pour réaliser l'indépendance de son pays en 1956.

Au terme de cette analyse, il conviendrait de souligner que la contribution marocaine à la seconde Guerre mondiale a marqué le Maroc sur divers plans : militaire, social, culturel, économique et politique dans une période qui s'étend au moins jusqu'en 1956. D'autres questions se posent aussi : comment cette participation à la deuxième Guerre a-t-elle déterminé les rapports entre le Maroc et la France après l'indépendance ? Quelle a été la valeur de l'intégration des anciens combattants dans l'armée marocaine lors de la création des Forces Armées Royales ? Dans quelle mesure l'ancien combattant devient-il le symbole de quelques actions témoignant du rapprochement ou de l'éloignement entre les deux pays ? Ou encore la définition d'un nouveau regard envers l'autre ? Autant de questions, pleines d'intérêts, qui méritent des études particulières.

Chinese war of resistance against Japanese Aggression and the Chinese people involved

DEXUE QI

THE CHINESE PEOPLE UNITED AND SUPPORTED EVERYWHERE

Initiated by the CPC, the Anti-Japan United Front was established on the basis of cooperation between CPC and Kuomintang(KMT) with participation of people from all walks of life. The nation-wide resistance war against Japanese aggressors swept the land, and wrote a brilliant chapter in Chinese history.

The late Chairman Mao Zedong once pointed out that during the Resistance War against Japanese Aggression, while officers and men of the Chinese armies fought at the battle front, Chinese workers, peasants, intellectuals and businessmen were working in the rear area and the overseas Chinese provide financial support for the war. All political parties, except those reactionaries against the people, contributed as much to the war efforts as they can". –this best illustrated anti-Japan war, a war of the people and for national freedom and independence.

THE CHINESE PEOPLE IN WAR REAR AREA ARE INVOLVED TOTALLY

Behind the battlefield of the Eighth Route Army, the New Fourth Army and Southern China Guerrilla Forces, a vast ocean of people's war formed, where different kinds of military organizations are set up under CPC, including guerrillas groups on the plains, on the railway lines and everywhere. People of old and young, men and women, joined the fight against the invaders in different ways and in different tactics. With their own wisdom, the Chinese people have worked a miracle in the world military history. And kept the Japanese army busy dealing with emergencies that the Japanese aggressors got deeply drowned in the vast ocean of the people's war.

After the war, Yamazaki Jusaburo, former staff officer at Japanese army headquarters, wrote for a military magazine that the CPC's guerrilla war "adopted the offensive strategy of mobilizing the masses nation-wide to fight a common enemy. It mobilized everyone in the country, old and young, men and women, and inspired the masses to defend their country and the people. The strong dynamic force to fight the enemy gathered from the whole nation brushed aside the million-strong Imperial Army... Japan was finally defeated."

Mobilized and organization of the Chinese people are a must in anti-Japan war

The masses, if not mobilized and organized, are just like "a sheet of loose sand". Mao Zedong said that "the most profound source of the war power roots from the people";

¹ Maru magazine, 1965, no.12

"once every single citizen in the country is mobilized, the vast anti-enemy ocean is created, making ups for weapon shortage are created, therefore preconditions for overcoming each difficulties are created."

Well-organized mobilization was done in China's Resistance War. The CPC formulated the *Ten-point Program for the Anti Japanese War and Saving the Nation*, in which the party mobilize and inspire the people by clarifying political aims of the war and means to achieve them.

Organization is another must let aside mobilization. In anti-Japan war, standing beside army are people of different classes, ethnic minority groups, and people living in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao, as well as the overseas Chinese. Mean while, all physically fitted and young men and women in the base area were recruited into the part-time Anti-Japanese Self Defense Forces. Chinese ethnic minorities were also organized. The Chinese people, once being called "a sheet of loose sand", came together following the belief "all for the war, independence is everything". They were mobilized and organized to fight against the invaders. "This is truly people's war, and only with this people's war, can we defeat the enemy of our nation."

The victory of the Chinese Resistance War against Japanese Aggression is a victory of the unity of the Chinese people. Mao Zedong says, in his final conclusion, that "The people, and the people alone, are the fundamental driving force for the advance of world history."

² Selected Works of Mao Zedong, vol.3, People's Publishing House, 1991, p.1041.

From Campus to Battle Student Mobilization and Transition of Japanese Imperial military' Draft policies

MITSUTOSHI HANYU

In December 1943, two years after the Pearl Harbor, the Japanese government finally determined to send her students of higher education to battlefields. The deteriorating situation of the war in Asia and the Pacific did not allow them to pursue their future goals at universities, high schools, or vocational schools. Japan had no choice but withdraw the suspension of conscription for students for the first time since the Meiji Restoration of 1868.

After short-time intensive basic military trainings, drafted students went to the firing lines as junior officers or noncommissioned officers. They, far from full-fledged military personnel, were required to full out vacant positions of dead or injured commanders. They fought bravely and lost their precious lives in Asia and the Pacific, many of them in Special Attack missions, widely known as Kamikaze or suicide attack.

As mentioned above, Japanese students had been exempted from the conscription before the end of 1943. Thus, the abolition of this privilege was the tragedy for students, since they had to abandon their will to study and join the deadly battles. Needless to say, many of them never returned to campus again.

It should be noted that students had long been granted three privileges since the establishment of modern Japanese military; (1) Exemption from conscription while in school, (2) a student could become a reserve officer when he wished, and (3) when a student wished to be a reserve officer, the service period was shortened.

This paper shows how these prerogatives were modified in accordance with the Imperial Military's intention. To look into the student privileges and their changes may illustrate the unique relations between the military and its civilians in modern Japan. Here is the story.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE JAPAN'S MODERN MILITARY: STUDENTS EXPECTED TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE MODERNIZATION OUTSIDE THE ARMY AND NAVY

In 1868, a modern government was founded in Japan. Its main goal was to modernize every aspect of the nation with a slogan of "Wealthy Nation and Strong Army." Exerted was every effort in order to defend Japan from the foreign encroachments, and hopefully to join the club of Western Powers.

To achieve this dual goal, establishment of modern educational system was prerequisite. Therefore various educational institutes were founded. Those who had completed the curriculum of higher education were treated as national treasures.

As for the construction of modern military, the Meiji government enacted the first conscription law in 1873 stipulating the military duty for males. It should be emphasized that since the national modernization required various human resources outside the military such as industries, sciences, and cultural arenas, the government decided not to conscript students

who were at or graduated from the secondary or higher educational institutes.

Students were expected to contribute to the country with their academic backgrounds. Rapid modernization needed their knowledge. But that students did not have to take military drills did not mean that they were privileged class.

ESTABLISHMENT OF ONE-YEAR VOLUNTEER SYSTEM: THE BEGINNING OF TAKING MALES WITH HIGHER EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUNDS INTO THE MILITARY

Amendment of the conscription law in 1889 was the first step to pave the way for the wealthy and intellectual young people into the military. This move was initiated by a German military advisor, Klemens W. J. Meckel (1842-1906).

Meckel insisted that medical doctors, government officials, and students should not be exempted from the conscription; They should be invited to the military as reserve officers. As the result, "one-year volunteer system," after the German style training method for reserve officers, was adopted.

This system was to offer one-year special training for volunteers who had certain academic backgrounds, and to appoint them reserve officers. Interestingly, the military did not offer allowance: even uniforms were at volunteers' own expenses. Except for this burden, volunteers could enjoy the privileges. For example, they were not called to the actual service before 28 years old. Only one year service was required to be enlisted as reserve officers. This exclusive advantage indicates the government's intention to recruit as many upper-class young as possible into the military.

Official gazettes explained that the special favor of the one-year volunteer system was to increase the number of reserve officers. But the true purpose was to attract the upper-class, especially the educated and the rich into the military, as many with such backgrounds tended to keep away from the military service by taking advantage of various exemption rules.

In addition to this, the military aimed to vanish a widely spread perception that military service was shabby work. Taking the upper-class into the military and showing their presence were a good solution to suppress such view. The military also intended to ease a complaint of ordinary people that the upper-class did not serve the military. In sum, the one-year volunteer system with full of privileges was a "lure" to entice the upper-class into the army and navy.

AFTER THE WWI: A FURTHER STEP TO INCREASE RESERVE OFFICERS

The military learned a lot from the First World War; Japan fully realized the importance of preparing for a future total-war; Japan noticed the astonishing fact that those who had received secondary and above education demonstrated competent performance in the war. Furthermore, Japan was attracted to see a noticeable trend of military trainings for youth in European countries. Scrutinizing of these new tide resulted in a series of Japanese military reform.

These new findings prompted the military to become much eager than ever to invite educated young students into the military. The government expanded the mandatory military service. It took every effort to prevent escaping the draft, and the applied age was lowered. This reform was also intended to reduce the complaint of the ordinary citizens who had been

kept away from the privileges.

Furthermore, preparatory military drill became compulsory for students under the conscription age. For this training, active-duty officers of the Army were assigned to junior and high schools. Now, the privilege had changed its nature from a measure to attract the upper-class into the military to the one to effectively acquire the reserve officers as had been the original purpose.

ESTABLISHMENT OF OFFICER CANDIDATE SYSTEM: STUDENTS AS A RESOURCE OF RESERVE OFFICERS

In 1927, the one-year volunteer system was abolished and officer candidate system was introduced. Under this system, students, after graduating vocational schools or equivalent ones, could be appointed to reserve second lieutenant after 11 months training, if he had already passed the preparatory military drill.

The content of privilege did not change widely, still exempting students from the draft while at school. However, Note that the officer candidate system was established by a complement act of army, not a military service law. This meant that students' fates were at the hand of the military, and the Diet could not intervene it. Students were now considered to be a part of potential army trainee and reserve officers.

Needless to say, students had an option not to choose the officer candidate system. But in that case, they had to serve for the military for three years as private. The original purpose of the military, making students as a resource of reserve officers, was accomplished in this way.

THE WWII IN ASIA AND THE PACIFIC: STUDENTS MOBILIZED TO THE FRONTS

Just before the Pearl Harbor attack, extension period of student conscription could be abbreviated or suspended due to the imperial decree. The decree could be issued not by a Diet approval, but according to the prerogative of supreme command which was believed to be an exclusive possession of the military. This means that the military could control the student privileges as it wished, and the students' destiny was at the military's hand.

On October 1943, the extension of conscription for the students at school was suspended except science major students. Many students hereafter were called and dispatched to the battlefields. Some Students were called to the military with holding student status, and others were forced to shorten the period of school attendance by 6 months. Full scale "student mobilization" was finally realized in this way. Taking an example of 1943, it is estimated that nearly 50,000 students from colleges and vocational schools were mobilized.

How did such student fight? Those qualified for aviation were ordered to be pilots. Students were not allowed to turn down this order. Approximately 3,000 in the army and 5,000 in the navy were assigned to pilot courses in the year of 1943 only. They were deployed in operational units after no more than 10 months flight drills. Their technique was, not to mention, far from perfect, and many of them lost their lives (40% in the army and 30 % in the navy in 1943) . Some of them died in suicide attacks.

Many of those who were not qualified for aviation received quick drills for reserve officers and were sent to most disparate fronts to supplement shortage of element leaders. Only

a part of lucky ones became instructors of military schools or accounting officers where they could use their academic knowledge. Some fought as non-commissioned officers and soldiers.

Conclusion

Since the conscription law of 1873, the privilege granted to students had changed its character as time passed. The privilege was at first intended to attract the educated and the rich into the military for bringing up reserve officers.

The privilege may have been attractive, but at the same time, the military maneuvered it to mobilize students in the end. In retrospect, it is ironic that the original privilege intended to keep the students away from the military became an instrument to force them to go to the war.

You may want to read *Listen to the Voices from the Sea*, which is available in English. This is a collection of letters and diaries by Japanese students who faced immediate death.

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Government measures and lessons learned concerning refugees during the Korean War

CHOI KWONSAM

THE KOREAN WAR AND REFUGEES

The Korean War broke out on June 25. 1950 by surprise attack of North Korean army. The war lasted for three years and a month before the two sides agreed to the cessation of hostilities on July 27. 1953, and uneasy truce survives to this day.

The Korean War unfolded in the broader context of the Cold War under the US-USSR bipolar system. Triggered by North Korean invasion, the war initially was an intra-national conflict between South and North Korea. As the world's two ideologically opposed camps intervened, however, it developed into a full-blown international war involving troops from twenty different nations.

The Korean War could be divided into two parts such as from North Korean invasion until counterattack (1st phase) and from intervention of communist china until truce (2nd phase). This paper explores the government measures and lessons learned concerning refugees during the Korean War.

STATUS OF REFUGEES AND GOVERNMENT MEASURES

Status of refugees and government measures after invasion

(1st phase)

As the war occurred suddenly, the one of the most important problem was to prevent population unrest and plan appropriate measures against the influx of refugees.

But the Korean government and army didn't predict the necessities of withdrawal from Seoul and devised the retreat plans, there were limitations against refugees control systematically¹. Furthermore, as military and polices couldn't control the refugees movement in vicinity of Seoul area, military transportation operation must be disturbed on the all road.

On the other hand, 6tharmy division planed refugees's measures in preparations for unpredictable war. In other word, the population withdrawal plan set up throughout "Division Operation Order."²

The most parts of the roads were very crowded in the mix of munitions to be transported on the front line and supply vehicle before the fall of Seoul.

As hundreds of thousands of refugees were driven to the city and occupied the entire road, the transportation vehicle couldn't move and augmentation forces couldn't put into to the front line.

In spite of several government actions for refugees, this measures couldn't be adapted

¹ GHQ. FEC, Evacuation of Refugees and Civilian from Seoul June 1950 and December 1950 to January 1951. 1951(unpublished). p. 2.

² Institute of Military Compilation History, *The Korean War. Volume 1*, (Soeul: MND, 1980), p. 633.

systematically because the battlefield moved very fast.

The numbers of refugees were increased continually in the period for Nakdong River defense. Socul as well as other province populations departed to Busan area. The all sizes of refugees were 1.2 million as for 28th September 1950.

Status of refugees and government measures after January-Fourth Retreat (2nd phase)

The Korean army and UN forces were making a conquest the majority of North Korean area with the hope to cease a fire in the latter of the October 1951. US 8th army were approaching to the Yalu river in the western part of battle line and US 10th corps were making an attack toward the border between Korean and Manchuria. But due to intervention of communist china army, all situations were changing into totally other aspects.

It produced not only refugees in South Korean area but also refugees escaped North Korean area due to intervention of communist china during January-Fourth Retreat. In particular, a lot of refugees in North Korean area could escape toward the Southern part boarding US's LST.³

As the withdrawal operations were proceeding from 10th December to 23rd 1950, the only 91,000 people among 0.3 million refugees could escape from evacuation harbor boarding 5,000 persons in a LST which could accommodate only 500 crews. After finishing the embarkation, US's vessels and bombers destroyed 400 tons of ammunitions and 5.6 million tons of equipments with a concentrated fire.⁴

The first motivation that many refugees in North Korean area departed was to want the civil population to escape from communist control.⁵ Secondly, they wanted to escape toward the South to get away an air strike of UN air-force.⁶

The tragic aspects during the 2^{nd} refugee phase were more miserable than the 1^{st} refugee phase.

First, there were heavy casualties due to unpredictable intervention of communist china I. Secondly, a cold winter caused the wounded to have frostbite.

Third, the great numbers of refugees increased because of North Korean refugees.

Fourth, it took a long time to escape from North Korean area.

Although the Korean government made efforts for refugee' aids, they suffered from the lack of funds, resources and sudden increase of refugees.

The government requested relief materials to UN and friendly nations and provided that to refugees.⁷

³ Busan City History Compilation Committee, Harbor City Busan, volume 16, (Busan: Busan City, 2000), p. 240.

⁴ Busan Daily, Temporary Capital 1,000days, (Busan: Busan City, 1984), pp. 223~224.

⁵ Institute of Military Compilation History, "The Korean War Volume 16,17" *Intelligence Reports of The Central Intelligence Agency, DAILY REPORT KOREAN BULLETIN* (3RD JUL 1951)

⁶ Kim Dong Chun, Seoul Population and The Korean War, (Seoul: History Review, 2000), p. 53.

⁷ CIA DAILY REPORT KOREAN BULLETIN (3RD JUL 1951)

LESSONS LEARNED

The features of the Korea War is that

- The North Korean under communist control moved to southward
- Many refugees evacuated from north after Chinese intervention
- No South Korean moved to northward

The government measures and lessons learned concerning refugees during the Korean War are as the followings;

1st phase

First, the situation of refugees plunged into extreme confusion after surprise attack from 38th parallel to Han river, that gave great difficulties to conduct military operations.

Secondly, the reasons of utmost disorder were that the government didn't make a plan how to manage the refugees and the North Korean army gained the ground too fast southward.

Third, the units prepared plan for refugees could be minimized sacrifices and conducted their operations without an obstacle.

2nd phase

First, the withdrawal operation was evaluated successfully in the pre-and post the January-Fourth Retreat period by reminding the lessons learned in the 1st phase.

Secondly, there were more miserable situations than the 1st phase for several reasons (Chinese intervention, many refugees, cold winter, long distance etc).

Third, there were the major limitations of government measures during the January-Fourth Retreat.

In conclusion, the refugee was produced inevitably during any kind of war. If the government make a contingency plan properly for preparing emergence situation, the victims of refugees can be minimize.

Because the trend of the modern war is not able to be divided the front and rear line, so, there might not be massive refugees. Thus we have to consider new measures to minimize "the new victims."

Civilians in Malvinas' conflict

RICARDO LUIS QUELLET

CIVILIANS IN THE MALVINAS' CONFLICT

History

In 1833 Great Britain occupied military the Malvinas Islands, which were part of the Argentine territory and were governed by an Argentinean one. The population was removed and a colony was settled named Kelpers.

After almost 150 years of sovereignty questioning and being recognized by the UN, it got to an unbearable situation due to permanent incidents, and lack of negotiations.

In February 1982, the Military Comity (1) approved, which was written by the Military Junta governing at that time, to plan the military action and urged Great Britain to continue negotiations. The management of these maneuvers was under the orders of the Naval Commander due to the location of the conflict. According to a resolution named 1/69, which determined the tasks of the Argentine Forces, the air activities in the area, were under the naval control, primarily. This was the frame used to plan the activities.

The commander which managed the operations was named Commander of South Atlantic Operations (COATLANSUR). Its mission was to dissuade and interdict the eventual military British reactions to which the Military Comity subordinated all the elements brought to the area, an Infantry Regiment and the Air Force elements in the continent.

On the other hand as a possible conflict with Chile was not denied, boundary issue, a south operation theatre (SOT) was settled to defend the continental territory.

One of the most significant changes was to determine the jurisdiction of this operation theatre up to 12 nautical miles, recognized by the international legislation as Argentine Territorial Sea. This measure got a negative connotation.

Therefore the bases of the Air Force and Navy aviation located in the littoral Atlantic to operate from another theatre (SAOT) were placed out of the jurisdiction of the 12 nautical miles.

RESPONSIBILITY OF THE AIR FORCE

On April 4th 1982, due to the armed British reaction and the blockade imposed to the islands, the Air Force was formally requested to:

- Maintain an air bridge to Malvinas despite the imposed blockade.
- Explore and do reconnaissance flight over the sea with KC-130 planes in coordination with the Navy planes Neptune.
- Do air tactical operations (support with fire to all military terrestrial maneuvers, explore, do reconnaissance flight, search and rescue, direct and indirect air defense) to the islands and the air bases given to the South Air Force.

To satisfy these requirements, it was ordered to elaborate a Plan which covered all these activities.

BRITISH BLOCKADE

On April 8th, Great Britain declared as an exclusion marine zone to an area of 200 miles around the Malvinas and warned that from 12th all war vessels in this area would be sunk.

In order to prevent further conflict with the fleet and to allow the North American chancellor, General Alexander Haig, to get new ways of negotiations, on April 10th the Argentine attaché claimed at the North Atlantic Organization (NAO) that the Argentine Navy would not accept the blockade.

With this decision, the transportation by sea to strengthen the islands would not be possible and the deployment would only be by plane.

From twelve o'clock am, April 12th, the threat to sink any Argentine vessel in the area started to be possible.

THE ARGENTINE AIR FORCE CHALLENGE, STRENGTHENS AND WEAKNESS

The possible operation theatre was air naval, therefore the armed systems, the Air Force crew training, were not the ones required for the present characteristics. The target to defend was an archipelago located at the limited boarder of action to which the combat planes were based on the continent.

To set up an air defense system to guard such an objective, with a few possibilities of accomplishment, would require having a system of warning, air naval or embarked, in the flight paths and having runways of at least, 2300 meters to operate with firefighter planes.

That was why, on April 2^{nd} , aluminum boards and way machinery were sent to extend the present runway in the islands.

All the necessary material was delayed due to inconvenient in the coordination to transport it from Buenos Aires. By April 7th, the necessary equipment was shipped in the vessel Ciudad de Cordoba.

As during the navigation the blockade was declared, the vessel went to Puerto Deseado instead of Malvinas. The personnel and light equipment were transported by plane C-130 to Malvinas and the rest by trucks to Comodoro Rivadavia. This inconvenient impeded the plans to enlarge the runway and it was not going to be used as emergency for the fire planes.

The islands were 400 nautical miles from continental airports which represented a serious penalty especially for the attack performed by planes like Mirage.

As there was lack of refueling equipment in air, the planes would be able to fly only 2 or 3 minutes in the target zone. And the interceptors like M-III should reach Malavinas without descending.

As regard the planes like A- 4B, C y Q with autonomy and equipment to reach, fire the target and get back, almost always should refuel in air to hide their position flying short, low distance to succeed in the operation.

Unfortunately this advantage was not enough due to the fact that there were only two KC-130 refueling. Any inconvenient in the refueling meant that the pilot had to abort the mission and come back to the base if not eject.

The case of the arm system: plane Super Etendard and the Exocet missile, from the Navy, arriving form France, was just when the UN intimidated Argentina to retreat the troops, therefore the equipment was embargoed. As a consequence, the 60% of it was delayed on

Marsella port and from the twelve planes that Argentina bought, only five arrived as well as missiles which needed to be calibrated.

The Argentine Aviation had the advantage to operate from bases on the ground while the British one had the advantage to have aircraft carriers which allowed them to approach to the operation zone. Their position was between 90 to 120 miles from the islands, their Harrier, from the aircraft carrier, not only were able to take off several times but also to fly for longer periods of time (between 10 to 20 minutes) over the target.

Under this condition of attack, the FAS could choose the place, the moment and the most appropriate procedure. The one who takes the defense position and has not got a system of early alert has to be in permanent surveillance. This attitude, in aeronautic terms, makes the surveillance system and the crews weaker.

This disadvantage could become a deficiency for the British Force as its aircrafts Nimrod, sea watchers, did not operate from the carriers. This problem was overcome by establishing the squad radar vessels further.

Having these strengths and weakness properly evaluated the Argentine Air force people knew they were in front of the most difficult alternative of history.

Some pilots thought that only two attacks could be performed. In the first one, half of the planes could be lost and in the second, the rest, there could not be remaining planes to return. But if they sank a vessel in any performance, the try would have been justified.

This was not an exaggeration. There had not been such a confrontation, where the vast of the fire fighters, the Skyhawk, dated from 1062 and its design was old fashion to face a fleet with the latest technological system of electronic and ballistic missile. Besides, its oldest vessel was more modern than any of our planes except the Super Etendard from the Navy.

AIR MATERIAL

Despite operating under limited conditions and demanding the maximum capacities, the fighter planes performed beyond expectations. Considering the percentage of error, it is worth saying that the performance of the technicians and the air material availability were excellent.

But it is worth considering that there was:

- Insufficient of supply equipment to operate from the alternative bases.
- Lack of automatic navigation system in the planes: A-4B, especially to fly over the sea.
- Not enough number of fuel drop tanks for the armed system of Mirage, Skywhawk A-4 and Camberra.
- Only one Camberra BMK-62 had an altitude encoding system and forecast radar.
- The Mirage M-5 did not have autonomic starting engine so they depended on ground equipment to start which was insufficient.
- Lack of counter electronic equipment.
- They were unaware of the consequences of the salinity of the air on long flights or at low height over the sea and lack of means to prevent the planes from the corrosion.

ARMAMENTS

The armament was not appropriate to fire vessels. Some solutions were tried, as to diminish the time to assemble the fuse, but the inexperience and lack of time to practice, did not make it possible to succeed.

AIR DEFENSE OPERATIONS

As regard to the air umbrella task and alert on flight, ordered by FAS to support air and ground operations in Malvinas, it was agreed to leave the task to Harries as they performed perfectly at low height.

The problem was that if the Mirage flew at a lower height, they would consume more fuel and could not get back. At high level, the argentine interceptors would have about ten minutes to fly over the islands. Therefore, FAS ordered that they would fire only if the Harries flew up, and if the Mirage had a remaining autonomy.

Besides, due to these reasons, the incursions, against the naval or ground objectives, the fire squadrons would not be able to be escorted to the targets.

To overcome this drawback, some planes were sent to perform similar operations to fire fighters, some were civilians. For example they simulated to fire Harriers or attack other targets.

Now let me tell you the civilian participation in the war.

EXPLORATION, RECONNAISSANCE AND SPECIAL OPERATIONS

The activities were done by two units.

Group 1: situated on Comodoro Rivadavia, was to recognize the Patagonia littoral.

Formed by: 3 Fokker F-27 from the Air Command of Transport plus planes from the Fenix squadron.

Their responsibility was to reach up to 300 nautical miles between parallel 39° south and 61° south (latitude: Georgias islands)

The exploration of this area was divided into three regions: bases on Bahia Blanca, Trelew and Santa Cruz.

Group 2: operated from Palomar Base (Buenos Aires) and from Comandante Espora base (Bahia Blanca)

Its routine was to do exploration and reconnaissance around 300 nautical miles between Parallel 39° South and the end of Rio de la Plata. Besides, it also performed any other activity that might have been ordered. Planes used: Boeing -707, Hercules KC-130 and Hercules C-.130.

Still another area was determined to control the maritime transit which could come from The Pacific to Malvinas. Three civil planes: Lear Jet LR-35, four circuits were designed to operate in a triangular search which would control an area of 200 miles between Rio Grande latitude to the south and the parallel 59°30'S. This contribution was very valuable; the planes were also used as guides to M-5 Dagger.

AIR OPERATIONS IN APRIL

Air Port to Malvinas

It was not unusual to see planes unload equipment as well as troops on the runway.

Besides, other aircrafts reached Malvinas at a set time which allowed to have an air port during 24 hs.

Still other important activities were the transport of material and personnel to the continent by the so called main lines which connected BA, Cba, Resistencia, Parana, Reconquista and others with Comodoro Rivadavia and Rio Gallegos; and the secondary lines located within the TOAS.

Between April 1st and June 29th, 1982, 10,000tns and 50,000 passengers were transported by military and civil planes in 1,039 flights.

From these, 452 landed on Malvinas, 9,726 military staff and 5.442 tns of material were taken to.

EXPLORATION AND FAR RECONNAISSANCE

This mission was performed on April 3rd.

A plane form Aerolineas Argentinas observed an aircraft carrier and a vessel sailing along the south of Marruecos. A nuclear British submarine Conqueror was discovered by a plane on April 2nd.

These two observations were done at a far distance by an Argentine plane.

This was not the only information provided by commercial aircrafts. British counter intelligence service also knew about the activities performed by pilots of Argentine airlines. When the transport vessel Conveyor was sailing to the exclusion zone, one of the Sea Harrier on board, set all fire equipment under control in case an Argentine attack was fired.

FLEET SIGHTING

On April 21st, the planes Boeing B-707 of the Air Force were incorporated to the tasks of Exploration and far Reconnaissance.

For the first time the British fleet was sighted at 9.38 situated at 19°40' S/21°37'W, which was going to the islands. They were two aircraft carriers, three destroyers, five frigates and six supporting ships. Specialists from the Navy and the Air Force started to take photos of the vessels. The reaction was not delayed. Twelve minutes later, the Sea Harrier XZ460 from Squadron 800 armed with air-air missiles, flew next to them. It flew for some minutes, and it went back to the aircraft carrier after having taken photo and checked no danger.

From then on, these encounters between B-707 and Sea Harrier became a routine.

THE COMMERCIAL AVIATION IN THE MALVINAS AIR BATTLE

It is worth considering the importance of the participation of the commercial aviation in this heroic deed.

The importance of the situation led to include to this mission the two commercial companies; Aerolineas Argentinas and Austral.

The first one took place with two Boeing 707 flying to Patagonia and two Boeing 737 to cross the islands. Austral gave a plane BAC 111. These planes flew from Rio Gallegos Base and Comodoro Rivadavia, operating according to the circumstances from April 11th to 27th.

AEROLÍNEAS ARGENTINAS

Juan Carlos Pellegrini, president of the enterprise, asked the corresponding planning as soon as he received the request from the Air Force.

The planes Boeing 707 would operate on a suitable airport, so no significant changes would be necessary. But it was not the same for the planes 737 as there was no record of operating in so short runways as the one in Malavinas, only 1,250 mts. long.

The most complicated procedure would be to stop the forty-six tns after having landed at about 135 knots, on the short runway which was always wet and with cross winds.

The planes B-737 participating in crossing were LV-JTD "Ciudad de Tucuman" and LV-LED "Ciudad de Esquel" under the nicknames: PETREL 8 and PETREL 9.

AUSTRAL AIRLINES

The plane BAC-111 from Austral was LV-OAX and it was adapted similar to the ones from Aerolineas to operate in Malvinas. Two commanders and four first officers were in charge of crossing, where almost sixteen hours of flight were performed. They were assisted by five technicians and a non commissioned officer/ load master.

GENERAL INFORMATION

As it was already stated, the situation led to increase the number of flights to Malvinas more than the airport was capable of receiving. For example: on April 25th thirty-four flights were done between Comodoro Rivadavia and Puerto Argentino, from which eight ones with civil aircrafts.

After the ceasefire, the commercial planes withdrew the troops to their units. When the transport operations finished, by June 29th, Aerolineas Argentinas had flown four thousand hours and Austral four hundred and one. Both transported 603 tns of goods and 14,465 people. The Air Port to Malvinas was an unprecedented military operation and its history would be incomplete if the participation of the Argentine commercial aviation was omitted.

CIVIL PILOTS PARTICIPATION

Fenix Squadron

The idea to form an air space squadron or a unit with civil aircrafts was born in November 1978, during the border conflicts between Argentina and Chile. It was the time when it was thought to use some types of civil plans and to plan the task they were supposed to do.

Several names were proposed to the new unit: Special Air Units, Zero Squadron, and Fenix Squadron. This last one was the most appropriate, because it would be similar to bird mythology, it would be operating during conflicts and disappeared in peace time.

During April 13th and 28th, a group of officers drew the plan, being assessed by lieutenant Anibal D. Poggy for the plane Hawker Siddeley HS-125 and the captain Edgardo A. Acosta for the planes Lear Jet, both were officers of the reserves.

This group of people got together to select the appropriate aircrafts; they established the type of operation the planes would be able to perform; they gathered information about the state of the planes: they chose the possible pilots and studied the way they would be hired by the Argentine Air Force.

Between April 28th and 30th, the Fenix Squadron deployed thirty five planes, the best of Argentine air force at that time.

Some of them belonged to private companies, others to state enterprises and others to Argentine Federal Police.

The Hawker Siddeley HS-125, license number LV.ALW from the State company YPF, was remarkable by its performance and equipment. It was able to fly at the speed similar to fire fighters, it had very good peak and autonomy; besides, it was equipped with two sailing VLF Omega, which would be used to locate itself in sea without ground reference.

The group of fastest ten was formed by: HS-125 and nine Lear Jet of different types.

The planes in both charts were used to:

- Exploration and reconnaissance.
- Search and rescue.
- Accompany and guide to Pucara IA-58.
- Transport of crew, mechanics, armourers)
- Transport of Special Forces.
- Transport of charge in general. (base to base mailing, passengers, light loads, etc)

Apart from these planes which were at first line. There was a reserve of eleven Aerostar 600 A with piston engines.

SPECIAL TASKS OF CIVIL PLANES

Entertainment

The performance of the planes Lear Jet LR-35 (speed, autonomy and its reflection on radars) became to be the most appropriate to simulate to be fighters planes.

The entertainment activities were started by studying the wave of the radar that wanted to be bewildered. The maneuver was to fly with sham planes to the place where the fire planes would start to descend. After this point, with the same approximation, the planes descended to the lowest position, out of radar sight, there the direction was inverted, and they came back going away from reach, making the enemy send means to intercept.

GUIDANCE OF SQUADRONS

To guide the planes: M-5, A-4B and A-4C the civil planes Lear Jet LR-35 were used.

The planes IA-58 were guided by civil aircrafts Mitsubishi which had similar flying characteristics.

RETRANSMIT SERVICE

Due to the fact that the targets were so far it was necessary to use transmitters on board. It was also used civil planes HS-125, LR-36A and military ones like Fokker F-27. To do this task 92 hours of flight were performed during the conflict.

AIR TRANSPORT

The aircrafts LR-35 and AC-690 were also used for connecting flights of executives among the units. This measure allowed to exempt the military planes like F-27 and F-28. Apart from saving money it was given more flexibility to transport military authorities of the FAS.

In the report written after the battle, ordered by the Operation Commander of the Air Force, it was concluded that the thirty two planes (chart 1 to 4) fulfilled and in some cases exceed expectations.

The performed tasks were very useful for the South Air Force and its presence in the Operation Theatre encouraged positively the attitude of combat pilots

None of these civilians were injured or dead in combat. Nor there were losses from the inhabitants of the islands (Kelpers) who were paid for any service provided or any renting material.

The only three dead kelpers were due to british fire during air attack to the argentinian radar.

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The Argentine military government in the Malvinas/ Falkland Islands during the 1982 war"

ALEJANDRO AMENDOLARA*

"Malvinas was a battlefield on Argentine territory and its inhabitants, regardless of their origin, were not enemies" |

"But the efforts of the Argentines to be friendly and obliging in no way concealed or compensated for the fact that we were a country under enemy occupation" ²

THE SOUTH ATLANTIC CONFLICT, APRIL-JUNE 1982

In April 1982, Argentina and Britain went to war for a sovereignty dispute over a group of sparsely populated islands in the South Atlantic. The Malvinas archipelago, located some 500 kilometers away from Argentina, stretches over some 250 kilometers West to East, and 125 kilometers North to South, comprising two major islands (Soledad/East Falkland and Gran Malvina/West Falkland) and more than 200 smaller islands covering a surface of approximately 12,500 square meters. There are practically no trees and, except for the 600,000 sheep, the resources for survival were scarce in 1982. About 900 of its 1,800 inhabitants of those days were mainly concentrated in the capital (Port Stanley/Puerto Argentino during the Argentine occupation) and the rest lived in farms spread out in the rural areas (see Annex 1). At that time the services in the capital were dimensioned for some 2,000 people. The islanders are also known as "kelpers", after a typical seaweed, the "kelp", which covers great extensions of the coastline. There were scarcely any roads, except in the vicinity of the capital. It is quite a challenge to move around on a terrain mainly covered by peat and rocky rivers.

The archipelago lived under total logistic dependence of the continent, for which reason, in order to mitigate the effects of isolation and as part of the diplomatic negotiations, the Argentine authorities were taking charge of certain tasks under the 1971 Communications Agreement (transportation of cargo and passengers by air and sea),³ and facilities of access to hospitals in the continent, together with the granting of scholarships to study in Argentina, all measures that were a significant contribution to improve the living conditions of the islanders.

One hundred and forty-nine years after the Argentine government and population were

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¹ Commodore (R) Guillermo Vicente Mendiberri, Chief A-2 Intelligence of the Malvinas Air Component, in Palazzi, Rubén Oscar, "Malvinas – Otras historias", page164

² Harry Bagnall, Anglican Church priest at Port Stanley, in Bagnall, Harry; "Faith under Fire", page 79

³ Joint Declaration dated 1 January 1971.

expelled from the islands by the British,⁴ and after repeated notes of complaint to the United Kingdom, the argument finally reached the United Nations. In 1960 and 1965 the General Assembly approved Resolutions 1514 and 2065,⁵ where a dispute was recognized to exist between Argentina and the United Kingdom about sovereignty over the Malvinas, and both parties were urged to maintain negotiations without delay.

After a protracted diplomatic process "without any substantial advances in the negotiations",⁶ in December 1981 the Military Junta of Argentina began to make plans for of a military operation in case of failure in the bilateral talks scheduled for early 1982. "The patience with Great Britain had come to an end. The 150th anniversary of the British seizure of the islands in January 1983, appeared as some sort of a limit".⁷

PLANNING AND SCOPE OF THE MILITARY RECOVERY OPERATION

March 1982 marks the preparation of National Strategic Directive (DENAC) No. 1/82 (Malvinas Case), which is approved by the Military Committee, determining that in view of the repeated lack of any progress with the United Kingdom it was necessary to contemplate the use of Military Power for achieving the pertinent political goal.

DENAC 1/82 (Malvinas) established that "Phase 4 – Maintenance of the Military Objective and Government", "shall consist of achieving the Administration of the Malvinas, Georgias and South Sandwich Islands under a military governor appointed by the Military Committee to exercise the executive, legislative and judicial authority".

In its "Conclusions" (1.12.), the directive expressed that "The Argentine Republic must resolve a military problem and also a problem as regards the handling of a population which, even if not being of Argentine origin nor considering itself as such, lives in a territory that we consider as Argentine and that is going to be returned to the national sovereignty. Therefore, such population must in no way be considered as hostile and pertaining to an enemy country, but as a population which must be treated with total correctness and flexibility in order to gain its good disposition".

The strategy adopted by Argentina played an influential role in its election to wage a war in April 1982. The intention was clear among its planners to conduct a swift recovery operation that would then permit the installation of a government to administer the territory and its population. "It was a classic case of limited aims/fait accompli, the success of which required taking surprise military action before the defender recognized the trick and mobilized its forces. The weaker initiator expected to use a limited military takeover for establishing sovereignty; a fait accompli once achieved would not be easily reversed. It acted under a belief that the defending power would not use overwhelming force or retaliate massively because of political and diplomatic constraints". 8

The so-called Military Strategy Directive (DEMIL) 1/82, in its Chapter "Execution",

⁴ In January 1833 a group of English soldiers landed from frigate HMS Clio and forcefully ousted the Argentine authorities and population from the Malvinas.

⁵ Resolution 1514 (14 December 1960); Resolution 2065 (4 January 1966).

⁶ Resolution 3160 (29 January 1974).

⁷ Freedman, Lawrence; "Britain and the Falklands War", page 33

⁸ Paul, T.V., "Asymmetric Conflicts", page 155

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set forth as a "Strategic Military Concept" as regards the population, to "conduct military government actions aimed at guaranteeing the maintenance of the present way of life of the population, the protection of private property, an appropriate logistic support and the betterment of the living standards of the population in order to gain their voluntary acceptance of the Argentine sovereignty". 9

As a result, once the military operation was completed, the essential action foreseen to be implemented in the recovered archipelago would be centered around Government action on the population. And it was to this objective that DEMIL 1/82 dedicated a whole annex (No.2), under the heading "Military Government".

The Military Committee's Directive 1/82 (Complementary to the National Strategic Directive 1/82 of the Military Government), stated that the Political Objective was to "Consolidate Argentine sovereignty over the Malvinas, South Georgias and South Sandwich islands, and contribute to assert its full exercise on the South Atlantic", and order to plan concrete measures to be taken once the Military Government was installed on the Malvinas.

As part of such preparations the Military Committee contemplated "to take into account a detailed study of the geographic, human and political environment of the Theater of Operations as far as it may have been possible to obtain up to that time".

The Military Committee prepared the Campaign Scheme Plan which contained a specific annex on the military government of the Islands (Annex 2). This Annex, in turn, made reference to an Appendix 1, "Aspects to be resolved by the Military Committee before executing the operation", centered around analyzing: the final purpose as regards the Malvinas population, including an analysis of the alternatives¹⁰; the differences between the islanders and the Argentine population¹¹; and the uncertainties of the population that would have to be resolved¹².

The ultimate intention was thus clear in the sense that, if an operation was to be started for recovering the Malvinas, it would have to be carried out on the basis of three conditions or basic requirements: without bloodshed with respect to the population and, as far as the British troops were concerned, it would have to be executed by surprise in a very short time span.

The operation would have to be bloodless on the population, which would be protected as

⁹ DEMIL 1/82

[&]quot;Alternatives: 1) That all the present population get out of the islands; 2) That all the present population remain on the islands; 3) To allow an exodus of those desiring to leave, but not promoting it; 4) To promote the exodus of as many people as possible, granting significant advantages to those desiring to settle elsewhere in the Argentine territory; 5) Replacement of all present population by another of Argentine origin, be it mediately or immediately; 6) To assimilate the present population of the islands through a process as brief as possible."

[&]quot;a) Language; b) Religion; c) Laws to be applied; d) Concept of State and nationality; e) legal currency; f) Restricted work possibilities; g) Pension system; h) Educational system; i) Military service; j) Trading system and priced of common consumer goods."

[&]quot;a) Physical security for persons and property; b) Private ownership system; c) Labor dependence and conservation of employment; d) Economic activity; e) Process of assimilation to the Argentine law and way of life; f) Assimilation to the Argentine economic system; g) Conservation or loss of the British nationality. Mandatory or voluntary acquisition of the Argentine nationality; h) Possibility to leave the islands permanently or temporarily; i) Treatment of those deciding to leave the islands."

much as possible, without causing unnecessary destruction to private installations or public services. As regards the British troops, the bloodlessness requirement involved causing the smallest possible number of casualties in order to avoid arising an emotional reaction in the British population and government. "There was an additional motive: there was certainty that in case of casualties among the population or the defending troops, the British propaganda would take advantage of the circumstance to attack the country thus worsening the poor image of Argentina on the subject of human rights." ¹³

PLANNING THE GOVERNMENT OF THE ISLANDS

The time available for preparing government actions proved to be limited,¹⁴ as it was only during the first week of March 1982 that General Leopoldo Fortunato Galtieri ¹⁵ informed General Mario Benjamín Menéndez about the possibility of a military operation being executed in order to occupy the Malvinas and then appoint Menendez as Military Governor. Moreover, the secrecy required by the operation delayed the meeting of a group of assistants to cooperate with him or the contacts with officers, for which reason the studies and preparations were subject to serious difficulties.

The very few days available between the meeting of the government team and the departure for Malvinas were devoted to studying all geographic, human, political, economic and other background information available in the archipelago, so as to be in the best possible position to face the government taks with some possibility of success.

The basic tasks to be developed were outlined with a view to later on adjust them on the go, according to the reality found on the islands. Among the measures initially contemplated by the group were the following: a) replacement of the Executive Council and the Legislature by persons without any strong links with the colonial power; b) ensuring the continuity of school activities with indispensable modifications aimed at inproving the knowledge of the Argentine geography, history and language; c) ensuring and improving the health services; d) adjusting the administration of justice and other legal matters, by harmonizing the system and code applied on the islands with those in force in Argentina, d) achieving an articulate operation of the administration, ensuring the normal payment of goods and services and maintaining the economic activities, with an initial reconciliation of the use of the Falkland Pound, the Sterling Pound and the Argentine Peso; e) incorporating means or companies from the continent, thus displacing or neutralizing the Falkland Islands Company monopoly, and diversifying and intensifying economic and tourist activities for the benefit of the islanders; f) ensuring the normal provision of essential public services such as water, electricity, garbage collection, transport between islands; g) continuing with and increasing public works such as roads, port installations, etc.; h) replacing personnel indispensable in certain services if so required by their condition and attitude as British subjects and especially as officers and non-commisioned officers of its armed forces.

After reconquest of the islands, the original plans contemplated the constitution of a

¹³ Büsser, Carlos A., "Operación Rosario", page 16

¹⁴ The operation was originally scheduled for 15 May 1982 (DEMIL 1/82)

¹⁵ De facto President of the Argentine Republic between 1981-1982. Member of the Military Junta.

500-strong army contingent with indispensable air-force and navy support, whose action would be aimed at cooperating with the Military Governor for control and defence of the archipelago in case of a British reaction.

Based on these preliminary measures, General Menéndez stated that "The governing concept was to initially introduce the indispensable changes and then proceed to gradually implement such measures that might be convenient or necessary to integrate the islands and their population to the rest of the country". ¹⁶

LANDING FORCE - RECOVERY OF THE ISLANDS

After the failure of the diplimatic negotiations and the escalation of incidents in the South Georgia,¹⁷ the Military Junta resolved to go ahead with the military operation to recover the Malvinas. Thus, on Friday 26 March 1982, issued the order for the preparation and departure of the military forces that would take part in the landing operation.

The Commander of the Malvinas Theater of Operations (*Comandante del Teatro de Operaciones Mavinas* – "CTOM"), General Osvaldo Jorge García, personally transmitted to each Chief of Element the main ideas that would govern the military operation as regards preserving the islanders' integrity and property, and anticipated the application of penalties for noncompliance therewith. ¹⁸

- 16 Túrolo, Carlos M., "Malvinas Testimonio de su Gobernador", page 22
- 17 On 19 March 1982 a group of workers from an Argentine private company disembarked at Puerto Leith with documentation as per the 1971 Agreement (Provisional Certificate). Their mission was to dismantle an old whale factory and get hold of the scrap iron. London makes a complaint on 22 March, demanding the withdrawal of such personnel.
- 18 Büsser, Carlos; op.cit.: Addition N°6:
 - 1. The mission must be complied with on OWN TERRITORY, so it must be as bloodless as permitted by the situation, so as to gain support among the population and worldwide approval.
 - 2. Respect for private property, which comprises:
 - a. Not to cause more damages than the minimum required to comply with the mission.
 - b. Not to conduct operations at places where they are not justified.
 - c. The seizure of any elements must be avoided and, if indispensable, it must be controlled by each Task Force
 - d. The troops may not move around individually, but only in groups with commanding personnel in charge.
 - 3. Respect for the population, which includes:
 - a. Firm treatment, but with all due respect deserved by a citizen who is not an enemy, but a person born at a place usurped by a state nearly a century and a half ago.
 - b. Special care in the treatment of all women.
 - c. Acceptance of the freedom of religion, for which reason all temples must be treated as our own. Bear in mind that the Roman Catholic religion is professed by a minority.
 - d. The administration of justice to the population will be exclusively exercised by the Military Government, for which reason any infringement must be reported through hierarchical channels, and the military personnel must refrain to act per se, unless in compliance with a concrete mission which encounters some difficulty.
 - e. Any English symbols exhibited at public places must be replaced by their Argentine equivalents with the authorization of the corresponding CFT, but with all the usual formalities. The flag of the most important site in the town shall be replaced in a ceremony presided over by the CTOM and with the presence of the three FFTT commanders.
 - 4. Any noncompliance with this order will be subject to the penalties determined to that effect by the Laws and the Military Regulations.

Within the Amphibious Task Force (FT 40) operated the Landing Force (Task Force 40.1.9, which included Task Unit (UT – *Unidad de Tareas*) 40.1.9. (Civil Affairs and Military Government Task Unit). This Unit took charge of writing the communiques and obtaining those special elements that would be necessary for the operation (national flags, disks, tape recorders, printing and communications equipment, etc.), and also took care of their conditioning for the journey. ¹⁹

On the eve of the landings on the Malvinas, the governing principles were ratified on 1 April 1982 at 6:30 p.m. by the Commander of the Landing Force in a speech to the troops travelling on board of landing ship ARA ("Armada República Argentina") "Cabo San Antonio" (see Annex 2).²⁰

At 0635 hours on 2 April, the commander of the Malvinas Theater of Operations ordered to interfere the frequency of Radio Stanley –which was a vehicle of coordination, liaison and exchange of information between the islands' government and population–, by transmitting from destroyer ARA Santísima Trinidad a communique in English addressed to the British Governor. ²¹

Once the clashes between the Argentine forces and Royal Marines garrison on the islands came to an end at 10:30 a.m., ²² with the Argentine flag already waving at the top of the Governor's house, the radio began to play military music and the first communiques were transmitted at half-hour intervals. ²³ "The so-called "edicts" and communiqués started to

- 5. The success of the operation, apart from the taking as bloodless as possible of the target, will be obtained if we can tilt the opinion of the population and the world in our favor, an outcome that will depend on each of the members of this TO. A wrong move, cunningly exploited by the propaganda, may bring about a serious problem at international level for the Nation whose greatness we are trying these days to enhance, both territorially and spiritually.
- 19 Lieutenant Commander IM Martín Arrillaga, Chief of the Special Affairs Task Force, in Büsser, Carlos A., op.cit., page323/324
- 20 Büsser, Carlos A., op.cit., page 113. "... On those islands we will find a population to which we must give special treatment. They are inhabitants of the Argentine territory and must therefore be treated as are all others living in Argentina. You must observe strict respect for the property and integrity of all people. You shall not access any private residence unless so required by military reasons. You shall respect the women, children, old people and men. Be harsh with the enemy, but polite, respectful and kind with the population of our territory that it is our duty to protect. If anyone commits an act of rape, robbery of pillage, I will immediately impose on him the maximum penalty"
- 21 Latin American Newsletters; page16: "To the authorities of the Colonial British Government on the Malvinas, from the Argentine Armed Forces: in compliance with instructions from the Argentine Government we are before your eyes with a numerous task force. Faithful to our Western and Christian governing principles and in order to avoid any bloodshed and property damages to the Malvinas inhabitants, we hope that you will act with prudence for the benefit and security of such inhabitants. That is our concern."
- 22 There were no dead or injured among the Royal Marines. On the Argentine side, Lieutenant Commander Pedro Giachino was killed and two men were injured in the clash at the Governor's residence.
- 23 "Edict N°1: The Commander of the Malvinas Theater of Operations hereby orders the following: 1) Anyone who disturbs the normal course of the operation and provision of a public service will be punished with up to 60 days imprisonment; 2) Anyone who disobeys the order to remain at his domicile whenever so indicated will be sanctioned with up to 15 days imprisonment; 3) Anyone who, being under the effects of alcohol,

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come in rapid succession, in Spanish at first, and then in a strange, quite unnatural sort of English". ²⁴

By then, the UT 40.1.9, had already taken possession of its concrete objectives which were the radio station, the telephone exchange and the drinking water plant, which must be

causes any alteration of the public order or harasses the military authorities will be sanctioned with 7 days imprisonment; 4) Anyone who makes inconsiderate actions of gestures against the military forces will be punished with 30 days imprisonment; 5) Anyone showing an irreverent behavior in front of the national symbols will be punished with 60 days imprisonment; 6) Anyone who assumes attitudes which disturb normal coexistence or the public order and tranquility will be punished with up to 180 days imprisonment; 7) Anyone who without a justifiable reason provides inaccurate information about events or attitudes attributable to military personnel, which damage their image or cause undue alarm to any third parties will be sanctioned with 60 days imprisonment; 8) Those military authorities which verify the commission of the above-mentioned acts will proceed to detain any person or persons responsible therefor, and will send them to the respective police station together with a detailed report by command. The undersigned will determine the sanctions to be imposed and will issue the relevant communications; 9) In case of recurrence in the commission of any of the infringements detailed herein, the sanctions will be duplicated. If the offenders are under 18 years of age, the appearance of their parents at the police station will be required for them to be conveniently admonished, after which they will be released from detention; 10) Anyone who commits acts or whose behavior is contemplated by the Argentine Criminal Code, will be subject to the relevant provisions contained therein."

"Communiqué Number 1: The Commander of the Malvinas Theater of Operations, in compliance with the mission entrusted by the Argentine government, hereby materializes the historical continuity of the Argentine sovereignty on the Malvinas Islands. At this moment so significant for all of us, it is an honor for me to greet the population of Malvinas and invite them to cooperate with the new authorities by complying with the instructions to be issued through oral and written communiqués, for the purpose of facilitating the normal life of the population. Signed by: Osvaldo Jorge García, lieutenant general, Commander of the Malvinas Theater of Operations".

"Communiqué Number 2: Change of Authorities: As of now, the British Government's colonial and military authorities are effectively removed from their positions and will be sent back to their country together with their families and personal effects. As a consequence, it is hereby announced that lieutenant general Osvaldo Jorge García assumes the Government of the Malvinas, South Georgias and South Sandwich Islands".

"Communiqué Number 3: Instructions to the Population: As a consequence of the actions carried out and in order to ensure the security of the population, all persons shall remain in their homes until further notice. New instructions will be issued. The population must take into account in order to ensure compliance with these instructions that the military troops will arrest any persons found outside of their homes. In order to avoid any problems or personal inconveniences, all persons must comply with the following: First: If a serious problem arises and a person wishes to report it to the authorities, such person must place a piece of white cloth on the street door. The military patrols will visit the house to be informed and provide a solution. Second: All schools, business concerns, groceries, banks, pubs and clubs will remain closed until further notice. Third: Any infringement will be considered as described in edict number one. Fourth: Any additional instruction will be announced to the population through the local radio station which will remain permanently in operation".

"Communiqué Number 4: Guarantees: The Governor of the Malvinas, South Georgias and South Sandwich Islands notifies the population that in full compliance with the principles established in the National Constitution, and according to the tradition and uses of the Argentine people, it hereby guarantees: First: the continuity of the way of life of the local population; the freedom of religion; respect for private property; freedom to work; freedom to leave or remain on the islands; improvement of the population's living standards; normal supply; medical attention; normal operation of the public services. The population is also invited to continue with their normal activities with the support of the Argentine government, in an environment of peace and harmony".

maintained in operation. 25

Meanwhile, over at the continent, the Argentine population woke up to the surprise of the military operation, and the first demonstrations of joy for the Malvinas recovery began to take place. At midmorning, the President gave a speech to inform about the reasons which supported the decision to carry out the operation and the spirit which guided the troops in relation to the islands' population. ²⁶

At the Malvinas' capital, which a few days later would change its name from "Port Stanley to "Puerto Argentino", the population was slowly getting out of their houses to take a look at the Argentine forces.

The peace and tranquility of the population had been suddenly shaken. "Everywhere there are now armed men. Dozens of vehicles. Even the air smells different, with exhaust fumes and the somke of foreign cigarettes. The town has been raped brutally and without warning, leaving everyone in a deep state of shock. It's going to be a long time before the awful reality of what has happened links in with some people. Many are utterly confused by this sudden transition from tranquility to military occupation, Still, we must be thankful that we are still alive". ²⁷

"The Union Jack, the Falklands Islands Government, along with everything of which we were so proud an hour ago, have now been heaved out of the window. When the new government says jump we have to jump – but not too quickly". ²⁸

Once the recovery operation was completed, ²⁹ there came the issue of Decree 681 dated 3 April, by the Territory of the Malvinas, South Georgias and South Sandwich Islands now constituted a Military "*Gobernación*" as of 00:00 hours of that day (Article 1) and General Mario Benjamín Menéndez was appointed as Military Governor, dependent on the Military Committee, to exercise all military and civil powers in the jurisdiction (Article 3). (see Annex 3).

5. Change of Scenario for the Military Operation

The military operation for recovery of the islands complied with the premises set forth by the DENAC, and it was now left in the hands of diplomacy the task of consolidating the recovery in the eyes of the international organizations and the world opinion. In this connection, "a limited engagement would not require major forces, while Argentina's existing capability was considered sufficient to engage in a fait accompli operation; the final outcome of which

²⁵ Büsser, Carlos A.; op.cit., page 325.

²⁶ Privitello, Luciano de, and Romero, Luis Alberto, "Grandes Discursos de la Historia Argentina", page 392 : "The Argentine position does not involve aggression of any type for the present inhabitants of the islands, whose rights and way of life will be respected with the same generosity as were those of the peoples freed in the course of our liberating expeditions, ... Our forces will only act to the extent that this is strictly necessary. They will not disturb in any way the life of the inhabitants and, on the contrary, will protect the institutions and persons coexisting with us, although they will not tolerate any misbehavior, be it on the islands or in the continent ..."

²⁷ Smith, John; "74 Days – An Islander's Diary of the Falklands Occupation", page 38.

²⁸ Smith, John, ob. cit, page 28

²⁹ On 3 April the operation for the recovery of the South Georgia was completed.

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would be determined through the political process". 30

The task of General Menéndez would be to "Exercise the Military Government so as to generate a favorable attitude of its inhabitants towards the Argentine Republic and permit their smooth and gradual integration to the Argentine population". To this effect, the following was decided: "The Military Government will perform activities oriented to bring immediate tranquility to the population, ensure public order and the provision of public and justice administration services, thus guaranteeing the rights that the Argentine Constitution assures to all inhabitants of the National Territory. It will ensure the supply of all necessary provisions for the population and the normalization of all activities. It will expatriate all British officials and any possible troublemakers, avoiding at all cost any events and circumstances which might affect the image of the Argentine Republic abroad".

The British, however, based on the provisions of U.N. Security Council Resolution 502, which demanded the immediate cessation of hostilities and the withdrawal of all Argentine forces, sent off a naval Task Force on 5 April to recover the Islands, and this forced the Argentines to reconsider the situation on the islands and make preparations for their military defense.

Meanwhile, on that same day the Military Junta issued Communiqué N° 15, in an attempt to consolidate the recovery by announcing the first measures to be adopted by the Military Governor, who was on the Islands since 4 April accompanied by his team of assistants. ³¹

Their activities unofficially started the next day, when the Government's Treasury (which played the role of a local Bank) was opend to the public in order to facilitate the normal business activities and the life of the population. The Governor took a helicopter flight to get a personal view of the islands' geography while other members of the Military Government and officials from the National Government were getting acquainted with their respective areas, trying to test on the ground if the proposed measures were likely to succeed or it would be necessary to study new ones.

In those initial days of activity, the Governor got in touch with the most important perso-

³⁰ Paul, T.V., ob.cit; page157.

³¹ Communiqué N°15 of the Military Junta: "The Military Junta, in order to maintain and consolidate what was achieved, and for the tranquility of the whole nation, hereby communicates the following:

^{2.} All measures to be applied by the Malvinas military government will tend to bring tranquility to the population, ensure public order, maintain the public services and the administration of justice and guarantee the rights of all of its inhabitants.

^{1.} The commitments assumed by the Argentine Republic with the inhabitants of the Malvinas during the long period of diplomatic negotiations with Britain will be respected.

^{3.} Efforts will be made to improve the living standards of the population by:

a. Preserving and increasing the sources of labor as a result on an increase in the commercial interchange.

b. Improving the facilities of supply from the continent.

c. Providing new services such as:

 ¹⁾ Banks

⁻²⁾ Post office operating on a permanent basis

⁻³⁾ Television and radio

⁻⁴⁾ Better medical services

^{4.} No change will be made in the present sanitary restrictions on the imports of food and animals.

^{5.} Permanent efforts will be made to respect and preserve the population's way of life.

nalities of the community, mainly for the purpose of reassuring them of his spirit of respect and his desire to cause the least possible alteration in their living conditions ³² and to try to improve them in the future, for which he asked them to cooperate and transmit the message to the rest of the islanders.

The Governor's takeover ceremony took place in the afternoon of 7 April at the Town Hall, and the military government of the islands was thus formally established. The ceremony was attended by national and military authorities, and by personalities from political parties, labor entities and cultural institutions who were brought in by plane from the continent. "The kelpers, even if they were invited, ignored the ceremony". ³³

The celebration was ascetic and at the end of it a message from Governor Menéndez to the inhabitants was transmitted by LRA 60 Radio Malvinas and then retransmitted over the national radio network. ³⁴

6. ACTIONS OF THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT

From 7 April onwards, the Governor oriented his work in pursuit of the initial objectives in spite of the adverse circumstances which surrounded the diplomatic and military situation. The Governor was to be assisted by Secretaries for the different areas, each with up to two undersecretaries, and all of them would constitute the Territorial Cabinet according to Decree N° 5 issued by General Menéndez, whereas their appointment for such positions was made by Decree N° 6, both instruments dated at Puerto Argentino on 10 May 1982, with retroactive effect as of 7 April. ³⁵ (see Annexes 4 and 5).

A previous groundwork by the cabinet team determined a series of objectives to be achie-

- 32 "It was difficult to explain the initial decision of general García, commander of the Occupation Forces on April the 2nd, to change the direction of traffic circulation from the left hand (in force in Britain) to the right hand (applied in Argentina and in most of the world), an event which even today is mentioned as a contradiction of the Argentine behavior, even if it was explained that the decision was necessary to avoid serious accidents caused by the drivers of military vehicles who were used to circulate on the right, whereas the islanders had a smaller number of vehicles could be expected to be more careful (big arrows were also painted on the pavement to clearly indicate the direction of circulation, and in the end no accidents occurred)"; General Mario B. Menéndez, interview with the Author.
- 33 Brigadier Carlos Bloomer Reeve, Secretary General of the Military Government, in Palazzi, op.cit. page 91
- 34 "I wish to categorically assure you that we have not come as conquerors to seize your property or to consider you as our prisoners or vassals. On the contrary, I wish to reaffirm that, as permanently pointed out in our talks maintained since 1967, we are prepared to respect as much as possible the present way of life of the islanders. ... Of course and as from now we consider you all as inhabitants of the Argentine Republic with the same rights granted by our Constitution and detailed in its articles 14 and 14 bis, such as: to work and exercise any licit industry; to navigate and trade; to make petitions to the authorities; to freely enter, remain, circulate and leave the Argentine territory; to publish their ideas on the press without previous censorship; to use and dispose of your property; to associate for any useful purposes; to freely profess your religion; to reach and learm. ..."
- 35 "Article 1: To appoint sea captain Barry Melbourne Hussey as Secretary of Education, Social Action and Public Health; colonel Manuel Ramón Borrego as Secretary of Public Works; colonel Oscar Rodolfo Chinni as Secretary of Economy and Finance; commodore Carlos Felipe Bloomer Reeve as Secretary General of Government; colonel Francisco Eduardo Machinandiarena as Secretary of Communications; and vice-commodore Eugenio Javier Miari as Secretary of Justice. Article 2. To appoint lieutenant commander auditor Leopoldo Sergio Vinelli as Undersecretary of Justice; major Juan Carlos Hidalgo as Undersecretary of Economy; and lieutenant commander accountant Rodolfo Valentín Angelo as Undersecretary of Finance."

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ved. Such objectives would constitute some sort of an initial Government Plan aimed at a rapid improvement of the islanders' living conditions. ³⁶

One of the first government actions on 13 April 1982 at 19:00 hours was the official inauguration at Puerto Argentino of the islands' first television channel, LU78 Canal 7 Islas Malvinas. The channel transmitted on a daily basis from 19:00 to 21:00 hours in Spaanish and English. Some 70/80 TV sets were sold in installments, and the programs tried to promote cultural integration.

The decision had an initially negative impact on the islanders: "How strange it seems to have television here in Stanley. We watched the news this evening. What a load of old rubbish it was again, cooked up by the Argentines for our benefit." ³⁷ (Later on the transmissions proved to be very useful in order to entertain the people (especially the children) who sought refuge in the bomb shelters especially during the bursts of gunfire from the British naval artillery which caused great tension and unrest among the civil population).

The instructions received for government action were always taken into consideration, but in due course such action started to be gradually influenced by the operational needs. On the other hand, the measures taken by both sides exerted a conditioning influence upon each other, thus making it necessary to carefully weigh them to ensure an appropriate balance, especially considering the security requirements and the particular characteristics of the situation prevailing on the islands and its international repecussions as regards the image and positions of the country in the conflict.

It was thus necessary, for example, to exercise great discretion and coordinate with the national authorities the departure and transportation via the Argentine mainland of British and other countries' citizens who, due to their having held positions in the colonial administration or private reasons, had to be sent back to Britain or to their countries of origin. On certain occasions, it was even necessary to solve their documentation or monetary problems.

It was also necessary on another occasion to relocate some 14 people elsewhere on the islands (by sending them by helicopter to Fox Bay) because their attitude or movements ma-

The objectives were: To replace the Legislative Council and the Executive Council by persons with balanced opinions as regards those prevailing up to that date, characterized by an anti-Argentine position; to ensure the continuity of education with the introduction of minimal changes related to the knowledge of the Spanish language and the Argentine history and geography; to facilitate the departure of those inhabitants who wished to leave the islands; to adjust the functioning of the administration of justice and other legal issues according to the codes in force on the islands and in Argentina, considering each case in particular; to harmonize the use of the Malvinas pound, the pound sterling and the Argentine peso with a view to eventually institute the latter as the only legal currency; to promote the replacement of the FIC (Falkland Islands Co.), a monopolistic company, by other national or local companies; to incorporate to the islands' economy elements that would be beneficial for the population, such as a bank branch, credits, purchase of discarded sheep to be slaughtered at Patagonian packing houses, etc.; to improve pasture on the islands with the cooperation of the INTA (Argentine Institute of Agricultural Technology); to start studies to exploit the local natural resources and install related industries, so as to increase the number of labor posts and stimulate the settlement of new inhabitants; to ensure the normal provision of public services such as drinking water, electricity, garbage collection, etc. and to increase public works; to ensure the normal operation of mail and telecommunication services as much as possible according to the local conditions; to maintain the internal supply services on the islands, ensuring an appropriate level of such services for the population. In Aguiar, op.cit. page 90.

³⁷ Smith, John, op.cit., page 110.

de them dangerous due to their possible influence, especially upon the young.

In the meantime, and as a preventive measure in case of a failure in the diplomatic negotiations, a series of security precautions had to be adopted, above all in respect of the civil population, in the event of British air raids or naval gunfire attacks.

To this effect, a population census was organized in Puerto Argentino and other locations, a series of bomb shelters were prepared and tested, and lists were made with the names of persons who would be destined for each of such shelters. A curfew was established and patrolling teams were implemented. Fire squads were created (most of the private buildings were totally or partially made of wood), doctors were replaced and civil hospital facilities were increased.

Until 30 April, in the context of an evolution that was slightly positive in the beginning, and in view of the occupation and the diplomatic talks that were under way, the islanders maintained an attitude of resignation and even expectation, some of them showing a good disposition to cooperate and participate in activities with the government or in support of the troops, but above all there was compliance with the normal course of activities and a sense of respect. This picture began to evolve negatively with the confirmation that the Task Force was approaching the islands. As an exception to the rule stands out the attitude of the (British) teachers, who refused to go on with their classes considering that this would be a "collaborationist" behavior, after which they were sent back to their country of origin.

With the passing of time, the government activities were increasingly limited to purely administrative aspects, even if it is very important to point out that the essential public services were maintained up to the last days of operations, thanks to the efficient cooperation of local workers.

Among the main concrete actions of the Military Government in the different areas, the following can be mentioned:

- a) the adoption of special measures to avoid affecting the supplies for the population, including a ban which prevented the troops from buying goods (in particular food and cigarettes) in the local shops, except with special authorization;
- b) all necessary services and elements (materials, houses, vehicles, manpower), were acquired, accepted and paid at the local prices (see Annex 6), and strict orders were issued requiring respect for the property and people (there was a prohibition to go to Puerto Argentino without an express order or authorization, and the troops were organized in fractions under the orders of officers or warrant officers, any infringement being controlled and severely punished. Whenever a requisition was necessary, all legal formalities and requirements were supervised by the Secretary of Justice;
- c) The Military Police conducted control operations and investigated claims to prevent attacks against houses abandoned by their owners or against the population in general. Such investigation sometimes led to the recovery of property which was returned to their owners, or resulted in claims that were evaluated and, wherever applicable, received economic compensations (in certain cases, when those responsible for such attacks could be identified, they were subject to War Councils whose pronouncements were confirmed by the Military Government (see Annex 7);
- d) Air means were allocated or their use was coordinated with military missions (whenever

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feasible) in order to carry out evacuations or internal movements of people, doctors, medicines, correspondence or certain critical goods;

- e) As far as Public Works and Services are concerned, the operation of the drinking water plant and the power plant was conducted by their own employees or workers discreetly supervised by Argentine Army engineers, and continued up to the end with the repair of lines and pipes even amid combat and gunfire situations which involved great risks. Work teams were organized in order to repair damaged houses and buildings, a sweeping machine was put into operation to clean the streets, and a vehicle was adapted for the collection of garbage which was then burnt or buried for sanitary reasons. A military cemetery was also built close to the civil one that existed in Puerto Argentino and showers were installed for the daily use of some 700/800 members of the argentine forces, equipped with a system for the extraction and worming-up of sea water so as to avoid affecting the supply of drinking water;
- f) As regards Education, despite the departure of all British teaching personnel (approximately 90% of the teachers), a limited level of activity was maintained with the help of local teachers who offered classes in different households to small groups of children, while typing classes were given in parochial installations of the Catholic Church.
- g) In the field of Public Health, the existing system was based on a public hospital of good capacity which operated in Puerto Argentino under the direction of a British doctor with personnel of the same origin and few local nurses, all of whom received support from Argentina in cases of greater complexity. For those health centers located in the interior a radio communication network was operated, including a system to provide diagnosis and even medicines that were supplied free of charge and transported by air. The system was maintained but the Director of the Hospital (a reserve officer of the British Army) had to be discharged due to his hostile attitude and replaced by an Argentine doctor. The health service provided by radio-telephone continued to operate and efforts were made to maintain the supply of medicines to rural areas. In some cases of serious illness which required surgical or other treatment, the patients were brought by plane to Puerto Argentino, even during the war operation.
- h) As regards mail and telecommunications, all services remained in operation. The local telephone service functioned without interruption and the local operators were maintained at first under the supervision of Argentine personnel, but were later replaced by bilingual personnel as of 10/15 May. The local Cable & Wireless international telecommunications office was occupied from the start by military personnel and provided service to the Argentine troops and civilians under permanent control and supervision by bilingual military personnel, including a radioteletype connection which maintained a controlled communication channel with London. Even if the health service provided by radiotelephone remained in operation at all times for humanitary reasons, it was placed under strict control with a pre-established timetable. Given the possibility of misuse of such equipment, a census of radio hams was implemented, but some time later, for security reasons, such operators were forced to hand over their equipment under receipt, and a special sector was created to this effect at the General Warehouse of Puerto Argentino, to be operated by a local officer. In some far away locations the order was to dismantle all antenas, a decision whose compliance was controlled by military patrols with the use of

helicopters.

- i) The post office operated under an Argentine chief with the help of local personnel, and provided an efficient service until 14 June, but limited to the delivery and reception of mail to be transported by Argentine Air Force planes which, due to the natural difficulties and operational requirements, only destined a limited space for the mailbags.
- j) The handling of economic and financial matters was characterized by a series of initial difficulties given the need to harmonize the circulation of the Malvinas pound (of exclusively local use), with that of the pound sterling, the Argentine peso and even the U.S. dollar. An initial cash proof was implemented, including a verification and analysis of the existing securities and documents, during which the Secretary and his Assistant were maintained in their positions; the next steps were a coordinated effort by the Secretary of Finance and his Argentine assistants to control on a daily basis the evolution of the Treasury with regular cash proof exercises, together with a very careful and adjusted management of the funds allocated by the National Government, which permitted a smooth handover at the end of the operations. All in all, in the course of two and a half months the following operations were completed: the payment of fifty-one real estate leases (for houses, and other installations), thirty-five vehicle rentals, five hundred purchases of different consumer goods, three hundred and fifty purchases of fuel and lubricants, fifteen cases of lodging and food expenses (due to visits of Argentine persons or other personnel coming to the islands but not related to operational elements), twenty-five payments of indemnification (there were at least another thirty cases under study or pending consideration as at 14 June), and payments for salaries and overtime made to personnel from different areas of the government. 38
- k) As far as the legal aspects are concerned, efforts were made to maintain the existing judicial, notarial and registration structure, replacing only those legal bodies which, due to their dependence with respect to Great Britain, were absolutely irreconcilable with an Argentine administration, and the local residents were given, as far as possible, the option to demand the application of the previous or the Argentine laws as might be more convenient to their interests. Furthermore, the Military Government issued two edicts and thirteen decrees about such aspects as organization of the government and appointment of its members, appointment of the chief of police and of doctors for the hospital, creation of the military cemetery, management of the air services, payment of indemnifications, etc.

A Civil and Personal Capacity Registry was created, headed by a Director General, for the registration of all acts and events related to the civil status and capacity of people. Religious freedom was respected, the population was not obligated to swear allegiance to Argentina, respect was instituted for the personal convictions and working conditions of the people. No collective penalties were applied, there were only a few counterclaims, and detentions were implemented in some cases under benign conditions.

These measured were instituted with total normality between the government and the is-

³⁸ At the end of the Operations it was possible to save the Military Government's Treasury and documentation, which was shipped on board of hospital ship BAHÍA PARAÍSO, but the local currency and the pounds sterling were left in Mr. Rowland's hands. The whole government action was later approved by Argentine Court of Accounts, after an examination of the relevant books and documentation. UNO.

landers, a fact that was acknowledged by the latter. "Where there were private houses known to be unoccupied the military offered to lease and in some cases this was done and correct procedures carried out". ³⁹

In view of the limitations in the supply of foodstuffs, caused by the British blockade around the islands, it was necessary to go to the countryside in order to purchase sheep, which was always done under very convenient conditions for the farmers. "Dick Hills, from the Moody Valley Farm, was the first to sell 400 heads to the army, 20% above the market price that was current at the time". 40

In view of the risk of infiltration of special British troops into the islands, the Argentines used their best efforts to prevent such forces from mixing up with the local population. It was thus announced that all men aged between 16 and 65 must carry identification cards. These were small pre-printed white cards with blank spaces to be filled with the photograph, age, particulars, languages spoken and place of birth. A group of officers visited the houses to make a list of all men and write up the cards. As the photographs were never taken, the cards would be of very little use in the detection of infiltrators from the special forces.

7. The course of hostilities

By mid-April, the government and the military command became aware that the situation was getting increasingly serious, as the enemy announced the implementation of an exclusion zone to totally isolate the archipelago. This made it imperative to take all necessary steps to face an armed conflict situation.

On 20 April, an announcement was made to the civil population. "All houses in Stanley are to be blacked out in case of air raids. All citizens are advised to put out the lights and get under the table if one happens. We were also instructed that all vehicle lights are to be masked out, leaving only a 2-in wide strip through which the light can shine. The speed limit is to be 20 km per hour. During an air raid everyone is to be off the street except the FIRE Brigade. This seems to be a move to alarm the population." ⁴¹ (see Annex 8).

Warlike actions on the islands began on 1 May with air raids and naval attacks mainly concentrated around the airport. In the evening of that day the Military Junta issued a communiqué to inform about the day's operations and its intention to guarantee the security and rights of all British citizens and English-speaking Argentines" on the islands. 42

"As from 1 May, the date of the first attack, an increasingly negative attitude was noticed among the local population and in some cases small groups of islanders were seen celebrating the British air raids, while others (a majority of them) expressed fears at the possibility of

³⁹ Strange, Ian; The Falklands Islands, page 258

⁴⁰ Foulkes, Haroldo, "74 Días alucinantes en Puerto Argentino", page 52

⁴¹ Smith, John, op.cit., page 82

⁴² Latin American Newsletter, page 52 COMMUNIQUÉ OF THE MILITARY JUNTA N°41:"In relation to events of public knowledge occurred in the Malvinas and according to Communiqué N° ... of the Military Junta, the Argentine Government reiterates that it guarantees the life, property and rights of the British and English-speaking Argentine citizens residing in the national territory and islands of the South Atlantic, and that it will repress with the full force of the Law any action against them, be it of a factual nature or an offense against their nationality, symbol or beliefs according to the provisions of the Argentine Law"

a direct attack on the town, in spite of the government's efforts to calm them down". 43

Although the announcements of British casualties had some soothing effect on the islanders given the uncertainty of the outcome, there were a few acts of sabotage and espionage attributable to them. "Les Harris, a senior electrician and his colleague Bob Gilbert began interfering with the Argentines' power supply as much as possible. They replaced standard fuses at the electricity transformers around Stanley with lower tolerance fuses, concentrating particularly on transformers serving the main concentrations of troops, the Government Secretariat, Government House and the Town Hall". ⁴⁴

The increase of warlike activities within the capital caused concern in the Government about a possible reaction of the population and about the effects of air and naval bombings, so additional precautions had to be taken, as reported by "La Gaceta Argentina", a newspaper issued on the islands and destined for the soldiers. ⁴⁵

At Puerto Argentino, the main concern of the Military Government and the kelpers' commission was to take an inventory of the houses of strongest construction, that is to say, those built in stone, concrete or brickwork. The exercise had alarming results: there were only 15 houses made of building materials; the rest were made of wood and metal plates. The Stanley Civil Defense Committee prepared and distributed a list of precautions to be taken into account in case of an air attack. ⁴⁶

⁴³ General Mario B. Menéndez, interview with the Author.

⁴⁴ Bound, Graham, op.cit., page 194

^{45 &}quot;La Gaceta Argentina – Año 1 – Nro.4", 17 May 1982 "MILITARY GOVERNMENT'S NOTICE: It is hereby brought to the knowledge of all military personnel stationed in this territory that all buildings, vehicles, consumer goods, etc., are the property of private persons and they are and must be protected by contracts entered into with their respective owners, who are paid with resources of the Argentine National State, for which reason there is not, and there must not be confiscation of any kind. Also paid with national funds are any and all damages caused to private persons a great majority of whom were born in these islands and are therefore our fellow countrymen."

[&]quot;Air-raid Precautions. It is most unlikely that the town of Stanley or its inhabitants Hill be affected by any potential hostilities. Nevertheless it is common sense to be prudent in times like these and the following information is presented for your guidance in the event of an air-raid warning being sounded.. The information in Appendix "A" is for those who wish to stay in their own homes. Those who would like to go to a place of shelter other than their own homes are requested to give their names to the person delivering this leaflet. When all names have been collected, shelter rations Hill be allocated. Further information is container in "Appendix "B". Appendix "A" - For those happy at home: a. If your house has a central lobby, use it as your shelter. b. Move furniture to outside of shelter area. c. Stick heavy paper to windows and panel glass using treacle/Syrup/jam. d. Cover doors with mattresses. e. Provide water container and simple high-energy rations (glucose, chocolates, biscuits). f. If possible fill the window embrasures with sandbags. g. Provide emergency toilet facilities (you may not be able to get to the WC) i.e. buckets, disinfectant, toilet paper. h. Provide mattresses to lie on + blankets and/or cushions. i. Provide radio for local station and spare batteries. j. Provide torch(es) and spare batteries and/or candles. k. Cut off any fuel supply to the house. l. Cut off water supply, drain tank. m. Provide books/toys/cards as required. n. FIRST AID. There is no need for elaborate first aid kits. In fact the most useful item to have at hand is a clean linen sheet which can be torn into strips if required for compression pads and bandages. If cuts are sustained, bind a pad of linen to the area and secure with plastic strips. Do not interfere with the wound or attempt to remove any material. Calm and reassure the injured person and obtain qualified assistance as soon as possible. Do not administer alcohol, food or drink, until medical advice has been taken. It should be understood that the above notes are not instructions, they are simple notes for your guidance to be acted on if you see fit. Finally, if possible contact the hospital as soon as you can alter assembly in your house to help them account for the population. APPENDIX "B" - Those going

Based on the inventory data, air-raid shelters were prepared as well as lists of the persons that would use each of them. A curfew was implemented, patrolling actions were planned, fire squads were organized, doctors were replaced and the capacity of the civil hospital was increased. (see Annex 8).

