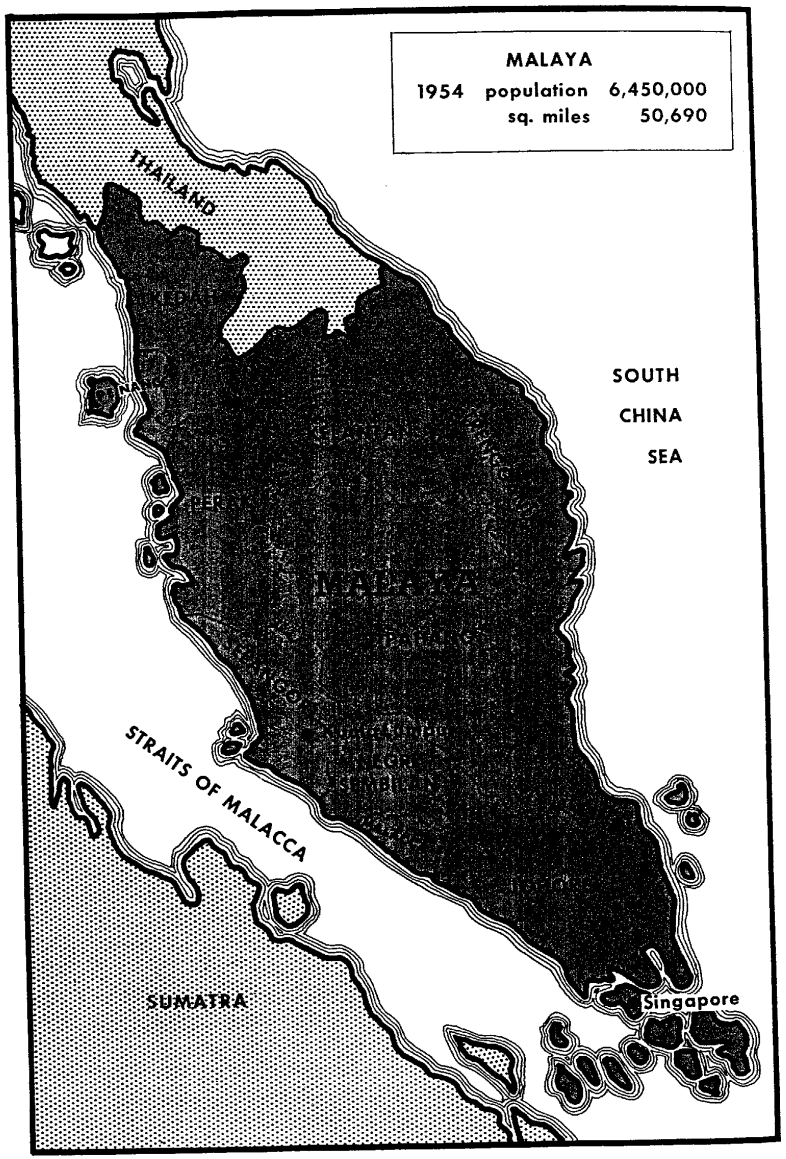
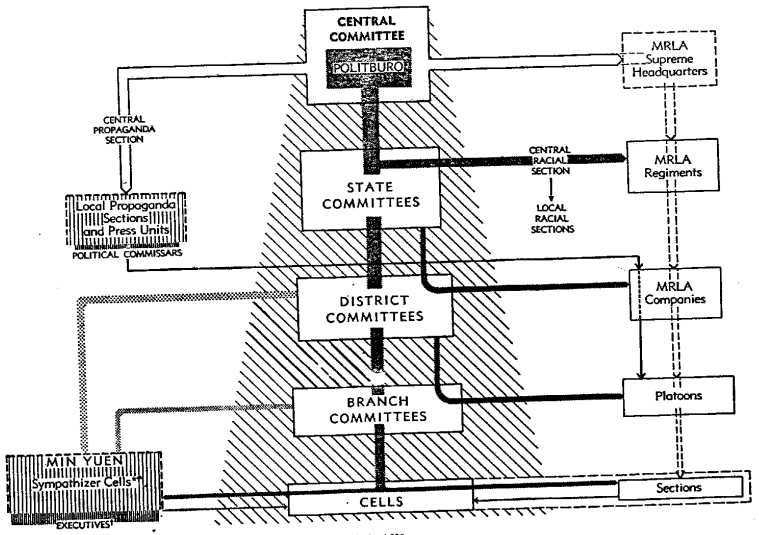


Figure 10. Map of Malaya.

The MRLA, originally composed of 3,000 to 4,000 men,[16] and never exceeding 5,000 to 6,000 men,[17] was intended to be a revival of the old MPAJA. Actually only about 60 percent of those who had fought in the wartime resistance army responded to the call of the MCP in 1948.[18] Their leaders later admitted that they had neither enough men nor enough supplies. And "without supplies they were forced to live off the country, which meant that they had alienated the sympathy of the very people which they needed for their mass movement." [19]

Each guerrilla unit, usually composed of 40 to 50 men, had a political liaison officer appointed by the regional committee. Although he attempted to coordinate the units' activities with the policies set down by the MCP, poor communications made unified action impossible; each unit's operations were determined by the immediate circumstances and the will of the political commander.[20] The lack of coordination of operations severely handicapped the rebellion.

A terrorist unit, known as "The Blood and Steel Corps," also existed. This corps stole, punished, and intimidated for the party. It was the activities of this group which led the government to label the MCP members "bandits," a term later withdrawn in favor of "Communist terrorists." [21]



*Self-Protection Corps, Cultivation Corps, Anti-British Alliance Society, Anti-Traitor's Corps, Student's Union, Women's Union, etc.
†Individual underground workers

Figure 11. Malayan Communist Party Organization During the Emergency.

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Cases of Undergrounds

The *Min Yuen*, or Popular Movement, was the civilian arm of the MCP. Its two principal duties were to supply the MRLA with logistical support, and to serve as an intelligence network to keep the guerrillas informed of government troop movements. Initially most of the members—estimated at between 10,000 and 100,000—were Chinese squatters who lived at the edge of the jungle.[22] Many of these people had settled in these areas during the war, hoping to escape from the Japanese occupation officials who were known to be much harsher on Chinese than on Malays. The *Min Yuen* also was charged with organizing new, or dominating already established, sport, youth, and women's groups.

Directed by the Communist Party, but not organized into any recognized unit, were individual underground workers who performed duties within the labor movement. Some of these party members were union leaders who avoided any activity reputed to be Communist-dominated; others were rank and file members who agitated openly for "reform," "wage increases," etc. Their activities permitted the MCP leaders to manipulate union activities to conform with Communist strategy. Thus they could say that their changes were in line "with popular labor demand."

The absence of efficient interregional communication systems, the inability to maintain single unit "regiments" in the jungle, and the success of colonial efforts at relocating rural elements of the population brought about a general separation between the disintegration of the various Communist political and military commands. District commanders found themselves forced to draw up their own strategy, without the knowledge or approval of the high command. At the same time, decisions made at the central committee reached the lower echelons too late to be effective.[23] As typical guerrilla activity failed to secure the MCP's objective, it was succeeded by large-scale and indiscriminate terror, which weakened their claims to be the champions of the Malayan people.[24]

UNDERGROUND ACTIVITIES

ADMINISTRATIVE FUNCTIONS

Communications

As the British pressed their counterattack, the Communists were divided into smaller, isolated units with little intergroup accessibility, and communications within the ranks of the insurgent movement became increasingly difficult. Centralized direction was slow to be achieved and even slower to be transmitted. The Politburo could not meet often; it had to draw up plans on a yearly basis, and assign these on a quota system to subordinate units for execution. Change, rapid response to new situations, surprise, mobility—all the tactical desiderata of guerrilla warfare—could not be utilized because of the difficulty of transmitting orders from higher to lower echelons with the necessary authority and speed. Radio transmitters were almost completely lacking;[25] the party had to rely upon couriers, and major decisions were often a year in reaching their destination. (Such was the case in 1951, when the central committee decided to abandon terrorist activities in order to develop united front tactics and concentrate on political warfare.) Couriers were recruited from the ranks of the *Min Yuen;* often this work was a prelude to their becoming full-scale guerrilla fighters. The *Min Yuen* ran two courier systems, one for its own internal communications and one for the MRLA in the jungle. Government security forces were successful in breaking communications between the various levels of committees.

One other factor appears to have weakened the MCP communications system. Interviews with enemy personnel who surrendered to the British revealed attitudes of distrust of all but face-to-face communication. These persons presumably tested the reliability of the information by their estimate of the informant. Such attitudes place incalculable strains on any communication system, particularly one being gradually worn down and worn out.

Finally, the MCP probably faced the additional complication of maintaining communications across national frontiers. Like all Communist parties except the Soviet and the Chinese, it would be likely to look to some outside authority for approval of its current policies. Following the meetings in Calcutta in 1948, and especially after 1949, overall strategic guidance for Communist activity in Southeast Asia came increasingly from China. Thus a communications channel probably existed between China and the MCP high command, possibly through the Permanent Liaison Bureau of the World Federation of Trade Unions after 1949. Early in 1950, according to one authority,[26] Chinese Communist cadres were introduced on a regular basis, infiltrating by way of Thailand or by sea. After the British effectively sealed off the border, however, sustaining such communication became increasingly difficult for the duration of the Emergency.

Recruitment

The outcome of the recruitment effort of the insurgent movement was shaped by several factors. Probably most significant was the fact that the rebellion was the creature of the Malayan Communist Party, which was traditionally associated with the Chinese community in the plural, divided society of Malaya. Communist Party leaders assumed that Chinese elements in Malaya would be readily attracted to the movement, as indeed many were. However, the realization that 95 percent of the underground insurgents were Chinese only served to alienate the other ethnic groups. Throughout, the insurgency remained a predominantly Chinese movement.

On the other hand, the MCP was helped by the fact that through its wartime resistance it had acquired the reputation of being the only organization which was serving the interests of Malaya. When the rebellion began, many people, including peasants and workers, still felt that the MCP was serving their interests—particularly after the British, who represented "colonialism,"

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denounced the guerrillas as "bandits," an epithet which failed to elicit a truly anti-Communist response and later was discarded in favor of "Communist terrorists," a more accurate descriptive term. Others, including Chinese who had been too young to fight during the war, were anxious to fight during the Emergency, especially after the Communist victory in China. The glories of Mao's Peking regime aroused a patriotic response in the overseas Chinese communities. China's intervention against the U.N. forces in Korea played no small part in this attraction. Recruitment for both guerrilla and underground work increased at several points during the Emergency in reaction to events outside Malaya such as the Chinese Communist victory on the China mainland and the French reverses in Indochina.

Although the MCP could safely count on the vast majority of overseas Chinese for support, the character of the rebellion required the party to select recruits carefully. Persons of two sorts were needed: those who could withstand the rigors of the jungle and those who could provide food and supplies from urban areas.

Of broader importance in making the rebellion a primarily Chinese movement were the social and economic conditions in postwar Malaya. Two circumstances helped to convince the Chinese that they were the "have not" segment of the population. For one thing, technological advances eliminated the need for many of the Chinese unskilled laborers. Also, the Chinese were not allowed to participate, at least not on an equal basis with the Malays, in the civil administration of the country. This was a field primarily reserved for Malays.[27] The Malay Federation citizenship rules, which discriminated heavily against the Chinese, served further to alienate them. In June 1949 only one-sixth of the Chinese population had citizenship rights.[28]

To the Chinese, who felt a sense of isolation, being asked to join a group was important; furthermore, many of them felt that the MCP was the one element in Malayan society concerned with the individual. Hence many were eager to join the insurgents.