On their part, also the islanders took their own precautions: "We stowed down there containers of water, biscuits, blankets, pillows and candles. Also painted the DAP signs on the tour outside walls of the house, in bright red, as advised by the military government – no one seems to be entirely clear within their organization what exactly DAP stands for ⁴⁷ – so as an extra precaution painted "CIVIL DEFENCE" in big letters as well. The sign is a diagonal cross inside a circle, with the letters DAP along the top and a white background. This has mystified most of the troops, who haven't a clue what it's about. These senior officers don't seem to have told them of it. In fact, some troops viewed the painting operation on the various houses with great suspicion, apparently thinking that it indicated some sort of underground or subversive movement". ⁴⁸

The islanders made daily excursions to get their supplies and visit the shelters in order to keep themselves informed of the latest development. Hulda Stewart remembered that "The West Store, our most important grocery in Stanley, became the center of our lives. People went there sometimes to buy things, not because they really needed them, but because that was a meeting point. It was a place where one could give and receive information". ⁴⁹

"Since the invasion the BBC World Service had been broadcasting a nightly half hour "Calling the Falklands" by order of the Prime Minister. The presenter finished each program by saying "Remember Kelpers, keep your heads down, and your hearts up". He linked us all up when the invaders tried to cut us off and break us down." 50

Even if the Military Government's instructions and precautions demanded correctness in the treatment of the islanders and their property, the Geneva Convention never was appropriately distributed and published, and that was something unfortunate since a number of the principles included in the 1949 Geneva Agreements were supposed to be applied on the population of territories involved in an armed conflict.

The islanders tried to obtain a copy for it to serve them as a reference background in their demands to the Military Government. "Soon after the invasion Government solicitor Ray Checkley approached Dick Baker with a copy of the Geneva Conventions. He suggested that they might photocopy and distribute relevant pages so that Islanders would be aware of their rights". ⁵¹

"By devious means this was finally accomplished, but it was a nerve-racking undertaking

to a shelter station. Have bag packed ready containing: a. A flash containing water. b. A few simple rations (Chocolates, sweets, biscuits). c. Torch and pare batteries. d. Toilet paper/tissues. e. Amusement for children (books/toys). NB Carry a cushion and wear warm clothing. *En Smith, John; ob.cit,, pages. 94-96.*

⁴⁷ Author's Note: "DAP" means "Passive Air Defense".

⁴⁸ Smith, John, op.cit., page 93

⁴⁹ Hulda Stewart, a teacher from the Falklands, in Bilton, Michael & Kaminsky, Peter, "Hablando Claro", page 296.

⁵⁰ Chater, Tony; "The Falklands", page 148.

⁵¹ Bound, Graham, op.cit., page 79

and not until I walked out of the building with the copies rolled inside a magazine did I relax a little. Later, in the comparative safety of the house we typed the convention out and this was then duplicated elsewhere. But the papers were not used as it was decided that the text of the convention was far too complicated for people to understand". ⁵²

A Civil Affairs Special Order is issued on 5 May. The personnel involved take cognizance of their missions and receive the list of kelper citizens that will assist them in complying with it.

The Goose Green ⁵³ garrison had also been attacked on 1 May in a very precise operation, which forced the garrison to order the seizure of all radio electric, photo, audio, optical and other equipment by Air Force members on duty there, as it was suspected that the existence of such equipment might have been an element that helped to guide the air attack. The population was concentrated in the civic center for their own security.

In this connection, a few days later Governor Menéndez received a complaint about the treatment given to local people from Goose Green and Darwin, who had been locked up in a barrack and maintained there as prisoners (or hostages) by the Argentine forces, in what some described as a "black hole".

The situation originated in the language difficulties and the tension generated between troops and islanders during the concentration of people at the civic center were reflected in the remarks made by sub lieutenant Juan José Gómez Centurión, from Infantry Regiment 25: "Very hard scenes took place there because as we took them to the center the kelpers thought that we were going to kill them, and we had to convince them that it was just a security measure". ⁵⁴

Although Menéndez sent out an officer to verify the situation, on 5 May an act had been issued signed by the chief of the local unit, two military doctors and two islanders as witnesses, where it was clearly stated that the population would be concentrated at the community center to avoid the risk involved in the frequent British air raids against the area, where there was also an air base and a bomb had fallen near the town limits. The act also pointed out that the population had been submitted to a medical and sanitary check-up, of whose results detailed evidence was given, and that later on regular visits were made and medical attention continued to be provided.

Lieutenant Juan Carlos Adjigogovich, a doctor with Infantry Regiment 12, took part in the check-up: "We wrote down an act with the medical condition of all kelpers that were in the area, which was signed by us, by the general manager of the FIC and by a Chilean witness who was employed in the farm". ⁵⁵ Special attention was paid to the 30 children who were part of the population and measures were taken in particular to keep them well fed and facilitate their care by their own parents. Also at the request of some families some sectors of the lodging installations were given a certain degree of privacy.

Mr. McMullen, on the other hand, evoked as follows the conditions they had to endure for

⁵² Strange, Ian, op.cit, page 269

⁵³ Farming Town and Establishment inhabited by some 120 persons on Isla Soledad, which had a grass air field.

⁵⁴ Speranza, Graciela & Cittadini, Fernando, "Partes de Guerra – Malvinas 1982"; page 75

⁵⁵ Speranza, Graciela & Cittadini, Fernando, op.cit., page 38.

several weeks: "At the center the conditions were rather precarious. We were a hundred and fourteen in there, and there were only two toilets and two lavatories. There were no sleeping implements; all the people had to sleep lying on the floor. Each of us had a little surface to place the mattresses and blankets to sleep on. ... As it was a community center there was a pool table and the people played darts or cards or spent the day reading". ⁵⁶

In the morning of 12 May, medicines from the Puerto Argentino hospital were distributed to the population, and eventually some of the women were allowed to go out and cook the food for the rest of the people.

The town at Goose Green was under British attack on 28 May, and the Argentine garrison surrendered the next day. No residents were killed or injured in the fighting.

8. Final actions

After the landing operations and the first land clashes at Goose Green, the British were mobilized around the defensive area surrounding Puerto Argentino. "Somehow, every time we noticed that the population was under imminent risk, the zone was evacuated and the residents relocated in the town center, lodging them for the time being in the hotel or in private houses". ⁵⁷ As a preventive measure, a communiqué was issued urging the population to evacuate the houses located towards the western end of the town. ⁵⁸

On 11 June, at 0810 hours, a British helicopter ⁵⁹ attacked the area of Puerto Argentino with air-land missiles which were fired against the Town Hall, where a meeting of commanding officers, including the Governor, was presumed to be taking place. The first missile missed the building for a few meters and hit the roof of the Police Station. The second missile had a failure in its guiding cable and hit the ground a few meters away from Hospital Ship ARA "Bahía Paraíso" which was anchored in front of the town. Besides its own personnel and a number of injured troops, the ship carried on board a mission from the International Red Cross.

In the nights, the Royal Navy ships staged cannonade runs over the race track area, which started around 10:30 p.m. and ended at about 2 a.m. Primary targets were the ammunition depots installed in the area and surrounding houses, the Argentine Air Force headquarters, the residence of the Government's Secretary of Justice, and in the night from 11 to 12 June the attacks were aimed at the residence military government's senior officers. "Each cannonade normally comprised three shots and repeated itself over some other target every fifteen to thirty minutes. ... The shots were directed to our house but they missed their target by some seven meters and hit the house of education superintendence John Fowler, which was located

⁵⁶ June McMullen, an islander woman, in Milton & Kaminsky, op.cit., page 302.

⁵⁷ Brigadier Carlos Bloomer Reeve, in Palazzi, op.cit., page 97

Smith, John, op.cit., page 230. "By order of the Military Government all inhabitants living on the west side of the Monument Battle Hill have to leave their homes before 4 pm of today. The enemy's shelling make these houses unsafe and a serious risk to all who live there. The order is Mandatory and cannot be refused, Those who have no place to go in the City Hill have available as first place to go The Cathedral, The West Store, The Colony Club, and the Saint Mary's Church Annex. This order is issued as part of the responsibility of the Government to ensure the security of the Civilian population. Signed: The Military Government."

⁵⁹ Wessex HU5 (XT484) with AS.12 missiles from Flight "A" of the 845 Naval Air Squadron..

across a narrow street, instantly killing two people, one of them a minor, and seriously injuring a third person. The officers and soldiers from the residence crossed the street to assist the possible victims." ⁶⁰ Two civilians were killed and a third one who was injured died later in the hospital. They were the only civilians killed in the whole conflict. ⁶¹

As a result of these actions against Puerto Argentino, over at the continent the Military Junta issued a series of communiqués to delimit responsibilities as regards the effects on the civil population 62 63, and the Foreign Ministry complemented the move by presenting a note of protest through the Brazilian embassy, which determined the issuance of another communiqué. 64

In the meantime, the International Red Cross Delegation which had arrived at Puerto Argentino on board of hospital ship ARA Bahía Paraíso met with the population and visited a number of places of its own choice. The mission was authorized to talk freely with the islanders, and did so without receiving complaints about any serious incident or certifying any violation by the Argentine forces to the laws and customs of war or regarding the protection of civilians under such circumstances.

At the end of his visit, the Chief of the Red Cross mission expressed his approval and satisfaction to the Military Governor for all he had seen in a day and night of stay in Puerto Argentino, and both exchanged impressions about the best way to protect the population in case of a British attack on the town. They agreed on the convenience of concentrating the islanders in the Anglican church, as it was a building of good size and solidity which stood out of the rest and would be easily avoided as a target by the artillery, as it really happened afterwards.

On 14 June, after a series of harsh clashes on the hills that surrounded the capital, the Argentine garrison finally surrendered without any armed fighting having occurred inside the town between the Argentine and British forces.

"The shock, the nervousness and sadness were to continue for many days, but the conflict that had held us in suspense for weeks was over. We saw no celebrations, no cheering amongst those islanders in the town; just a sense of relief. ... Many people suddenly aged and I believe the conflict was to carry on in the minds of some for a long while after the surrender". 65

⁶⁰ Brigadier Carlos Bloomer Reeve, en Palazzi, op.cit. page 97.

⁶¹ Doreen Bowner; Sue Whitley; and Mary Goodwin.

⁶² Communiqué N° 149 of the Joint Staff, dated 11 June 1982. "The Malvinas Government has adopted all measures to ensure that the inhabitants will not experience, as far as possible, the consequences of another British attack like the one described".

⁶³ Communiqué N° 153 of the Joint Staff, dated 12 June 1982. "These citizens, British and islanders, killed and injured by the British shrapnel, are the same ones that the British government pretends to protect and in defense of whose interests it says to be waging this struggle for a land that it has usurped and therefore does not belong to it"

⁶⁴ Communiqué N° 155 of the Joint Staff dated 13 June 1982: "For all these reasons, the Argentine Government wishes to report these actions which constitute serious violations to the Geneva agreements and endanger the life and security of the civil population of Puerto Argentino, as well as that of the members of the International Red Cross who are in the town complying with a mission of strictly humanitarian character and with the knowledge and agreement of the British Government."

⁶⁵ Strange, Ian, op.cit., page289.

Since 12 June, lieutenant commander Rodolfo Angelo, the Undersecretary of Finance, had begun to prepare the documents and other effects that would be evacuated from the Military Government's Treasury. On 15 June, it was decided to take all documentation and the Argentine flag from the government's premises to the Yehuin towboat with a view to have them later transshipped to the ARA Bahía Paraíso, anchored as a hospital ship at Puerto Argentino. A total of 29 bundles were taken on board, of which 18 belonged to the Government.

At the end of the operations it was possible to save the Military Government's Treasury and documentation which had been taken to the hospital ship, but the local currency and the pounds sterling were left in the hands of Mr. Rowland. All the administrative acts were later on approved by the Argentine Accounting Court after an examination of the relevant books and documents, which were also considered by working commissions of the United Nations. ⁶⁶

"The spontaneous joy of the islanders after their liberation seemed to die down very quickly, which was quite understandable. Instead of the Argentine vehicles spilling mud on the streets you could now see those of the British". ⁶⁷

The news of the Argentine surrender was transmitted to the different garrisons in the interior of the islands. "At Fox Bay there was an oddly joyless little celebration between locals and their one-time captors. After surrendering to sailors from HMS Avenger, the garrison's defeated commanding officer and a colleague visited the Falklanders. Griselda Cockwell recalled the meeting: "The Major produced a bottle of champagne out of his jacket and said, "I told you we would drink champagne to the victory –and the victory is yours. Here is the champagne." We all had a glass of champagne; us, the Argentines and a Lieutenant-Commander from Avenger. The major made a very gracious little speech, admitting that it was our victory and we had done well. Then they left, and it was the last we saw them". 68

Life on the islands would no longer be the same for their inhabitants. "The costs of the change will be acceptable as compared to the benefits. It has already been said that "anyway, life would never be like in the past again", implying that any level of development would the be acceptable". ⁶⁹ "Of course, the Malvinas garrison will be a necessary event on the islands, even if one of considerable impact". ⁷⁰

That was how it was perceived by the islanders. "The Islands are indeed different now. I make no predictions about the future. The ten weeks of the occupation changed our streets, our homes and our environment". ⁷¹

9. Conclusions

Since the start of the Malvinas operations Argentina has not expressly recognized the application of the Geneva Convention, as that would imply accepting its condition as "occupant" of the Malvinas territory. The Argentine position was that the landings represented

^{66 37}th Period of Sessions of the UN General Assembly (November 1982).

⁶⁷ Hastings, Max & Jenkins, Simon, "The Battle for the Falklands", page 314.

⁶⁸ Bound, Graham, op.cit., page 213

⁶⁹ Shackleton Report, page 43

⁷⁰ Shackleton Report, page 43

⁷¹ Bagnall, Harry, op.cit., page 157.

a recovery of territory occupied by the United Kingdom. In spite of that, the humanitarian principles contained in the Convention and those which guided the planning of the landing and later deployment of troops on the islands were carefully observed and complied with by the Argentine *Gobernación Militar*.

"Acknowledgment of the status of occupant is the first and the most important initial indication that the occupant will respect the law of occupation. Such an acknowledgment is also likely to restrict the occupant's future actions and limit its claims regarding the ultimate status of that territory". 72 Argentina did not acknowledge a situation of territory "occupation" but one of "recovery" of "usurped" territory which was rapidly constituted as a new province.

As for the attitude of local population, the Argentine Army's Official Report on the Malvinas Conflict, assumes that it had its effects on the military operations. Thus, their nationality, idiosyncrasy, distribution and clearly anti-Argentine position permitted the following: "1) Availability by the enemy of a large number of information sources, expert guides, support, etc.; 2) Possibility, for the enemy, to infiltrate special forces among the population; 3) The need to use part of the forces in order to control the population; 4) The availability of radio electric equipment in the different rural farms permitted, in some cases, the transmission of information to different points of the island and to the fleet, thus providing the enemy with an intelligent, timely and updated information on the activities of the Argentine forces, in spite of the control operations implemented with the use of helicopters, which were reduced to a minimum as from 1 May due to the enemy's air raids; and 5) Support provided to the enemy with boats and small watercraft." ⁷³

Even if the Report acknowledges the islanders' contribution to the British victory, the Argentine forces maintained a strictly correct attitude towards the population. "In the period between 2 April and 14 June 1982, no inhabitant of the islands was the victim of criminal actions against their life, honor or integrity attributable to the armed forces. There were only infringements against the property which, even if they could not be avoided, they certainly did not go unpunished. Furthermore, all persons affected were indemnified, without prejudice to the investigation of the events and their consideration by military courts sitting at Puerto Argentino." ⁷⁴

The Argentine troops did not commit any acts of pillage, rape or abuse of whatever nature, in spite of the great concentration of soldiers in the area of Puerto Argentino. The population, men, women and children alike, moved around in total security and tranquility, even on the last days of struggle.

After the end of the war, there was an investigation in Argentina on the behavior of the Argentine leaders. As regards the actions of the Military Government on the islands, the so-called Rattenbach Report established as a failure in its "Conclusions about Actual Planning" that "a military was appointed as governor, instead of a civilian. This last alternative would

⁷² Benvenisti, Eyal, "The Law of Occupation", page 5.

⁷³ Argentine Army, Official Report, Volume 1, page 14

⁷⁴ Colonel Francisco E. Machinandiarena, Secretary of Communications of the Military Government, in Aguiar, F.R. colonel (coordinator), "Operaciones Terrestres en las Islas Malvinas", page 93

have been more acceptable in international terms (The Malvinas were part of the National Territory of Tierra del Fuego, the Antarctic and South Atlantic Islands). By appointing an active general as Military Governor instead of, for example, a civil delegate, the attitude was made less tolerant." ⁷⁵

With respect to the double function performed by General Menéndez, the Commission observed that "there was no clear determination of the Military Governor's dependence, powers and responsibilities concerning both his functions as Governor and as Military Commander of the Malvinas Garrison." ⁷⁶

"The problem for General Menéndez starts when the guidelines for his action were changed; he took charge of the government to fill a space and thus obtain a position relatively favorable to Buenos Aires in order to force London to discuss the sovereignty issue. That was what he had been prepared for." ⁷⁷

However, General Menéndez understood that his double condition as Military Governor and Commander of the Garrison "facilitated the study and adoption of balanced measures and ensured a better and easier adaptation of the commanding officers and the military personnel in general to the situation, most of the time achieving the required balance between the operational needs and the particular requirements in relation to the population, as was generally acknowledged by many islanders and, let me stress it once again, by the International Red Cross Mission which visited the islands in June." ⁷⁸

General Menéndez remembered that when the proposal to appoint him as Governor was first made to him, he expressed to General Galtieri his understanding that the recovery operation would involve a reaction by the British which would have an effect upon his future performance on the islands, and received the following answer: "Menéndez, you have been selected to be military governor of the Malvinas. The problems are attended to by the Military Junta with the Foreign Minister". ⁷⁹

In spite of the defeat, General Menéndez understood that the efforts and actions on the Military Government on the islands with respect to the population were consistent with the established objectives, and pointed out that "despite the short time span available for selecting the members of the military government and for their mutual acquaintance which was a basic requirement for a good teamwork, apart from a study of the environment where the future government would act, and of the guidelines and measures to be adopted, to which must be added the final addition of representatives from various national bodies and entities and, once on the Malvinas, the complications deriving from the context of the pre-war and war situation, our action was intense, intelligent, coordinated, efficient and always adjusted to the circumstances, respectful of the rights of the islanders and trying to offer them the greatest safeguards and the best possible living conditions, even under the most difficult

⁷⁵ Rattenbach Report, page 61

⁷⁶ Rattenbach Report, page 60

⁷⁷ Brigadier Carlos Bloomer Reeve, in Palazzi, op.cit. page 105.

⁷⁸ Gral. Mario B. Menéndez, interview with the Author.

⁷⁹ Gral. Mario B. Menéndez, interview with the Author.

circumstances." 80

"It is of particular importance to point out that up to the 14th of June none of the local resident were subject by members of the armed forces to any criminal actions against their life, honor or integrity, and no physical violence was exerted on them. There were a few infringements against their property which could not be avoided, as well as accidents mainly as a result of the existing warlike situation. But in no way were they consented or left unpunished. They were investigated and sanctioned whenever this was possible, and the damages were always indemnified". 81

"The enormous lack of proportion between the number of our troops and that of the civil population of Malvinas might have provided an opportunity for uncontrollable excesses. There were causes of nuisance for both parties, but they were of minor significance. It was almost a miracle that such a thing could have happened, as both sectors were mutual enemies, knew the horrors of war and were forced to a tense coexistence, the soldiers with their finger on the trigger, the kelpers with their repressed hatred for the invaders." ⁸²

As a final conclusion, and to put it in the words of the British enemy, "The Falklands War was probably the last war in which there were no atrocities, civilians were not deliberately targeted and was fought between two sides that generally had good commercial, sporting and historical links, and respected the Laws of Armed Conflict". 83

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⁸⁰ Gral. Mario B. Menéndez, interview with the Author.

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⁸² Foulkes, Haroldo, op.cit., page 147.

⁸³ Van Der Bijl, Nick, "Victory in the Falklands", page 228.

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The origins and effect of maritime insecurity on Somalia

THEAN POTGIETER

Introduction

The sea is an important trade highway as more than 80% of the international trade transit the oceans of the world, while around half of the daily international oil supply passes through a few straits, or choke points. It also provides us with rich natural resources, both in protein and in energy. When maritime security is lacking, it poses a significant threat to international shipping, while at the same time threatening the rich marine resources which could contribute much towards sustainable development.

The Horn of Africa is a choke point, as the internationally important and busy maritime trade routes around it link the Indian Ocean to the Suez Canal. Due to the dire security situation in Somalia and along its coast, maritime traffic is threatened and foreign warships patrol these waters. However, the lack of maritime security has a real impact on economic development, regional security, the humanitarian situation and stability of the entire region. Somalia is one of the cases where instability ashore has affected security in the maritime domain. Also, as the dire security situation in the maritime domain also threatens proper law and order, at sea and ashore; jeopardises the return to a normalised society; inhibits economic growth and development; has a negative effect on society and has dire consequences from a humanitarian point of view.

This paper is concerned with the origins and effect of maritime insecurity on Somalia. Following a few brusque remarks on the causes of the maritime security problems in the region, its effect as well as some responses will be discussed.

ORIGINS OF THE MARITIME SECURITY PROBLEMS

The Horn of Africa region as countries in the region was ravaged by conflict. Ethiopia experienced a civil war and was engaged in conflicts with Eritrea and Somalia. Sudan was torn apart by a civil war and Somalia was ravaged by clan warfare. The Cold War interests of the major powers initially added to the turbulence, but these conflicts soon became interrelated, with factions in various countries obtaining and providing support across national borders.

Djibouti, bordering Somalia, Ethiopia and Eritrea, is strategically located on the busy shipping lane through the Bab al Mandeb Strait (linking the Red Sea with the Gulf of Aden), and is as a transshipment location for imports and exports of the east African highlands. Djibouti has close ties with France and provides support facilities to the USA. Currently Combined Joint Task Force – Horn of Africa (CJTF-HOA, with more than 1800 US military personnel) operates from Djibouti.

Somali has been in disorder for the best part of two decades. President, Siad Barre, a former Major General and Deputy Commander of the Somali Army, took control of the country after a military coup in 1969. Barre declared Somalia a socialist state in 1970 and

nationalised much of the modern economy of Somalia, while soon afterwards (1974-75) a massive drought caused widespread starvation. Barre's support for uprisings by ethnic Somali's in Ethiopia's Ogaden region from mid 1977 onwards resulted in a devastating conflict with Ethiopia that lasted well into the 1980s (a peace accord was finally signed in 1988).

The Barre regime was notoriously repressive and from 1987 onwards the country was ravaged by internal conflict. Central authority soon disintegrated and by 1990 most of the country was a patchwork of contending fiefdoms, controlled by clan chiefs. After Barre's army was driven out of Mogadishu by the Militia of General Muhammed Farah "Aideed", he fled the country in January 1991.

As Somalia rapidly spiralled into anarchy and chaos with factional fighting and starvation, successive international intervention efforts failed.³ The first two (UNOSOM I and UNITAF) were small scale deployments, but in accordance with Security Council Resolution 814, UNOSOM II took over, with a mandate to establish a new government, police force, justice system and to rebuild the economy. UNOSOM II was a multinational force, consisting of 20 000 peacekeepers, 8000 logistical staff and 3000 civilians from 23 nations. As their mandate included peace enforcement, the militias would have to disarm.⁴ Aideed was seen as the principle obstacles to UNOSOM achieving its aims. A number of efforts to arrest or kill Aideed failed, and after the infamous "Black Hawk Down" incident, or the "Day of the Rangers" as the Somalis refer to it (October 1993), the US withdrew from Somalia by March 1994.⁵ Soon the other governments lost interest and the UN departed, leaving the warring factions to their own designs.

Various subsequent mediation efforts failed as many of the warring factions receiving external support (from Ethiopia, Eritrea, the Saudi Peninsula, etc) and fought for local autonomy. In the north, the breakaway region of Somaliland aspires to be recognised as a separate state, while Puntland have also declared itself as an autonomous region. In June 2006 the Union of Islamic Courts (UIC) seized Mogadishu and much of the south. However, at the end of 2006 forces loyal to the interim administration (a Transitional Federal Government created in 2004) seized control from the Islamists with the backing of Ethiopian troops, which caused a new surge in violence. After 17 years of violence and anarchy, Somalia is still without strong central government authority. It is one of the failed post-Cold War efforts at conflict resolution and the international community have become little more than bystanders.

With utter civil lawlessness, banditry, mass starvation, no organised government, and warlords fighting each other for the spoils, policing along Somalia's coast and harbours disappeared. Somalia was also hit by a series of natural disasters and droughts, causing the humanitarian situation to become extremely serious and millions of Somalis depends on humanitarian aid (of which 80% is delivered by sea).

M. Meredith, The State of Africa. A History of Fifty Years of Independence (Jonathan Ball, Johannesburg, 2005), p.469.

² G. Arnold, *Africa. A Modern History* (Atlantic, London, 2006), pp.660-3.

³ A. Oyebade and A. Olao, Africa after the Cold War. The Changing Perspectives on Security (Africa World Press, Trenton NJ, 1998), p.162.

⁴ M. Meredith, The State of Africa, p.478.

⁵ M. Meredith, *The State of Africa*, pp.482-3.

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The Somali Navy was established with coastal security as its purpose. It was equipped with four Soviet fast attack craft and smaller vessels. However, much of this equipment became unserviceable after the departure of Soviet military personnel in 1977 and since 1991 the Somali Navy no longer exists. Somalia no longer has national armed forces or a nationally effective police force, yet militia groups hold authority in various regions and some factions hire protection. Other countries in the region, notably Yemen, Kenya and Djibouti, operate small functioning navies. Despite lacking equipment and funds, the Yemeni Coastguard is active and conducts regular patrols. Much criticism has been labelled against them for atrocities they ostensibly committed to East African refugees.

In maritime security terms Somalia and the region have insufficient early warning and intelligence services and no maritime air surveillance and reconnaissance capability. Also, no credible indigenous maritime forces with sufficient mobility, flexibility and firepower necessary for sustainable operations and deterrence, exists. If one add the lack of coastguards, port security, policing, civilian maritime agencies as well as the fact that no single agency or coordinating body that cooperate on security issues within the region exists, it is understandable that maintaining maritime security is indeed a problem.

IMPACT OF THE LACK OF MARITIME SECURITY

Mainly due to the disintegration of central government authority in Somalia, the lack of maritime security in the region is a grave problem. This is one of the few cases in Africa where security problems on land have affected maritime security. Maritime insecurity impacts on all aspects relating to the use of the sea and effects the already dire situation ashore negatively.

With valuable cargoes traversing the Horn, the lack of maritime security has become an international concern. Not enforcing the law at sea, threatened maritime communications, stimulated piracy, damaged the marine environment, causes a lack of maritime sovereignty, while the cost in humanitarian and economic terms also became high.⁹

Lawlessness at Sea: Piracy

Piracy is a great concern. Contemporary piracy is a sophisticated and brutal enterprise that ranges from petty thieving with machetes and handguns to the well organised activities of criminal organisations. As other criminal undertakings, it threatens finance and commerce, but in the Horn of Africa region it goes beyond that – it also threatens peace and regional stability.

The pirates are almost always from Somalia, specifically as Somalia is not in a position to act against it, ensure proper policing and enforce government authority. The pirates are

^{6 &#}x27;Somalia Navy' in http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/somalia/navy.htm.

⁷ Somalia Security Information, March 2005, http://www.iss.co.za/AF/profiles/Somalia/SecInfo.html.

^{8 &#}x27;Yemen – Horn of Africa: 130 migrants die after coast guards open fire', *IRIN, humanitarian news and analysis*, UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, 14 November 2007 in http://www.irinnews.org/Report.aspx?ReportId=71614.

⁹ For a framework to use for the purpose of analysis see G. Till (ed), *Seapower at the Millennium* (Sutton, Stroud, 2001), pp.8-11.

after money, cargoes and ransom from the ship-owners (for themselves or the clan-based militias). Because of the extensive Somali coastline and the lack of strong government authority, combating piracy is difficult. It is hard to determine who the pirates are, as groups professing to fight piracy are actually engaged in it. Some organize themselves along military lines, awarding titles like admiral, vice-admiral etc.¹⁰ They are known by names such as "National Volunteer Coast Guard" (a group that intercepts small boats and fishing vessels in southern Somalia), while four of the major groups are called "Somali Marines". The most prominent pirate group is probably the "Somali Marines" based at Ceel Huur (250 miles north of Mogadishu). They have between 75 and 100 members and their arms include AK-47's, 12.7mm and 14.5mm heavy machine guns and rocket launchers.¹¹

The modus operandi of the pirates are usually as follows: To hijack ships close to the shore, pirates would lure them into an ambush with a false distress call or will attack ships directly with small and fast vessels, while assaults further away from the coast will take place from open boats, often supported by a "mother ship". After boarding a ship, the crew will quickly be rounded and they may even be taken ashore until a ransom is obtained, while smaller ships will be anchored along the coast, under the protection of a local militia. Besides hijackings more "traditional" pirate attacks and cargo theft have also taken place. Many attacks took place as ships sailed through the congested Bab el Mandeb Strait, or waited to anchor along the Djibouti coast. Specifically tankers carrying diesel and natural gas are important targets, while other ships (transporting vehicles, humanitarian food aid as well as cruise ships) have also been attacked.¹²

Maritime watchdogs meticulously record reported piracy incidents. Hijacking ships for ransom is the most common form of piracy in the region and the figure has risen dramatically over the last five years to a high of 31 in 2007 (18% of the international total), while attacks in the first quarter of 2008 were already 20% higher than the previous year.¹³ The recent increase in piracy is ascribed to the fact that coastal and port surveillance are virtually completely absent and the poverty and desperation of the Somali people.

The International Maritime Bureau has warned that if the international naval vessels operating around the Horn of Africa do not do more, for example to also intercept and apprehend suspicious craft, unrestrained piracy will continue.¹⁴ Though large, sophisticated and expensive warships are not required for suppressing piracy as smaller ship can do the work, the reality is that it is mostly the sophisticated naval vessels belonging to the international Combined Task Force 150 (CTF 150) that patrols the waters of the region. If a pirate incident occurs, any warship in its vicinity must act and naval vessels have managed to destroy

^{10 &#}x27;Waters That Prompt Fear From the Toughest of Sailors', New York Times, 3 July 2006, in http://www.nytimes.com/2006/07/03/world/africa/03somalia.html.

^{11 &#}x27;Piracy Plagues Somali Waters', *OXFAM*, 19 November 2007, in http://www.forbes.com/home/business/2007/11/16/somalia-piracy-africa-biz-cx_1119oxford.html.

^{12.} *Ibid*.

^{13 &#}x27;Reported piracy incidents rise sharply in 2007', Weekly Piracy Report, International Chamber of Commerce, Commercial Crime Services, http://icc-ccs.org/main/news.php?newsid=102, See also 'Captain: My "Heart Sank" When Pirates Attacked', CNN, 5 May 2008, in CHINFO News Clips, 6 May 2008.

^{14 &#}x27;Piracy Plagues Somali Waters', *OXFAM*, 19 November 2007, in http://www.forbes.com/home/business/2007/11/16/somalia-piracy-africa-biz-cx_1119oxford.html.

a number of suspected pirate vessels. For example, after the Indian registered *Al Bisarat* was captured and used by pirates as a mother ship, the American destroyer, *USS Winston S. Churchill*, tracked her down, forced the pirates to surrender and transferred them to Kenya for trial.¹⁵ In October 2007 two American warships sank two pirate vessels after answering a distress call from a hijacked Japanese tanker (apparently carrying benzene), while also in October, another American warship, the guided-missile destroyer *USS James E. Williams* came to the assistance of a North Korean freighter, the *Dai Hong Dan*. A helicopter from the destroyer investigated the *Dai Hong Dan* after receiving a message that she was hijacked and ordered the hijackers to surrender. The North Korean crew overpowered the pirates, killed two and captured five others. Three North Korean crewmen were seriously wounded and were taken aboard the American destroyer for treatment.¹⁶ The fight against piracy surely makes for strange bedfellows.

Early in 2008 a few prominent hijackings made international headlines. These include the hijacking for ransom of a Danish owned tug, *Svitzer Korsakov*, the French luxury passenger yacht, *Le Ponant* and the Spanish trawler, *Playa de Bakio*.¹⁷ The *Le Ponant* incident, however, offered some dramatic relief. *Le Ponant* (with 30 crewmembers onboard) was seized by Somali pirates on 4 April. French naval vessels shadowed the captured vessel and early in May, once the ransom (Euro 1,25 million) was paid and the safety of the crew guaranteed, elite French troops attacked the pirates, pursuing some even into the desert. Five fatalities were reported, while those captured were held by the French authorities.¹⁸ The time span between the hijacking of *Le Ponant* and paying the ransom was much quicker than with other recent hijackings, which could be ascribed to the rapid French military presence on the scene.¹⁹

Countries like France, USA, UK and Panama sought consent from the UN Security Council to allow states to "enter the territorial waters of Somalia for ... identifying and pursuing pirates ... deter, prevent and repress piracy ... board, search, and seize vessels ... suspected of piracy and apprehend persons engaged in such acts...". The Mogadishu government, weakened by war and instability, agreed to such a violation of its own sovereignty, adding

^{15 &#}x27;Waters That Prompt Fear from the Toughest of Sailors', New York Times, 3 July 2006, in http://www.nytimes.com/2006/07/03/world/africa/03somalia.html.

^{16 &#}x27;Navy helps foil Pirate attacks on Merchant Ships off East Africa', *Virginian-Pilot*, 31 October 2007, in CHINFO News Clips, 31 October 2007.

^{17 &#}x27;How Savage Pirates Reign On The World's High Seas', *The Observer*, 27 April 2008; 'Somali President Asks French for Troops, Naval Help', *Reuters*, 5 May 2008; 'Crew Of Spanish Ship Home After Hijacking Off Somalia', *Associated Press*, 30 April 2008; and 'Brute Force on the High Seas', *Der Tagesspiegel*, 25 April 2008.

^{&#}x27;Update Report No. 1 Somalia', Security Council Report, 2 May 2008, in http://www.securitycouncilreport. org/site/c.glKWLeMTIsG/b.4096805/#top; 'High-Tech Pirates Are No Romantic Figures', CNN, 30 April 2008, in CHINFO News Clips, 29 April 2008; 'Somali President Asks French for Troops, Naval Help', Reuters, 5 May 2008; and 'Brute Force on the High Seas', Der Tagesspiegel, 25 April 2008.

^{19 &#}x27;Le Ponant crew released', Weekly Piracy Report, International Chamber of Commerce, Commercial Crime Services, 14 April 2008, http://icc-ccs.org/main/news.php?newsid=108.

^{&#}x27;Update Report No. 1 Somalia', Security Council Report, 2 May 2008, in http://www.securitycouncilre-port.org/site/c.glKWLeMTIsG/b.4096805/#top; 'US, France Circulate UN Resolution To Battle Pirates' Associated Press, 28 April 2008.

that "these troops can also come ashore if necessary".²¹ At the beginning of June 2008, the Security Council unanimously approved a resolution allowing, with the consent of the Somalia's interim government, foreign warships to "enter the territorial waters of Somalia for the purpose of repressing acts of piracy and armed robbery at sea."²² States evidently wished for a clearer framework of international action. The Security Council action is significant, as it is using the force of international law to allow navies to chase pirates and armed robbers.

Lawlessness at Sea: Asymmetrical Threat

Within the context of the early 21st century, an asymmetrical threat and the risk of terror incidents at sea cannot be ruled out. This was initially clearly illustrated by two incidents, namely the hijacking of the Italian cruise liner *Achille Lauro* by members of the Palestine Liberation Front off Egypt in the Mediterranean (October 1985) and the attack on the *USS Cole* in Aden (12 October 2000). These incidents indicated that maritime terror can be real and states need to consider potential responses. Port security was emphasised after the *USS Cole* attack, but after "9/11", the focus quickly turned to air transport.

Soon afterwards, on 6 October 2002, the potential danger an asymmetric attack posed was dramatically illustrated when the 300 000 ton double-hulled French supertanker *Limburg* was rammed amidships by an explosive-laden dinghy a few miles offshore in the Gulf of Aden (off Yemen). She caught fire and much of the cargo (about 90 000 barrels of oil) spilled into the sea. Though Yemeni officials initially maintained the incident was an accident, Al Qaeda subsequently claimed responsibility for it. The attack immediately caused an increase in the oil price (it broke through the \$30-00 level) and Yemen lost millions in port revenues as international shipping decreased.²³

Of significance though is the fact that not even warships are exempted from possible harm and, vessels, perhaps even merchant vessels, can be used as weapons of war. Furthermore, it is obvious that a very effective way to disrupt the global economy is by attacking oil supplies, or supply routes. In this respect, shipping around Somalia and in the Gulf of Aden is specifically vulnerable and important.

Effect on the Marine Environment: Fishing

In the developing world environmental security, including the marine environment is essential for sustainable development. As populations are making ever-increasing demands on it in their efforts to provide for themselves, the links between the environment, scarce resources and conflict is apparent.

Internationally the maritime environment is severely threatened by the massive increase in commercial and illegal fishing, but in the developing world, where maritime policing is lacking, it threatens fishing grounds and subsistence fishing communities. The commercial

^{21 &#}x27;Somali President Asks French for Troops, Naval Help', *Reuters*, 5 May 2008; 'Brute Force on the High Seas', *Der Tagesspiegel*, 25 April 2008.

^{22 &#}x27;U.N. OK's Foreign Ships to Fight Somali Pirates', Associated Press, 2 June 2008, in Chinfo News Clips, 3 June 2008.

²³ G. Luft and A. Korin, 'Terrorism Goes to Sea', Foreign Affairs, November/December 2004; and 'Tanker attack fits bin Laden's economic war', Independent (London), 8 October 2002.

fish species to be found off the coast of Somalia attracts a growing number of poachers. In 2006 the "Somaliland Coastguard" captured nine Yemeni fishing boats (they were released shortly afterwards) as they claimed that up to 200 Yemeni boats illegally fish in their waters. ²⁴ Despite the high risk, Taiwanese and South Korean fishermen often poach lucrative yellow-fin tuna. Some vessels were captured by Somali "coastal patrols", like the South Korean *Dongwon-ho*, which was released after paying US\$800 000 (a "fine" to the Somali's and "ransom" to the South Koreans). ²⁵ Such incidents might be seen as piracy, but Somali sources claim they are just protecting their fishing resources.

Effect on the Marine Environment: Pollution

A real environmental concern is illegal waste dumping off the Somali coast. As Somalia is easy to reach and because of low public awareness, influential locals allowed an unknown quantity of toxic waste to be dumped in Somali waters (usually in exchange for foreign currency). This practice was clearly illustrated when, after the Asian tsunami, broken hazardous waste containers washed ashore in Somalia. According to the UN Environmental Programme, Somalia became a dumping ground for hazardous in the early 1990's. Organised crime in Italy was linked to it as European companies were offered the opportunity to dispose of waste at a much cheaper rate (as low as \$2.50 compared to \$250 a ton). ²⁶ It is uncertain if illegal waste dumping continues, but a UN report (dated February 2005) warned that it can have serious health implications as the type of waste might includes uranium and radioactive waste, leads, heavy metals like cadmium and mercury as well as industrial, hospital and chemical wastes. Due to the little available information about the extent of such dumping, the exact impact cannot be calculated. ²⁷

Due to the large quantity of oil that moves to Suez, the scourge of piracy, the asymmetrical threat and the regular attacks on fuel tankers, the risk of an accident at sea is high. As the attack on the *Limburg* incident indicates, real potential therefore exists for a major oil spill, which can result in pollution of coastal waters and an environmental fiasco.

Lack of Maritime Sovereignty

Countries require maritime sovereignty in order to benefit from the sea. The basic duty of a navy is to exercise maritime sovereignty, while coastguards add to order at sea and the ability of a country to maintain its sovereignty within its territorial waters. These are vital issues, specifically as states must protect their own maritime territory and citizens from threat.²⁸ However, it is a fundamental principle of international law that sovereignty must be

^{24 &#}x27;Stealing My Fish, Adding Insult to Economic Injury', Somaliland Net, 20 March 2006, in http://www.somalilandnet.com/somaliland_voice/articles/13371692.shtml.

^{25 &#}x27;The battle against illegal fishing off east Africa's coast', *The Economist*, 3 August 2006,

^{&#}x27;Waste Dumping off Somali Coast May Have Links to Mafia, Somali Warlords', Voice of America, 15 March 2005, in http://www.voanews.com/english/archive/2005-03/2005-03-15-voa34.cfm?CFID=2218338 98&CFTOKEN=44002112.

^{27 &#}x27;National Rapid Environmental Desk Assessment – Somalia', UN Environmental Programme, 2006, in http://www.unep.org/tsunami/reports/TSUNAMI_SOMALIA_LAYOUT.pdf and 'Somalia's degrading environment', EDC News, 2001, in http://www.edcnews.se/Reviews/Elmi2001.rtf.

²⁸ G. Till, Seapower. A Guide for the Twenty-First Century (Frank Cass, London, 2004) p.328.

exercised to be recognized and even in the case of weak states the mere existence of a minor capability is important as it could have vast political consequences even for powerful states if they would disregard such sovereignty.

Somali has no ability to protect and defend its maritime sovereignty and the inadequate ability to enforce central government authority ashore, is therefore also prevalent at sea. Other countries in the Horn of Africa region struggle to build up and maintain basic naval or coast guard forces and uphold harbour security.

Humanitarian effect: Food Aid

Conflicts in Africa usually cause much disruption to society. The humanitarian dimension of the ongoing conflict in Somalia is substantial and widespread. Pirate attacks have hindered humanitarian aid deliveries to the drought-plagued Horn of Africa region and it is particularly damaging to millions of Somalis who depend on international relief in times of crisis. Pirates have seized a number of WFP food shipments, including rice intended for the Somali victims of the Asian tsunami. By April 2006 the situation was urgent as almost two million Somalis were on the brink of famine, which was also fuelled by the worst droughts ever to hit East Africa. Recent statistics suggests that 70% of the population is undernourished and according to a WFP estimate, 300 000 to 400 000 people have fled Mogadishu between February and May 2007.

The food distribution programme has suffered greatly. Food distribution in Mogadishu was a problem due to local power struggles, and even senior government officials were involved in underhandedness.³⁰ Because of piracy, the WFP was forced to re-route much of its relief supplies overland, through Kenya to southern Somalia, at far greater cost.³¹ By May 2007 the WFP was emphatic that high-level international action is necessary to suppress piracy around Somalia as relief supplies to Somalia were under severe threat,³² and after a joint appeal by the WFP and the International Maritime Organization, France decided to escort food aid ships for a few months. On 16 November 2007 two ships of the WFP sailed from Mombassa to Mogadishu in the company of French corvette *Commandant Ducuing*. In April 2008 the Dutch frigate, *KNS Evertson*, commenced escorting vessels of the WFP.³³ These efforts effectively provided security for food aid delivery, but as even higher demands for food aid delivery will soon be placed on the WFP, it must be maintained in conjunction with other efforts to provide security in the maritime domain.

^{29 &#}x27;Piracy Plagues Somali Waters', *OXFAM*, 19 November 2007, in http://www.forbes.com/home/business/2007/11/16/somalia-piracy-africa-biz-cx_1119oxford.html.

^{30 &#}x27;Somalia Food Aid Stopped', in Islamic Focus, CiPS, University of Pretoria, Issue 13 November 2007

^{31 &#}x27;Somali Piracy A Menace To Aid Relief', *TerraDaily*, 20 April 2006, in http://www.terradaily.com/reports/Somali_Piracy_A_Menace_To_Aid_Relief.html

^{32 &#}x27;WFP urges high-level international action against Somali piracy', *World Food Programme*, 21 May 2007, in http://www.wfp.org/english/?ModuleID=137&Key=2486.

³³ Official French and Dutch sources; Radio Netherlands, 1 April 2008, in CHINFO News Clips, 3 April 2008; and 'Concerned at conditions in Somalia, Security Council urges end to violence', *UN News Centre*, 19 November 2007, in http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=24715&Cr=somalia&Cr1.

HUMANITARIAN EFFECT: SMUGGLING AND HUMAN TRAFFICKING

Due to the lack maritime security, smuggling in the region blossomed and illicit cargoes can include weapons, people and contraband.³⁴ The UN Monitoring Group has found that despite the arms embargo, a "continuous flow of arms into, within and out of Somalia" exists which is detrimental to regional stability. Arms are mostly smuggled by sea and by road, and it is lucrative business for those involved.³⁵ The lack of control has caused an extensive network of arms markets to arise in Somalia and all the countries of the region are either involved or their nationals participate in the smuggling. This therefore affects the whole region, which emphasises the need for regional and international action.

The UN Independent Expert on Human Rights in Somalia (UNIE) and humanitarian organisations has reported that human trafficking is rampant in Somalia. Though it is forbidden in accordance with Shari'a and customary law, no unified policing to interdict such practices and no authoritative legal system to prosecute traffickers existed. It is exactly this chaotic internal situation that has kept the full extend of it hidden. According to reports, militia forces are engaged in trafficking of women and children for sexual exploitation and forced labour, some go to the Middle East and Europe for forced labour or sexual exploitation, while child victims were reportedly also transported to Southern Africa for sexual exploitation.³⁶

Many Somali refugees and much of the human traffic cross the sea from Boosaaso (a bussy smuggling hub in north-east Somalia) to Yemen. Horrific stories of bodies floating around, people drowning after being forced at gunpoint to jump overboard by smugglers, or just being shot out of hand, abounds. In May 2006 the UN High Commissioner for Refugees reported that boats arriving in Yemen from Boosaaso amounted to around 30 a month, with hundreds, if not thousand of deaths.³⁷

Economic implications

The fact that the sea, its resources and the rich trade routes is historically important to the Horn of Africa region makes the economic impact of the maritime security problems self-evident. In most spheres of economic activity, Somalia is loosing wealth and income. Within the maritime environment this specifically impacts on the fishing industry, trade, import and export, as well as lost revenues, duties and taxes linked to harbours. Other countries are also losers as there is not a country in the region that does not claim vast damage to their marine resources as a result of illegal fishing. This can even amount to as much as more than a billion US Dollars per year as a result of illegal fishing, reef destruction and the depletion of many

^{34 &#}x27;Piracy and Maritime Crime (Horn of Africa)', *UKMTO Dubai Briefing*, UK Maritime Trade Operations, 21 September 2006.

³⁵ Report of the Monitoring Group on Somalia pursuant to resolution 1519 (2003), UN Security Council, S/2004.604, 11 August 2004, p.13.

^{36 &#}x27;Country Reports on Human Rights Practices – Somalia', US Department of State, 8 March 2006, in http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/hrrpt/2005/61592.htm. See also UNICEF, Analysis of the Situation of Sexual Exploitation of Children in the Eastern and Southern African Region, 2nd World Congress against Commercial Exploitation of Children.

^{37 &#}x27;Human trafficking: Greed and the trail of death', The Independent, 25 May 2006.

species.³⁸ Piracy is big business and it is well known that pirates often work closely together with organised crime syndicates that operates in commercial ports and provides them with the required information on merchant vessels and their cargoes. As such it boosts crime and does damage to the formal economy. Kenya for example has claimed that the cost of piracy has been substantial, to be calculated in billions of Kenyan Shilling.³⁹

Furthermore, due to the lack of maritime security around Somalia, countries in the region and even East African countries further to the south, looses much potential income from tourism. Hazardous waste dumping poses a serious threat to coastal tourism, while piracy inhibits leisure travel – everything from yachts, to chartered voyages and large ocean liners. After the pirate attack on the *Seabourn Spirit* off the coast of Somalia in November 2005, experts suggested that those on the ship and at the shipping line (Seabourn Cruise Lines and Carnival Cruise Lines) that assessed the security threats blundered and exposed the passengers and crew directly to danger. As a result much of the potential leisure shipping has kept well clear, while those that do venture in these waters are exposed to high potential threat as the *Le Ponant* in April 2008 indicated.

POTENTIAL RESPONSES

Maritime policing and navies alone cannot ensure maritime security. Responding to the situation is difficult as complex situations calls for complex solutions and potential responses are on a variety of levels. To begin with, much of the solution is ashore, in the establishment of proper law and order and port security. It requires the establishment of a proper, operating, civilian system of law and order as well as functioning policing ashore. This must be complemented by proper port security as ineffectual port security and surveillance contributes to incidents of piracy and smuggling. Improving port security can add to state revenue through taxes and tariffs and it could be one of the processes through which economic growth and human security can be enhanced.⁴¹ The UN Security Council and IMO have warned that "something needed to be done urgently in terms of maritime and port security ..." and even suggested that the "... issue of a caretaker maritime authority for Somalia can be revisited when the security situation in Somalia improves." It is evident that various agencies, bodies and states, would have to work together to improve maritime safety and security, harbour security and environmental care.

Lack of law and order at sea contributes towards making things worse ashore, specifically as organisations engaged in transnational crime, such as human trafficking and drug smug-

³⁸ These estimated losses are ascribed to countries further south (Mozambique and Tanzania), 'Africa Command Gives Top Priority To Aggressive Maritime Security', *American Forces Information Service*, 24 October 2007, CHINFO News Clips, 24 October 2007.

^{39 &#}x27;Multi-national force deployed to combat piracy off East African coast', *Biblioline Basic*, in http://www.eastandard.net.

⁴⁰ K. von Hoesslin, 'A Medal for Gallantry, Impending Negligence Lawsuit, and a Boatload full of Speculation: The elusive Seabourn Spirit Affair', in *Protocol Strategic Insights*, No 8, June 2007.

⁴¹ R. Gilpin, 'Enhancing Maritime Security in the Gulf of Guinea', *Strategic Insights*, Vol VI, Issue 1, January 2007, p.5.

⁴² Report of the Monitoring Group on Somalia pursuant to resolution 1519 (2003), UN Security Council, S/2004.604, 11 August 2004, p.29.

gling, poses a threat to proper state authority and undermines the rule of law and security. The unique challenge is therefore to create order ashore and at sea and a considerable portion of the response is at sea. Often the mere presence of a navy, coastguard or civilian policing agency does much to enhance maritime security.

Naval forces and coast guards can contribute much as they can assist with maintaining good order at sea. Naval forces have a unique advantage over armies and air forces in the sense that they do not necessarily appear menacing, but because of their ability to use force, they can quickly switch from being an innocent bystander to being a belligerent. Navies can easily perform diplomatic tasks or be coercive diplomats; they could project power ashore; protect trade, sea lanes and military supplies; deny an opponent the use of the sea; protect offshore resources or along the coast; acquire bases from which to operate; move and support troops; and gain and maintain air and sea control in support of operations both at sea and on land.⁴³ In line with the above they could also provide humanitarian and disaster relief, guard against illicit trade, piracy, terrorism, pollution and the overexploitation of maritime resources. These tasks require the physical presence of naval or coastguard vessels, good intelligence and multinational cooperation. As the escorting of the ships of the WFP has shown, naval vessels do contribute substantially. However, it is in these spheres that capabilities in the region are lacking and current international assistance must be kept up.

Fishery control is a typical constabulary or so-called "blue light" function, requiring inspections, a constant presence at sea, but usually not physical force. Somali and Yemeni Ministers of Fisheries agreed in July 2007 to combat pouching and piracy and to protect traditional fishermen.⁴⁴ It is an important step ahead, yet the challenge is to enforce it. Though such tasks are tedious, routine tasks, it could become coercive maritime diplomacy if it involves combating international piracy and terrorism, the detection and prevention of smuggling and countering environmental threats at sea.⁴⁵

As civilian systems of maritime policing and coastguards are insufficient in the region, international naval assistance and cooperation has contributed much towards providing more security within the maritime domain. Currently CTF 150 is the most conspicuous international, or coalition, naval involvement in the region. CTF 150 must monitor, inspect, board and stop suspect shipping, limit maritime crime and piracy and conduct "operations to assist states in the region to combat terrorism and to enhance regional stability". ⁴⁶ Its operational area includes the Gulf of Aden, Gulf of Oman, the Arabian Sea, Strait of Hormuz, Red Sea and the Indian Ocean. ⁴⁷ CTF 150 is a deterrent and has been very active in enhancing mari-

⁴³ J.B. Hattendorf, 'The Conceptual Foundations for Maritime Strategy in the 21st Century' in *Africa Defence Review*, No 18, 1994 in http://www.iss.co.za/pubs/ASR/ADR18/Hattendorf.html. See also G. Till (ed), *Seapower at the Millennium*, p.5.

^{44 &#}x27;Yemen, Somalia agree on Protecting Fishermen', *Yemen News Agency*, 5 July 2007, in http://www.illegal-fishing.org/item_single.php?item=news&item_id=1745&approach_id=17.

⁴⁵ M.H. Murfett, 'Gunboat Diplomacy: Outmoded or Back in Vogue?' in A. Dorman and M.L. Smith (eds), *The Changing Face of Maritime Power* (MacMillan, Basingstoke, 1999), p.87.

^{46 &#}x27;Piracy and Maritime Crime (Horn of Africa)', *UKMTO Dubai Briefing*, UK Maritime Trade Operations, 21 September 2006 and 'Coalition Naval Force Secures Energy Assets', *Gulf Times*, 13 December 2007.

⁴⁷ Naval vessels from Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Pakistan, the United Kingdom, the United States, Australia, Italy, Netherlands, New Zealand, Portugal, Spain, Turkey, Bahrain and Saudi Arabia participate, or

time security, combating lawlessness at sea, and fighting pirates.⁴⁸ No single state has the capacity to conduct such extensive operations on its own, which makes the requirement for a permanent coalition force obvious. However, as most European countries are unlikely to get involved in Africa unilaterally, their involvement stems from their *NATO* and EU responsibilities.⁴⁹

From the African perspective, the possible role of the new US Africa Command (AF-RICOM) is quite controversial. Its aim is to protect America's strategic interest and assist African countries with training and conflict prevention, while coastal countries could be supported with developing at least a credible coastguard.⁵⁰ A number of African countries have expressed reservations about AFRICOM, fearing an expansion of American influence in Africa with oil interests, or the African dimension of the American "war on terror", as its primary focus. African opposition have led to AFRICOM headquarters remaining in Stuttgart, Germany.⁵¹

Maintaining maritime security around the coast of Africa is essentially an African responsibility. However, many African states have difficultly to maintain maritime sovereignty and to be expected to also participate in a multi-national naval task force would pose a major challenge. As navies in the region have limited budgets, states should cooperate. Collective security and regional co-operation offers important advantages and nations must recognize that it may allow more to be done with less. It is therefore important to identify the tools African navies require and prominent states, and navies, should assist smaller ones with material and developing skills. The focus should be on good capabilities, with states contributing and specialising on various levels, which would be much cheaper than all navies trying to do everything. Also, within the policy environment, the Common African Defence and Security Policy of the African Union (where the concept of the Africa Standby Force originated) should address maritime security as human security and development targets will be hard to achieve without maritime security.⁵²

In the economic and humanitarian sphere alone, the lack of maritime security has had a considerable effect on Somalia and the region. Yet, maritime security usually does not receive enough focus in the African security debate and a higher awareness with a greater will to act is specifically necessary in the Horn of Africa region. States should improve law enforcement, customs, environmental control and port security, and establish authority in their coastal waters. A number of countries in the region have, and are currently addressing maritime security problems. Yemeni authorities have improved port security in Aden and its Coastguard police coastal waters; however, they lack equipment and should receive more as-

have participated, in it.

^{48 &#}x27;French Navy Hands Command of CTF 150 to Pakistan', US Fifth Fleet Combined Maritime Forces, 1 August 2007, in http://www.cusnc.navy.mil/articles/2007/162.html.

⁴⁹ Official French and German sources. See also 'Combined Task Force 150', *US Fifth Fleet Combined Maritime Forces*, in http://www.cusnc.navy.mil/articles/2007/162.html.

^{50 &#}x27;Africa Command Gives Top Priority To Aggressive Maritime Security', American Forces Information Service, 24 October 2007, CHINFO News Clips, 24 October 2007.

^{51 &#}x27;Nigeria Won't House AFRICOM', Associated Press, 19 November 2007, CHINFO News Clips, 20 November 2007.

^{52 &#}x27;Experts Warn of Piracy Threat to South African Waters', Pretoria News, 27 November 2006.

sistance from the better equipped Yemeni Navy. Kenya recently did much to secure its coastline and harbours. Port security in Mombassa was substantially improved. The Kenya Ports Authority and the Customs and Excise Department investment much into improving access control and physical security; acquiring better electronic surveillance systems, scanning equipment; and maintaining a greater police and security presence. The USA also donated security equipment and six speedboats to Kenyan Navy, and provided training assistance.⁵³

Though international involvement and regional cooperation might seem like an obvious response, political consent is critical. Politicians are cautious as military actions could produce unwanted political repercussions, be expensive or lead to casualties. However, forces operating within the maritime domain must receive a clear mandate from policymakers, understand the limitations within which they have to operate and the type of operation, as their tasks may range from monitoring to conventional high intensity operations (from peace-keeping to peace enforcement).⁵⁴ The Somalia scenario is intricate, as peace support forces have to control the situation with a delicate mix of persuasion and coercion. Clear strategic objectives and political commitment is essential as mere military presence is not enough. Politicians seem to agree that the maritime security situation must be urgently addressed, so, the emphasis must now be on the "how".

Conclusion

In strategic, economic and humanitarian terms maritime security is important to Africa. It nowhere more evident then in Somalia, as the lack of stability ashore has impacted negatively on the situation at sea. To improve the maritime security situation a higher awareness of the realities of the situation, improved cooperation between role-players and enhanced capacities to limit maritime threats amongst states involved is necessary. Above all, political commitment, clear mandates and the wherewithal to perform the required tasks are necessary.

An enhanced integrated approach to maritime security in the region is necessary, despite financial and material limitations. Navies and civilian role-players involved should develop an integrated approach that connects all aspects and they must think, plan and work together. In fact, what is necessary for the region is an integrated "ocean policy", involving national, regional and international role players. The issue now is, to what extent are decision makers prepared to get involved, how much effort are they prepared to commit and what would the mandate to participating forces be?

^{53 &#}x27;US donates boats to secure Kenya's Coastline', *The Standard*, 9 October 2006 and 'Kenya: Country Moves to Tighten Security at Mombassa', allAfrica.com, 2 October 2007, in http://www.allAfrica.com:Kenya.

⁵⁴ G. Till, Seapower, pp.239-40.

Les conflits au Tchad et leurs impacts sur la population civile au Cameroun

MBUÉ NGAPPÉ

Les héritages coloniaux, toujours très prégnants en Afrique Centrale comme dans l'ensemble du continent, marquent l'histoire contemporaine de leur empreinte. La création des Etats a bouleversé à des degrés divers, les espaces et les sociétés africaines, véritable cataclysme donc l'onde de choc se fait toujours sentir, caractérisé par les massacres inter ethniques et les guerres civiles de tous genres, qui n'ont épargné aucun pays. Certaines crises internes ont été exportées chez les voisins, aucune frontière n'étant en mesure de les endiguer, créant ainsi un véritable système régional de guerre. La littérature à ce sujet est considérable. Le Congo, les Grands Lacs, le Tchad, la République Centrafricaine et le Soudan voisin s'en tirent avec la part du lion. La succession rapide d'événements extraordinaires depuis une quinzaine d'années explique cette abondance. Elles sont surtout belges, françaises, anglo-saxonnes d'une part, africaines et principalement congolaises d'autre part¹. Mais ces projecteurs braqués sur les terrains de conflits civils oublient parfois les impacts directement occasionnés auprès des populations des pays voisins, qui seraient négligeables certes, comparés aux nombreuses conséquences vécues par les populations des pays directement concernés, pourtant profonds et durables. En effet, l'horreur des tragédies refuse de quitter obstinément la scène et chaque jour allonge la liste des victimes si banalement qu'on perd conscience de la signification des chiffres ou tout simplement des dégâts collatéraux auprès des populations civiles. L'impact des conflits au Tchad sur les populations du Cameroun est évident. Généralement considéré comme un îlot de paix dans l'ensemble de la sous-région d'Afrique Centrale, le Cameroun partage avec son voisin une frontière de 1095 km dans sa partie septentrionale. Si les voisins du Tchad en général n'ont cessé de se plaindre des retombées négatives de ses conflits successifs, la proximité de la capitale N'Djamena, centre des batailles par rapport au Cameroun, en fait une victime particulière.

LA SUCCESSION DES CONFLITS AU TCHAD.

Les difficultés de gestion politique au lendemain de l'indépendance.

L'histoire de la guerre au Tchad est perçue à première vue, comme une succession des révoltes populaires. Mais en réalité, le peuple tchadien a toujours été à toutes les phases de l'évolution de ce drame, l'otage de la volonté d'un individu. Son histoire, depuis l'acquisition de l'indépendance, est indissociable du rôle des seigneurs de la guerre dont les ambitions et les agissements ont mis à rude épreuve la paix sociale, envenimé les clivages régionaux et ethniques, provoqué la désagrégation du Tchad et ouvert la voie aux ingérences étrangères.

Après les élections législatives du 31 mai 1959, le Parti Progressiste Tchadien (PPT) accède au pouvoir et François Tombalbaye, jusque là premier ministre, devient le premier président du Tchad lorsque le pays devient indépendant le 11 août 1960. Mais ses premières

¹ www.herodote.org/art.php?id_article=109.

années de règne sont vite marquées par une certaines épuration dirigée vers la classe politique. Dès le 24 août 1960, Gabriel Lisette, fondateur du PPT est déchu de sa nationalité tchadienne alors qu'il se trouve en mission au Maroc. En octobre 1961, Ahmed Kotoko, député du Mayo Kebbi et président de l'Assemblée Nationale, est expulsé vers le Cameroun, son pays d'origine. En janvier 1962, tous les partis politiques sont suspendus, excepté le parti au pouvoir². Une autre épuration, essentiellement dirigée vers la classe politique des nordistes, se manifeste par l'arrestation des cadres musulmans du PPT qui sont jugés, condamnés et emprisonnés³. Ces nombreuses arrestations installent l'amertume au sein de la petite élite intellectuelle du Nord, exclue de la sphère dirigeante de l'Etat.

C'est dans ce conteste de frustration que naît le Front de Libération Nationale, à l'issue d'une réunion tenue du 19 au 22 juin 1966 à Nyala, dans la province soudanaise du Darfour. Confié à Ibrahima Abatcha, la direction de ce mouvement entend mener un combat nationaliste contre ce régime perçu comme un instrument de défense des intérêts français au Tchad. Mais les dirigeants politiques et les conflits des personnes vont diviser le mouvement rebelle en plusieurs tendances qui se partageront le pays⁴. C'est le point de départ des conflits qui vont générer une succession de coups d'Etat. Le dernier en date, celui de février 2008, a failli renverser le régime démocratique du président Idriss Deby Itno, arrivé lui-même au pouvoir en décembre 1990 à la suite d'un coup d'Etat.

LA SUCCESSION DES COUPS D'ETAT.

La guerre qui déchire ainsi le Tchad est dans une large mesure tributaire de la dynamique historique du pays. Mais elle n'est pas forcement le résultat d'un passé fait d'antagonisme. La quête permanente du pouvoir après l'indépendance a ajouté sa sombre couleur au triste tableau hérité de la formation d'un Etat qui portait déjà en lui les germes de son explosion.

Après avoir fait l'unanimité des civils contre lui, le président Tombalbaye va se mettre à dos l'armée. Le Chef d'Etat Major, le Général Félix Malloum, accusé de fomenter un coup de force étant en prison, C'est le Général Odingar, Chef d'Etat Major par intérim, qui initie un coup d'Etat et prend le pouvoir le 13 avril 1975. Le président Tombalbaye meurt au cours des combats opposant les mutins à sa garde. Libéré, le général Félix Malloum inaugure la deuxième République à la tête d'un Conseil Supérieur Militaire (CSM). Mais le pays ne connaît pas de répit avec la prise de pouvoir par l'armée.

Ancien sous préfet passé à la rébellion en 1971, Hissène Habré devient le chef de l'armée du Front de Libération Nationale Tchadienne qu'il dirige avec Goukouni. Leur séparation suite à l'incident de l'enlèvement de l'anthropologue française Françoise Claustre conduit Hissène Habré à créer un nouveau mouvement rebelle appelé Conseil du Commandement

² A. Bangui, prisonnier de Tombalbaye, Paris, Hatier, 1982, p.40

³ Ibid, p.78

⁴ S. Issa, "Conflits et problèmes de sécurité aux abords sud du lac Tchad, XVI –XXe siècle", Thèse de Doctorat, Université de Yaoundé, 2000, p.137. parmi les principales tendances, on distingue: la première Armée de Abba Siddick, survivance du FROLINAT; les Forces Armées populaires (FAP) de Goukouni Oueddei, basées dans la région Sahélienne du Borkon – Ennedi – Tibesti; les Forces Armées du Nord (FAN) de Hissène Habré, composées surtout des Goranes de Borkou; le comité démocratique révolutionnaire de Acyl Ahmat dont les troupes viennent des tribus arabes de la frontière tchado – libyenne; les Forces Armées Occidentale (FAO) de Mohammed Abderhamane qui recrute parmi les Kanembou de la frontière tchado – nigérienne.

des Forces Armées du Nord (CCFAN). Après de nombreuses négociations entre le CSM et la rébellion, Hissène Habré devient premier ministre le 29 août 1978. Sa difficile cohabitation avec le Président Malloum conduit au déclenchement de la guerre civile. Cette guerre dure de 1979 à 1982 et s'achève avec la victoire de la rébellion, unie contre le pouvoir en place⁵.

Le climat délétère déjà perceptible suite aux accusations mutuelles après l'accord de Lagos du 21 août 1979, conduit à un nouvel embrasement dès le 21 mars 1981. Les Forces Armées du Nord (FAN) dirigées par Hissène Habré font face à toutes les autres tendances dirigées par le GUNT et qui bénéficient de l'appui de la Libye⁶. La signature de l'accord de cesser le feu de Lomé II, du 28 novembre 1981 est suivi du retrait des troupes libyennes et du déploiement d'une force interafricaine, qui n'empêche pas aux FAN de prendre le pouvoir le 07 juin 1982, inaugurant ainsi la troisième République.

Après huit ans de pouvoir, Hissène Habré perd l'essentiel de ses collaborateurs et des éléments qui lui ont permis de conquérir N'Djamena. Dès 1987, les éléments Hadjeraï suivent le Lieutenant Madom Bada dans le Darfour. Ils sont rejoints en 1989 par Idriss Deby, ancien ministre de la défense et commissaire aux armées au sein du parti, avec les éléments de l'ethnie Zaghawa. Ils forment ensemble le Mouvement Patriotique du Salut et marchent sur la capitale tchadienne le 1^{er} décembre 1990. Hissène Habré, comme Goukouni Oueddei en 1982, a tout juste le temps de traverser le pont N'gueli pour se réfugier à Kousséri dans la nuit du 30 novembre au 1^{er} décembre 1990⁷. Idriss Deby et le MPS sont accueillis en libérateurs par les habitants de la capitale.

Le vent de la démocratie qui a soufflé sur tout le continent africain au début des années nonante n'a pas épargné le Tchad et a coïncidé avec la prise du pouvoir par le président Idriss Deby. Cet espoir, doublé d'un regain de santé économique avec un taux de croissance qui a culminé à 33,7% en 2004⁸, grâce à la mise en exploitation des puits de pétrole de Doba au sud du pays, avant de retomber à 4,6% en 2006, n'ont pas suffit pour enterrer définitivement la hache de guerre. Après avoir procédé à la modification de la constitution pour se représenter aux élections présidentielles de 2006, le président Idriss Deby Itno fait désormais face à une rébellion dans le fief du Darfour, qui a failli le renverser en février 2008. Cette tentative de prise de pouvoir par la force a été suivie comme les autres crises, d'un vaste mouvement des populations fuyant les combats à N'Djamena, en direction de Kousséri au Cameroun.

L'IMPACT DES CONFLITS TCHADIENS SUR LES POPULATIONS CIVILES AU CAMEROUN.

Le Nord du Cameroun qui partage sa deuxième plus longue frontière avec le Tchad⁹, est une vaste zone conflictogène où s'entremêlent les affrontements ethniques, les incursions

⁵ G-J. Ngansop, *Tchad*: vingt ans de crise, Paris, L'Harmattan, 1988, p.110.

⁶ Ibid, p.135.

⁷ S. Issa, "Conflit et problème de sécurité", p.145.

⁸ Www.h-net.org/~africa/africaforum/AF7/french.html.

⁹ A-H. Onana Mfegue, Le Cameroun et ses frontières: une dynamique géo politique complexe, Yaoundé, 2004, p.1. La plus longue frontière du Cameroun avec ses voisines est celle du Nigeria, qui va de l'Océan Atlantique au Lac Tchad sur 1680 km. Les autres distances frontalières terrestres se présentent comme suit: Centrafrique (797 km), Congo (523 km), Gabon (298 km), Guinée Equatoriale (193 km).

des bandes criminelles et les différents frontaliers entre Etats. Il est devenu de ce fait un gros dépotoir d'armes. Son voisinage avec la capitale N'Djamena, régulièrement animé par les bruits de bottes en fait un acteur indirect du conflit Tchadien.

LA PROXIMITÉ DU CHAMP DE BATAILLE.

La proximité du champ de bataille a des lourdes conséquences dans le Nord du Cameroun. Des incidents indirects sur la sécurité des hommes sont le plus souvent enregistrés du fait des balles perdues, des conditions de survie des réfugiés, de la divagation des combattants incontrôlés et de la dissémination des armes à feu. Le chef lieu du département de Logone et Chari dans la province de l'Extrême Nord du Cameroun, relié à la capitale tchadienne par le pont N'gueli sur le fleuve Chari, est la plus grande victime. En effet, des balles tirées de N'Djamena atteignent fréquemment la ville de Kousséri où elles font des victimes parmi les populations civiles qui s'aventurent près du fleuve Logone. Certains dont les maisons font face à la capitale tchadienne, sont obligés de murer les ouvertures de leurs habitations. Des obus mettant en danger la vie de plusieurs civils camerounais et tchadiens en fuite, achèvent parfois leur course à Kousséri. Dans la journée du 22 septembre 1980, un obus tiré de N'Djamena était tombé dans l'enceinte de l'hôpital départemental de Kousséri, faisant quatre morts, huit blessés et de dégâts matériels importants¹⁰.

Le ministre camerounais de la communication, Henri Bandelo, avait réagi face à cet incident en précisant l'inquiétude des autorités camerounaises dans l'hebdomadaire « Cameroun Tribune» en ces termes :

« J'espère que les obus tirés sur l'hôpital de Kousséri n'étaient pas délibérément dirigés sur celui-ci et qu'il ne s'agit que d'un incident fâcheux à mettre sur le compte de la nervosité des belligérants qui ne sont pas à une erreur de tir près¹¹ ».

L'accoutumance aux crises tchadiennes a banalisé le crépitement des armes dans la mentalité des voisins de N'Djamena. Au plus fort des batailles de février 1979 et de mars à décembre 1980, nombreux ont été les habitants de Kousséri qui se sont joints aux réfugiés tchadiens pour veiller pendant des heures sur la rive camerounaise du fleuve Chari. Là ils applaudissent le départ de coups de canon, commentent allègrement le crépitement des fusils, s'exercent à distinguer la nature de l'arme utilisée, tels des spectateurs devant un écran de projection d'un film de guerre. Une crise est passée au Tchad, mais des témoins camerounais énumèrent encore les marques des fusils ou décrivent sans état d'âme les souffrances des blessés internés à l'hôpital de Kousséri, montrant ainsi le sentiment de leur implication dans la guerre chez le voisin tchadien. Pendant la guerre civile de 1979 à 1982, qui a abouti la prise du pouvoir par Hissène Habré, on a vu les Arabes Choas souhaiter instinctivement la victoire du GUNT, au sein duquel se trouvait le CDR d'Ahmat Acyl, d'obédience arabe. Tandis que les Kotoko étaient solidaires des FAN dont le chef Habré est anti- libyen.

¹⁰ S.Issa, "L'impact de la crise tchadienne sur le Nord Cameroun", Mémoire de maîtrise, Université de Yaoundé I, p.76.

¹¹ Cameroon Tribune, n° 1883 du 23 septembre 1980.p.4

LA CULTURE DE LA VIOLENCE.

A la longue, l'habitude a amené les habitants de Kousséri à banaliser la violence, lui reconnaissant des vertus en matière de résolution des différends. On ne peut s'empêcher de penser que les massacres de Kousséri, lors des affrontements entre Arabes Choas et Kotoko en janvier 1991 s'inscrivent dans cette logique. La trop forte influence des crises tchadiennes conjuguées aux difficultés économiques a contribué à recharger le potentiel d'agressivité sur ces populations qui, depuis le début de la colonisation européenne avait progressivement appris à apprécier les vertus de la paix. Car contrairement à d'autres contrées du bassin du Lac Tchad où la violence s'est inscrite dans une logique de continuité, une rupture était intervenue dans la partie camerounaise de la sous- région.

Les différents peuples du Logone et Chari, de gré ou de force, avaient cessé de s'épier et vivaient en bonne intelligence. Mais les crises du Tchad ont suscitées la propension à l'agressivité chez les jeunes générations¹². Certes, la sécheresse de 1983 à 1985 semble avoir donné un contenu à cette nouvelle tendance qui s'est exprimée dans le banditisme de grand chemin. Il est tout aussi possible que les troubles politiques du début des années 1990, au Tchad aussi bien qu'au Cameroun, aient servi de cadre à une seconde forme d'expression de la colère d'une jeunesse diminuée, déterminée à tirer partie du désordre dans une région ou la circulation des armes et des munitions qui échappent à tout contrôle crée de nombreux problèmes d'insécurité.

LES PROBLÈMES D'INSÉCURITÉ.

Les problèmes d'insécurité que pose la proximité du champ de bataille sont relatifs au déferlement des réfugiés tchadiens dans les centres urbains du Nord -Cameroun et leur prolongement jusqu'au Nord du Nigéria. Il est évident qu'en période de crise économique ou politique particulièrement grave dans un Etat, les réfugiés cherchent asile dans les zones frontalières des Etats voisins les plus proches. Cette présence subite dans le pays d'accueil pose des problèmes notamment liés à la pression sur les ressources des zones frontalières. Il en résulte des difficultés de survie à la fois pour les réfugiés eux mêmes et pour leurs hôtes. Tout au long des crises tchadiennes, des chefs de tendances vaincues, des hauts fonctionnaires et cadres de l'administration, des combattants, des commerçants et des personnes appartenant à diverses autres catégories socio- professionnelles ont trouvé refuge au Cameroun où y ont séjourné avant de prendre une destination finale.

Le président du GUNT Goukouni Oueddei, chassé au pouvoir par les FAN de Hissène Habré le 7 juin 1982, a pu trouver le temps de se réfugier au Cameroun avant de poursuivre son chemin vers l'Algérie¹³. Dans la nuit du 30 novembre au 1^{er} décembre 1990, Hissène Habré empreinte le même chemin pour se réfugier à Kousséri, puis à Yaoundé avant sa destination finale, à Dakar au Sénégal. Après le coup d'Etat manqué contre le régime d'Idriss Deby en février 2008, l'opposant Ibni Oumar Mahamat Saleh et le chef de la Fédération Action pour la République, le député tchadien Ngarlejy Yorongar, ont inquiété la communauté internationale par leur disparition après les combats de N'Djamena. C'est au début du

¹² S. Issa, "Conflits et problèmes de sécurité", p.152.

¹³ G-J. Ngansop, Tchad: vingt ans de crise, Paris, L'Harmattan, 1986, p.112.

mois de mars que le chef des FAR a donné signe de vie à Kousséri¹⁴, avant de prendre la direction de la France ou un asile politique lui a été directement accordé après des examens médicaux.

Par ailleurs la plupart des réfugiés tchadiens au Cameroun se répartissent entre les centres urbains du Nord que sont Maroua, Garoua et Ngaoundéré. A partir du 22 avril 1982, le camp des réfugiés de Kousséri avait été fermé et transféré à Poli dans le département de la Bénoué. Avant cette date, la petite agglomération de Kousséri était passée de 11.000 à environ 250.000 habitants. Il en résulte de nombreux problèmes d'accueil, de salubrité, d'alimentation, de santé et de politique. S'agissant des problèmes politiques, ils sont liés au rapatriement des réfugiés. Ces derniers, installés à Kousséri ou dans les autres localités environnantes, tentent de se reconstituer selon leurs affinités en noyaux favorables aux groupes armés en guerre à N'Djamena. Kousséri étant à quelques centaines de mètres de N'Djamena, les réfugiés issus du camp des perdants constituent une menace potentielle pour le gouvernement en place. Leur retour au Tchad est souhaité pour un meilleur contrôle. Malheureusement, de nombreux réfugiés dont les domiciles sont détruits préfèrent rester au Cameroun où ils ont le minimum vital.

C'est dans cette atmosphère que le GUNT a accusé le gouvernement Camerounais et le HCR en mars 1981 à travers la presse officielle, d'empêcher les réfugiés de rentrer. Or, en s'appuyant sur les dispositions de la convention de l'ONU de 1951 et de la convention de l'OUA de 1969 portant sur le statut des réfugiés, le gouvernement Camerounais soutenait que les réfugiés bénéficieront de son hospitalité tant que les conditions qui avaient présidé à leur départ persisteront. Il a fallut mettre sur pied une commission tripartite réunissant les représentants du Tchad, du Cameroun et du HCR pour assister aux premières vagues de rapatriement des réfugiés tchadiens en juin 1981, constat ayant été fait du retour au calme dans la capitale¹⁵. Ceux qui voulaient rester aux Cameroun étaient transférés à Poli, à près de 400 km de N'Djamena.

Ce mouvement populaire échappant au contrôle des deux Etats, s'accompagne de nombreux problèmes d'insécurités caractérisés par les vols, agressions, meurtres et prises d'otages qui survivent après le départ des réfugiés. C'est un climat d'insécurité grave, alimenté par la dissémination des armes. En effet, les réfugiés et les populations Camerounaises voisines de N'Djamena profitent des crises tchadiennes pour se procurer des armes de toutes marques. Les uns ont acheté à vil prix auprès des combattants en fuite, d'autres ont ramassé ou déterré au bord du fleuve Logone des armes précédemment cachées ou abandonnées par des combattants avant leur entrée à Kousséri¹⁶. Aussitôt disséminés au sein de la population Camerounaise, ces vaincus se reconstituent en bande qu'on a du mal à classifier. D'une part, leur nombre est très réduit pour qu'on puisse véritablement parler de rebelles. D'autre part, leur passé rebelle ou combattant et les affrontements redoutés contre les troupes gouvernementales, les différencient des coupeurs de route ordinaires, bien qu'ils se comportent comme

¹⁴ Cameroon Tribune n° 9049/5248 du 03 mars 2008, p.31.

¹⁵ Cameroun Tribune n° 2015/2205 du 20 octobre 1981.

¹⁶ R. Buijtenhuijs, Le frolinat et les guerres civiles du Tchad: 1977-1984, Paris, karthala, 1987, p.121; anonyme, "Le sort des réfugiés de Kousséri", in Marchés tropicaux et méditerranéens, n°1818 du 12 septembre 1980, p.2250.

tel. Ainsi, le 20 mai 1981, ces hommes dangereux prennent en otage 7 personnes à Kumbola, dans l'arrondissement de Blangoua et demandent une rançon de 600 naïra. Les otages sont libérés la nuit suivante après payement d'une somme de 200.000 Frs CFA.

En janvier 1994, des affrontements entre soldats Camerounais et combattants tchadiens à Afta dans l'arrondissement de Logone Birni, coûtent la vie à neuf gendarmes Camerounais 17. En novembre 1995, des éléments de la faction rebelle de l'opposant Abbas Coty, venus rançonner les populations d'Afadé rencontrent une vive résistance populaire. Dans cette sous - région de l'Afrique qui dépasse les seules limites du Nord Cameroun et du Tchad, la détention des armes à feu n'est plus l'apanage des plus nantis ou des autorités administratives. Les armes traditionnelles ont cédé le pas à la Kalachnikov. Le berger croit devoir s'en servir pour protéger son bétail, le commerçant en possède pour parer à toute éventualité. Depuis les troubles inter ethniques de 1991-1993 dans le Logone et chari, nombreux sont les chefs de familles qui ont jugé nécessaire de s'en procurer pour ne pas être surpris par les pyromanes et autres pillards. Des démunis de tous âges et des adeptes de l'enrichissement facile s'en servent pour rançonner les voyageurs, attaquer les domiciles privés ou razzier du bétail.