Communist sympathizers were impressed with the results achieved by the MCP, a thoroughly disciplined organization. Such recruits were not unaware that the Communists controlled various front groups, but rather than being shocked at the Communist manipulation of these organizations, they were impressed by the MCP strength and shrewdness. Even if an individual did not always agree with the goals of communism, he could admire the political skill of the MCP.[29]

While front members were undoubtedly aware that their leaders were carrying out secret activities for Communist goals, they considered this a legitimate act of authority. The recruit felt some thrill at belonging to a group which did some illegal things. The shift from participation in a front group to membership in the party was a very selective process, and it was common to serve in a front group before becoming a full-fledged party member. The conferring of party membership was viewed by the individual as a promotion. Friends of a party member or sympathizer often joined the Communist movement, but usually out of friendship rather than dedication to a cause.

The MCP also had other agencies, less overtly political, which were used to acquire adherents. Youth and sporting groups provided stimulating leisure-time activity. Also, with employment hard to find, it was sometimes necessary to join a Communist union in order to secure a job.

Once the 500,000 Chinese in the rural population were impounded in guarded villages, recruitment for the MRLA was hampered. Nevertheless, the Communists would seek out individuals in fields adjacent to the jungle and demand that they secretly deposit food and supplies for the MRLA at prearranged points. Once an individual had helped the rebel cause it was almost impossible for him to avoid continued service for fear of being reported to the government officials, which the Communists frequently threatened to do.

Finance

Immediately after the Japanese surrender, the British authorities learned that the MCP had amassed a large sum of Japanese script to finance Communist activity. When the British repudiated this script it hurt some loyal merchants, but it was especially painful to the Communists.[30] However, the MCP succeeded in securing funds from a variety of sources. A major one, especially prior to the June 1948 enactment of protective legislation, was the treasuries of the unions which the Communists organized and otherwise dominated. Though some local unions and associations of workers (chiefly Chinese) antedated World War II, the MCP organized the first trade union federation in 1941. It achieved some status, not only because it served the workers but also because it became a target for the Japanese. After the war the MCP again turned to the labor movement and again was successful in organizing and gaining domination over the first postwar unions, more or less associated in the General Labor Unions (GLU). In February 1946 these unions and others were reconstituted as the Pan-Malayan Federation of Trade Unions (PMFTU), affiliated with the international Communist World Federation of Trade Unions.[31]

The GLU and PMFTU collected or controlled the funds of the local unions. They rebated to the locals only what they determined to be necessary. It is estimated that at least 30 percent of all funds collected went to these central offices. Between 1945 and the passage of the 1948 legislation that put an end to such practices, their success was sufficiently alarming to cause the British Government to send trained union officials from England to assist in countering their efforts. With the passage of the restrictive legislation aimed at requiring a "proper system of registration" and with the opening of the Emergency—the armed rebellion—the MCP and its trade union leadership absconded with union funds. Subsequently the Malayan trade union movement was slowly rebuilt on non-Communist bases.[32]

When union treasuries could no longer be tapped by the Communists, the *Min Yuen* became largely responsible (together with the Blood and Steel Corps) for the collection of funds. They extorted large amounts from landowners, mine operators, and transport companies, and smaller sums were

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"taxed" from the workers on the rubber plantations and tin mines. An effective technique to obtain money was to persuade the mine workers to strike; after they had succeeded in obtaining higher wages, the *Min Yuen* would demand payment for the support given the strikers during the time they had not worked. One observer noted that "the laborer had to pledge a percentage of his earnings to the party."[33] A branch of the MCP, the Communist Protection Corps, took the responsibility of eliminating those who refused to pay these subscriptions.

Notwithstanding the ingenious fund-collecting schemes of the Communists, the effective countermeasures of the British created a desperate financial crisis within the MCP. By 1951 the terrorists relied on raids on villages, where they obtained money and supplies by threat. This hampered the *Min Yuen* in its collection of voluntary contributions. It was forced to blackmail the richer citizens of the towns to get money for the rebellion. The urban *Min Yuen* groups operated successfully for a time in Penang, Kuala Lumpur, and Johore.

Selling stolen rubber and tin on the black market proved profitable. The Communists are said to have collected 1,500,000 English pounds from the sale of stolen rubber.[34]

Although the British were able to prevent supplies from China from being delivered to the MRLA by boat, it is suspected that funds or other material support reached the rebels through the facilities of one or another of the Chinese Communist Party's vehicles.[35] Several Chinese millionaire businessmen and other overseas Chinese living in Singapore were also suspected of having given financial aid to the MCP.

Logistics

From the beginning of the Emergency, MCP officials complained that the Chinese tactics which they followed did not meet their needs: Mao Tse-tung's system of establishing "rural retreats" in order to guarantee the guerrillas a steady supply of food was of little value in the dense jungles of Malaya.

Although the *Min Yuen* was able at first to obtain supplies from "lost drops" made by the British during the war, this source was soon exhausted. At an early stage the rebels were forced to make terrorist raids on village police stations to procure firearms and other supplies. Trucking firms in Singapore were known to have "lost" their cargoes of foodstuffs and other goods on trips from the port city to points inland, and there is also a possibility that arms were arriving from China through neutral Thailand. The border area between Thailand and Malaya on the China seacoast is still a locus of MCP activity.

Food was supplied directly by the Chinese squatters living on the edges of the jungle. After many of these people were relocated by the British Director of Operations, Lieutenant-General Sir Harold Briggs,* and placed under police guard, the *Min Yuen* found its job of supplying the rebels much more difficult. In these circumstances a local inhabitant who managed to steal supplies and elude the guards was forced to join the guerrillas, as he would be unable to return home. Thus his usefulness as a source of food was ended, and he now became only another mouth to feed. The guerrillas tried clearing jungle areas and growing crops, but this only made them vulnerable to the searching eyes of the British reconnaissance pilots who had been introduced into the Briggs Plan for the first time. By 1952 the Communists had to concentrate most of their efforts on obtaining enough food to stay alive.