Cette circulation massive et incontrôlée des armes peut être considérée comme l'impact le plus grave et le plus durable des conflits tchadiens sur les populations aux abords du lac Tchad en général et au nord du Cameron en particulier. Ici, les armes, les munitions et les tenues de combat sont devenues des monnaies d'échange pour des soldats déserteurs et sans ressources. Une Kalachnikov peut être acheté à 10.000 Frs CFA par un commerçant ou un particulier. On peut acheter un pistolet automatique en revendant son mouton ou son bœuf. Cette facilitée d'acquisition a conduit à une large dissémination qui à son tour est venu métamorphoser un phénomène déjà ancien, celui des coupeurs de routes. En effet, lors d'une croisade contre les coupeurs de route au début de l'année 1999, les unités de la gendarmerie nationale ont saisi entre leurs mains un important stock d'armes évalué à : 85 fusils Kalachnikov version PM 7,62mm court, 37 pistolets mitrailleurs MAT 49 de 9mm, 45 fusils MAS 36 de 37,5mm, 23 FAL standard de 7,62mm, des lances roquettes, des roquettes antichars Soviétique, des lance-grenades et des munitions correspondant à cet arsenal¹⁸. En décembre 1992, lors du désarmement des populations Arabes Choas et Kotoko à Kousséri, 29 fusils automatiques, 3 armes lourdes et plusieurs pistolets automatiques avaient été récupérés dans le seul village de Kabé. En octobre 1993, 10 fusils automatiques sont saisis dans le village de Ngouma¹⁹.

Ces exemples illustratifs montrent s'il en était besoin, les sources de l'alimentation des phénomènes tels que le grand banditisme, les coupeurs de routes et les prises d'otages dont sont victimes les populations civiles dans la partie septentrionale du Nord Cameroun et son extension progressive vers le reste du pays.

Le banditisme alimentaire ainsi généré par les violences politiques au Tchad, s'est substitué aux bandes multinationales soutenues par des commanditaires et motivés par la recher-

¹⁷ S. Issa, "Conflits et problèmes de sécurité", p.156.

¹⁸ A-H. Onana, Le Cameroun et ses frontières, p.109.

¹⁹ Ibid ; Rapport sur le comportement partial et illégal de l'opération scorpion dans le Logone et Chari, Archives de la Gendarmerie du Cameroun, novembre 1993.

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che d'un gain important à recycler dans les économies formelles. Sa montée en puissance observée ces dernières années avec le coup de force en Centrafrique dont les conséquences se sont invitées à ce jeu macabre a contribué à la prise de conscience sur le plan international, de cette économie de crime qui profite d'un contexte généralisé de crise socio- politique dans la sous- région.

L'AGGRAVATION DU MAL AVEC LA FRONTIÈRE CENTRAFRICAINE.

Les répercussions de la sécheresse de 1983 à 1985 sur les éleveurs nomades camerounais dans le bassin du lac Tchad, s'étaient ajoutées aux harcèlements des rebelles tchadiens pour convaincre ces éleveurs à fuir vers l'intérieur du pays, notamment dans le département de la Vina, province de l'Adamaoua. Mais les difficultés de cohabitation avec les chefs traditionnels, les ex combattants tchadiens reconvertis en coupeurs de route et autres autorités imposèrent un déplacement supplémentaire à cette population, emportant familles et troupeaux vers des contrées plus clémentes. Ils choisirent le Nord-Ouest de la Centrafrique, zone riche en pâturage, relativement paisible aux confins du Cameroun, de la Centrafrique et du Tchad. Le mouvement s'intensifia au début des années 1990, période marquée par la recrudescence de la criminalité rurale au Nord du Cameroun²⁰ et l'accession pacifique au pouvoir du président Ange Félix Patassé à Bangui, qui donnait espoir aux pays voisins.

Malheureusement, cette embellie ne dura pas. Car sous son règne, la Centrafrique entre dans un cycle de mutineries, de rébellions et de changement violent de régime grâce à l'appui des mercenaires tchadiens. En effet, l'offensive militaire pour la prise du pouvoir à Bangui en 2003 par le Général François Bozizé, s'est faite avec l'exploitation ou la complicité de ces nomades Bororos dans cette zone, lors du passage des troupes à la conquête du pouvoir à partir du Nord²¹. Après le coup de force réussi de Bangui, une grande partie de ces troupes abandonnées avec leurs moyens militaires ont regagné la zone de passage à la recherche des moyens de subsistance. Leur harcèlement pousse des centaines de familles Bororos, devenues des victimes faciles, à revenir s'installer au Cameroun. Rejetés à Bangui et redoutés à N'Djamena, ils ont transformé leur errance en recherche des ressources aux confins poreux des trois Etats où sévissait déjà le banditisme transfrontalier. Puissamment armés, ils adoptent une nouvelle forme de violence : la prise d'otages essentiellement opérée auprès des éleveurs Bororos, contre rançon comme moyen efficace et moins risqué de faire du butin.

Le quadrillage presque total de la zone frontalière par les forces spécialisées camerounaises ayant rendu de plus en plus caduques les procédés de barrage et de coupure de route, ces nouveaux acteurs nés du conflit politique en Centrafrique, opèrent près des frontières camerounaises par des incursions, retournent rapidement du côté centrafricain où ils attendent le versement de la rançon. Connus sous le nom des mercenaires Zagawa qui ont accompagné le Général Bozizé à Bangui, ils sont constitués de milices et autres groupes armés, ainsi que d'anciens soldats centrafricains qui n'avaient pas été désarmés, démobilisés et réinsérés. Ils sont rejoints par les déserteurs de l'armée tchadienne ou ceux qui ont été chassé de la garde

²⁰ A. Tetmoun, "Phénomène des coupeurs de route en Afrique Centrale : causes, manifestations et conséquences", Séminaire présenté aux étudiants de Master en Stratégie, Université de Yaoundé II, 18 mars 2008.

²¹ Ibid.

présidentielle, et des égarés qui complètent leur solde en faisant usage des moyens militaires sophistiqués dans cet espace de non droit, formé par les zones frontalières des trois pays. De part l'ampleur du phénomène, la communauté internationale a baptisé cette zone comme étant celle du « triangle de la mort ». Car ces individus sans foi ni loi, n'hésitent pas à assassiner pour impressionner et terroriser d'éventuels récalcitrants.

LA RÉACTION DU GOUVERNEMENT CAMEROUNAIS.

Le gouvernement Camerounais a adopté des mesures fortes face à ce banditisme d'une ampleur indescriptible. Dès le début des années nonante, un vaste programme de re-sécurisation des zones atteintes a été élaboré et comprend plusieurs méthodes appliquées de manière graduelle, en fonction des cas rencontrés sur le terrain. Cependant, la mesure permanente reste l'implantation des unités militaires le long des itinéraires à risque et le renforcement des postes et détachements frontaliers. Les bataillons interarmes quadrillent la région. Le Bataillon d'Intervention Rapide, unité d'élite spécialisée dans les actions commandos et le maintien de l'ordre a été crée pour la circonstance. Ses résultats positifs dans le sens de l'assainissement de la région ont largement amélioré ceux précédemment obtenu par les pelotons, brigades et compagnies de gendarmerie territorialement actifs.

Les mesures additives quant à elles, associent des escortes, des ratissages, la recherche du renseignement en vue de la préparation des embuscades sur les voies à risque, des patrouilles, la constitution des comités de vigilance dans les villages. D'autres opérations militaires de moyennes ou grandes envergures ont été initiées, connues sous des noms tels que : Nomade, Scorpion, Faucon, Harmattan, Serbewel, Gouderi. En collaboration avec les forces tchadiennes, celles-ci ont parfois associées des moyens terrestres et aériens²².

De nos jours, l'activité des coupeurs de route a sensiblement diminué et l'on doit ce résultat à l'engagement et à la détermination des autorités civiles et militaires. En outre, l'on est passé de la répression unilatérale à une initiative tripartite, laquelle a abouti à la décision commune de mettre sur pied depuis 2003, un mécanisme de coopération et de gestion des questions liées à l'insécurité transfrontalière, à la lutte contre la prolifération des armes légères et de petit calibre en même temps que les actions de sensibilisation en direction des populations civiles. La communauté internationale, appelée à appuyer les efforts entrepris par les Etats dans le domaine de la démobilisation et de la réinsertion des ex combattants notamment les enfants soldats, vient s'ajouter aux espoirs suscités par toutes les initiatives prises jusque là, pour alléger les souffrances des ces victimes civiles.

Conclusion.

Les 2 et 3 février 2008, la ville de N'Djamena a renoué avec sa tradition de conflit civil armé. Les soldats de l'Armée Nationale Tchadienne (ANT), confrontés aux combattants de L'Union des Forces de la Résistance (UFR), une coalition de trois mouvements rebelles qui cherchaient à renverser le président Idriss Deby Itno, ont psychologiquement, matériellement et physiquement secoué les habitants de cette ville. Deux jours de batailles que l'on peut qualifier de courte durée n'ont pas empêché à la capitale tchadienne de se vider de sa popula-

²² Onana Mfegue, Ibid, p.112.

tion qui a choisi une fois de plus Kousséri, la ville camerounaise la plus proche, comme terre d'accueil.

Les jeunes gens surnommés « colombiens » à N'Djamena, ont profité du déplacement massif de la population pour faire fortune. Ils ont mis à sac boutiques, maisons et bureaux, arrachés motos et voitures aux populations, les revendant à vil prix pour s'en débarrasser²³. Comme une mauvaise grippe, N'Djamena a encore fait parler d'elle sous le spectre de la violence armée. La communauté internationale s'est mobilisée pour condamner le coup de force manqué. Vingt et une organisations humanitaires, dont six agences onusiennes, treize organisations non gouvernementales et le mouvement de la croix rouge se sont associés aux efforts du gouvernement camerounais pour soulager les souffrances de près de 30.000 réfugiés tchadiens²⁴. Comme lors des conflits précédents, les populations civiles de la sous-région payent le plus lourd tribu. Alors que le gouvernement camerounais atténue encore le problème de la circulation des armes sur son territoire, conséquence directe des conflits répétés au Tchad, entraînant à la fois la recrudescence du grand banditisme, les pertes en vie humaine et le freinage des activités économiques de nombreuses populations civiles, cette autre crise s'achève par ce que les rebelles ont appelé eux-mêmes un « repli stratégique ». Comment donc envisager l'arrêt des souffrances des ces populations?

La réponse à une telle question sera limitée si la solution à apporter se focalisait uniquement sur l'assistance aux populations directement recensées comme victimes de ce conflit. Car le mal ne s'arrête pas à la pression que créent les réfugiés. Les ramifications du mal à moyen et long terme de ce conflit civil, qui au départ parait limité, sont à prendre en compte. Ce mal se fertilise auprès des anciens combattants rebelles, des déserteurs, des démobilisés de l'armée régulière et comme un serpent de mer, se prolonge auprès des désoeuvrés qui en profitent pour faciliter la circulation incontrôlée des armes et des munitions. Le phénomène des coupeurs de route bien qu'ancien, s'amplifie alors, devient compliqué et redoutable. Il prolonge une terreur regrettable qui se manifeste parfois lorsque les belligérants d'hier se sont déjà réconciliés en vue du partage du pouvoir. L'histoire du Tchad est ainsi faite de conflits et de réconciliations. La dure réalité reste pourtant, que les blessures ainsi provoquées au sein de la population civile, victime directe ou indirecte, sont difficiles à soigner. Le « Triangle de la mort » qui est la résultante du prolongement du phénomène vers la Centrafrique et son aggravation au détriment des populations du Cameroun, en est la preuve.

²³ Cameroon Tribune n°9030/5229 du 05 février 2008, p.20.

²⁴ Cameroon Tribune n°9039/5238 du 18 février 2008, p.31. Du fait de l'accalmie rapidement observée à N'Djamena, certains réfugiés sont vite revenus au Tchad pour protéger leurs biens des pillages, d'autres faisaient des va et vient, redoutant la reprise des combats. Leur nombre avant le recasement de Kousséri à Maltam, restait imprécis et ne devait pas dépasser 10.000

The south african 'war resistance' movement 1974-1994

GAVIN CAWTHRA¹

Introduction: the impact of conflict on conscripts

'Universal' military conscription has been all but abandoned in liberal democracies, with the principal exception of some of the Scandinavian countries. There are many reasons for the changeover to professional armed forces, the main one of which is usually cited as being the need for more flexible, lighter forces suited for force projection (this may change as the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq progress – indeed the extensive call-up of reservists in the USA is a form of selective conscription). However, another factor is almost certainly the perceived social and political costs and consequences of conscription – not least the impact of domestic anti-war movements and the potential for reluctant conscripts to undermine the morale and fighting capacity of armed forces, even to threaten their internal cohesion.

The focus of this article is on the political consequences of conscription in South Africa's wars of 1974-1994, concentrating on the growth of a resistance movement, known variously as war resistance, anti-conscription and conscientious objection. However, the South African movement borrowed some of its tactics from two specific cases where mass conscription, coupled with unpopular external wars, led to similar phenomena: the anti-Vietnam war movement in the United States in the 1960s and early 1970s, which eventually contributed significantly to the withdrawal of the US from Vietnam, and the movement of resistance to Portugal's colonial wars in Africa (Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau) from the early 1960s to the military coup in Portugal in April 1974.

These two movements were quite different in nature. The anti-Vietnam movement was essentially a broad-based mass movement of citizens and conscripts against the war, with little ideological coherence, which practiced the politics of mass protest and popular theatre, while the Portuguese movement was to a large extent rooted inside the military itself – involving both professional officers and conscripts – and was eventually structured as a cohesive underground force, the Armed Forces Movement (MFA), which staged the coup leading to Portugal's withdrawal from its colonies. Both these models to some extent informed the South African war resistance movement, especially COSAWR (COSAWR 1982a).

There are of course, many other examples in history of conscript-based resistance mo-

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Notes from a COSAWR study class of 1982 speak approvingly of the fact that 'between 1961-74 110000 conscripts deserted' from the Portuguese armed forces 'while from 1973 there were 50 incidents of opposition inside the army, not only by soldiers but also officers and NCOs'. It went on to note 'draft-card burning, avoidance of service, ... sabotage ... mutiny ...mass demonstrations, meetings and pickets ... and over 300 underground soldiers' newspapers' in the US conflict in Vietnam (COSAWR 1982a: 1)

vements, either organised or unorganised, perhaps the most impressive example of the latter being the resistance of Soviet conscripts after the occupation of Afghanistan following the invasion of December 1979.

BACKGROUND

I shall use April 1974 as the point of departure for this narrative. Prior to the military coup or the 'carnation revolution', apartheid South Africa had been relatively secure in geo-strategic terms, protected from the forces of black-majority rule in the north by the settler-ruled country of Rhodesia, and the colonies of Angola, Mozambique and Namibia (which was in effect a South African colony). April 1974 changed all that. Very quickly, the 'cordon sanitaire' was lost, as Mozambique and Angola teetered towards independence and new fronts in the armed liberation struggle were opened on the borders of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa itself. A little over two years later, the crisis facing the apartheid regime was compounded by the black uprisings which began in Soweto in June 1976, led by schoolchildren, and rapidly engulfed large parts of mainly urban South Africa in a cycle of protest and violent repression (Cawthra 1986: 23-25).

These two events had an immediate effect on the burden of conscription for white males. Prior to 1994 conscription had been something of a fun right of passage for white men: at around 18 years old (sometimes earlier) they were obliged to perform military service for nine months (rising to 12 months 1972). The only ones who refused were Jehovah's Witnesses, who as is commonly known try not to 'render unto Caesar' in any capacity. Following the 'carnation revolution', in 1975 three-month operational tours of duty were introduced: South Africa invaded Angola that year while fighters from the South-West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) used post-colonial Angola as a base for operations in Namibia. For the first time, combat was on the cards. Then, in 1977 after the Soweto uprisings, the initial period of military service was increased to 24 months, followed by part-time (often operational) periods of 30 days a year for eight years (IDAF 1980:35). Later, the burden was increased ever further, so that the one million or white males aged between 18-45 (about one out of 30 of the population) faced almost a lifetime of intermittent military service (CIIR 1989: 61).

This new intensity of conscription quickly had effects, as conscripts and deserters began to go into exile. The most common routes were international flights to London in the UK, followed by Amsterdam in the Netherlands and California or New York in the USA, although others (often deserters) illegally crossed to neighbouring countries – most commonly Botswana. It would be a while before conscientious objectors would be prepared to take a stand inside South Africa and face the penalties involved, which by the mid-1980s involved six years imprisonment.

THE EARLY EXILES³

The mid-1970s was a period of ferment in South African anti-apartheid and revolutionary politics. The oldest liberation movement, the African National Congress (ANC), had suffered

³ Much of this section is publically undocumented and is based on the author's personal experience and minutes of COSAWR.

a breakaway in the 1950s when the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) had been formed, while both parties had been prohibited, and were driven underground and turned to armed struggle in the early 1960s. By the time of the Soweto uprisings a new generation of young blacks had 'rediscovered' the Africanism of the PAC and dressed it up as Black Consciousness (BC). By this stage the ANC, by virtue of the rigours of its underground existence and its reliance on the socialist bloc for support, had become more closely aligned with the South African Communist Party (SACP) and eschewed racial politics in favour of class struggle (although with important caveats). There was thus a major fault-line in the anti-apartheid forces around the issues of the primacy of race and the role of the communist party.

The early exiled war resisters were subject to this schism, in part because some exiled whites (to varying degrees of anti-communist disposition, although many of them were self-styled Marxists) perceived that there was an opportunity of building a 'white consciousness' to match that of BC. In part no doubt they were driven by the exigencies of their exclusion from the liberation struggle by the BC activists. One of the most important of these exiles, the well-known Afrikaner poet and painter Breyten Breytebach, had established a clandestine organisation in Paris known as Okhela. This organisation, which rapidly collapsed following Breytenbach's imprisonment after an ill-conceived secret mission to South Africa, gave rise indirectly to the South African Liberation Support Committee (SALSCOM) and the South African Military Refugees Aid Fund (SAMRAF). The latter was specifically set up to assist South African war resisters, of which there were by then only a handful, and established a presence in London and New York.

The approach adopted by SAMRAF was deceptively simple: in South Africa blacks were in the forefront of the struggle, but one of the material bases on which to mobilise whites in support of the black struggle was war resistance. This, as we will see later, gelled nicely with a strong tendency in liberal-radical circles in the USA in that period that saw the black struggle as the leading 'anti-imperialist' force, to which whites could only offer support. It sat much more uneasily with the ANC's non-racialism and *de facto* alliance with international socialism, which was a position shared to a large degree by most of the European anti-apartheid movements.

THE FORMATION OF COSAWR AND THE EARLY YEARS

At the same time, there were a growing number of young South Africans leaving the country to avoid conscription, or deserting, who did not share the ideological proclivities of SAMRAF, or indeed any at all, although some of them as a result of their experience in the anti-apartheid student movement, sympathised with the ANC or the Communist Party. With support from the ANC and the British Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM), they set up the Committee on South African War Resistance in London in November 1978 (COSAWR 1979a) and incorporated most of the London-based members of SAMRAF. The cumbersome name is instructive: it was not mean to be a grouping of war resisters, nor a membership movement, but merely a committee working on war resistance. In this sense, it stood in opposition to SAMRAF's concept that a 'support movement' of whites could be formed. It also openly aligned itself with the ANC and the Namibian liberation movement the South-West African People's Organisation (SWAPO, which was in the fortunate position, unlike the

ANC, of being recognised by the UN General Assembly as 'the sole authentic representative' of the Namibia population).

Some years later COSAWR was to explain:

COSAWR has never claimed to represent the views of every single SA resister ... COSAWR made it clear from its inception that it would work with the liberation movements, the ANC and SWA-PO, and with the British Anti-Apartheid Movement and other solidarity groups associated with the AAM. This was because we felt that as white South Africans it was important to place ourselves in the mainstream of the struggle and identify ourselves with the organisations representing the majority of the people of SA and Namibia ... [O]ur work in exile involves accepting the leadership of SWAPO and the ANC with regard to the overall struggle. It also means that we work in consultation with the AAM and the broad international struggle against apartheid (COSAWR 1982b: 3).

In other words, COSAWR was determined to align itself with the ANC rather than the BC movements or the PAC, and to work with existing international solidarity movements aligned with the ANC rather than building a new solidarity movement – in contrast to the positions of SAMRAF. A further principle was that it would not attempt to construct its own 'internal' (ie South African underground) structures but would rather work though those of the existing ANC.

COSAWR thus set itself up in effect as a specialist arm of the ANC and the AAM rather than a movement in its own right. It portrayed itself as a legal, campaigning organisation with the aim of building a base in exile in support of South African war resisters and against South African militarism. Its particular tasks were described as:

- To raise the issue of the increasing militarism of the apartheid state and resistance to it
- To campaign internationally for the right to asylum for SA war resisters and to campaign in support of resisters imprisoned or persecuted in South Africa
- To research into the SA military and resistance
- To produce publications in this field
- To assist SA war resisters with asylum etc
- To involve war resisters in Britain in study classes, public meetings etc and in general anti-apartheid work (COSAWR 1982b: 1)

To this end, the committee (which retained a small membership) spent much time raising funds, carrying out campaigning activities, organising exiled war resisters (mainly in London), meeting with newly-exiled individuals, assessing them and assisting them with applying for refugee status, and producing publications.

This need not detain us too much, but some points are worth mentioning.

Obtaining refugee status for South African war resisters was not an easy matter. In the UK, most of the first war resisters had been threatened with deportation, but an AAM delegation managed to secure some concessions from the then Labour Government. The situation became more complicated with the victory of Margaret Thatcher's Conservatives (who were better disposed to the South African regime) in 1979, and a number of cases resulted in which

war resisters had to test the system to its limits – in the end, however, most resisters were given 'exceptional leave to remain' and no genuine cases were deported (COSAWR 1979b). Nevertheless, the resisters often had to live for many years in legal limbo, working illegally in poorly paid jobs. They were in any case a mixed lot. COSAWR attempted to portray the image of the 'noble resister', leaving the country purely because of resistance to apartheid, but many of them had other motivations. Many were gay, escaping persecution for their sexual orientation (homosexuality was then banned in South Africa) as well as military service. Some had personal or drug problems, some were merely seeking better opportunities. But COSAWR took the position that any war resister was one gun less facing the liberation movement, and along the lines of the anti-Vietnam war protesters in the US, encouraged any form of resistance and supported all those who arrived in exile unless they were aligned with the apartheid regime (and even then, if they were useful sources of information they might have been supported). They were given basic support, and the committee worked closely with British refugee organisations, both official and unofficial.

The situation was further complicated by the fact that around 1.5 million of South Africa's then five million population had access to or were eligible for a passport of an European Union country (Metten & Goodison 1988). This meant that many war resisters did not need to apply for asylum and could simply use their privileged European status to remain in Britain or elsewhere on the continent. Again, COSAWR did not discriminate. This gave rise to the question: how many war resisters were there? It was impossible to tell. Only a small minority needed to apply for refugee status, and even though COSAWR had arrangements with the government refugee agency, some passed by the organisation. COSWAR had records of about 500 exiled war resisters, and estimated that the total number (worldwide) was at least ten times that.

The non-discrimination policy was however vexed. Many countries were loath to give political asylum or refugee status to war resisters on the grounds that they or allied countries (within NATO for example) practiced conscription and this could open the floodgates for resisters in general. COSAWR thus took a stand of 'exceptionalism' – it was resistance *against apartheid*, recognised by the UN General Assembly as a crime against humanity, that counted. This did not stop the organisation from working quite closely with War Resisters International (WRI), nor did it stop WRI supporting COSWAR even though COSAWR broke one of the fundamental tenets of WRI - non-violence - by supporting the ANC's armed struggle.

COSAWR's campaigning work was not restricted to the UK. A semi-autonomous branch was established in the Netherlands and the organisation spent a lot of time building an international profile and support for South African war resistance. Speaking tours were arranged (Canada, Italy, Germany, Belgium, Sweden for example), international conferences were attended and the United Nations was lobbied (a General Assembly resolution urging member states to grant asylum to South African war resisters was adopted in December 1978).

It might at first seem odd that the only other COSAWR should have been in the Netherlands. However, many white South Africans are of Dutch ancestry and many of those have access to Dutch citizenship. As a result, at the same time that war resisters began to arrive in the UK, some went to Holland, where they set up a small grouping with support of one of the main anti-apartheid movements, the Komite Zuidelike Afrika (KZA). They learned Dutch,

made contact with black South African exiles and engaged in solidarity activities.

By this stage in South African politics a new division had emerged within the broad Marxist-influenced consensus, between 'workerists' and the more mainstream liberation movement: a division sometimes incorrectly posited as 'Trotskyites' vs 'Stalinists' (although some strands of that old schism were evident). COSAWR-Netherlands, as it became know, was deemed by the ANC to have been infiltrated by the 'workerists' and certain individuals were therefore necessarily to be excluded if the organisation was to become part of the mainstream. The 'Purge of Krasnapolski' (named after one the main hotels in Amsterdam where the event took place) therefore ensued, with a few of the already tiny group of war resisters expelled by the ANC's Chief Representative in London (who subsequently turned out to be working for South African intelligence).

The USA, where SAMRAF retained its only presence, proved a more difficult nut to crack. Making claims to only a tiny number of war resisters, SAMRAF had set itself up as solidarity movement, with aims of building a white resistance movement inside South Africa. The organisation developed an 'underground' newletter, *Omkeer* ('about turn' in Afrikaans) which it circulated with some success inside South Africa and made links with black liberation as well as anti-apartheid organisations in the US, although many of them found it hard to deal with their somewhat overblown rhetoric and romantic revolutionism (apparently at one stage they had recruited a shaman in the Mojave desert to prepare them for infiltrating South Africa from Botswana). COSAWR stuggled for many years to get to grips with the intricacies of US anti-racist and 'anti-imperialist' politics with which they had become entwined. Although SALSCOM moved much closer to the ANC as the balance of power internationally and within South Africa shifted, the crunch came in 1981 when one of the war resisters working with them defected back to South Africa (with attendant media publicity) and the ANC formally broke off relations. SALSCOM faded away during the second half of the 1980s.

The research and publicity work COSAWR carried out was largely showcased in its bimonthly journal *Resister*; which, according to the book which was based on it, ran for over 11 years to 67 issues, and put out 750 000 words (Rauch 1994). The journal – it was more of a magazine - was distributed internationally, largely through the extensive Southern African solidarity movement, and was also widely read in the military camps of the ANC's armed wing uMkhonto we Sizwe (MK), where it was understandably popular, demonstrating as it did to the young comrades that enemy morale was suspect, and carrying out analyses and reporting on the South African Defence Force (SADF) and its activities. From an initial print run of 300 for the first issue, circulation rose to around 3000.

It was also circulated inside South Africa, clandestinely as anyone caught in possession of a copy could face a stiff prison sentence. In part distribution was done through the normal postal services although many copies were of course intercepted in the extensive postal monitoring system the South African regime operated, and in part through using the ANC's propaganda and information distribution systems. It combined information with campaigning – for example in support of individual resisters (see below) or in support of the international arms embargo against South Africa, and occasionally it produced agitational pamphlets, for example one entitled 'Pamphlet – photocopy, pass on – Angola: What really happened? [at the battle of

Cuito Cuanavale]' in November 1988 (Resister 58, October-November 1988: 12-13).

The committee also generated other agitational material, such as posters, pamphlets and stickers which were distributed though ANC underground structures, promoting slogans such as 'Resist Apartheid War' or 'Troops out of Namibia and Angola'.

COSAWR'S LINKS TO THE LIBERATION MOVEMENT AND ITS SECRET WORK

Throughout its existence, COSAWR was at risk of infiltration or worse from the South African security structures, which unsurprisingly regarded efforts to undermine the morale and cohesion of its armed forces as a significant threat. A number of agents – mostly low level – working for military intelligence or the security police were uncovered over the course of the years, and a few war resisters returned to South Africa (after appropriate inducements or threats against their families) to reveal usually rather fanciful details of the horrors of exile and communist manipulation of the war resistance movement. There was in effect an ongoing propaganda war between the SADF and COSAWR, which was sometimes described as 'the South African Communist Party/ANC/COSAWR alliance' (*Resister* 67, December 1990).

In part to guard against infiltration, and in part reflecting its rather undemocratic ethos and its determination not to become a membership organisation, the main structure of CO-SAWR remained a committee, the membership of which was usually obscure and which was self-appointed. Exiles and activists were involved in a set of sub-committees through which campaigns were run and literature generated and were often only vaguely aware of the main committee. The committee was also responsible for maintaining links – usually kept discreet – with the ANC and there was a constant tension between the need for COSAWR to project itself as a broad-based structure and the need to maintain 'the line' put out by the ANC. This was never really satisfactorily resolved.

Activities inside South Africa were not carried out autonomously, for reasons explained earlier, but by a sub-committee of the ANC on which war resisters and ANC officials sat, which was understandably an even more secret structure, going by the designation CRAW – 'Conscripts Resist Apartheid War'. This monitored the activities of the white anti-apartheid movement inside the country, met clandestinely with activists and sometimes recruited them to ANC underground structures.

Perhaps the most covert of all the committee's activities was intelligence, which was disguised as 'research'. While COSAWR maintained a legitimate research function, for example explaining that it was analysing the militarisation of South Africa and war resistance, and passing the information on to the solidarity movement, religious organisations and other structures, it also maintained a secret intelligence-gathering function. Initially, this was set up in London, but in the mid-1980s it was transferred to the ANC's headquarters in Lusaka, Zambia where it became part of ANC Military Intelligence.

The intelligence involved both covert and overt methods. While the SADF maintained a strict information control regime, at the same time it produced a number of information and propaganda publications such as the magazine *Paratus*. Apparently innocuous information in these publications (for example reports on sports events), when put together, could assist in building up a picture of structures, units, order of battle and so on. International military

publications were also scoured and analysed. More covert information was generated by interviewing deserters (for example, about the location and strength of military units) and by sourcing information from covert operatives inside the defence force. Even military mobilisation papers (known as call-ups) could be a source of information: for example if a signals unit was mobilised then it was reasonably safe guess that the entire battalion to which it was attached would be mobilised, and this information could be passed on to the ANC and its Angolan and Cuban allies. In this way, COSAWR gained a reasonably accurate picture of South African military structures and strengths – far more accurate than usually reputable sources such as *The Military Balance* which tended to rely on South African propaganda and disinformation. This knowledge became particularly useful when the ANC had to enter negotiations with the defence force about the integration of military forces.

A further strand of covert work was the attempt to build resistance within the SADF. This was extremely dangerous work and was left to the ANC's underground structures, although COSAWR provided a supporting framework. By 1990, it had borne considerable fruit, although almost entirely in South Africa's homelands or bantustans. The four nominally 'independent' homelands, Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei all had their own mini-armies: each was infiltrated to varying extents by the ANC and engaged in mutinies and military coups aimed at prizing the homelands from the grip of apartheid (*Resister 66*, Third Quarter 1990: 28-31).

THE RIFT OVER EXILE

War resisters continued to go into exile in ever-increasing numbers (as noted above, as many did not need to apply for asylum it is impossible to give accurate figures). However, this was not without its tensions. Within the white student movement, for example, there were many anti-apartheid activists who argued that exile was a debilitating experience and that it was preferable for activists to remain inside the country and contribute to the domestic struggle, even if this meant undergoing military service (although trying to ensure that this was in a non-combat role). Two positions thus emerged (and these were replicated within the ANC). According to the editors of a book on *Resister*:

The former group wanted to help build a non-racial resistance movement inside the country in which white democrats would play a role. They felt that taking a prescriptive position on the issue of military service would narrow the role of white democrats to that of resisting the draft. Thousands would be condemned to prison, a twilight existence of evading the military police, or forced into exile, choices which would deplete the democratic movement of internal activists. The latter group wanted to build a mass draft-resistance movement along the lines of the movement that opposed US involvement in Vietnam and so provoke a crisis of control within the white establishment (Cawthra *et al* 1994: 18)

As noted above, COSAWR wanted both to build a mass war resistance movement *and* an internal resistance within the SADF, and while it sympathised with those who wanted to retain activists within the country, it felt that participation in the defence force would drive a wedge between black and white democrats rather than uniting them. It therefore persuaded the ANC and its allies to issue a general call to 'resist apartheid war' but to allow some le-eway in terms of how conscripts interpreted this. This debate was eventually resolved when

large numbers of conscripts began to take stands against conscription, ready to go to prison if necessary, and the End Conscription Campaign was launched as a new channel of resistance.

SUPPORT FOR CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS

Between 1979 and 1982, some 15 conscientious objectors took the route of taking public stands against military service, and indicated their preparedness to serve prison time - the penalties were progressively increased through legislation to six years imprisonment. Most of them were Christians of different denominations and based their objection on their faith or although to varying degrees, and increasingly, they also took stands against apartheid. Small Conscientious Objector Support Groups (COSGs) sprang up, mostly initially on a denominational basis, with the aim of giving pastoral support to the individuals involved, publicising their cause, mobilising domestic and international support and pressurising the authorities. Although COSAWR had no direct links with the COSGs, it sought to gain international support for them and co-ordinated international campaigns in support of the most high-profile (and most anti-apartheid) resisters such as Peter Moll, Richard Steele, Charles Yeats and later David Bruce and Ivan Toms. Much of this support was raised from religious organisations, both in South Africa and internationally, and some of it was quite extensive; involving for example the distribution of tens of thousands of leaflets and the generation of petitions with tens of thousands of signatories. Some imprisoned war resisters were also adopted as prisoners of conscience by Amnesty International.

These early individual stands were followed by collective stands: first a group of 23, then 143, then, by 1989, 771. After this the floodgates opened and a national register of conscientious objectors was established, supported by an international one of exiles under the auspices of Archbishop Trevor Huddleston (Rauch 1994: 9-12)

THE END CONSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN

The political crisis around apartheid deepened in the mid-1980s, both within South Africa and in the wider region. A new insurrection, much deeper, more violent and more widespread that of 1976, swept the country in 1984. The SADF was for the first time deployed in townships, fuelling resistance to conscription: many conscripts now felt that they were being deployed in a civil war. At the same time, the domestic anti-apartheid movement was able to open political space and the mass-based United Democratic Front (UDF), an alliance of hundreds of community organisations, churches, trade unions, students groups and pressure groups, was established and fairly openly aligned itself with the ANC.

In 1984, in response to the growing resistance to conscription and the civil war, the End Conscription Campaign was formed, in part on the organisational basis of the COSGs, which had established a national framework. This was a clever move: rather than arguing for conscientious objection or war resistance, which was illegal, it would argue for an end to conscription, which was merely requesting a change in the law, and would (it was hoped) secure widespread support from those opposed to troop deployments in the townships and increasing militarisation (CIIR 1989: 86). The ECC in fact set itself wider objectives than ending conscription, including campaigning for peace and justice, and raising opposition to

militarisation and the SADF's role in the occupation of Namibia and parts of Angola.

ECC branches, consisting of coalitions of student, religious and other organisations, were set up around South Africa and it was able to draw on the support of 50 member organisations as well as thousands of individual members. A semi-official history of the war resistance movement inside South Africa remarked:

ECC activists were generally middle-class English-speaking young people who had been politicised in church or student organisations. Within this group there were diverse political and theological perspectives: liberal and radical, religious and secular, opposition to participation in all wars and opposition to service specifically in the SADF. As the campaign developed, ECC expanded to include parents and professionals, school pupils and teachers, and Afrikaans-speaking people ... Half of ECC's membership was female (CIIR 1989: 89).

The ECC aligned itself with the UDF, and in 1985 began a 'Troops out of the Townships' campaign, which gained it much popular support from black communities. After a 'troops out' rally one newspaper commented:

On Monday night some 4000 people of all races, colours and creeds packed the Cape Town city hall to demand the removal of troops from the townships ... divided communities came together – black and coloured people who are subject to police and military action, white potential conscripts, their parents and families. (*Cape Times*, editorial, 9 October 1985).

The ECC adopted innovative ways of campaigning, reflecting its youth base, such a rock concerts, writing workshops, art exhibitions, music records and film festivals.

COSAWR was not directly involved in the formation of the ECC, although it had long worked towards the objective of building a mass war resistance movement, had assisted ANC underground structures in working towards this objective. Through building awaress about military issues it had also opened up political space and created a supportive environment internationally, thus making a considerable contribution to establishing the conditions under which the ECC might emerge. It immediately threw itself into the task of building international support for the ECC, in which it was buttressed by religious organisations and old allies like WRI.

Of course it couldn't last. The state went on the offensive, first through a concerted propaganda campaign, in which it labelled ECC in terms such as a 'vast Soviet active measures apparatus' and a 'foreign-subsidised, tele-guided psychological warfare weapon aimed at gutting our defences and delivering us bound, to our foe' (cited in CIIR 1989: 113). Fanciful organograms linked the ECC via a global network of front organisations to the Communist Part of the Soviet Union and counter-organisations such as Veterans for Victory were set up. Then in 1986, the government declared a nationwide state of emergency (there had been emergencies in particular areas before that) and began rounding up ECC activists, many of whom endured long periods of detention or were obliged to go underground, moving from one safe house to the next. In August 1988 the organisation was banned, effectively suppressing its activities. Within a year, however, the government's grip on the country had weakened to such an extent, that along with other banned organisations, the ECC unilate-rally declared itself 'unbanned' and resumed activities, although its activists continued to be harassed.

THE END

The beginning of the end came in February 1990, when, faced with the total collapse of the apartheid state, then president FW de Klerk surprised the world by unbanning the ANC, the Communist Party and all other prohibited organisations, and began the process of amnestying activists and exiles, freeing political prisoners and negotiating an end to apartheid with the ANC. The remaining imprisoned resisters were set at liberty, and a *de facto* moratorium was placed on objector trials from the middle of 1991. With its *raison d'etre* gone, the ECC fizzled away and conscripts widely ignored their call-ups.

Although it had had only a brief existence, the ECC's flame had burnt brightly. Interestingly, the only mostly-white anti-apartheid movements of similar size inside South Africa also arose from war and conflict. In the early 1940s, at the height of World War II, the Springbok Legion had been formed by soldiers fighting against fascism, who concluded that a similar struggle needed to take place against racism in South Africa. It combined welfare work for servicemen with pro-democracy politics and by the end of the war had a membership of over 50 000. It promoted non-racial politics and took a stand against the National Party but eventually faded away, although many of its leaders went on to play important roles in the liberation struggle, especially in the Congress of Democrats which was allied with the ANC (Bunting 1986). Then in the early 1950s, the Torch Commando arose, mainly with an ex-service membership, spurred by the National Party's efforts remove Coloured voters from the Cape Voters' Role. It mobilised demonstrations of tens of thousands, but its politics gradually became more paternalistic and in the end was unable to withstand the Nationalists (*Resister No 63*, August-October 1989: 5-9).

During 1990 both ECC and COSAWR increasingly turned their attentions to the challenges faced in transforming the SADF, integrating the SADF with the homeland forces and the liberation armies to create a new national defence force, demilitarising society, establishing democratic control over the security services and creating a region of peace in Southern Africa. Both organisations⁴ attended a seminal conference in Lusaka, Zambia, in May 1990, in which SADF personnel, MK leadership, church leaders, academics and others – from both exile and inside South Africa – met together for the first time and set out a framework for the issues listed above (*Joint Press Statement on the ANC-IDASA Conference on the Future of Security and Defence in South Africa, May 23-27, Lusaka, Zambia*).

In December 1990 COSAWR took the decision to close down and for exiled resisters to return home, its job done. The last issue of *Resister* carried the epitaph:

In the early years it seemed as we were struggling against impossible odds ... we were virtually the only group specifically campaigning against the SADF, an organised force of hundreds of thousands.

...the [South African] regime greatly over-estimated the threat of COSAWR. By the early 1980s government spokesmen ... had elevated COSAWR to a 'white wing of the ANC' and even talked of 'the South African Communist Party/ANC/COSAWR alliance'.

We would not make such extravagant claims! Nevertheless, struggles are often about taking terrain, opening up political space ... Exile gave us a secure base. Protected from

⁴ Although the COSAWR members attended as part of the ANC delegation.

detentions and bans and free from state censorship, we could take a long view, develop and inject ideas, create international support and lay the basis for wider action. Our links with the broad anti-apartheid movement and the ANC were crucial in all this (*Resister No 67*, December 1990).

During the period of negotiations (1990-1994) and immediately after, members of the ECC and COSAWR, along with ANC and MK officials, set up a policy think-tank, the Military Research Group (MRG). Although purporting to be independent, it was in fact closely aligned with the ANC and was influential in establishing a framework for a post-apartheid security and defence policy. To replace 'total strategy' the MRG introduced into South African policy circles the concept of human security, which remains the bedrock of South African security policy today. It also advocated principles of common or collaborative security in the Southern African region and helped establish a framework for the integration and downsizing of the military, and for establishing democratic political control over the security forces and demilitarising society. In that sense, the anti-militarist work of the ECC and COSAWR continued to bear fruit.

Conclusion

This paper has traced the history of the war resistance movement in South Africa over a period of 20 years, largely seen through the lens of the main exiled resistance movement, COSAWR. It has demonstrated how a relatively small group of individuals, using exile as base (a not uncommon feature of revolutionary conflicts) was able to exert significant political influence, though combining research and activism and public and covert activities and through working with an existing liberation movement and an international solidarity network. This in turn helped to create the conditions within which a domestic resistance movement, one of the largest ever amongst white South Africans, was able to emerge and play an important role in laying the basis for a future non-racial South Africa.

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Afrikaner Nationalism, Tertiary Military Education and Civil Discontent: Student attitudes at an Afrikaans University from Apartheid's beginnings to the end of the Angolan War, 1950-1989

IAN LIEBENBERG AND DEON VISSER¹

Introduction

Over two centuries South Africa saw several conflicts within and outside its geographical space. Following internal wars of conquest and resistance (1700s to 1880s), the country experienced the Anglo-Boer War that deeply affected South Africans of all races and classes. South Africans under the Union of South Africa participated in two world wars and the war in Korea. Under apartheid rule many white South Africans and some coloured and black soldiers, the latter mainly belonging to "ethnic" battalions/units, fought an extensive war in Namibia and Angola (1966 to 1989) in what the South African regime perceived as a war against Communist forces poised to destroy the country.

Since the late 1800s several internal disturbances took place inside South Africa. Suppressing such internal disturbances led to military involvement under government instruction against its own people. Examples are the Bambata Rebellion in 1906², the 1913 and 1922 mineworker strikes, the 1914/15 Afrikaner Rebellion and the post-September 1984 deployment of the South African Defence Force (SADF) inside the country against resistors to apartheid. Outside South Africa the military also saw deployment: Between 1914 and 1989 the South African military was involved in operations against the Germans in South West Africa (First World War), the Bondelswarts people in South West Africa (1921), Eastern Africa (first against German forces in World War One and then against Italian Forces in World War Two), Northern Africa and Italy, against German and Italian forces (World War Two), Korea in a US led war on "communist forces", and during apartheid rule in Rhodesia (later Zimbabwe), Zambia, Swaziland, Lesotho, Mozambique, Botswana, Namibia and Angola on different scales and at different times. During two hundred and a score more years, South African territories saw black resistance against Dutch and British colonialists, clashes between the Boer Republics and indigenous groups, the defeat of independent Boer Republics by the ravenous British Empire, fought as an extension of the British Empire against Nazi Fascism and racism together with the Soviet Union. During a time of a transition from an extension of the United Kingdom to a militarized apartheid state internal divisions remained deep and influenced each and every South African in various ways. In white society it produced a rift between

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J. Pampallis, Foundations of the New South Africa (Maskew Miller Longman, Cape Town,1991), pp.49,
 64.

English and Afrikaans-speaking citizens first alienating the Afrikaner and subsequently the English-speaking sector from the Defence Force. At the same time ever since the infamous Land Acts of 1913, the political rights of black people were whittled down until all voting rights disappeared for black (including Indian and "Coloured") people by 1959³. In the meantime black resistance to white rule came around full circle; first violent resistance during the wars of dispossession, an extensive era of attempted peaceful resistance and eventually following the Defiance Campaign of 1955, a return to an armed struggle.⁴

To say the least; frequently civil military relations in the country remained contentious – if not strained to the limit. During two hundred years few of the successive governments in (geographical) South Africa ever used conscription until the 1970s when the apartheid regime introduced forced military service for white men to bolster the professional military in order to maintain white power (it has to be noted that forced military service was instituted in the time of the Dutch East Indian Company and Dutch rule and in the early 1800s the Zulu King Shaka enforced military service during his expansionist ventures). Between external deployment and internal activities the South African government depended on a relatively small but well trained professional military, career soldiers by choice that were supported in times of crises by volunteer forces if and when so called upon until the 1970s when conscription re-emerged.

Military action in the history of South Africa always took place within the structure of a permanent military core of soldiers and officers (the Permanent Force), voluntary service and much later through conscription (forced military service, the 1970s – early 1990s). In the case of liberation movements military action was dependent on the loyalists of the liberation movements that choose to act by carrying arms voluntary.

In 1956 Coloured and Asian men lost their voting rights and in 1959 with the Promotion of Bantu Self Government Act, Africans lost all franchise rights (White women got the right to vote in the 1930s). See M. Horrel, Race Relations as Regulated by Law in South Africa, 1948 – 1979 (SAIRR, Cape Town, 1982), p. 3. For the full barrage of apartheid legislation as well as security legislation imposed by the minority state, consult the same work. The erosion of the powers of the white parliament in a severely restricted democracy, decline in the rule of law and the ascendancy of security legislation in South Africa is discussed in detail in J. Dugard, Human Rights and the South African Legal Order (Princeton University Press, new Jersey, 1978) and A. Mathews, Freedom, State Security and the Rule of Law: Dilemmas of the Apartheid Society (Juta & Company, Ltd., 1986).

⁴ I. Liebenberg, *Ideologie in Konflik* (Taurus, Emmerentia/Johannesburg, 1990), pp. 82ff; A. Odendaal, The Roots of the ANC In I. Liebenberg et al (Eds). The Long March: The Story of the Struggle for Liberation in South Africa (Pretoria), pp. 1ff. See also G. Houston, The National Liberation Struggle in South Africa: A case study of the United Democratic Front, 1983 – 1987 (Ashgate Publishers, Aldershot, 1999), p.1 – 2, 22ff.

In South African lingua conscription was called *national service* (Afrikaans: *Nasionale Diensplig*). National service was applicable to all white South African males after leaving school (or in the case of tertiary education, after leaving college or university). National servicemen, registered at sixteen years of age, also had annual citizen force duties for another six years before being transferred to the reserve or *Kommando's* (local or territorial defence units). White women were accepted on a voluntary basis for one year to be trained at George and then deployed in non-combatant positions. The territorial defence units also accepted women on a voluntary service basis. An infantry battalion (the South African Cape Corps) for so-called "coloured" people following on a long tradition since Dutch rule was created separately. Black people were accommodated in separate "ethnic battalions". A system of *school cadets* prepared (white) secondary school children for military service through drill exercises, shooting and basic field craft.

The South African case allows for an interesting analysis of military forces professional, volunteer and how these persons that joined the military forces were seen by the supportive or antagonistic public, including student communities. For the purposes of the research here the authors will refer to public attitudes in general, but more specifically to student attitudes at Afrikaans speaking and English speaking universities. When Afrikaans speaking universities are concerned, especially the University of Stellenbosch which is historically associated with Afrikaner Nationalist hegemony and the South African Military Academy at Saldanha, will be referred to in more detail.

In this contribution the authors stride the period 1950 – 1990; an era of forty years in the history of a country involved in "small wars" and one that at the same time experienced civil strife. Three main issues are addressed in this paper: (1) tertiary education of officers under apartheid, the chosen years being 1950 until 1990, (2) the way in which the civilian population viewed the permanent forces at higher education institutions, with particular reference to the student body of Stellenbosch University, and (3), the possible implications and outcomes of past and present perceptions of the military for civil-military relations and the career of the professional military person in contemporary South Africa. The authors depart from the recognition that South Africa following the implementation of apartheid, which itself inherited elements of colonialism, became a deeply divided society where ethnicity was imposed from above by a white minority government and that such imposition led to increasing resistance and social alienation inside the country. Wide-spread resistance to apartheid in turn led to highly mobilised society and the militarization of the South African state.

Tertiary education of officers, 1950 to 1990

Junior officer development in South Africa took a giant leap when the first post-Second World War Permanent Force cadet course kicked off on 1 April 1947. Inspired by the complexities of the nuclear age and the programmes of Sandhurst and West Point, the cadet course curriculum at the South African Military College in Pretoria in its pioneering stage included a number of academic subjects in addition to the customary military subjects. Defence Headquarters (DHQ) envisaged the combination of military training and elementary academic education that would inculcate values and attitudes most desirable for officers, school prospective officers thoroughly in the art of command and personnel management, imbue them with interest in the military profession and the study thereof and enhance their insight and comprehension in both the military, historical and academic spheres.⁸ Following the National Party's electoral victory of 1948, the new Defence Minister, F.C. Erasmus took the academic education of Permanent Force cadet's one step further by introducing military degree studies. His aim, and that of DHQ, was not only to empower future officers to deal with the technological, administrative and socio-political complexities of modern warfare and to bring them on par with their peers in leading defence forces abroad, but also to put UDF

⁶ A. Zegeye, I. Liebenberg and G. Houston. *Resisting Ethnicity from Above: Social Identities and Democracy in South Africa* (HSRC Publishers, Pretoria, 2000), p. 5ff.

⁷ K.W. Grundy, The Militarization of South African Politics. (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1988), p.58ff.

⁸ R.J. Haines: The Training of Candidate Officers in South Africa. Militaria, vol. 8, no. 3, 1978, pp.5 - 6.

officers at the same level as professional people in the civilian sector.9

To carry out this new cadet training policy Erasmus established the South African Military Academy as branch of the South African Military College on 1 April 1950 and affiliated it with the University of Pretoria, who bestowed a BA (Mil) or BSc (Mil) degree upon the successful candidates. The cadets resided at the SA Military College, but received the bulk of their academic tuition on the campus of the University of Pretoria. Since Pretoria's inland location permitted the training of army and air force cadets only, the Department of Defence made an agreement with the University of Natal to institute a BSc degree for naval cadets in cooperation with the Naval Training Centre at Salisbury Island, Durban with effect from 1953.

Erasmus and the founding fathers of the Military Academy at DHQ originally wanted to establish the Military Academy as an independent tertiary military institution issuing its own degrees. An intake of a mere 30 cadets per annum made this expensive and impractical. Military command then opted for the Academy as a subservient branch of the SA Military College and a constituent college of The University of South Africa (Unisa). The latter affiliation would have allowed the Academy maximum independence and strict military supervision and control. But even this proved too challenging for the meagre defence budget, which forced the UDF into the agreement with the University of Pretoria who had objected strongly to the proposed affiliation with Unisa and offered to provide the university connection itself. This saved Erasmus's ideal of establishing a military Academy, but robbed DHQ of their dream of an independent military university. 12 Not all was bad luck for Erasmus: the affiliation of the Academy with one of the leading Afrikaans-speaking universities served his underlying aim of luring the Afrikaner back to the UDF, instilling Afrikaner traditions in the UDF and popularising the UDF amongst the general public, more specifically the Afrikaner community, extremely well. Participation in the Second World War had split white society by and large along cultural (Afrikaans-English) lines and a large portion of the 60% Afrikaansspeaking section of the population strongly resented the UDF as an instrument of British imperialism in the wake of the Second World War.¹³ Unisa arguably would not have been as useful an instrument to 'Afrikanerise' the Military Academy and by extension the UDF, than

⁹ SANDFA, CGS (WAR) 281, 56/36, Acting CGS – Min. of Defence, 22 March 1949.

SANDFA, SA Mil. Col. (Gp. 1) 164, MC/T/12/1, Cmdt. SA Mil. Col. - CGS, 27 February 1950; SANDFA, SA Mil. Col. (Gp. 1) 164, MC/T/12/1, Cmdt. SA Mil. Col. – Dir. Policy Coordination, 16 March 1950; SANDFA, SA Mil. Col. (Gp. 1) 169, MK/K/227G vol. 2, statistics w.r.t. cadet courses 1950-1953, n.d.; SANDFA, AG(3) 223, AG(3)1906/9 vol. 2, Sec. for Defence – Dir. Gen. Land Forces, 5 May 1950.

SANDFA, KG K43 L81, KG/GPT/1/3/1/1 vol. 1, Naval and Marine Chief of Staff – Rector University of Natal, 17 May 1952; SANDFA, KG K43 L81, KG/GPT/1/3/1/1 vol. 1, report by Prof. S.F. Bush, 7 June 1952; SANDFA, KG K43 L81, KG/GPT/1/3/1/1 vol. 1, Registrar University of Natal – Naval and Marine Chief of Staff, 28 July 1952; SANDFA, KG K43 L81, CGS/GPT/1/3/1/1 vol. 3, Naval and Marine Chief of Staff – CGS, 31 March 1954; SANDFA, KG K43 L81, CGS/GPT/1/3/1/1 vol. 2, memorandum on Mil. Acad., n.d.

¹² G.E. Visser: Neither Sandhurst, nor West Point: The South African Military Academy and its Foreign Role Models. Historia 46(2), November 2001, pp. 392-393.

¹³ G.E. Visser: British influence on military training and education in South Africa: The case of the South African Military Academy and its predecessors. South African Historical Journal vol. 46, May 2002, pp. 75-79.

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the University of Pretoria or Stellenbosch would be.14

The affiliation of the Military Academy with the SA Military College and the University of Pretoria was short-lived. To facilitate joint military academic training for cadets of all three services, DHQ decided to detach the Military Academy from the SA Military College and the University of Pretoria with effect from 1 February 1956 and re-establish it as an independent military unit at Saldanha Bay under the academic trusteeship of Stellenbosch University. This decision also nipped the agreement with the University of Natal regarding the degree studies of naval cadets in the bud. The first batch of first-year military students enrolled at Stellenbosch University in 1955. In 1961 the Military Academy became a fully-fledged faculty of Stellenbosch University, the Faculty of Military Science. Under the new dispensation successful candidates received B Mil degrees in the natural, human and business (subsequent management) sciences from Stellenbosch University, while Hons B Mil, M Mil and D Mil¹⁷ degrees were also instituted in 1961. The doctoral degrees were of no consequence, since only one candidate ever enrolled for (and completed) studies at that level. By the end of 1990 a total of 1 207 candidates had received B Mil degrees, 30 Hons B Mil degrees and two M Mil degrees. The two decades since 1990 has seen a steep increase in the

The University of South Africa (Unisa) was a distance education university and accommodated people of different races, although apartheid approaches were thoroughly was institutionalised, i.e. "vacation schools" for white and black people were held separately - those for coloureds, Indians and Black people at the outskirts of Pretoria, Consult M. Boucher. Spes in Arduis: A history of the University of South Africa (University of South Africa Press, Pretoria, 1973), p. 256 – 257. Unisa was not fully a residential university; hence little enough direct socialization could take place amongst peers and academic seniors. An important part of officers' education relies on the role of socialization. South Africa had two contrasting "lines" of tertiary education in terms of residential universities. On the one hand the traditional English speaking universities, liberal in its education was found. Amongst these were the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits), the University of Cape Town (Ikeys), the University of Natal and the University of Grahamstown (Rhodes). The rise of Afrikaner Nationalism led to the establishment of Afrikaans universities which were the breeding ground for Afrikaner Nationalism or Christian-Nationalism. The University of Pretoria, the University of the Orange Free State, the University of Stellenbosch and the Potchefstroom University for Christian Higher Education are examples. Racial segregation marked universities and for coloured and black students "ethnic" universities or so called "Bush Colleges" were established by legislation. By 1970 full university status were conferred on the black, "coloured" and Indian "bush colleges" despite these institutions being vastly under funded when compared to the white universities (Horrel, 1982, p 150 – 152). For the education of officers for the apartheid military one of the Afrikaans universities was the obvious choice. Stellenbosch hence became the choice.

P.S. du Toit: Fakulteite sedert 1954 ingestel. In H.B. Thom, et al (eds.): Stellenbosch 1866 – 1966: Honderd Jaar Hoër Onderwys (Cape Town, 1966), pp. 152-154; Anon.: 'Offisierskursus op Stellenbosch'. Eikestadnuus, 21 January 1955, pp. 1, 3.

¹⁶ KG K43 L81, CGS/GPT/1/3/1/1 vol. 3, Naval and Marine Chief of Staff – CGS, 31 March 1954.

¹⁷ The D Mil was elevated to a post-doctoral degree in 184 and replaced by a PhD in Military Science. (SU Archives, minutes of the Board of Stellenbosch University 5 November 1983 and 15 September 1984; Mil. Acad. Archives, minutes of the Faculty Council, Military Science, 23 November 1984.

P.S. du Toit: Fakulteite sedert 1954 ingestel. In H.B. Thom, et al (eds.): Stellenbosch 1866 – 1966: Honderd Jaar Hoër Onderwys (Cape Town, 1966), pp. 154-156; Statuut van die Universiteit van Stellenbosch. In Republiek van Suid-Afrika: Buitengewone Staatskoerant (Regulasiekoerant No. 16), Goewermentskennisgewing No. R.387, 11 Augustus 1961.

number of degrees awarded at Honours and master's level.¹⁹ Today the South African Military Academy has 300 students of which 70 are women. These students include all musterings (the numbers exclude distance education or DE students).

Erasmus's Afrikaner ideals and the association of the Academy with two Afrikaans-speaking universities in succession reversed societal sentiments with regard to the Defence Force and the Military Academy. The Afrikaner had come to the party as Erasmus intended, but the majority of English-speakers became estranged from these institutions as they viewed both as Afrikaner bastions where they were unwelcome. Part of the estrangement of English speakers was caused by the new leadership itself. With the rise of Afrikaner nationalism and the ideology of (white) Christian Nationalism came exclusion. An "Afrikanerization" of state and government was to take place which evolved into a modernised system of racial domination (some authors referred to Volkskapitalisme, some to a colonialism of a special type and some to racial capitalism).²⁰ Erasmus on assuming power attempted to purge the defence force of high ranking officers that were perceived to be in favour or loyal to the previous Smuts government who was defeated at the polls, many of these officers being English speaking or liberal in their world-views. In the years to come the army saw a conscious policy of "Afrikanerisation" with a large measure of success – somewhat less successful so was the policy in the navy and the South African Air Force.²¹

The Military Academy student body under the apartheid regime comprised of white, mostly Afrikaans-speaking, males only for almost three decades; non-whites and women were not allowed to enrol and English-speaking citizens in general stayed clear of it. A turning point was reached in 1978 and 1979, when female students (three) and a so-called coloured student were respectively admitted to the Military Academy for the first time. The admittance of female students was, however, suspended the very next year due to lack of suitable accommodation, whereas only seven students from the non-white communities (six so-called coloureds and one Indian) enrolled at the Academy before 1990.²² Amidst the internal liberation struggle non-white South Africans were even less attracted to the apartheid military than English-speaking whites. It was only in 1990/91, in anticipation of the coming of the "New" South Africa that a concerted effort was made to make the student body more representative of the South Africa population. Female students were consequently in 1991 readmitted to the Academy, whilst consciousness efforts were made to recruit more students from the Indian, black and brown communities and 1991 indeed saw the first ever black students

¹⁹ Mil. Acad. Archives, name list of Mil. Acad. graduates, 1965 – 1990; Militêre Akademie Annual 1984, p.23.

²⁰ Compare Dan O'Meara, Harold Wolpe, Martin Leggassick and Neville Alexander (See I. Liebenberg, Ideologie in Konflik (Emmerentia, Taurus Uitgewers, 1990) and N. Alexander and M. Legassick in I. Liebenberg et al, The Long March (Pretoria, Kagiso/HAUM, 1994), various chapters.

²¹ R. Williams. The other armies: Writing the history of MK In I. Liebenberg et al (eds.): The Long March: The story of the struggle for liberation in South Africa (Kagiso/HAUM Publishers, Pretoria, 1994), p.22.

Mil. Acad. Archives, 'Verslag van Projek WIMPOLE oor die Militêre Akademie", 13 October 1989, pp.13
 - 18, 40; Mil. Acad. Archives, 'Projek WIMPOLE: Beslissingsvoorligting aan VBR', 13 October 1989, pp.3
 - 4, 9.

being admitted to the Academy.²³

The Academy graduates began dominating the top hierarchy of the SADF less than three decades after the institution first opened its doors. Three Academy-graduates, Gen. M.A. de M. Malan (1976 – 1980), Gen. C.L. Viljoen (1980 – 1985) and Gen. J.J. Geldenhuys (1985 – 1990), became Chief of the SADF in succession – after having also occupied the position of Chief of the Army in succession since 1973. Gen. Malan, furthermore, became Minister for Defence in 1980, a position he held until 1990. By 1990 the Academy had also produced a Chief of the Air Force, Lt.Gen. J.P.B van Loggerenberg (1988 - 1991) and a Chief of the Navy, V.Adm. A.P. Putter (1982-85 and again from 1989–90). Other prominent and high ranking officers such as Gen. Chris Thirion Chief of Military Intelligence (himself earlier on a lecturer at the academy) can be mentioned. By June 1991 about 37% of the SADF officers with the rank of Brigadier-General and higher were Academy-graduates. No reliable statistics are available as to the percentage of Academy-graduates below the rank of Brigadier-General at that stage, but they were certainly present at all levels of the hierarchy.²⁴

CIVILIAN-MILITARY INTERACTION AT STELLENBOSCH UNIVERSITY

To appreciate the historical context of the time one has to have an historical imagination, as much as one has to have a sociological imagination to understand the complexities and ironies of deeply divided societies. Stellenbosch was a burgeoning bastion of Afrikaner Nationalism, a flag bearer of western civilisation and Protestantism. It was on the one hand a place of typical students; care free, festive, falling in love and agonising about broken relationships, hiking trips in the majestic Boland mountain areas, visiting wineries or lazing out on the beach - within beautiful surroundings relatively isolated from the harsh political realities of South Africa increasingly crushed by apartheid. On the other hand there were students and student organisations and their professors that committed themselves to building with zeal the new Afrikaner Republic and solving its black problems with the confidence of new incumbents to power.

The University of Stellenbosch welcomed the Military Academy with open arms, as its affiliation with that sturdy Afrikaner institution, was in the words of its Rector, Prof. H.B. Thom, a direct response to 'a national need, but primarily a need amongst Afrikaans-speaking people'.²⁵ The planning and construction of the Academy buildings at Saldanha had just begun when the relocation of the Academy down south took place during 1955/1956, so Stellenbosch University readily agreed to accommodate the Academy staff and students on the mother campus until the facilities at Saldanha were completed. It could, however, not provide office accommodation to the Military Academy on campus, so the UDF rented office

²³ G.E. Visser and I. Van der Waag: Military Academy – 50 years of officer education in SA. SALUT, Vol 7, No 4, April 2000, p 54.

²⁴ G.E. Visser: British influence on military training and education in South Africa: The case of the South African Military Academy and its predecessors. South African Historical Journal, vol. 46, May 2002, pp. 81-82.

²⁵ H.B. Thom: Toekomsblik. In H.B. Thom, et al (eds.): Stellenbosch 1866 – 1966: Honderd Jaar Hoër Onderwys (Cape Town, 1966), p. 556.

in the nearby UBS building in Plein Street. Since there was no military accommodation available at Stellenbosch, but, also to integrate them as well as possible with student life, the 1955 Military Academy intake (32 students) took up residence with their civilian counterparts in *Dagbreek*, one of the university residences. In 1956 the military students were split between two residences, with the first-years in *Huis Visser* and the second-years in *Huis Marais*. In 1957 the new first-years were housed in *Wilgenhof*, while the second- and third-years stayed on in *Huis Visser* and *Huis Marais*. With the Academy buildings at Saldanha completed at long last, the second and third-years were relocated to Saldanha with effect from 1958. The first-years had to stay on the main campus in terms of the agreement between the Department of Defence and Stellenbosh University and were housed in a small, private hostel, *Crozier House*, from 1958. The latter proved to be a very satisfactory arrangement and *Crozier House* remained the home of the first-years until they were also relocated to Saldanha in 1961 when the Military Academy a fully-fledged faculty of Stellenbosch University.²⁶

University education for military officers brought two seemingly irreconcilable subcultures in the classical tradition of Sparta and Athens together, where Sparta, in the words of J.P. Lovell, represents 'the noble warrior: austerity, discipline, the comradeship of arms, devotion to the state, and, above all, a commitment to heroic deeds and a love of glory', while Athens represents 'culture and learning'.²⁷. In cases the Academy students were judged negatively at Stellenbosch University. From that perspective A. du Toit claims:

The aim behind the presence of the military at university... was to remove the stigma that the Afrikaner had attached to a soldier's uniform since the Second World War. By going to university, being students and living like students, future officers, and thus also the Defence Force, would acquire a higher standing for themselves and would also become more acceptable to the Afrikaner. Unfortunately the Defence Force's so-called *esprit de corps* and the poor material with which they had to achieve their aims handicapped them in this regard. The efforts to make a true student out of a "student officer" failed dismally... the military students... always caused trouble... wherever they were placed. There was so much discord at the University of Pretoria that the authorities refused to accommodate them any longer. So Stellenbosch got them and their presence wrecked the spirit of one residence after the other.²⁸

The perspective by Du Toit is one. There were others too. It is true that Erasmus wanted to utilise the Military Academy to put UDF officers intellectually at the same level as professional people in civil society and that he exploited the Academy to further his Afrikaner ideals for the UDF. In this regard socialisation as "the process through which one (as part of a group) develops awareness (and frequently adherence to for fear of sanction or social isolation) of social norms and values" and "(with) socialization, society ... can perpetuate

²⁶ G.E. Visser: 'Civilian-military interaction on the Matie campus: The Battle of Wilgenhof, 1957' (unpublished paper, 2008).

²⁷ J.P. Lovell: Neither Athens nor Sparta? The American Service Academies in Transition (Indiana University Press, Bloomington and London, 1979), p.16.

²⁸ A. du Toit: Moeilikheid met die "Army". In O. Potgieter (ed.): Wilgenhof Gedenkboek (1903 – 1967) (Stellenbosch, 1968), p. 75 (author's translation).

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itself beyond a single generation".²⁹ Both Pretoria and Stellenbosch were Afrikaans universities and as such conducive of and receptive to Erasmus's Afrikaner ideals for the UDF. The Academy students' *esprit de corps* and resultant inclination to group-forming did have some negative influence on their absorption in student society. But the rest of Du Toit's claim holds no water. The Academy students were not morally or intellectually inferior to the civilian students; the first two intakes did have a slightly higher fall-out rate at first-year level than their civilian peers, but from 1957 they were on par. The University of Pretoria did not opt out of its affiliation with the Military Academy because of strained relations; the military students adapted well to campus life and little discord between the military and civilian students was recorded. There was no initiative from the University of Pretoria to sever the affiliation, the UDF decided of its own accord to relocate the Academy to Saldanha and Stellenbosch. And; the Academy students did not wreck the spirit of one residence after the other at Stellenbosch.

Comparatively good relations resisted between the military and civilian students in *Dagbreek*, *Huis Visser* and *Huis Marais* from 1955 to 1956. The Academy students participated freely in student activities. Limited friction did surface on occasion because senior civilian students jerked the military first-years about by their uniforms or because civilian students made fun of the military students' drills and regimental routine, but no serious confrontation ever occurred. The only serious clash occurred in 1957 when the military first-years were housed in *Wilgenhof* and refused to subject themselves to the longstanding initiation rituals and disciplinary system of that residence. This culminated in the so-called 'Battle of *Wilgenhof*' when the military second and third-years hurried to the rescue of their first-year compatriots when the latter were abused and assaulted by the *Wilgenhoffers*. Although the opposing parties, armed with hockey sticks and what not, were 'at daggers drawn', the Commanding Officer of the Military Academy with the help of the University authorities and the SA Police succeeded in defusing the situation before violence erupted. The *Wilgenhoffers* subsequently declared the military students in their midst *personas non grata*, ignored them for the rest of their stay in the hostel and deleted their names from the residential register permanently.³⁰

The 'Battle of Wilgenhof' resulted from the diverging military and student subcultures, not from any lingering post-World War Two civilian disenchantment with the military or primary political differences (that element was to arise in the 1970s and 1980s and had only an indirect effect of student/military academy relations). Following the 'Battle of Wilgenhof' no further confrontations arose between the military and civilian students at Stellenbosch. After the last of the military students had been relocated to (170 kilometres distant) Saldanha in 1961, there was very little interaction between the Academy students and their civilian peers at Stellenbosch. The 'Battle of Wilgenhof' lived on in the memories of the military students for a few years, but was soon forgotten. The limited interaction that took place between the military and civilian students was not the kind that would bring forth conflict, for it was in the service of Venus. There was virtually no female company available in the

²⁹ A. Giddens, Sociology (Second Edition, Polity Press, 1995), p 746; M. Hughes and C. J. Kroehler, Sociology – the Core (McGraw Hill, New Delhi), p. 70.

³⁰ For detail, see G.E. Visser: 'Civilian-military interaction on the Matie campus: The Battle of Wilgenhof, 1957' (unpublished paper, 2008).

little fishing hamlet of Saldanha which led to the introduction of a few 'Academy weekends' per year during which girls from the main campus were invited to spend a weekend at the Academy to socialise with the military students. The Academy students also attended social events on the main campus from time to time, such as the annual 'pop festival' known as the 'Akkerjol'.³¹

By the late 1960s student organisations on the main campus, foremost amongst which was the Afrikaanse Studentebond (Afrikaans Students' Union), tried to involve the Academy students at a formal level. These efforts were turned down by the Military Academy command structure, because the military degree courses were compressed into two years from 1970 (until 1976), which, together with the concurrent military training programme, left virtually no time for such interaction.³² By 1970 the Military Academy was consequently pretty much 'a fully-fledged but often forgotten... [and] shamefully neglected... branch of Stellenbosch University'. 33 Hence four members of the editorial committee of Stellenbosch University's student's newspaper, Die Matie, paid a visit to Saldanha to 'see what the lot of Maties out there are up to and to find out whether it is possible to establish more interaction with the friendly guys at Saldanha'. 4 This visit resulted in a double-page photo article on the Academy in Die Matie³⁵ which explained the nature and activities of the Faculty of Military Science/Military Academy and emphasised they were part and parcel of Stellenbosch's student body. The article stressed that the Academy was an important national asset entrusted to Stellenbosch University and asked the question: 'How long are we going to wait before we involve the forgotten Maties of Saldanha in our activities? Will we only realise the necessity to involve them when this one and only Military Academy of our country decides to sever its ties with Stellenbosh University and become a faculty of the University of South Africa?'36

This view of the Military Academy from the main campus was seemingly a far cry from Du Toit's derogatory utterances quoted above. Times had changed, the Afrikaners' post-World War Two resentment of the military was long gone and as an Afrikaner educational stronghold, Stellenbosch University, particularly its student body, by and large identified with the RSAs struggle against the perceived communist threat on its borders – the so-called Bush War. By the 1970s Afrikaner hegemony was at its height. From that perspective the Mi-

³¹ SANDFA, AG (Gp. 1, classified) 12, HWA(C)403/67/72, minutes of Board of Enquiry, 13 September 1967; SANDFA, Mil. Acad. (Gp. 3) 158, G/TRG/6/2/0 (Confidential) vol. 4, information brochure, n.d. [April 1972]; P.D. Steyn – G.E. Visser, interview, Pretoria, 25 November 1994; P.O. Verbeek – G.E. Visser, interview, Saldanha, 20 December 1996; F.E. du Toit – G.E. Visser, telephonic interview, 15 June 1999.

³² SANDFA, Mil. Acad. (Gp. 3) 61, G/OPS/13 vol. 1, J.A. Loubser – Lt. G.N. Opperman, 18 October 1969; SANDFA, Mil. Acad. (Gp. 3) 61, G/OPS/13 vol. 1, OC. Mil. Acad. - J.A. Loubser, 31 October 1969.

³³ P. de Villiers (with photograps by J. van den Heever): 'Saldanha: Fort van ons vergete Maties'. Die Matie, 7 Augustus 1970, p. 4 (author's translation).

P. de Villiers (with photograps by J. van den Heever): 'Saldanha: Fort van ons vergete Maties'. Die Matie, 7 Augustus 1970, p. 4 (author's translation).

³⁵ P. de Villiers (with photograps by J. van den Heever): 'Saldanha: Fort van ons vergete Maties'. Die Matie, 7 August 1970, pp. 4-5.

³⁶ P. de Villiers (with photograps by J. van den Heever): 'Saldanha: Fort van ons vergete Maties'. Die Matie, 7 August 1970, p. 5 (author's translation).

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litary Academy was a valuable national asset entrusted to Stellenbosch University and well worth nurturing. Moreover, compulsory military service, first by means of a ballot system (1963) and then through general conscription (1972) followed on the heels of the first shots of the Bush War (Ungulumbashe, northern Namibia, 1966 and Wankie, Rhodesia, 1967), which meant that many civilian students had seen some military service, even operational service in the 'Bush', when they arrived on campus. Should any anti-Academy sentiments ever have surfaced on the main campus, it would certainly more likely have been rooted in the diverging military and academic/student subcultures rather than political sentiment at the time.

As a direct result³⁷ of the visit from *Die Matie*, closer social interaction was forged between the two campuses. From 1974 the military students participated in the annual Matie Carnival (rag) at the invitation of the Students' Council at Stellenbosch³⁸ and from 1977 they competed as a full 'men's residence' with the other residences during that event. They planned their participation with 'military precision' and dominated the scene in terms of funds raised and points earned for years to come. Their repeated Carnival victories over their civilian peers frustrated the latter tremendously, because they felt that their salaries and logistical support from the Defence force gave them an unfair advantage.³⁹ But this never led to any serious confrontations and the Carnival definitely forged better social integration between the two campuses, even if more so between the Academy students and the members of the fairer sex – very much in short supply at Saldanha - on the main campus! It became tradition for the Academy students to invite the ladies' residence with whom they teamed up for Carnival each year to Saldanha on the weekend before the Carnival to build esprit de corps for the competitions ahead. During the Carnival weekend, the Academy students 'advanced' on Stellenbosch in military transport and went in true military style into bivouac in their army tents at a Vergenoeg or another suitable camping site near campus. On campus they participated in the raft-building and other Carnival activities with their chosen ladies' residence to their hearts' delight an generally just let their hair down and surrendered to the pleasures of student life.⁴⁰ These activities probably did more than anything else to make the Academy students, especially the first-years, feel like full-blooded *Maties* and establish good civilian-military relations on campus.

However as the turbulent 1980s approached, despite good relationships between the majority of students at Stellenbosch and students of the Military Academy, the situation changed somewhat. Afrikaner hegemony was not to hold – in any case not nearly as it was in

³⁷ P. de Villiers (with photograps by J. van den Heever): 'Saldanha: Fort van ons vergete Maties'. Die Matie, 7 August 1970, p. 5 (author's translation).

³⁸ SANDFA, Mil. Acad. (Gp. 3) 49, A/PERS/37/2 vol. 1, Chair SU Carnival Committee – OC Mil. Acad., 12 January 1974.

³⁹ See Military Academy Annual, 1977 - 1990.

⁴⁰ SANDFA, Mil. Akad. (Gp. 3) 64, G/SD/3/1/20 MA, Special Unit Order No. 3/77, 17 February 1977; SANDFA, Mil. Acad. (Gp. 4) 30, MA/103/14/K vol. 3, Acting OC Mil. Acad. – Sport Secretary SU, 27 January 19781; Mil. Acad. (current archive), MA/B/103/14/K vol. 4, Sec. Mil. Acad. Carnival Committee – OC Mil. Acad., 5 February 1985; Mil. Acad. (current archive), MA/B/103/14/K vol. 4, Lt. H. Burger – Sport Secretary SU, 23 Januarie 1986; Military Academy Annual, 1977 - 1990.

the 1960s and 1970s. The Soweto Uprisings in 1976 was to have an effect, even if delayed, throughout the whole of South Africa. Traditional Afrikaner universities such as the Potchefstroom University (for Christian Higher Education), the University of Pretoria, University of the Orange Free State and the University of Stellenbosch were to experience some of these rumblings. South Africa since the 1955 Defiance Campaign and the apartheids government reaction against it by detaining, banning and imprisoning people was to lead to more resistance and the radicalisation of black/liberation politics. In the 1960s the African National Congress was to embark on an armed struggle. It was a while before the political undercurrents in the white society penetrated Afrikaans universities, while at the English speaking universities less isolated from local and national political developments, some discontent became visible much earlier.

Worlds Apart: Political needs, militarisation and civil resistance, 1960 -1988

While the term ideology has been given an array of definitions, at core it implies a comprehensive worldview that gives meaning to its supporters or believers. It also projects a "new world" to be achieved, upheld or fought for against those that does not belong to the believers. Moreover, ideology implies more than just a worldview but an "acted-upon vision". An ideology is never complete in theory or practice unless it supplies a program of action; word has to follow deed – and deeds imply personal involvement amidst collective action. Frequently ideology speaks to person's hearts and emotions and is extolled by their leaders which could be a chosen or self-anointed elite. It speaks for itself that as a mechanism for justification, mobilisation and action, ideology is closely related to control over scarce resources or sectional interests.⁴¹

One theorist observes that in an ideology "words are measured for their fire-power, not necessarily the truth". The development of the ideology of Christian Nationalism among white South Africans has been described *ad nausea* and we will not further expand on it. The elements of racism, euro-centrism and the incorporation of (Protestant) religion into the ideology of the apartheid state have been observed by sociologists and historians over a long time. Contemporary Afrikaner Nationalism as a project started as early as the 1920s with various elite elements proclaiming the need for a united Afrikanerdom. By 1938 with the first stone laid at the Voortrekker Monument in Pretoria Afrikaner Nationalism became anew a reality. Ten years later the Afrikaners would take power. The ideology captured the Afrikaans-speaking whites, their elite used it as a powerful mobilising tool (based on race, ethnicity and language) and now the new state acted on it.

Resistance against apartheid increased in the 1960s. The African National Congress (ANC) created an armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK); likewise the South African Communist Party joined the fray and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) resorted to armed struggle against apartheid. The Liberal Party, recognising that civil resistance against top-

^{41 &}quot;(Structures of) signification are mobilized to legitimate the interests of hegemonic groups", A. Giddens, *Central Problems in Social Theory: Action, Structure and Contradiction in Social Analysis*, MacMillan, London, 1979), p.188.

⁴² L. S. Feuer, Ideology and Ideologists (Basil Blackwell Publishers, Oxford, 1975), p.20.

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down apartheid was futile disbanded itself in 1958.⁴³ The Congress of Democrats (COD), one peaceful voice since the Kliptown Declaration/Congress of the People was banned.⁴⁴ Following the Soweto Revolts, that was not confined to the Transvaal Province/the northern part of South Africa only, various groups within a broader Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) arose. Liberation groups could be broadly categorised at the time as those of a non-racial nature (a principled stand against any form of racism, ethnic labelling or imposed group identities) and those of an Africanist orientation. It has to be mentioned that between Africanists and Black Consciousness groups there were differences with the latter seeing all oppressed people as "black" (thus black being a symbolic term rather than a racial term). By the 1980s resistance escalated with an array of organisations that established themselves inside the country. Apart from several trade unions broadly in sympathy with the non-racial and Africanist or Black Consciousness Movement, the United Democratic Front came into existence. More sympathetic to the Africanist and Black Consciousness Movement was the National Forum. The latter had strategic differences with that were perceived as the Marxist-Leninist approach of the SACP.