The food problem was not simply one of acquiring sufficient supplies, but of getting them to where they were needed, and a situation developed where excessive stockpiles existed in some areas while isolated units were near starvation.[36] Their inability to obtain food forced the MRLA and *Min Yuen* to reorganize into small, mobile gangs. In time their logstics operations broke down completely.

*Briggs was author of the plan which eventually proved successful in combatting the insurgency, although he ruined his health and died shortly after he left Malaya in late 1951. See Victor Purcell, *Malaya: Communist or Free?* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1954), pp. 65ff.

Security

When the British clamped down on Communist activity in labor unions, the Communist organizers fled the urban centers to join their comrades in the jungle. Cadres were infiltrated into unions, however, to provoke general agitation. Their ultimate goal was to dominate the Singapore non-Communist Trade Union Confederation in order to eliminate it as a potential competitor. This long range plan met with little success, however.

When open revolt began in 1948, the major security problem concerned the protection of the MRLA bases in the jungle. As the intelligence and counterintelligence system often proved inadequate, however, it was difficult to devise successful security measures. Since most Chinese in Malaya were looked upon by the British as suspect, security measures for those in the *Min Yuen* and the MRLA involved not secrecy of identity but secrecy of purpose and function. Thus a Chinese squatter would be a farmer by day and a soldier by night.

A significant breakdown in the MCP intelligence-security system became noticeable as the British expanded their Chinese-squatter relocation program. The Communists were unable to adapt their insurgency to the loss of almost half a million persons.[37]

OPERATIONAL FUNCTIONS

Psychological Operations

From the end of World War II to the declaration of the Emergency in 1948, the MCP and its affiliates tried to present themselves as organizations which had defeated the enemy in the interest of Malaya. When its initial attempts to be recognized as a legitimate political party by the British failed,

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the MCP returned to clandestine means of spreading propaganda among the the population. Its primary target was the urban Chinese community. Because the Chinese had traditionally been denied participation in Malayan politics, the MCP saw the Chinese community as a likely source of support. It urged the Chinese to demand broader participation in the affairs of the country, and tried to convince them that it was the British who were denying them their proper place in Malaya. Two newspapers, closed down by the British in 1948, repeated this accusation. The *Minh Sheng* (Voice of the People) and the *Sin Min Chu* (New Democracy) made statements to the effect that the British were more vicious than the Japanese.

Segregation from the prewar colonial administration had led the MCP to establish its own schools, clubs, etc., which made it possible for the MCP to approach the Chinese community through already existing organizations. These provided places where people could participate in political discussion. Apparently the prospective Communists were impressed with knowledge shared as well as the emotional intellectual stimulation.[38] At the discussion periods, party members and sympathizers would distribute Communist literature.

Personal informants rather than impersonal sources were preferred, as many Chinese tended to be suspicious of the printed word. A common attitude was expressed by one surrendered Communist:

> When people talk to you, you can tell whether they are sincere or not and thus you can tell whether the information is reliable. You can't do this with a newspaper.[39]

Although the MCP took great pains to try to present itself as a respectable political organization which desired to represent all ethnic groups in Malaya, the fact that it directed its major propaganda efforts toward the Chinese community only served to alienate the other nationalities. The name of the guerrilla army was eventually changed to Malayan Races Liberation Army in order to attract recruits from outside the Chinese community, and the All Races General Labor Union, created in 1950, hoped to achieve the same goal. Neither of these measures, however, met with much success. Furthermore, the relative economic prosperity of the tin and rubber industries, coupled with the fact that the British were preparing the Malayans for independence, soon rendered ineffective the MCP charges that the country was being exploited by the colonials.

Concomitantly, the failure of this propaganda program to stimulate any significant support for the insurgency outside of the party and the Chinese community resulted in a definite change in propaganda policies in late 1948. The new psychological operations included attempts to create an atmosphere of terror throughout the country. This policy was designed to bring about two conditions favorable to the Communist cause: disruption of the Malayan economy and forced cooperation of the indigenous population.

Terrorist measures included both murder and sabotage. Colonial officials, native administrators, and government sympathizers were murdered. Sabotage was directed primarily against rubber plantations and tin mines, but also against transportation facilities (railroads, buses) and communication lines.

These missions were carried out either by a terror squad (the Blood and Steel Corps), units of the MRLA based in the jungle, or *Min Yuen* "Protection Corps" which were under control of the local committee. The terrorist campaign boomeranged, however, and in 1951 the Politburo of the MCP directed all agencies connected with the insurgent movement to cease terrorist activities against the indigenous population. The *Min Yuen* leaders had complained that the indiscriminate terror of the MRLA was making it impossible for them to carry out even routine work among the populace and they feared it would drive the masses to greater support of the government.[40] Thus the Communists were forced to return to a policy of encouraging sympathetic support by nonviolent means. References were now made to the Communist success in China and the "War of Liberation" in Korea. While this made some impression on the Chinese population, it failed to alter the general attitude of Malays and Indians toward the movement.[41] In brief, after the first flush of postwar success, and especially after 1950–51, the MCP failed to find the tools or themes for conducting successful psychological warfare. Its movement ran downhill, declining continually in membership.

Intelligence

After the revolt broke out in 1948, the primary intelligence needed by the MCP was information concerning government troop movements and police operations. The *Min Yuen*, composed largely of Chinese settlers living on the edge of the jungle, was responsible for gathering most of this information. The Sakai aborigines of the Malayan jungle were used as an intelligence network in order to secure the safety of the guerrilla bases.[42] Rebel intelligence operations were fairly effective until the British relocated the Chinese squatters into new villages, thus depriving the rebels of their major source of information.