The apartheid state evolved in the meantime from what the political elite saw as the need to be paternal guardians over the "non-white" population (*voogdyskap*) to ruling supreme (*baasskap*). With increasing pressures from below and foreign pressure (sanctions and political isolation) the apartheid government declared its allegiance to the west, amongst others leading to their less fortunate involvement in Angola as a part proxy force for the United States of America in 1975.

Internal pressures from below, external sanctions and the increasing involvement of the South African security forces against states in southern Africa (the so-called Frontline States, a loose economic coalition against apartheid), white society became increasingly militarised. The South African military - according to some observers, under protest - became involved as one of the arms to uphold apartheid. Just as in the Boer Republics and the Union of South Africa the state's power depended on the sword and one also wielded against the internal population when deemed necessary.

South Africa was a country divided (once more) against itself. The atmosphere penetrated the whole society, including tertiary institutions. It also touched the Afrikaans-speaking universities which swore allegiance to the National Party. The University of Stellenbosch could not, despite its relative isolation from the South African reality escape the winds of change that swept over South Africa. Though overall the Reformed Churches, the National Party and secret student bodies such as the Ruiterwag kept their sway over power, they could no longer by the 1980s stifle all their critics, even if they could isolate and label them as unpatriotic, liberal, communist or naive.

However, years of Afrikaner Nationalist rule had its effect on the Afrikaans speaking white South Africans. This also applies to the students in tertiary institutions. A study conducted in 1977 found that 77,6% of students at the University of Stellenbosch supported the

⁴³ G. van der Westhuizen, The Liberal party of South Africa, 1953 - 1968 In I. Liebenberg *et al*, *The Long March: The story of the struggle for liberation in South Africa* (Kagiso/HAUM, Pretoria, 1994), p. 81.

⁴⁴ G. van der Westhuizen, The South African Congress of Democrats In I. Liebenberg *et al*, *The Long March: The story of the struggle for liberation in South Africa* (Kagiso/HAUM, Pretoria, 1994), p. 72.

National Party while 14,2 % found themselves in the opposition (mostly liberal and thus left-wing with a smaller percentage finding themselves on the right of the an authoritarian government that professed to be "reformist").⁴⁵ Closest allegiance to the National Party correlated with religion and language, the latter since long a deep dividing line amongst white South Africans.⁴⁶ By 1974 the National Party in Stellenbosch sacrificed 7% of its support with the Progressive Party gaining some 6%. ⁴⁷

It is interesting to compare the statistics for 1970 – 1974 with later findings. What the white South African's youth "manipulated consciousness as a result of ideological control" ⁴⁸reflected showed some of the same tendencies more than ten years later at Stellenbosch, yet important differences are observable:

At the University of Stellenbosch 53,6% of students supported the ruling National Party, 6,6% found themselves to the right of the National Party while 33,6% of students supported the more liberal Democratic Party. Only 1,3% of students supported non-racial and radical movements such as the United Democratic Front. The divide between Afrikaans speaking campuses and English speaking campuses was not surprising. Support for the National Party varied from 9% at the University of Cape Town to 21,8% at the University of Witwatersrand in 1988/1989. The two Afrikaans universities that reflected the most support for the ruling party was the University of the Free State with 65,7% and the Randse Afrikaanse University (RAU) at 60,8%.⁴⁹

The effect of a mobilised consciousness is seen in a study by Gagiano published in 1986.⁵⁰ The study showed that students at Stellenbosch University (which included a few students from the Military Academy in the sample) showed a low protest potential and a high repression potential that coincided with their belief in the political regime as legitimate.⁵¹

In this respect South African students were a reflection of, a micro-cosmos of the broader society and its strains, contradictions and paradoxes. Likewise the Afrikaner youth (also at Stellenbosch) was a reflection of broader Afrikaner society; a society that experienced itself as besieged by a "Communist Onslaught" (in securocratic jargon it was called a *Total Onslaught*). Underpinning this perception was also the fear for "the other" – in this case black people.

⁴⁵ L. Pretorius. *Partyvoorkeure van Studente: Stellenbosch, 1970 – 1975.* (Masters in Commerce and Administration, University of Stellenbosch, 1977), p. 56.

⁴⁶ Ibid, p. 59.

⁴⁷ *Ibid*, p.59

⁴⁸ S. Booysen, 1989. The legacy of ideological control: The Afrikaner youth's manipulated political consciousness, Politikon, Vol. 16(1), p. 7.

⁴⁹ S. Booysen, 1989. The legacy of ideological control: The Afrikaner youth's manipulated political consciousness, Politikon, Vol. 16(1), p. 7.

⁵⁰ At the time various observers described the South African regime as "a garrison state", a "bunker state", a "militarized state", a "praetorian state" and some refereed to the South African military in Namibia and Angola as a "frontier army" while others suggested that the security minded politicians has drawn the South African Defence Force (SADF) into acts of destabilization of southern African states (the Frontline States).

⁵¹ J. Gagiano, Meanwhile back on the Boereplaas: Student attitudes to political protest and political systems' legitimacy at Stellenbosch University. In *Politikon*, Vol. 13(2), p. 3ff.

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Universities, students on campus and "problems with the Army"

It is clear from the above that on Afrikaans campuses and at the University of Stellenbosch there were little enough sympathy with opposition groups – even the liberal white political parties. Likewise to correlate with a low protest potential, the repression potential amongst Afrikaner students was high. More than 90% of Afrikaner students were unsympathetic to the ANC, one of the liberation movements. Repression potential (in other words to be in favour of physically breaking up meetings of the radical opposition, banning their office bearers or jailing them) was likewise high, namely 88,2%. This applied also to the University of Stellenbosch and presumably students of the military academy included in the sample. Relationships with the students from the military academy despite the distance of 170 kilometres (approximately and hour and a half's drive) were accommodating, more than cordial.

The relative isolation of Stellenbosch and the Military Academy contributed to this. However in certain respects the University of Stellenbosch was not the same as in 1970. By 1984 when the South African Defence Force was deployed in black townships (the first being Sebokeng) small numbers of white students protested. From those that started their studies at Stellenbosch a number were previous conscripts of all ranks. The majority of students as argued above formed part of the manipulated consciousness. Yet some students amongst them previous conscripts (now citizen force members actively awaiting their yearly call ups) voiced their opposition against the government of the day and its policies. It has to be said that the number was extremely small – probably of those that were socialised through conscription and citizen force call ups on a yearly basis, less than 1 % of the student population of Stellenbosch (very much the same applies to other Afrikaans universities).

Some examples of dissenting voices at Stellenbosch included:

A petition defending academic freedom when university authorities prevented a spokes person of the internal wing of the South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO) of Namibia to deliver a lecture at the University of Stellenbosch (18th October 1983);

A member of the Student's Representative Council (SRC) that called for a motion of no confidence in the Chancellor of Stellenbosch University, Mr. P W Botha who incidentally was also the President of the Republic of South Africa;

Stellenbosch students intending to meet with the ANC in Lusaka; their passports were withdrawn;

Stellenbosch students meeting with the ANC in Harare during an emergency session of the World Council of Churches meeting in Harare, 1985;

Regular publicity given to student dissidence, objection to military service, student demonstrations and unrest at the liberal universities and the so-called "bush colleges";

Students taking part in the UDF's One Million Signature Campaign and a boycott of white businesses during 1983 and 1984;

The creation of a branch of the National Union of South African Students (Nusas) at

⁵² J. Gagiano, Ruling Group Cohesion in South Africa: A study of the political attitudes among white students In: I. Liebenberg and C. van der Lugt, *Worlds of Difference: Political Attitudes of White Students in South Africa* (Idasa, Mowbray, 1990), p. 29.

Stellenbosch and a branch of the End Conscription Campaign (ECC; Afrikaans: *Be-eindig Diensplig Kampanje*) during 1986;

Letters in the student newspaper, *Die Matie* arguing for the unbanning of the ANC and in support of the UDF;

Articles on the issue of an unjust war, civil disobedience and anti-apartheid activities in *Die Matie*;

Pamphlets of an activist nature distributed on campus despite attempts by the security police to confiscate these materials;

The launch of a non-racial United Stellenbosch Front (USF) in April 1987;

Appeals published in pamphlets and the student newspaper, as well as the Christian student newspaper, *Dinamiek* to withdraw troops from the townships (19 September 1987).

Questioning and detention of students and members of the community by the security police in the vicinity of the university.⁵³

Despite the high legitimacy accrued to the National Party government and the executive (and hawk-like) president and a high repression potential the campus seemingly was divided. Yet, despite the activism of left wing students the great majority of students remained loyal to the National Party and its ideology. In contrast to the dissidents the Stellenbosch campus also saw:

Visits of the Geography Society to the Military Academy at Saldanha, 19 May 1985;

The creation of the Popular Student Alliance (Afrikaans: *Populêre Studente Alliansie*), funded by military intelligence 1986/1987 and the funding of Youth for South Africa (Afrikaans: *Jeugkrag*) on campus;

The Student Parliament voting *against the right to peaceful political demonstration* on campus, 13 March 1986 35 votes to 11);

Members of the University of Stellenbosch Military Unit (Afrikaans: *Universiteit Stellenbosch Militere Eenheid* or USME) on their return publicly welcomed by the Rector, Mike de Vries and the Mr. Piet Marais, Member of Parliament for Stellenbosch;

A visit of female members of the SRC to the Namibian border ("operational area") funded by the Public Relations Department of the South African Defence Force (SADF), February 1985:

The Popular Student Alliance hosting Brigadier Tito Chiminguni, third in command of Unita, a rebel movement in Angola funded by the CIA and the apartheid government, April 1986.⁵⁴

By 1987 when a meeting in Dakar between a group of South Africans (the majority Afrikaans-speaking) and the ANC Executive took place Stellenbosch students were involved and since 1986 Stellenbosch students publicly declared that they are unwilling to serve in the apartheid military. Two demonstrations took place on campus. Despite this the relationships between the military academy students and the majority of the Stellenbosch students remained cordial if not warm. It speaks for itself that this did not necessarily apply to the objectors to national service while open conflict was refrained from. In fact, the ECC Workgroup retained an open attitude on dialogue around objection to military service and alternatives to

⁵³ Kosie Gericke Library, University of Stellenbosch, Compaktus, editions of Die Matie, 1981 – 1987.

⁵⁴ Kosie Gericke Library, University of Stellenbosch, *Compaktus*, editions of Die Matie, 1981 – 1987.

it (i.e. community service). *Die Matie* refers to the invitation to an open dialogue at various stages, i.e. 24/02/1986, 13 March 1985, 27 February 1986.

Some examples of student activism on other Afrikaans universities included the formation of the *Studente vir 'n Demokratiese Suid-Afrika* at Pretoria and *Afrikane teen Apartheid* at the Rands Afrikaanse University. The University of the Orange Free State also saw a small nucleus of left wing activists acting on and off campus.

At the white (no more really white) liberal universities things were markedly different since the 1970s. Regular demonstrations took place and were frequently broken up by the police/riot police. At the so-called "bush colleges" or "ethnic" universities student resistance regularly ended in demonstrations and/or class boycotts; the University of the North, the University of Fort Hare, the University of Venda, the University of Durban-Westville, the Medical University of South Africa or Medunsa (exclusively for black students) and the University of Western Cape (UWC) being examples. UWC in stark contrast to Stellenbosch and other Afrikaans universities declared openly that it was "an intellectual home to the Left". The liberal (English) universities hovered between protestation against apartheid laws and demonstrations.

Indeed, the tertiary world in South Africa was worlds apart and students from different political backgrounds acted out these "Worlds of Difference". 55 South Africa since the establishment of the State Security Council in 1972, the 1976 Youth Rebellion and the transition to a tri-cameral parliament under an executive presidency in 1983 was moving closer to what Frankel described as a praetorian state (perhaps by default?) or Orr the "garrison state", while others referred to a "bunker state". Indeed white South Africa became a militarised society and the white Afrikaans universities followed suit, with the exception of very marginal dissidents.

IMPLICATIONS OF PAST EXPERIENCES AND PERCEPTIONS OF THE MILITARY FOR CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS AND THE CAREER OF THE PROFESSIONAL MILITARY PERSON IN SOUTH AFRICA

The South African experience of tertiary education for officers as far as associated with a single university and in the current absence of a military university for South Africa provides some lessons for the future.

However close the interaction between the military and civilian students had become in the two decades after 1970, the changing composition of the Military Academy student body from 1990 to reflect the South African demography, would pose new questions to interaction with a main campus were change occurred much slower.

Conclusion

Politics, history has taught us, is the art to included rather than exclude. Politics and the art of managing the sword given to the state imply to deploy the sword – if ever – not against your own citizenry but in defence of the country and its citizenry. This in fact constitutes the

⁵⁵ C. van der Lugt, Worlds of Difference In: I. Liebenberg and C. van der Lugt (eds.). Worlds of Difference: The Political Attitudes of White Students in South Africa (Idasa, Mowbray, 1990).

heart of civil-military relations in a democracy. South Africa experienced a form of creeping praetorianism under apartheid. It was indeed a praetorianism of a special type as the military never came to power by ousting the politicians (a *coup*). Rather the military were drawn in / invited / coached into parallel security structures to eliminate and or minimise unrest and left wing opposition. Some elements such as the Civil Cooperation Bureau were spawned that did not venture only in counter intelligence and discrediting opponents, but actually bombing activist's offices (in one case even a church organisation's building) and assassination of left wing opponents – thus reflecting to some extent what the Latin American states experienced with their dirty war or *guerra sucia*. Part of the problem lies in the fact that civil-military relations were subverted by the apartheid government – so was to an extent, the rule of law. Part of the problem was the ideology of Christian Nationalism and racism; in other words ethnicity from above rather than principled non-racialism. Part of the problem was the political elite caught up in groupthink and that they did not show visionary inclusive political approaches.

But part of the problem was that there was after 1950, not a single generation of students or for that matter the majority of educators at Afrikaans universities and colleges that were brought up that could challenge the confined thinking of the apartheid leadership and their policies (this also apply to the military academy to some extent). Seemingly the younger generation was helplessly uncritical on social issues and hence incapable to escape the ideological prison of a manipulated consciousness.

Today the challenges in a fledgling democracy are manifold. The political elite and civil communities need to be vigilant about exclusive tendencies. Attempts at party-political preferential treatment should be resisted with an attitude and social approaches that nurture principled non-racialism and not favour race, religious or linguistic backgrounds (one could refer to this as constitutional patriotism).

But more important – or at least pertinent to this paper – is that at tertiary institutions, the military academy included critical education, the honing of critical faculties of students should be seen as part of educational ethics and military professionalism. In this way the merger of Venus/Athene and Sparta can be optimised amongs students and young officers within a young democracy.

However the consistent observation through history is that this seldom what transpires. This is true especially in a country amidst other countries with deep divisions and where outside forces are able to manipulate smaller countries and their citizenry. For South African civilian and military leadership – and the younger generation at tertiary institutions – challenges abound.

South Africans have learned that by far the potential is bigger to see your own forces deployed against you than against direct foreign aggressors. South Africans have learnt that going to war on other's behalf is divisive. South Africans have learnt that to build and upkeep a military on the basis of language, ethnicity, religion or party political loyalty is simply dangerous (so has countless other societies).

The challenge is to remember these lessons and apply it consistently while building a democratic state amidst an insecure world. In this tertiary education for the military has a crucial role to play.

Haiti - The path to peace - Minustah

AURELIANO PINTO DE MOURA

THE REPUBLIC OF HAITI

The Republic of Haiti (The Land of the Mountains) occupies half of the western side of Hispaniola Island in the Caribbean Sea; on the east side there is the Dominican Republic. Haiti is the first Nation to be independent in Latin America in the year 1804 and the first black republic in the world. There are nearly eight million and four hundred thousand inhabitants, of which two million live at the capital, Porto Principe. Most of the people are illiterate and live below the poverty line.

Haiti official language is French, but Creole language is spoken by most of the population. The Catholicism is predominant, however voodoo is spread all around the country. There are similarities between voodoo and Brazilian candomblé and ubanda.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Hispaniola Island was discovered by Christopher Columbus in 1492. In less than 200 years the island transformed from a pirates land to a formal colony, producing sugar cane, using slave labor. In 1697 the western side of the island was given to France, getting the name of Saint Domingue.

Under influence of French Revolution, in 1794 there was a bloody rebellion comprising 500.000 black slaves, conducting Toussaint Loverture to be the chief of government in 1801. Two years later the island was recaptured by the French forces. Loverture was arrested and sent to France where he died soon afterwards. Dessalines, a former slave, conducted a new rebellion till the independence in January 1804, when Haiti was formally established as a formal independent country. During the rebellion, thousands of people died at the same time sugar mills were destroyed. In October Dessalines was proclaimed emperor.

In 1814 the eastern side of the island was retaken by Spain where today is the Dominican Republic.

After two emperors and many presidents, in constant crisis, corruption and financial scandals provoked the American intervention by US marines in 1915, under the allegation of protection of American citizens, with Haiti losing control over its finances, health and public services. Only in 1941 the situation was finally controlled by the Haitian government.

From 1957 on, again in crisis and in constant instability Haiti lived another turbulent period, under a harsh and bloody dictatorship of François Duvalier which lasted till 1971. He was followed by his son, Jean Claude till 1986. Obliged to flee the country by the Haitian people, Jean Claude exiled in France, leaving the country under a military and civilian junta. The population, out of control, began to attack the former officials of the deposed dictatorship, sacking the cities and looting even cemeteries.

There was a transition government, led by General Henry Namphy, again with violence and unrest, when a priest called Bertrand Aristide came to political evidence. A tough Duva-

lier adversary, he opposed also the military. For his ideas and speeches he was spelled from Salesian Order when he incited class struggle. In the mean time, René Preval returned of exile from Belgium, approaching Aristide.

In 1988 the president elected Leslie Manigat was deposed by a military coup, in great violence. In two years three other presidents were violently deposed. The government was taken by the Supreme Court judge Erth Pascal Trouilot who conducted elections when Aristide was elected president of Haiti. Members of Duvalier faction invaded the Presidential Palace taking Erth as a hostage. Immediately the Army invaded the palace and freed the judge, taking Duvalier faction members as prisoners. A hundred of them were burned down alive, some were murdered by axes by an enraged population.

Aristide took over the power, being deposed and exiled to France seven months afterwards by General Rauol Cedras. In reprisal , USA and France suspended all help to Haiti, demanding the immediate return of Aristide. There followed a period of repression, arbitrary prisons and indiscriminate killings of Aristide followers.

Under UN pressure Cedras allowed the presence of United Nations Military Mission in Haiti with an objective to modernize the Armed Forces and create a National Police. Without any further understanding this mission left Haiti. In the mean time canadian and american ships patrolled haitian territorial waters.

In 1994 Haiti suffered a total UN embargo and OEA (American States Organization) demanded its employees to leave the country. Washington, then, imagined that the same thing that happened in 1915 could happen again. Brazil supported the American intervention under UN flag. However the intervention did not occur because Cedras and Clinton did not get to an understanding. After all they decided for a peaceful landing of American troops.

At the end of 1994, Cedras resigned and Aristide took over the government again, dissolving the Army and arming a militia, attributing the security to the National Police. Two years elapsed and Aristide at the end of his term transmitted the government to a recently elected Rene Preval. A new mission was sent to Haiti. The UN Support Mission in Haiti (UN-SMIH) had the task to help Haiti economically and institutionally. Preval dissolved Congress and a series of missions were sent to the country.

In 2001 Aristide returned to power through elections, however the political instability and violence doubled in the country, affecting the Aristide situation at the end of 2003. Accusations of elector ubanda rally fraud, corruption and drug trafficking spread all over Haiti. This strong reaction came from students, businessmen and conservative politicians, supported by a group of former military who wanted to recreate the Army, abolished by Aristide in 1994.

At the beginning of 2004 the country became a chaos. Bloody fights erupted in many cities, with the insurgents taking the most important cities. Once again pressed by France and USA Aristide resigned the government, transferring it to Boniface Alexandre, President of Supreme Court. The diplomatic efforts and the militia support were not enough to protect him. For the second time Artistide fled to exile, saying he was kidnapped by Americans and taken to Africa.

As a request of Haiti to UN, in April, 30th, the US Mission for stabilization of Haiti (MI-NUSTAH) was formed and in June, the first, 2004 the first Brazilian troops arrived in Porto Principe.

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ASSUMED MISSION

Those were the principal purposes of the Mission: assure (eshur) a minimum safety condition to continue the constitutional and political process; help to organize the National Police and to support disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of irregular groups to the country.

The UN military force comprised of 6.700 men, under the command of a Brazilian general. The vice-chief was to be a Chilean general. From the Brazilian Army was sent a peace brigade (Brigada Haiti) with 1197 infantry troops and armoured under the command of a general. It would be constructed an Operations base. The principal area of responsibility would be Porto Principe, however the brigade was sent to Hinche, Gonaives, Grand Goave and Thomazeau, because there were few soldiers of other nations. Getting to Haiti in June, 25th, the Brazilian troops replaced the Multinational Force installing themselves at Tabarre University.

PEACEKEEPING ORGANIZATION

The Brazilian peace keeping force was basically formed by two regular battalions, the first one from the Army infantry the other one from the Marine Corps. The force also comprised a support armoured squadron, an operations base with logistics, psychological operations, social, recreation and religious sections, with a total of 2.600 men. This simple organization was kept during the whole political and unstable situation.

From 2007 on, the brigade was reduced to a battalion with four companies, three of Army infantry and one from the marines, plus an armoured squadron, with a total of 1.200 men. It was increased with an engineer company. Nowadays the Haitian government asked for another engineer company to be added to the force. Besides the Brazilian force, there are other military groups from many countries, most coming from South America.

PEACEKEEPING OPERATION TRAINING

The Brazilian force has been replaced every six months by another contingent recruited from different regions of Brazil. All groups have been training in a Peacekeeping Training Center in Rio de Janeiro. Besides military training, the men were instructed on how to behave with the local population, respecting Haitian culture, customs, religiosity (religion) and traditions. The Haitians are to be seen as brothers who need help, never as an enemy. In order to help communications with the local population all personnel study French and Creole, including officers who are chosen by their special characteristics and knowledge of English and French.

Peacekeeping operations

In June, the first, 2004, the Brazilian force arrived in Haiti to compose MINUSTAH, the fifth UN mission to stabilize the situation in this country, ten years after Brazil had criticized the American military occupation.

In spite of a lot of criticism from the press, the government and the Brazilian people do

not see as an inconvenience the peacekeeping operation, because besides struggling to prevent turmoil and establish peace in the region the lives of eight million people are at stake in a very poor country, with the most degraded ecosystem in the world and 80% of the population living below the poverty line and life expectancy of only 53 years old.

At the beginning the crucial problem of MINUSTAH commander was the infrastructure and lack of trained soldiers to organize a consistent military apparatus. With no troops attached to the force, General Augusto Heleno Ribeiro Pereira took over the Multinational Force formed basically by Americans, without knowing what troops would constitute the whole force altogether. There were a lot of promises not always accomplished. When one expected a battalion a company would follow. Everything depended of will and this was not enough. Action had to be taken.

At the end of July, the challenge was to disarm and demobilize the fighting groups that acted in the country formed mostly by former Haitian military men. Although the Army was disbanded there were armed groups with no formal organization spread all over Haiti. They were not like the guerrilla groups called "chimieres" because they were seen by the populations as free fighters. Before MINUSTAH arrived in country these groups kept the International Mission at stake.

Still in July the Haitian Provisional Government recognized the former military movement as legitimate and designated General Ravix Remissainthe as its commander and spokesman to the legally established authorities. Immediately Ravix began a series of attacks against the police all over country, trying to hit United of Nation forces.

In these initial months it was very difficult to accommodate the Brazilian force. The few bases in country were scattered and the force command had to move continuously. Only at the end of 2004 it was installed at Tabarre University.

There were a lot of problems at the beginning of operation which the principal objective was to impose peace, defeating armed groups (former military, militias and gangs), keeping them unarmed. The National Police had to join this operation, acting together with Brazilian forces. It was also important to reach "hearts and minds" of local population, thru a close relationship with local authorities, non-governmental groups and the people themselves practicing civic and social programs. The principal aim was to diminish the population suffering, giving them hope.

The scope of this paper does not allow describing all operations carried out, mostly in urban areas, inside slums (favelas), places where armed groups acted as masters, protected most of the time by the local police.

Normally the operations were conducted with different troops from countries participating in the reconstruction of Haiti. Sometimes the different languages were a big problem. There were ambushes, siege and assault operations, however urban warfare was predominant. Slowly the situation became under control, diminishing the violence level.

One of the most violent operations was the rescue of the French Secretary of Exterior Relations and of the Haitian Minister of Exterior at Cité Soleil after Preval took over. Another dangerous situation was when the Brazilians substituted the Jordanians in july 2006, inside Cité Soleil. As soon as the Jordanians got out the rebels began to threat by hand signs to decapitate the Brazilian soldiers new in the area. The Brazilians continued fearless to

shoot at these rebels. Next morning Evans, the local hoodlum asked for a cease fire. A deal was set with a Brazilian commander who offered to fix destroyed roads, build water wells and not to arrest the rebels. The peace agreement was sealed. Next week after the shoot out repair groups began to work. Many rebel groups abandoned the weapons and peace was finally established. With operations like this the UN troops began to get support from the local population and from many militia men and bandits.

With patient and perseverance, dialoguing always, the rebel groups began to depose arms. The only difficulty was to distinguish who was who in that situation. The Peace Force, with few soldiers, could not be present everywhere in Haiti. Some 2000 soldiers stayed at the capital, while the rest were distributed around country. Even in some small cities the former military paratroops were the only authorities, dictating to the local population what to do. They did not conquer power because they were not strong enough. They only filled the power void because there was no police there. Sometimes, this odd situation disturbed the peace process.

The principal problem was the *chimiere* resistance. The former Ravix rebels were a lesser problem. The arrival of new troops allowed to regain control of small towns in the interior of Haiti.

IN SEARCH OF INTEGRATION

In order to help and approach the Haitian people UN forces undertook civic and social operations in poor communities always with the full participation of local authorities. I will describe from now on specifically the Brazilian operations together with other nations.

At the beginning of these operations President of Brazil visited the country when the Brazilian professional soccer team faced the Haitian national team, really a show of joy and happiness to the local population.

Community actions with local populations:

- Rebuilding schools and public offices;
- Distributing food and drinkable water;
- Promoting together with local communities athletic social and musical activities;
- Conducting medical and dental activities, with Argentinean help;
- Helping cities that suffered from natural disasters as a hurricane that struck Haiti in September, 2004, fire fighting and burned assistance, together with other nations;
- Promoting visits of young teenagers to Brazil in an exchange program.
- Training local workers as bakers, plumbers, electricians, stoneworkers and administrative and health technicians.

Working with infrastructure projects in the country together with Uruguayans, Chileans, Ecuadorians and Haitians themselves such as garbage removal, drilling water wells and paving roads.

Conclusion

The Peace operations are not intended only to impose and keep peace in the disturbed region. There will be the need to improve local populations living conditions. In Haiti the Brazilian forces had the help of other Latin America forces, making easy the mutual un-

derstanding with local population. The task for the Brazilian forces were easier because of Brazilian friendliness and understanding of what poverty does to a hungry people, watching the same thing in Brazil but not as severe as in Haiti. Brazilians are a racial mixed people of all origins and religions and this fact contributed to comprehend what discrimination can do to a specific people. In Brazil there is respect for each other culture and customs.

As far as Haiti is concerned our afro Brazilian soldiers got together very well with local populations, because they could comprehend customs and traditions sometimes common to both countries, Brazil and Haiti, coming from Africa, specially religious expressions.

Peacekeeping operations bring us a lot of experience useful to get peace all over the world in a closer relationship among nations getting together all people and all religious. Be peace with us all always. This is what a peace operation is for.

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The Echo of Coin¹: The Problem with History and the Population Centric Theory in American Counterinsurgency Doctrine

GIAN P. GENTILE

The Air Arm makes it possible to reach the civilian population behind the line of battle, and thus to attack their morale resistance directly."\

Guilio Douhet, 1921

Thus the battle for the population is a major characteristic of revolutionary war.

David Galula, 1964

The people are the prize in a counterinsurgency operation, they are the key terrain...on which victory or defeat rests.

Peter Mansoor, 2008

The problem with history in the American Army's new, vaunted and widely read counterinsurgency (Coin) doctrine, Field Manual (FM) 3-24² is simple: it draws narrowly on a body of writing on counterinsurgency warfare best symbolized by the French Revolutionary War School of counterinsurgency theory and practice of the early 1960s.³ As a result the Army's new Coin doctrine is singularly premised on what has become known as the "population centric" theory of counterinsurgency warfare.⁴ This theory, derived from aspects of the French Revolutionary Warfare School among other western writers on Coin, posits that a nation's people (or population) are the key to defeating an insurgency. If the people are properly handled and controlled the insurgency which uses the people for cover and concealment can be, over time, defeated. The problem, though, is that by its narrow selection of history and theory, the American Army's new Coin doctrine actually pushes it toward dogmatism in how it approaches problems of insurgency throughout the world today and in the future.⁵

¹ With apologies to Professor Brian McAllister Linn and the title to his superb book *The Echo of Battle: The Army's Way of War.* I discuss his book at the end of this essay.

FieldManual 3-24 /Marine Corps Warfighting Publication 3-33.5, Counterinsurgency (Washington DC: HQ, Dept. of the Army; HQ, Marine Corps Combat Development Command, Dept. of the Navy, Dec. 2006) (hereafter referred to as FM 3-24).

³ Also known as Guerre Revolutionnaire (Revolutionary War). Throughout this paper I will use the term "French Revolutionary War School" to refer to the body of knowledge produced by French Army officers and others from different western nations that conceived of communist and nationalist wars of liberation and revolution in the same was as well as generally agreeing on the tactics and operational methods to confront them.

⁴ For a detailed explanation of the term "population centric" and "enemy-centric" see interview with David Kilkullen by Charlie Rose on 5 October 2008; transcript for this interview is in "Transcript: Charlie Rose Interview with David Kilkullen, *International Herald Tribune*, 8 October 2008.

⁵ Gian P. Gentile, "The Dogmas of War: A Rigid Counterinsurgency Doctrine Obscures Iraq's Realities, *Armed Forces Journal* (December 2007), 38-40.

The French Revolutionary War School grew out of a certain set of historical circumstances in the early 1960s. French Army officers like David Galula and Roger Trinquier devised a theoretical and practical approach to dealing with communist revolutions in countries just emerging out of colonial empires that had been broken up as a result of World War II. These French Army officers had fought the Vietminh in Vietnam in the early 1950s and the insurgency in Algeria in the later half of that same decade. Out of their experience came a body of written work on the theory and practice of countering revolutionary communist insurgencies and rebellions. An essential principle from their experience that prescribed certain tactical and operational methods was the need to protect and control the populations in order to separate the insurgents who used the populations for concealment; hence the term "population-centric." Other Army officers from different countries also contributed to this body of thought (although not necessarily part of the French School) like the British officer Sir Robert Thompson who practiced a similar approach to countering a communist insurgency in Malaya in the 1950s. The American Army, as it began its heavy involvement in Vietnam in the early 1960s was also influenced indirectly by the French School.7 Common to these experiences by the French, British, and Americans was that a counterinsurgency campaign against a communist revolutionary insurgency would be protracted over many years and would require substantial involvement by a counterinsurgent force with a nation's peoples. This overall approach became known as protracted people's war.

Since the American Army's current Coin doctrine being applied in Iraq is population centric, the guiding principle in this approach is that in any counterinsurgency the people must be protected from the insurgents. In order to protect the people from insurgents, the tactical method (derived from the French Revolutionary War School of the early 1960s) of emplacing large numbers of American combat soldiers on the ground is usually necessary. It is in this sense that I argue that the American Army's new Coin doctrine is narrowly defined and has become dogmatic because it demands a certain prescribed tactical and operational method in the employment of American military combat power to deal with insurgencies. It demands a method that relies heavily on a template devised by the French Revolutionary War School's approach to counterinsurgency from the early 1960s.

There are other histories and theories of counterinsurgency warfare available (although the new American Coin doctrine chose not to rely on them). The most common alternative

The best analysis still to date on the French Revolutionary War School is Peter Paret, French Revolutionary Warfare from Indochina to Algeria: The Analysis of a Political and Military Doctrine (New York: Praeger Publishers 1964); also see John Shy and Thomas W. Collier, "Revolutionary War," in Peter Paret (ed) Makers of Modern Strategy: From Machiavelli to the Nuclear Age (Princeton University Press 1986). When I make comparisons between the French Revolutionary War School to current American Coin doctrine and thinkers it is mostly in regard to the tactics and operational methods toward Coin proposed by the French School. I acknowledge the discrete political conditions surrounding the French Revolutionary War School and do not offer comparisons to current American officers in that regard.

⁷ Andrew J. Birtle, U.S. Army Counterinsurgency and Contingency Operations Doctrine, 1942-1976 (Washington, D.C., Center of Military History 2006); 149, 162, 492; Paret, Revolutionary Warfare, 5.

For an example of this kind of thinking and how it dominates within the American Army see Michael A. Coss, "Operation Mountain Lion: CJTF-76 in Afghanistan, Spring 2006" *Military Review* (January-February 2008), 23; and Patrick Donahue and Michael Fenzel, Combating a Modern Insurgency: Combied Task Force Devil in Afghanistan, *Military Review* (March-April 2008), 25.

theory supported by numerous historical cases is the "enemy-centric" theory of counterinsurgency warfare where the enemy insurgents are the primary focus of a counterinsurgency campaign. The British Imperial Army officer C.E Callwell is the most noted example of this school of thought.⁹ It is not to say, however, that within the enemy-centric theory the population of the nation where an insurgency exists is not important. Instead it is a matter of priority and focus from which various counterinsurgency methods other than the population-centric method might be derived.

Understanding the theoretical and historical premises of the American Army's new counterinsurgency doctrine is important because it has had a profound effect on how the Army and its political leaders envision future conflict and America's military role in the world. If American Secretary of Defense Robert Gates is right and future conflict for America will be along the lines of Iraqs and Afghanistans then the world can expect more instances of American military forces in foreign lands protecting the world's people from a "global insurgency." ¹⁰

Focusing on populations did not originate with the American Army's new Coin doctrine or with the French Revolutionary War School of counterinsurgency theory from the early 1960s. Shortly after World War I ended in the 1920s air power theorists started to think of ways to apply the use of the airplane in war directly against the peoples of a nation by dropping bombs on them.

A historical comparison between airpower theorists of the 1920s and the French Revolutionary War School of counterinsurgency can bring into view these two discrete historical cases and the salient features of each by juxtaposing one to the other. This comparison can also shed light on the American Army's new counterinsurgency doctrine.

When making these comparisons a central theme stands out as common in all three cases: a deliberate focus on peoples and populations as the center element to victory or defeat in war. In all three cases, if the people and populations are properly handled by a military force victory in war can be achieved. Of course the way a military force "handled" the population in war was radically different between airpower theorists and counterinsurgency theorists. Airpower theorists sought to bomb civilian populations from the air with airplanes dropping bombs in order to break their will and thus bring about a quick end to a war. The counterinsurgency theorists of the early 1960s (and today in the American Army currently fighting in Iraq) sought a radically different approach toward handling peoples and populations in war. For them, the people were to be protected so that insurgents operating within the population could be separated out and destroyed; once that was done, victory in counterinsurgency war could be achieved.

With all three cases (airpower theorists, French Revolutionary War School counterinsurgency theorists, and the new American coin doctrine) there was an inversion of the ways military forces traditionally had fought wars. Traditionally when wars were fought between nation-states the first actions were between the opposing sides' military forces in large battles between their armies. At some point as the war progressed and depending on the nature of

⁹ C.E. Callwell, Small Wars: Their Principles and Practice (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press 1996, originally published in 1906); also see Kilkullen interview with Charlie Rose.

¹⁰ Transcript of Secretary Robert Gates's speech to cadets at the United States Military Academy at West Point, 21 April 2008, in Stars and Stripes, 22 April 2008.

the war the civilian population might become involved in some form with the fighting. But the airpower and counterinsurgency theorists inverted this process where the first step in war would be to involve the people. For the airpower theorists involvement would mean bombing them from the sky. For the counterinsurgent theorists involvement would be securing the population with military force in order to get at the insurgents. After this involvement between the people and military forces, in either of the two cases, military forces might be engaged along the lines of more traditional warfare.

Both airpower and counterinsurgency theorists believed that they had identified a new form of war that was radically different from warfare of the past. Common to these two groups was hubris; in their minds they alone had discerned a new form of warfare and they alone held the keys to its success. In making such hubristic claims both groups reduced the complexity of traditional wars into the absurdly simple. The American Army's new counterinsurgency doctrine continues this sentiment by proclaiming that counterinsurgency warfare is the "graduate level of war." Implicit in this statement is the notion that other forms of war that involved mass armies fighting one another was less difficult and considered the "undergraduate level."

In both cases the people of a given country became the focus of war because both sets of theorists perceived that large battles between opposing armies would no longer occur. Direct involvement with populations by military forces became a surrogate for fighting between large armies on open fields of battle. As airpower and counterinsurgency theorists viewed the world around them, they assessed that war had fundamentally changed which called for radically new and revolutionary approaches to fighting it. They then built theories and practices of their new kind of war that saw people and populations as the decisive element that if dealt with properly would produce victory, and if not, defeat.

Ironically, both sets of theorists believed that by focusing on the people as the central element in war they could make war less destructive and less harmful to the populations. This seems at first glance absurd for airpower theorists and their approach to getting at the population of an enemy country via aerial attack and killing. But airpower theorists like the Italian Army officer Guilio Douhet reasoned that based on the experience of the fighting in the trenches in World War I where millions of soldiers were killed, an aerial attack against enemy populations would wreak such havoc that it would quickly break the morale of the population and force the enemy nation to surrender. With the counterinsurgency theorists, conversely, since it was so difficult to find and kill insurgents within a nation's population because they could use the population to conceal themselves, counterinsurgent theorists reasoned that if the people were protected from insurgent violence then at some point the people would turn against the insurgents.

In the years following the end of World War I the Italian army officer Guilio Douhet imagined a way to avoid the type of war that his country among other European countries experienced in the trenches where millions of soldiers were killed. For Douhet the airplane offered a revolutionary change to warfare. Douhet reasoned that based on the recent experience of trench fighting in World War I that future wars would not be fought along those lines because after four years of fighting in the trenches and huge numbers of deaths, the war on

¹¹ FM 3-24, 1-1.; also see Kilkullen's Interview with Charlie Rose.

the ground resulted largely in a stalemate. The advent of the airplane for Douhet changed all of that. Airplanes carrying bombs could bypass land armies fighting on the ground and hit directly the most decisive and vulnerable part of an enemy nation; the people concentrated in cities. Douhet believed that because of the limitless of space and what he perceived as the airplanes ability to move unhindered through it regardless of defensives measures by the enemy nation, war had been transformed to where the decisive and most important fighting would occur in the air and not on the ground. ¹² The end result of air combat would be the gaining of "command of the air" and would allow a nation's airplanes to fly unhindered over enemy cities and drop bombs on them with the primary intention of killing large numbers of civilians. This would produce, as Douhet argued, a cracking of the enemy nation's will to resist which would in turn cause its government to sue for peace.¹³

In Douhet's conception of future war, the enemy nation's people would be the direct focus of an aerial bombing campaign because he believed that in modern, industrial societies the people as a collective whole were weak and could not withstand for long the pounding of aerial bombardment. Prior to the age of industrialization and urbanization in many European countries the people were largely perceived to be stronger due to the difficulty of rural life. Douhet and other military theorists viewed urbanized societies being tied to the amenities of urban life and their ability to withstand punishment by military force in war as low. For Douhet, therefore, a quick, ruthless, and overwhelming attack by airplanes dropping bombs from the air against enemy cities and their populations would be enough to force capitulation. According to Douhet such a bombing campaign would bring about "a complete breakdown of the social structure...subjected to this kind of merciless pounding" and would lead to the people, "out of self preservation" demanding "and end to the war." There were other airpower theorists from various countries that adopted at least in principle Douhet's conception of future war with a focus on enemy populations. For Douhet and other airpower theorists people—civilian populations—had become decisive in war.

But Douhet's conception from the 1920s of future war where populations in cities would

¹² Guilio Douhet, *The Command of the Air*, trans. Dino Ferrari, new imprint by the Office of Air Force History (1942; Washington, D.C.; USGPO, 1983), 57-59, 71-106. For analyses of Douhet, see David MacIsaac, "Voices of the Central Blue: The Air Power Theorists," in *Makers of Modern Strategy*, ed. Peter Paret (Princeton University Press, 1986), 824-647; Philip Meilinger, "Guilio Douhet and the Origins of Airpower Theory," in *The Paths of Heaven: The Evolution of Airpower Theory*, ed Philip S Meilinger (Maxwell Air Force Base, Ala, Air University Press, 1997), 1-40; and, Azar Gat, "Futurism, Proto-fascist Italian Culture and the Sources of Douhetism," *War and Society 15, no. 1* (May 1997), 31-51.

¹³ Douhet, 35.

On this point see especially Azar Gat, *Fascist and Liberal Visions of War* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 43-79; and Azar Gat, *War in Human Civilization* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 541-542, 598-602. For an excellent overview on civilians in war over time see Mark Grimsley and Clifford J. Rogers, *Civilians in the Path of War*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002).

¹⁵ Ibid., 58.

¹⁶ Most notably from the American perspective see William Mitchell, Winged Defense: The Development and Possibilities of Modern Air Power—Economic and Military (1921; rpt, New York: Kennikat Press, 1971), 215; for recent analyses of the American approach see Conrad Crane, Bomb Cities and Civilians: American Airpower Strategy in World War II (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1993), 12-27; and Gian P Gentile, How Effective is Strategic Bombing? Lessons Learned from World War II to Kosovo (New York: New York University Press, 2002), 11-15.

quickly break after an onslaught of aerial bombing when put into actual practice in World War II two decades later did not play out the way he saw it. In fact the populations in Germany and Japan who took the brunt of intensive and extended Allied bombing campaigns did not break under bombing. The peoples of these two nations proved to be much more resilient and adaptive to bombing attacks from the air. In the case of Germany in addition to the strategic bombing campaign it took ultimately a major land invasion of the continent of Europe ending up with British and American armies advancing into the heart of Germany to bring about unconditional surrender. In Japan a combination of fire bombing raids against Japanese cities, American naval encirclement of the Japanese islands, the threat of a major American land invasion of Japan, and the droppings of two atomic bombs to force Japan to surrender unconditionally. The strategic bombing campaigns against German and Japanese cities certainly had an important effect in bring about unconditional surrender.¹⁷ But if Douhet's conception would have worked in practice, both of these countries should have given up in a matter of months with no land armies needed. And if Douhet's notion of aerial warfare was to make war more merciful, when considering the total number of civilians killed during World War II and its duration, the Allied bombing campaigns had the opposite effect.

The War had brought about many fundamental changes to the international state system and to the use of military force. World War II shattered and already tenuous set of European colonial empires. Much of the conflict in the world in the era after World War II centered around the working out of these former empires and the states that had existed within them.¹⁸

The advent of nuclear weapons questioned the efficacy of states who owned them fighting major wars in all of their totality along the lines of World War II. Although a super-power confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union using nuclear weapons was a possibility, conflict in the post war world would fall short of nuclear wars between the super-powers. ¹⁹ The age of limited wars, as it became called, coupled with the breakup of many European empires created the conditions for states emerging out of crumpled empires to try to determine who would hold power in them as well as completely severing ties from their former imperial masters.

People's wars of revolution and nationalism—also called wars of national liberation-emerged out of this mix. There are many examples. For instance, a communist inspired rebellion in China led by the revolutionary leader Mao Tse Tung overthrew the nationalist government of Chiang Kai Shek in 1949.²⁰ Being denied by France their complete independence from colonial rule, Vietnamese communists known as Vietminh became a powerful

¹⁷ For American Air Power in World War II see Michael Sherry, The Rise of American Air Power: The Creation of Armageddon (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987); Ronald Schaffer, Wings of Judgment: American Bombing in World War II (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985); and Crane, Bombs, Cities and Civilians

¹⁸ For good overviews of the break-up empires after World War II see: Eric Hobswawm, *The Age of Extremes: A History of the World 1914-1991* (New York: Vintage, 1994); and David Reynolds, *One World Divisible: A Global History Since 1945* (London: W.W. Norton, 2000)

¹⁹ See Bernard Brodie, Strategy in the Missle Age, (Princeton: Princeton University Press 1959).

²⁰ Mao Tse-Tung, *Selected Works, volumes 1-5*, (1926-36, 1937-38, 1939-41, 1941-45, 1945-49,New York: International Publishers, 1954, 56, 62); On Mao see Shy, "Revolutionary War;" 838-845;

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insurgent force that ultimately pushed the French out in 1954 and left the country divided with a communist North Vietnam and a United States supported South Vietnam. In Malaya, the British supported Malayan colonial government successfully fought a communist backed insurgency of indigenous ethnic Malayan Chinese for most of the 1950s. Shortly after their defeat in Vietnam the French became involved in suppressing another nationalist inspired insurgency in their colony of Algeria. And the United States in so trying to prevent the spread of communism from North Vietnam into the south fought a major war in that country from 1965 to 1972.²¹ These are just a few examples of the wars of communist and nationalist revolutions that came about during the decades following the end of World War II.

Direct application of military force was often used in these wars of national liberation to end the rebellions. In the case of France the experience of many of its officers in fighting wars in Vietnam and then Algeria became especially traumatic because both of these wars were lost by the French. Out of this experience emerged a very distinct body of knowledge concerning theory and technique to defeat revolutionary insurgencies.

Like the earlier airpower theorists, counterinsurgency theorists believed that the people of a nation would be decisive in victory or defeat. But unlike the airpower theorists, the counterinsurgency theorists of the French Revolutionary War School sought to protect and control civilian populations and not target them with military force. In both cases, civilian populations were seen ultimately as controllable and malleable; with airpower theorists through killing, with counterinsurgency theorists through protection.

French Army officers of the French Revolutionary War School defined the future wars they would be fighting as ones of countering a revolutionary insurgent movement within one of their own colonies or within states that were allied with France or other western nations. The general threat and cause behind these insurgencies was communist expansion inspired by the Soviet Union and China, according to these French officers. For them the threat of communist expansion was not just about the maintenance of their colonial empires but a total war between what they saw as the western free world and the forces of communism. They believed that even though nuclear weapons would not be used between the superpowers, these emerging wars of insurgencies would become in effect total themselves because they would be fought amongst the people's of the world requiring a total commitment of the French nation (and other western nations as well) to win.²² Theirs was a conception of future war and the approach to fighting it that would change the world.

French officers of the Revolutionary War School constructed a simplified model to explain these types of insurgencies based on Mao Tse Tung's rebellion and overthrow of the national Chinese government in 1949. Mao referred to the internal war within China that led to overthrow of the Chinese government as Revolutionary War. French officers reduced Maoist Revolutionary war into a simplified and rigid template for action that other communist inspired insurgencies, they believed, would follow. Historian and Strategist Peter Paret,

²¹ For good summaries of counterinsurgency wars and guerilla wars see D.M. Condit, ed, *Challenge and Response in Internal Conflict*, Volumes 1-4 (Washington, D.C.; Center for Research in Social Systems, 1967); Robert B. Asprey, *War in the Shadows: The Guerilla in History* (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1975); and Ian Beckett, *Modern Counter-Insurgency*, (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing, 2007).

²² Paret, French Revolutionary Warfare, 3-8;

in a largely overlooked but brilliant study of French Army officers in the early 1960s, noted that the construct of Maoist revolution created by the French Officers was highly simplistic. It led these officers to spend much more time on constructing their own doctrine and methods to counter it instead of gaining a deeper appreciation and more sophisticated explanation of what Maoist revolutionary wars were really about.²³

French Officers essentially reduced Maoist revolutionary war down to a set of simplified steps that would occur during the process of internal revolution or insurgency. The first step would see initial non violent actions by "agitators" to arouse the interest of the people to their cause. Next would be the organization of groups of people in different localities into alternate structures of government which the insurgents would rely on as a base of operations for later stages of the revolution. Third step in the process was the forming of army military bands which start to attack through ambushes and small raids government forces. The fourth step involved would see increased military activities by the insurgents to the point that in certain areas of the country government forces would have to completely withdraw. This step would lead to the creation of secure base areas within the state from which the insurgents could organize for larger military activities. The last and final step of the process would be a general offensive by insurgent forces against the government and its armed forces which would lead ultimately to the gaining of complete political power by the insurgents. In this reduced and over-simplified form was how French Revolutionary War officers viewed a Maoist based insurgency. Whether or not this was a realistic, complete, and accurate depiction to what actually occurred in Mao's war against China was beside the point. A simple template that explained Maoist revolutionary war was needed in order to construct a counter revolutionary war method and doctrine to confront it. 24

The Counter-revolutionary method that these French army officers came up with, unlike their simplification of Maoist war, was actually quite in-depth and sophisticated. It sought to counter Maoist war by turning the process leading to communist revolution in countries on its head; it was at its most basic level a symmetrical response to countering insurgencies. Like the airpower theorists before, the French officers central focus was on people. Since the ultimate goal for Maoist revolutionary wars was complete domination of the people to overthrow the government, the French officer's goal in countering it was to de-couple the people from the revolutionary insurgency. ²⁵

²³ Paret, French Revolutionary Warfare, 7-8, 15-17-19; Michael Fitzsimmons, "Hard Hearts and Open Minds? Governance, Identity and the Intellectual Foundations of Counterinsurgency Strategy," The Journal of Strategic Studies, vol 31, no. 3, (June 2008), 339-342;

Examples of this caricature of Maoist revolutionary war are: Sir Robert Thompson, Defeating Communist Insurgency: The Lessons of Malaya and Vietnam (New York: Praeger, 1966), 28-49; David Galula, Counterinsurgency Warfare: Theory and Practice (New York: Praeger, 1964), 43-57; for a critique of the oversimplification of Maoist war see Anthony James Joes, Resisting Rebellion: The History and Politics of Counterinsurgency (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2004), 191-208

²⁵ The standard historical texts most often cited in contemporary secondary literature are: Galula, Counterinsurgency Warfare: Theory and Practice; Thompson, Defeating Communist Insurgency; Roger Trinquier, Modern Warfare: A French View of Counterinsurgency (New York: Praeger, 1964); a popular and fictional rendering of the French Revolutionary War School albeit still an accurate one is Jean Larteguy, The Centurions (??? 1961); and Robert Taber, The War if the Flea: A Study of Guerilla Warfare, Theory and Practice (New York: Lyle Stuart, 1965).

Countering a Maoist revolutionary war required an intricate, step-by-step-approach to separate the people from the insurgency. The focus of this method would become not so much the enemy insurgents bent on the overthrow of the government but on securing and controlling the population which would in turn result in the eventual removal of the insurgents. French Army officer David Galula, for example, stated that the objective in any counterinsurgency operation was "the population." Another French Army officer, Roger Trinquier, noted that:

"the stake in modern warfare is the control of the populace, the first objective is to assure the people their protection by giving them the means of defending themselves, especially against terrorism." ²⁶

As the population was being secured the counterinsurgent force would begin to restructure government systems and carry out projects to improve the lives of the people, further separating them from the grips of the insurgents. As long as the counterinsurgent's nation maintained the political will to continue with this type of war victory could be achieved; although victory would come about only after many, many years of involvement in countries where internal revolutions were occurring.

A common theme of these French officers was that countering maoist communist revolutions was the face of future war. Gone were the days where armies would fight each other on an open fields of battle. French Army officer Roger Trinquier referred to World War II as "a type of warfare that no longer exists and that we shall never fight again." Trinquier and his contemporaries believed that contests between the counterinsurgent and his insurgent enemy happened in the midst of populations. Those populations had to be secured and controlled to defeat the insurgents. This focus on populations was much like the airpower theorists approach to bypassing armies fighting in the open and instead going directly after the people through bombing. In both cases these theorists saw their new form of war as total. For airpower theorists the bypassing of field armies meant that the people of warring nations would come into direct conflict with each other, hence the totality of war. French officers like Trinquier reasoned along similar lines. Since modern war would be fought amongst the peoples and armies would no longer fight each other as in the past, to win these wars amongst the peoples required the French nation to commit a total national effort to fighting these wars. It was, in a sense, a move to militarize the entire French nation to a total war effort.²⁸

In the field and in practice a number of prominent French Revolutionary War theorist stood out for their articulate expositions of how to carry out a counterinsurgency campaign. Many

²⁶ Galula, Counterinsurgency Warfare, 7; Trinquier, Modern Warfare, 29.

²⁷ Trinquier, Modern Warfare, 3

²⁸ Ibid., 26-28; Paret, French Revolutionary Warfare, 5-7; Paret details a number of French officers who were proposing the militarization of French society to confront the perceived communist world wide threat. Of note was R Giradert, "Civil and Military Power in the Fourth Republic," in S.P. Huntington (ed), Changing Patterns of Military Politics (New York, 1962); There is also an interesting correlation between these French Revolutionary War officers with some American Airmen in post war America in calling for a defense establishment completely focused on nuclear war and complete militarization of American society since in a total war involving nuclear weapons the line between soldier and civilian had vanished.

of them had similar experiences in counterinsurgency warfare in Vietnam and Algeria.

David Galula was one of these French officers. His book, *Counterinsurgency Warfare: Theory and Practice*, was published in 1964. Galula and his writings were starting to have some influence on the American Army as it was increasing its involvement in Vietnam.²⁹ Almost forty years later as the American Army became involved in a major counterinsurgency war in Iraq Galula's book and his other writings heavily influenced the writing of the American Army's new counterinsurgency doctrine in 2006.

Based on his experience fighting the insurgency in Algeria from 1956 to 1958 Galula described an operational method that had a counterinsurgent military force clearing an area of insurgents, then holding it with local military and police forces, then building on these gains by improving local infrastructure and political systems. What became known as the "clear, hold, build" method in counterinsurgency was not unique to Galula's writings.³⁰ But Galula did formalize this overall process into an operational method for a counterinsurgent army to apply in revolutionary war.

One of the specific techniques recommended by Galula in his writings to ensure that a counterinsurgent force became ensconced within the population was the establishing of small combat outposts manned by counterinsurgent soldiers and scattered throughout local villages. As a infantry company commander fighting Alerian insurgents, Galula's area of responsibility was very small—about 4 kilometers wide by about 4 kilometers deep--and was located deep inside the north Algerian mountains. The local population totaled about 13,000, and they were isolated from the few major urban areas in Algeria. With his infantry company of about 150 men, Galula could easily isolate and control the few villages in his area by placing infantry platoons in these outposts. Still, in this relatively straightforward counterinsurgency environment, it took Galula and his infantry company close to a year and a half to pacify the area by using the techniques he developed to separate the insurgents from the people. ³¹

A contemporary French Army officer of Galula's, Roger Trinquier, wrote a book on his experiences in fighting revolutionary wars during the 1950s. Trinquier's writings accepted the same premises as other French officers. Namely that revolutionary war was something radically different from past wars and that to fight them successfully in the future armies had to be transformed. He also accepted the fundamental premise of the people being the key to

²⁹ For example, the RAND Corporation held a conference for the US Army on counterinsurgency operations as it was increasing its commitment in Vietnam in 1962 ("Counterinsurgency: A Symposium," April 16-20, 1962). Interestingly, conference participants were, among others, David Galula and British Army officer, Frank Kitson. Kitson's post Vietnam writings on counterinsurgency operations would become influential with the American Army and the writing of FM 3-24; on Kitson see especially his Warfare as a Whole (London: Faber and Faber 1987).

³⁰ Galula, Counterinsurgency Warfare, 107-135; for a useful summary of a series of analyses of the years by the Rand Corporation on lessons learned and counterinsurgencies (of which many lessons were habitually drawn from the writings of theorists like Galula and Trinquier) see Austin Long, On 'Other War:' Lessons from Five Decades of RAND and Counterinsurgency Research, (Santa Monica: RAND Corporation, 2006); and Austin Long, Doctrine of Eternal Recurrance: The U.S. Military and Counterinsurgency Doctrine, 1960–1970 and 2003–2006, (Santa Monica: RAND Corporation, 2006).

³¹ On Galula's specific experiences as an infantry company commander in North Algeria see his *Pacification in Algeria*, 1956-58, (Santa Monica: RAND Corporation 1964).

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victory or defeat in a revolutionary war.

What made Trinquier's writings troubling too was his advocacy of a counterinsurgent force using torture against insurgents. Trinquier rationalized the use of torture in a way that relates to his conception of revolutionary war being a total war. According to Trinquier in traditional wars where armies fought other armies a soldier fighting in these wars accepted hardship, suffering, and death as a condition of fighting. In revolutionary wars the insurgent's main weapon in fighting the government by control of the population was to use terror attacks to control the people. But when the insurgent used terror as a weapon and since it was near impossible for the counterinsurgent to strike back at the insurgent when terror was used, the insurgent unlike the conventional soldier in traditional war was not subjected to the hardships and suffering of war. It was in this sense that Trinquier reasoned that torture should be used against captured insurgents because it brought an equal measure of suffering and hardships that the insurgent dished out to the civilian population through acts of terror but did not get back in return. Torture applied by the counterinsurgent became the reciprocal response by the counterinsurgent to the insurgent's use of terror attacks.³²

The officers of the French Revolutionary War School were not the only ones writing about how to defeat an insurgency in a revolutionary war. Other western army officers experiencing counterinsurgencies after World War II also wrote about their experiences. Notably was the British official who led counterinsurgent forces in Malaya in the 1950s, Sir Robert Thompson. His book although highlighting different aspects of his experiences in Malaya as a senior leader of British forces along with a few years later advising the early American effort in Vietnam was essentially the same approach to counterinsurgency warfare as the officers from the French Revolutionary War School.³³

The British counterinsurgency effort in Malaya from 1951 to 1960 was successful in defeating the communist backed insurgency. The conditions that the British faced, especially compared to what the United States would face in Vietnam in the 1960s (and to what America faces in Iraq today) were relatively simple. The Malayan insurgency had no external support and the Malayan communists insurgents were ethnic Chinese who could be easily identified by the British counterinsurgent forces.³⁴ Still (and like Galula in North Algeria in

³² Trinquier, *Modern Warfare*, 16-25; In an introduction to the English translation of Trinquier, noted military writer Bernard Fall provides an excellent short biography of Trinquier and some insights into Trinquiers argument for torture. For a disturbing first-hand account by a French Officer responsible for a military unit that took part in torturing Algerians in the Battle of Algiers in 1957 see Paul Aussaresses, *The Battle of the Casbah: Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism in Algeria 1955-1957*, (New York: Enigma Books, 2002), 118-131

³³ Thompson, *Defeating Communist Insurgency*; on the British in Malaya also see: Richard L. Clutterbuck, *The Long, Long War: Counterinsurgency in Malaya and Vietnam* (New York: Praeger, 1966); and Richard Stubbs, *Hearts and Minds in Guerilla Warfare: The Malayan Emergency 1948-1969* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989).

³⁴ For a comparative view of counterinsurgencies by the Americans in Vietnam and British in Malaya see John A. Nagl, "Learning to Eat Soup with a Knife: Counterinsurgency Lessons from Malaya and Vietnam, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005). Nagl's book while important as a work on military culture and organizational learning and adapting, should not be viewed as a work of history. The sweeping comparisons between the American counterinsurgency effort in Vietnam and the British in Malaya and the conclusions he draws—that the British Army learned and adapted while the American army did not—does not take into

the 1950s) it took the British almost ten years to defeat the insurgents. This consideration is important when considering how heavily the experiences and writings of Thompson and Galula shaped the current American approach to counterinsurgency in Iraq and the vast differences between these discrete historical and present cases.

In fact what is important to remember when considering these numerous studies written by western military officers on conducting counterinsurgency campaigns after World War II is their very specific and discrete historical contexts. It is also important to note that by and large—Trinquier, Galula, Thompson, etc—all devised the same approach to fighting insurgencies. That approach revolved around a simplified conception of the maoist revolutionary war process, a symmetrical and procedural approach to countering that process, and a fundamental belief in the importance of populations as being the key to success in any counterinsurgency. With these basic tenets common to all of the writings and thinking on counterinsurgency at the time, the differences between them were more in terms of past experiences and the methods and techniques each chose to highlight. But they were all written at a time when the future security environment was defined as one of existential communist inspired wars of revolution against western nations and their allies. So the way to counter these wars of revolution as conceived by writers like Galula, Thompson, and Trinquier were specific to the time, place, and context in which they were written. Such books and writings should be seen as primary texts and not necessarily contemporary analyses offering templates for present and future action in current and future wars of insurgencies.

On the "Acknowledgments" page of the American Army's recently (December 2006) published counterinsurgency doctrine, FM 3-24, three sources are listed: David Galula's 1964 *Counterinsurgency Warfare: Theory and Practice,* Sir Robert Thompson's 1966 *Defeating Communist Insurgencies: The Lessons of Malaya and Vietnam,* and an article written in 2005 for *The New Yorker* magazine by Dan Baum titled "What the Generals Don't Know." ³⁵There is no explicit explanation as to why these three choices were selected for the "Acknowledgments Page." However, after reading the entire manual the implicit message for the selection of these sources becomes clear. The manual's overall thrust is to teach its readers how to become a learning organization in counterinsurgency operations. The more recent article by Baum shows that in Iraq at least Army and Marine officers well below the rank of generals were learning and adapting. But that learning as it is expressed in FM 3-24 should inevitably lead to an overall method based on the writings of David Galula, Robert Thompson, and the approach best summarized by the French Revolutionary War School of the early 1960s; a population centric, protracted people's war approach demanding close and lengthy involvement of American combat forces in populations countering insurgencies.

If history did repeat itself then one could be content with a contemporary American Army counterinsurgency doctrine that turned its lessons learned into templates for action on the ground in Iraq today, and in the future. Yet the Thompson and Galula approach of the early 1960s envisioned countering maoist revolutionary wars that appeared—appeared—to be an existential fact of life in the early 1960s and the wave of future conflict. That was then and

account historical complexity, contingency, and context which would have at least qualified and tempered some of his grandiose conclusions.

Iraq and the security challenges that the United States faces today and in the future is now. Iraq in 2008 is not the world of 1964.³⁶

One of the principles authors of FM 3-24 recently noted that he did not think that the FM was heavily reliant on the framework of protracted people's war and the writings of Galula and Thompson.³⁷ Yet a close reading of the FM shows that it is heavily dominated by the notion of countering an insurgency by using the methods established in the early 1960s. There is the operating assumption in the manual that counterinsurgency wars are radical departures from more traditional forms of warfare.³⁸ The introductory quote for the first chapter to FM 3-24 states that counterinsurgency war is "the graduate level of war;" implying that not only is it much more different than conventional war but it is more difficult too. The majority of highlighted quotes and historical "vignettes" in the manual are drawn from Thompson, Galula, and other sources that favor the protracted people's war approach.³⁹ FM 3-24 sees as a fundamental principle in any counterinsurgency that the focus of all operations must end up with the people; that they are to be protected and secured so that the insurgents can thus be separated; the people are decisive.⁴⁰ And the manual's chapter on conducting counterinsurgency operations is premised on the same methods accepted by writers like Galula and Thompson of clearing, holding, and building.⁴¹

There are theoretically and historically other approaches to counterinsurgency than the protracted people's war approach as replicated in FM 3-24. The manual does acknowledge other "limited options" and then provides a one paragraph, six line explanation out of over 250 pages to the entire manual. Yet within that paragraph of "limited options" to counterinsurgency could have been a doubling of the size of the manual or at least cutting back on the protracted people's war approach to offer other options to contemporary practitioners of counterinsurgency. Sometimes, the best approach to dealing with a problem of insurgency is not necessarily a focus on the people, per say, but on the insurgent enemy. This does not mean, as many uniformed critics like to assert, that the enemy-centric approach means scorching the earth of a country by killing innocent civilians to get at the insurgents. Yet that is the criticism often thrown at suggestions to look at problems of insurgencies in ways other than protraction and focusing on populations demanding substantial involvement of Ameri-

³⁶ For an argument that posits that Iraq does not fit into the category of traditional insurgencies seen during the Cold War see Ian Beckett, "Insurgency in Iraq: A Historical Perspective," Strategic Studies Institute, January 2005.

³⁷ Personal email from Primary author of FM 3-24 to me, 23 June 2008.

³⁸ FM 3-24, see especially the 9 "Paradoxes of Counterinsurgency Operations" page 1-26-1-28.

³⁹ Ibid., For specific historical vignettes (short historical stories) that come from the counter-maoist approach see especially: Vietnam CORDS, 3-18; Vietnam CAPS, 5-25; Malaya, 6-21; Mao's success in China, 5-7 (or how not to do counter-maoist on the part of the Nationalist Chinese forces). For specific historical quotes drawing on the French Rev War School see: Lead quote to chapter 2, David Galula, 2-1; Lead quote to chapter 3, General Creighton W Abrams, JR (Abrams is seen by many Coin proponents in the American Army as applying once he took command from Westmoreland a classic counter-maoist approach along the lines of Galula and Thompson); Lead quote to Chapter 5, Sir Robert Thompson, 5-1, 5-26.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 1-1.

⁴¹ Ibid., 5-18-5-24

⁴² Ibid., 5-25

can combat troops. And in so doing, when problems of insurgencies present themselves to American military planners the only option seeming to be available is Galula and Thompson.⁴³ Or, large numbers of American combat boots on the ground protecting the people from the insurgents. This is why the American army has become dogmatic.⁴⁴

Echoing the voices of Galula and Thompson and population centric counterinsurgency methods serving Army officer and member of General Petraeus's "brain trust" Colonel Peter Mansoor noted that in any counterinsurgency operation the "people are the prize." As Colonel Mansoor was a part of a group of Colonels who were advising President Bush on his options for Iraq in November and December 2006 he at the same time published a review of a book written in 1964 by French Army officer Jean Larteguy titled "The Centurions." The book is a fictional account of a young French Army officer fighting France's wars of counterinsurgencies in the early 1960s and learning the lessons that needed to be learned on how to fight insurgencies amongst the people. Mansoor, in his review of the book in late 2006 as he and other senior army leaders had an eye on the months ahead and the Surge, noted that the lessons that Larteguy's characters learn are the "truths of "modern" counterinsurgency wars. In the book, Mansoor informs his readers, are the "principles and paradoxes of counterinsurgency warfare," among others, "the need to secure the population."

About eight months before Mansoor's review was published a conference at Fort Leavenworth Kansas in February 2006 was held by the authors of FM 3-24 to vet and review drafts of the manual one of the primary authors asked if there was "too much Mao in it." That question has been more recently answered by scholars reviewing FM 3-24. In the American Political Science Association's journal *Perspective on Politics* Yale University political scientist Stathis N. Kalyvas noted that in FM 3-24 there was little that was "new." The "substance" of the manual, he argued, can be found in earlier works on counterinsurgency by Galula, Thompson, and Trinquier. Stathis concluded that FM 3-24,

"...beyond a substantial does of practical, technical instructions on operational matters...is an elaboration and reformulation of a body of work that emerged in the 1960s, primarily in response to anticolonial or communist insurgencies in such places as colonial Algeria or Malaya."

Another scholar reviewing FM 3-24, Stephen Biddle who is a Senior Fellow for Defense Policy at the Council on Foreign Relations, pointed out that the manual assumes counterinsurgencies to take place amongst the people of a country and the key to success is "winning their "hearts and minds" like the United States tried to do in Vietnam. Serving army officer

⁴³ On this point see Ralph Peters's trenchant critique of the manual, "Dishonest Doctrine: A Selective Use of History Taints the Coin Manual," Armed Forces Journal, (December 2007), 42-45; and Edward Luttwak

⁴⁴ Gian P. Gentile, "The Dogmas of War," 38-40; Gentile, "Eating Soup with a Spoon," *Armed Forces Journal* (September 2007), 30-33; and Gentile, "Our Coin Doctrine Removes the Enemy from the Essence of War," *Armed Forces Journal* (January 2008), 39.

⁴⁵ Peter Mansoor, review of John Larteguy's "The Centurions," in *Military Review* (November-December 2006), 103.

⁴⁶ On the Leavenworth Coin conference of Feb 2006 see Cullen Nutt "Petraeus's Big Tent," *New Jersey Star Ledger*, and Gian P Gentile's critique of Nutt's article on Small Wars Journal blog; http://smallwarsjournal.com/blog/2008/03/not-so-big-of-a-tent/

and proponent of the Surge in Iraq and FM 3-24, Lieutenant Colonel Douglas Ollivant, acknowledges that the manual is premised on the writings of, among others, and "most notably, David Galula."⁴⁷

FM 3-24 has played an integral role in the recent troop buildup in Iraq known as the Surge under the leadership of General David Petreaus. As the apparent template for action on the ground in Iraq since the Surge began in February 2007, FM 3-24 and its doctrinal precepts and methods for counterinsurgency has been credited with the recent lowering of violence. Yet the Surge and the so-called new counterinsurgency methods outlined by FM 3-24 were not the necessary causes for the lowering of violence. Instead, the two more important and necessary conditions were the decision by senior Americans to pay large amounts of money to our former enemies -- the non-al-Qaida Sunni insurgents -- to ally themselves with us to defeat al-Qaida and, as a by-product of this alliance, to stop killing Coalition Forces. That and Moqtada al-Sadr's decision to stand down attacks against American and coalition forces and against civilian Sunnis were the main causes. If those two conditions were not in place, it is hard to imagine how more American combat brigades using so called new methods would have lowered violence.⁴⁸

Some senior military leaders look to the Surge and argue that finally, finally, the American Army has at last figured out how to do it. Colonel Peter Mansoor noted on the widely read *Small Wars Journal* blog that "the Surge succeeded on a number of different levels." Echoing FM 3-24 and its reliance on earlier counterinsurgency writers like Thompson and Galula, Mansoor argued that prior to the Surge the majority of American units had yet to figure out how to go about "protecting the Iraqi people;" it would take the Surge to do that, he argued.⁴⁹ Surge architect Fred Kagan of the American Enterprise Institute recently argued that it is time to recognize that the Surge with its additional brigades practicing new counterinsurgency methods "has stabilized central Iraq, reduced violence overall and provided space for the Iraqi government to undertake important reconciliation efforts." ⁵⁰

Emphasizing the purported success of the Surge suggests the possibility for policy makers of doing more of these types of operations, of doing more building of nations.

Reminiscent of the way the airpower theorists like Douhet in the 1920s and the French Revolutionary War officers of the early 1960s so assured themselves that war in the future would look as they had conceived of it in the present, the current bevy of American Army counterinsurgency proponents appear to be doing the same thing.

Army Lieutenant General William Caldwell, commander of the army agency that writes

⁴⁷ Jeffrey C. Isaac (review editor) "The New U.S. Army/Marine Corps Counterinsurgency Field Manual as Political Science and Political Praxis," (FM 3-24 reviews by Stephen Biddle, Stathis N. Kalyvas, Wendy Brown, and Douglas A. Ollivant), in *Perspective on Politics*, vol. 6, number 2 (June 2008), 345-360.

⁴⁸ Gian P. Gentile, "A (Slightly) Better War: A Narrative and its Defects," World Affairs (Summer 2008); Steven Simon, "The Price of the Surge," Foreign Affairs (May/June 2008); Colin Kahl, "Coin of the Realm," Foreign Affairs (November/December 2007); and Benjamin Schwartz, "Schism in Sunni Community Allowed Surge to Work," Philadelphia Inquirer, 7Jjuly 2008.

⁴⁹ Peter Mansoor's response to oped article by Gian P Gentile ("Our Troops Did not Fail in 2006, *International Herald Tribune*, 24 January 2008) on *Small Wars Journal Blog* thread, 26 January 2008.

⁵⁰ See Glenn Greenwald's blog posting in Salon magazine at http://www.salon.com/opinion/greenwald/2008/03/27/kagan/

its doctrine, in a recent article in the journal *Military Review*, argued that the days of large battles between armies on an open field of battle are over. Instead, Caldwell believes that war and conflict in the future

"...will be decided by forces operating among the people of the world. Here, the margin of victory will be measured in far different terms than the wars of our past. The allegiance, trust, and confidence of populations will be the final arbiters of success." ⁵¹

Counterinsurgency expert and a principle author of FM 3-24, John Nagl, believes that the American Army will lead the way in conflicts fought and waged among the people and will have the capability in so doing to "change entire societies." In both Nagl's and Caldwell's conception, just like Douhet's and the Revolutionary War School's, battle between armies were things of the past. Populations were and are now decisive and were and have become a surrogate for militaries who have concluded that there are no longer anymore big battles to fight. Only a short, cursory view of events after the proclamations of Douhet and the Revolutionary War School shows the fallacy of this kind of thinking.

Yet if history does provide guidance it is that the dustbin of it are full of individuals who thought that they had accurately (and narrowly) conceived of future war. The future of war is not only counterinsurgencies like Iraq and Afghanistan. One can imagine a range of possibilities that cover the full spectrum of war and conflict. A movement to gain contact with Iranian forces inside Iran by an American ground combat brigade is a hypothetical that appears certainly within the realm of the possible. A range of possibilities exist in Korea from a collapse of North Korea requiring the South's occupation with American support to a higher level of intensity with some fighting as the North collapses, possibly drawing in American conventional combat forces. These are just two examples of possible future scenarios where the American Army will need to be able to fight on multiple operational levels.⁵³

The American Army must break itself out of its self-built counterinsurgency box inspired and dominated by FM 3-24 and its reliance on the protracted people's war approach to counterinsurgencies of the early 1960s. If it can step outside of it the Army will see how atrophied its conventional capabilities have become after 6 years of doing nothing but counterinsurgency warfare.⁵⁴ It will see how it is trying to fight and win a previous unwinnable counterinsurgency in Vietnam all over again in Iraq.⁵⁵ And it will see how dogmatic it has become in

⁵¹ Lieutenant General William B. Caldwell IV and Lieutenant Colonel Steven Leonard, "Field Manual Manual 3-07, Stability Operations: Upshifting the Engine of Change," *Military* Review (July-August 2008), 6.

⁵² John A. Nagl, Review by John Nagl of Brian Linn's "The Echo of Battle," in RUSI, (April 2008), 82-84.

⁵³ On future wars and conflict see Frank Hoffman "Conflict in the 21st Century: The Rise of Hybrid Wars," The Potomac Institute for Policy Studies, December 2007.

⁵⁴ Gian P. Gentile, "Misreading the Surge Threatens US Army Conventional Capabilities," World Politics Review, 4 March 2008; see Peter Mansoor's response to this article in "Misreading the History of the Iraq War," Small Wars Journal Blog, 10 March 2008 (http://smallwarsjournal.com/blog/2008/03/misreading-the-history-of-the/); also see position paper written for current Army Chief of Staff by Colonels Sean Mc-Farland, Michael Shields, and Jeffrey Snow, "The King and I: The Impending Crisis in Field Artillery's ability to Provide Fire Support," available on line at NPR website: http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=90200038

⁵⁵ The standard work on the Vietnam War is still George Herring's America's Longest War: The United States

looking toward the future of warfare and only seeing irregular war and counterinsurgency in the way the Thompson and Galula envisioned fighting them in the early 1960s.

Historian Brian Linn in masterful intellectual history of the United States Army, *The Echo of Battle: The Army's Way of War*, identifies three intellectual trends that have dominated the American Army's thinking since its inception. The first intellectual theme has revolved around the notion of protection of the American homeland. Linn's second theme is centered on the notion of the science of managing wars. And the third intellectual theme within the American Army that Linn identifies is of a heroic vision of war. Linn argues that there has not been an established and accepted "way of war" within the army. Instead conceptions of war within the American Army have been highly contingent, contextual, and contentious. The "echo of battle" has pushed and pulled these three intellectual trends in the Army in different directions toward war and conflict over the years.⁵⁶

In a recent review of Linn's book, John Nagl sees the Army's consummation with counterinsurgency as proof that it has finally broken out of the intellectual box that Linn's three intellectual groups within the Army has kept it locked into.⁵⁷ However, after a close reading of Linn's book one could also conclude that especially after World War II and the rise of the counterinsurgency intellectuals (like Thompson, Galula, and today Mansoor and Nagl) that counterinsurgency is actually a fourth intellectual theme with its own narrow and carefully defined predisposition about war and conflict, and with its own discrete view of the future. In this sense the counterinsurgency officers are hearing their own, narrow echo of counterinsurgency battle to the exclusion of other forms of war that might be looming on the horizon.

Perhaps the American way of war that Linn so expertly describes and analyzes is by its nature contentious like the democracy that it serves. In this sense the contention between the four intellectual themes might be as good as we can get it. If nothing else the tension between the disparate groups might keep us from falling dangerously into one or the other. And that seems to be the real issue at hand and the danger that the American Army is in today with its hyper-emphasis on counterinsurgency warfare.

A senior military advisor to Soviet Premier Josef Stalin in 1939 told him that mechanized warfare involving tanks and mobile infantry would never happen in the future. How

and Vietnam, 1950-1975 (New York: McGraw Hill 2001); An attempt to revise Herring's ultimate conclusion that the war was unwinnable is Lewis Sorley's deeply flawed interpretation that the Vietnam could have been won if the American people had not lost their will and supported the purported successful efforts of Westmoreland's replacement General Abrams, Lewis Sorley A Better War: The Unexamined Victories and Final Tragedy of America's Last Years in Vietnam, (New York: Harcourt Brace 1999); also see Andrew Krepinevich's The Army and Vietnam (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press 1986), Krepinevich's book was an important contribution to explaining the American Army in Vietnam but like Sorley's flawed work falls into the trap of believing that the American army could have won the war if it had done a better job at practicing classic counterinsurgency operations along the lines of Galula and Thompson. For more current and better histories of the American Army in Vietnam see Andrew Birtle, U.S. Army Counterinsurgency and Contingency Operations Doctrine, 1942-1976 (Washington, D.C., US Army Center for Military History 2006); and Dale Andrade "Westmoreland Was Right: Learning the Wrong Lessons from the Vietnam War," Small Wars and Insurgencies, vol. 19, no. 2 (June 2008).

⁵⁶ Brian McAllister Linn, *The Echo of Battle: The Army's Way of War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press 2007), 1-9.

⁵⁷ John A. Nagl's review of Echo of Battle.

surprised he and Stalin must have been when German Armor thrust itself into Russia in the Summer of 1941. Guilio Douhet believed that the airplane had so revolutionized warfare that battles between armies would no longer occur. Roger Trinquier believed likewise that battles between armies were things of the past. The American Army's current seduction with counterinsurgency war has pushed it toward an especially narrow view of present and future conflict. What the American Army does not seem to understand is that history should inform, not prescribe and direct.

The Military Occupation of Iraq: Brave Rifles at Tall 'Afar¹

RICARDO A. HERRERA

In March 2005, the 3d Armored Cavalry Regiment (ACR), the Brave Rifles of Mexican War fame, deployed from Fort Carson, Colorado, to Kuwait in preparation for operations in northern Babil province, south of Baghdad, Iraq. Commanded by Col. H.R. McMaster, it marked the regiment's return to Iraq after previous service in Anbar province during Operation IRAQI FREEDOM (OIF)-I, from April 2003 through May 2004. For the regiment's second rotation, its mission was to conduct counterinsurgency and stability operations in the southern sector of the capital city, including securing Main Supply Route (MSR) TAMPA, Highway 1, running south to north from Kuwait through the Korada and Dora districts to Baghdad International Airport, through Mosul, and on to the Turkish border. ²

In preparation for the regiment's return, Colonel McMaster instituted a training regime that included an extensive reading list covering subjects ranging from history through political science and anthropology as well as language training for selected Soldiers. Mission essential requirements such as vehicle and weapons maintenance as well as training and personal leaves competed for the scarce time available. Leaving Kuwait in early April, the regiment began occupying its new positions in Iraq. For most of the Mounted Riflemen, the stay south of Baghdad was a short one.