Although the British made little effort to single out individual Chinese who might be suspected of being members of the *Min Yuen*, the activities of this organization were severely restricted because a large proportion of the rural Chinese population was forcibly moved into "new villages." It is known, however, that these resettled Chinese, while at work in the fields, were approached by guerrilla soldiers, who demanded information or supplies. Although the new villages separated the guerrillas from their source of supply and intelligence, they did not automatically eliminate Communist Party activity within the new village compounds.[43]

The Emergency continued and the rebellion had increasing difficulty maintaining its effectiveness. Threat and blackmail replaced persuasion, as the population could no longer be relied upon to give adequate security and intelligence to the rebels on their own initiative.

Sabotage and Terrorism

In the initial stages of the revolution, the MCP sought to convince the population that the MRLA was a force strong enough to act where and when

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it desired, hoping in this way to attract people who otherwise would hesitate to join an illegal movement.

By slashing rubber trees and blowing up tin mines, the MCP hoped to disrupt the economy of Malaya by frightening the owners away and terrifying the workers into cooperating with them. Sabotage against rubber plantations and tin mines ceased, however, when it became obvious that destruction of these raw materials was hurting the insurgents and not seriously harming the growing prosperity of these industries.

Initially in the revolt it seemed as if the MCP used terror and assassination on a selective basis. The killing of several wealthy plantation owners made quite an impression on the Chinese labor force, who still hoped that the MCP would serve the interests of the working class. However, as their tasks became more difficult and as straightforward guerrilla activity failed to achieve the expected objective, the MCP resorted to indiscriminate, violent, and brutal forms of terrorism.[44]

The colonial authorities became aware of the seriousness of the movement when High Commissioner Sir Henry Gurley was assassinated on October 7, 1951. Raids against rubber and tin estates deprived Chinese and Indian workers of a livelihood. Robbery, killings, and sabotage hurt innocent people. The Malayans demanded action from London. They got it at the beginning of 1952 in the form of Sir Gerald Templer, who came as both military and civilian commander of Malaya with a new directive[45] announcing the government's policy of self-government and a united Malayan (i.e., Chinese and Malays) nation. Templer became a controversial figure who nonetheless carried out the Briggs Plan.

In the interior the *Min Yuen* soon complained that terrorism was making difficult their activities of collecting voluntary contributions of money and food from the villages. By 1951 the British learned that the central committee had instructed all insurgents to refrain from indiscriminate acts of terrorism and to concentrate on military forces and installations. The rebels were then at a point where they needed all the sympathy and support they could get simply in order to survive; terrorism was only further alienating the population. However, the decrease in terrorism led to a decline in Communist influence over the general public, since this influence had been based upon fear rather than sympathy.

From 1952 until the end of the Emergency, whenever terrorism increased, as it did from time to time, the British understood that the *Min Yuen* and the MRLA were in desperate need of food and supplies and were taking extreme measures merely to stay alive; they were, in other words, no longer using terrorism because they felt it would help the movement. And correlatively the British supplied increased protection for the affected areas and people.

COUNTERMEASURES

After the first outbreak of terrorism in 1948, the British declared a state of emergency, and emphasized that the government would take any and all steps necessary to maintain law and order. Ordinances were passed to permit detention of suspects for up to 2 years. Individuals involved in subversive activities were banished from the country. Wishing to give the impression that this was not a political struggle between British rule and "communism," which as an ideology seemed to be gaining in popularity throughout Southeast Asia, the British originally did not refer to the insurgents as Communists, but as "bandits," although they had no doubt as to the identity of the enemy. However, this policy did create some confusion within the ranks of Emergency personnel. There was, for example, no clear delineation of the roles which the military, the police, and other agencies should play. Also, the label "bandits" proved to have grave disadvantages, as it had been employed by the Japanese against resistance members during World War II, and by the Nationalist Chinese in referring to the forces of Mao Tse-tung. During the Korean conflict, the British reversed their previous definition of the insurgents and referred to them as "Communist terrorists" (CT's). This legalistic definition of the problem limited the Communists' efforts to dramatize their cause in order to win popular support. At the same time, it permitted the government, through the use of ordinary administrative channels, to mobilize effectively a large amount of men and resources.[46]

Under these conditions, the British began to regard the situation as a problem necessitating four fairly distinct types of action, each of which implied a somewhat different logic of policy choice. These activities were—

(1) Strategic measures designed to destroy the MCP and destroy its appeal.
(2) Responses to the tactical moves of the Communists to prevent this strength from growing.
(3) Continuing the normal functions of government which would be pursued had there not been a Communist challenge.
(4) Government policies concerned with bringing about social and economic changes in Malaya, in order to win positive popular support for the government.[47]

The measures taken to destroy the power of the MCP were twofold. Legal steps were taken to expel known Communists from labor unions. At the same time, the British authorities, in consultation with British labor leaders, stimulated the growth of non-Communist unions in Kuala Lumpur and Singapore.

A broader program of strengthening public morale was carried out by trying to obtain from the people a greater degree of commitment in the struggle against the Communists. Here the British generally found the Malays, who feared the strength of the Chinese, to be willing allies.[48] This policy, however, obligated the government to inform the public more completely concerning its

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operations against the enemy. (To a degree this contradicts conventional methods of a police force fighting criminals, as it is accepted traditionally that the public does not have the right to demand information in police files.) This meant the government would also have to compensate for the insecurity brought about by increased popular participation. The authorities urged the community to join legal organizations as a means of expressing group indignation against Communist activities.

The result was the founding of the non-Communist Malayan Chinese Association (through which the British attempted to show that they did not consider the total Chinese population unreliable), the Independence of Malaya Party, and the Malaya Labor Party. The British realized that the masses supporting these political organizations would probably oppose British rule in the future, and that this policy involved some amount of risk, especially since many of the effective political leaders had been eliminated by the Japanese during the war. It was, however, considered preferable to allowing the public to sympathize with the enemy.

To many observers the key to success in Malaya was the Briggs Plan, drawn up by Lieutenant-General Sir Harold Briggs after the Communists resorted to active warfare in 1950. The aim of the plan was to cut off the

(UPI Photo)

Gen. Sir Gerald Templer talks to the elders of a village at Kampong Pelawan in Lower Perak during a tour of the Malay Federation.

flow of supplies to terrorists in the jungle and to sever their communications with the Communist cells among the populace. It also called for unified control of operations against the terrorists. This is what in fact occurred when General Sir Gerald Templer was placed in supreme command of both civilian and military operations by being appointed High Commissioner (civil) and Director of Operations (military). Full and unified authority was provided for the overall direction of the total civil, military, police, and economic effort. War Emergency Committees were established for federal, state, and local districts.

The object here was to bring local political figures into a direct working relationship with the British Armed Forces and the Malay security police, and thereby make the populace feel that it was playing a role in forming government policy. This allowed for a high degree of day-to-day coordination between local civil and military authorities. Templer combined the special Emergency Information Service with the regular information service. The new Director General of the Department of Information worked directly with top policy planners, and was empowered to use information and propaganda as he saw fit.

In the effort to isolate the guerrillas from the villagers who aided them, the Briggs Plan launched a novel and highly successful resettlement program whereby about 500,000 Chinese squatters were moved into "new villages."

(Courtesy of the Natural Rubber Bureau)

The High Commissioner unlocks information boxes in King's house in the presence of six community leaders from Tanjong Malim.

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This cut off a main source of food and information for the terrorists. In these new villages, strict security measures were established, including the creation of "home guards" for protection; food was rationed to restrict the amount that could possibly be passed on to the guerrillas, and modern communication channels which could inform government forces of any immediate danger of Communist activity in the area were established.[49] But whether an event—such as an ambush—took place near a new village or in an established town, Sir Gerald never hesitated to impose on the situation the full force of his authority. The ambush at Tanjong Malim in March 1952 and the subsequent measures of punishment and defense which were imposed there served as a harsh but helpful example of the new countermeasures.[50]

The British recruited and trained 25,000 regular police and 50,000 special constables by 1953. Approximately 250,000 home guards were recruited to protect the villages and new settlements. An additional 35,000 men were enlisted into the regular forces. A total of 360,000 security forces were opposing 5,000 guerrillas and an estimated 12,000 underground fighters, a ratio of approximately 24 to 1.[51]

The Malay-Thai border was effectively closed and British gunboats patrolled the coast, thus cutting off the possibility of outside sanctuary and external supply. Military actions were carried out by combat patrols of squad and platoon size.

Intelligence activities were centralized, however, and the British operated on the principle that the unit commander closest to the tactical front could make the decision and act immediately to exploit any intelligence information.

Malaya was included in an overall plan to make many of the colonies of Great Britain equal members of the Commonwealth of Nations. Thus one of the major themes, that of "imperialism," became ineffective when the British offered Malaya its independence separate from Singapore. Independence was achieved in 1957. At this time the responsibility for dealing with the Emergency was placed in the hands of indigenous Malayans. Under their administration the Emergency was brought to an end in June 1960.

FOOTNOTES

1. See Gene Z. Hanrahan, *The Communist Struggle in Malaya* (New York: Institute of Pacific Relations, 1954), p. 7. Interest in the Communist Party developed largely from the Chinese propensity to form secret societies. These societies, brought by the first Chinese immigrants into Malaya, were all considered offshoots of the *Thian Ti Hui* (Heaven and Earth League), subsequently known as the *Hung* (Food) League or Triad Society. While these associations were originally religious or self-help groups, they assumed a political character during the end of the Manchu Dynasty rule and then degenerated largely into criminal associations, although several of them did useful welfare work among the Chinese population. Because of the illegal nature of many of their activities, many of these societies were outlawed in 1889. See Victor Purcell, *The Chinese in Modern Malaya;* Background to Malaya Series No. 9 (Singapore: Donald Moore, 1956), pp. 4–6. Legal or illegal, open or clandestine, these societies continued to meet and to interest themselves in politics, running the spectrum from far left to center, and right. For details see Leon Comber, "Chinese Secret Societies," Appendix A, Chapter XI, in N. S. Ginsburg, (ed.), *Malaya* (New Haven: HRAF, 1955).
2. J. H. Brimmell, *Communism in South East Asia* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), p. 148.
3. See F. Spencer Chapman, *The Jungle is Neutral* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1949), pp. 16–17, for comment on the agreement between the MCP and the Force 101 Special Training School; see p. 248 for a reiteration of the agreement by which later cooperation was agreed upon. By this time, Force 101 had been transformed into Force 136; see p. 232.
4. J. H. Brimmell, *A Short History of the Malayan Communist Party* (Singapore: Donald Moore, 1956), pp. 14–15.
5. Hanrahan, *Communist Struggle*, pp. 51–54.
6. F. S. V. Donnison, *British Military Administration in the Far East* (London: HMSO, 1956), p. 385.
7. Ibid., p. 17; see also A. Doak Barnett, *Communist China and Asia: Challenge to American Policy* (New York: Vintage Books, 1961), p. 486.
8. Brimmell, *A Short History*, p. 18; see also Virginia Thompson and Richard Adloff, *The Left Wing in Southeast Asia* (New York: Sloan, 1950), pp. 131–148, for a more detailed summary of these events.
9. Brimmell, *A Short History*, pp. 19–20.
10. U.S. Department of State, *World Strength of the Communist Party Organizations* (Washington: Bureau of Intelligence and Research, January 1959), p. 6.
11. Hanrahan, *Communist Struggle*, p. 63. These documents are reprinted, pp. 101–130.
12. For costs of the Emergency, see Hanrahan, *Communist Struggle*, p. 79.
13. Ibid., The party document here cited appears in part, pp. 130–133.
14. Russell H. Fifield, *The Diplomacy of Southeast Asia 1945–1958* (New York: Harper, 1958), pp. 399–408.
15. Lucien Pye, *Guerrilla Communism in Malaya* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1956), p. 87.
16. Barnett, *Communist China*, p. 486.
17. Hanrahan, *Communist Struggle*, p. 68; see also Pye, *Guerrilla Communism*, p. 98.
18. Hanrahan, *Communist Struggle*, p. 67.
19. Vernon Bartlett, *Report From Malaya* (New York: Criterion Books, 1955), p. 39.
20. For the importance of political officers in military units, see Harry Miller, *Menace in Malaya* (London: George Harrap and Co., 1954), p. 103.
21. Pye, *Guerrilla Communism*, p. 88.
22. *World Strength*, p. 6.
23. See Pye, *Guerrilla Communism*, pp. 107–108. Even though the decision to cease terrorism was made in 1951, violence continued for several years until the December 1955 meeting between the Communist leader Chen Peng and Tengku Abdul Rahman. This failed, however, to bring about the surrender of the Communists.
24. Purcell, *Modern Malaya*, p. 46.
25. Pye, *Guerrilla Communism*, pp. 99–102.
26. Hanrahan, *Communist Struggle*, pp. 67–68.
27. Ibid., p. 81.
28. Purcell, *Modern Malaya*, p. 41.
29. Pye, *Guerrilla Communism*, pp. 218–220.
30. Hanrahan, *Communist Struggle*, p. 55.
31. Ibid., pp. 55–58, and Alex Josey, *Trade Unionism in Modern Malaya* (Singapore: Donald Moore, 1956), pp. 14–22.
32. U.S. Department of Labor, *Summary of Labor Statistics in Malaya* (May 1958), p. 9.
33. Miller, *Menace*, pp. 105–107.
34. Ibid., p. 215.