Just as the regiment's 2d Squadron "unloaded its last containers in Muhmadiya," Iraq, it assumed a new mission as the lead element in the Brave Rifles' relocation to western Nineveh province, in northwestern Iraq. Lt. Col. Christopher M. Hickey, commanding the squadron, received new and "unexpected" orders to conduct counterinsurgent and

¹ This paper was originally published as "Brave Rifles at Tal 'Afar, September 2005," *In Contact: Case Studies from the Long War*, vol. I, ed. William Glenn Robertson. Ft. Leavenworth, Kans.: CSI Press, 2006, 125-54.

The 3d ACR was organized as the Regiment of Mounted Riflemen in 1846; it was redesignated as the 3d Cavalry in 1861. Redesignated as the 3d Cavalry Group in 1943, the regiment was finally designated as the 3d Armored Cavalry Regiment in 1948. Department of the Army, Blood and Steel! The History, Customs, and Traditions of the 3d Armored Cavalry Regiment (Fort Carson, Colo.: Office of Historical Programs, Third Cavalry Museum, Fort Carson, CO, 2002), online at http://www.carson.army.mil/UNITS/3RD%20ACR/ main%20pages/3d%20ACR%20History.pdf>, 61-62, accessed September 2006; The 3d Armored Cavalry Regiment in Operation Iraqi Freedom-III, Headquarters, 3d Armored Cavalry Regiment, Fort Carson, CO, online at http://www.carson.army.mil/UNITS/3RD%20ACR/main%20pages/docs/3d%20ACR%20in%20 OIF%20III%20-%20Media%20File.pdf>, accessed August 2006; Michael Simmering, Memorandum for Record, 2/3 ACR Actions During Operation Iraqi Freedom (OIF 04-06), 30 January 2006, 2; Lt. Col. Ross Brown, 3/3 ACR Operations and Intelligence Briefing, 21 September 2006, School for Command Preparation, Fort Leavenworth, KS; Lt. Col. Gregory D. Reilly, interview by Operational Leadership Experiences (OLE) Project Team, Combat Studies Institute, digital recording, 31 August 2006, Fort Leavenworth, KS [digital recording stored on CD-ROM at Combined Arms Research Library, Fort Leavenworth, KS]; Regimental Education: Brave Rifles Reading List for Operation Iraqi Freedom, 1 November 2004; 3d Squadron, 3d Armored Cavalry Regiment, Thunder Squadron, "Squadron After Action Review: OIF 04-06 January 2005-February 2006," 4-8, 5-5, 6-6, 8-4-5.

area security operations in Tall 'Afar and to prepare the area for the reception of the 1st, 4th, and Support Squadrons. Hickey was to have responsibility for Tall 'Afar and its immediate environs, while 1st Squadron operated to the west along the Syrian border, and 4th Squadron flew missions throughout the regimental area of operations (AO).³

The Brave Rifles, the Army's sole armored cavalry regiment, brought a powerful mix of ground and aviation assets to the battlefield. Each of its three ground squadrons, organized in three cavalry troops, a tank company, a howitzer battery, and a headquarters troop, fielded 41 M1A2 Abrams Main Battle Tanks, 41 M3A2 Bradley Cavalry Fighting Vehicles, 6 M1064A3 Self-Propelled 120-mm Mortars, and 6 M109A6 Paladin 155-mm Self-Propelled Howitzers. Three air reconnaissance troops totaling 24 Kiowa OH58Ds, two attack troops mustering 16 AH64D Apache Longbows, an assault troop of 15 UH60 Blackhawks, and headquarters and maintenance troops comprised the aviation squadron. Other organic assets included a support squadron, an air defense artillery (ADA) battery with 8 M3 Bradley Stinger Fighting Vehicles and 8 M1097 Avenger Air Defense Systems, the 43d Combat Engineer Company, the 571st Medical Company (Air Ambulance) with 15 UH60s, the 89th Chemical Company, and the 66th Military Intelligence Company. The regiment deployed with its full complement of armored and tracked vehicles.⁴

Originally posted to the "Triangle of Death," with its points at Yusufiyah, Muhmadiyah, and Latifiyah, 2d Squadron was to have relieved 2d Battalion, 70th Armor, part of the 1st Armored Division's 3d Brigade Combat Team (BCT). The AO is agricultural laced with an extensive canal network that restricts the maneuverability of tracked vehicles. To accomplish its mission, the squadron was to have relied on M1114s. The new mission, however, required that 2d Squadron transfer its two dozen or so high-mobility multipurpose wheeled vehicles (HMMWVs) to 3d Squadron, under Lt. Col. Ross A. Brown, as it assumed responsibility for 2d Squadron's former AO. The 3d Squadron, reinforced by the regiment's air defense battery, a platoon from the 43d Combat Engineer Company, R Troop (Attack Aviation), and 3d Platoon, Company D, 1st Squadron, remained in the Baghdad area, serving at one time or another under two divisional and four brigade-level headquarters.⁵

³d Armored Cavalry Regiment in Operation Iraqi Freedom-III; Simmering, 2/3 ACR Actions, 2; Brown, 3/3 ACR Operations and Intelligence Briefing; Reilly interview; 3/3 AAR. While 2nd Squadron was 3d ACR's main effort in Tall 'Afar and the squadron is the focus of this study, the broader concept, scope, execution, and outcome of the undertaking were regimental operations; E-mail from Maj. Robert J. Molinari to Lt. Col. Keith A. Barclay, 2 November 2006, in author's collection.

⁴ Brown, 3/3 ACR Operations and Intelligence Briefing; the 571st Medical did not deploy with the regiment, but instead supported III Marine Expeditionary Force out of Al Asad Airfield, in western Iraq's Anbar Province. Molinari to Barclay.

⁵ Simmering, 2/3 ACR Actions, 2; Lt. Col. Christopher M. Hickey, interview by Operational Leadership Experiences (OLE) Project Team, Combat Studies Institute, digital recording, 10 August 2006, Fort Leavenworth, KS [digital recording stored on CD-ROM at Combined Arms Research Library, Fort Leavenworth, KS]; 3d Armored Cavalry Regiment in Operation Iraqi Freedom-III; Simmering, 2/3 ACR Actions, 2; Hickey interview; Michael Ware, "Chasing the Ghosts," *Time*, 26 September 2005, 166: 13, online at http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,1106333,00.html, accessed August 2006; Initial Impressions Report: 3d ACR OIF Post Deployment AAR Process IIR, 6–25 (Fort Leavenworth, KS: Center for Army Lessons Learned, 2006), 31; Brown, 3/3 ACR Operations and Intelligence Briefing.

Tall 'Afar, the new AO for 2d Squadron, was a "hilly agricultural city" of about 150,000 to 200,000 people in northwestern Nineveh, measuring about 9 square kilometers. It lay just over 60 miles east of the Syrian border, about 50 miles west of Mosul, and some 260 miles north of Baghdad. The terrain ranged from open desert and tribal villages to dense urban environments, deep wadis, and even forests. To a very large degree, terrain dictated the regiment's tactics, techniques, and procedures (TTP). In the desert, insurgent attacks at ranges up to 2,000 meters allowed M3A2s, M1A2s, and aviation assets to exploit their long-range optics and the reach of their weapons. Within Tall 'Afar, the city's fabric was as varied as its population. Areas like Hai al-Wahda on the city's west-central side were, by Western standards, a confused arrangement of multistoried buildings, garages, and small alleys.⁶

In spite of the layout, the Mounted Riflemen found areas like the Wahda district "moderately conducive to mounted" operations executed in conjunction with dismounted Soldiers. But Tall 'Afar's east side was an altogether different matter. Places like the older Hai al-Sarai district, which was about 400 by 800 meters in size, had been occupied for over a millennia, and were chock full of "every possible obstacle from modern multistory buildings to ancient houses, caves and even subterranean catacombs." With their narrow alleys and tall buildings, operations in neighborhoods like Sarai limited the maneuverability of armored vehicles. No matter the neighborhood, each mission was a mix of dismounted and mounted elements with tanks, Bradleys, and aviation providing overwatch. Overlooking the city was an Ottoman-era castle, built atop the ruins of previous fortresses dating to the Assyrian empire. The people of Tall 'Afar considered it a symbol of authority.⁷

Tall 'Afar's ethnic and sectarian mix, while not precisely mirroring that of Iraq, was indicative of the ethnic and confessional diversity characterizing the country. It is 90 percent Turkmen, three-quarters of whom are Sunni, the other fourth Shiite, with the remainder of the population Arab, Kurd, and Yezedi. A large number of retired and former noncommissioned officers and specialists with valuable military skills lived in the city. The city lay within a "multi-ethnic belt" bordering Kurdistan, an area rife with tension, in part, because of Sunni Arab fears of "reverse-Arabisation" proposals made by nationalist Kurds hoping to ethnically cleanse the province. It is important to note that Tall 'Afar straddled routes that allowed easy access to Syria and sources of international support.⁸

Steve Fainaru, "After Recapturing N. Iraqi City, Rebuilding Starts from Scratch," Washington Post, 19 September 2004; George Packer, "Letter from Iraq: The Lesson of Tal Afar," The New Yorker, vol. 86 (April 2006), 5; Simmering, 2/3 ACR Actions, 4; GlobalSecurity.org, online at http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/ops/oif-restoring-rights.htm, accessed August 2006; Lt. Col. Paul Yingling, interview by Operational Leadership Experiences (OLE) Project Team, Combat Studies Institute, digital recording, 22 September 2006, Fort Leavenworth, KS [digital recording stored on CD-ROM at Combined Arms Research Library, Fort Leavenworth, KS]; Structure of the Tall Afar Insurgency, 3d ACR File, communication from Patrick R. Jennings, 126th Military History Detachment, Massachusetts Army National Guard, in author's collection.

⁷ Simmering, 2/3 ACR Actions, 4; Lt. Col. Christopher M. Hickey, conversation with author, 26 September 2006.

⁸ Fainaru, "Rebuilding Starts From Scratch"; Packer, 5; Simmering, 2/3 ACR Actions, 4; GlobalSecurity.org; Structure of the Tall Afar Insurgency, Anthony Cordesman, "New Patterns in the Iraqi Insurgency: The War

In 2004 Sunni extremists, known as *Takfiri*, and disenfranchised Iraqi nationalists had come together in a marriage of convenience to seize control of the city and use it as a base of operations for their resistance against American forces and the nascent Iraqi government. For both symbolic and logistical reasons, the city was at the center of Jordanian terrorist Abu Musab al-Zarqawi's strategy of fomenting sectarian violence to undermine the American effort in Iraq. According to the deputy provincial governor of Nineveh, Khasro Goran, over 500 insurgents terrorized the city of nearly a quarter of a million inhabitants through their tactics, which were able to "project a level of fear and intimidation... far in excess of the numbers." Tall 'Afar's civic leadership, the little that existed, was suspected of being in league with the insurgents; the over 80 tribes in the region exercised the real leadership. New York Times reporter Richard A. Oppel, Jr., called Tall 'Afar a "Magnet for Iraq Insurgents," who had spread their web of influence by taking over distant villages that could provide sanctuary only a "short distance from Mosul..., [itself] an active insurgent hub." Insurgents easily passed through holes in the berm demarcating Syria from Iraq and holed up in safe havens scattered about the countryside. Tall 'Afar was a "town that was, for all practical purposes, dead, strangled by the violent insurgents who held it in their thrall."9

The intimidation campaign ranged from bombings, assassinations, and mortar and rocket attacks, to beheadings intended to terrify the city's Shiites. In one instance, the insurgents had kidnapped and pressed into service a 14-year old boy. According to Glasgow *Sunday Herald* writer David Pratt, the boy revealed that insurgents had sodomized and "abused" him, and then had assigned him the task of restraining the "legs of victims they beheaded." Hickey recounted that the boy's aim in life was to rise eventually to the point where he would become the executioner. An unnamed Coalition spokesman in Baghdad compared Tall 'Afar to something "from Mad Max Beyond Thunderdome." The insurgents' campaign, despite its viciousness, was neither mindless nor without purpose, although the disparate aims of the constituent groups reflected their equally disparate origins and interests. Insurgent leaders fully appreciated the symbolism in their terrorizing a city that only a year before had been a battlefield for US and Iraqi forces in Operation BLACK TYPHOON. 10

In 2003 Tall 'Afar had been under the control of the 101st Airborne Division, commanded by MG David Petraeus; by the summer of 2004 a single infantry company from a follow-on unit patrolled the city. According to neurologist Dr. Hakki M. Majdal, deputy director of Tall 'Afar General Hospital, the city's grave economic conditions and growing aggravation over the US occupation of Iraq made the city fertile ground for the insurgency. Led by the Stryker–mounted 3d Brigade Combat Team (BCT), 2d Infantry Division, US and Iraqi forces retook the city in fighting that lasted from 9 through 12

for a Civil War in Iraq" (Washington, DC: Center for Strategic and International Studies, working draft, rev. 27 September 2005), 1–3; Yingling, interview; Michael Knights, "Northern Iraq Faces Increased Instability in 2005," *Janes Intelligence Review*, February 2005, 30.

⁹ Packer, 2, 5; Richard A. Oppel, Jr., "Magnet for Iraq Insurgents is Test for U.S. Strategy," New York Times, 16 June 2005.

¹⁰ Packer, 2; David Pratt, "The Battle to Control the Streets of Tal Afar, Iraq: Purging the Insurgents," Sunday Herald (Glasgow), 1 January 2006; Cordesman, "War for a Civil War," 28.

September 2004, displacing an estimated 150,000 people, and pushing "reconstruction . . back to square one." Hoping to resuscitate the city's reconstruction following BLACK TYPHOON, Brig. Gen. Carter F. Ham, commander of Task Force *Olympia*, requested \$3 million in emergency funding to rebuild Tall 'Afar's infrastructure, expressing his belief to Mayor Mohammed Rashid Hamid that Tall 'Afar would "once again be a great city." Ham believed, for good reason, that "Having us stay there [in great strength] is exactly the wrong thing." Citing the few American forces available for reoccupying the city, Ham believed that a prolonged American presence conveyed to undecided Iraqis an image of the US as an occupying power. Moreover, Ann Scott Tyson of the *Washington Post*, citing American officers, reported that the poorly disciplined Wolf Brigade, a Shiite police commando outfit, "shot up the [largely Sunni] city," an act the Sunnis perceived as an assault on them.¹¹

Ham's estimate of forces and of a prolonged or substantial American presence was correct, but the timing proved precipitate. Indeed, it was part of the larger phenomenon of seizure, clearance, and rapid handover to smaller American forces or to undertrained or ill-prepared Iraqi forces, part of a "cycle that has been repeated in rebellious cities throughout Iraq." According to Maj. Christopher Kennedy, the 3d ACR's executive officer, the impermanence of the American presence and the resulting instability were "what our lack of combat power has done to us throughout the country... The problem has been we haven't been able to leave sufficient forces in towns where we've cleared the insurgents out." 12

BLACK TYPHOON's success notwithstanding, within a month insurgents reclaimed Tall 'Afar in even greater strength than before. They besieged police stations, severely damaging or destroying some with bombs, forcing terrified residents out of the city, even to the point of the people clearing out of the Sarai neighborhood. The resurgent insurgents' attacks began shortly after dawn prayers on 14 November 2004, the beginning of the *Id al-Fitr* celebration marking the conclusion of Ramadan. They launched a raid on a city prison, freeing the prisoners before bombing it. Continuing their assault, insurgents attacked the police station in the Hassan Qoi district. Interestingly, the sustained assaults started shortly after Operation PHANTOM FURY began on 8 November. At nearly the same time that US and Iraqi forces began the "pacification of Fallujah," Tall 'Afar was replacing Fallujah as a center of the insurgency. Instead of reversing Tall 'Afar's "slide into bedlam," BLACK TYPHOON may have inadvertently hastened it. 13

Packer, 1; Pratt, "Streets of Tal Afar"; GlobalSecurity.Com, "Operation Black Typhoon," online at http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/ops/oif-black-typhoon.htm, accessed August 2006; Fainaru, "Rebuilding Starts From Scratch"; id., "U.S.-Led Forces Retake Northern Iraqi City," Washington Post, 13 September 2004; Ann Scott Tyson, "Ten Days in Tall Afar; An Exception, Not a Model that is Easily Replicated," Washington Post, 26 March 2006; Yingling interview.

¹² Packer, "Letter from Iraq," 1; Pratt, "Streets of Tal Afar"; GlobalSecurity.Com, "Operation Black Typhoon"; Fainaru, "Rebuilding Starts From Scratch"; id., "Forces Retake Northern Iraqi City"; Jonathan Finer, "5,000 U.S. and Iraqi Troops Sweep into City of Tall Afar; Urban Assault is Largest Since Last Year," Washington Post, 3 September 2005; Oppel, "Magnet for Iraq Insurgents."

¹³ Finer, "Troops Sweep into City of Tall Afar"; Edward Wong, "Raids in Mosul Region Undermine Value of Victories," *New York Times*, 15 November 2004; Knights, "Increased Instability," 31; Tyson, "Ten Days in Tall Afar"; Simmering, 2/3 ACR Actions, 3.

As Tall 'Afar slid back into chaos, the insurgents targeted Iraqi security forces and other symbols of government authority. Their attacks thoroughly cowed a police force, once hundreds strong. Through their repeated attacks on stations, the insurgents confined the remaining police to the Ottoman fortress overlooking the city. Amjad Hashem Taki, a captain in the police force, reported in January 2005 that "400 [Sunni] officers... quit or joined the insurgency," while noting that US forces were responsible for about 90 percent of all security operations. Another Shiite policeman, Hasanen Khidir, recalled that the insurgents subjected the police to constant small arms and RPG attacks. Surrounded by Sunni Turkmen and terrorized by the insurgents, the Shiite policemen rarely ventured out of the castle, except as death squads to exact retribution through kidnappings, executions, committing "atrocities and injustices," and contributing to a larger "cycle of... tribal violence which further destabilized the city and further victimized the people." 14

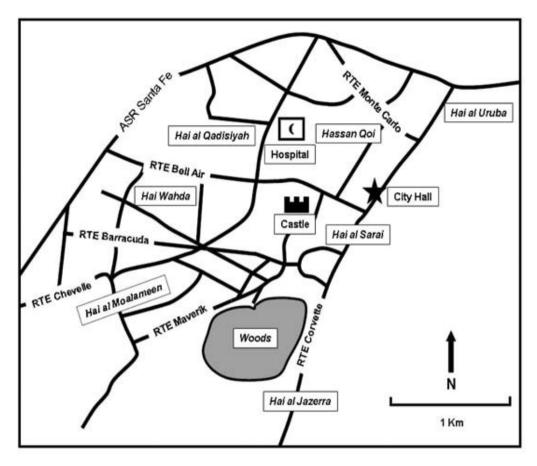
Insurgents exploited the thinly spread US forces, making Tall 'Afar the centerpiece in their propaganda campaign following the fall of Fallujah. On a regular basis, their attacks against American patrols and convoys "featured heavily in the 'top 10 attacks' videos circulated among insurgent groups." From May through July 2005, attacks in Tall 'Afar alone accounted for as many as 10 percent of all those in Iraq. Insurgent videos and reports corroborated by residents recounted public executions for those who collaborated with Americans. Had US forces allowed the insurgents to retain control of Tall 'Afar, they would have ceded the initiative to the enemy in northwest Nineveh and handed them an important propaganda victory.¹⁵

Responding to what had transpired in Tall 'Afar, 2d Squadron shifted northward and established Forward Operating Base (FOB) Sykes at the Tall 'Afar airfield, about 12 kilometers southwest of the city. With Support Squadron under Lt. Col. Richard O'Connor sustaining the move and later establishing a detainee screening site south of the city, 2d Squadron prepared the way for the regiment's reception and integration into the new AO, less 3d Squadron, in Operation COLD FUSION (1 May–15 June). While establishing itself in its new AO, the squadron relieved Task Force (TF) 2-14 Cavalry, a Stryker squadron from 1st BCT, 25th Infantry Division, of its responsibility for the province west of Mosul, a brigade-size AO as large as Connecticut. By mid-May, Lt. Col. Gregory D. Reilly's 1st Squadron had established itself along the Syrian border, while 4th Squadron, under Lt. Col. Douglass Pavek, had shifted to FOB Sykes to conduct operations in Tall 'Afar and western Nineveh. McMaster attempted to have 3d Squadron rejoin the command, but because of mission requirements in Baghdad his attempts proved unsuccessful.¹⁶

¹⁴ Col. H.R. McMaster, interview for Frontline, "The Insurgency," Public Broadcasting System (fall 2005); Charles Crain, "Iraq's New Cops, Under Fire," *Time* 165, no. 5 (31 January 2005), 37; Pratt, "Purging the Insurgents"; Packer, "Letter from Iraq," 5.

¹⁵ Ware, "Chasing the Ghosts."

¹⁶ Ibid.; Brown, 3/3 ACR Operations and Intelligence Briefing; Molinari to Barclay.



2/3 ACR Area of Operations. 17

Partnered with 1st Brigade, 3d Iraqi Division, 2d Squadron initiated an extensive area reconnaissance on arrival in Tall 'Afar. The squadron's operational philosophy, which evolved over the course of its deployment, "followed . . . five tenets..., regardless of the level of resistance ... faced." They were, first, to "Secure the population" by creating and safeguarding an environment in which all Iraqis felt safe and unthreatened by insurgents, thus making the people tacitly, if not overtly, supportive of the counterinsurgency. The second charged Soldiers to "Enable the Iraqi Security Forces" by helping them develop their ability to conduct operations with minimal or no American assistance, an important symbolic and real necessity. Third, "See first, understand first, act decisively." The guidance enjoined troopers to reconnoiter thoroughly and aggressively wherever they operated to develop their

¹⁷ Simmering, 2/3 ACR Actions, 7.

situational awareness. It reminded Soldiers to tailor their actions according to the mission's needs, that everything they undertook had immediate and long-term consequences, and that they needed to act quickly to seize and retain the initiative.¹⁸

The fourth tenet directed each trooper to "Understand your unit, its capabilities, and constantly attempt to improve—widen the rumble strips as you go," reducing the need to slow the operational tempo. Finally, this guidance reminded leaders that "Trust and confidence in your subordinates enables initiative—In a counterinsurgency, initiative, speed, agility, and the ability to seize opportunities are critical." These five tenets were not sequential steps; rather they were coterminous.¹⁹

As the squadron patrolled Tall 'Afar and learned about its new AO, it suffered its first casualties on 28 April when an improvised explosive device (IED) of six or more 122-mm artillery rounds exploded against a Stryker, penetrated its hull, and killed four Soldiers. On 1 May, 2d Squadron assumed full responsibility for operations in and around the city, executing missions designed to develop the squadron's situational awareness through reconnaissance, cordons, searches, and raids. As COLD FUSION commenced, 1st Squadron began its operations along the Syrian border, designed to interdict the flow of foreign fighters and external support while reconstituting the Iraqi border guards.²⁰

While 2d Squadron focused on learning its new environment, the squadron, along with 1st Brigade, 3d Iraqi Division secured their lines of communication (LOCs) along MSR SANTA FE, and the LOC from FOB Sykes by establishing five Iraqi Army patrol bases to provide overwatch and security. Early on Hickey realized that the squadron's small number of scouts was not large enough to execute all of the essential dismounted operations required in an urban environment. Responding to Hickey's needs, McMaster requested and received from TF Freedom and Multinational Corps-Iraq (MNC-I), additional dismounted forces. MNC-I responded in time for Operation RESTORING RIGHTS, when it detailed the 4th Police Commando Brigade, a Kurdish *Peshmerga* infantry battalion, and 2-325th Infantry from 2nd Brigade, 82nd Airborne Division. During this month, insurgents launched 20 IEDs or suicide bomb attacks, 21 mortar or rocket attacks, and 104 attacks with small arms or rocket-propelled grenades (RPGs) against 2d Squadron, residents of the area, and Iraqi security forces. Most of the attacks took place along MSR SANTA FE and against the city's hospital and forces posted to secure it.²¹

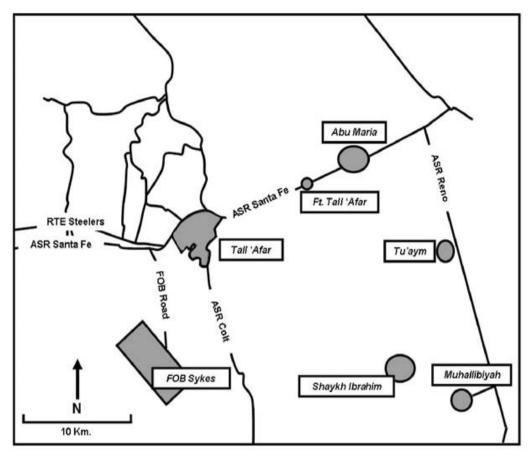
¹⁸ Ibid., 6; Hickey interview.

¹⁹ Simmering, 2/3 ACR Actions, 6; Hickey interview.

²⁰ Simmering, 2/3 ACR Actions, 8-9.

²¹ Ibid; Molinari to Barclay.

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Tall 'Afar.22

On 3 May, G Troop began searching for IEDs in Sarai. Insurgents observed the troop's entry and immediately attacked it with small arms and hand grenades. During the fight, which lasted over 4 hours, the troopers observed women and children being used as shields and children acting as scouts. In the fight, insurgents wounded six Iraqi soldiers. Returning fire and forcing the insurgents to withdraw, the Soldiers secured the area and eventually retired, but they would return 2 days later searching for weapons purportedly stored in a mosque. As Iraqi infantry approached the mosque, insurgents opened fire and inflicted two casualties, which shook the Iraqis' confidence, forcing G Troop's Soldiers to take control of the situation. Stiffened by the American presence, the Iraqis regained their composure and continued fighting as AH64Ds from 4th Squadron supported the attack, which killed 12 insurgents in over 3 hours of combat.²³

As the squadron continued COLD FUSION, a suicide bomber attacked an E Troop Bradley

²² Ibid., 7.

²³ Ibid., 10.

on 9 May. Because the crew maintained security and fired on the attacker, it prevented the bomber from getting too close. The crew's alertness coupled with the Bradley's armor limited the damage and protected the troopers. It was another 4 months before the insurgents attacked 2d Squadron with a car bomb. In spite of this respite, the insurgents continued their attacks hoping to disrupt American operations and further terrorize and dishearten the Iraqis.²⁴

Toward the end of May, the squadron began developing a clearer picture of the situation in Tall 'Afar and the several friction points contributing to the popular alienation that sustained the insurgency. First, the Mounted Riflemen realized the insurgency could not have existed without the tacit support of any number of the 83 sheiks and their tribes, some of which, like the Shiite Sadr and Sunni Farhat, were feuding with one another in the Wahda district. Second, the majority-Shiite police force, when it was not holed up in the castle, was little better than a death squad, spreading its own brand of terror and revenge. The Ministry of the Interior had helped solve this problem in early May when it replaced the corrupt chief, Ferris Ismael, with Brig. Gen. Najim Abdullah al-Jabouri, who later became mayor of Tall 'Afar. Hickey also suspected the complicity of the mayor, who was able to travel throughout the city with only a small escort while well-armed patrols were regularly attacked. Third, the ill will engendered by Operation BLACK TYPHOON, the uneven progress of rebuilding following that operation, and the 75-percent unemployment rate further contributed to popular discontent. Finally, the largely uneducated or illiterate population was especially susceptible to insurgent suasion. The insurgent centers of gravity in the Sarai and Qadisiyah districts included the city's hospital, itself a frequent target of attacks and attempted seizures by extralegal security forces. Attacks against what ought to have been a place of healing intensified as Iraqi forces, supported by the squadron, sought to secure it.25

On 20 May, 2d Squadron established a cordon around the Qadisiyah district as it executed Operation COLD STEEL, which aimed at killing or capturing insurgents operating in Qadisiyah and demonstrating to them the strength of 2d Squadron's combat power. Operating in conjunction with its Iraqi partner brigade, the squadron captured five suspected insurgents and some weapons. Limited in time, scope, and area when compared to the larger ongoing mission of COLD FUSION, COLD STEEL was the first time Hickey's squadron and its Iraqi partner brigade operated together in a large-scale mission. Hickey anticipated an insurgent reaction; he did not wait long. On the evening of 26 May, over a dozen insurgents, supported by mortars, machine guns, and RPGs, attempted overrunning an Iraqi patrol base in Hassan Qoi. Supported by tanks and a sniper team from H Company, the Iraqis defeated the attempt. In search of easier targets, the insurgents shifted their focus to civilians, hoping to cow them into submission. They miscalculated.²⁶

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Simmering, 2/3 ACR Actions, 9–13; Hickey interview; Squadron Commanding Officer's Counterinsurgency Operation Briefing, "2nd Squadron, 3d ACR: Fighting the Insurgency in Tall Afar," version 1, 2006; Finer, "Troops Sweep into City of Tall Afar"; Lawrence F. Kaplan, "The Case for Staying in Iraq: Centripetal Force," *The New Republic*, 6 March 2006, 22; Lt. Col. Paul Yingling, personal e-mail message, 23 June 2006.

²⁶ Simmering, 2/3 ACR Actions, 12; Christopher M. Hickey, "Sabre Squadron," Mounted Rifleman, May 2005, 12.

A few days earlier, on 23 May, a suicide car bomber had attacked members of the largely-Shiite Jolaq tribe in retaliation for an earlier attack on two Sunni insurgent leaders, killing 15 and injuring 30. Rather than intimidating the Jolaq, the attack encouraged them to support the counterinsurgency, which created an opportunity for Hickey's troopers to begin earning their trust and further developing their understanding of Tall 'Afar. The improved relations yielded more and better intelligence, which enabled the cavalry troopers to begin seizing more weapons caches, preventing more attacks, and gradually building trust with the people.²⁷

Throughout June, the squadron executed several squadron-level operations within the city, targeting insurgent safe havens in Hassan Qoi and Sarai. G Troop and Company H supported by the OH58Ds of O Troop, 4th Squadron executed cordon and search missions that seized dozens of weapons, ammunition, and other insurgent materials, while Howitzer Battery became a motorized infantry company and manned traffic control points (TCPs) on the city's outskirts. Despite the squadron's successes and the inroads it had made with some of the populace, Sunnis in eastern Tall 'Afar were reluctant to assist Hickey's men. Their reluctance hampered the squadron's efforts to develop a comprehensive intelligence estimate of the enemy and environment. Based on what information the 2d Squadron was able to gather, the estimate indicated that Hassan Qoi and Sarai continued serving as safe havens for the insurgents and that Qadisiyah was their battleground.²⁸

In a 4 June conference with nearly 80 sheiks at Al Kisik, an Iraqi army post about 25 kilometers east-northeast of Tall 'Afar, many of the tribal leaders called for an assault along the lines of the 2004 attack on Falluja to destroy the insurgents. Surprising the American and Iraqi commanders, they complained that US forces were too gentle in their treatment of the insurgents and that the Americans should be rougher on them. American and Iraqi leaders demurred. "Rather than conduct[ing] destructive missions that focused on using an inappropriate amount of firepower," as the squadron's account of its campaign in Tall 'Afar notes, the "Squadron developed the intelligence picture through various reconnaissance operations while simultaneously planning for larger scale operations" that constricted and isolated insurgent safe havens.²⁹

Patience and persistence finally paid off when G Troop gained the trust of an informant with a thorough knowledge of the insurgents in Sarai. With the informant's assistance, the squadron began an operation on 7 June that focused on capturing or killing 30 high-value targets (HVTs) in Sarai. The operation detained 23 HVTs "who seemed surprised by the size, timing and direction of the attack from the desert, [and] were caught off guard." Despite the initial surprise, the enemy recovered and fought back, although by the end of the mission they suffered 20 killed and an indeterminate number wounded. In the course of this operation, Lt. Col. Terrence Crow of the 98th Advisory Support Team received a mortal wound when the Iraqi soldiers he was leading were ambushed in an alleyway. While en route to the forward aid station, Crow died.³⁰

²⁷ Simmering, 2/3 ACR Actions, 12–13, 17.

²⁸ Ibid., 14-15.

²⁹ Simmering, 2/3 ACR Actions, 11; Oppel, "Magnet for Iraq Insurgents"; SFC Donald Sparks, "Conference Focuses on Security for Tall Afar," *Mounted Rifleman*, June 2005, 7.

³⁰ Ibid., 15–17; Yingling interview; Richard A. Oppel, Jr., "Dozens Seized in Dawn Raid in Iraq's North," New

Throughout June 2d Squadron continued executing cordon and search missions at cavalry-troop level to develop its intelligence picture. By the end of the month, the squadron had come to understand more fully the organization and heterogeneous nature of the insurgency. Acting on this improved understanding, 2d Squadron adjusted its information operations, which were designed to woo the resistance and other Sunni nationalists by stressing that the *Takfiri*, puritanical Sunnis hoping to incite an intra-Islamic civil war, were the common enemy of the Shia and secular Sunni alike. The campaign emphasized that operations were intended to help the Sunnis—not punish them. At the very least, Hickey hoped to avoid alienating the population and creating new enemies. One method in which the squadron underscored its intentions was by treating released detainees with respect and returning them to their homes with cash and new clothes.³¹

The insurgency, 2d Squadron discovered, was anything but monolithic. It was instead a marriage of convenience between disparate, even mutually hostile groups, linked only by a shared antipathy toward Coalition forces and Iraqi collaborators. The first group, known popularly as the "Resistance," was generally comprised of native-born Sunni nationalists fighting for the establishment of a secular Arab nationalist government, similar to a Baathist regime, dominated by Sunnis. Others' motives included "Anger, revenge, economic need, opposition to the US invasion and any government that grows out of it or sheer lack of hope in the current system." Sunni Turkmen nationalists, receiving support from within and outside Iraq, were especially angry because of their perceived exclusion from the political process, their perceived disenfranchisement following the departure of the 101st Airborne from Tall 'Afar in February 2004, their lack of trust in follow-on US and Iraqi forces, and their exclusion from the ranks of the local security forces. Although not easily placated, many of the Turkmen nationalists later proved amenable to American overtures that addressed their concerns.³²

The other insurgent element facing the Brave Rifles was the intractable group of religiously motivated zealots known as *Takfiri*, adherents of a puritanical strain of Sunni belief, many of whom viewed civil war as a desirable goal in Iraq and throughout the Muslim world. Hoping to create a pure Sunni state free of Jews and Christians, the *Takfiri* deemed it their duty to convert all "apostate" Muslims, or *Kafirs*, to their ways of belief, or barring that to eliminate them. The *Takfiri*, as the Mounted Riflemen discovered, had no compunction about attacking innocent civilians, much less police and soldiers. In their interpretation of struggle, jihad, the *Takfiri* considered civilian sacrifices as justifiable acts committed on behalf of a godly cause. They believed they were doing God's will by fighting a global war on Islamic apostasy.³³

The *Takfiri* took strength from their conviction that a conventional victory was unnecessary to their cause. A protracted and ever-growing civil war within all Islam, according to their way of thinking, would herald a much larger and welcome conflict signaling the end of the world, an inevitable struggle they believed they would win because God was with them. The insurgency in Tall 'Afar demonstrated in microcosm a greater struggle within Islam

York Times, 8 June 2006.

³¹ Simmering, 2/3 ACR Actions, 23; Hickey interview.

³² Cordesman, "War for a Civil War," 1; Simmering, 2/3 ACR Actions, 1, 2, 5; Hickey interview.

³³ Cordesman, "War for a Civil War," 1; Simmering, 2/3 ACR Actions, 1, 2, 5; Hickey interview.

and against the American occupation, but also Americans' difficulty in comprehending "an asymmetric war going on within an asymmetric war." As one Iraqi official put it with more than a measure of truth, "Americans always want one simple enemy. You need to think and act as if you had 250. Some are outsiders, some insiders. Some are fanatics, and some who might be persuaded to join the political process. We have tribes, cells, mosques, towns, and parts of cities with different goals, and different tactics."³⁴

The 2d Squadron confronted a major dilemma: how best to quash the insurgency while gaining the trust of the people, or, at the very least, not antagonizing them. To unaccustomed American eyes, the insurgents were indistinguishable from the larger population. Their ability to hide in plain sight allowed them to circulate and act with impunity. Without the ability to identify their enemies, American strength and intentions were for naught. So long as the insurgents intimidated the people, the insurgents were safe. Operation BLACK TYPHOON had demonstrated to the people of Tall 'Afar the power of the US Army, but the rapid withdrawal prevented the creation of a safe environment. American forces had killed or driven out insurgents but had then left the people to their own devices, which allowed insurgents to return. How best to render order out of chaos? The squadron could mass its firepower, but where and against whom and to what effect?

* * *

Create a safer and more secure environment, Hickey reasoned, and the population would become more amenable to the American presence and more trusting of nascent Iraqi institutions of governance, including the army and police. Working closely with McMaster and regimental planners, Hickey and his staff determined that changing Tall 'Afar's environment would be more productive and result in a longer-lasting effect than focusing on destroying or defeating the insurgents, an impossible task given the squadron's inability to differentiate friends from enemies without local assistance. To accomplish this, the squadron launched a series of shaping and reconnaissance operations that developed its situational awareness, expanded its presence throughout the AO, and made tentative inroads with the population.³⁵

Throughout its deployment to Tall 'Afar, the squadron worked at integrating Iraqi forces to improve their operational capabilities and awareness. For most of this period, soldiers of the Iraqi Army's 1st Brigade, 3d Division could only function at squad and lower levels. To raise the Iraqis' proficiency, the squadron increasingly integrated them into operations, with troop commanders partnering with battalion commanders. In spite of their low levels of training, the Iraqis were a valuable source of dismounted infantry for securing routes and protecting fixed structures and sites, as well as for their language skills and understanding of the culture. As 2d Squadron prepared for future operations, it requested additional forces; it received Company D, 1/3 ACR and 3d Battalion, 2d Brigade, 3d Iraqi Division. Elements from Special Forces also arrived to intensify and improve the Iraqis' training and military capacity.³⁶

³⁴ Cordesman, "War for a Civil War," 3, 1; Finer, "Few Foreigners Are Found."

³⁵ Hickey conversation.

³⁶ Simmering, 2/3 ACR Actions, 22.

After having developed a clearer picture of the situation in Tall 'Afar, 2d Squadron, joined by 1st Squadron and Special Operations Forces, launched Operation SABRE UNLEASHED (1 July–31 August), a series of shaping operations to create the conditions for Operation RESTORING RIGHTS—the decisive squadron-level combat operation against the insurgents. In SABRE UNLEASHED, 2d Squadron launched simultaneous attacks throughout the AO that denied the insurgents' freedom of maneuver and significantly disrupted their ability to strike out at Coalition forces and civilians. A crucial element in SABRE UNLEASHED was the positioning of elements from 3d Iraqi Division throughout Tall 'Afar and along the MSR to provide overwatch and security and to deny the insurgents their freedom to maneuver. Nonetheless, the intensity and frequency of insurgent attacks within the city prevented 2d Squadron from positioning Iraqi posts in any appreciable depth.³⁷

Because of the scale and scope of this operation, Hickey determined that every mission executed by 2d Squadron elements had the potential to become a squadron-level operation. The degree of communication and resulting situational awareness also enabled troop and company commanders to support one another quickly. According to the squadron's account, "Units became intuitively aware of the actions of adjacent units and became capable of performing outside of their areas in order to provide assistance to other units." On 9 July, a G Troop raid in Sarai turned into a squadron-level operation.³⁸

At 0520, G Troop executed a raid in search of surface-to-air missiles. Serving alongside G Troop were Special Forces teams partnered with the Iraqi 3d Battalion, 1st Brigade, and O and P Troops from 4th Squadron. Air Force close air support (CAS) and OH58D crews from O Troop reported on suspicious actions in the area, which alerted G Troop to establish a cordon around it. Dismounted cavalrymen initiated the search of a suspected house and began receiving fire from insurgents. G Troop expanded the search to other houses and The fight expanded as insurgents opened fire with RPGs on a began securing the area. tank platoon as it began securing a school, key terrain in the neighborhood. In response, O Troop shifted to provide CAS as elements from F Troop moved in to assist while G Troop conducted a casualty evacuation (CASEVAC) for a wounded Soldier, Spec. Hoby Bradfield. Finally securing the area, the search uncovered insurgent propaganda CDs, RPG warheads, a suicide-bomb vest, and other weapons. At 0540 the M113 ambulance carrying the wounded Soldier struck an IED, which destroyed it, killed one medic, and wounded another; doctors with the 228th Combat Surgical Hospital in Mosul pronounced Bradfield dead. The blast site, which was under observation by insurgents, grew into a firefight as elements from F Troop secured the area.³⁹

G Troop's battle continued to grow, drawing in more participants from throughout the squadron. As a psychological operations (PSYOP) team broadcast messages from the castle, tanks from E Troop made their way to support G Troop, which was returning fire with 120-mm main gun, 25-mm chain-gun, machine gun, and M136 AT4 antitank fire. Insurgent sniper, small arms, and RPG fire continued as Special Forces and Iraqi soldiers joined in the fight with 40-mm grenade fire. Throughout the fight, H Company provided overwatch and

³⁷ Ibid., 24.

³⁸ Ibid., 25.

³⁹ Ibid., 25-26.

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engaged with main gun fire insurgents who were harassing retiring units. The mission ended later that morning with six detainees in hand. 40

Shortly after the Sarai raid, surveillance imagery identified insurgents planting IEDs on the city's east side. The squadron also received information from residents about an insurgent IED class being held. Howitzer Battery, at FOB Sykes, opened up with its 155-mm guns, which cancelled class. This sort of activity continued over the next 48 hours, and each time Howitzer Battery responded. The squadron received reports that its fire killed over 30 and wounded another 20 insurgents.

Searches and raids continued throughout the shaping operation. In July, the squadron learned of booby-trapped houses in Qadisiyah and accompanying insurgent activity that was believed to be an attempt to divert the squadron's attention from Sarai. Responding to this information, Hickey launched a squadron-level raid against a dozen or so targets in Qadisiyah on 30 July, capturing 24 insurgents.⁴¹

Learning that the forest on the city's southeastern edge was a source for cached insurgent supplies, 2d Squadron launched an extensive reconnaissance of the woods and the nearby neighborhoods on 7 August. The mission began with a 65-round artillery barrage at 0445, as P Troop established overwatch and maintained aerial security. After uncovering several caches and killing, capturing, or wounding a number of insurgents, the squadron notified the city that the forest was off limits. It also declared the woods a "free fire" zone.⁴²

In an attempt to disrupt the flow of insurgent supplies, the squadron executed several operations in locations outside of Tall 'Afar, including transit and supply points within Muhalibiya and Sheik Ibrahim. From 18 to 26 July, 1st Squadron reinforced 2d Squadron's efforts when it deployed half of its strength to Avgani, about 15 kilometers north of Tall 'Afar. Participation by 1st Squadron in this operation and the following operation (23 August–23 September) was significant to the outcome, but the "opportunity cost in this was halting all border defense force training and interdictions along the Iraq/Syrian border, [actions] which GEN [George] Casey . . . [had deemed] operationally significant." After weighing the decision to deploy 1st Squadron to Tall 'Afar, McMaster decided it was worth the risk. On the cusp of Operation RESTORING RIGHTS, US and Iraqi forces massed some 3,000 US Soldiers and 5,500 Iraqi soldiers and police, bringing the troop-to-civilian ratio to something between 1:23 and 1:17.⁴³

With much of the regiment's strength concentrated in the Tall 'Afar AO, American forces began constructing a 12-kilometer berm around Tall 'Afar to control traffic in and out of the

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid., 27.

⁴² Simmering, 2/3 ACR Actions, 24–31; Jonathan Finer, "U.S. Troops Cordon Part of Iraqi Town to Trap Insurgents: Rebels Have Fled Undetected in the Past," *Washington Post*, 5 September 2005.

⁴³ Simmering, 2/3 ACR Actions, 24–31; Reilly interview. The ratio is premised on a population of between 200,000 and 150,000. In the case of 8,800 Soldiers, the ratio works out to between 1:23 and 1:17. Some estimates of troop strength have ranged from as low as 6,000 to as high as 11,000, bringing the Soldier-to-civilian ratio to something between 1:33 and 1:13; Yingling interview; Hickey conversation; Frederick W. Kagan, "A Plan for Victory in Iraq: Defeat the Insurgents Militarily—Here's How," *The Weekly Standard*, vol. 11: 35 (29 May 2006), 5; Packer, 3; Kaplan, "Case for Staying in Iraq," 23; Initial Impressions Report, 34–35; Molinari to Barclay.

city and to deny insurgents their freedom to maneuver. The suggestion to build the berm may have come from Mayor Najim Abdullah al-Jabouri, who was then commanding Tall 'Afar's police, and MG Khorsheed Saleem al-Dosekey, commander of the Iraqi 3d Division. Najim and Khorsheed believed that the berm's real value was the psychological impact it would have on the insurgents, visually and mentally constricting their ability to maneuver. As with other obstacles, the berm's effectiveness would depend on the degree to which US and Iraqi forces observed and covered it with direct and indirect fire. This obstacle was reminiscent of recent barriers built by US forces in Iraq: in 2005 Army engineers built a 64-kilometer berm around Mosul, in 2004 US forces encircled Fallujah with an earthen berm, and in 2003 an infantry battalion "wrapped" the village of Abu Hishma in concertina wire. From within Tall 'Afar, thousands of people vacated the city as US forces built the berm and publicly announced the coming offensive; the magnitude of the exodus and ability and process in determining whether those fleeing were insurgents or innocents may have been problematic. Insurgents fled alongside the innocent, but in doing so removed themselves from play and were thus unable to continue terrorizing the city. In order to ease the straits of Tall 'Afar's evacuees, Support Squadron established a center for displaced Iraqis that provided food and shelter for over 1.500 people.44

As SABRE UNLEASHED approached its final stages, Sunni tribal leaders inclined toward the insurgency in Tall 'Afar pressed the government in Baghdad for relief from American operations while their Shiite peers called for a military solution along the lines of Operation PHANTOM FURY. By the close of August, 2d Squadron had executed over 1,500 reconnaissance patrols, 111 cordons and searches, and 46 raids. It had also destroyed over 900 enemy weapons, including artillery pieces and assorted munitions, captured over 200 insurgents or suspected insurgents, and killed over 130.⁴⁵

In preparation for Operation RESTORING RIGHTS, the Regiment of Mounted Rifles massed "well over 3,000 [US] Soldiers" and 5,500 Iraqi soldiers and police, including the Shiite "Wolf" Brigade, a police commando unit. The regiment's "main effort" was 2d Squadron as 1st Squadron and 3d Brigade, 3d Iraqi Division assumed responsibility for the western half of the city. Hickey's scheme of maneuver sent E Troop, Company H, and two Iraqi battalions southward through Sarai, as F and G Troops, with Company A, 113th Combat Engineers, and three Iraqi battalions advanced to the north. Save a predetermined route to the south, the concentration of American and Iraqi forces in Sarai, the berm to the east, and 1st Squadron and its Iraqi partner brigade to the west was supposed to have effectively sealed the district. Throughout the course of the zone reconnaissance, insurgent isolation, and deliberate attacks, US forces publicly announced their intentions, allowing innocents and insurgents to flee or shift positions. Hickey aimed to drive the insurgents, along with

⁴⁴ Simmering, 2/3 ACR Actions, 24; Hickey conversation. Some accounts claim the berm was as large as 80 kilometers. Finer, "U.S. Troops Cordon Part of Iraqi Town"; id., "As Offensive in Iraq Continues, Troops Find Unexpected Quiet," Washington Post (12 September 2005); Yingling interview; Michael Gilbert, "Soldiers of (Good) Fortune: Strykers Find Weapons Cache," (Tacoma) News Tribune, 19 July 2005; Bing West, "In Fallujah, Resistance Is Futile," Slate, 23 May 2006, online at http://www.slate.com/id/2142009/, accessed September 2006; Dexter Filkins, "Tough New Tactics by U.S. Tighten Grip on Iraq Town," New York Times, 7 December 2003; Molinari to Barclay.

⁴⁵ Simmering, 2/3 ACR Actions, 30–31.

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the remaining civilians, through the opening as his forces executed a zone reconnaissance. He found himself commanding more Soldiers than were in most brigades; his captains commanding the equivalent of battalions.⁴⁶

The operation commenced on 2 September with a "3-day zone reconnaissance." PSYOP teams broadcast orders forbidding digging and the carrying of weapons. Coalition forces encountered heavy resistance in the south, but only infrequent sniper fire to the north. An Avenger platoon from the regiment's ADA Battery established an overwatch position on the eastern edge of the city, and Special Operations Forces set up blocking positions at the castle to prevent movement to the west. By the end of the day, the 2d Squadron had established patrol bases as it prepared for deliberate attacks the next day. Some of Tall 'Afar's citizens began to come forward and volunteer information on the whereabouts of the enemy, their strength, and identities. The second day's operations began early the next morning, but with much less resistance; some Soldiers expressed wonderment at this turn of events. Most of the engagements that did take place involved suppressing enemy fire, cordoning off buildings, and searching them. In some cases, insurgents abandoned their weapons and started withdrawing deeper into the city, hoping to blend with the population and eventually escape.⁴⁷

The third day of the operation, 4 September, resistance intensified. Withdrawing insurgents had booby-trapped houses. Engaging the enemy with 120-mm tank main guns, 25-mm Bradley chain guns, 30-mm Apache guns, TOWs, Hellfires, and .50-caliber and coaxial machine gun fire, 2d Squadron, supported by R Troop, 4th Squadron, drove deeper into Sarai; dismounted troopers and Iraqi soldiers cleared houses, even using sledgehammers to break down doors. Aviation elements "found themselves, at times, firing within 50–75 meters of friendly . . . forces." By the end of the day, Coalition forces had reached the limits of their advance, Phase Lines (Routes) BELL AIR and BARRACUDA; they then prepared for the evacuation of Sarai.⁴⁸

Originally, the evacuation was to have lasted 3 days; instead, on the orders of Prime Minister Ibrahim al-Jafaari, it lasted a week. Insurgents attempted their escapes by mixing with civilians. Five insurgents dressed as women, including one with false breasts, were detained at a checkpoint. Others grasped children's hands, hoping to insinuate themselves into families and facilitate their escape. In 1st Squadron's AOR, the Shiite 4th Commando Brigade, the self-proclaimed "Wolf Brigade" returned to Tall 'Afar. Still poorly disciplined and ill-trained, it had been selected by the Interior Ministry over the more experienced 1st Brigade, which was commanded by a Sunni Turkmen. The Wolves' deployment was short-lived—senior US commanders requested its immediate withdrawal because of its low level of training, poor discipline, and concerns from the Sunni population. In these final stages of the operation, one intelligence officer noted that "al-Qaeda is slipping to the east and behind

⁴⁶ Ibid., 32–39; Hickey interview; Brown, 3/3 ACR Operations and Intelligence Briefing.

⁴⁷ Simmering, 2/3 ACR Actions, 32–39; Jonathan Finer, "U.S.-Led Assault in N. Iraq Town Meets Little Insurgent Resistance," *Washington Post*, 4 September 2005.

⁴⁸ Simmering, 2/3 ACR Actions, 32–39; After Action Review, 4th Commando Brigade Deployment to Tall Afar, Headquarters, 2d Brigade, 75th Division, Special Police Commando Division Transition Team, 21 September 2005; Finer, "U.S. Troops Cordon Part of Iraqi Town."

them to the south, and 'somehow—we don't know how'—cutting through the screen line to . . . the west," and across the berm.⁴⁹

According to *Time* reporter Michael Ware, the delay left American Soldiers frustrated, angry, and "embittered." A Special Forces sergeant decried the pause as a "goat f___." When the final assault began, "Not a hostile shot" was fired, nor were any insurgents found. According to Ware, "Only one blackened corpse, left rotting for days, [was] found. 'They've even removed their dead,' said a Green Beret, not really believing it himself." This NCO had but a limited view of the operation. Assigned to an Iraqi battalion from Irbil, about 150 kilometers to the east, he was unaware of the fuller details of Operation RESTORING RIGHTS and the emphasis on creating a secure environment over simply killing insurgents. Nonetheless, the regiment had killed over 150 and detained some 600, although a number of the detainees were released for lack of evidence or because of false accusations. The ultimate whereabouts or circumstances of escaped insurgents, whether later killed, captured, or coopted is unknown.⁵⁰

On 14 September, after having cleared Sarai, 2d Squadron temporarily handed it and Hassan Qoi over to the control of Lt. Col. Christopher Gibson's 2-325 Infantry. This freed 2d Squadron to secure the populace and lay the groundwork for Tall 'Afar's reconstruction and recovery, and to prepare it for the constitutional referendum on 15 October 2005. Two days later, on 16 September, 1st Squadron began its return to the Sinjar area along the Iraqi-Syrian border. Hickey now faced a second major decision. In September 2004, following the conclusion of Operation BLACK TYPHOON, Ham had decided to pull American forces out of Tall 'Afar. The withdrawal recognized the realities of the situation: there were not enough American forces to maintain order and oversee Tall 'Afar's reconstruction while other parts of Iraq begged for the deployment of American troops. Moreover, the need to foster a positive image of American forces as allies rather than as occupiers demanded that US forces turn over responsibility to Iraqi security forces. The level of American forces in 2005 was not appreciably different from that in 2004. Thus, Hickey's dilemma was similar to the one Ham faced in the aftermath of BLACK TYPHOON. On the one hand, retiring from the city would have been an invitation for the return of the insurgents and an important propaganda victory for their cause. On the other hand, should the squadron stay, it risked giving the impression to the Iraqis that it was an occupying force.⁵¹

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Hickey elected to stay; it was a decision that had developed out of the squadron's experience in Tall 'Afar and in the aftermath of BLACK TYPHOON. Rather than operating from FOB Sykes, the squadron established or expanded its TCPs and troop-size patrol bases throughout the city. From this point forward, 2d Squadron remained in Tall 'Afar.

⁴⁹ Ware, "Chasing the Ghosts"; Yingling interview.

⁵⁰ Ware, "Chasing the Ghosts"; Oppel, "Under Pressure, Rebels Abandon an Iraqi Stronghold," *New York Times*, 12 September 2005; 4th CDO Bde AAR; Simmering, 2/3 ACR Actions, 39.

⁵¹ Simmering, 2/3 ACR Actions, 38–39; John J. McGrath, *Boots on the Ground: Troop Density in Contingency Operations* (Fort Leavenworth, KS: Combat Studies Institute Press, 2006), 165.

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As Iraqi security forces grew and developed their proficiency, the scale and depth of the security penetration increased. Because of the castle's symbolic importance to the people, Hickey shifted squadron headquarters to the old fortress and collocated with the city's police headquarters and the headquarters of the Iraqi 1st Brigade, 3d Division. The collocated headquarters led to the establishment of a joint operations center (JOC) in the castle. With civil, military, police, fire, and power representatives staffing it, the JOC served as a central collection and action point for intelligence, operations, education, and training. The new locations allowed the squadron to execute its missions more rapidly as it continued hunting down insurgents. It also offered improved access for citizens willing to share information. While the shift took place, many of the insurgents remaining within the city attempted their escapes, often adopting the guises of women, ambulance drivers, and family members. Yet others continued trying to place IEDs.⁵²

With US control established and insurgent operations disrupted, the squadron now directed the delivery of food, water, and other necessities. Iraqi soldiers met returning citizens to develop a rapport and good will with the people, but also to screen the people while looking for insurgents. These soldiers also informed the people of the processes for initiating claims for damages. Hickey and the Iraqi leadership initiated information operations (IO) to appeal to the Sunni population to join the political and reconstruction processes and to enlist in the local security forces.⁵³

Throughout October, the remaining insurgents attempted to reestablish their bases in the city to disrupt the constitutional referendum and demonstrate their resilience. US and Iraqi forces seized a number of AK47s, sniper rifles, an IED, 60-mm mortar rounds, binoculars, and four suspected insurgents on 4 October 2005 in Qadisiyah. In spite of the insurgents' best attempts at reestablishing themselves in Tall 'Afar, the tempo of operations had clearly changed. Missions were still combat missions, but the size of the squadron's elements was scaled back from platoon to squad and even section level. The smaller patrols gave the Brave Rifles a wider geographic presence and enabled them to work more closely with the Iraqi units. As Iraqi proficiency and confidence grew, so too did their ability to begin working autonomously. The changes allowed the squadron to increase its presence by establishing platoon-size patrol bases throughout the city.⁵⁴

As units became more familiar with problem areas, they began positioning security forces and altering patrol routes to address the grievances of the population. Troops began to establish platoon-size patrol bases in and around Tall 'Afar. Likewise, the Iraqi army began to position itself within the AO to provide constant security to more citizens simultaneously. As the US–Iraqi presence expanded, so too did the number of residents returning to their neighborhoods. Potential recruits also began reporting to the police recruiting station in the castle, with some 300 the first 2 days alone. The squadron estimated that 60 to 70 percent were Sunni. In the end, the squadron aimed at establishing a force of 1,480.⁵⁵

⁵² Simmering, 2/3 ACR Actions, 39, 45.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 39.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 41, 46; Hickey interview. The Iraqi payment periods were 30 October–1 November and 19–20 November 2005.

In addition to its security mission, the squadron oversaw reconstruction and other civil-military operations, including restoring critical services like water, power, medical services, and the school system. Civil Affairs teams "managed over \$4 million in projects designed to restore life to the city and address the long-term grievances of the population." Within the castle, the squadron also established a civil-military operations center for handling civilian claims for damages, bidding on construction projects, searching for missing relatives, and an employment center. A government support team, also manned by Civil Affairs Soldiers, leant a hand to Tall 'Afar's city council as it established procedures for daily affairs and the functioning of firefighting and rescue, power, and communications. To hasten the city's economic recovery, the squadron disbursed compensatory funds to people whose property had been damaged. A few weeks later, the Iraqi government authorized paying 150,000 dinars, roughly \$100, per family as compensation for damage resulting from Operation RESTORING RIGHTS. In the end, Iraqi army and police disbursed roughly 4.5 billion dinars. ⁵⁶

With the 15 October referendum approaching, the squadron, like other US and Coalition units, created election sites. Security was provided by the 3d Iraqi Division's 1st Brigade as 2d Squadron stood back and provided a quick reaction force should trouble develop. Security procedures, preparations, troop dispositions, screening sites, voter and crowd control, and the management of the 11 polling stations was left to the Iraqi government and security forces. In the days approaching the referendum, insurgents launched attacks against the people in an attempt to dissuade them from voting; two of the attacks were directed at police recruits. In each of these cases, Iraqi forces had secured the sites and taken control of the situation before cavalry troopers arrived.⁵⁷

On the day of the referendum, an estimated 17,000 people voted in Tall 'Afar, a 1,700 percent increase from the 1,000 or so who had voted in the January 2005 elections. US and Iraqi forces had disrupted the insurgency, but they had not completely ended insurgent activity. On 16 October, Company H uncovered the second-largest cache discovered during the squadron's deployment. In Muhalibiya the tankers discovered more than 30 120-mm mortar rounds, 95 155-mm artillery rounds, 50 120-mm warheads, and numerous other munitions. On 20 October, F Troop discovered a suicide car bomb in the final stages of construction, with "detonating cord running into the hood and hasty wiring in the seat." 58

To extend its control in the city, Hickey's squadron threw up barriers to regulate movement and limit the insurgents' freedom to maneuver. It limited access to secondary roads by establishing TCPs at major intersections, "blocking lateral routes throughout the area," and along suspected insurgent avenues of approach. Second Squadron integrated these static measures within an active plan that established a fuller depth of observation throughout the city. In June, insurgent attacks had averaged six per day, by the end of October they had decreased to just over two per day, and in November averaged less than one attack per day.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Simmering, 2/3 ACR Actions, 42–43.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 43-44.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 44–45.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 46.

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Throughout November, Howitzer Battery and Iraqi authorities bolstered Tall 'Afar's police by recruiting over 1,000 new police officers and building or rehabilitating 4 police stations. Recruits received their training at the Jordanian Iraqi Police Academy or the Mosul Police and Security Academy. The squadron improved its Iraqi partnerships by integrating the expanded and now better-trained police force within its operations. To further enhance coordination and security, and strengthen the links between US and Iraqi forces, the Mounted Riflemen and their Iraqi partners exchanged company and troop-level liaison officers. The squadron also held weekly security meetings at the JOC with Iraqi battalion commanders, police station chiefs, and squadron troop commanders, and realigned police boundaries with military boundaries. US and Iraqi forces continued targeting the troublesome Hai al-Wahda and Qadisiyah neighborhoods in joint operations, which typically included a cavalry troop, an Iraqi battalion, and a company from the 2-325th Infantry.⁶⁰

The squadron's last large-scale operation took place on 4 December in Qadisiyah. Concentrating D, E, and F Troops, the squadron launched a zone reconnaissance to identify, detain, or kill insurgents. Breaking with past operations, much of the planning responsibility devolved to Iraqi army and police commanders; the intent was to screen every military-aged male (MAM) in the area. Starting in the middle of Tall 'Afar and pushing north, Hickey's intent was to drive insurgents into northern Qadisiyah, which would be cordoned off by E and F Troops. Iraqi forces rounded up and screened over 800 MAMs, 93 of whom were detained. About 40 of the 93 were sent on to Abu Ghraib for further interrogation. Following this operation, insurgent attacks were less destructive, less lethal, and seemed to be less coordinated. December attacks dropped to less than one per day.⁶¹

As the situation in Tall 'Afar evolved, so too did the nature of 2d Squadron's operations in the city. Assigning 2-325th Infantry the responsibility for Sarai freed the squadron's troop and company commanders to execute independent operations within their areas of responsibility. With growing frequency, Iraqi companies and platoons began executing searches and raids with more autonomy. Civil affairs and Iraqi government projects pumped over \$60 million into infrastructure improvements and repairs. Other positive indications included regular police patrols and investigations, a functioning court system, and signs of the return of economic life.⁶²

On 15 December, Iraq held national elections. As in October, the squadron provided logistical support and prepared to support Iraqi security forces. Increased turnout by Sunnis forced the squadron to establish and even man polling sites. Over 40,000 Iraqis cast votes in Tall 'Afar, with an additional 30,000 doing so in the rest of the squadron's AO. The event was marred when insurgents fired about four 60-mm rounds, which killed two children and wounded four. Shortly after the elections, 2-325th Infantry departed. To help make up for its departure and maintain a presence in Sarai, the regiment's 43d Combat Engineer Company assumed responsibility for a portion of the neighborhood. Other shifts took place in the Tall 'Afar AO. On 6 January 2006, 1st Brigade, 3d Iraqi Division moved just north of Tall 'Afar to reconstitute; it was replaced by the division's 2d Brigade. Finally, Company H, along with

⁶⁰ Ibid., 47. By 1 December over 1,746 recruits were in training.

⁶¹ Ibid., 48-49.

⁶² Ibid., 49.

the 1st Battalion, 2d Iraqi Brigade, established a patrol base in Muhalibiya on 21 January to interdict insurgent traffic.⁶³

The Brave Rifles transferred authority for western Nineveh to 1st BCT, 1st Armored Division on 19 February 2006. The unit most responsible for Tall 'Afar, the 2d Squadron, lost 8 of its troopers along with another 12 Soldiers serving alongside the cavalrymen. A total of 59 Soldiers received the Purple Heart. One Soldier was decorated with the Silver Star, 28 received the Bronze Star with V device, 72 received the Army Commendation Medals with V devices, and 740 received the Combat Action, Combat Infantry, or Combat Medical Badges. Thirty-eight Iraqi soldiers were killed and 15 wounded; insurgents killed 6 Tall 'Afar policemen and wounded 24. On 4 September 2006, a year after the start of Operation RESTORING RIGHTS, the Federal News Service noted that "all of the Iraqi Army battalions in Tal Afar have taken the lead in security operations." There was no standard solution by which 2d Squadron accomplished its mission in Tall 'Afar. Overwhelming firepower enabled the squadron to defeat the insurgents militarily, and an especially high troop density allowed it to secure Tall 'Afar, gain the people's trust, and set the stage for the city's reconstruction. Whether that degree of success can be replicated remains to be seen. 64

⁶³ Ibid., 49–51.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 51; U.S. Federal News Service, "IA Takes Lead Security Role in Tal Afar," 4 September 2006; Sabrina Tavernise, "Suicide Bomber Kills 17 in a Shiite Marketplace in Northern Iraq," New York Times, 10 May 2006; Oppel and Abdul Razzaq al-Saiedi, "Suicide Bombers Kill at Least 23 in Iraq," New York Times, 10 May 2006.

Civilians as a centre of gravity. Dutch security assistance operations in Afghanistan and Iraq

ARTHUR TEN CATE

In the new world order of the post-Cold War, in a world in which the international community increasingly battles with de-stabilizing extremist ideologies of nationalist or religious origin for the maintenance of global peace and security, civilians have become a main focus - one of the centres of gravity - of military operations. Examples of this development include the 'next generation' peacekeeping and peace building operations and humanitarian interventions of the 1990s (and after) on the one hand, as well as the counter-insurgency, counterguerrilla and counter-terrorist warfare operations of more recent times in the context of the Global War on Terror on the other. The armed forces of the Netherlands have experienced first hand – in the Balkans, in Africa, Afghanistan and Iraq, and then again in Afghanistan - that modern international operations, regardless of their nature, have in common that they can be characterized more and more as being population-centric. Meaning that, for reasons of perceived strategic necessity, both security assistance operations in the sphere of peacekeeping or peace-building *and* stability, security or counter-insurgency operations in the sphere of warfare, are nowadays centred on the *control by persuasion* of the local population.

THEN AND NOW

In many ways, the current population-focused approach to operations shows resemblance to military practices from, for example, colonial times, or even further back. Targeting the population has always been part of military history (and certainly of insurgency and counterinsurgency). It was the customary way of finding an opponent's weak spot, by attacking his strategic support base, work force, pool of conscription and moral 'back bone', and thus trying to diminish his will to continue a fight. This was usually done in a violent and indiscriminate way, with populations falling victim to burn and plunder, or it was done through propaganda. Also, civilians in for example occupation situations have been terrorized into submission for centuries to be able to control and exploit them, their territory or resources. The campaigns of 'ethnic cleansing' in the age of nationalism go even further than that, and can – together with the strategic bombing campaigns of the 20th century - be regarded as a most inhuman form of population-centric warfare.

Compared to these past experiences, one of the main and obvious differences for armies from democratic countries in modern military operations today is, of course, that civilians have to be controlled in a less violent, more persuasive and 'positive' manner. Humanitarian considerations, a general adherence to human rights (incorporated into national and international law) and, last but not least, an ever-present professional media control mechanism in a globally connected and technological advanced world arena, place constraints on the options available to our military forces for controlling civilians. Most democracies, certainly Euro-

pean ones, conduct population-focused peace support and combat operations nowadays in a civilian-friendly manner because they want to, and because they must.

The real challenge for deployed field units from these countries, therefore, is to win the allegiance of civilians through non-violent means, to target hearts and minds with real progress and perception management instead of defeating enemies with firepower, while at the same time using precision force when necessary. Its warriors, in addition to providing basic security geographically (their 'core business') and enhancing the security apparatus of host countries through security sector reform, find themselves being tasked outside their traditional scope with repairing infrastructure, setting up capable government, creating good basic living conditions, stimulating economic diversity and building good health and education facilities, to name but a few of the 'new' non-military duty requirements.

For the Dutch armed forces, this focus of its expeditionary operations on the civil domain really started with the Kosovo war in 1999, although the organisation has had a long tradition of civilian-focused humanitarian assistance operations worldwide since the 1960s. During the Cold War period, this humanitarian output was even larger than the contributions made to classic UN peacekeeping operations, and grew even more rapidly in the 1990s after the Wall came down. The Dutch population-centric approach therefore can be seen as being derived from its peacekeeping and humanitarian assistance traditions more than from regular combat, colonial combat or imperial policing experience, of which the Netherlands armed forces also have plenty.

KOSOVO AND BAGHLAN

The NATO intervention in Kosovo in 1999, however, was the *real* big turning point towards a new period of population-focused operations in general. Driven by the facts on the ground, the Dutch military contingent, like the rest of NATO's *Kosovo Force* (KFOR), exercised a total control over its area of responsibility in the war-torn province, not only by securing it, but also by governing, maintaining public order, and providing support for humanitarian aid, for reconstruction, and for the restoration of the rule of law and public administration. Without this event-driven, population-focused approach, it was thought, the support of the people would be lost, which would ultimately result in the failure of the operation.

From the outset, policing and maintaining civil order was the most important task performed by the Netherlands armed forces in Kosovo. Action was taken, for example, to stop the carrying of weapons, and to stop ill-treatment and arson, by and against both Albanians and Serbs. In addition, the peacekeepers dealt with many other forms of crime. The Dutch KFOR unit also set up a 'complaints office' where Kosovar civilians could report all kinds of offences and problems. It dealt with the absence of public administration, with judicial conflicts, current criminal activities, and sensitive matters such as war crimes committed by the Serbs during the 98-99 war. Furthermore, the Dutch troops, often in consultation with civilian aid organisations, restarted public services like garbage collection, health care, fire fighting, and water and power supply.¹

A couple of years later, in Afghanistan, the Dutch armed forces as part of the UN-

¹ Thijs W. Brocades Zaalberg, Soldiers and civil power. Supporting or substituting civil authorities in modern peace operations (Amsterdam 2006) 289-341.

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mandated *International Security Assistance Force* (ISAF) again extended their operations towards the civil domain, in a population-focused attempt to support the international project of state building in that utterly destroyed country. In September 2004, after a couple of years of only carrying out security operations in the capital city of Kabul, the Netherlands deployed a so-called Provincial Reconstruction Team (PRT) to the province of Baghlan, north of Kabul. The Dutch armed forces assisted the Afghan central government here in increasing regional stability and establishing new power structures from 2004 to 2006. Supporting the civil administration and local security forces – with a focus on public safety, good governance and reconstruction - was at the heart of this mission. The PRT should be seen, so argued the first commander, an airforce colonel, as a "forward operating base" of the still weak central government.²

Because the Dutch PRT operated in a relatively safe area, it was small (around 200 men and women) and lightly armed. Most important elements were the so-called Military Observation and Liaison Teams. These teams carried out reconnaissance missions into the remotest corners of the mountainous province to chart political, administrative, tribal and cultural relations and social needs. A start was made with the disarmament of militias, creating a properly functioning police force and monitoring and guiding local government in a broad spectrum of its public tasks. Assistance was rendered to support agricultural activities and to provide electricity to homes and businesses on a local level. After 2006, these activities were continued by a Hungarian PRT.

The Dutch operation within the ISAF framework in the province of Baghlan was population-centred because the strategic goals of the mission itself required it to be. The PRT was pre-eminently an instrument for winning peace, not war. Giving the Afghan people a better future was a main operational effort, in order to ultimately deny global terrorists a safe haven ever again. The mandate therefore was ambitious in the non-military domains (both practically and ideologically) and focused on nation-building and economical development, away from the traditional combat role of the armed forces involved, not in the least because resistance in this part of the country was relatively light.³ This was before the ISAF campaign shifted its attention to the south and became a counterinsurgency operation.

THE IRAQ EXPERIENCE

In Iraq, where a Dutch armed forces battle group of approximately 1200 personnel supported the American-British occupation authority and the new Iraqi regime respectively from 2003 to 2005, the military operation was again population-focused, but for different reasons. This time, the mission in the southern Iraqi province of Al Muthanna was not humanitarian or peace building in character. It was mainly a security and stabilisation operation in support of the occupation in 2003-2004 and a security assistance operation to the new Iraqi government and its security forces in 2004-2005, with certain characteristics that occasionally made it a counter guerrilla operation in 2004, when the Shiite power struggle in the south turned

² Arthur ten Cate, "Winning the peace. Dutch post conflict military operations in Kosovo and Afghanistan", in: André Rakoto e.a. eds., Exiting war. Post conflict military operations (Bratislava en Château de Vincennes 2007) 109-115.

³ Arthur ten Cate, "Winning the peace".

violent for the first time. Overall, it was mainly an enemy-centred and authorities-centred operation.

In all phases of this deployment though, the international forces in the south under British divisional command kept the consent of the Iraqi people strongly in mind. The ultimate goal from the beginning was to hand over responsibilities to a new democratic Iraqi authority, theoretically with broad support of the population. Activities for the benefit of this population were not a main objective of the multinational force, but it was an additional means to achieve trying to win their hearts and minds in support of the mission, and a means to make them self-sufficient enough to run their own country as soon as possible. Being population-focused was part of the exit-strategy and was seen as necessary in order to achieve the end-state goals.

Operational guidelines to the Dutch battle group from divisional headquarters in Basra and from the American headquarters of the Multi-National Forces (MNF) in Bagdad, always emphasized that it was important to make *perceptible* gains in the quality of life of the Iraqi people. This was needed in order to win their support for the new Iraqi government and to cause them to withdraw support or resist the insurgents, who de-stabilized the country with growing success from the summer of 2003 onwards. Population-focused in this case also meant shaping Iraqi perceptions. The Iraqi population had to be informed about reconstruction projects and improvements made by the international effort. Such 'information operations' became an important part of the mission.

The British general commanding the international forces in Southern Iraq including the Dutch battle group made his intentions very clear in an operational order in which he stated: "Our continued presence and ability to assist the Iraqi Security Forces depends entirely upon the consent of the Iraqi people. That, in turn, will be largely determined by how their expectations for a better quality of life are met through economic development and improving essential services. All this needs to be backed up by the Iraqis developing their own form of workable democracy." It was, his guidelines stated, imperative not to behave as occupying forces, but to allow the Iraqi's themselves to lead the reconstruction process.⁴

In this particular case, a lot of money was available for so-called civil-military cooperation (CIMIC) projects. The Netherlands armed forces battle group spend millions of dollars on reconstruction and development on the local level. The money was allocated through military channels, originating from American taxpayer funds awarded by US Congress through the Pentagon, from Iraqi oil export earnings controlled by the occupation authority and from seized accounts of the former Iraqi regime. In general, the effectiveness of these reconstruction and development efforts by the military contingents, like the Commander's Emergency Response Programme (CERP), was considered to be high, with good results on employment, structural development and winning hearts and minds.⁵

Whether this overall approach in the end can be seen as a success or a failure is debatable. Clearly, the Dutch armed forces left Al Muthanna in time to claim a major success. The province fared relatively well, despite the apparent failures of the American-British occupation authority on both the national en regional levels in the first year, and despite the major opera-

⁴ Netherlands Institute of Military History, Stabilisation Force Iraq collection.

⁵ Eric Herring and Glen Rangwala, Iraq in fragments. The occupation and its legacy (Londen 2006) 76-81.

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tional and legitimacy problems of the respective Iraqi central governments thereafter. When the Dutch battle group departed in the spring of 2005, just months after the first democratic national elections (held in January) and well before the large outbreak of violence between Sunni and Shiite groups, Al Muthanna (unlike the rest of Iraq) was relatively untouched by anti-Coalition and intra-Iraqi violence, or by the ugly internal power struggles that tore the rest of the country apart. It therefore could be presented as an unequivocal early success of the stabilisation process. It was. In 2006 the desert province would be the first to be handed over to the Iraqi's altogether, the first to be really sovereign Iraqi territory again.

POPULATION-CENTRIC COUNTERINSURGENCY

Back to Afghanistan. When the Dutch armed forces, in 2006, participated in the ISAF campaign shifting its attention to southern Afghanistan, by assuming responsibility for the province of Uruzgan next to the British in Helmand and the Canadians in Kandahar, they hoped to conduct a similar peace-building operation for the general benefit of the population as they had done in Baghlan in the north. But the situation in the Pashtun south, the heartland of the extremist Taliban, was different than the one in the north. The American neglect of the southern Afghan battlefield on behalf of the operation in Iraq in the years before and the volatile situation in neighbouring Pakistan, enabled Taliban and Al Qaeda remnants to regroup, resupply, retrain and – precisely in 2006 – go on the offensive again. Along with the still weak Afghan government, ISAF became embroiled in a full blown insurgency war.

Nevertheless, the counter-insurgency campaign the Uruzgan mission turned out to be is being conducted along the same population-focused lines of operation as a peace-building mission would have been. Historically, many (not all) counter insurgency lessons or principles (like civil-military cooperation, subordinating military action to political goals, building viable institutions, practicing cultural awareness, minimum use of force, etc.) indeed are very similar to proven peace-building practices. Similar also, in fact, is the enemy, in appearance and tactics: both insurgents and so-called 'peace spoilers' often wear no uniform and blend seamlessly into the local population, from whom they have to be separated. And it is no longer feasible, as it was in colonial times, to crush the resistance with overwhelming firepower and indiscriminate violence. Hearts and minds, the Dutch contingent in Uruzgan realised, have to be won by persuasion. They cannot be conquered at gunpoint anymore.

The Dutch-Australian Task Force Uruzgan (of approximately 2600 personnel) consists of a PRT for construction and reconstruction, an armoured infantry battle group for security and combat operations, an air force component with attack helicopters, and both combat support and logistics support units. Also in theatre is an Australian engineering unit with its own infantry force protection and special forces. Furthermore, the Task Force is supported by specialised French, Czech and Slowak contingents for security sector reform and guard duties. TFU supports the provincial Afghan government and security forces (an 800-men police force and a not yet fully operational army brigade) in enhancing regional stability. The name says it all: ISAF is an international security assistance force, but although the emphasis in theory is on the word *assistance*, in practice, ISAF in Helmand, Kandahar and Uruzgan provinces still bears the brunt of the fighting.

The campaign plan of TFU is clear in its language. It says: "The counter insurgency mis-

sion of TFU can be characterized as population-centric warfare. This means: the conflict is centred on both the support and control of the population." According to this concept, security is only 25% of what the Task Force does. The other 75% of its effort is put into so-called "non-kinetic operations" that concentrate on good governance, and social and economic development projects. The Task Force has a broad strategic mission, not only to make Uruzgan safe, but also to make living conditions better. This was translated into a general intent: TFU will rebuild if and when it can, and fight if it must.

Conclusion

For the future – whether the Dutch armed forces will return to peacekeeping, or continue to stand alongside the US in counter insurgency operations in the American global quest for security, or redirect its focus maybe to other security issues – its expeditionary missions are expected to remain population-centric in their approach. The examples of Kosovo, Baghlan, Al Muthanna and Uruzgan show this is not considered to be a choice, but a necessity. Soldiers therefore have to be lethal killers one moment, humanitarian aid workers the next. They have to be flexible, and be able to switch very fast between population-centric and enemy-centric actions. They have to have cultural awareness, and skills in governance and economics. They will rarely fight the enemy directly anymore, but instead (and supposedly more efficient) will constantly have to make opposing forces irrelevant by winning over their civilian support base. Civilians therefore are likely to be a main strategic 'soft' target for a long time to come.

⁶ W.S. Rietdijk, "Uruzgan: playing chess on four boards", Militaire Spectator 177-9 (2008) 472-486 [article in the Dutch language]. Quote from: Netherlands Institute of Military History, Task Force Uruzgan collection.

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IDF Combat Intelligence in an Asymmetric War The Second Lebanon War against Hezbollah, July-August 2006

DANI ASHER - ISRAEL

Much has been written about Israel's strategic errors in the 2006 conflict with Hezbollah: from the long discredited notion that war can be won with air power alone to the fatal indecisiveness of political and military leaders whose plans went away.

The aim of this article is to examine the way Israeli field intelligence (combat intelligence) operated against Hezbollah before and during the "Second Lebanon War." Basing my argument on published documents, media analyses, and interviews with combatants, I will attempt to describe and outline the field intelligence layout's ability to serve other elements on the asymmetrical battlefield in South Lebanon.