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35. Hanrahan. *Communist Struggle*, p. 80.
36. Lucien Pye, *Lessons From the Malayan Struggle Against Communism* (CENIS M.I.T., 1957), p. 50.
37. Purcell, *Modern Malaya*, p. 46.
38. Pye, *Guerrilla Communism*, p. 184.
39. Ibid., p. 178.
40. Ibid., p. 105.
41. Hanrahan, *Communist Struggle*, p. 81.
42. Ibid., p. 75.
43. Miller, *Menace*, p. 216.
44. Josey, *Trade Unionism*, p. 2; see also Hanrahan, *Communist Struggle*, p. 67.
45. Miller, *Menace*, p. 203.
46. Pye, *Lessons*, p. 15. Cf. with Briggs Plan and Templers Instructions; see also Miller, *Menace*, p. 139 and p. 203, respectively.
47. Pye, *Lessons*, p. 18.
48. When the British Labour Government had offered Malaya independence or self-determination in 1946–47, the Malays rejected the offer, since it would have combined Singapore with the Malay States and given the Chinese a majority. The ultimate solution separated Malaya from Singapore thus assuring the Malays a majority in the states of the Federation; see also Fifield, *The Diplomacy*, pp. 399–400.
49. See S. N. Bjelajac, "Malaya: Case History in Area Operations," *Army* (May 1962), 30–40.
50. Miller, *Menace*, pp. 206–212.
51. Bjelajac, "Malaya."

CHAPTER 9

ALGERIA (1954–62)

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BACKGROUND

After World War II Algeria, although legally part of France, was made up of two distinct communities: approximately eight million Muslims and one million European *colons*. The latter not only controlled most of the land and wealth of the country, but also determined the political representation of Algeria. Most Muslims in Algeria were poor peasants, while most of the 400,000 in metropolitan France were employed as unskilled workers.

Wartime French promises of reform failed to satisfy most of the Muslim political leaders, and a nationalist revolt broke out at Setif in May 1945. This uprising was put down by the French, and severe reprisals were exacted. In 1946 Ferhat Abbas, who previously had sought full assimilation for his people, still hoped that concessions could be gained from France through peaceful persuasion. He founded the *Union Démocratique du Manifeste Algérien* (UDMA), whose aim was internal autonomy. This party, however, decreased in popularity each year. After some time, a group led by Messali Hadj, formed in 1947 as the *Mouvement pour le Triomphe des Libertés Démocratiques* (MTLD) and aiming at full independence, steadily increased its enrollment, due mainly to popular disappointment with French postwar political changes. From the MTLD eventually developed the *Front de Libération Nationale* (FLN), which, on November 1, 1954, launched a war for independence.

Although the FLN began with only a few hundred guerrillas and a few thousand underground members, it was able by 1956 to lead a force of 8,050 armed guerrillas supported by 21,000 underground auxiliaries.[1] The total force was later expanded to an estimated 60,000 men. Its goals were achieved primarily through a prolonged military, political, and diplomatic campaign. By preventing the French forces from winning any big military engagements, it sapped the strength of the army and the French treasury, while also wearing down the will to fight of the French Government and people. Through the skillful use of propaganda, terrorism, and organizational techniques, it was able to gain the support of the great majority of Algeria's Muslims and become the spokesman for the Algerian people. By obtaining the help of Tunisia and Morocco, as well as other African, Arab, and Communist countries, and by playing upon Western colonialism, it was able to put diplomatic pressures on France to negotiate a settlement. The French Government elected on January 2, 1956, on a platform of democratic reforms and peace by negotiation in Algeria, promised reforms based on free elections with a single electoral college which would have assured Mohammedan self-determination. But Premier Guy Mollet was unwilling to carry through his own reforms. This situation caused Ferhat Abbas to join the National Liberation Front, brought

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about the resignation of Mendès-France from the Cabinet, and further strengthened the revolutionaries. Soon the FLN dominated most of the rural, mountainous areas, while carrying on demonstrations and terrorist attacks within the cities. In 1958 the Algerian situation led to the fall of the Fourth Republic.

Between 1957 and 1960 the French built heavily fortified lines along the Tunisian and Moroccan borders to stop the flow of supplies to the FLN. The French regrouped thousands of villagers into "protected areas" and a Special Administration Service group carried out social-political pacification measures. By 1960 the French had increased their forces from 50,000 to 800,000,[2] using 50,000 mobile reserves, made up of legionnaires and paratroops, with helicopters and close-support aircraft and artillery. However, most of the troops were tied down with garrison duty and the mobile forces were not sufficient to force a military decision.