IMPLICATIONS OF THE CHANGES ON THE BATTLEFIELD

Before dealing with the Second Lebanon War, let us recall that military terminology has changed in the last decades. These changes, observable throughout the world and especially in the Middle East, are the result of the shift from all-out wars of massive firepower to limited local (mainly asymmetrical) wars waged between large standing armies and terrorist or guerilla organizations. The Second Lebanon War is an example of the latter.

The break-up of the Soviet Union in the late 1980s generated an unprecedented geopolitical, geostrategic revolution. The superpower balance was overturned, freeing ethnic, religious, social-cultural, and economic tensions across the globe. Conflicts and national awakenings took the form of rural and urban terrorism and guerilla warfare whose suppression replaced traditional confrontations that employ massive firepower and huge military formations.

These changes witnessed the introduction of new weapons layouts and a new type of battlefield that radically altered the face of war. An enemy of inferior combat strength excelled in adaptability, mobility, the integration of relatively simple weapons into state-of-the-art systems (while transferring the fighting to regions where size is of no advantage), in short, he was skilled at shaping the fighting to his limited strength – he developed qualities at the cornerstone of "asymmetrical warfare" where the larger force often finds itself at a distinct disadvantage. These changes hamper the large regular armies' ability to carry out operations against terrorists and guerilla forces in low intensity conflicts.²

In a low intensity conflict the inferior side tries to counteract the asymmetry by using

¹ This article deals with the problems that regular army combat intelligence faces in an asymmetric war against irregulars in mountainous or built-up areas.

² From *Low Intensity Warfare* (IDF) [Hebrew] –2001. This work is based on the writings of the late Shmuel (Samu) Nir, a colonel in the IDF who developed the scientific study of low intensity warfare.

weapons, operational methods, and techniques that offset the enemy's advantages. The inferior side will do everything in its power to manipulate and maneuver the confrontation in a way that neutralizes the stronger side's relative advantages and even turns them into relative disadvantages. Thus the weaker side succeeds in converting his "supposed" inferiority into an advantage and prevailing over the stronger enemy.³

Despite the IDF's (Israel Defense Forces) obvious advantages, the fighting in Lebanon seemed to reveal more than a few failings, including those in field intelligence. These could be found, first of all, in the misconstruction of the force, in the corrosion of systems whose key importance on the battlefield should have been learned from pervious mistakes, from modifications in the structure and hierarchy of units, and from certain basic needs relegated to the sidelines because of new priorities. To sum up: the shortcomings were a case of urgent matters sometimes taking precedence over vital ones.

The IDF's fighting in previous wars (high intensity conflicts) was based on force maneuvering. The role of the command centers – especially the divisional and corps echelons (headquarters that the IDF later cancelled) focused on battle procedure, aimed at applying the synergy of force and correct moves in the fighting zone. In recent years the focus has gone through a major change when a new doctrine was adopted in which various types of firepower became the main factor on the battlefield to ensure the enemy's destruction.

Ehud Barak, the former prime minister and chief of staff, and current defense minister, believes that Israel needs a small, smart, rapid army. He is convinced that firepower in general and precision fire in particular provides an absolute advantage on the battlefield.

Field intelligence, like other intelligence agencies, has become increasingly focused on target matters: target spotting, target acquisition and their destruction, by various fire delivery agents (aerial, naval, artillery, precision ground weapons, and so forth).

"Inter-branch" and "integrated" work, along with other forces (air and naval force for example), and even organizations outside the army such as the Israeli police and Shin Bet (Israel's FBI), often shunted combat intelligence elements from its main purpose: providing the fighting forces and unit headquarters with intelligence before and during the battle.

HEZBOLLAH VS THE IDF

Before the war, Hezbollah fielded an impressively innovative military force incisively tailored to meet a specific foe on particular terrain. While it could not match Israel's overall technology, professionalism or number of troops, that didn't matter. Hezbollah fought with alternative means for asymmetrical goals. On its own terms, it succeeded, adding a new model terrorist army to the already-daunting range of 21st-century asymmetrical threats: the army without a state⁴.

The Hezbollah's ground forces did not serve a state; they served a multifaceted organization with a unifying vision. Hezbollah is the antithesis of the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) which must be ready for different military activities anywhere in the Middle East; Hezbollah faced a known enemy on predetermined terrain. In consequence, the well-funded terror or-

³ Shmuel Nir, "The Nature of Low Intensity Warfare," in Hagai Golan and Shaul Shai (eds), *Low Intensity Warfare*, (Ma'arachot, 2004) p. 19 [Hebrew].

⁴ Ralph Peters, Lessons from Lebanon, The new model terrorist army, Armed Forces Journal, October 2006.

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ganization was able to organize, equip, train and deploy a force specifically tailored to stand against the IDF. Hezbollah wasn't interested in building a versatile force — it put all of its energies and thought into fighting a single enemy in a specific manner.

With decades of experience in low-intensity conflict with the IDF, Hezbollah understood its enemy's strengths and vulnerabilities. So Hezbollah concentrated on stockpiling the most sophisticated defensive weapons they could acquire, such as the Kornet, a lethal late-generation Russian anti-tank missile, as well as a range of rockets, from long-range, Iranian-made weapons to man-portable point-and-shoot Katyushas. Thanks to the Katyushas, an Arab military force was able to create a substantial number of Israeli refugees for the first time since 1948.

Hezbollah had no intention of invading Israel and occupying territory — it recognized its limitations. Instead, it assigned its front-line forces the achievable mission of holding out in towns and villages, which had been turned into virtual fortresses. Hezbollah structured its defenses to make it forbiddingly expensive for the IDF to seize, sanitize and hold urbanized terrain.

Hezbollah recognized that it had several important advantages that favored the defense. First, late-generation fire-and-forget missiles were faster, more accurate and easier to wield. Second, the broken, mountainous terrain of southern Lebanon, with its towns and villages crowded within supporting distance of one another, strongly favored a prepared defense. Third, Hezbollah's tactical defense was also a strategic defense, and the terrorist army had years to prepare fixed bunkers and connecting passages. Designed by Iranian engineers, the most formidable of the bunkers proved impervious to Israeli precision weapons — and Hezbollah also took care to embed its defenses amid civilian populations, preventing the Israelis from applying devastating area fires.

Hezbollah designed its defenses to kill tanks if the IDF tried armored thrusts along traditional movement corridors — but also prepared to take on infantry and engineers. Hezbollah made no attempt to construct a Maginot Line; instead, it built weblike defenses that could absorb penetrations and continue to fight, harass and hold.

Hezbollah also fielded more trained fighters and auxiliaries than Israeli intelligence predicted, allowing them to cover secondary and tertiary avenues of approach. Repeatedly, Israeli forces blundered into ambushes, as for example in the last battle of Wadi Saluki, when eight Merkava tanks tried to negotiate a path through a steep gorge. Hezbollah also achieved strategic effects with tactical weapons — the Katyusha rockets it rained down on northern Israel.

Armed with excellent strategic targeting data, the Israeli Air Force succeeded in hitting nearly all of Hezbollah's long-range rockets on the first night of the war: 18 out of 20 Iranian-built Zilzal 2 and 3 launchers, as well as virtually all Fajr 4 and 5 weapons, were destroyed, ensuring the safety of Tel Aviv and Jerusalem.

But the terrorist army had stockpiled at least 14,000 short- and mid-range rockets. The rockets gained a new lease on life as terror weapons with strategic resonance in this summer's conflict. The higher-caliber rockets were used to strike deep into Israel, repeatedly hitting and closing down the vital port city of Haifa and landing halfway down the coast to Tel Aviv.

Israel had no adequate answer to the problem. Its air force achieved an impressive target-

identification-to-kill time of less than five minutes — but the technique only worked against larger-caliber weapons delivered by formal launchers. The man-pack Katyushas that rained down on Israel day after day proved too elusive for technical collection means. Delivered in sufficient numbers, they did the job. Israel's total casualties remained low (117 soldiers killed and 41 civilians dead), but a new sense of vulnerability stunned the population.

IDF COMBAT INTELLIGENCE IN THE WAR

The main role of combat intelligence, which operates in formations from the aerial command level down to the last soldier in the ranks, is to provide the necessary intelligence to the forces at the combat assistance and support, and maneuvering echelons. Intelligence officers in the field echelons operate in headquarters at the divisional, brigade, and battalion echelons. They serve as an anchor in staff operations in all questions of battle procedure prior to the engagement and in all operational matters during the fighting. They supply the necessary information for situation estimates to help the unit commanders and their staffs design and execute operational plans.

In addition to their senior association in staff operations, combat intelligence officers had to provide unit commanders and troops with intelligence data, and confirm that it was satisfactorily absorbed so that it influenced the force's battle preparations and guaranteed the maximum employment of its capabilities when the force engaged the enemy.

Combat intelligence's areas of responsibility (excluding intelligence-gathering, processing, and circulating) were - and remain – collecting information on the terrain, on the enemy himself, and other relevant parameters. In the past combat intelligence had to analyze the data, provide the fighting forces with estimates of threats, and spell out the bottom line: the enemy's most likely modi operandi.

THE MAIN ELEMENTS IN INTELLIGENCE-GATHERING: OBSERVATION AND RECONNAISSANCE

Throughout history field intelligence's main methods of intelligence-gathering were observation and reconnaissance performed by specially-tasked units using the appropriate equipment. Intelligence collected on the line of contact and in the depth of the front consisted of information on enemy territory: topography, navigability, fortifications, obstacles and targets. The data also dealt with the enemy's weapons, equipment, order of battle (ORBAT), and deployment.

Over the years, IDF reconnaissance units in the brigades and battalions level, shifted from intelligence tasks to combat missions, operating as an elite fighting force. During operations against Hezbollah in South Lebanon improvisations had to be made and equipment found for units that had not been deployed, and using them in place of the recon forces engaged in actual combat. Although they did their utmost, these units were not an organic part of the fighting force, and were not the same as an organic force trained and integrated in intelligence-gathering at the unit level.

Observation elements and intelligence-gathering units at the division level had their primary assignment task transferred from combat intelligence-gathering for the maneuvering forces to intelligence-gathering for target acquisition. Given the "Intifada" in the Gaza Strip

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and West Bank, and the perpetual fear of penetration from the northern border, the focus of interest again shifted. The conscript (regular) army's combat intelligence-gathering units at the divisional echelon were reassigned to aerial command intelligence-gathering battalions where they engaged in information-gathering for low intensity warfare, daily information-gathering in border areas, or more specifically, along the "security fence." Male and female conscripts in field intelligence quickly became experts in their main assignment along Israel's lengthy borders. In other words, this meant that observation of the enemy's depth altered. The lion's share of the attention and technological equipment was diverted to the "security-fence line." Sometimes attention was aimed overhead (to prevent aerial incursions in gliders or balloons), but following the abductions of IDF personnel the rear also received attention so as to secure it and give warning if the enemy emerged from underground. Were it possible, attention would have been diverted to the area under the soil for tunnel and bunker detection.

It soon became apparent that a large amount of intelligence on Hezbollah (field fortifications, "nature reserves," and bunkers – even when close to the border) had not been properly collected and processed. Area observation elements were woefully unaware of the accelerated pace of infrastructure development north of the border. The attempt to integrate area units into intelligence-gathering units accompanying the maneuvering forces, operating alongside or replacing the division's organic target-acquisition/intelligence-gathering units, did not work out as planned in the last war. Basic skills such as target-acquisition, target-indication, and immediate and accurate artillery fire direction, did not meet the test in most cases. Only in the last stages of the fighting, when reserve units were called up to beef up the observations teams did observation reports begin arriving from the area's depth.

TERRAIN INTELLIGENCE

Terrain intelligence, one of the mainstays in the doctrine of field intelligence, also retreated in recent years. Formerly, many soldiers acquired a professional background in geology, geomorphology, navigation, fortification principles, and so forth in rigorous weeks- and months-long courses. The principles and vast knowledge in terrain intelligence gave way to remote sensory devices and technical operators who often failed to supply the maneuvering echelon with the necessary information.

Locating axes and routes of movement in areas of limited navigability were subjects that once occupied every combat intelligence officer. Locating the enemy's expected blocking points and finding ways to outflank and bypass them were an inseparable part of intelligence's responsibility in every operational plan. In the summer of 2006, the inexcusable number of surprises on the maneuvering force's route to its objective, and its difficulty in finding axes for logistical transportation to the fighting forces, indicate insufficient preparation.

In recent years there has been a reduction in detailed area studies. This is true for the general staff, as well as for corps and divisions. The routine tracking of modifications in enemy weapons seems to have given way to the study of targets – buildings, warehouses, and facilities used by various enemy organizations. The products of area study – photostats, sketches, detailed area files, aerial photos, and even detailed topographical maps - were updated at far too slow a pace and do not appear to have reached the planning and operational forces in

time. Rapid development in areas of security interest and the trend toward accelerated urbanization should have been continuously updated and internalized. It appears that Israel's intelligence organizations bodies did not fulfill their demanding - sometimes Sisyphean – tasks. The chronic lack of intelligence elements or even general staff replacements in the reserve divisions made it difficult to carry out the vital task of updating.

ON ENEMY INTELLIGENCE

One of the responsibilities of the ground forces' intelligence is to guarantee that the enemy's weapons and equipment do not come as a surprise on the battlefield. Field intelligence's job is not limited to merely processing information, but to making it available to all the troops (down to the last soldier). Awareness of the enemy requires internalizing knowledge of him (mess hall posters are a poor substitute for detailed reports, briefings, study days, and lesson plans). At the same time problem-solving methods must be devised. Mechanisms such as "red lights" need to demonstrate new threats coming not only from the latest weaponry in enemy hands, but also from his way of using them and the advantages it gives him. Field intelligence officers at all echelons must ensure that in addition to indicating the threat, a process of "blue lights" takes place whereby solutions are provided for unfamiliar operational situations on the battlefield. The "surprise" that Hezbollah's anti-tank missiles caused, notwithstanding that only some of them were relatively modern, could have been prevented had intelligence officers made their superior officers aware of the missiles' technological capabilities as well as the battlefield situations they were capable of creating.

The blue-ribbon Agranat Committee that was authorized after the Yom Kippur War stated that in light of the "Sager surprise," the intelligence organizations had to carry out a comprehensive study of the enemy's weapons and equipment, as well as his warfare doctrine, since this was likely to change after he absorbed new weapons. Indeed, following the 1973 War two new branches were formed in the general staff. Their task was to study the enemy's warfare doctrine, present expected threats resulting from it; circulate the information to the rest of the fighting force, and parallel to this, verify that a process was in effect that provided answers to the new threats. Of these two branches nothing remains.

CIRCULATING INTELLIGENCE

In the past, the transfer of intelligence to headquarters, and from headquarters to the fighting forces, was done through written memos and radio transmissions. The quantum-leap in technological development in recent years had a profound impact in this area too. Computer layouts became the main tool for command and control and for relaying information in general, and intelligence information in particular. Computerized layouts allowed updated situation pictures to be received in headquarters ensconced in comfortable command posts located in the rear of the battle zone. Divisional and even brigade headquarters became static. "Plasma screens" replaced human, hands-on contact, and frontline leadership. They often "prevented" the commanding officer (in tandem with the intelligence officer) from being in position where they could give the order: "Follow me, men." Intelligence officers found it increasingly difficult to integrate information received at headquarters into operational moves for the units deployed on the line of contact.

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Even intelligence data that the fighting forces procured at a great effort barely managed to reach the top and complete the situation picture at headquarters. It was extremely difficult to locate Hezbollah layouts in underground bunkers, and cellars, and in facilities at the entranceway to built-up areas created serious problems in locating the enemy's layouts. The Hezbollah fighter's low signature proved devastatingly effective. Anti-tank teams operated and IED (improvised explosive devices) were detonated from camouflaged positions ingenuously concealed and almost impossible to destroy. The enemy's near-perfect blending in with the environment, his proximity to civilian dwellings, and superb camouflage, very often prevented the fighting forces from identifying their targets.

The diversity of computer layouts often resulted in "communications short-circuits." Layouts that "didn't talk to each other" meant that technical personnel had to sit in front of an array of screens and "hand copy" the information from layout to layout. In many instances the unwieldiness of this labor became so great that the soldiers reverted to writing with felt-tip pens on sheets of polyethylene. "POLINT" resumed its place alongside VISINT, SIGINT, and HUMINT.

CONCLUSION

On paper, the IDF was clearly superior. In practice, its intelligence and mainly its combat intelligence preparation of the battlefield made Hezbollah surprisingly effective.

This was the truly unexpected asymmetry. With a long-standing reputation for effective work, Israel's intelligence services failed this time (with echoes of 1973). Although capable of identifying key fixed or substantial mobile targets — Israeli intelligence underestimated the amount of weaponry available to Hezbollah; missed some late-generation weapons entirely; didn't supply enough information how deep, complex and well-constructed Hezbollah's front-line bunker system had become; and failed to predict Hezbollah's tactical tenacity.

Despite decades of contact, the IDF combat intelligence was not able to provide all the right information needed to the combat troops in the 2006 asymmetric war in South Lebanon.







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The war and the hospitals - when soldiers replace civilians

MANUEL ANTÓNIO PEREIRA COUTO

In Portugal, before the XIXth century, hospital assistance given to soldiers was shared between *royal hospitals*, administrated by the order of *S. João de Deus*¹, public hospitals, administrated by other religious orders² and the *Misericórdias*.

The *Misericórdias* were brotherhoods that were devoted to the promotion of help and assistance to the poor, orphans, widows, prisoners, pilgrims and to the ill. This was done through the fulfilment of what was usually called the *fourteen works of mercy*. These were divided in seven corporal and seven spiritual works of mercy³.

One of the seven corporal Works of mercy was the *healing of the ill* and, to fulfil this, the *Misericórdias* as an institution built various hospital throughout the Portuguese empire, becoming the main Portuguese institution dedicated to the administration of hospitals. This was the case of the hospital studied in this present work – the *Divina Providência Hospital* created in 1796, in Vila Real, Trás-os-Montes, located in the northern part of Portugal.

When a French military aggression to Portugal became possible the Portuguese crown ordered the creation of permanent military hospitals (called *hospitais militares permanentes*⁴). The problem was that these hospitals were only located near or in some military headquarters and the Portuguese crown continued to need the *Misericórdias*. So, on the 18th of October 1806 the crown instituted a chart by which the *Misericódias* were obligated to pay medical assistance to the soldiers.

This explains why we found evidence of medical assistance given to the military in public hospitals, like the *Divina Providência Hospital*.

THE HOSPITALIZATION REGISTRY PROCESS

The chart of 1806 anticipated that when the medical expenses with soldiers were too high for the *Misericórdia* to endure, the Portuguese crown would financially aid them. But, for this to happen, the Misericórdias had to justify these expenses⁵. This way, they kept a very strict record of the soldier's admission in the hospital's registry books. So, these records registered the date of hospitalization, name, birthplace, marital state, military status, company, diagnostics (not always), infirmary (not always) and finally, the discharge, transfer or death.

Thanks to these records we can reconstruct the profile of these patients and find out whom

¹ The order of *S. João de Deus* was dedicated to the foundation and administration of hospitals, and, therefore, the Portuguese crown reserve to them the administration of these *royal hospitals*; Araújo, 2005: 651-652.

² Such as the Cónegos de S. João Evangelista and the S. Francisco order. Read Araújo, 2005: 651.

³ These were created in the XVth century, when the first *Misericórdia* was instituted in Lisbon. The local *Misericórdias* followed and adapted the rules of this first institution to there local needs. SÁ, 1997: 28-29, 104-111.

⁴ In English: "Permanent Military Hospitals"; Marques, 1999: 60-61.

⁵ Silva, 1843: 415.

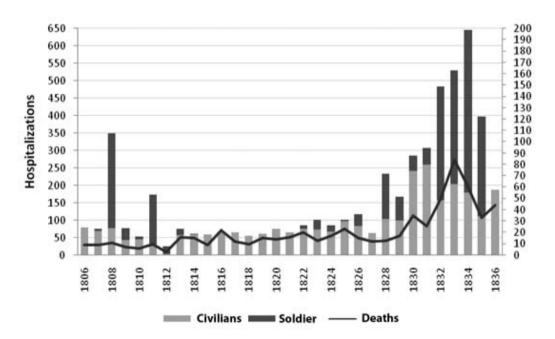
they were, where they were from, which company they belonged to, from which illness they suffered, etc.

In this paper we will draw our attention to the evolution of the soldier's presence in the *Divina Providência* hospital, so we can evaluate the impact of militaries' admission to the hospital as an institution and to the civilians.

THE HOSPITALIZED SOLDIERS

Throughout the thirty years period we study (1806-1836), the *Divina Providência* hospital received 2304 soldiers, 38.29% of the total number of soldiers that were treated in this hospital.

Graphic 1
Annual evolution of the hospitalization and mortality observed at the *Divina Providência Hospital* (1806 – 1836)



By observing the graphic above we can see that the higher affluence of military hospitalizations concentrates itself in two main time periods – 1808 to 1811, which coincided with the Peninsular War in Portugal; and from 1832 to 1835, the epoch of the Portuguese civil war that opposed liberals and absolutists.

We can also confirm that by paying assistance to the ever growing number of soldiers, there was little or no assistance left to be provided to civilians. Therefore, there was a crucial limitation of medical aid and resources for the civilians at the hospitals. This phenomenon

was also observed in other *Misericórdia's* hospitals⁶. However, this doesn't mean that medical assistance was totally denied to civilians, it just wasn't enough.

In addition to being a disturbing element to the normal function of the *Misericórdia's* hospitals, the soldiers were also a heavy financially burden, which reduced the possibility to provide free medical assistance to civilians, especially the poor, which were more affected by the conflicts.

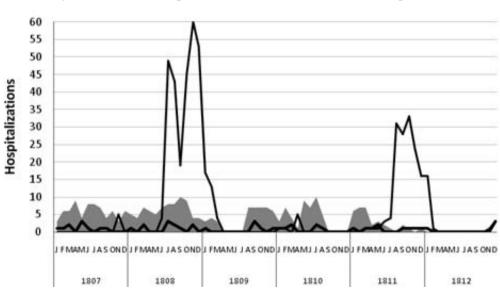
SOLDIERS HOSPITALIZED DURING THE PENINSULAR WARS (1807-1811)

Although Portugal tried to remain neutral in the conflict that opposed France to England, a French army invaded the country at the end of November of 1807. In June of 1808, various regions of northern Portugal, including Vila Real where, as we said, the *Divina Providência Hospital* was located, rebelled against the French invader. Later, in August, the French were defeated and driven out the country.

In 1809 the French army invaded the Portuguese territory once more. It was a very brief military occupation that only lasted three months: March to May. The northern part of the country was one of the more affected regions, and Vila Real, our case study, was actually occupied by French troops.

The third and last invasion occurred in June of 1810. This time, it would last till March of 1811, when the French army fled the country.

These are the political events that explain why soldiers were treated at the *Divina Providê-cia Hospital* between 1807 and 1812. During this period soldiers represented 60,29% of the patients who receive medical care in this hospital.



Graphic 2
Monthly evolution of the hospitalization in the *Divina Providência Hospital* (1807-1812)

By observing the graphic above we can see, even though this was a high percentage, the mortality was very low: a rate of 1,74%.

This can be explained essentially by two motives:

1. A lot of the health problems presented were associated to malnutrition and weakness, only needing some rest and nourishment to recover;

2nd. seriously ill patients were transferred to other hospitals, including military hospitals. It's probable that the great peak of soldiers hospitalized during the month of June of 1808 was also due to the insurrection against French occupation. The only diagnostic that we found belonged to a soldier from the local militia who gave entry during the dawn of August 7th with a bullet wound in the abdomen, and that latter finished by dying.

In the month of July of the same year, we also detected the hospitalization of the hospitals nurse⁹. Could this be an indication of an infectious disease?

As we said before, the soldiers played an important role in the diffusion of certain illnesses as typhus, scabies, tuberculosis, syphilis, etc. Another important aspect for this case of study is the climate: Vila Real has strong climatic changes – very hot summers and very cold winters – that could help in the appearance and diffusion of certain illnesses, like malaria, an endemic illness in this region in the past.

At the beginning of 1809, the number of hospitalized soldiers decreased and the number of civilians remained very low. Shortly after this, in April, the hospital closed. This was coincident with the entrance of French troops in Vila Real in May and the subsequent evacuation of the villa¹⁰. What we don't understand is why the hospital took so long to reopen.

One of the causes was probably the financial difficulties caused by the war and the great number of soldiers that were treated¹¹. A lot of money had to be spent with the laundry, food, remedies and staff. Some authors state that the treatment of soldiers could be an important financial income for the hospitals¹². The only problem was that Portugal was facing strong economical problems and the payments came too late¹³.

The hospital closed its doors for the second time from September to December of 1810. This was coincident with the third French invasion and the appearance of epidemics in Portugal, like typhus and typhoid. In fact a great number of deaths occurred in Portugal during October of 1810 and March of 1811¹⁴.

In the summer of 1811 a great number of soldiers entered in the hospital and once more we verify a decrease in the treatment of civilians (That last until January of 1812) and the close of the hospital. This could only mean that the *Misericórdia* was once more enduring financial difficulties.

We have counted eight soldier's deaths: one in 1808, 1810 and 1812; five in 1811.

⁸ Araújo, 2005: 652.

⁹ Advr, lv. 135, fol. 181.

According to Carlos Azeredo, the French troops entered in Vila Real on the 3th of May, and camp near to Vila Real until the 7th of May; Azeredo,1984: 188-189; 194.

¹¹ ADVR, lv. 002, fol. 12v-13.

¹² Sá, 1997: 28-29, 234-235.

¹³ On this subject, read Araújo, 1998: 42; Araújo, 2002: 4-9.

¹⁴ Cascão, 1998: 374.

As we already mentioned, the hospital records show the various origins of the patients. The analysis of these documents allowed us to determine the origin of 166 individuals in a total number of 461, a rate of 36%.

We found soldiers that were from various regions of Continental Portugal, but as this was a conflict that involved various European countries, we also found soldiers from Spain (4), England (2) and Holland (1).

SOLDIERS HOSPITALIZED DURING THE PERIOD OF THE CIVIL WAR BETWEEN LIBERALS AD ABSOLUTISTS (1832-1834)

In 1826 the king of Portugal, D. João VI, died and problems of succession arose between D. Pedro, emperor of Brazil, the eldest son and his brother D. Miguel, leader of the absolutist party.

D. Pedro resigned in favour of his daughter D. Maria da Glória, which was only 7 years old, with the condition that she married her uncle and D. Miguel ruled according to a Constitution. The only problem was that D. Miguel didn't fulfil his promises and restored absolutism in March of 1828.

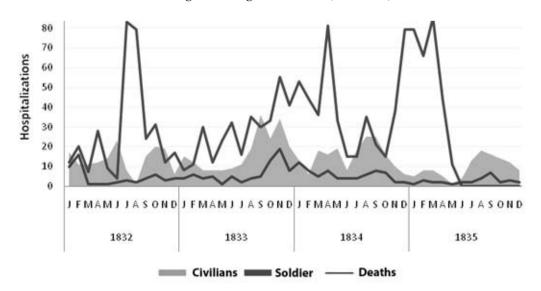
Four years later, in 1832, D. Pedro – that was no longer emperor of Brazil – invaded Portugal. After two years war, D. Miguel was defeated and liberalism was once again restored.

If we analyze graphic number 1, we can see that the hospitalization of soldiers accompanied these developments. For example, 1828 was the starting point for the increase of the number of soldier's hospitalization right after the Peninsula War. In fact in 1832 and 1835 the hospital recorded the highest levels ever of hospitalization.

During the civil war, the soldiers symbolized a percentage of 60% to 70% of the hospital's population that once more shows the forced removal of civilian patients.

Graphic 3

Monthly Evolution of the hospitalizations at the *Divina Providência Hospital*during the Portuguese civil war (1832-1835)



During the years of the civil war, there were various moments when the increase in the number of soldiers hospitalized meant that there were less civilians treated, or vice-versa. We can give two examples of these moments:

- From May to December 1832;
- From October 1834 to June 1835

In the first case, we underline the months from June to September, with two visible consequences:

- A drastic decrease in the number of civilian patients: the hospital was literally invaded by the soldiers;
- The high number of hospitalizations during the month of June and the fact that the situation of war destabilized the way the hospital normally functioned: from here on the diagnostics referent to soldiers practically disappeared.

When it came to women patients, the problem would worsen: the women's hospitalizations were always reverse to the number of soldiers, showing that they were not very receptive to sharing this clearly "invaded" hospital space.

The exceptions to this dynamic were the summer of 1833 and 1834. During this period there was a general increase of military and civilian patients, including women, and mortality rates arose rapidly. It seems that they tried their best to help everyone they could, by every means possible. This could of course be due to cholera, introduced in the Iberian Peninsula when D. Pedro's mercenary soldiers from other European countries, like Belgium and France, occupied the city of Oporto¹⁵.

According to Oliveira Martins and Rui Cascão¹⁶, after the siege of Oporto, when the absolutist soldiers who took part in it went back to their homes, cholera rapidly spread throughout the countryside from the city, attaining for example the Douro regions¹⁷.

Unfortunately, soldier's hospitalizations were so high that the registry of the diagnostics ceased. But it's possible that these passed through Vila Real and carried the illness. The concentration of troops linked to the lack of public and personal hygiene increased the risk of contamination of the public water sources - it is known that the ingestion of water contaminated with human excrements is the most common source of contamination¹⁸.

At the time of the last peak of soldier hospitalizations, during the winter of 1834 and the first semester of 1835, the hospital received a lot of foreign militaries. Ninety nine of these individuals were part of the liberal army and among them we find various nationalities such as Germans, Belgians, Dutch, Italians, Polish and French, among others.

CONCLUSION

After what we have seen, it is clear that the obligation imposed on the Portuguese public hospitals to receive soldiers prevented civilians' medical assistance to take place. The presented case study, the *Divina Providência* hospital during the Peninsular War and the Portu-

¹⁵ Vincent, 1988: 43.

¹⁶ Oliveira Martins, 1996: 291-29; Cascão, 1998: 371.

¹⁷ Cascão, 1998: 371.

¹⁸ Fauci, Anthony S: Chapter 149.

guese Civil War, prove this and shows how the soldiers' admission in a hospital during the military conflicts had a negative impact on civilian life.

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Civilians and the Italian Military mission in Budapest in 1919

ALBERTO BECHERELLI

Between May and September 1919, at the end of the First World War, the Italian Military Mission commanded by Colonel Guido Romanelli (Siena 1876 - S.Vito al Tagliamento 1973) carried out a diplomatic and humanitarian assignment in Béla Kun's and following Rumanian military occupation's Hungary, with the task of checking the real implementation of the measures that were being decided in Versailles. The Mission was one of the few, if not the only one, representative of the winning nations of the Entente in the Hungarian Soviet Republic, but above all, as Romanelli wrote in his memoirs, in those months the Mission unconsciously was "un organo di collegamento tra l'Ungheria ed il resto del mondo, una valvola di sfogo alla duplice stretta, che soffocava e paralizzava la libertà di movimenti di un'intera popolazione: la politica di accerchiamento dell'Intesa e la tirannia bolscevica". Livilians relied on the Mission for protection and consolation, for the Hungarians it became a "tutelary deity", a friendly hand to which apply to receive protection from every menace, reparation from the wrongs and even as a consolation for the widespread pain:² the assignment, moreover, put in evidence the strong personality and the philanthropic vocation of the man who was charged to lead it, in a period of dramatic and essential events at the same time, for independence and for demarcating borders of the magyar State. In autumn 1918 the defeats of the imperial army on the Italian and Balkan front had determined Austro-Hungarian Empire's fate, that on November the 3rd had to sign an armistice at Villa Giusti in Padua – compulsory for both of the members of the Dual Monarchy – that signed the end of the battle on the Italian front; despite this event, ten days after, in Belgrade, the French commander of the Allied Force in Balkans, General Louis Franchet d'Espery, probably by his own decision (as the government from Paris often said), signed another pact for the Danube-Balkan zone, with just the spokesmen of the new Hungarian Government, in this way accepting the existence of an independent Hungary and creating a serious break into the Entente.³ The decision of Frenchet d'Espery, indeed, had legitimated the political changes that took place some days before in Budapest. Charles IV of Habsburg, who became king on 30 December 1916, desperately tried to save the Empire with a new confederated project (16 October 1918) and a

[&]quot;A connection between Hungary and the rest of the World, a relief valve for the two holds that were snuffing out and paralyzing the freedom of a whole population: the Intent's policy and the Soviet oppression", G. Romanelli, *Nell'Ungheria di Béla Kun e durante l'occupazione romena. La mia missione (maggio-novembre 1919)*, edited by A. Biagini, Roma, Ufficio Storico Stato Maggiore dell'Esercito, 2002, p. 109. The text, written by the italian officer in 1923, was published the first time in 1964 in Udine, an edition now of difficult availability. Also Andrea Carteny wrote about humanitarian aspects of the Italian Military Mission in Budapest in his contribution *L'Ungheria nel 1919. La Missione militare e umanitaria del Colonnello Romanelli*, in A. Carteny, *Da Budapest a Bucarest. Saggi di storia e cultura*, Roma, Periferia, 2007, pp. 3-16.

² G. Romanelli, Nell'Ungheria di Béla Kun..., p. 105.

³ See La missione del colonnello Romanelli e la politica estera italiana, in A. Vagnini, Momenti di storia ungherese. Politica e diplomazia, Roma, Nuova Cultura, 2008, pp. 3-27.

reform of political and administrative structures of Hungary, but the economic, social and public crises in the multinational Empire, become worse due to many years of war, was definitive: the creation of a Hungarian National Council (25 October) commanded by Count Mihály Károlyi – coming from one of the most important and richest families of magyar nobility and great supporter of social and democratic reforms – put on the head of the protesting movement in Hungary a political leadership that, supported by the mass, wanted the independence of the Country, an immediate Peace act with the Entente, an agrarian reform, universal suffrage and the protection of rights of minorities. In the night between 30 and 31 October 1918, after Károlyi wasn't named the Head of the Government, given to the Count János Hadik, the spread discontent turned into a real revolution (Poszi rózsás forradalom, Chrysanthemum Revolution), in which take part both soldiers and civilians: during the quite pacific Revolution, some events of violence occurred, among which was the assassination of the ex premier Istvan Tisza, a symbol of the hated Habsburg Empire.⁴ While Charles IV was giving up the power, exiling in Switzerland and signing the fall of the Dual Monarchy, population was exulting because Károlyi became Head of Government, believing that his good relationships with the winning nations would have guarantee to the Hungarian Republic (proclaimed on 16 November 1918) a convenient peace instead of being treated like a defeated Country; but, despite the democratic and liberal intents of the new politicians, the Entente, feeling advantaged due to their winning and political power, began the break up of the Hungarian State, giving some of its parts to Czechoslovakia, some to Romania and some other to Serbian-Croatian-Slovenian Kingdom (then called Yugoslavia), destabilizing the internal balance and so making public opinion even more adverse to Entente's decisions. The new Hungary, occupied by next States and opposed by France (that wanted to domine on Danube-Balcan area), from the beginning seemed to have few possibility of action: during the first months of 1919 Hungarian Government had already lost most of its prestige for the population, despite its brave economic and constitutional initiatives and its attempt to have good Foreign relations. At the same time the Hungarian Communist Party - created by Béla Kun⁵ on 24 November 1918, just back from Bolshevik Russia – was growing up: the economic crises, that Kàrolyi couldn't stop, led to a social conflict, that made the members of Kun's party increased, among capital city's workers, poorer peasants, prisoners of war repatriated, but also enlightened intellectuals. At that moment, probably, Kàrolyi thought that Hungarian situation could have improved by a diplomatic tendency's change, aimed to approach Hungary to Soviet Russia, with a double purpose: to find an ally and defender against the Entente and to make communist party less attractive for social-democrats. Due to similar

⁴ For a general synthesis of historical period mentioned: R. W. Seton-Watson, *Treaty revision and the Hungarian frontiers*, London, Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1934; A. Biagini, *Storia dell'Ungheria contemporanea*, Milano, Bompiani, 2006; P. Fornaro, *Ungheria*, Milano, Unicopli, 2006.

⁵ Born in 1886 in Lele, Transilvania, Béla Kun was the son of a Jewish notary and had joined, up to his youth, with Socialism ideals: after the beginning of the Great War, he was sent to the Russian front and captured. Enlisted in the Red Army, he took part in the revolution of 1917 showing remarkable political skills in organizing propaganda intended to war prisoners: according on some historians he was sent by Lenin in Hungary to promote the revolution in the Country (A. Biagini, Storia dell'Ungheria..., p. 86; P. FORNARO, Béla Kun. Professione: rivoluzionario. Scritti e discorsi scelti 1918-1936, Soveria Mannelli, Rubbettino Editore, 1980, pp. 11-16).

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purposes magyar leadership tried to interact with Italian and Austrian authorities, hoping that these authorities, potentially helped by Great Britain, could expel Czechoslovakians, Romanians and Yugoslavians from Hungary. But those political measures tried to salvage a desperate situation. Internal political instability and the unsolved international situation led to end forever the democratic-bourgeois government. Especially the 16 February's law about the land reform, far from having solved peasants' problems, had just obtained the strengthening of Communist party, fighting for lands' squatting and conflict against landowners. Not even Béla Kun's and lot of communist leadership's arrests stopped the complaints, that revolutionary leaders went on organizing even from the jail. Then, on March the 20th, French Colonel Fernand Vyx rejected Hungarian government's appeals, by the famous "Note", causing the degeneration of the existing situation: the "Vyx's Note" signed Hungary's fate (advantaging Romania as anti-sovietic buffer State), seeming an ultimatum and creating the base for the dictatorship of the proletariat. Afterwards the government quit, as a sign of complaint against winners' decisions, and social-democrats and communists, united in the Hungarian Socialist Party, took control of the Country. This was the creation of the Hungarian Soviet Republic (Magyarországi Tanácsköztársaság),6 run by a "Revolutionary Governmental Council" and inspired to the Soviet example (instead of ministers there were "People's Commissars"). Béla Kun, appointed People's Commissars for Foreign Affairs, became the real leader of the new government and immediately made an alliance with Lenin's Russia: he decided the separation between State and Church, he began the organization of a Red Army and he nationalized banks, finance companies, mines, industries and lands. The revolutionary government was very smart, advising it wanted to defend national borders and recover stolen areas, as to endear itself to the nationalists and to the not-communists. Bolshevik regime's decisions had caused a strong discontent that in the future would have gradually damaged Hungarian people's consensus to the communist leadership, while Entente, in alarm due to Hungarian events and the possibility it would spread in the rest of Europe, didn't end at all the relationships with Hungarian Soviet Government and on April the 4th sent one of its representatives, General Jan Smuts, to discuss peace agreement, not succeeding. Probably the failure of Smuts' mission convinced France to give up the diplomacy and support counterrevolutionary groups in the Country and military offensive that Romania and Czechoslovakia made on the north-east front during the second half of April. The Entente, using its Romanian, Czechoslovak and Serbian allies (afterwards the latter went for on the south-west front with French divisions), had the clear intention to stop the Hungarian communist experience using weapons. But, despite the large deployment of the Allies and the inferiority of the Red Army, the Soviet Republic managed to resist to the attack, above all thanks to the great popular mobilization made by the revolutionary government, in which took part also some officers of Hungarian ex-army and lots of enlightened intellectuals, moved due to that patriotic spirit on which Bela Kun relied on from the beginning. In this way the situation of the Hungarian Soviet Government seemed to be very critical since the beginning of May: so

⁶ About Hungarian Soviet Republic: R. L. Tokés, Béla Kun and the Hungarian Soviet Republic, New York, Praeger, 1967; M. Imre, L. Szücs, A Forradalmi Kormányzótánács jegyzkönyvei 1919, Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest, 1986; P. Fornaro, Crisi postbellica e rivoluzione. L'Ungheria dei Consigli e l'Europa danubiana nel primo dopoguerra, Milano, Franco Angeli, 1987

Colonel Guido Romanelli found himself in this difficult situation when, on the 6th of the same month, he got the order to reach the Missione italiana d'armistizio (Italian Armistice Mission) in Vienna⁷ and there he was charged to go to Budapest to lead the Italian Military Mission, that came back in Hungary after the break between the Entente and the Bolshevik regime. In the beginning the mission had been sent to Hungary to command respect for the conditions of the armistice, but after Béla Kun's changed programs Romanelli's charge became above all knowing Hungarian political situation and events that had created it. Italian delegation could go back to Budapest due to some agreements with the new Hungarian government, but, even if the government gave his consensus, it wasn't probably extended to the discussion of the conditions of the armistice, that also have caused the present war between Hungary and neighbouring Countries. In this way the main assignments of Colonel Romanelli became the protection of Italian public and private interests, the gathering of information, the keeping of contacts with regime's opponents and also an important role as a middle man by the leader of the revolution, trying to convince him to accept the proposal of creating a democratic-bourgeois government that would have ensured a larger participation in Hungarian political life. The Italian Military Mission returned to its assignment in Bolshevik Hungary, being the only representative of winning powers, because the other foreign delegations had left Hungary. Romanelli, despite the complex political and ideological differences, managed to establish with Béla Kun a relationship based on mutual respect, trying to understand revolutionary ideas, that he sometimes considered reasonable; that anyway didn't prevent him from working over every time that the Soviet Government hit civilians with repressive actions and reprisals, gaining Hungarian population's award and devotion. His moral integrity indeed led him to considerably extend his beginning activities, defending not only Italian interests, but also civilians' needs. The first sensitive intervention that the head of Italian Mission carried out by Kun was the defence of some young officers responsible for the counter-revolutionary attempt that took place on 24 June 1919. Cadets of Ludovika military academy took control of Budapest's telephonic and telegraphic station, while three monitors with the national flag passed trough the Danube and shot on the Hotel Hungaria, where the Workers Soviet of the city was having a reunion: anyway, due to the fact the population didn't participate in the insurrection, this action didn't succeed and turned just into a demonstrative act, and made the troops easily repress it. The following day, as to warn the population not to try again an insurrection, the Soviet Government announced a death sentence for people mostly involved in the event, to be execute in Oktogon Square, in the centre of Pest; but Colonel Romanelli quickly managed to convince Béla Kun not to do it, cause it would have created new internal violence and reprisals of the Entente. After this event, the intercessions of the Italian Mission became more and more frequent - also demanded by victims of persecution or their relatives – as to obtain the release of political hostages, or at least an improvement in their detention conditions: in addition to that, the persecution of the old ruling classes by the regime wasn't systematic, because the early intention of the government was to convert these classes to the Bolshevism, so Béla Kun didn't

⁷ The Italian Armistice Mission in Vienna was led by General Roberto Segre. For an important testimony of his work see his memoirs: R. Segre, *La missione militare italiana per l'armistizio: dicembre 1918 gennaio 1920*, Bologna, Zanichelli, 1928.

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strictly make a stand to the appeals of the Italian delegation (at least since when counterrevolutionary offensive increased). The Italian Mission applied itself also to save Italian people that lived in Hungary from governmental laws on the requisition of movables and real estates: the number of Italians, already small due to governmental abuse of power, progressively decreased, and also in repatriation operations the work of Romanelli's crew by Hungarian authorities was fundamental. Above all, more and more civilians, due to the desperation, every day went to the Mission's office in Budapest, begging its action for various reasons (from which often depended their life or dead) and making it work at every time in day and night, but the situation was such difficult that, even if Italian soldiers tried with care to solve the problems, they couldn't enough. The Italian Mission, giving a lot of food to the population, without distinguishing people for religions or politics, also contributed to ease the difficult situation caused by the war and by the rapid social and economic changes made by the Government. As Romanelli wrote in his memoirs: "Solo chi vedeva e sapeva a quali privazioni sottostava allora la maggior parte della popolazione di Budapest può farsi un'idea dell'importanza ed autorità che conferiva alla Missione il fatto di possedere un magazzino viveri ben guarnito (...). Quante persone che prima non sapevano nemmeno che esistessimo o preferivano ignorarci si facevano allora premura di cercarci ed offrirci la loro opera purché concedessimo loro un piccolo buono viveri! E si capiva; perché quel po' di riso, di maccheroni e quel paio di scatolette di carne in conserva costituivano per molte persone il solo companatico che riuscivano a procurarsi".8 In this way, an entire population quickly became grateful to the Mission, that dealt with lots of contentions that wouldn't have been its own business, but made it gain Hungarian eternal grateful. Some rumours on the Italian commander's and his entourage's humanitarian service indeed spread even far from Budapest, constantly increasing help applies – above all by letters – from the whole Hungary, as to stop Bolshevik excesses and solve various daily problems that pained people. Soon after, since political and military actions against Hungarian Soviet Republic were rising, the frail balance between Bela Kun and Colonel Romanelli failed; in addition to that political and economic problems of Bolshevik government, worsen by internal disagreement in the Party and by Entente's international pressures, made its survival every day more difficult and less hoped by the population. As a result, despite some attempts of counter-offensive of the regime, against Czechs and Romanians, on August the first Hungarian Soviet Government ended after one hundred and thirty-three days existence – and the power went to the social-democrat Government of Gyula Pedl (replaced in a few days by Istvàn Friedrich), while counter-revolutionaries commanded by Admiral Miklós Horthy and the occupation of the capital city by Romanian troops (August the 4th) started the restoration of conservatism in the Country. At the same time, the Mission raised its activity in order to guarantee civilians' security, even in the situation of temporary mess caused by revolutionary government's fall. The first action that Romanelli, who had a high sense of honor, carried out was to protect Béla Kun and his

^{8 &}quot;Only who saw and knew which kind of deprivation most of Budapest's population had to suffer at that time could understand how important it was to have a provisions' store well equipped (...). A lot of people, that formerly didn't know us or preferred to ignore us, now looked for us and offer us their work as to obtain a small provision's coupon! And it was understandable, because that little rice, those macaronis and those couple of lunch meat were for many people the only food they managed to get": G. Romanelli, Nell'Ungheria di Béla Kun..., p. 53.

family from counter-revolutionary retaliations; secondly, he delivered several speeches in Budapest and in the rest of Hungary: in this way he prevented the news of the fall of the Bolshevik government from having negative consequences on public order; he finally tried, uselessly, to mediated for Pedl's government (since the new premier made a good impression to the Italian officer) at the Entente. 9 as to avoid a Romanian occupation. It is also useful to mention his previous action, during the last days of the Bolshevik government, for the religious hierarchies and their goods, plundered in those days by governmental agents in their last attempt to gain goods for the resistance. Later on, with the above mentioned Hungarian occupation by Romanian troops, one of the first problems faced by the Mission was to obtain sufficient food and medicines to alleviate population discomforts. But the most difficult challenge for Romanelli and his troop was trying to combine the duties deriving from the alliance between Italy and Romania, with the commitment towards the population, affected by plunders. Actually it was the occupying army that, with under the pretext of the war status, kept on robbing and plundering the population and his goods. This feeling for Hungarian national situation was very appreciated by civilians, but probably led to some disciplinary actions against Romanelli. During August of the same year, Romanelli was personally thanked by Admiral Horthy, for having defended the interests of Hungarian population, but he didn't hesitate to denounce crimes committed by the next counter-revolutionary government, lead by Friedrich, which was trying to summarily repress representatives and supporters of the previous communist government. In this way Colonel re-affirmed his position defense towards the civilians and their interests. Furthermore, Romanelli went to the jails to check on police procedures and life conditions of the prisoners. He pointed out the daily violence suffered by them, because he considered the actions in favor of the prisoners and of Hungarians in general as his personal moral duty, according to the general purpose of the Mission itself: trying to pacify the nation and to consolidate, socially and economically, the nations that had lost the war. Unfortunately the Mission was alone in this fight, because its actions were regarded with total indifference by the other members of the Entente. For all these reasons, Romanelli saw his competences progressively decreasing in Hungary, also due to the arrival in Budapest of the four Generals that formed the Inter-allied Commission (Gordon for the Great Britain, Grazianì for France, Bandholtz for United States and Mombelli for Italy, who also had to supervise the Mission). In spite of all this, Colonel Romanelli kept on offering his help as a mediator between Hungarian population and the representatives of allied nations, demonstrating how active his spirit was. While doing this, he still hoped to be able to keep the peace, in a situation that could potentially lead to another crisis. After few months the problematic situation would have finally met its solution, thanks to the end of the Romanian occupation and the beginning of the authoritarian government lead by Admiral Horthy, who had the task to guarantee for the political and social situation of the Country in

⁹ For this intercession at winning Countries, Budapest's citizens exhibited their gratitude clapping hands and screaming under Military Mission office: Colonel Romanelli – considerably honoured to be compared to Garibaldi, Türr and others prominent people – tell in his memoirs as the crew praised the absolute bravery of Italian delegation and commended its interference to help Hungary, reminding the friendly relations between Italians and Hungarians during the Risorgimento. See G. Romanelli, Nell'Ungheria di Béla Kun..., pp. 155-156.

front of the Entente powers. 10 With this new government Romanelli was definitely deprived of any tasks and consequently went back to Italy, on November the 16th, 1919. His comeback was ordered from Rome, but advised by his chiefs in Budapest. At this news Hungarian civilians reacted with protests and fear for what would have come: they were in fact aware that they were losing the only person that had dared to challenge the politicians, the religion and hierarchies in general in order to defend their position. In this occasion the Colonel received numerous thankful letters and telegrams from numerous and different cities in Hungary and his pictures appeared, in sign of respect, on the shops and buildings of the capital. In November 1922 Hungarian Parliament, admitting his merits and generosity, gave to Colonel Romanelli the tribute Diszkard (a sword of honour, at the moment kept in the Vittoriano in Rome) and a sculpture in Ludovika Akademia's park in Budapest (fluxed in 1952 to make Stalin's Bronze Monument) symbols of gratitude of Hungarian population for what he had done in Hungary. In popular folk memory, in fact, "Romanelli non era più una persona, ma un mito, una leggenda. Nella fastosa dimora del magnate magiaro come nell'umile casa del povero, a Budapest come nella città o nei villaggi della pusta ungherese, finanche oltre il confine politico, se popolato da genti magiare, il (...) nome era diventato familiare a tutti, e tutti lo pronunziavano con la riverenza e la riconoscenza con cui si nomina un eroe nazionale (...)". 11 Forgotten during the Cold War, after Socialist Regime's fall Romanelli's actions were revalued in 2000 by some Italian-Hungarian celebrations: after two years, the Ufficio Storico dello Stato Maggiore dell'Esercito (Italian General Staff Historic Office) published his memoirs – which I used for this work – under supervision of Antonello Biagini, Professor of Eastern Europe History at "La Sapienza", University of Rome, as to show the important role of mediator of Italy and of his representative in Budapest in the post-war period. In the new European context, after the break-up of Soviet Union, in fact revaluing events like the one of the Italian Military Mission in Budapest, could help to incline towards Countries divided since half of the century by ideological and political rivalry, that have common history and continental culture in the past (obviously considering the differences), important to discover as to improve European integration, hoping it will become every day more traditional and cultural and not only economical.

See A. Biagini, Storia dell'Ungheria..., pp. 77-122. About Hungarian History between the two World Wars see also C. A. Macartney, Hungary and Her successor. The Treaty of Trianon and its consequenses 1919-1937, London – New York – Toronto, Oxford University Press, 1937; C. A. Macartney, October fifteenth: A history of Hungary 1929-1945, 2 voll., Edinburgh, University press, 1957; G. Juhász, Hungarian foreign policy, 1919-1945, Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1979; H. Seton-Watson, Le democrazie impossibili: l'Europa orientale tra le due guerre mondiali, Soveria Mannelli, Rubbettino, 1992; G. Réti, Hungarian-Italian Relations in the Shadow of Hitler's Germany, 1933-1940, New York, Columbia University Press, 2003. For an important witness of the period see also M. Horthy, Memorie. Una vita per l'Ungheria, Roma, Corso, 1956.

[&]quot;Romanelli wasn't anymore just a person, but a myth, a legend. Both in the sumptuous house of the magyar rich and in the house of the poor, both in Budapest and in cities and villages of Hungarian Puszta, also beyond the political border, if populated by Hungarian people, the (...) name became familiar to everybody, and everyone pronounced it with reverence and gratitude, like a national hero"; G. Romanelli, Nell'Ungheria di Béla Kun..., p. 5.

Strategic bombing: civilian population as a target

SERGE GADAL

My field of research concerns strategic bombing in the American strategic thinking between 1917 and 1943. So many books have already been written on the subject of strategic bombing in practice, such as the bombing of England by the Germans during the Second world war, of Germany and Japan by the Allies during the same war, that I did not consider necessary to add another research on the same line. Instead very little information is known by the public on the motivations of strategic bombing, on the effects that were sought by its promoters and on the various theories that were developed by these promoters. This is the reason why I decided to concentrate on these theories, from the illustrious Italian thinker Giulio Douhet in the 1920s until the developers of the blueprint for the allied bombing of Germany, the AWPD (for the Air War Plan Division of the US Army Air Corps) in 1941-1943.

Today, in compliance with the subject of this Congress, I will focus on the aspects of strategic bombing concerning civilians.

This Congress has shown remarquably how civilians are almost invariably victims of wars, and this at all times in our history. Very seldom indeed do wars leave civilians untouched. Strategic bombing is another example of this sad reality.

WHAT IS STRATEGIC BOMBING?

Strategic bombing could be defined, if we follow contemporary military doctrine, as "the direct attack of the centers of power of the adverse state in order to destroy its military capability or undermine its will to continue the war". The effects sought by political leaders by employing strategic bombing are therefore situated at the strategic level of war, and not at the tactical level as could be some missions of interdiction or close air support.

Throughout the history of strategic bombing, we find a duality of purpose. Strategic bombing is supposed to accomplish two different kinds of strategic aims depending on its proponents: for some writers the goal of strategic bombing is to destroy the military potential of the enemy (the focus is here on the destruction of means of transportation, war factories, oil refineries, etc.), in order to render physically impossible the continuation of war; for some others, the idea is to undermine the will and the morale of the enemy population, by direct or indirect attacks on this population. One of the key elements of strategic bombing is that its qualification does not depend on the weapons or military platforms used but on the intention sought by the party employing it.

The "centers of power" which we mentioned before, have also been called "vital centers" or "nerve centers" by the theoreticians of strategic bombing. Today, instead we are often talking of "centers of gravity" following the idea expressed in the early nineteenth century by the Prussian strategist Carl von Clausewitz in his book *Vom Kriege*.

The modern airpower strategist John Warden classified centers of gravity in five concentric circles. At the center, we find COGs relating to the leadership of the enemy state, then

what Warden call the "essential organic functions" (food, oil, electricity), then infrastructures (roads, airports), then the population, then lastly enemy armed forces.

For most of strategic bombing theoreticians, population is nearly always a center of gravity and therefore a legitimate objective, leaving naturally aside the legal aspects of this question.

STRATEGIC BOMBING AND CIVILIANS

For more clarity, we should distinguish here the theories of strategic bombing, developed in the 20th century by the proponents of air power, and their various applications during military conflicts.

A) The theories of strategic bombing

For the classic theoreticians of air power, strategic bombing can be justified by a context of total war between nation states where all means available to win the war can legitimately be used.

DOUHET

General Giulio Douhet is an Italian military thinker which had an important influence on American doctrine through his main book *Il dominio dell'Aria*. While Douhet did not only contemplate attacks on civilian as the main strategy for winning the war (he also advised striking transportation and industrial vital centers), he is unfortunately only considered as the advocate of the bombing of civilians. We find in particular in *Il dominio dell'Aria* many dramatic and apocalyptic descriptions of the effect that bombing of cities would have on civilians.

As far as the method of bombing is concerned, Douhet advocated the use of three kinds of bombs: first, explosive bombs would destroy the buildings and houses of enemy cities, then incendiary bombs would complete destruction, before a last category of bomb, poison gas bombs would prevent firemen to enter into the destruction area in order to put out the fires. Although poison gas was not used during the Second World war, it is remarkable that the combined use of explosive and incendiary bombs was used extensively by the Allies, in particular during the bombing of Dresden in February 1945.

Concerning the purpose of strategic bombing, Douhet considers bombing as an instrument acting onto the will of the enemy people which should then, facing such punishment, turn against his own government and forces him to sue for peace.

MITCHELL

Unlike Douhet, American Brigadier General William Mitchell ideas were not original. Probably influenced by Douhet, which he met in Italy in 1921, Mitchell considers the population as a "vital center" worthy of attack, but more that the Italian strategist he advocates also bombing of factories, harbours, etc. In his last book, *Skyways*, he emphasised bombing of cities with toxic gazes in some very douhetian terms, considering that bombing cities would end war quickly and thus save lives in the long term.

SEVERSKY

Russian born air power propagandist, Alexander de Seversky advocated strategic bombing of Axis countries through his book *Victory through Air Power* (1942), from which Walt Disney produced an animation movie (1943) which had more success than the book! As Mitchell, Seversky largely borrowed his ideas from others, notably from the British general Hugh Trenchard. Following the latter, Seversky considers that direct attacks against civil populations would be counter-productive because of the natural resilience of the people, and in this the Second World war proved him right. Instead, he advocates indirect attacks which would consists of destroying the means of subsistance of the population, as well as the industrial infrastructure of the enemy state in concentrating on its "key nodes", which announces the doctrine of the Air Corps Tactical School. Finally, Seversky points out the vulnerability of modern states in front of strategic bombing.

THE AIR CORPS TACTICAL SCHOOL.

Created in 1921, the Air Corps Tactical School was a very important center for the elaboration of air power doctrine, until 1941. Fairly early it concentrated on the economic analysis of a potential enemy state in order to determine its weak points, its bottlenecks. This analysis gave rise to the theory of the "industrial web". This theory reduced the State to a network of interdependent production centers connected through a certain number of "key nodes" which could easily be destroyed from the air. The ACTS believed as well that the bomber campaign should be directed both toward the "war making capacity" of the enemy and its "will to fight". While attacks on industry was preferred (in particular electricity production), it did not rule out attacks on populations as a last resort measure in the case where attacks on the industrial system happened to be ineffective.

THE PLAN AWPD-1 OF SEPTEMBER 1941

In August 1941, President Roosevelt asked the Army Staff to give him airplane production requirements for the future war against Axis power which seemed then unavoidable. The Air Staff prepared a plan of attack of the German industrial and military infrastructure (transportation, petroleum industry, electricity production). In principle, the civilians here were only targeted indirectly through their means of subsistance (oil and electricity mainly). Nevertheless, the plan contemplates direct attacks again the populations centers when the German morale would be deemed sufficiently undermined by the indirect bombing attacks and military defeats on the ground.

B) Strategic bombing in practice

In the practice of strategic bombing in relation to civilian population, we can make a distinction as to the to means of attack of civilians, in classifying these attacks into two categories: direct or indirect. In directs attacks, the population, and its dwelling, are targeted directly by undiscriminated bombing, with generally some very important casualties. In indirect attacks, it is rather the means of existence of the ennemy population which are targeted. The idea here is not to kill civilians but to make their life unbearable.

DIRECT ATTACKS ON POPULATION

In the first part of the twentieth century, the lack of precision of bombing methods (average miss distance of about 1 000 m) did not allow precise targeting. Moreover, protection of human rights did not yet have the central importance it has nowadays.

A few salient examples:

First World War

London 1915-1918 (raids on London by Zeppelin airships then Gotha long range bombers) Germany (Royal Air Force and French Air Force : raids on cities (Karlsruhe 1915-1916; Cologne)

Between World Wars

Air control: British bombing of rebellious tribes in Mesopotamia and Sudan

Second World War

"Blitz" on London (1940-1941), Bombing of Germany (Specially in 1942-1945, with the bombings of Berlin and Dresden in 1945) and Japan (1944-1945, Tokyo March 1945, 100 000 deaths) culminating with atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

INDIRECT ATTACKS ON POPULATION

Here the idea is to destroy the means of existence of the population so as to make their life more difficult or even unbearable. The effects realised are closed to the effects of a naval blockade.

Vietnam war: operations Rolling Thunder (1965-1968) and Linebacker II (December 1972)

Gulf War (1991): electricity, oil refineries, water treatment plants

Kosovo (1999): electricity, oil refineries, bridges, TV centers

Conclusion

Nowadays indirect attacks on the enemy population are preferred by political and military leaders as most warring parties wants to be seen as respecting human rights, but the underlying mechanism remains the same as the one that was contemplated by Douhet: enticing the enemy population through hardship to rise against its own government and force it to conclude peace. From a historical point of view this approach has very rarely been successful, except maybe for the precedent of Kosovo.

The Marine Corps Occupation of the Dominican Republic

ELLEN TILLMAN

In August of 1915, the 5th Regiment of the United States Marine Corps, commanded by Colonel Charles A. Doyen, left Guantanamo Bay, Cuba to land at Puerto Plata in the northern Dominican Republic, ostensibly "to protect American lives and property during a revolutionary outbreak." The U.S. government, in an effort to control the Caribbean and to gain and protect U.S. investments, hegemony, and the Panama Canal, had begun to carry out direct military intervention and occupation throughout the Caribbean (most notably in Cuba, Nicaragua, and Haiti), and had threatened to do so in Santo Domingo since 1905. As disorder and civil war in the Dominican Republic continued to worsen after 1915, the 6th and 9th USMC companies landed in the country's capital city, Santo Domingo, in May of 1916, acting on the premise that the Dominican government had repeatedly failed to uphold payments on a customs agreement signed with the United States in 1907.² The Marine presence in the capital was meant to quell disorder and demand payment, as well as to be a show of force to back U.S. demands for increased control of the Dominican military and customs. Upon realizing the extent of the country's internal disorder, however, the U.S. Navy deployed increasing numbers of troops into both the capital and the interior, where they occupied numerous towns; from May to November of 1916, the number of Marines stationed in the Dominican Republic nearly quadrupled.3

Finally, on November 29 of 1916, in the midst of continuing political confusion and the provisional Dominican government's continued refusal to agree to U.S. demands to hand over control of the country's finances and military, U.S. Navy Captain Harry S. Knapp read his formal proclamation for U.S. military occupation of the Dominican Republic. Long before Knapp's proclamation, however, the occupation was already suffering from armed and non-combatant Dominican resistance throughout the country: Marine attempts to arrest a Dominican man in Villa Duarte led to a fatal shoot-out; when elements of the Marines' 4th Regiment followed Dominican General Desiderio Arias and his followers from south to north, fighting a minor guerrilla war all the way, they finally engaged in two bloody battles in Las Trencheras and Guayacanas, which Dominicans classified as a "massacre"—and Arias

U.S. Marine Corps, Historical Division, A Chronology of the United States Marine Corps, 1775-1934, (U.S. Marine Corps: Washington D.C., 1970), 116

² This treaty was the Dominican-American Convention of 1907, which was approved by a Dominican Congress pressured with intervention in May of 1907 and gave the U.S. government control of Dominican finances and the right to interfere in Dominican politics in exchange for U.S. payment of Dominican foreign debts. See: Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, Dominican Republic, "Memoria que al Ciudadano Presidente de la República, General Ramón Cáceres, presenta al Ciudadano Ministro de Relaciones Exteriores," Memorias correspondientes a los ejercicios de ... Departamento de Relaciones Exteriores (Santo Domingo: Impr. de J.R. VDA García, 1910); Frank Moya-Pons, El pasado dominicano. (Santo Domingo: Fundación J.A. Caro Alvarez, 1986), 312-315.

³ Going from 632 to 2,219. Fuller, Stephen M. and Graham A. Cosmas. Marines in the Dominican Republic, 1916-1924, (Washington DC: Marine Corps, 1974), 89.

escaped; the local governor of the interior city of San Pedro de Macorís created an armed resistance based in the city's Fortaleza; in the east and northeast, sugar planters began funding an organized armed resistance that would last the duration of the eight-year occupation; in the capital, provisional president Juan Isidro Jimenez continued to refuse to capitulate to U.S. demands.

All of these events and their repercussions, when compounded with the U.S. State Department's inconsistent commitment of resources or interest in the occupation and with Dominicans' intense anti-imperial and anti-occupation sentiments, contributed to a severe breakdown in the already unfriendly relationship between most Dominicans and Marine occupying forces. Yet the Marines throughout the country made many efforts to improve civil-military relations after this first year of chaos and the beginning of the formal occupation. Detailing some of these efforts, I will argue that they failed for the same multiplicity of complex reasons that the occupation failed more generally, which can be summed up as: Dominican anti-imperialism, inconsistency from the U.S. government, a lack of clarity in the occupation's goals and command structure, and Marines' lack of knowledge of Dominican language and culture, coupled with early-twentieth-century racist and paternalistic approaches. Many have criticized the U.S. Navy and Marine Corps, drawing out the negative effects of the intervention or its inability to organize a new military efficiently, yet no work has endeavored to examine the programs put forward by contingents of Marine leaders to unify the citizenry and garner support.

These Marines, stationed throughout a country that lacked roads and communication, were often isolated for long periods from the capital city and the reach of the central military government headed by the US Navy. Meeting varied levels of resistance and differing problems in the various provinces, and lacking the ability to communicate quickly with central command in Santo Domingo, these groups of Marines often had to establish makeshift methods and institutions for trying to develop friendly relations with the Dominican citizens, who resented general orders of the military government such as disarmament and censorship, and were thus hesitant to trust the Marines who were carrying out these basic orders throughout the country—especially after the violent encounters of 1916. Many of the early initiatives for programs and strategies taken to facilitate the occupation were necessarily created and carried out by Marines in these provinces, who had to garner local support for the program of the new military and its functions in order to be able to carry out the occupation effectively. The dual pulls of military government general orders from Santo Domingo—often delayed for days to other provinces and based on a very different set of circumstances—and the initiatives of Marines throughout the country, ultimately limited the effectiveness of Marine attempts to garner support locally.

EARLY GOALS AND METHODS OF OCCUPATION

The first measures of the new military government, in attempting to bring order out of a chaotic situation that reigned throughout the country, included the gradual disbanding of all existing Dominican armed and police forces, the disarmament of the entire Dominican population, and strict censorship of the Dominican press. Through eight years of occupation, the U.S. government left the occupation's administration in the control of the Department of the

Navy and the U.S. Marines stationed throughout the country. These two groups—the Navy commanders in charge of central government in the capital city and contingents of Marines charged with building and maintaining local order throughout the provinces—were charged with improving the infrastructure of the country so as to facilitate the occupiers' communication and movement through, as well as to improve the economy of, the country, and on creating a new Dominican army modeled on the United States Marine Corps.

The first task of Marine forces, upon restoring order to the provinces, was to begin to build a new Dominican military, the Guardia Nacional Dominicana. With the exception of a temporary group maintained in the capital to aid Marine forces there in the first year of the occupation, all Dominican armed forces and police were disarmed and were to be reconstituted under the auspices of this new armed force. At first, it was to be officered by Marine Corps officers, and was to allow any eligible Dominican citizens to join at the bottom ranks and be trained by Marines—and eligibility was loosely measured. The military organization in the Dominican Republic was chaotic when the Marines arrived in 1916. Prior to the military intervention, the Dominican military had been fragmented since even before the death of dictator Ulíses Heureaux (Lilís) in 1898, and especially since his assassination, with different areas under the rules of regional caudillo-type generals and many provinces remaining remote and controlled only by local police forces. Upon the assassination of Lilís by one political group (the Horacistas), the generals who had trained in the dictator's army formed regional forces that forced concessions out of politicians in return for protection, but this fragmented political system repeatedly broke down when the conflicting interests of military and political groups led to military coups d'etat—the fragmentation of society and politics that led to U.S. military intervention and the declaration of a military government in 1916. The regional and partisan conflicts had become a devastating civil war that was largely informed by the cults of personality of certain dictators—most based in the country's two major cities and fighting for control of the government, which in most parts of the city and countryside included armed resistance to the Marine presence as well. For this reason, the military government under Navy Captain Harry S. Knapp immediately declared disarmament of the general population to be the most urgent action of the occupation.

When Marines landed, the extent of the Dominican military that had any centralized organization was the miscellany of the Guardia Republicana created by the brief presidency of Ramón Cáceres in 1907.⁴ Yet from the assassination of Cáceres in 1911 until the occupation, the remnants of the military were so disorganized that not a single military decree or order was issued by any Dominican government. ⁵ The remainder of Cáceres's Guardia Republicana, by the time of formal U.S. occupation in late 1916, is accurately and succinctly described by Dominican historian Soto Jiménez as consisting of small, poorly equipped, and completely disorganized armed groups, usually used only for local police functions, and separated from most regions by the lack of communications infrastructure in the country.⁶

⁴ Cáceres founded the Dominican Guardia Repúblicana under Ley Número 4793 on June 26; Dominican Republic. *Secretaría de Estado de las Fuerzas Armadas*, 33.

⁵ Dominican Republic. Secretaría de Estado de las Fuerzas Armadas.

⁶ Soto Jiménez, José Miguel, Las Fuerzas Militares en la República Dominicana: Desde la Primera República hasta los comienzos de la Cuarta República. Ensayo sobre su evolución institucional (Santo Domingo:

In the years leading up to 1916, one of the popular Dominican generals from the civil war years, Desiderio Arias, was taking advantage of this chaos to gather followers in arms and seize customs houses along the Dominican-Haitian border, while the other two were vying for power in the cities. The first U.S. Marines arrived in late 1912 as a pacification commission sent by U.S. President William Taft; these 750 Marines arrived with orders to quell disorder under threat of more direct and extensive military intervention.⁷

Reactions to this imposed military presence and threat were complicated by many factors: the variety of contending factions already vying for power, and their mixed responses to the Marine presence; general fear throughout the country of falling under the control of yet another military occupation; and regionalism and different regional interests coupled with lack of infrastructure and communication. The most common reaction to the U.S. presence, too, was informed by popular and nationalist protest against U.S. solicitations to the Dominican Republic the year before to build a U.S. Naval station in Samaná Bay,8 which led many Dominican nationalists to believe that the U.S. Marine presence and the threatened intervention were based more on a desire for territorial acquisition than any desire to bring about peace or economic stability in the country. Rather than quickly pacifying the country, therefore, the Marine presence intensified the passions of those military leaders and politicians who fought to come out on top in the civil war, many of whom attempted to ally themselves strategically with Marine officers while refusing to accept the absolute terms upon which those Marines insisted. The Marines attempted to restore order through many provisional governments from 1912-1916, but the continuation of regionalism and the caudillo rule of dissenting generals meant that they all led to failure.

The political and social realities of those civil war years were extremely complex for the Dominican Republic, but also for the U.S. government, as World War I began in Europe and influenced the U.S. desire to fortify the Western Hemisphere against German influence and therefore protect its most important trading partners in both hemispheres. In his book, *The Americans in Santo Domingo*, written four years after the Marine withdrawal from the Dominican Republic, historian Melvin Knight analyzed the situation of those pre-intervention years, demonstrating through thorough analysis of primary documents that the failure of the Jiménes government and the direct U.S. intervention of 1916 were largely a product of General Arias's increasing demands on provisional presidents those presidents' need to retain the support of armed forces that were increasingly loyal to Arias. The situation and U.S. response were complicated, too, in the fact that the Dominican Republic had for decades been a site of German investment, and many Dominicans openly supported German efforts in the European War.

As the situation in the country spun increasingly out of control and many citizens formed

Ediciones Grupo 5, 1996), 126-132.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores.

⁹ Though historical documentation shows that the previous desire to build a naval station in Samaná Bay did not play into later decisions to intervene, and the station was never built, it was to become a common belief and rallying cry for nationalists trying to turn Dominicans against the U.S. occupation.

¹⁰ Melvin M. Knight, The Americans in Santo Domingo, (New York: Vanguard Press, 1928), 70-73.

a "Junta Patriótica" in the capital city to resist the Marine presence, U.S. President Woodrow Wilson sent a commission to Santo Domingo in 1915 and another 1916, demanding that the U.S. be given the power to establish a U.S.-created and Marine-controlled Guardia Nacional to replace all Dominican and military and police forces.¹¹ But with General Arias and his forces in open rebellion against the government, tensions were high in the city and armed forces were polarized. When the provisional president, under such pressure, finally accepted the appointment of a U.S. financial advisor, the Dominican public in the capital protested so severely that the president resigned from office in May of 1916.¹² In the ensuing power vacuum, the U.S. placed more Marines in Santo Domingo, forced Arias out of the city, and began to spread throughout the country—ostensibly to follow Arias and his forces and finally end the civil war.

With U.S. forces now controlling the city, the Dominican Congress elected Francisco Henriquez y Carvajal to the presidency. His election and subsequent refusal to succumb to the demands for a U.S. financial advisor and U.S.-controlled military led to the refusal of U.S. forces to hand over the 45% of the customs revenue that funded the Dominican government. From May to late November of 1916, the Dominican government under Henríquez y Carvajal was forced into the unique position of running a country with practically no funds. While many Dominicans in civil service continued to work even without pay, 13 the lack of funding meant that the Dominican executive office "abolished all army commands and demobilized the First and Second Battalions. . . Only the Guardia Repúblicana, or police force, remained in charge of maintaining public order." ¹⁴ This small Dominican military force, however, was rapidly vanishing, as during these months President Henríquez y Carvajal was slowly liquidating it due to an inability to pay soldiers' salaries and support. In the last months before the military occupation in 1916, the Dominican president was frantically ordering reports of how many Guardia members and arms remained in the provinces around Santo Domingo in an attempt to prioritize and somehow keep at least a small armed force in the capital to counterbalance the presence of U.S. Marines.¹⁵

The lack of Dominican armed forces facilitated increasing control by U.S. military forces in the capital. Tensions ran high, and a status quo continuation of the stand-off was increasingly less viable as new Marine-Dominican violence broke out in many sectors of the country. The eventual full military occupation of the country became truly inevitable with the Duarte Riot, a direct product of the increasing Marine-Dominican tensions in Santo Domingo: In October, acting on a rumor that a wanted Dominican "rabble-rouser" was hiding out in Villa Duarte—across the Río Ozama from the capital—a small contingent of Marines led a poorly organized and poorly controlled invasion of Villa Duarte, which led to a shoot-out in

¹¹ Roberto Cassá, Historia social y económica de la República Dominicana, (Santo Domingo: la Editora Alfa y Omega, 1981), 211-213. See also, Tulio Cestero, Estados Unidos y las Antillas. (Madrid: Compañía iberoamericana de publicaciones (s.a.), 1931), 123-135.

¹² Peguero, 213. Moya-Pons, 317.

¹³ See, for example, Dr. Emilio Roig de Leuchsenring, La Ocupación de la República Dominicana por los Estados Unidos y el Derecho de las pequeñas Nacionalidades de América. (Havana: Imprenta "El Siglo XX," 1919), 43.

¹⁴ Peguero, 29.

¹⁵ Dominican Republic, Government correspondence 1916, Legajo 22, "Gobierno Militar," AGN.

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which the wanted man was killed along with several non-combatants.¹⁶ So it was that on November 29 of 1916, under orders of U.S. President Woodrow Wilson, U.S. Naval Captain Harry S. Knapp read out the official proclamation of U.S. military occupation, stating that the occupation was based upon Dominican violations of the 1907 treaty.

Knapp announced that the occupation, undertaken to ensure domestic tranquility, would attempt to restore order to the country while maintaining Dominican sovereignty under the tutelage of U.S. military forces. To this end, he also proclaimed that Dominican statutes and civil courts would remain in place and under the jurisdiction of Dominican officials if they did not "conflict with the objects of the occupation." Knapp, as the first acting military governor of the occupation, quickly appropriated all withheld Dominican funds from the previous six and a half months, as well as all incoming customs revenue, to fund the military government. From then until the end of his term as military governor in late 1918, he did indeed attempt to retain Dominican civil courts, and even hired some Dominican citizens as advisors. From the beginning, however, the occupation was plagued by problems stemming from U.S. forces' inabilities to speak or understand Spanish, their lack of knowledge about the country and its people in general, and the ambiguity of U.S. State Department orders—leading to a Marine presence that even within the capital city did not always directly follow the designs of Governor Knapp, and often infringed upon Dominican law, custom, and civil society.

In reality, the early years of the formalized occupation were rife with violence, including popular rebellion in some provinces, reports of torture by a few Marine occupiers, arbitrary arrests, and, as of 1917, a strict censorship of the Dominican press, 18 all of which led to strong and diverse resistance. Early executive orders by Knapp's government increased resistance by limiting Dominican sovereignty even further; for example, on December 4, 1916 Knapp declared officially that no Dominican could hold the posts of "Interior" or "War and Marine" in the Dominican Cabinet. 19 Reports of torture by U.S. Marines against Dominican citizens increased throughout the first years of the occupation as violence and resistance mounted, and the Dominican citizenry openly protested in many areas (especially in the east). The first major goals of the occupation would be to disarm the population, build an infrastructure throughout the country—including roads, communication networks, and hospitals—to link the provinces to the capital and administrative control, and create the new Guardia Nacional; official Marine history states that training a Dominican military was the Marines "second major responsibility" during the occupation, second only to building and improving infrastructure.²⁰ So difficult was basic administration and maintenance of control in the first months of the occupation, however, that not until April of 1917—four and a half

¹⁶ For a more detailed account of the "Duarte Riot," see Knight, 82.

¹⁷ Captain Harry S. Knapp, "Proclamation of the Military Occupation of Santo Domingo by the United States," in *American Journal of International Law*, 11:2, (April 1917), 95.

¹⁸ Sumner Welles, Naboth's Vineyard: The Dominican Republic, 1844-1924, 2 vols. (New York: Payson and Clarke, 1928), 800-801. Pedro Encarnación, La Transición del liderazgo politico dominicano: Crisis de Liderazgo, Opciones y Frustraciones. Santo Domingo: Editora de Colores, S.A., 1998, 79.

¹⁹ Welles, 797.

²⁰ Fuller, 45.

months after the official declaration of the military government—was the long-discussed Dominican National Guard (GND) established even in name. During those four months, all military and police actions were carried out by Marines and the Marine-controlled remnants of the Guardia Republicana, which by March of 1917 stood at a membership of only178 members.²¹

This occupation government in the city suffered from a number of problems from its inception, which spread into the ranks of the GND upon its founding. The first was the inability of almost all of the occupying forces to read or write in Spanish; taking over all functions of the government, then, meant virtually re-writing laws in English and dealing with a population that did not understand those laws or the Marines who tried to enforce them. Knapp was the only military governor throughout the first six years of the occupation to employ and include Dominicans as advisors in his government, and therefore had some translators and advisors on Dominican customs, but his government, too, was hampered in civil relations by commonly held assumptions of the cultural and racial inferiority of Dominicans; Knapp himself explained that "Dominicans can easily be led in matters of improvement and betterment of conditions; but they greatly lack initiative as a people, and their dependence on American advice is often almost pathetically childish."22 Thus even the military governor who was later extolled by Marine Corps historians as having included Dominicans and given great credit to their advice and opinions on his government²³ was ambiguous at best about his trust in the capabilities of the Dominican people. Such difficulties, combined in the first years with the continuation of haphazard armed resistance, limited even central governmental control within the capital city. Other central problems for the new military and its Marine architects quickly increased with U.S. military entry into World War One, which meant both a less consistent provision of funds and supplies from the government in Washington D.C. and the loss of many of its more experienced officers, who were shipped off to the European theater. The military government was also from the start distracted from infrastructural and military improvements by the need to reorient Dominican export trade toward the United States and away from Europe. During the initial stages of this reorientation of trade, many other promises made by the military government were stalled indefinitely.

Conditions in the provinces suffered from these central problems, and were compounded, too, by provincial problems: Nearly all the provinces lacked useable infrastructure, and most had no modern medical facilities; the provinces did not have enough Marines to carry out all of the functions that needed to be carried out—which, with the disarmament of the entire Dominican population, included the guarding of prisons; Marines who moved out to take control of the provinces also lacked communications with the military government throughout the occupation; Dominican citizens more removed from the capital were better able to set up

²¹ Dominican Republic, "Orden de Campaña No 3," August, 1917, Legajo 22, "Gobierno Militar," "Año 1924,"
AGN

²² United States, "Quarterly Report of January to March, 1918," Entry 15 Quarterly Reports of the Military Governor of Santo Domingo, RG 38: Navy Chief of Operations, NARA, 2-3, 10-11.

²³ See Stephen M. Fuller and Graham A. Cosmas, Marines in the Dominican Republic, 1916-1924, (Washington DC: Marine Corps, 1974), and Brian Moran, "Prison Reform in the United States Navy and the Dominican Republic: The Military Occupation and Prisons, 1900-1930," (PhD dissertation, University of Illinois at Chicago, 2000), 163.

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resistance groups, which took the form of armed resistance and guerrilla warfare and speeches and more intellectual publications printing propaganda against the occupation; weather in some years of the occupation, coupled with poor roads, meant that some Marine and GND battalions would become completely cut off from both central orders and supply, leading to the need to support their livelihoods from unwilling local populations; finally, Marines in remote provinces of the country were less likely to encounter translators (and those they did find were of often questionable loyalty to the military government). The only answer to this long list of problems was to recruit Dominican citizens into GND units in the provinces and attempt to build their loyalty toward Marine forces, but few Dominicans were eager to join, and many of those who did were persecuted as traitors by other Dominicans, especially in the areas of armed guerrilla resistance, so desertions were highest in those areas. The need to recruit from the lower, illiterate strata of the population—because the elite were more likely to oppose the occupation—also meant that the primary incentive offered by Marines was in stable pay; when resources were scarce, or provinces were cut off from the capital by poor weather, the new armed recruits were likely to desert and turn to banditry. Further, the need to remove all elements of caudillo support to end the struggles of the decades-long civil war meant that the Marines had to avoid recruiting or giving power to the most experienced members of the Dominican citizenry.

When the GND was finally formed in April of 1917, the stated goals of its creators were to form a military body that would attempt to retrain, professionalize, and organize a new Dominican military. This new Guardia Nacional, with an officer corps run and staffed by U.S. Marines, rapidly replaced all armed Dominican forces in the country, and took as one of its major missions the continued disarmament of citizens throughout the provinces. During this time, it also recruited widely for manpower, though in many places those joining were not immediately given arms. Since the primary goal of the occupation was stated as the building of infrastructure, the GND was the sector most affected by intermittent budget cuts. Official Marine accounts detail the disorder of the GND during the first five years (1917-1921), during which the GND had six different Marine commandants, only one of whom remained for more than seven months, budget cuts were a common occurrence (and one such, in 1921, was so harsh that the Guardia commandant had to cut the entire active enlisted force to 346 men "for lack of funds"),24 and firearms were so scarce that they were reserved for officers and trumpeters.²⁵ By June of 1920, over three years after the founding of the GND, there were still no Dominicans above the rank of second lieutenant.²⁶ Until mid-1921, not one officer above the rank of lieutenant was Dominican.²⁷ Not until late in 1922, less than two years before the complete withdrawal of U.S. occupation troops, were most company commanders Dominican. Further, lack of arms during the early years was sometimes so desperate

²⁴ Only three months after its founding, the GND had an official strength of 16 officers and 575 enlisted men.

²⁵ Fuller, 47-48.

²⁶ Dominican Republic, "General Order No. 14 (Series 1920)," Legajo 1, "Ejército Nacional," "1920, 6," AGN, 2.

²⁷ Dominican Republic, "Muster rolls," 1921, Legajo 2, "Ejército Nacional," "1921, 6," AGN; Dominican Republic, "General Order No. 27, Series 1919," June 14, 1919, Legajo 1, "Ejército Nacional," "1919, 2," AGN.

for enlisted men that even among those who were actively engaged in battle against armed resistance in the east, only those Dominicans who distinguished themselves in service were actually rewarded with the right to carry a rifle or pistol.²⁸ The rest were expected to run into battle with machetes or even more crude weapons, adding to desertion numbers.

Enlistment and retention were also not well systematized for the first five years, however, especially in the more remote provinces; in fact, the official Marine history of the occupation points out that, due to the many difficulties, the GND never attained the numerical strength to act on its own before 1922—the year in which gradual withdrawal was begun.²⁹ Among those Dominican men who did join or remain in the GND between 1917 and 1921, corruption and abuse of power, under Marine leadership that was too scant to control the newly armed men, was widespread and often very destructive to the cause of a military government that was desperately trying to convince the Dominican population that the GND had been formed with the purpose of improving Dominican lives. To further complicate this problem, many troops in the interior often went without rations, and therefore tended to "appropriate" local livestock.30 Yet corruption and abuse of power were difficult to stem under the circumstances, and such behavior often extended to Marines and other U.S. troops in the interior as well; Dominicans protested that Marines were usually reprimanded and forgiven such crimes and Dominican GND members often suffered dishonorable discharge or harsher punishment (usually prison terms and steep fines). This policy of non-tolerance toward Dominican misbehavior, strengthened over the years by successive military orders and evolving prerequisites for recruitment, combined with the many other harsh conditions of the GND to cause a very high turnover rate for recruits. Official enlistment started at three-year terms and was later changed later to two-year terms,³¹ but even then a high number of recruits did not finish out their enlistment.

Most of the members of the previous military groups did not attempt to join the GND upon its formation due to distrust of the military government or accusations of treason by fellow citizens, but a few, such as Colonel Cabral, did—and distinguished themselves battling Dominican resistance fighters.³² The occupying government, however, quickly moved to strategically relocate or remove these members from military service. Colonel Cabral, for example, was placed in a local governmental position. Most were simply discharged as "unfit" from the armed forces, often for health reasons, at least officially; memos *within* the government were more specific: One, for example, stated that "Captain Batlle is one of the Guardia Republicana and is not desired in the new organization."³³ A small number of these previous military men were integrated into the new U.S.-created force.

²⁸ Dominican Republic, "Orden General 48, Serie 1919," December 12, 1919, Legajo 1, "Ejército Nacional," "I," AGN.

²⁹ Fuller, 48.

³⁰ Fuller, 32.

³¹ Dominican Republic, "General Order No. 1," January 12, 1921, Legajo 3, "Ejército Nacional," AGN.

³² Dominican Republic, "Orden de Campaña No 3," August, 1917, Legajo 22, "Gobierno Militar," "Año 1924," AGN.

³³ Dominican Republic, Memorandum, Military Government, June 8, 1917, Legajo22, "Gobierno Militar," "Folder 1," AGN.

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The first years of this attempt at rebuilding the Dominican Republic were soon viewed by many in the U.S., the Dominican Republic, and greater Latin America as something of a fiasco. One of the key difficulties afflicting the U.S. military government in the provinces was the continuance of Dominican social and armed resistance, which waxed and waned in the early years; social protest would wax large in the final years of the occupation, after 1921, but armed guerrilla resistance was strongest throughout the early years and hindered the U.S. military's ability to consolidate control in some regions. With the geographical and technical isolation of those regions, Marine commanders forming GND units and trying to maintain control often had to take the initiative in building civil-military relations in attempts to gain acceptance for the GND and to fight resistance among the general population. Furthermore, when the United States entered World War One, the State Department officially declared that the Department of the Navy would administer the occupation from Santo Domingo. General orders from the military government, however, often took days or even weeks to reach Marine outposts throughout the country, and the many Marine groups actually administering the occupation outside of the capital often had to act without orders from above, outside of local command, when situations warranted quick action; by the time general orders or responses arrived, these isolated units had developed their own strategies.

In conjunction with the combination of very heavy rains in some areas throughout the occupation and poor road systems, military government plans often failed due to lack of planning for the poor movement through the country, and for inability to administrate from a centralized headquarters. Thus early occupation promises proved problematic.

In the eastern provinces of San Pedro de Macorís and El Seibo, which suffered the most armed guerrilla resistance and were among the most poorly connected by roads and infrastructure, the problem was even more intense; fewer Dominicans were coming forth to join the GND, and those who did were so likely to take their arms and desert to the side of the guerrillas that local Marine commanders fought to retain control with under-supplied and under-manned battalions until as late as 1922. These provinces had traditionally been remote, and were under the control of a number of regional caudillos since those sugar-wealthy men had openly rebelled against the central government as early as 1915, before the official occupation began.³⁴ Resistance against central government continued there until the final years of the occupation, when Marines finally subdued caudillo forces and opened negotiation. In the meantime, however, the local Marine and GND forces attempting to control the regions contended with incessant guerrilla warfare.

Marine errors and tensions between Dominicans and Marines in such regions are well-documented. For example, according to Bruce Calder, whose 1978 article is still the authoritative description of the guerrilla warfare in the east,

Abuses ranged from major atrocities to minor, if infuriating, Marine rudeness. If cases such as that of a Marine captain who allegedly machine-gunned to death as "bandits" some thirty peasants working a sugar *cañaveral* (cane field) were exceptional, other incidents such as that involving a group of armed and uninvited Marines who invaded a party at a social club in Seibo and drank up

³⁴ Bruce Calder, "Caudillos and Gavilleros versus the United States Marines: Guerrilla Insurgency During the Dominican Intervention, 1916-1924," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, (58:4 (November 1978)), 653.

much of the champagne are so common that many probably went unrecorded.35

Such actions, which were informed by racism and ignorance of Dominican culture among the largely uneducated and unprepared occupying forces, also included such crimes as rape and theft, and were widespread in the provinces—especially in areas of higher Dominican resistance or areas that suffered more from the frustrations and dangers of being cut off from supplies and orders. But many Marine officers, despite such tensions, developed programs through the occupation years in attempts to improve military relations with the Dominican citizenry, and to build popular support for the GND.

EARLY CIVIC ACTION

In attempting to improve civil-military relations through the early years of the occupation, to better facilitate public acceptance of the occupation in the face of so many resistance movements, the Marines took many initiatives—from legal reform to social and cultural innovations. The failures of these initiatives to gain much local support from Dominicans in the provinces were products of the wider failures of the occupation. As the 1916-1924 occupation of the Dominican Republic was one of the earliest forming grounds in which the U.S. Marine Corps attempted to develop strategies for what in Vietnam would become known as "civic action," a better understanding of Marine attempts—and their successes and failures—is necessary in understanding the development of Marine initiatives among foreign populations throughout the twentieth century. Civic initiatives undertaken during the occupation did meet with some successes, but seldom the ones intended by the military government and occupying forces both because of the above inconsistencies and because of the very nature of the reforms. Due to the organization of the command structure, and to the difficulties of communication in the early years of occupation, these initiatives tended to be regional—imagined and formed based on Marine experiences in different parts of the country, which varied greatly in culture due to long traditions of regionalism.

Captain Harry Knapp (military governor from 1916 to 1918) attempted to improve civil-military relations throughout the provinces with some early general orders based on improvement of the country's infrastructure and health system; however, most of the general orders pertaining to civil-military relations were either general reforms of the military or military commands, or came from provincial Marine initiatives that seemed to have achieved some measure of success. Further, some of these general orders, when carried out in certain provinces, actually damaged Marine relations with Dominicans. Attempts at land distribution serve as a great example: while they were meant to improve social order and economic output, and therefore to lessen reasons for armed resistance and to increase Dominican acceptance of the occupation, they increased Dominican fears of imperial imposition, and worsened Marine relationships with Dominicans throughout the provinces. While attempts at major restructuring such as land redistribution are historically difficult, and tend to meet with resistance by local populations, the military government's lack of understanding of Dominican history and culture destroyed its attempts to account for that and ease acceptance of such

³⁵ Calder, 1978, 662.

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changes. Major land redistribution had been one of the most historically hated actions of the occupying government of the Haitians from 1822-1844, which had since become legendary (and infamous) among Dominicans. Therefore, when the military government attempted to initiate even minor such changes, Dominicans often reacted violently and explosively.

Other methods of occupation not related to improving civil-military relations but deemed as necessary by the military government often did not help matters, of course, and many evoked reactions that the Marines did not expect due to their lack of knowledge of Dominican culture and society. The most powerful and long-lasting of these struggles over military government projects was disarmament. While Marines knew that such an action would meet resistance, they underestimated the amount of resistance that it would provoke, as they did not understand the importance and centrality of being armed in Dominican tradition. Marine reports for the entire eight years demonstrate repeated amazement at the extent of resistance to this measure, and the resistance to disarmament was one of the largest causes of Marine frustration that led to incidents of Marine torture of Dominican citizens, and other violent or seemingly arbitrary actions that led Dominicans to increasingly resist the occupation more generally. Not surprisingly, such frustrations and the continuation of guerrilla warfare led to a tendency toward harsh penalties toward arrested Dominican citizens and much more lenient treatment of Marines and, to a lesser extent, sometimes Dominican Guardia members.³⁶ One of the more damaging regional incidents of the occupation, the "Higuey incident," was made worse by this very fact. In Higuey, in October and November of 1917, a large number of Dominicans began to protest treatment of civilians by members of the Guardia who were in charge of prison workers.³⁷ The instances around which protests formed included torture of prisoners and suspects and the practice of carrying Dominican dead to the cemetery on poles, "tied by hands in order to secure their bodies to the pole," which was highly offensive to the local population and justified in terms of the difficulty of carrying bodies across too long a distance.³⁸ The Guardia men involved were not prosecuted, however, the justification for which was summed up in Thad Taylor's report on the matter, in which he said "to try these guardias would create a diminution of courage, and ill-will and a distressing moral effect on the personnel of the Guardia Nacional, which would require considerable time and effort to overcome."39

The only major centrally imposed effort at the improvement of the U.S. military personnel's relationship with the Dominican citizenry actually damaged the overall success of the occupation. This effort on the part of the military government was initiated with the beginning of the occupation, and was a significant portion of Knapp's declaration of occupation:

This military occupation is undertaken with no immediate or ulterior object of destroying the sovereignty of the Republic of Santo Domingo. . . Dominican statutes, therefore, will continue in effect in so far as they do not conflict with the objects of the occupation or necessary regulations established thereunder, and their lawful administration will continue in the hands of such duly au-

³⁶ This is well-documented and widely agreed upon, including in Marine accounts.

³⁷ Dominican Republic, Military Government, documents from October to November of 1919 in "Folder 1," Legajo 22, "Gobierno Militar," AGN.

³⁸ Thad Taylor, "Guardia Nacional Dominicana observations on prisons," 26 October, 1917, Legajo 22, "Gobierno Militar," AGN.

³⁹ Ibid.

thorized Dominican officials as may be necessary, all under the oversight and control of the United States forces exercising military government. The ordinary administration of justice, both in civil and criminal matters, through the regularly constituted Dominican courts, will not be interfered with by the military government herein established; but cases to which a member of the United States forces in occupation is a party, or in which are involved contempt or defiance of the authority of the military government, will be tried by tribunals set up by the military government.⁴⁰

A number of problems quickly arose from this policy and the inconsistency of its application, all highly detrimental to the success of the occupation overall, as well as to Marine relationships with Dominicans. The policy was, from the start, not well defined. Too many items were left open to interpretation or confusion, which became especially problematic when the second military governor, Thomas Snowden, in 1919 removed Dominican advisors from the military government. Even from the beginning, however, the questions of which civil and criminal items would remain in the hands of Dominican officials was confused and, more importantly, varied outside of the capital city, where individual Marines had to make on-the-spot decisions regarding arrests. In many locations, what they saw as the incompetence of the Dominican administrators—when there were any at all that they felt could be trusted with matters of law—coupled with continued violence and resistance, led Marines to conclude that such matters needed to be in the hands of the GND.

The language barrier, until 1922 (when the occupation withdrawal was beginning) was also a serious problem. Even within the capital, the military government relied on Dominican translators, but outside of the capital many areas were often administered with no translators at all. Under such circumstances, the reasons for confusion and inconsistency are quite clear: the impossibility of cooperation with two separate civil and criminal sets of laws in the provinces, when the two were conducted in two separate languages, guaranteed that functions would overlap in moments when quick answers were needed. Because of this, the question would become a serious issue detrimental to relationships between Marines and the new military and the citizens of those provinces. Those Dominicans who knew the proclamation—which was quickly translated into Spanish and disseminated throughout the provinces in the first months of the occupation—complained that Marines (and the Marine-officered GND) were overstepping the bounds laid out in the proclamation. To further complicate matters, the original military government under Knapp was left to determine which forms of governmental administration could be safely left in the hands of Dominican lawmakers. As the social situation in the country did not show major improvement over the beginning of the occupation, and resistance increased throughout the provinces, later military governors Thomas Snowden and Samuel Robison would approach the issue with decreasing trust in any Dominican lawmakers or government officials. As late into the occupation as mid-1919, Snowden responded to his frustration with the Dominican situation with rhetoric that fuelled resistance every bit as much as violence had done. On June 8 of 1919, he gave a speech in which he announced to the Dominican public that the occupation would continue indefinitely due to Dominicans' inability to govern their country. Dominican resistance to this announce-

⁴⁰ Harry S. Knap, "Proclamation of the Military Occupation of Santo Domingo by the United States," The American Journal of International Law, 11:2, Supplement: Official Documents, (Apr. 1917), 95.

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ment was so strong that military government correspondence afterward became riddled with details of increasing resistance and the question of how to deal it.⁴¹ This speech and its condescending rhetoric about the Dominican population's inability to self-govern combined with continuously inflammatory Marine portrayals of the occupation as violent resistance increased.⁴²

Some difficulties with the policy of more Dominican-friendly intervention existed and created friction even during the early years of Knapp's administration, however. The four governmental departments over which the general military governor had jurisdiction were those which Dominican lawmakers expected to control with the initial proclamation. One fourth of those departments, however, consisted of the Department of War and Marine and the Department of Interior and Police, which had technical jurisdiction over the provincial and municipal governments as well as the GND. For this reason, General Order XXXXXX on XXXX 1917 excluded Dominicans from any posts in this department; yet the issue was incredibly complicated by attempts to both appease Dominicans by leaving as much administration as possible in Dominican hands, and to use Dominican manpower when the U.S. Navy and Marines did not have enough personnel in the country. The resulting confusion can be readily imagined; as the Marine account of the history of the occupation explains, "For some purposes, the personnel of the GND (PND) acted under the orders of the Dominican courts, which were supervised by the Department of Justice and Public Instruction."43 As those purposes changed over time according to different situations, Dominicans in many areas protested the loss of control over certain areas of administration.

With the official military entry of the United States into World War One in April of 1917, soon after the occupation began, many Navy and Marine personnel were removed from the Dominican Republic; some were replaced by new recruits with less training, and many were not replaced at all. The overall Marine strength that had come to number well over 2,000 personnel at the time of Knapp's proclamation dropped to 1,683 within a month of the declaration of war with Germany.⁴⁴ In an attempt to mediate public opinion in a country that was in many cases pro-German before the occupation, Governor Knapp in October of 1918 issued an official declaration stating that while U.S. occupation troops were not neutral in World War One, the military government was.⁴⁵ This attempt too, however, caused further confusion over who should be taking orders from whom. It also did not fool pro-German or neutral Dominicans, who lamented that "La Republica Dominicana ha entrado sin querer en la Primera Guerra Mundial."⁴⁶

In many areas throughout the country, civilian resistance increased exponentially during

⁴¹ Legajo 59, "Gobierno Militar, Oficina Gobierno Militar, Correspondencia Varios," AGN.

⁴² In fact, resistance and a breakdown in Marine-Dominican relations so broke down after this speech that to lead to such unified resistance that the occupation became increasingly untenable, and an early plan to begin withdrawal in 1930 was revised so that withdrawal began in 1922.

⁴³ Fuller, 53.

⁴⁴ See Fuller, 89.

⁴⁵ Dominican Republic, Military Government, "Memorandum for Admiral Knapp" from Rufus Lane, October 1, 1918, Legajo 59, "Gobierno Militar," "Oficina Gobierno Militar Correspondencia Varios, Años 1917-1918." AGN.

^{46 &}quot;The Dominican Republic has unwillingly entered World War One." See Cien Años, 41-42.

the first year of the GND's existence when the campaign to completely and quickly disarm the civilian population against the threat of armed resistance in unknown territory led to sometimes brutal actions and equally violent responses. The early months of the occupation were therefore often chaotic, and court systems were arbitrary in many cases: some cases of illegal weapon possession or dealing in all regions being tried by certain standards in U.S. provost courts and military tribunals as these were established throughout the country, while others were originally left to the Dominican civil court system under the guise of Knapp's proclamation. Further complicating the issue—and causing the need for the responses of individual Marine leaders in remote provinces—was the impossibility of leaving civil law in the hands of Dominicans when no Dominicans outside the GND were legally armed. 47 The need to police prisons, for example, was especially difficult in remote provinces. While local Marine occupation leaders in those provinces understood the need to have Dominican armed prison guards, the central administration continued to disallow any armed Dominicans who were not part of the trained GND, leading to a period during which the Marines also had to staff prisons, or opt to arm some Dominicans despite the general order. Solutions to this problem were individual, and therefore inconsistent from region to region. had more problems with continued guerrilla warfare (such as El Seibo), for example, many of the prisoners were those who were clearly "directly interfering" with the occupation, and thus were a problem for the GND rather than any separate Dominican civil administration. Yet for the first years of the occupation no standard answer to this problem could be created, because regional conditions were so variable. In El Seibo, where the logical answer was to lean more heavily on the use of military tribunals and Guardia prison guards, resistance increased because the GND was officered solely by Marines for the first four years of the occupation.48

Confusion over these issues continued to be exacerbated by the difficulties in communication that plagued the first years of the occupation. In October of 1918, nearly two years after the occupation began, the military government issued a general order stating that "the Guardia Nacional Dominicana has been organized and equipped as a NATIONAL POLICE FORCE and as such is required to see that the laws of the Dominican Republic are carried out to the letter."⁴⁹ While it certainly served as such in the capital city, however, most Marine leaders in the provinces had already developed regional methods of dealing with civil policing. In El Seibo, where continued guerrilla warfare meant a continually and dangerously understaffed GND but also meant that Marines did not trust Dominicans with arms, policing was a serious issue. In an unspecified region in the north, however, local police forces were created by 1919 that were established as permanent and completely separate from the GND.⁵⁰ Similarly, certain areas, has long traditions of the hiring of private armed men, "guardacampestres," to guard the more wealthy plantations. As the wealth of some of these plantations increased—and local Marines in the west needed to maintain the support

⁴⁷ For more information on the controversy of which cases would be left in the hands of the deteriorating Dominican court system, see Moran, 137, and Schoenrich, 220.

⁴⁸ AGN, muster rolls.

⁴⁹ General Order 33, 26 October 1918, "Ejército Nacional," Legajo 1, AGN

⁵⁰ Reference in General Order 8, Series 1919, Ejército Nacional, Legajo 1, AGN.

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of plantation owners (who were the ones funding the guerrilla war in the east)—the gradual adoption of exceptions to the rule of arming Dominicans were put into place.⁵¹ Not until 1922 were municipal police in most areas in place and able to cope with civil prisoners.⁵²

In the years leading up to the reforms that came with plans for withdrawal of U.S. troops, the only possible solution to the many discrepancies in theory vs. practice was generally for Marine leaders to create separate systems, especially in the chaos of the occupation during its first years. One unfortunate result of the frustrations over prisons and guards in many regions was the use of violence and torture by individual Marines and Guardia members who were dealing with the situation—such as seen in the Higuey incident. To combat such frustrations and often violent clashes, and to combat boredom among troops that led to further problems, individual and regional initiatives were generally encouraged. They were promoted much more by the GND commandants than by the central military government (under the Navy)—which was more isolated in the capital city and had less information than did the GND and Marines about the various situations and problems throughout the provinces. Within the GND, a succession of commandants and regional commanders placed much emphasis on trying to "befriend" the citizens, and rewarding those Marine leaders and Guardia members who developed initiatives to this end.⁵³

Regional variants of methods to improve the relationships between Marines and Dominican citizens varied greatly, as did their levels of success. One type of major initiative undertaken by regional Marine commanders, for example, was that of providing civil infrastructural improvements or general aid to areas under their command. Often these attempts were successful in that they aided Marine communications even while improving the general social order that lessened violence and GND corruption, but frequently, Dominicans resented them as imperial impositions. Dominican intellectuals and community leaders in the northern region, for example, began a campaign against Marine vaccinations that were introduced to combat disease and aid the local populations, especially when the vaccinations against small-pox became compulsory in 1921.⁵⁴ Many resisted attempts by the Marine-officered GND to change standards of cleanliness and public health, and even used such efforts as rallying cries against foreign attempts to restructure Dominican society.⁵⁵

Other Marine efforts to develop aid differed greatly by region: in more arid regions, commanders focused on bringing water and the development over time of infrastructure to maintain improvements and agriculture;⁵⁶ in more urban areas, such as Santiago and Santo

⁵¹ This continued to be a large controversy, and was only gradually implemented as the need for protection of plantations became increasingly clear with the disarmament of the population. "Gobierno Militar, Oficina Gob. Militar, Correspondencia Varios Años , 1917-1918," "Gobierno Militar," Legajo 59, AGN; "Gobierno Militar," Legajo 106, AGN.

⁵² Monthly reports from GND companies in the provinces; A.M. Norris Jr., "January 1922 report for 6th Company," Ejército Nacional, Legajo 2, AGN.

⁵³ See, for example, GND General Order number 22, "Ejército Nacional," Legajo 1, AGN.

⁵⁴ I.S.K. Reeves, "Statement Regarding smallpox in Dominican Republic, and Expenditures for Vaccine," "Gobierno Militar años 1916-1922," Legajo 43, AGN.

⁵⁵ Throughout "Gobierno Militar Americano," AGN; some of these resistance initiatives were formed by local governments, and others by intellectuals or the general population.

^{56 1919} proposals from local officers to distribute water to arid regions, "Gobierno Militar," Legajo 69, AGN.

Domingo, more resources and funds meant that more emphasis was placed on public instruction in the early years, but military units (in the absence of municipal police) also had to carry out basic functions of city life— in Santiago 4th Regiment Marines aided in controlling a fire in the city's business district;⁵⁷ rural towns, especially those in the west and the north that were most isolated from the transportation networks to the capital city, emphasized public health and sanitation, institutions for which in those areas were previously almost nonexistent; many of the western areas under command of Marines developed much differently because their administrators were concerned, too, with the policing of the newly redefined Haitian border, on the other side of which Marines were fighting against Haitian insurgents in the Cacos Wars. As Fuller points out, "The Marine brigade in the Dominican Republic had no organized, nationwide program for improving the economic and social condition of the people, but some Marine officers as part of their work as district commanders, provost marshals, and commanders of GND or PND units made efforts in that direction." Celebrated occupation leader Lieutenant George C. Thorpe, for example, in his stint as a commander of a battalion in the war-filled Seibo Province in the east in 1918, "called meetings of provincial and municipal officials in his district to promote agricultural development and improve facilities for marketing local crops. He also organized Red Cross drives and rallies in the various towns on the theory that support for charity and war relief would bring Americans and Dominicans closer together."58 Marine Sergeant William Knox, also a regional captain in the east, developed programs to improve agriculture and develop roads for similar reasons. His efforts to improve solidarity were so successful that a number of prominent Dominicans though certainly not the entire community—openly mourned his death when he was killed by guerrillas.⁵⁹ Fuller's report, though, should be problematized; he details much lower incidents of reports of "friction" between Marines and Dominicans than even Marine records there demonstrate, and does not emphasize increasing hostility in later years despite the records in the archives that demonstrate clearly and unquestionably that hostility was increasing in all regions of the country as Dominicans became more united under military government-built infrastructure.60

Other attempts at improving both social order in the country and civil-military relations were more culturally based. Marines initiated a number of programs to replace the traditional sport of cockfighting with that of baseball—introducing it for the first time, in some areas—and then to build more nationally based teams and competitions, through which Dominicans and Marines could engage in friendly competition through the sport of baseball. Dominican acceptance of the sport varied by region, but was overall very widespread, and regional to national competitions sponsored by the military government went a long way toward improving Marine relations with both the Dominican GND members and those in their communities who learned baseball from them. Yet when teams and training were organized and the sport began to spread, financial cuts meant that the military government and the Marine Corps

⁵⁷ U.S. Marine Corps, Historical Division. A Chronology of the United States Marine Corps, 122.

⁵⁸ Fuller, 59.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Fuller, 88. "Gobierno Militar" and "Ejército Nacional" record groups, AGN.

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could no longer provide funds for baseball equipment to support inter-regional games. This change effectively meant that only wealthier companies would compete, and served as an example of how the cutting of funds to the military government in general—especially during World War One—damaged some of the progress that Marines had made in the Dominican Republic. Dominicans' acceptance of baseball, then, was much more widespread than their acceptance of the occupation; one Marine official in the 10th Company remarked on how quickly the love of baseball had spread in a memorandum to the GND Commandant in August of 1921: He noted six locations where it was being played by the general population in one town alone, saying "it appeared that all the boys in the neighborhood were there and taking part." An officer in a northern region that was experiencing increased resistance, Charles E. Grey, warned the GND Commandant that the Junta Nacional—by 1921 the most prominent group opposing the occupation—was holding baseball games to raise funds in protest of the movement. As the Marine and GND-controlled teams fell apart, therefore, the increasing national interest in baseball was channeled to other purposes.

In part, the failure of Marine groups to maintain control over such institutions was a reflection of the Dominican resistance to other initiatives that smacked, to Dominicans, of clear imperialism; the occupation government—often from the central military government but also from individual Marine commanders—attempted many types of more "moral" reform that caused a great deal of resentment among Dominicans in general, such as the outlawing of cultural forms such as cockfighting or, on the western border, "Voodoo dances."64 Moral reform was often tied very closely into health reform, as with the controversy over prostitution, which Dominicans wanted to legalize and protect. But much of the problem was also a lack of communications and coordination between the military governors and the regional Marine commanders, so that despite many Marine initiatives that proved successful, such as in the development of aid to more remote regions, were never adopted elsewhere, or were not adopted elsewhere until the final years of the occupation—and often could not get financial support during the earlier and middle years. Lack of support, which also meant lack of support for GND members and officers, and was sometimes based on budget cuts but often also based on washed out roads and troubles with transportation, often led to increasing problems of corruption and violence.

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^{61 &}quot;Circular #5," July 7, 1921, "Ejército Nacional," Legajo 2, AGN.

⁶² W.L. Balas, "Ejército Nacional," Legajo 3, 1921, AGN.

^{63 &}quot;Memo for the Commandant," August 21, 1921, Legajo 3, 1921, AGN.

⁶⁴ Ejército Nacional, Legajo 2, AGN.

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Colombia: post-modern conflict?

VALERIA ROSATO

ON THE CONTEMPORARY CONFLICTS DEBATE

In the last two decades we have seen a deep change in the international setting mainly given by two historical events: the end of the bipolar system and the advance of the unstoppable globalization process. At the end of the Cold War, the initial optimism of some analysts about the start of a new age of peace and the detente of international foreign policy was soon denied by the explosion of many conflicts around the world¹.

Conflicts that ignited after the fall of the Berlin Wall were framed into a new interpretative tendency that clearly distinguished them from previous ones for two reasons: first, they didn't reenter into the frame of the ideological East-West clash; second, they were primarily domestic conflicts. Undoubtedly war has experienced a deep transformation so as to call into question the historical Clausewitzian model² combined with the Modern Westfalian System of States for which the war was seen as the "continuation of politics by other means"³. Conflicts started around the world since the Nineties are predominantly internal and primarily involve non-governmental actors. Regarding the systematic analysis on armed conflicts conducted by the department of *Peace and Conflict Research* of the University of Uppsala⁴ the progressive increase is clearly observable during the last two decades of domestic conflicts in comparison to intergovernmental ones. The last report concerning the 1989-2006 period shows that intergovernmental conflicts have passed from 2 in 1989 to 7 in 2006⁵ while internal ones have passed from 38 to 89 and those internal and internationalized (that is, those which at least one of the parts receives military support from other States) are passed by 4 to 26.

One of the new and most important interpretative models inside the debate on contemporary conflicts was formulated in 1999 from Mary Kaldor⁶. Analyzing the two wars in Bosnia and Nagorno-Karabach, she elaborates the paradigm of the "new wars" whose peculiarity, in comparison to the "old" ones, can be summarized in four aspects: purposes, sources of financing, methods of fight and typology of fighters.

Considering the first aspect, that is the purposes, new wars would be based on an identity mobilization, that is, on political claims founded on a particular identity (religious, national,

¹ See Fukuyama F., The End of History and the Last Man, New York, Free Press, 1992.

² Van Creveld Martin, *The transformation of war*, New York, The Free Press, 1991.

³ Carl von Clausewitz, *Vom Kriege*, Berlin, Dümmlers Verlag, 1832.

⁴ Studies and databases elaborated by the research team of *Peace and Conflict Research* Department of Uppsala University are available on the website http://www.pcr.uu.se/database/index.php

⁵ L. Harbom e P. Wallensteen, "Armed Conflict, 1989 – 2006" in *Journal of Peace Research*, 2007, V.44., No. 5, pp. 623-634.

⁶ Kaldor Mary, New and old Wars. Organized violence in a Global Era, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999.

linguistics etc.) while previous wars had ideological or geopolitical goals. These new "politics of identity" and exclusivist activities must be included inside the process of globalization resulting in a contradictory process which simultaneously produces inclusion and exclusion, homogenization and fragmentation. The result is that, supplanted the old ideological and territorial fractures of the past, the inherent antinomy into the heart of the globalization produces two contrastive tendencies: on one side it develops a cosmopolitan and inclusive culture, on the other side it produces an exclusive politics of identity.

The second element concerns the sources of financing, or the economy of the war. While old wars were characterized by a centralized economy, the new ones would be based on an expended and transnational economy that activates black market, depredation, pillage, exploits the humanitarian help and receives financings by groups of the Diaspora⁷.

With regard to the last two elements, methods of fight and typology of fighters, the new wars are characterized by completely decentralized combat unities, without control (paramilitaries, criminal gangs, mercenaries, "warlords", etc.) that use, above all, insurgency and counter-insurgency strategies. Instead of the organized and controlled violence of the old conflicts, violence by the new rebels appears anomic, extreme and mostly addressed against civil population rather than against the hostile armies. While the old wars received a strong support by the population, the present ones, therefore, do not receive this support rather they have as principal objective to attack civil population causing forced displacement, committing massacres and crimes.

This paradigm, to which many other analysts refer, had been preceded by two other interpretative tendencies: the first one can be defined as the "civilization under siege" and the second tightly "economicist." The first emphasize the sudden burst of forms of "senseless" violence, conflicts founded upon inexplicable and irrational hates8. Enzensberger9 analyzing the transformations after the end of the bipolar equilibrium describes an apocalyptic scenario in which a new form of free violence predominates not only in numerous civil wars all around the world but even in the western urban centers where they take form as "molecular civil wars." The civil wars of the past were characterized to follow a precise strategy under a political direction, and their goal was the consolidation of a regime, of a centralized government power that takes the helm of a territory. New wars would not have these noble and political motives anymore: after the end of the Cold War and the exploitation by foreign powers of many conflicts according to their interests, they revealed their true face. Disguised as national liberation wars, they now revealed the absence of any project and ideology. Conflicts rise in a spontaneous way, inflamed inside and the only goals of the various guerrillas and counter-guerrillas are destruction, pillages and murders. Therefore violence is inexplicable in a rational way and the scenario that appears is very pessimistic.

According to the economic approach new conflicts are apparently moved by political

According to Keen David, economic reason is one of the most important aspect in order to understand post-bipolar civil conflicts (see Keen, "The Economic Functions of Violence in Civil Wars", Adelphi Paper n. 320, 1998.

⁸ See R. Kaplan, "The Coming Anarchy: How scarcity, crime, overpopulation, tribalism and disease are rapidly destroying the fabric of our planet" in *The Atlantic Monthly*, February 1994 and H. M. Enzensberger, *Civil Wars: from L.A. to Bosnia*, New York, Free Press, 1994.

⁹ Enzensberger, 1994.

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and social reasons, in reality they are exclusively fed by the predatory inclination of some groups¹⁰. According to Collier, economic analysis would disclose the deception showing that justification by the rebellion is irrelevant and the only remarkable factor for the conflicts explanation is the possibility that the organization can be financially sustained¹¹.

Both interpretations appear too restricted and insufficient in order to explain phenomenon's as complex as wars. Thus, the "new wars" paradigm by Kaldor surely appears more articulated, putting into evidence some indisputable marks of novelty of present conflicts. But recently, this paradigm has also been put in discussion by some analysts that underline the complexity of the "war" phenomenon and criticize a partial and incomplete vision of its historical evolution. Jeremy Black, a military historian, shows a complete description of conflicts since the end of the Second World War¹², highlighting many elements of continuity among previous conflicts and those following the bipolar system. The greater erosion about distinction between fighters and civilians, for instance, also characterized all interstate and international conflicts since 1945, and therefore cannot actually be considered as a character of absolute novelty. Another important aspect is to avoid an overly superficial distinction among "old" ideological conflicts framed in the bipolar system and "new" conflicts caused by ethnic hates, fundamentalisms and greed: in spite of the indisputable Cold War influence these conflicts owned autonomy in regards to causes, developments and consequences. Observing all of these conflicts through the western paradigm of the Cold War, according to Black, brings about a flattening of analyses because all the local dynamics, interests and traditions are ignored. Ranzato noticed, since the end of the involvement of the United States and the Soviet Union in these conflicts, their character of the classic civil war emerged, the clash between internal factions for the power¹³.

Kalyvas¹⁴ put in discussion the paradigm on the "new" wars in a more systematic way, criticizing all the elements of distinction among old and new civil conflicts on which many analyses are founded¹⁵. These factors would be referable to three fundamental interrelated dimensions: 1. Causes and motivations for war; 2. Popular support; 3. Type of violence.

Concerning the causes, theorists of the "new" wars assign a political and ideological character to the conflicts of the past. The actors of "old" wars owned collective and, therefore, noble motivations; contrarily new actors are exclusively motivated by private interests. Then, new wars are labeled as depolized and criminal while many studies underline how insurgent groups operate in accordance with rational dynamics in regard to the territorial

¹⁰ With regard to this statement see Collier and Hoeffler, "Greed and Grievance" in *Oxford Economic Papers* 2004, 56(4) pp. 563-595 and all the studies ordered by the Mondial Bank that are available in the section "publications" of the official website http://www.worldbank.org/ (last consultation 10/04/2008).

¹¹ P. Collier, "Economic Causes of Civil Conflict and their Implications for Policy", in Crocker, Hampson, Aall, Leashing the Dogs of War: conflict management in a divided world, USIP Press Books 2007.

¹² Black Jeremy, War since 1945, London, Reaktion Books, 2004.

¹³ Ranzato G. "Un evento antico e un nuovo oggetto di riflessione." in G. Ranzato (ed.), *Guerre fratricide. Le guerre civili in età moderna*, Torino, Bollati Boringhieri, 1994.

¹⁴ Kalyvas S., "New" And "Old" Civil Wars: A Valid Distinction? *World Politics*, Volume 54, N. 1, October 2001, pp.99-118.

¹⁵ In his essay the author criticize many analysts as Kaldor, Kaplan, Enzensberger, Collier, Duffield, Keen, Holsti and Luttwack

control and to sophisticated economic interactions on a global level¹⁶, and it is also observable their political cognition and interest¹⁷.

About the second aspect, the role played by the population in relation to the armed actors, "new" wars would be characterized not only by the absence of population support to the fighters, but also by the fact that civilians become the principal victim of violence. According to many studies of conflicts, it is possible to observe that the popular support is today still present¹⁸ and it is also possible to reorganize the common conviction that "old" wars enjoyed of such wide and undisputed support. The most known cases pertain to Latin America's rebellions that were characterized by a consistent population support. Many studies centered on micro and local level have shown the alliances between population and armed actors formed into a very fluid reality defined by particular and private dynamics. In a central zone of Peru the bond between population and the insurgent group "Sendero Luminoso" was very strong until the rise of a deep crisis among two communities for a land contention. The guerrilla supported only a community fighting against the hostile one¹⁹. This case clearly shows that relationships and social connections are constantly modified and frequently ensue local and personal dynamics rather than dynamics directly connected to the main collective and national rift of the conflict.

The third and last dimension concerns the kind of violence. The current forms are described as actions of free, uncontrolled and illogical violence, performed by criminal groups (mercenaries, "warlords", paramilitaries etc.) that do not have a centralized command structure. This analysis would appear too superficial if, considering many studies, it is evident that not only forms of uncontrolled and indiscriminate violence were diffused in the past conflicts, but also a lot of actions of violence in current wars are extremely "selective." Many studies show how all civil wars have been a scenario of atrocities and ferocities of any sort and underline that violence is very often highly strategic because it is addressed to specific goals, as in the case brought by Paul Richards on the Sierra Leone²⁰. In 1995 the rebels were responsible for an unbelievable ferocity of cutting off the hands of women in some villages. A similar atrocity, apparently senseless and fruit of primitive barbarity, instead followed a logic and specific strategy: the terror produced by these cases of amputations resulted in

¹⁶ This aspect is well show by Duffield interpretation that we will present in this essay.

¹⁷ Peters and Richard in their study on Sierra Leone war show as African rebellious movements, in spite of their stigmatization like apolitical groups, had a deep political knowledge. The study in question is "Why We Fight: Voices of Youth Combatants in Sierra Leone" in *Africa* 68, n.2, 1998. Interesting is also the observations by I. Duyvesteyn in his essay "Contemporary War: Ethnic Conflict, Resource Conflict or Something Else" in *Civil wars*, vol.3, No. 1 (Spring 2000), pp.92-116, whereas, speaking about Liberia and Somalia conflicts, criticize the analysis only based on ethnic and economic reasons showing the importance of the political dimension.

¹⁸ For instance, in the study by Young Tom "A victim of modernity. Explaining the war in Mozambique" (in Rich e Stubbs, eds, *The Counter-Insurgent State: Guerrilla Warfare and State-Building in the Twentieth Century*, New York, St. Martin's Press, 1997, pp. 136-7) author shows as Renamo had a considerable population support mainly in the rural zones.

¹⁹ Case related in Manrique N., "The war for the Central Sierra", in S. Stern, ed., *Shining and Other Paths: War and Society in Peru, 1980-1995*, London, Duke University Press, 1998.

²⁰ P. Richards, Fighting for the Rain Forest: War, Youth, and Resources in Sierra Leone, Oxford, James Currey, 1996.

women not cultivating the fields in many zones of the country and in this way rebels tried to stop the flow of desertion of the young people that wanted to go back to their villages to continue the job in the fields.

According to Black and Kalyvas the clear distinction between political and ideological wars preceding the end of the bipolar system and the new, depolized and criminal wars, derives from an inadequate analysis of the historical evolution of the various conflicts and the lack of suitable conceptual categories. All the criticisms directed to the paradigm of the "new" wars show its weak points and propose to elaborate an approach able to achieve the complexity of the phenomenon under consideration. The different labels generally used to describe contemporary conflicts, ("ethnic", "identitarian", "religious", "predatory", "fundamentalist"), surely help us to realize important and new aspects but, at the same time, they risk to produce undeserved simplifications. Declassing new conflicts as new forms of "senseless" violence, not only conducts us to elaborate on incorrect analysis, but also to create insufficient exit strategies for the different crises.

Therefore, we can revalue the clausewitzian model, contending that the war is the "continuation of politics by other means," also for current conflicts. The intent would not be to ignore the radical transformations that war has undergone in the course of time, as the indisputable development of military technology and the deep changes of global society; contrarily it would intend to recognize its extreme complexity.

In the recent debate, an interpretation that seems very useful in understanding present conflicts is that formulated by Duffield. He underlines, as Kaldor does, some new aspects of conflicts due to the new international context (the end of the Cold War and process of globalization), but also highlights above all the rationality that base all projects and actions of the armed actors. Thus, his position contrasts with those readings that consider the new forms of violence as private, criminal and apolitical.

Then, the question at hand is, if it is possible to read the long Colombian conflict through the categories formulated by the "new wars" model, or must we consider it a *sui generis* conflict as to avoid any sort of simplifications? Is it possible to define Colombian conflict as a *post-modern* conflict? We will try to prove that the answer is affirmative explaining in advance what is meant by the *post-modern* term.

The meaning of post-modern conflict used here is that formulated by Mark Duffield, ²¹ it underlines the deep changes of the social structures and the political economy wherein the so-called "post-modern" conflicts are developed. However, he elaborates an interpretative model passing the limited explanations of the conflicts based on exclusivism, barbarity or greed and he puts the attention on the process of economic globalization that characterizes the *post*-Cold War period. His principal criticism concerns the diffused crises interpretation of poor countries conflicts through evolutionary and teleological concepts, according to which these countries would be living in a critical and transitional phase toward an inevitable liberal-democratic order. A similar reading does not consider the processes of exclusion provoked by globalization and accordingly does not understand the specific political dynamics developed in these countries. In these countries in fact, according to Duffield, we assist to the

²¹ Duffield Mark, "Postmodern Conflict. Warlors, Post-Adjustment States and Private Protection" in Civil Wars, Spring 1998, 1 (1), pp. 65-102.

rise of real "emergent political complexes"²², non-governmental entities or Post-Adjustment States, based on political projects and rational dynamics. Domestic conflicts, and in general emergency situations, would not be seen therefore only as a period of passage, irrational and transitional explosions of violence, on the contrary, it would be considered as innovative and an enduring adaptation to the globalization process. The nature of similar systems, therefore, can only be understood keeping in mind the elasticity and the potentiality of informal economies that open large opportunity spaces at a global level overcoming traditional forms of territorial, bureaucratic and judicial authority. In fact, the reference frame is the globalization process where economic deregulation and increasing market influence have eroded States power and legitimacy since the Seventies. The decline of the State-nation, meant as a development model based on the State strength and efficiency, lead up to a new conception of the political authority nature. The new pressures at a supranational and international level (markets growth, supranational institutions, intergovernmental organizations and NGOs) and at a subnational level (processes of privatization and localization) modify the State sovereignty. The new sovereignty forms are different between North and South. In fact, according to Duffield, while in the northern countries this tendency produces networks of economic cooperation and regional systems, in the South it produces processes of fragmentation and political authoritarianism. For this reason and in a similar scenario the southern countries activate strategies of adaptation: these new centers of authority, so-called "emergent political complexes" rise in order to exploit all the resources given by the informal economy networks. Global political economies no longer trust the inclusive competence of the national State. With a weakened center of power, multiple sovereignties²³ arise exploiting the informal and parallel economies. Post-adjustment States, mafias, "warlords"²⁴, private armies, rebellions: they are the protagonists of the post-modern conflict.

These governmental and non-governmental entities exploit the potential of the network, whereas for "network enterprise," Castells intends the new form of organization of the global-informational economy²⁵. This new form of economic, social and political organization of the society is characterized for its flexibility and horizontality as well as its autonomous and decentralized components ability to perform in global trade networks. The war would be adapted to this new network configuration of the society²⁶. Transnational wars, as in Afghan and Colombian cases, do not represent the failure of the modernity; contrarily, they fully realize and exploit all its potentialities.

Through the concept of war as a network enterprise we underline the war complexity that cannot be reduced, according to some economicistic analyses, to the action of avid and

²² M. Duffield, Global Governance and the New Wars, Zed Books, New York, 2001.

²³ Some authors use the metaphor of new-medievalism in order to show the absence of a power center and the formation of a complex system of poliarchic networks: see Cerny (1998), Verdery (1996) e Deibert (1997).

²⁴ Warlordism is referred to the classic studies on the so called Chinese "warlords" that in the '20s, after the collapse of the imperial dynasty, controlled wide zones of the country where the state authority was very weak. See Sheridan J., China in Disintegration: The Republican Era in Chinese History 1912-1949, New York, Free Press, 1975.

²⁵ Castells Manuel, The Rise of the Network Society (vol. 1), Blackwell, Oxford, 1996.

²⁶ Duffield, "War as a Network Enterprise. The New Security Terrain and its Implications" in *Cultural Values*, 2002, 6(1-2), pp. 153-165.

criminal élites that care for their own interests at the expense of the population. On the contrary whole social systems arise whereas any component produces new forms of adaptation through original forms of social legitimacy. A similar network mechanism introduces, according to Duffield, a character of ambivalence because along the organized violence it activates a complex system of business where informal and illegal trades become very important for the economy of the daily life: for instance, it is underlined by the function of subsistence that the various trafficking of drugs, diamonds and other natural resources develop for the small producers²⁷.

Consequently, Duffield's model is here proposed as a valid interpretative model, not only because it underlines the rational aspect of these new political systems that arise in the countries of the South, but also because it places current conflicts into the vast global dynamics. The globalization process has unquestionably produced radical social economic and political transformations, which we must consider in order to understand the dynamics of the "new" wars.

THE COLOMBIAN CONFLICT

Among analysts one of the most disputed issue of the Colombian conflict deals with the individualization of its origins. Some of them consider the bloody civil clash of the so-called *Violencia* period, approximately 1946 to 1965²⁸, as the first actual manifestation of the conflict²⁹. It was a real civil war that opposed the two main political factions, conservatives and liberals, and caused the death of around 200,000 people from 1946 to 1958³⁰. Other researchers, although recognizing in those dramatic years the indisputable origins of the violent internal clash and the cause of a deep laceration of the whole society, prefer to consider the years of the birth of the first insurgent formations as the beginning of a conflict in the wake of the postcastrist revolutions whose fundamental draws have almost been unchanged up to now³¹. Adopting this last periodization, from 1964 till today, on which most experts agree, it is possible to affirm that the Colombian conflict is one of the longest contemporary conflicts in the world, after those between Israel and Palestine, Pakistan and India, Myanmar (Burma) and its internal Shan State³².

It is such a long conflict that it is "surviving" the deep changes not only at a national level but above all, the extraordinary international changes like the end of the opposition between the East-West blocks and the irrevocable development of globalization at political, economic, social and cultural levels. The long duration of the conflict is really one of the central elements inside the analysis here proposed, as it helps us to clarify two important

²⁷ Duffield, 2002.

There isn't a concordance among analysts about the exact date and the debate is still open how well it is shown in Sànchez e Peñaranda eds, *Pasado y presente de la violencia en Colombia*, Medellìn, La carreta Ed., 2007.

²⁹ Waldmann P., "Cotidianización de la violencia: el ejemplo de Colombia" in, Análisis Político, n. 32, 1997.

³⁰ Waldmann P., 1997 p. 33.

³¹ Sànchez G., Guerra y politica en la sociedad colombiana, Bogotà, El Ancora, 1991.

³² The database elaborated by the *Peace and Conflict Research* Department of Uppsala University is available on the website http://www.pcr.uu.se/database/index.php

aspects of our reasoning. It confutes partly, the analyses recognizing in the end of the Cold War as a clean fracture between "old" and "new" conflicts and underlines its elements of continuity. In addition, it gives us the opportunity to really understand the remarkable "adaptive abilities" of this conflict that have permitted it to conform itself successfully to the deep transformations not only of the Colombian society but of the whole global society. In order to avoid banal simplifications or partial readings of the conflict, the aim of this analysis is, therefore, to adequately report the complexity of the phenomenon in examination through the reconstruction of its fundamental stages and of the salient aspects of the involved actors.

As mentioned above, the first deep laceration of the Colombian society started in the second half of the 1940s, that is, in the so called *Violencia* period, characterized by the violent explosion of the historical opposition between liberals and conservatories. One of the causes of the clash intensification, inside a society already strongly worn out by social conflicts and frustrations of the most uncomfortable classes, was the assassination of the representative of the liberal party's radical wing and presidential candidate on 9th April 1948, who had proposed a social reform project threatening to subvert the *status quo*. Officially the civil war ended in 1957 thanks to an agreement between the two parts that led to the birth of the so-called National Front, a sort of pact among the two formations that shared out the power excluding any other alternative force from the political life. The suffocation of any legal demonstration of political dissent made the insurgent fight the only outlet for opposition, determining the birth of the first extreme left guerrilla formations, some of which resonated from the preceding liberal guerrillas. This process of insurgent groups' formation culminated in the mid-1960's, with the Farc's birth, the principal insurgent organization, and in fact, since then it is usually considered the date of the beginning of the current Colombian conflict.

But who are the Colombian conflict actors? Initially, in the mid-1960s, the clash saw the State substantially contrasted by three guerrillas groups, the Farc, the Eln (Ejercito de Liberación Nacional - Nacional Liberation Army) and the Epl (Ejercito Popular de Liberación - Popular Liberation Army). Later the situation became more complicated, not only because of the birth of other smaller guerrilla formations³³, but above all because of a new actor's appearance in the early 1980s, the paramilitary groups, in a counter-insurgent position.

We will focus our attention mainly on the two most powerful illegal formations that, together with the State, are the principal protagonists of this long war: the Farc and later the Auc, the principal paramilitary organization which, in accord with the Uribe government has accepted to start the process of demobilization beginning in 2006. Through the analysis of both groups, insurgent and paramilitary, we will try to give a more complete picture of the phenomenon considering inevitably, even though not in an exhaustive way for evident synthesis reasons, fundamental aspects as the role of the narcotrafficking, the governmental policies and the internal repercussions of external actors' action .

The originary Farc's nucleus dates back to the first self-defense groups, spawning in the

³³ For instance the *Quintin Lame*, the PRT, the MIR Patria Libre and also the M-19 an insurgent organization pertaining to the so called "second generation" of insurgency that tried to use political and social tools in the struggle. The M-19 performed spectacular actions against the State and was later reintegrated in the civil society thanks to the negotiations with the Barco Government in 1990. On an armed insurgency periodization until 1989 see Pizarro L.E.: "La insurgencia armada: raices y perspectivas" in Sanchez e Peñaranda, 2007.

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early Sixties and tied to the political action of the first Communist Party's cells in such a way as to make it difficult to make the distinction between legal political action and armed activity. But the symbolic date that also constitutes the foundation myth of the insurgent organization is 27th May 1964, when in the Marquetalia region the Army launched a violent offensive against some communist enclaves, also called Independent Republics, that had been present in that zone for some years. Communist ideas and that sort of Resistencia (Resistance) to the State aggression originated the powerful foundation myth which, till today, continues to be the historical justification of the Farc's existence³⁴, in spite of the deep changes that have occurred inside and outside Colombian society. According to Roman Ortiz's theory, the evolution of this group can be divided into three periods³⁵: 1) Formation phase, 1966-1980; 2) Modernization and internationalization, phase 1980-1996; 3) New revolutionary model phase, 1996-Present. This periodization underlined mainly the incredible ability of adaptation that for a long time has been enabling the greatest insurgent group not only to survive but also to grow and become stronger. During the first phase the organization took the first steps, and its principal components were the landless peasants and the small landowners. Because of the low cultural level the organization was not able to advance a valid political proposal of Colombian State's transformation. Besides, the predominant rural origins defined the group's ideological approach between Marxist's principles and ideas of agrarian inspiration. During the second phase in the early Eighties, the Farc experienced a crucial moment of strategic transformation. They reached a greater level of their leaders' political sophistication thanks to the new activists' arrival from the urban middle class. They achieved a large financial autonomy through the ties with narcotrafficking, remarkably increasing their military ability. As well as managing to initiate a process of internationalization, refining the capacities to take advantage of the new international communication networks both in the illegal sphere (drug and weapon trafficking and ties with an international net of revolutionary organizations³⁶) and in the official political sphere through public statements and through negotiations with the various incumbent governments. Finally, the third phase is characterized by a high-level of military ability, by a larger financial autonomy and by an increasing strategic maturity in which the political logic was subordinated to the military one.

All the most important studies on this organization share such a periodization, pointing out the strategic transformations the Farc put into practice. For instance, Pizarro considers the year 1982, when the 7th Conference of the organization was held as a first turning point in the military project³⁷. In fact during this conference the organization decided to add the

³⁴ Pizarro Leongómez E., "Las FARC-EP: repliegue estratégico, debilitamiento o punto de inflexiòn?" in *Nestra guerra sin nombre*, Bogotà, Editorial Norma – IEPRI, 2006, pp. 171-207.

³⁵ Ortiz Romàn D., "The Strategic Behavior of FARC: An Analysis in Historical Perspective", in Germani S. Editor, Pathways out of terrorism and insurgency: the dynamics of terrorist violence and peace processes, Kaarthikeyan D.R., 2005, pp. 311-319.

³⁶ A recent article published by *El Tiempo* (10 May 2008) titled "Contactos con 400 grupos en por lo menos siete países tienen las Farc para expandirse por América", relate all the information about the network of collaboration at an international level created by the Farc (with Mexico, Venezuela, Ecuador, Costa Rica, Brazil, Peru and also in USA) in order to obtain ideological support, to traffic in drug and weapons and to launder dirty money.

³⁷ Pizarro L. E., 2006.

wording Ep (Ejercito del Pueblo - People's Army) close to the denomination Farc, to underline the formulation of a new operational and strategic conception as revolutionary Army: since then they began the so-called NFO (Nueva Forma de Operar- New way of Operating), trying to combine guerrilla warfare tactics with forms of semi-conventional war. In the early 1990s there was the complete transition toward the movement war through the deployment of large military unities. Farc-Ep in fact, taking advantage of the truce wanted by Betancur's government, had succeeded in increasing their strength, building and consolidating their "war economy" thanks to the practice of the extortions in the areas characterized by the exploitation of natural resources (coca and banana plantations) and cattle breeding. Moreover, the organization had also succeeded in territorial expansion, controlling vast areas of the country where the State's presence was weak or even nonexistent. Another turning-point year was 1998, as Pastrana's government started a process of the State and Army's reorganization, after making a strong relationship with United States. Farc was forced to modify their military strategy once again. The Army's strengthening and its strategic change led Farc to retreat, thus resuming guerrilla warfare. Only in this way was the insurgent organization able to protect itself from the technological modernization of the state military apparatus and from the strong offensive which, since 2002, has been representing the strategic core of the current right-wing government.

The Farc's strategy, unchanged in all this time, was clear and could be referred to as "the strategy of the *prolonged popular war*", adopted to try to wear down the enemy in an extended period of time. Therefore, survival and strength of the organization have basically depended on two aspects: the incredible flexibility at organizational level and the flexibility of their political message. In fact, on one hand the hierarchy and the discipline have always gone with a high degree of decentralization, giving the opportunity of a larger expansion and an increasing ability to control territory and resources. On the other hand, following a purely pragmatic method, the Farc in their discourse has combined elements of the Marxist ideology with elements of national-populist inspiration in such a way that it is possible to speak about a sort of "Farian culture". Besides, depending on the circumstances, they have subordinated the political discourse to military logic³⁸.

As many analysts noticed, the lack of solution for such a long conflict depends primarily on State's inability to reply adequately to the long term strategy and Farc's great ability of organization and adaptation. All state measures adopted have always proposed short-term strategies and policies, changing continuously depending on the choices of the incumbent government³⁹.

Now we will analyze the main aspects of the paramilitary phenomenon. The first inputs to the creation of civilians' armed groups, aimed at the "national defense" in aid of the Army

³⁸ In order to underline this large flexibility, Ortiz R. named an essay on the Farc, "Guerriglia mutante" (Mutant insurgency) in Leal Buitrago F. Editor, *En la encrucijada. Colombia en el siglo XXI, Bogotà, Editorial Norma*, 2006.

³⁹ See Leal F., "Politicas de seguridad" in Leal editor, 2006; Restrepo, "Los dilemas de la paz en Colombia: las politicas de los dos ultimos gobiernos antes el conflicto armado" in Helfrich e Kurtenbach (Eds), *Colombia, caminos para salir de la violencia*, Madrid, Iberoamericana, 2006; Mejia Maria Emma, "Insurgency, Narcoterrorism and the Colombian Peace Process", in Germani Editor, *Pathways out of terrorism and insurgency: the dynamics of terrorist violence and peace processes*, 2005, pp. 320-332.

Forces, were given by the Colombian government since the 1960's, inside the largest USA strategy of struggle against communism⁴⁰. In 1968 the Law 48 introduced the juridical principle of defense from "internal threat", meaning the beginning of a legitimation process, not only of a larger power concentration in the military's hands (through the recurrent proclamation of the state of siege), but also through active population collaboration in contrasting the insurgent rebellion. Since the beginning a drug trafficker group based in Medellin took advantage of that ambiguous legitimation of the armed self-defense. In 1982, to protect their huge economic interests, they formed the MAS (Muerte a los Secuestradores - Death to the Kidnappers) in order to suppress guerrilla groups which practiced extortions and kidnappings. In the 1980s this phenomenon spread widely thanks to the support and the complicity of different society sectors, and above all the State's apparatus⁴¹. Under the Turbay Ayala government (1978-1982), they promulgated a very repressive security statute inciting population to arm itself in order to support state authorities. The privatization of the security was not only legitimated and promoted but it also received Military Forces' aid and protection. Paramilitary groups' creation and development were also promoted by landowners and cattle breeders, the main victims of the guerrilla criminal actions, who began to finance private armies for their personal security. For this reason many paramilitary leaders belong to that social layer. Romero, one of the most important analysts of the Colombian conflict, underlines another important aspect: the tight connection between the growth of the paramilitarism and the peace policies promoted by the Betancur government (1982-1986)⁴². In the author's opinion, during those years the paramilitary action became stronger with the aim to stop the dialogue between the government and Farc, which had already made deals, that among other things, permitted Farc the foundation of an alternative political party, the UP (Unión Patriótica - the Patriotic Union). As the new party's success was large and its increase in consent more and more ample, the counterinsurgent offensive was terribly violent and nearly all UP's activists were murdered. The appearance of paramilitarism and the upsurge in violence in those years for political and social aims is known as the "Guerra Sucia" (the Dirty War)⁴³. Between 1994 and 1997 paramilitaries carried out the greatest organizational effort in order to assemble the various armed groups under a single command, trying, moreover, to assume a clear political profile. After the birth of the ACCU (Peasant Self-Defense Forces of Córdoba and Urabá), the federative project was realized at a national level through the creation of the AUC (United Self-Defense Forces of Colombia). The main purpose of the AUC's principal leader Carlos Castaño was the formation of a real counterinsurgent force, able to enter the conflict as a recognized "third party," particularly since 1998 when Pastrana's new government (1998-2002) resumed negotiations with guerrilla groups. The ambiguous collaboration and complicity between paramilitaries and the State in the counterinsurgent war deteriorated

⁴⁰ See Leal F., *La seguridad nacional a la deriva. Del Frente Nacional a la Posguerra Frìa*, Ceso, Alfaomega, Clacso, 2002.

⁴¹ Gutiérrez F. e Baròn M., "Estado, control territorial paramilitar y orden político en Colombia", *Nuestra guerra sin nombre*, 2006.

⁴² Romero M., *Paramilitares y autodefensas. 1982 – 2003*, Bogotà, Editorial Planeta Colombiana – IEPRI, 2003

⁴³ Pécaut D., Crònica de cuatro décadas de política colombiana, Bogotà, Editorial Norma, 2006, p. 393.

because of the fight against narcotrafficking, the principal resource for AUC's sustenance. Forced by international pressures and especially by the United States, the Colombian State began to contrast the Autodefensas (United Self-Defense Forces) since the mid Nineties, launching a large-scale anti-drug drive. An idea of the incredible connection among narcos, paramilitaries and the political apparatus is given by the Samper government's decision to promote the development of security cooperatives, *Convivir* (Cooperativas comunitarias de vigilancia rural- Vigilante rural cooperatives) as tools of "civil defense", whose activists later joined the AUC in large numbers. President Samper would later be crushed by a scandal for receiving money from *narcos* to finance his electoral campaign. In 2006 the current President Uribe, formerly as Governor of Antioquia and one of the most active supporters of the security cooperatives *Convivir*⁴⁴, decided to make deals with paramilitaries (AUC), since then backing up the process of negotiation and demobilization. In spite of the efforts and the positive results obtained, new paramilitary groups continue to control large areas of the country together with those combatants who have never deposed their weapons⁴⁵.

After this brief exposition of facts, we will try to understand the Colombian conflict through theoretical hints reported above. The positions of those analysts who criticize the studies based on the clean contraposition between "old" and "new" conflicts help us to avoid banal simplifications in understanding the conflict itself. In our opinion the Colombian case cannot refer to such a categorization for several reasons as the long duration of the conflict, an often underestimated aspect, the extreme rationality of the armed actors' action and, finally, the presence not only of transformations but also of continuities in many aspects of the conflict.

Despite the fact that since the 1980's narcotrafficking has certainly been the main resource for Farc's and paramilitary organizations', it is unreasonable to label the conflict as exclusively fomented by private and criminal interests. This is the point of view adopted by the USA *establishment*, and consequently by the Colombian government, since the 11th September 2001 attacks⁴⁶. Since then the fight against "narcoterrorism" has dropped the specifically USA distinction between war on drug and war on terrorism, thus combining two threats that have always been treated separately⁴⁷. The consider the Colombian case more as a terroristic threat than a political fight, resulting in a simplification of the phenomenon which, according to many analysts, would be unable to find a real solution to the conflict,

⁴⁴ Romero M., 2003, p.194-6.

⁴⁵ Duncan Gustavo, Los señores de la guerra. De paramilitares, mafiosos y autodefensas en Colombia, Bogotà, Editorial Planeta Colombiana, 2006.

⁴⁶ Considering the particular international situation both USA and EU put these illegal groups (Farc, Eln e AUC) in the terrorist organization blacklist. See the "2001 Report Foreign Terrorist Organizations", 5 ottobre 2001, published by the Office of the Director of Counterterrorism of the State Department of Washington.

⁴⁷ According to Rojas D.M., USA has had a fundamental role in this change of the Colombian conflict dynamic (see her essay "Estados Unidos y la guerra en Colombia" in *Nuestra guerra sin nombre*, 2006). In the second half of the 1990s USA, in order to prevent the Colombia transformation in a "narcodemocracy", organized a support strategy that was later realized through the Plan Colombia. The Plan consisted in enormous financings for Colombian government in order to contrast narcotrafficking and to support social and economic development of the country. Since 2002 G.W. Bush authorized to use those financings also to contrast the "narcoinsurgency".

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excluding *a priori* the possibility of dialogue and negotiation.

Both guerrilla and paramilitary groups, in distinct fashions, have not only based their action upon a political discourse, but also appear as real parastatal organizations. Under their control they have developed those functions including public order and justice administration that should be a prerogative of the state institutions.

Regarding that, it is enough to consider the indisputed support these groups receive by people living in those areas and having in the coca cultivation, their only source of sustenance.

As we saw, the Farc's political discourse, even though anachronistic⁴⁸, has been intact and coherent for more than forty years and it is evident that the proceeds from illegal activities have to be considered not as the aim but as the means of their action. This is confirmed by the very hard living conditions which exclude any motive tied to the greed and to the desire of personal enrichment of activists and leaders.⁴⁹ Since the beginning, in fact, Farc's militants have devoted their entire life to the fight, relegated in the Colombian forest, without perceiving a pay and moreover under a rigorous militaristic discipline⁵⁰.

Also, regarding the paramilitary phenomenon, in spite of its tight ties with narcotrafficking, we can certainly say it is the result of the rebellion and the support of some parts of the society, including the State apparatus itself, even if in an ambiguous way, operating as a counterinsurgent force in defense of the *status quo⁵¹*. Another aspect to highlight is the vast popular support paramilitaries have always had in many areas under their control.

Defining the Colombian conflict as a "new" conflict exclusively originated by economic, predatory and criminal causes and aimed to hit the civil population means not considering a half-century period of Colombia's history. We agree with Daniel Pécaut when he writes about "war against the society"⁵². Undoubtedly, inside a country prostrated by a forty-year war, the principal victim is the civil population, but it is also correct to list all main protagonists of the armed clashes: guerrilla, paramilitaries and the State. All these illegal formations have always shown remarkable abilities not only in adapting themselves successfully to the new dynamics of the globalization process, both at economic and communications level, but also in exploiting all the internal opportunities to impose their control on vast areas of the country

⁴⁸ Regarding this aspect it is explicit the title of one of the most important studies on the insurgency: Pizarro L.E., *Insurgencia sin revolucion* (Insurgency without revolution), Bogotà, Tercer Mundo Editores, 1996.

⁴⁹ It is interesting a Farc ex-combatant's testimony in Càrdenas J.A., *Los parias de la guerra*, (Bogotá, Ediciones Aurora, 2005): "[...]I think Farc should exist for ever because they are the justest [...] during the "detente zone" they strengthened a lot and gained a great deal of money and weapons but they never gave money to ordinary soldiers" (our translation).

⁵⁰ An example of this fact could be the recent murder (1st March 2008) of Luis Edgar Devia (Raul Reyes), who was one of the most prestigious Farc's leader, during a Colombian Army's attack against an insurgency campsite in Ecuador.

⁵¹ As Romero and Duncan assert in their studies.

⁵² See Pécaut D., Guerra contra la sociedad, Bogotà, Editorial Planeta colombiana, 2001. It is interesting underline that Pécaut, in Crònica de cuatro décadas de política colombiana (2006), agrees with many "new wars" analysts on stressing criminal aspects and civil society victimization, but at the same he time point out the political aspect of the current conflicts. In fact, according to the author, the general decreased political interest is mostly due to the 'disenchantment' process that characterizes the present age at a global level.

where the State's presence was weak or even nonexistent⁵³. Thus, this extreme rationality and adaptability shown at all levels (economic, military and political) by both illegal actors lead us to consider particularly efficacious the definition of *post-modern* conflict related to the Colombian case. Inside it, as Duffield noticed, has been developed a complex network system not exclusively reducible to concepts as those of terrorism and crime. Such an error in evaluation would risk negatively affecting the pursuit of a real and enduring solution to the long conflict that has been lacerating the Colombian society for such a long time.

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El Tiempo, "Contactos con 400 grupos en por lo menos siete países tienen las Farc para expandirse por América", 10 may 2008.

⁵³ One of the most important opportunities capitalized by illegal groups was the constitutional reform aiming to democratize the country. Inside an administrative decentralization process, in 1988 was approved the mayors direct election. Paradoxically this important reform became the main illegal organizations instrument to control the local political life and the public resources; see Sánchez F. and Chacòn M, "Conflicto, Estado y descentralización: del progreso social a la disputa armada por el control local, 1974-2002" in *Nuestra guerra sin nombre*, 2006.

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Solution to conflicts or incitement to guerrilla Warfare? East German military support in Southern Africa and civilian victims. The case of Mozambique

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This paper which mainly focuses on Mozambique is a small excerpt of this research. It is more of a report on my current research findings. Nevertheless, I thought it would be useful to provide a snapshot of the research on the military assistance the East German army provided for their partners in Southern Africa.

The Southern African nations have seen more than 30 years of belligerent turmoil and civil war.

Between 1975 and 1992 the civil war in Mozambique alone claimed 900,000 lives and left 1.3 million refugees and displaced persons behind. These are statistics. But here is the downside of bare figures: "100 dead people make a tragedy in the news, 100,000 dead people are mere statistics" as a media critic said. This has always made and still makes it difficult to draw the attention to wars in Africa and the suffering of the people there.

But what were the actual consequences for the civilian population?

Peasants were driven away, villages were devastated and, thus, entire countries were deprived of their livelihood. The World public was hardly paying any attention to rampant famines.

Anti-personnel mines claim victims among the population up to the present day, thus preventing the peasants from cultivating large parts of their fields.

20 to 30 years of war have left their mark on the collective mind because of the everyday occurrence of violence in human relations.

What had the GDR and its army to do with that? Judging from western press reports of the 1970s and 1980s: a lot.

In April 1980, the cover of the Hamburg weekly "Der Spiegel" depicted a close-up of four soldiers of the National People's Army (NVA) titled "Honecker's Africa Corps" written in the style of a Wehrmacht armband. In its cover story behind this eye-catching headline, the weekly described the military activities of the East German armed forces in the Third World, in particular on the black continent. Specifically mentioned were the training of Angolans in the GDR and the training provided by NVA officers in Zambia and Mozambique. According to the Spiegel in 1980, the NVA also provided training for the ANC, SWAPO and the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe. The NVA instructors made sure that the lower ranks were given the "correct and full drill [...], including ideological indoctrination". According to the Spiegel, 1,000 NVA advisors were said to be working in Angola and 600 in Mozambique alone.

The list of alleged NVA missions in Southern Africa as reported in the West was long.

^{1 &}quot;Wir haben euch Waffen und Brot geschickt", in: Der Spiegel, 10, 1980, S. 42-61 and title "Honeckers

Hardly had there been any other field of GDR military politics and NVA history which was surrounded by so many speculations, rumors and exaggerations as the coverage of NVA activities in the Third World. The numbers provided in western press reports of the 1970s and 1980s ranged from 3,000 to 30,000 East German soldiers serving in Africa alone².

A headline of the daily newspaper *Die Welt* read in February 1979:

"GDR takes over the military role of Cuba", then followed a list to confirm this statement: Angola is reported to host a GDR parachute regiment, engineer and armored units as well as a fighter air wing: in total 7,000 servicemen³. In December 1979 *Die Welt* saw a "bloody trail" of the GDR in Africa⁴. Other publications alleged that NVA officers even participated in and "commanded" the bloodbath of Munhava against RENAMO fighters in Mozambique in 1979⁵. In July 1978, the Berlin newspaper Tagesspiegel announced: "GDR paratroopers reported to plan an attack on Namibia" and in February 1979 "5,000 East German mercenaries stationed in Angola".

A cartoon of 1979 titled "Heia Safari" shows how the *Berliner Morgenpost* imagined the operation of the GDR army in Africa⁸.

The lurid Western reports were in sharp contrast to the secretive silence maintained in the GDR. The systemic secrecy of the GDR military made it easy for hearsay to spread. To this day, there is still much rumor and myths surrounding NVA activities in Southern Africa.

In an article for an anthology on NATO history Christopher Coker wrote even as late as 2001 in all seriousness "Given its military strength, the chief actor [of the Warsaw Pact in Africa] was the GDR "9. In 1982, the GDR, namely its Minister of Defense, allegedly planned and coordinated a large-scale operation together with Cuba, Angola and Mozambique. It was planned to fly Cuban troops from Angola to Mozambique and replace them with East German soldiers. However, South Africa is said to have thwarted the plan in advance¹⁰.

But, let me be clear: this support should not be underestimated. Military aid was massive. It goes back to the time before Mozambique gained independence in 1975, i.e. as early as the late 1960s.

Until 1967, East Berlin had always declined requests for weapons. A "highly confidential" internal memo of November 1964 read: "In the previous months, the following liberation movements requested from us weapons or military equipment or, since they knew that we declined such deliveries as a matter of principle, wanted to probe whether we have changed

Afrika-Korps".

- 2 "Honeckers Afrika-Korps ist 30.000 Mann stark", in: Die Welt, 12.02.1980.
- 3 "Die `DDR` übernimmt die militärische Rolle Kubas", in: Die Welt, 28.02.1979.
- 4 "Bundeskanzler Helmut Schmidt darf zur Blutspur der `DDR` nicht länger schweigen", in: Welt am Sonntag, 16.12.1979.
- 5 Reported in: Löwis of Menar, Militärisches Engagement, pp. 132-134; Löwis of Menar, Solidarität und Subversion; Löwis of Menar, DDR und Afrika, p. 226; Löwis of Menar, DDR und Dritte Welt, p. 123-140.
- 6 "DDR-Fallschirmjäger sollen Angriff auf Namibia planen", in: Der Tagesspiegel, 04.07.1978.
- 7 "DDR stellt neues Afrikakorps, ein Regiment des Fallschirmjägerverbands Willy Sänger von Äthiopien nach Angola verlegt, 5000 ostdeutsche Söldner in Angola stationiert", in: Der Tagesspiegel, 08.02.1979.
- 8 "Ost-Berlins Arm in Afrika reicht immer weiter", in: Berliner Morgenpost, 23.06.1979.
- 9 Coker, NATO and Africa, p. 167.
- 10 Coker, NATO and Africa, pp. 167-169

our position."¹¹ The list included also Mozambique's FRELIMO and Angola's MPLA. In cases of requests for weapons made by other groups like Mozambique's UDENAMO, the GDR representative "pretended not to have understood what it was about."¹²

The decision of the ruling Socialist Party's Politburo of January 1967 fundamentally changed the direction of GDR politics.

From now on, the "delivery of non-civilian items to national liberation movements" – such was the wording of the decision – was not only permitted: military aid was expressly approved as an act of so-called active solidarity with the fight of the African peoples against imperialism and colonialism¹³.

The significance of the decision, also from the contemporary view, is documented by the endorsing signatures of the Ministers of Defense, of the Interior, of State Security and the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs. This was somewhat unusual for submissions to the Politbureau.

And here, a summarized English translation:

List of the weapons and munitions to be delivered to liberation movements in accordance with the Politbureau decision of 10 January 1967 (excerpts)¹⁴

Item	Designation	FRELIMO	ZAPU	MPLA
1	Carabine 98 K 7.9 mm	4,800	3,200	1,600
2	Light machine gun 34 7.9 mm	110	75	40
3	Cartridges for items 1 and 2	900,000	470,000	240,000
5	Sniper rifle	60	40	20
8	Kalashnikov submachine gun 7.62 mm	80	60	30
10	Submachine gun 43/44 7.9 mm	80	50	30
13	Anti-personnel mines	2,000	1,000	500

As the list shows FRELIMO had clearly been a priority when it came to distributing weapons deliveries. A large share of the weapons delivered were from holdings of the Wehrmacht inherited from World War II. They were stored in NVA depots but had still been in ac-

¹¹ BArch, DZ 8/31: notice 06.11.1964.

¹² BArch, DZ 8/31: notice 06.11.1964.

¹³ SAPMO-BArch, DY 30/ J IV 2/2/ 1093: Politbureau decision of 10 January 1967; also in: DY 30/ J IV 2/2A/ 1200; DY 30/4709; BA-MA AZN 32605.

¹⁴ SAPMO-BArch, DY 30/ J IV 2/2/ 1093; DY 30/ J IV 2/2A/ 1200; DY 30/4709; BA-MA AZN 32605.

tive use in the 1960s. Modern weapons like the Kalashnikov submachine guns (item 8) were delivered only in small quantities. It should be noted that the anti-personnel mines (item 13), which had been massively used by all warring parties in Southern Africa, to this day have continued to claim the lives of the rural population.

From 1967 on there are many documents to confirm that armament shipments occurred almost annually.

When Mozambique gained independence from Portugal in 1975, the anti-colonial liberation fight turned into an intra-Mozambican civil war, albeit with strong support from abroad. The term "intra-Mozambican" is therefore not completely correct.

The NVA continued to provide military aid to FRELIMO, however, the fronts had reversed: government forces had to be supported against a guerilla. The FRELIMO had to repel attacks of insurgents. Mao's tactics of guerilla being like "a fish in the Sea" was now used by RENAMO.

Maputo's army was forced onto the defensive and was several times on the brink of military defeat by RENAMO in the early 1980s.

Corresponding candid reports and analyses by the GDR military attaché can be found in NVA and SED archives. The files include numerous documents in which the Angolan and Mozambican governments were requesting, even begging for military advisors and trainers from the East German Army. East Berlin always refused. Instead they offered training in the GDR.

East Berlin seemed to have found an ideal way of providing military support. Instead of sending their own servicemen or instructors into dangerous and incalculable civil wars, they invited African military personnel to the GDR.

This was not dangerous militarily and much less explosive in political terms. Plus, it was more efficient and economical: Instead of setting up costly capacities in insecure civil war countries and, probably, pouring money into bottomless pits, the GDR used military structures at home.

The Mozambican soldiers were given standard NVA-style training at schools of the GDR's National People's Army: Mozambicans were trained as officers or unit commanders in the following branches: tanks, artillery, motorized rifle troops, rear services, automotive engineering and communication engineering at the officer school on the island of Rügen which had been established exclusively for training foreign military personnel. Political officers were trained there as well.

The training comprised both a theoretical part and a practical part on equipment and in the field.

This photo shows Mozambican officer students in East German uniforms during artillery training on the island of Rügen. Guerilla warfare was not taught.

In addition to the military training the students attended lessons in mathematics, science, German and sports. Political education and excursions to towns and factories of the GDR were also part of the training. The main objective of the training was to ideologically influence the Africans. They were to be educated as socialists. The training was, therefore, planned not only with a view to short-term military objectives but to long-term psychological effect: Officers trained in the GDR were to perpetuate the alleged "socialism" in Africa.

Southern African peculiarities were not taken into consideration. Rather, it was impossible to include them. Apart from Mozambicans, military personnel from many other countries was trained at the Rügen officer school: the People's Republic of Congo, Yemen, Syria, Nicaragua, to name but a few.

Mozambican military personnel trained by the NVA

Month/ year	12/1981 ^I	11/1983 ^{II}	11/1984 ^{III}	01/1986 ^{IV}	01/1987 ^v	10/1989 ^{VI}	total ^{VII}
Number	178	192	78	40	8	18	263

- I BStU, MfS, HA I 13618, f. 34.; HA II 29466, f. 2.
- II BStU, MfS, HA I 13695, f. 14.
- III BStU, HA II 27555, f. 2.
- IV BStU, MfS, HA I 13350, f 2.; HA II 29466, f. 52.
- V BStU, MfS, HA I 5869, ff 183, 184; HA I 13618, ff. 11, 12.
- VI BStU, MfS, HA I 13280, f 41.
- VII Ministry of Disarmament and Defense of the GDR: Information for the Federal Ministry of Defense FRG, Bonn, July 1990 (Records of Werner Ablaß).

In total, 263 Mozambican officers and NCOs were trained in the NVA, mostly for three or four years. The data vary considerably throughout the years. What is striking, is the strong beginning with 180 trainees and the subsequent generally sharp decrease in numbers. The last 18 Mozambicans were sent home in the summer of 1990.

The vast majority of service members trained were army officer students.

In addition, Mozambicans were trained at schools of the People's Navy (*Volksmarine*), the officer school of the air forces and the officer school of the border forces of the GDR.

In advising their partner armed forces in Africa, the Eastern block military personnel naturally relied on their own military doctrine. The guerilla army of FRELIMO was to be transformed into new regular modern armed forces modeled on the armies of the Warsaw Pact.

The transformation of the FRELIMO guerrillas into a regular army of conscripts, named "People's Liberation Army (FPLM)" required a heavy change in military hardware.

Tactics and conduct of operations of the Warsaw Pact Armies, or more precisely, of the Soviet armed forces, were transferred onto the African rebel army FRELIMO. This concerned organizational structures, armament and training.

The Eastern bloc military advised that "modern socialist military technology" would be the best guarantee for the defense of young national states. A necessary consequence and at the same time condition for re-equipment and reorganization were the provision of military advisors and an intensified training of Mozambican officers at military schools of the Eastern bloc.

With regard to structure and equipment the now government forces adopted the Soviet model almost without any changes.

For the education at the military academy at Nampula and other military schools, tactical manuals of the Warsaw Pact were used, replacing the former guerilla warfare doctrine. Instructors and advisors were Soviet and Cuban military personnel but no East Germans.

The alleged success story of NVA proved to be completely unsuitable for Mozambique. The setup of regular army structures modeled on the Eastern bloc did not lead to success in the fight against the new guerilla.

Instead, warfare continued for 15 years.

The ideas and concepts of the Eastern bloc armies were tailored to European conditions and a regular war involving large armies, therefore, they were unsuitable for Africa in three respects:

They were neither in line with the geographical and climatic conditions nor designed for asymmetric warfare against irregular forces. In particular in the Mozambican civil war, the government forces lost their capability of effective counter-insurgency tactics and strategy.

Doubts as to whether a strategy and organization based exclusively on the military structures of the Warsaw Pact armed forces, could be successful under African conditions were expressed as early as in the 1980s, at least in the Federal Republic of Germany. In 1987, Ernst Hillebrand argued that operations of heavy conventional units would be unsuitable for the conditions of guerilla warfare. The "relative failure [of] Afro-Marxist states" against the oppositional guerillas proved the unsuitability of the strategic and tactical concepts of the Eastern bloc advisors for African conflicts¹⁵.

According to Christopher Coker, "by the early 1980s, it was clear to Mozambique that the East Germans in particular had little, if any, understanding of guerrilla warfare" 16.

"In November 1981, President Machel bitterly attacked the security forces for gross incompetence in the field". According to Christopher Coker and Bernhard Weimer, the harsh criticism was implicitly directed at instructors, advisors and weapons suppliers from the Eastern bloc: Machel's criticism can thus also be referred to the training in the GDR army."

"Self-defense of the population" was the new focus that was born of necessity. In May 1989 President Alberto Chissano told Honecker: "We think that the expenses for a regular army could not be afforded neither by our economy nor through the means we get as aid from friendly nations. [...] The most effective way is the self-defense of the population. We talked about this with the Cuban comrades who have great experience in this field."

Nevertheless, FRELIMO and President Samora Machel, in particular, several times praised the military aid provided by the GDR as valuable and even existential for their fight.

Files contain many documents to confirm the gratitude of the Mozambicans.

The failure of the Warsaw Pact model was nevertheless obvious. To prevent complete failure, the government in Maputo changed their course. After mid-1985 they again resorted to the old FRELIMO tactics. The army was decentralized again. New regionally organized "people's units" were set up. The numbers I quoted on the training provided in the GDR fit

¹⁵ Hillebrand, Afrika-Engagement, p. 212.

¹⁶ Coker, NATO and Africa, p. 170.

¹⁷ Coker, NATO and Africa, p. 170; Weimer, Post-Nkomati period, p. 163.

¹⁸ Vgl. SAPMO-BArch, DY 30/2470: Transcript of a Conversation between Honecker and Chissano), Berlin, 24 May 1989, p. 325.

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into this picture. The strong decline leads to the conclusion that both sides were no longer particularly interested in this training.

For determining the historical scale and impact of GDR military aid it would be necessary to take a short look at the military commitment of other states, east and west, and their armed forces in Southern Africa. I only would like to draw your attention to the following aspect: To protect their interests in Southern Africa, the super powers exploited the conflicting parties. East and west regarded the conflicts in Southern Africa as a Cold War sideshow albeit not quite that "cold".

The East German Army was by far not the only actor in this play. Weapons from the north, from east and west, were used against the civilian population. And with the end of the East-West conflict neither the delivered weapons disappeared nor the guerilla fighters.

In Mozambique, civil war ended in 1992, UN peace-keeping forces entered the country. Italian army soldiers participated in this UN-peace-mission.

FRELIMO won the free elections of 1994. Today, Maputo feels obliged to adhere to the principle of good governance. Nevertheless: To this day, the Kalashnikov is depicted in the flag and coat of arms of Mozambique.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I'd like to give a short conclusion. To this day, the military commitment of East Germany in the Third World, in particular in Southern Africa, has been the topic of sometimes unfounded speculations. This paper wanted to contribute to an academic reappraisal of this secret part of GDR history. My assessment would be as follows:

The GDR was not directly responsible for the described effects of the civil wars. Based on my studies of the surviving documents I can state: the sources do not provide any proof of a direct military involvement of the East German military. Let me be quite clear: it is highly probable that the NVA was not directly involved in military action on site, neither with combat forces nor combat aircraft nor even a larger number of military advisors present.

In the end, the responsibility for the civil war and the suffering of the civilian population lay with the belligerent parties.

However, through its support the GDR was involved and definitely shares some responsibility:

Between 1969 and 1990 the GDR supported its partners in Southern Africa in military matters. For 20 years the East German military provided so-called solidarity assistance.

East Berlin supplied weapons and military equipment but also medical relief goods and food. The GDR army trained Mozambican military personnel at her schools in East Germany. However, East Germany did not provide any political solution in Southern Africa. Given its weak international standing, the GDR was not in the position to do so.





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Bilancio scientifico del Congresso

PIERO DEL NEGRO-MASSIMO DE LEONARDIS

Sono state presentate più di sessantacinque relazioni, sono stati ripercorsi tre millenni di storia, dalla Grecia antica all'Iraq della più stretta attualità, sono stati in diverso modo evocati più quaranta tra Stati di oggi e Imperi di ieri: questo il bilancio quantitativo più scontato che si può ricavare dal XXXIV Congresso della Commissione internazionale di Storia Militare, che oggi chiude i suoi lavori qui a Trieste. È evidente che in questa sede non è possibile attenersi a quello che possiamo definire il modello *standard* di conclusioni congressuali, avventurarsi, cioè, in un commento analitico di tutti gli interventi con la più o meno opportuna mescidanza di apprezzamenti e di riserve. Riteniamo che l'unica strada che a questo punto ci sia concessa, data anche l'ora e, soprattutto, la più che comprensibile ridotta tolleranza da parte di chi ci ascolta al termine di questo ciclo di intense giornate, sia quella di tentare un bilancio scientifico complessivo, il quale, se non può affatto rendere giustizia alla ricchezza e all'importanza dei contributi, che sono stati presentati in questa sede, ne richiami quanto meno i temi principali, tracci, in altre parole, il profilo effettuale del congresso quale frutto delle scelte cronologiche e di contenuto operate dai singoli studiosi e dalle Commissioni nazionali.

Il nostro sarà, per ragioni sia di tempo che di opportunità, un bilancio anonimo, nel senso che eviterà di menzionare i nomi degli autori, mentre per ragioni di praticità sarà diviso in due sezioni, la prima dedicata alle relazioni concernenti la storia fino alla prima guerra mondiale compresa e la seconda agli ultimi novant'anni. Senza dubbio si tratta di una linea di confine, che divide abusivamente in due parti soprattutto quelle quattro relazioni, che si sono date esplicitamente quale tema o comunque invitano di fatto a un confronto tra le due guerre mondiali, il che aggiungerà inevitabilmente ulteriori sovrapposizioni e ripetizioni a quelle, che la stessa storia ci costringe in ogni caso ad introdurre nel momento in cui ci si avvale di categorie dalla pertinenza plurimillenaria come quelle di cittadino-soldato oppure di guerra civile o, ancora, di guerra asimmetrica, tutte categorie chiamate in vario modo in causa dal tema dell'impatto dei conflitti militari sulle popolazioni civili.

Come è accaduto anche nel caso della maggior parte dei congressi precedenti a questo, il baricentro cronologico è caduto sul Novecento. Soltanto una relazione, quella sulla protezione della popolazione civile durante i conflitti armati, ha avuto l'ambizione di impegnarsi in una carrellata dall'antichità agli sviluppi più recenti del tema. Due le relazioni dedicate all'antichità greco-romana. A prima vista riguardano due argomenti assai diversi, da un lato la nascita della nozione di 'civile' nel mondo greco, dall'altra la guerra totale considerata nella prospettiva dell'antichità. In effetti, si ritrova in entrambe il tema centrale del rapporto tra il militare e il civile o, meglio, tra il cittadino-soldato, il quale, nonostante tutto, continua a connotare il mondo greco anche in età ellenistico-romana, e il soldato di professione, il mercenario, che s'impone invece nell'ultimo secolo della repubblica romana e che, con l'estensione della cittadinanza romana all'insieme dei sudditi dell'imperatore e l'immissione sempre più massiccia di soldati barbari, viene ad assumere caratteristiche, che l'allontanano

sempre più dal cittadino della città-Stato.

Di qui anche l'affacciarsi di un'alternativa o, meglio, di un chiasmo di portata più generale tra la guerra totale e la guerra limitata (o, se si preferisce, tra i due tassi, alto e basso, di militarizzazione) da una parte e dall'altra tra una distribuzione del potere politico più o meno ineguale. In altre parole la militarizzazione diffusa e la guerra totale con tutte le sue atrocità appaiono non solo compatibili, ma anche in qualche modo autorizzate da un potere diffuso, così come la guerra limitata può risultare, quanto meno in linea di principio, in una stretta correlazione con il monopolio delle armi affidato a gruppi relativamente ristretti di professionisti, che dipendono direttamente da un potere politico più o meno accentrato.

Quest'ultima ipotesi trova in ogni caso una - parziale - smentita nell'unico intervento dedicato esclusivamente all'età medievale, quello relativo alle vicissitudini della popolazione civile francese nel corso della guerra dei Cento Anni, in quanto in questo caso la guerra totale appare una risultante soprattutto dell'impiego di mercenari e comunque della crisi della società feudale. La smentita è comunque parziale in quanto questo tipo di guerra totale riflette in primo luogo i limiti strutturali del potere centrale dell'epoca, in particolare la sua incapacità di assicurarsi le risorse finanziarie e gli strumenti istituzionali, che potevano garantirgli un controllo della guerra e quindi anche delle sue ricadute 'collaterali' sui non combattenti.

Quattro delle nove relazioni concernenti l'età moderna hanno affrontato più o meno direttamente il tema dell'espansione turca, sia in una prospettiva di lungo periodo (la resistenza dei civili all'espansionismo turco durante il XV, XVI e XVII secolo: ma la relazione ha dedicato l'analisi più ravvicinata al secondo Quattrocento, vale a dire ai falliti assedi ottomani di Belgrado e di Rodi), sia in rapporto al sistema di difesa antiottomano dell'Ungheria, sia ricostruendo la storia della prima istituzione militare permanente dei domini asburgici, il confine militare, sia, infine, concentrandosi sulla battaglia di Lepanto sotto il profilo della sua fortuna presso i contemporanei e i posteri. Il problema del confine, in questo caso marittimo, contraddistingue anche l'intervento riguardante il Portogallo del XVI secolo, che evoca tuttavia uno scenario dominato dalla guerra di corsa e dalla pirateria. Risulta assai utile il confronto tra quest'ultima relazione e quella relativa all'occupazione inglese di Newport, Rhode Island, nel corso della guerra d'indipendenza degli Stati Uniti, in quanto entrambe mettono in evidenza, sia pure in contesti, in forme e in epoche differenti, l'impatto della guerra sui traffici marittimi.

L'occupazione della città del Rhode Island può essere considerata, da un'altra prospettiva, l'applicazione – particolarmente pesante in quanto attuata da una potenza coloniale impegnata nello stesso tempo in una guerra civile – di un sistema di sostegno logistico degli eserciti da parte della popolazione, quello della ripartizione, che è stato studiato in relazione alla Spagna e in riferimento a tutta l'età moderna. In tale fase storica il peso dei militari sulla popolazione civile non si esaurì, come è ovvio, nell'occupazione di alloggi, nell'imposizione di *corvées* e nel conferimento di viveri, ma riguardò anche alcune forme più o meno coatte di reclutamento, dal *racolage* dei soldati alle razzie dei marinai nelle taverne. Una di queste forme di reclutamento fu il discolato, vale a dire l'arruolamento di elementi considerati a vario titolo pericolosi oppure inutili (delinquenti minori, scapestrati, oziosi ecc.), un fenomeno che è stato studiato riguardo alla Toscana di Sette-Ottocento e che ci ricorda la diffusissima tendenza, che non scomparve certo con la fine dell'antico regime, di far vestire la divisa ad una carne da cannone reclutata per lo più tra le classi inferiori della società. L'intervento

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sull'assistenza sanitaria nell'esercito e nella marina spagnoli visti tramite la biografia di due grandi chirurghi vissuti l'uno nel Cinquecento e l'altro tra Sette e Ottocento insiste su un processo, che appare per un certo verso alternativo e speculare al precedente, vale a dire, al posto della militarizzazione della società civile, la 'civilizzazione' della guerra grazie ad un'assistenza sanitaria sempre più efficace.

Quattro relazioni hanno anticipato il tema del XXXV Congresso, *La guerra in età napoleonica*. Mentre tre di esse hanno riguardato la penisola iberica (in particolare il Portogallo tra il 1807 e il 1809, le città spagnole assediate dai francesi tra il 1808 e il 1814 e l'Andalusia sotto il tallone di ferro del maresciallo Soult tra il 1810 e il 1812), la quarta ha preso in considerazione il tema più generale dei rapporti tra la logistica e la società civile in quella fase storica, una questione che assunse una valenza specifica nel caso iberico a causa principalmente del carattere popolare della guerra e dell'intervento inglese dal mare e per terra. L'assedio e il suo impatto sulle popolazioni civili è al centro anche di un intervento su Parigi all'epoca della guerra franco-prussiana, vale a dire nel 1870-71.

Tutte e tre le relazioni concernenti gli ultimi vent'anni del XIX secolo e l'alba del XX si occupano di teatri di guerra a vario titolo coloniali, la Tunisia all'epoca dell'occupazione francese del 1881-83, la Somalia sotto l'influenza britannica e italiana e la repressione della rivolta del 'Mad Mullah' (1899-1920) e il Sud Africa all'epoca della guerra anglo-boera del 1899-1902: da una parte due casi che si possono ricondurre, al di là delle indubbie differenze, sotto la categoria della guerriglia, dall'altra quello di un conflitto che assunse forme assai diverse, dalla guerra (quasi) convenzionale alla guerriglia, e che ebbe soprattutto conseguenze particolarmente devastanti per la popolazione civile a causa delle tecniche repressive (i campi di concentramento) adottate dagli inglesi.

Come è noto, la prima guerra mondiale fu anticipata per certi aspetti – in particolare per un atteggiamento delle autorità militari dai tratti aspramente vessatori nei confronti delle popolazioni civili – dalle guerre balcaniche del 1912-13. Una relazione ha analizzato uno dei contesti a monte di queste ultime guerre, l'organizzazione e le attività del movimento ellenico durante la lotta per la Macedonia (1904-08). La maggioranza degli interventi sulla Grande Guerra è stata calamitata dalla situazione dell'Austria-Ungheria: è stata studiata l'occupazione militare italiana del territorio etnico sloveno e l'impiego dei militari in compiti di ordine pubblico (in particolar modo la repressione degli scioperi), nella requisizione dei viveri e nella lotta contro gli ammutinamenti e la diserzione delle stesse truppe sia in Austria che in Ungheria. Una relazione ha gettato ulteriore luce sul contributo – in uomini e in materie prime – della colonia del Senegal allo sforzo militare francese. Anche un paese rimasto neutrale durante la Grande Guerra, la Spagna, è stato preso in considerazione per quel che riguarda il servizio d'informazione italiano e la sua utilizzazione di civili e di militari.

Il fondamentale tema dell'impatto demografico della Grande Guerra è stato affrontato in due relazioni di taglio comparativo, accomunate dal fatto di adoperare quale pietra di paragone il secondo conflitto mondiale, l'una relativa alla Tunisia e l'altra alla Russia-Unione Sovietica. Un confronto 'aperto' tra le due guerre mondiali (il sottotitolo recita: «continuità o rottura?») è stato condotto anche per quel che riguarda i crimini di guerra tedeschi. Infine, è stata presentata, sfortunatamente postuma, una relazione sulle politiche di controllo dei consumi in Italia nel corso di entrambe le guerre mondiali.

Nella divisione del lavoro concordata con il Prof. Del Negro, pur in una visione comples-

siva e coerente, tocca a chi scrive soffermarsi in particolare sulle relazioni che hanno trattato, in tutto o in parte, argomenti collocati cronologicamente dopo il 1918, anno conclusivo della prima guerra mondiale. I primi anni del secolo XX, fino alla Grande Guerra, sono considerati dalla storiografia un prolungamento del secolo XIX per molti aspetti, non ultimi quelli della concezione della guerra come strumento della diplomazia e della sua percezione nella coscienza collettiva, come rilevato da chi scrive nella propria relazione introduttiva.

Il numero di relazioni riguardanti il periodo successivo al 1918 è stato di poco superiore a quello delle relazioni sui secoli (millenni!) precedenti. Quindi, pur con una certa prevalenza del secolo XX (inteso come «secolo breve») ed anche del XXI, tanto più prevedibile in considerazione del tema generale che ha assunto appunto una rilevanza più drammatica nell'ultimo secolo, le precedenti epoche della storia non sono state affatto trascurate. Il fatto è senz'altro positivo, anche alla luce di almeno due considerazioni. Nei loro interventi iniziali sia il Sottosegretario alla Difesa On. Cossiga sia il Capo di Stato Maggiore della Difesa Gen. Camporini hanno opportunamente sottolineato l'interesse dei responsabili della politica di difesa e delle operazioni militari per le lessons learned, in altre parole per le lezioni della storia. In realtà il vecchio adagio ciceroniano Historia vero testis temporum, lux veritatis, vita memoriae, magistra vitae, nuntia vetustatis non sempre è oggi tenuto in considerazione da chi ritiene invece che la storia non abbia nulla da insegnare a fini operativi. Al contrario i nostri lavori hanno tra l'altro fornito un'ulteriore dimostrazione che lo studio della storia militare è elemento fondamentale per affrontare i conflitti odierni. Naturalmente la storia, come ha detto uno dei relatori, può utilmente «informare, non fornire indicazioni dirette e comandare» una linea di condotta precisa.

Detto questo, però vanno appunto fatte due considerazioni. La prima è che se da un lato non è affatto negativo che lo storico mostri, con la dovuta finezza interpretativa, i collegamenti tra esperienze del passato e realtà attuale, allo stesso tempo la storia non deve ridursi, per garantirsi ascolto, ad essere una scienza ausiliaria degli studi strategici, ma deve rivendicare pienamente la sua autonomia e dignità. Perciò, se sono state senz'altro apprezzabili alcune valide relazioni su conflitti recentissimi, anzi ancora in corso, altrettanto positivo è che le altre si siano mantenute, per approccio e argomento, su un piano strettamente storico, apparentemente lontano dall'attualità. La seconda è che, nell'ottica appunto degli insegnamenti utili della storia militare, sbaglierebbe certamente chi li ricercasse solo in epoca contemporanea; anche il Congresso ci ha dato molti esempi che può essere più attuale una guerra di molti secoli fa di una del secolo XX. Da questo punto di vista la cesura del 1918 è solo una delle possibili; ad esempio, per il tema del nostro Congresso, quella della Rivoluzione francese appare più importante.

Una valutazione dei risultati scientifici del Congresso può partire dalla rilettura dei sottotemi che erano stati formulati e proposti all'attenzione degli studiosi¹. Pur seguendo la

Civili e militari: una mutevole linea a confine. Il concetto di popolazione civile, l'evoluzione della sua definizione giuridica: problemi interpretativi e di definizione. Regimi politici, sistemi internazionali e carattere limitato o totale delle guerre.

^{2.} Le limitazioni della guerra a tutela delle popolazioni civili: genesi e sviluppi. Le convenzioni internazionali e le consuetudini e prassi militari: genesi, precedenti e sviluppi.

^{3.} Popolazioni civili e prede belliche; i militari e il governo militare di territori occupati.

^{4.} La gestione e l'atteggiamento delle popolazioni civili nelle guerre limitate e nelle guerre totali. Fronte di

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formula consolidata dei congressi internazionali, che non prevede l'assegnazione da parte dei responsabili scientifici di temi obbligati a specifici relatori, bensì libere proposte, ovviamente nell'ambito dell'argomento prescelto, da parte delle Commissioni Nazionali ed una loro successiva sistematizzazione, non semplice, da parte del Comitato scientifico, si può senz'altro dire che tutti i sottotemi suggeriti sono stati oggetto di adeguata trattazione. Proprio per favorire una visione più sistematica dei lavori, negli Atti, pur riportando anche il programma dei quattro giorni pieni di lavori, si è preferito raggruppare le relazioni in maniera più strettamente tematica e cronologica.

Alcune relazioni hanno affrontato questioni generali. A cominciare da quelle sulla *Evoluzione giuridica del potere dell'occupante un territorio nemico nel diritto internazionale bellico, nel corso della Seconda Guerra Mondiale*, che pone l'accento tra l'altro sui difficili problemi posti dal riconoscimento dei partigiani come «combattenti legittimi», su *La protezione della popolazione civile durante i conflitti armati* e su *Le Nazioni Unite e la protezione delle popolazioni civili, dai documenti alle azioni*. Una relazione ha trattato la missione ONU a Haiti, iniziata nel 2004. L'approccio dell'Unione Europea alla risoluzione dei conflitti è stato affrontato in uno degli interventi nell'ambito del *Workshop* dei giovani studiosi inaugurato quest'anno.

Accanto agli aspetti teorici vi è stato lo studio di alcune esperienze di occupazione militare: in Belgio durante la Seconda Guerra Mondiale, nella Polonia del 1939 stretta nella morsa del patto nazi-sovietico, in Slovenia tra il 1941 e il 1945. Più breve e di carattere diverso è stata l'esperienza del Governo militare argentino nelle Isole Malvinas/Falkland durante il conflitto del 1982, una guerra più tipica, per le sue motivazioni e svolgimento, di secoli passati, che vide la morte solo di due civili. Una relazione ha affrontato il problema dei crimini di guerra tedeschi durante le due guerre mondiali, concludendo sostanzialmente per una radicale discontinuità tra le due esperienze.

Il tema della guerra totale in Occidente, ed in particolare del bombardamento a fini strategici delle città, è stato trattato sia nell'attenta relazione su *La fine del combattimento aria-aria e le relative vittime civili in Germania negli anni 1939-1945*, sia in un intervento al suddetto *Workshop*.

Il tema assolutamente centrale della guerriglia e della controguerriglia è stato oggetto di un nutrito numero di relazioni, che l'hanno affrontato sia in un'ottica puramente storica relativa ad un'interessante e poco conosciuta guerra coloniale (*La repressione della rivolta del "Mullah pazzo" in Somalia [1890–1920]*), sia coniugando la dimensione storica con le

5. Mobilitazione militare nelle guerre dei professionisti e nelle guerre di massa e mobilitazione civile. Ideali bellicosi e pacifisti dei civili, loro impatto sulle operazioni e sulle forze d'occupazione e sul loro atteggiamento.

guerra e fronte interno.

^{6.} Le guerre civili, le guerriglie, i movimenti di liberazione e il coinvolgimento delle popolazioni. Le popolazioni civili nelle guerre asimmetriche guerriglia e antiguerriglia; genocidi ed epurazioni etniche; la guerra indiscriminata: il terrorismo.

^{7.} L'impatto demografico e sociale delle guerre. Dai precedenti del passato e dell'antico regime all'età contemporanea: morti, mutilati, vedove ed orfani, esodi e stragi di popolazioni, assistenza alla popolazione sconfitta, problemi di ricostruzione del paese vinto.

^{8.} Guerre, mobilitazioni e militarizzazione della società civile. Regimi politici, sistemi internazionali e carattere limitato o totale delle guerre.

teorie strategiche (*Il problema tra storia e teoria della centralità della popolazione nella dottrina e nelle operazioni americane di contro insorgenza*, attraverso un confronto tra le teorie del potere aereo di Giulio Douhet, il pensiero della scuola francese sulla guerra rivoluzionaria e le recenti dottrine americane sulla controguerriglia. Sono state poi esaminate le recenti operazioni militari in Afghanistan, Iraq e Libano. Dal complesso di queste relazioni sono emersi diversi tratti caratteristici delle attuali guerre «asimmetriche»: la mancanza di controllo del territorio conteso da parte dell'autorità politica, operazioni militari a cavallo dei confini statali, la lunga durata delle crisi, la necessità per le Potenze occidentali di adattare il loro *modus operandi* a conflitti «non convenzionali» radicalmente diversi sia dalle guerre «classiche» tra Stati sia dalle precedenti campagne dell'epoca delle conquiste coloniali, basate sullo sfruttamento della superiorità tecnica ed operativa sull'avversario, da far valere in scontri risolutivi.

Anche i sottotemi concernenti la mobilitazione a fini militari della società ed all'impatto delle guerre sui civili sono stati ampiamente trattati, con relazioni sulla Bulgaria ed il Giappone durante la seconda guerra mondiale, la Cina durante la guerra con il Giappone degli anni '30 e '40, i rifugiati in Corea durante la guerra del 1950-53, la Finlandia durante la seconda guerra mondiale, il controllo dei consumi in Italia nei due conflitti mondiali, la Romania tra le due guerre mondiali e durante la Guerra Fredda, il Sudafrica dopo la seconda guerra mondiale, l'Unione Sovietica nel 1941, la Francia al momento della sconfitta del 1940. Quest'ultima relazione, che fa largo uso di fonti primarie, s'inserisce bene nella storiografia su quella che per Marc Bloch fu la «strana disfatta» e per Charles Maurras la «divine surprise», che provocò il crollo della detestata Terza Repubblica e l'avvento al potere del Maresciallo Pétain. Tema originale ed interessante è stato quello del tentativo d'imposizione degli standard delle SS sui cittadini di ceppo tedesco negli Stati occupati dal Terzo Reich. Non poteva evidentemente mancare, in un Congresso a Trieste, una relazione sulla tragedia vissuta durante la seconda guerra mondiale e nell'immediato dopoguerra dalle popolazioni italiane di Venezia Giulia, Istria e Dalmazia, vittime di azioni di sterminio e costrette ad un esodo massiccio dalle loro terre; con rigore scientifico ed attente sfumature interpretative, è stato quindi affrontato il tema delle foibe, prestando attenzione ai fattori etnici ed ideologici. Una relazione ha considerato il Canada, che di fronte prima alla Guerra Fredda poi oggi alle missioni di peace enforcement e di lotta al terrorismo, ha dovuto mettere in discussione la sua identità di società «non militarista».

Un altro dei sottotemi di particolare interesse in una visione di lungo periodo, l'impatto demografico dei conflitti, ha visto due importanti relazioni sulla Russia, che ancora risente le conseguenze delle immani perdite della seconda guerra mondiale, e la Tunisia nel XX secolo.

Dopo il 1918, nel quadro di relazioni internazionali sempre meno eurocentriche, si è evidentemente allargato l'ambito geopolitico delle relazioni. Alcune hanno trattato di Paesi che anche grazie alla dimensione militare hanno acquisito maggiore coscienza politica, avviandosi all'indipendenza, come Marocco, Senegal e Tunisia. Nel caso del Marocco la relazione ne esamina la partecipazione alla seconda guerra mondiale a fianco della Potenza che vi esercitava il protettorato, mentre per la Tunisia si pone l'accento sulla resistenza nei confronti della Francia. Altre relazioni hanno affrontato i problemi di conflitti interni al Terzo Mondo: Camerun, Ciad, Somalia.

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Il *Book Panel* ha presentato un'ampia selezione di recenti opere sul tema centrale del Congresso: guerre totali, guerre limitate e guerre asimmetriche.

Sarebbe una pretesa vana trarre una conclusione generale e articolata con stretta coerenza da tante relazioni su aspetti diversi, che andranno rilette e meditate nella loro completezza. Si può quindi avanzare solo qualche osservazione conclusiva. Ogni periodo della storia militare si caratterizza per un tipo prevalente di guerre, ma non è affatto escluso che un «eterno ritorno» riporti in primo piano conflitti che sembravano appartenere ad epoche passate. Giustamente una delle relazioni ha rilevato che l'attuale superpotenza militare, gli Stati Uniti, commetterebbe un errore se adottasse nella pianificazione delle sue Forze Armate una visione esclusivamente incentrata sulle guerre «asimmetriche». Inoltre il passato può ripresentare in forme diverse vecchie esperienze e indurre a riproporre, adattandole ai nuovi contesti, strategie, tattiche e logistica impiegate in passato. Ad esempio, una relazione ha ricordato la possibile riproposizione del modello delle navi ospedale, mentre le cronache recenti hanno parlato di un possibile impiego in terreni montagnosi dei muli, sulla cui diffusione nel Regio Esercito italiano gli anglo-americani avevano ironizzato nel 1943, salvo poi rapidamente ricredersi sulla loro utilità. Lo storico militare è in grado di rileggere le vicende del passato rifuggendo sia da superficiali analogie sia da un atteggiamento che fa tabula rasa del passato scoprendo presunte radicali «novità». Tale attento discernimento, può certo anche essere utile a fini operativi: i sacerdoti di Clio, non si pongono questo come obiettivo primario, ma non lo disdegnano.

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Le congrès de Trieste en rétrospective

CORNELIS M. SCHULTEN

Mesdames et Messieurs, chers Amis

Ce discours de clôture me rend perplexe quant à sa teneur. En effet, donner la rétrospective de ce congrès réussi et riche n'est pas une mince affaire.

Parler des communications, après le bilan scientifique, dressé par les professeurs Piero del Negro et Massimo de Leonardis, me paraît une gageure intenable.

Evoquer toutes les activités du programme social sans en oublier une seule dépasse mes capacités de participant. Bref, donner une rétrospective qui fait justice aux efforts déployés par la Commission italienne d'histoire militaire est une entreprise infernale.

Chers amis, avant de venir à Trieste j'ai relu la Divina Commedia de Dante et entrant dans cette salle, je me suis rappelé l'inscription que le poète a accroché à l'entrée de l'enfer : «O, vous qui entrez, laissez toute espérance»!

Mais, chers amis, cet avertissement ne s'applique-t-il pas à vous aussi ?

A la fin de ce congrès, peut-être épuisant puisque très réussi, ayant plié déjà vos bagages, faut-il encore subir un long discours académique? Rassurez-vous, vous êtes entrés dans cette salle que vous aller quitter sans devoir perdre l'espérance, car je vais faire un effort pour ne pas parler trop longtemps.

Chers Amis, je dois d'abord vous donner des nouvelles de notre président d'honneur André Corvisier.

Je l'ai vu il y a un mois et il m'a demandé de vous adresser ses meilleurs souhaits et souvenirs. Il regrette infiniment de ne pas être ici. Son âge- dans une semaine il aura quatre-vingt-dix ans- ne le lui permet plus.

Mais je peux vous assurer que, du moment où on lui parle de la Commission Internationale d'histoire militaire, ses yeux se mettent à étinceler et il rajeunit de vingt ans.

Par la pensée, André Corvisier et son épouse Micheline ont été avec nous.

Mesdames et Messieurs, le thème de ce congrès » Conflits militaires et populations civiles » est d'une actualité brûlante. Dans son mot de bienvenue, le général Vincenzo Camporini l'a clairement évoqué.

Je cite : Le sujet est, malheureusement, également très actuel. Fin de citation.

Si, dans la langue, la distinction entre militaire et civil semble claire, car les militaires ont à regretter des pertes, les civils ne parlent que de victimes innocentes, la ligne de démarcation entre ces deux notions est assez floue.

Le congrès a commencé dimanche soir avec la cérémonie de l'Ammaina Bandiera sur la Place dell' Unita, effectuée par la fanfare des Bersaglieri et des contingents de l'Armée italienne.

L'amiral Dominico Passaro nous y a montré comment en Italie, les forces armées sont ancrées dans la population civile. Ainsi il a mis l'accent sur un aspect important des relations entre le militaire et le civil.

La musique des Bersaglieri et de la Civica Orchestra di fiati Giuseppe Verdi-Citta di Trieste a illustré une fois de plus que l'Italie est le pays de Verdi et de tant d'autres grands

compositeurs.

Combien grande était notre surprise de la soirée musicale du jeudi, offerte par le général Andrea Caso, commandant territorial de Friuli Venezia Giulia. Nous avons écouté avec admiration la brigada Giulia, les Bersaglieri et le Gruppo Incontro.

C'est ce qui m'amène à appeler la cérémonie de l'Ammaina Bandiera du dimache passée une ouverture bien orchestrée d'un congrès de cinq jours, disons le prélude d'un opéra en cinq actes.

Colonel Paesano, président de la Commission Italienne d'Histoire Militaire, en organisant ce congrès, vous avez déployé de grandes qualités, si j'ose dire, de compositeur et de chef d'orchestre.

Chers Amis

Comme c'était le cas dans les autres congrès de notre commission, la diversité des communications ici à Trieste, était grande. On se demande pourquoi ?

La réponse est, d'après moi, que les historiens ne regardent pas le passé, y compris l'époque contemporaine, depuis un observatoire commun, scrutant le même horizon, avec les mêmes outils.

Tout historien a sa propre tour de guet, son propre panorama, son propre matériel.

Si j'observe depuis le mirador de Trieste, plaque-tournante et carrefour de plusieurs civilisations, je vois l'étendu des champs de recherches des Commissions italienne, slovène, autrichienne, hongroise, roumaine, bulgare et grecque. La géographie génère la diversité qui caractérise l'ensemble des communications des historiens de l'Europe de l'Asie, de l'Afrique, du Proche Orient et des deux Amériques.

Un autre élément qui contribue à cette diversité est l'actualité de l'histoire contemporaine. Pour illustrer mon propos, je recours à une métaphore empruntée à la science volcanique.

Le professeur Jean-Nicolas Corvisier nous a parlé de la notion de civil dans le monde grec. Pour moi, l'ancienne civilisation grecque est un volcan éteint dont la lave refroidie continue à fertiliser notre civilisation actuelle.

En revanche, l'histoire de l'Iraq, de l'Afghanistan et la lutte contre le terrorisme me fait penser à un volcan en pleine activité. Entre ces deux états volcaniques s'étale, dans le temps et dans l'espace, toute une série de conflits, porteurs d'effets politiques, sociaux et culturels.

Si les approches, dans les communications, étaient parfois différentes, l'objectif était toujours le même : contribuer à l'évolution de l'histoire militaire. Nos discussions étaient fructueuses grâce aux fondements de notre Commission Internationale d'Histoire Militaire, à savoir : ouverture d'esprit, compréhension mutuelle et confiance dans l'avenir.

Quant à moi, je me demande, si, en raison de la diversité des communications, nous avons construit un édifice à l'architecture rigoureuse. Ou faut-il plutôt parler, n'en déplaise la Commission espagnole d'histoire militaire, d'une cathédrale inachevée comme celle de Gaudi à Barcelone ?

L'histoire de l'Arsenal de Venise et de ces fonctions de stockage, de construction et de lancement nous apprend l'importance d'une telle institution pour avoir permis la réalisation d'entreprises de grande envergure.

A mon avis, nous avons rassemblé du matériel de grande valeur pour garnir l'arsenal de l'historien militaire.

Mais n'oublions pas le côté convivial de ce congrès.

Chers Amis italiens. Par ce congrès, vous avez resserré les liens d'amitié entre les membres de la Commission Internationale d'Histoire Militaire. Vous avez transformé ces liens en câbles solides qui auraient fait honneur à l'Arsenal de Venise.

Les personnes accompagnantes ont été gâtées avec des excursions magnifiques qui n'ont pas manquées de soulever une certaine jalousie de la part des participants au programme académique.

L'accueil au château de Duino, le mardi soir, par Madame Bassa Poropat, présidente de la province de Trieste, est devenu inoubliable.

Nous autres, historiens militaires, nous nous occupons de l'art de la guerre, c'est-à-dire des travaux de Mars, dieu de la guerre. Nous adorons Clio, Muse de l'art de l'histoire. Dans ce congrès, nous avons savouré l'art culinaire de Trieste. Cependant qui est la muse de cet art ? J'ai consulté plusieurs spécialistes parmi nous et ils m'ont dit que cette muse doit certainement s'appeler Italia.

Le mercredi 3 septembre est devenu, pour plusieurs raisons, un jour inoubliable pour nous tous.

A la base de l'Armée de l'air de Rivolto, nous avons admiré la haute compétence des pilotes italiens.

La rencontre avec les Dragons bleus nous a donné une idée des missions accomplies par ce régiment fameux.

La visite à la basilique d'Aquileia nous a démontré son importance, au double sens du mot, cruciale dans huit siècles d'histoire.

A Redipuglia, nous nous sommes recueillis devant le Sacrario Militare. En témoignant notre respect à ceux qui y ont trouvé leur dernier repos, nous nous sommes rendu compte de notre responsabilité d'historiens militaires de maintenir vivante la mémoire de tous ceux qui ont donné leur vie dans les guerres et conflits.

Quant à la contribution indispensable des interprètes, je voudrais exprimer mon admiration pour leur travail.

Chers interprètes, vous connaissez Dante mieux que moi. En entrant dans vos cabines, est-ce que vous avez pensé à l'inscription que j'ai cité au début de ce petit discours ?

Certains orateurs avaient une tendance à parler un peu vite, pour me servir d'un euphémisme.

Vos cabines, étaient-elles parfois un enfer ? Ou un purgatoire ? Théologiquement parlant, ce n'est pas correcte, mais pour nous, même en enfer, vous étiez de vrais anges gardiens.

Quoi qu'il en soit, le paradis s'ouvre pour vous maintenant, et un grand merci pour votre contribution au succès de ce congrès.

Chers amis italiens, sur les rives de l'Adriatique, nous nous sommes baignés dans votre hospitalité chaleureuse. Nous vous en sommes très reconnaissants.

Mesdames et Messieurs, demain nous allons retourner chez nous. Ou pour me servir d'une expression plus appropriée dans l'Italie de la civilisation romaine, nous allons rejoindre nos pénates et nos lares, ou en latin Penates et Lares.

En savourant encore les bons souvenirs de Trieste, nous continuerons l'année prochaine, en vrais Argonautes, notre pérégrination vers les rives du Douro à Oporto au Portugal.

Je vous remercie pour votre attention.

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Commiato

LUC DE VOS

Signore e Signori, Ladies and Gentleman, Chers Collègues et amis, Meine Damen und Herren,

L'iarla per l'organizzazione del nostro trentaquattresimo congresso. Ringrazio i vertici della Difesa, che hanno sostenuto l'organizzazione dell'evento, il Colonnello Matteo Paesano, Presidente della Commissione italiana, i professori Piero del Negro e Massimo de Léonardis, il Capitano di vascello Alfredo Maglietta, e tutti coloro che hanno lavorato al pieno successo del nostro congresso: i membri della Commissione italiana e delle forze armate, gli oratori ed i presidenti di sessione, e, naturalmente, la città di Trieste - una scelta eccellente -, la provincia di Trieste e la regione Friuli Venezia Giulia.

D'un très bon niveau académique, notre 34° Congrès a respecté les traditions et ouvert de nouvelles perspectives. Au rang des traditions : la structure, inchangée, d'un programme dont le canevas a fait ses preuves ; des visites culturelles et des démonstrations militaires, dont l'impressionnant exercice aérien des Frecce tricolori ; les réceptions du soir, qui favorisent les échanges dans un cadre convivial, agrémentées par de magnifiques concerts.

We are historians. Some papers follow the new trend, history of mentality. As a sign of renovation, new researchers made here their remarkable entrance, in particular through the Workshop of Thursday morning, organized by Dr. Ciro Paoletti, which I thank for his good job. Fruit of the work completed by the Task force Excellence, this first concrete result commits us to continue our efforts to increase the audience of the International commission of military history within the academic world and among the new generations. Call is thus launched for the Congress of Oporto, so that this tradition, initiated in Trieste, continues.

Dans la même optique, une brochure réalisée par le professeur Jean Avenel (président de la Commission française), vise à présenter les objectifs et les activités de la CIHM et sera distribuée aux différents pays, afin qu'ils puissent l'adapter, dans le courant de l'année, à leurs besoins et sensibilités spécifiques. Les propositions et adaptations, notamment sur la qualité, seront discutées et finalisées l'an prochain à Porto. Many thanks to the Task Force Excellence, that is no longer existing – even if excellence must be a permanent purpose !-, for its efforts and concrete results.

Tuesday, the Full Board examined the candidacy of the Indonesian commission of military history, represented by Colonel Lingua Prana. The board was favorably impressed by the

quality of this candidacy. That is why, in the name of the Board, I ask you to accept it, trough the acclamation procedure – if, of course, there is no objection. Thank you very much, congratulations and a warm welcome to the Indonesian Commission! (After the meeting, a CD and a brochure are available at the entrance.)

Comme président, je ne serais rien sans le travail de tous les jours, accompli par notre excellent secrétaire général, le Drs. Piet Kamphuis, qui s'occupe de l'organisation pratique des congrès et des relations avec les commissions nationales. Je dois aussi, comme président, remercier tous les membres du Bureau pour leur travail et l'atmosphère amicale qui a régné lors de nos séances de travail.

Infine, vi prego di applaudire molto calorosamente la Commissione italiana, le guide e le hostess che ci hanno accompagnato durante il congresso, come pure le interpreti, per il lavoro eccellente che hanno compiuto.

Molte grazie. Thank you very much. Muchas gracias. Vielen dank. Merci beaucoup.

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Note biografiche dei relatori¹

Amendolara Alejandro, MA in Storia della guerra alla Scuola di guerra dell'Esercito argentino. Membro della Commissione Argentina di Storia Militare.

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Balla Tibor, PhD, Ricercatore per la Storia militare presso lo Intézet és Múzeum di Budapest, vice capo della sezione ungherese degli Archivi Militari di Vienna, Segretario generale della Commissione Ungherese di Storia Militare. Autore di diverse opere sull'Imperial-Regio Esercito Austro-Ungarico.

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Becherelli Alberto, ha conseguito la Laurea Specialistica in Storia delle civiltà e delle culture dell'età moderna e contemporanea presso la facoltà di Scienze Umanistiche dell'Università di Roma "La Sapienza".

Ben Hamida Abdesslem, Professore nella Facoltà di Scienze Umane e Sociali dell'Università di Tunisi, Segretario Generale della Commissione Tunisina di Storia Militare, ha conseguito il Doctorat d'Etat presso la Facoltà di lettere dell'Università di Nizza.

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Gli studiosi sono da considerare autori e/o curatori di opere di storia militare, anche quando, per brevità, esse non vengono citate.

Cisse Mbaye, Laureato in Filosofia all'Università di Dakar, Master in relazioni internazionali all'Università di Parigi II – Pantheon. Maggiore dell'Esercito del Senegal e Membro della Commissione senegalese di storia militare.

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Devries Kelly, PhD, Professore presso l'Università Loyola, Dipartmento di Storia, Baltimora, USA

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Gayme Evelyne, Doctorat d'Etat presso l'Università di Parigi X – Nanterre, Docente di Storia e Geografia presso il liceo Jacques-Brel di La Courneuve.

Gentile Gian P., Colonnello dell'Esercito degli Stati Uniti, BA in storia all'Università di Berkeley e PhD in storia all'Università di Stanford, California. Docente di Storia all'Accademia Militare di West Point. Ha comandato uno squadrone di cavalleria a Bagdad nel 2006. Autore del volume, How Effective is Strategic Bombing? Lessons Learned from World War II to Kosovo, New York University Press, New York, 2000.

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Kramer Alan Richard, PhD all'Università di Amburgo, Professore nel Dipartimento di storia, Trinity College, Università di Dublino. Autore, tra l'altro, di Dynamic of Destruction. Culture and Mass Killing in the First World War, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2007.

Kronlund Jarl Evert, Tenente Colonnello (r) dell'Esercito finlandese. Ricercatore e Direttore all'Istituto di Scienze Militari ed all'Università Nazionale della Difesa, membro del Comitato di bibliografia della Commissione Internazionale di Storia Militare.

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Meccariello Pierpaolo, Generale di Corpo d'Armata (r) della Guardia di Finanza, Comandante in Seconda della Guardia di Finanza (1993-1994). Laureato in Giurisprudenza presso l'Università di Roma, Presidente della Società Italiana di Storia Militare, autore di vari volumi. Deceduto il 18 agosto 2008.

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Paschalidou Efpraxia, PhD in Scienze umane alla Università Nazionale Kapodistria di Atene. Dal 1993 lavora per la Direzione di Storia presso lo Stato Maggiore dell'Esercito ed è attualmente responsabile degli archivi sulla guerra civile.

Pasqualini Maria Gabriella, Professoressa, docente universitaria presso l'Università di Perugia e presso l'Università di Palermo, cattedra di Storia e Istituzioni dell'Africa mediterranea e del Vicino oriente. Membro del Comitato consultivo del Capo di Stato Maggiore della Difesa per il servizio volontario femminile. Autrice di numerosi volumi e saggi di argomento storico-militare.

Pastori Gianluca, PhD, Ricercatore di Storia delle relazioni e delle istituzioni internazionali e Docente di Storia dei rapporti politici tra l'Europa e il Nord-America nella Facoltà di Scienze Politiche dell'Università

Cattolica del Sacro Cuore di Milano.

Pinto de Moura Aureliano, Generale Dr. Presidente della Commissione Brasiliana di Storia Militare.

Politis Stylianos, PhD Ammiraglio di Squadra della Marina Ellenica. Laureato della Facoltà di Diritto Pubblico e Scienze Politiche dell'Università di Atene. PhD in Diritto Internazionale presso la Panteion University di Atene. Docente alle Università dell'Egeo e del Pireo. Vice Presidente della Commissione Ellenica di Storia Militare.

Polónia da Silva Amélia Maria, Professore associato nella Facoltà di lettere dell'Università di Oporto, membro del Comitato editoriale della Revista da Faculdade de Letras – História.

Pommerin Reiner, Colonnello (r) dell'Aeronautica tedesca. PhD e Libera docenza in Storia moderna conseguiti presso l'Università di Colonia. Dopo vari incarichi in università tedesche e straniere, dal 1992 è Docente di Storia moderna e contemporanea all'Università di Dresda. Membro del Comitato della Commissione Internazionale di Storia Militare, co-Direttore della rivista Militargeschichtliche Zeitschrift.

Potgieter Thean, PhD Capitano di Fregata della Marina Sudafricana, Segretario Generale della Commissione Sudafricana di Storia Militare.

Prebilič Vladimir, PhD in Storia militare, Professore assistente e Capo del Dipartimento di Studi sulla difesa nella Facoltà di Scienze Sociali dell'Università di Lubiana.

Pupo Raoul, Professore associato di Storia Contemporanea nell'Università degli Studi di Trieste. Autore, tra l'altro, di Il Lungo esodo, Rizzoli, Milano, 2005 e Il confine scomparso. Saggi sulla storia dell'Adriatico orientale nel Novecento, IRSML, Trieste, 2008.

Quellet Luis Ricardo, Dr., Commissione Argentina di Storia Militare.

Qi Dexue, Maggior Generale, Presidente della Commissione Cinese di Storia Miltare e Vicepresidente dell'Accademia di Studi strategici e scienze militari.

Reichl-Ham Claudia, PhD, laureata in Storia e Studi Archivistici, Vicedirettore del Dipartimento Ricerche e Direttore del Dipartimento Editoria, Museo di Storia Militare, Vienna.

Rhéaume Charles, PhD, storico presso il Ministero della Difesa Nazionale, Ottawa – Canada

Ribeiro Jorge Manuel Martins, Dottore in Storia Moderna e Contemporanea, Professore Assistente Dipartimento di Storia e Studi di Politica Internazionale, Università di Oporto, Portogallo.

Sardain Marie-France, Dottoressa in Storia, Università di Parigi.

Schulten Cornelis, Presidente d'Onore della Commissione Internazionale di Storia Militare.

Simou Bahija, Professore di Storia moderna nell'Università Hassan II di Mohammadia. Membro permanente della Commissione marocchina di storia militare, Direttore aggiunto degli Archivi reali.

Storkmann Klaus, Ricercatore Scientifico al Centro Ricerche di Storia Militare, Potsdam, Germania.

Svoljšak Petra, PhD, Professore Assistente all'Istituto Storico per le Ricerche Scientifiche dell'Accademia Slovena di Scienze ed Arti, Lubiana, Slovenia.

Ten Cate Arthur, Dr. Senior ricercatore all'Istituto di Storia Militare Olandese.

Visser Deon, Tenente Colonnello, Professore associato di Storia Militare alla facoltà di Scienze Militari, Università di Stellenbosch (Accademia Militare del Sudafrica)

Wessels André, PhD, Direttore del Dipartimento di Storia nell'Università dello Stato libero di Orange Bloemfontein, Sudafrica.

Wintjes Jorit, PhD, Assistente ordinario presso il Dipartimento di Storia antica della Julius-Maximilians-Universitaet di Würzburg. Membro della Commissione Irlandese di Storia Militare.

Wyss Marco, Laureato in lettere e scienze umane, Dottorando di ricerca nel dottorato congiunto in Politica e Relazioni Internazionali dell'Università di Nottingham e di Storia dell'Università di Neuchâtel. Assistente volontario di Storia all'Università di Neuchâtel. Segretario generale e redattore scientifico del Bollettino di bibliografia della Commissione Internazionale di Storia Militare.

Zarcone Antonino, Colonnello di S.M., Capo dell'Ufficio Storico dello Stato Maggiore dell'Esercito. Laureato in Scienze Strategiche all'Università di Torino e in Scienze Diplomatiche ed Internazionali all'Università di Trieste. Ha partecipato alle operazioni militari in Bosnia, a Timor Est ed in Iraq.

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Programma accademico delle presentazioni

Lunedì, 1 Settembre 2008

11.00 – 12.30 Sessione introduttiva (Sala SATURNIA)

Moderatore: Colonnello Matteo Paesano

Presidente della Commissione Italiana di Storia Militare

- Prof. Piero Del Negro Conflitti Militari e Popolazioni Civili
- Prof. Massimo de Leonardis
 Regimi politici, sistemi internazionali e carattere delle guerre: totali, limitate, asimmetriche

14.30 – 16.00 Track 1 – Sessione I (Sala SATURNIA)

Moderatore: Prof. Dott. Massimo de Leonardis, Italia
Segretario Generale della Commissione Italiana di Storia Militare

- Prof. Jean-Nicolas Corvisier, Francia
 La naissance de la notion de "civil" dans le monde grec
- Col. Prof. Gian Gentile, Stati Uniti d'America
 The Problem with history and the "Population Centric" theory in American counterinsurgency doctrine and operations
- Amm. di Squadra (r) Dr. Stylianos Politis, Grecia
 The protection of the civil population during armed conflicts
- Dr. Claudia Reichl-Ham, Austria
 Life at the border The military border and its population

16.30 – 18.00 Track 1 – Sessione II (Sala SATURNIA)

Moderatore: Prof. Jean Avenel, Francia

Presidente della Commissione Francese di Storia Militare

- Sig. Mathew Bennett, Gran Bretagna
 The experience of civil populations during the Hundred Years War in France (c. 1340 c. 1440)
- Prof. Amélia Maria Polonia da Silva, Portogallo
 Terrestrial and naval war implications in maritime societies. Portugal in the early modern era
- Dr. Hugo O'Donnell y Duque de Estrada, Spagna
 Relations between the Civilian Population and the Military in Spanish Cities under Siege by the French Army (1808/1814).
- Dr. Jean-Marc Lafon, Francia
 Vers une guerre totale? Innovations et ambiguïtés de la politique de Soult en Andalousie (1810 1812)

Martedì, 2 Settembre 2008

09.00 – 10.30 Track 1 – Sessione III (Sala SATURNIA)

Moderatore: Dr. Petre Otu, Romania

Presidente della Commissione Romena di Storia Militare

- Prof. Charles Rhéaume, Canada
 Le Canada et son image de pays non belliqueux
- Prof. Jorge Manuel Martins Ribeiro, Portogallo
 The impact of the Peninsular War on the Portuguese civil population (1807-1811)
- Dr. Marie-France Sardain, Francia
 La vie des Parisiens pendant le siège de 1870 1871
- Ten. Col. Istvan Czigany, Ungheria
 The anti-Ottoman defence system and the militarization of the society of the Kingdom of Hungary

09.00 - 10.30 Track 2 - Sessione I (Sala OCEANIA)

Moderatore: Contrammiraglio (r) Paolo Alberini, Italia Membro del Comitato Scientifico del Congresso

- Dr. Jorit Wintjes, Irlanda
 Total War the Ancient Perspective
- Ten.Col. CC. Flavio Carbone, Italia
 L'evoluzione giuridica del potere dell'occupante un territorio nemico nel diritto internazionale bellico, nel corso della Seconda Guerra Mondiale.
- Amm. Isp. Capo Vincenzo Martines, Italia Il ruolo delle navi ospedale nei conflitti.
- Col. (r) Manuel Gracia Rivas, Spagna
 L'assistance médicale dans l'armée et la marine espagnoles à travers le portrait de deux grands chirurgiens

11.00 – 12.30 Track 1 – Sessione IV (Sala SATURNIA)

Moderatore: Col. Dr. Dimitre Minchev, Bulgaria
Presidente della Commissione Bulgara di Storia Militare

- Dr. M. Christian Ortner, Austria
 The role of the Austro-Hungarian army in the suppression of the internal unrests of 1918
- Dr. Tibor Balla, Ungheria
 Deployment of the military assistance troops in Hungary in 1918
- Sig. Kwan Sam Choi, Corea del Sud Government measures and lessons learned concerning refugees during the Korean War.
- Gen. di Divisione (r) Mihail E. Ionescu, Romania
 Asymmetric War or Ideological Mobilization. The Romanian Case (1968-1989)11.00 12.30

11.00 – 12.30 Track 2 – Sessione II (Sala OCEANIA)

Moderatore: Generale di C.A. Heikki Tilander, Finlandia
Presidente della Commissione Finlandese di Storia Militare

- Col. Dr. Francisco Josè Corpas Rojo, Spagna
 La répartition: système de soutien logistique des armée par la population
- Dr. Evelyne Gayme, Francia
 Le regard des civils sur le transfert des prisonniers de guerre français en Allemagne. Mai-juin 1940
- Dr. Kelly de Vries, Stati Uniti d'America
 Standing up to the Ottoman Empire: civilian resistance to Turkish expansionism during the 15th,
 16th and 17th centuries

14.30 – 16.00 Track 1 – Sessione V (Sala SATURNIA)

Moderatore: Generale di Divisione Dominique Juilland, Svizzera Presidente della Commissione Svizzera di Storia Militare

- Dr. Petra Svolisak, Slovenia
 The Italian military occupation of Slovene ethnic territory during World War I
- Dr. Fernando Garcia Sanz, Spagna
 Civili e militari italiani in Spagna durante la Prima Guerra Mondiale: I servizi d'informazione.
- Dr. Petre Otu, Romania
 La population civile en tant qu' "acteur" de l'armée roumaine (1919 1939)
- Dr. Arthur ten Cate, Olanda
 Civilians as a centre of gravity. Dutch security assistance operations in Afghanistan and Iraq

14.30 – 16.00 Track 2 – Sessione III (Sala OCEANIA)

Moderatore: Prof. Hisashi Takahashi, Giappone Presidente della Commissione Giapponese di Storia Militare

- Prof. Signora Bahija Simou, Marocco
 Impacts de la participation marocaine à la Seconde Guerre Mondiale sur la population civile
- Dr. Gianluca Pastori, Italia
 Civili e guerra: armi, popolazione e territorio durante la repressione della rivolta del Mullah pazzo in Somalia (1890–1920).
- Dr. Thean Potgieter, Sud Africa
 The origins and effects of maritime insecurity on Somalia
- Mr. Ian Liebenberg, Sud Africa
 Stellenbosch University in turbulent times: student attitudes and social conflict from World War II to the end of the "Bush War" and the liberation struggle

16.30 – 18.00 Track 1 – Sessione VI (Sala SATURNIA)

Moderatore: Dr. Col. Allan R. Millet, Stati Uniti d'America Vicepresidente della Commissione Internazionale di Storia Militare

- Prof. Alan Kramer, Irlanda
 German war crimes during the First and Second World Wars: the question of continuity
- Prof. Abdesslem Ben Hamida, Tunisia
 Les répercussions des deux guerres mondiales sur la population civile tunisienne sur le plan démographique
- Mag. Mbaye Cisse, Senegal
 L'effort de guerre en Afrique occidentale française pendant la guerre 1914-18: le cas de la colonie du Senegal
- Dr. Bruno Mugnai, Italia
 Il «Discolato», l'arruolamento coatto in Toscana fra Settecento e Ottocento.

16.30 – 18.00 Track 2 – Sessione IV (Sala OCEANIA)

Moderatore: Col. Prof. Tadeusz Panecki, Polonia

Segretario Generale della Commissione Polacca di Storia Militare

- Dr. Enrico Magnani, Italia
 le Nazioni Unite e la protezione delle popolazioni civili, dai documenti alle azioni.
- Gen. B. (r). Dani Asher, Israele
 IDF Combat Intelligence in an Asymmetric War: The Second Lebanon War against Hezbollah, July-August 2006
- Dr. Ricardo Herrera, Stati Uniti d'America
 The military occupation of Iraq: Brave Rifles at Tall "Afar"

"BOOK PANEL" - ROUND TABLE (In lingua inglese)

Defining concepts and recent books on Total War, Limited War, and Asymmetrical War

09.00 - 12.30 (Room VULCANIA 1)

Moderator: Dr. Enrico Magnani, Italy

Funzionario delle Nazioni Unite in Africa Settentrionale

- Joseph P. Harahan, Department of Defense, United States Total War.
- Erwin Schmidl, National Defense Academy, Austria Limited War.
- Charles Neimeyer, U.S. Marine Corps University, United States Asymmetrical Wars.

Discussion: The audience

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Giovedì, 4 Settembre 2008

09.00 – 10.30 Track 1 – Sessione VII (Sala SATURNIA)

Moderatore: Gen. di S.A. Pedro Bernal Gutierrez, Spagna Presidente della Commissione Spagnola di Storia Militare

- Col. Prof. Reiner Pommerin, Germania
 Death out of the air and its civilian victims in Germany, 1939 1945
- Gen. di Divisione (r) Dexue Qi, Cina
 China's war of resistance against Japanese aggression and the Chinese people
- Col. (r) Dr. Dimitre Minchev, Bulgaria
 The Central committee for the Bulgarian campaign in Skopje, 1941
- Prof. Gavin Cawathra, Sud Africa
 Effects of conscription in South Africa: the "War Resistance" movement 1974-1994

11.00 – 12.30 Track 1 – Sessione VIII (Sala SATURNIA)

Moderatore: Prof. Dr. Piero Del Negro, Italia

Membro del Comitato della Commissione Internazionale di Storia Militare

- Prof. Raoul Pupo, Italia
 Violenza di guerra, violenza di pace, il caso delle foibe giuliane.
- Prof. Matitiahu Mayzel, Israele
 Military demographic losses and recovery: the case of Russia in the 20th Century
- Prof. Marco Wyss, Svizzera
 Dr F. Riedweg and the enforcement on non-German "Germanic" civilians of SS standards during
 World War II
- Col. Prof. Tadeusz Panecki, Polonia
 La population civile polonaise pendant l'agression allemande et soviétique en 1939

14.30 – 16.00 Track 1 – Sessione IX (Sala SATURNIA)

Moderatore: Prof. Gen. D. (c.a.) Solly Mollo, Sud Africa
Presidente della Commissione Sudafricana di Storia Militare

- Prof. Mohamed Salah Dahmani, Tunisia
 Civils et guerre asymétrique:la résistance armée tunisienne aux forces d'occupation françaises en Tunisie 1881 – 1956
- Dr. Patrick Nefors, Belgio
 Civilians and occupation: Belgium in the Second World War
- Ten. Col. Jarl Kronlund, Finlandia
 The impact of the Finnish Wars of 1939-1945 upon the Finnish people and society
- Mag. Mitsutoshi Hanyu, Giappone
 The mobilization of Japanese students during the Pacific War

16.30 – 18.00 Track 1 – Sessione X (Sala SATURNIA)

Moderatore: Prof. Lars Erikson Wolke, Svezia

Presidente della Commissione Svedese di Storia Militare

- Dr. Geoffrey Megargee, Stati Uniti d'America
 Vernichtungskrieg: strategy, operations and genocide in the German invasion of the Soviet Union, 1941
- Prof. Damijan Gustin Dr. Vladimir Prebilic, Slovenia
 Population, Occupation Administrations and Resistance Movement: Slovenia 1941-1945
- Dr. Christos Iacovou, Cipro
 The Jewish detention camps in Cyprus during the Palestine crisis (1946-1948)
- Contrammiraglio (r) Tiberio Moro, Italia
 L'impatto della battaglia di Lepanto sull'Occidente Mediterraneo dal XVI al XXI secolo.

WORKSHOP (In lingua inglese)

09.00 - 10.00 Sessione I (Sala OCEANIA)

Moderatore: Dr. Ciro Paoletti, Italia

Membro del Comitato di Bibliografia della CIHM

- Sig. Manuel Antonio Pereira Couto, Università di Porto, Portogallo War and civilians - the impact of soldiers on hospitals.
- Sig. Serge Gadal, Università di Poitiers, Francia Strategic bombing: the civilian population as target
- Sig. Klaus Storkmann, MGFA di Postdam, Germania
 Solution to conflicts or incitement to guerilla warfare? Eastern German military support in Southern Africa and civilian victims

10.00 – 11.00 Sessione II (Sala OCEANIA)

Moderatore: Dr. Ciro Paoletti, Italia

Membro del Comitato di Bibliografia della CIHM

- Signora Valeria Rosato, Università Roma 3, Italia The conflict and peace process in Colombia
- Signora Ellen Tillman, Università dell'Illinois, Stati Uniti d'America
 War and civilians, the solution to a conflict; the case of the occupation of the Dominican Republic on the part of the Marines Corps
- Sig. Alberto Becherelli, Università Roma 1, Italia Civilians and Italian mission in Budapest in 1919.

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Venerdì, 5 Settembre 2008

09.00 – 10.30 Track 1 – Sessione XI (Sala SATURNIA)

Moderatore: Ten. Gen. Alexandre De Castro De Sousa Pinto

Presidente della Commissione Portoghese di Storia Militare

- Prof. Martin Hårdstedt, Svezia
 Preconditions of war logistics, civilian society and consequences of war during the period of the Napoleonic Wars
- Dr. Charles Niemeyer, Stati Uniti d'America
 The British occupation of Newport, Rhode Island between 1776 and 1779
- Prof. Andrè Wessels, Sud Africa
 The Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902) and its consequences: a specific South African study of military conflict and the civilian population
- Dr. Efpraxia Paschalidou, Grecia
 The organization and activities of Hellenism under the guidance of religious and illustrious figures during the struggle for Macedonia, 1904 – 1908

11.00 – 13.00 Track 1 – Sessione XII (Sala SATURNIA)
Moderatore: Prof. Ioannis Loucas, Grecia
Vicepresidente della Commissione Internazionale di Storia Militare

- Prof. Alejandro Amendolara, Argentina
 The argentine military government in the Malvinas/Falkland islands during the 1982 war
- Ten. Vasc. Blaise Mbue Ngappe, Camerun
 Les conflits au Tchad et leur impact sur la population civile du Cameroun
- Gen. di C.A. Aureliano Pinto De Moura, Brasile Haiti - The path to peace - Minustah
- Gen. C.A. (GdF) Pierpaolo Meccariello
 Le politiche di controllo dei consumi in Italia nei due conflitti mondiali
- Bilancio scientifico del Congresso
 Prof. Piero del Negro Prof. Massimo de Leonardis

Elenco alfabetico dei partecipanti al XXXIV Congresso della CIHM

Α

Adams Bianka, Stati Uniti Adams Clark, Stati Uniti Afonso Aniceto Henrique, Portogallo Afonso Marilia, Portogallo Akitani Kishico, Giappone Akitani Shohei, Giappone Al Ali Yahua, Emirati Arabi Uniti Al Hammadi Abdullah, Emirati Arabi Uniti Al Zaabi Ali, Emirati Arabi Uniti Alberini Elena, Italia Alberini Paolo, Italia Allain Jean-Claude, Francia Allain Odile, Francia Amendolara Aleiandro. Argentina Armada Maria, Spagna Asher Dani, Israele Asher Menucha, Israele Assenza Antonio, Italia Aubry Giulia, Italia Avenel Jean, Francia

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Carnese Emilia, Italia
Cawathra Gavin, Sudafrica
Cera Stefano, Italia
Chelbi Lotfi, Tunisia
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Devore Marc R, Stati Uniti
Devore Ronald M., Stati Uniti
Devries Kelly, Stati Uniti
Dubois Colette, Francia

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F

Faivre Maurice, Francia
Faivre Dreveton Monique,
Francia
Fall Abdoulaye, Senegal
Farley - Millett Martha, Stati
Uniti
Favier Anne Marie, Francia
Favier Hervé, Francia
Faye Cheikh Faty, Senegal
Floyd Dale, Stati Uniti
Floyd Gayle, Stati Uniti
Fraund Philipp, Germania
Frota Guilherme, Brasile
Furlan Antonella, Italia

G Gadal Serge, Francia Galster Kjeld Hald, Danimarca Garcia Sanz Fernando, Spagna Gayme Evelyne, Francia Acta ______849

Genequand Christiane, Svizzera Genequand Jean-Etienne, Svizzera Gentile Gee Won, Stati Uniti Gentile Gian, Stati Uniti Giammartino Gabriella, Italia Gordon Diane, Stati Uniti Gordon Martin, Stati Uniti Gracia Rivas Manuel, Spagna Gustin Damijan, Slovenia

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lacovou Christos, Cipro loannou Anthimos, Cipro lonescu E. Mihail, Romania

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K

Kaisarou Triandafilia, Grecia Kamphuis Ankie, Olanda Kamphuis Piet, Olanda Kang Yuetian, Cina Kim Hong Young, Corea del Sud Koch Roland, Francia Koulieri Olga, Grecia Kramer Alan, Irlanda Kronlund Jarl, Finlandia Kronlund Ulpu, Finlandia Kubiak Joanna, Polonia Kubiak Kriysztof, Polonia Kusuma, Indonesia Kuttner Peter, Finlandia

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Loucas Ioannis, Grecia

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Marolda Edward, Stati Uniti
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Portogallo
Mastrandonis Nicholas, Grecia
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Portogallo
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Mayzel Rina, Israele
Mbue Ngappe Blaise, Camerun
McDonald Chandley, Stati Uniti
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Paesano Matteo, Italia Panagopoulos Athanasios, Grecia Panecki Tadeusz, Polonia Papini Simonetta, Italia Paschalidou Efpraxia, Grecia Pastori Gianluca, Italia Pawlisch Hans Scott, Stati Uniti Pereira Couto Manuel Antonio, Portogallo Pinto De Moura Aureliano, Brasile Pinto De Moura Nilce Therezinha, Brasile Piovano Luciano, Italia Politis Stylianos, Grecia Polonia da Silva Amélia Maria, Portogallo Pommerin Reiner, Germania Potgieter Thean, Sudafrica Poulsen Niels Bo, Danimarca Prana Lingua, Indonesia Prebilic Vladimir, Slovenia Pribadi Agus Guanedi, Indonesia Premi Francesco, Italia Pupo Raoul, Italia

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Yakar Regita, Israele Yakar Rephael, Israele Yamashita, Giappone Yu Jianwen, Cina

Zbitou Ali, Marocco Zhu Yuxing, Cina

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Elenco dei partecipanti per nazione*

Argentina

Amendolara Alejandro

Austria

Ortner M. Christian Reichl - Ham Claudia Schmidl Flena Schmidl Frwin A. Tepperberg Christoph

Belgio Bastin Eric De Vos Luc De Vos Williane Nefors Patrick

Brasile

Frota Guilherme Lima Marcos

Pinto De Moura Aureliano Pinto De Moura Nilce Therezinha

Bulgaria

Minchev Daniela Dimitrova

Minchey Dimitre

Camerun

Mbue Ngappe Blaise Nnengue Moneboulou Victor

Canada Bernier Serge Lagarde Marie France Rhèaume Charles Sinclair Warren

Cina Kang Yuetian Oi Dexue Wang Jinhua Yu Jianwen Zhu Yuxing

Cipro

lacovou Christos Ioannou Anthimos Lniznu Andreas Corea del Sud Choi Kujan Sam Kim Hong Young

Danimarca Galster Kjeld Hald Poulsen Niels Bo

Emirati Arahi Uniti Al Ali Yahua

Al Hammadi Abdullah

Al 7aahi Ali

Finlandia Kronlund Jarl Kronlund Ulpu Kuttner Peter Tilander Heikki

Francia

Allain lean-Claude Allain Odile Avenel lean

Barral Pierre-Emmanuel **Bodinier Gilbert** Burnet Marie Annick Corvisier Jean Nicolas

Delarbre Jean Delarbre Marguerite Denis Claudine Dubois Colette

Faivre Dreveton Moniaue

Faivre Maurice Favier Anne Marie Favier Hervé Gadal Serge Gayme Evelyne

Lafon Jean-Marc Meric Christian Monteil Laurence Monteil Mariè - Jeanne Sardain Marie-France Vatinel François Vatinel Marie Christine Vincent lean Noel

Koch Roland

Waksman Pierre Waksman Therese

Germania Fhlert Rianca Fhlert Hans Fraund Philipp Harder Hans-Joachim Harder leannine Heinemann Winfried Hilbert Lothar Pommerin Reiner Roth Guenter Storkmann Klaus

Giappone Akitani Kishico Akitani Shohei Hanuu Mitsutoshi Hayashi Reiko Hauashi Yoshinaga Takahashi Hisashi Yamashita

Gran Bretagna Bennett Mathew

Grecia

Kaisarou Triandafilia Koulieri Olga Loucas Ioannis

Mastrandonis Nicholas

^{*} In corsivo gli accompagnatori

Panagopoulos Athanasios Paschalidou Efpraxia Politis Stylianos Tanti Erasmia

Indonesia Prana Lingua Pribadi Agus Guanedi

Kusuma

Irlanda Kramer Alan McGoldrick Francis Mulready Peter Winties Jorit

Israele
Asher Dani
Asher Menucha
Hershko Noah
Herskho Litsi
Mayzel Matitiahu
Mayzel Rina
Yakar Regita
Yakar Rephael

Italia

Alberini Elena
Alberini Paolo
Aubry Giulia
Assenza Antonio
Becherelli Alberto
Carbone Flavio
Carnese Emilia
de Leonardis Massimo

Furlan Antonella Giammartino Gabriella La Spada Flavia Magnani Enrico

Del Negro Piero

Manzin Silvia
Martines Vincenzo
Moro Tiberio
Mugnai Bruno
Paesano Matteo
Papini Simonetta
Pastori Gianluca

Piovano Luciano Premi Francesco Pupo Raoul *Righetti Elena* Rosato Valeria Rossi Euro

Schmidlin Esmeralda

Tanga Enzo

Valentini Alessandro

Marocco El Ouadoudi Omar Simou Bahija Tazi Habiba Zbitou Ali

Olanda
Cuperus Elisabeth
Kamphuis Ankie
Kamphuis Piet
Schulten Cornelis
Schulten Mieke
Ten Cate Arthur

Polonia Kubiak Joanna Kubiak Kriysztof Panecki Tadeusz

Van Woensel Jeoffreu

Portogallo

Afonso Aniceto Henrique

Afonso Marilia

Da Silva Balseiro Marisela Yolanda

De Castro De Sousa Pinto

Alexandre M.

De Sousα Pinto Mαriα Joαo Martins Ribeiro Jorge Manuel Matos Martelo David Manuel Pereira Couto Manuel Antonio Polonia da Silva Amélia Maria

Romania Ionescu E. Mihail Otu Petre

Senegal Cisse Mbaye Fall Abdoulaye Faye Cheikh Faty Toure Mamadou

Slovenia Gustin Damijan Prebilic Vladimir Svolisak Petra

Spagna Armada Maria

Barrera Padron Maria del Carmen

Bernal Gutierrez Pedro
Blanco Nunez Jose Maria
Corpas Rojo Francisco Josè
Garcia Sanz Fernando
Gracia Rivas Manuel
Moya Gonzalez M. Belen
Neira Rodriguez M. del Pilar
O'Donnell Hugo y Duque de

Estrada

Torres Fondevila M. del Carmen Torres Fondevila Maria Teresa

Stati Uniti
Adams Bianka
Adams Clark
Devore Adeline
Devore Audrey D.
Devore Marc R
Devore Ronald M.
Devries Kelly

Farley - Millett Martha

Floyd Dale
Floyd Gayle
Gentile Gee Won
Gentile Gian
Gordon Diane
Gordon Martin
Hacker Barton C.
Harahan Ann
Harahan Pat
Hatakeyama Takayo
Herrera Ricardo
Higham Robin

Hogue James

Marolda Edward

853

McDonald Chandley
McDonald James
Mckenney Janice
Megargee Anthony
Megargee Geoffrey
Millett Allan R.
Murphy Kevin
Neimeyer Charles
Neimeyer Janet W.

Rogel Carole Shrader Carolyn Shrader Charles Snyder T.J. Snyder Willard B.

Pawlisch Hans Scott

Sparks

Spinelli Cynthia Spinelli John Stewart Richard W. Tillman Ellen Vining Margaret Von Luttichau Ann

Sudafrica Cawathra Gavin Liebenberg lan Mollo Solly

Monama Fankie Lucas Potgieter Thean *Roos Mariaan* Visser Deon

Svezia Erikson Wolke Erikson Wolke Lars Hårdstedt Martin

Svizzera Bockli - Infanger Georgette Genequand Christiane Genequand Jean-Etienne Juilland Dominique Juilland Marie - Louise

Meyer Erwin Queloz Dimitry Rumpf Francois Rumpf Juliette

Stoeckli - Evans Helen

Stoeckli Fritz Wyss Marco

Tunisia

Ben Hamida Abdesslem

Chelbi Lotfi

Dahmani Mohamed Salah

Ungheria Balla Tibor Czigany Istvan Uhel Gabor Uhel Peter Veszpremy Laszl

Аста _______855



Trieste panorama



Trieste Piazza Unità d'Italia



Cerimonia alzabandiera



Cerimonia alzabandiera

Аста _______857



Cerimonia alzabandiera



Cerimonia alzabandiera



Cerimonia alzabandiera



Cerimonia alzabandiera

ACTA _______859



Cerimonia alzabandiera



Trieste Piazza Unità d'Italia



Presidente CISM e Presidente CIHM serata di benvenuto



Sottosegretario di Stato alla Difesa On. Giuseppe Cossiga e Capo di Stato Maggiore alla Difesa Gen. Vincenzo Camporini

ACTA _______861



Serata di benvenuto



Serata di benvenuto



Serata di benvenuto



Trieste notturno





Stand Forze Armate - Centro Congressi



Stand Forze Armate - Centro Congressi



Sessione inaugurale



Sessione inaugurale







Sessione inaugurale



Sessione "Gli Archivi Militari Italiani"

ACTA _______869



Sessione introduttiva



Lavori 1° Sessione



Concerto presso Capitaneria di Porto di Trieste



Concerto presso Capitaneria di Porto di Trieste



Segretario Generale CIHM con Direttore di Orchestra



Comandante Capitaneria di Trieste, Ammiraglio Passaro con Presidente CIHM

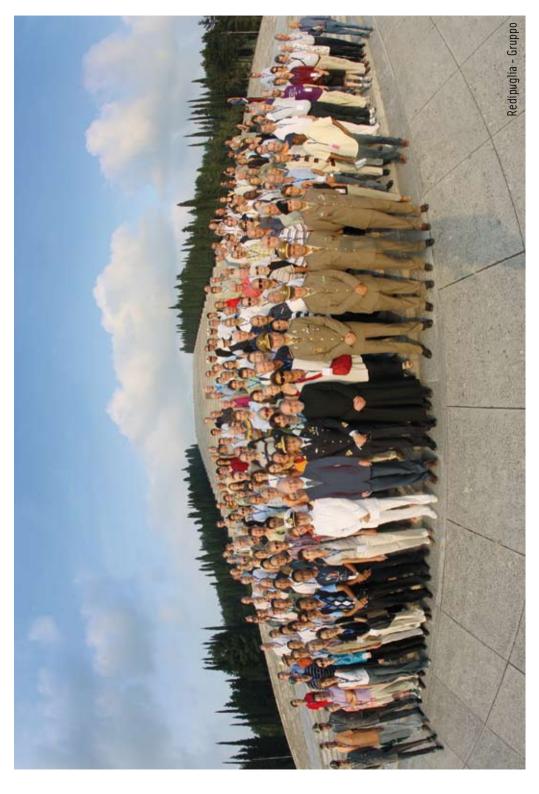


Palmanova - Visita Reggimento Cavalleria



Redipuglia - Cerimonia

Аста ______ 873













Il Comandante Militare del Friuli Venezia Giulia, Generale Caso, saluta gli ospiti



Serata in Concerto

Аста _______ 879



Serata in Concerto



Serata in Concerto



Serata in Concerto



Ricevimento di commiato Villa Manin – Udine



Ricevimento di commiato Villa Manin – Udine



Ricevimento di commiato Villa Manin – Udine



Aquileia - Visita Basilica



Aquileia - Visita Basilica

Аста ________ 883



Castello di Duino



Castello di Miramare



Ricevimento di commiato Villa Manin – Udine



Ricevimento di commiato Villa Manin – Udine

Аста _______ 885



Gruppo di Lavoro



Gruppo di Lavoro