In September 1959 President De Gaulle offered self-determination to Algeria, and in March 1962 the FLN obtained a cease-fire agreement with France which permitted the Algerians to hold a self-determination referendum. The result of the referendum, held July 1, was independence for Algeria, with some economic and cultural ties with France. Preparations for the referendum—and for Algerian-French cooperation generally—were jeopardized, however, by the formation of the Secret Army Organization (OAS). Composed of French Army officers and Algerian-European civilians, the OAS sought to "keep Algeria French." It waged a terrorist campaign against the Muslims and in metropolitan France in an effort to continue French control over Algeria and perhaps overturn the French Government which had negotiated peace with the FLN. The movement was not large and since the capture of its leaders in April 1962, the OAS seems to have lost its effectiveness.

ORGANIZATION OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT (FLN)

The precursor of the FLN, *L'Organisation Secrète* (OS), was founded in 1947 by several men, most of whom were to remain at the forefront of the revolutionary leadership: Mohammed Ben Bella and Mohammed Khider from Oran; Hussein Ait Ahmed, Belkacem Krim, Amar Oumrane, and Rabah Bitat from Kabylia; and Mohammed Boudiaf, Mustapha Ben Boulaid, Larbi Ben M'Hidi, Lakhdar Ben Tobbal, and Yussef Zirout from Constantine. Working clandestinely, they began to recruit members, train people in techniques of guerrilla warfare, and perform occasional acts of violence. (In 1949 the group engineered an assassination attempt against Governor General Naegelein.) In 1950 the French authorities learned of the existence of the OS and arrested Ben Bella, Ben Boulaid, and Zirout. Ait Ahmed and Khider thereupon fled to Cairo, while other members hid. The captured men soon escaped, Ben Bella going to Cairo, the others to the hills. Loss of its leaders

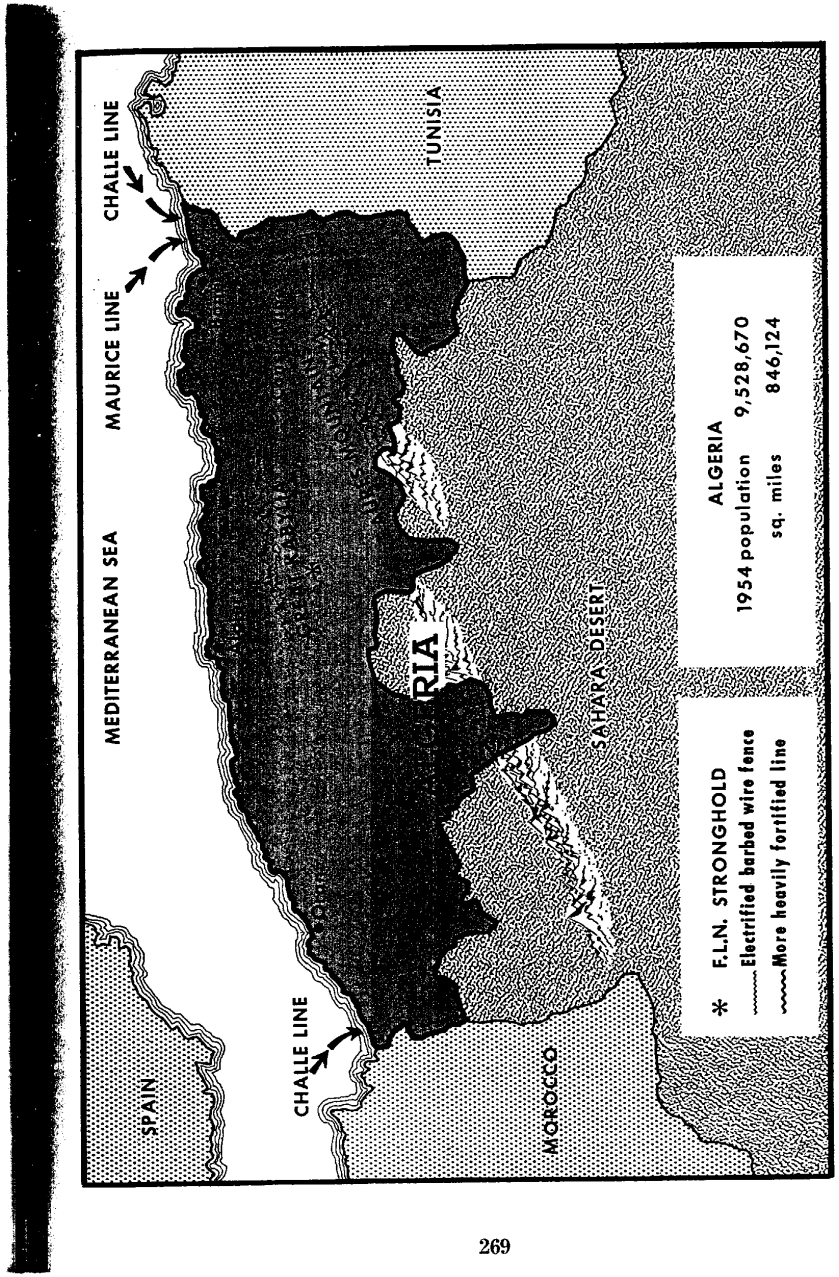

Figure 12. Map of Algeria.

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severely crippled the OS; the French authorities believed it was destroyed completely.[3]

In July 1954 the main conspirators who had been continuing the organizational activities reorganized formally as the *Comité Révolutionaire d'Unité et d'Action* (CRUA) and laid final plans for revolt. Boudiaf, Ait Ahmed, and Ben Bella comprised the "external" leadership, while Boulaid in The Aures, Didouche in Constantine, Bitat in Algiers, M'Hidi in Oran, and Krim in the Kabylia mountain region constituted the "internal" regional leadership. With the outbreak of the revolt on November 1, 1954, the CRUA merged with other groups in the MTLD who favored armed revolution, and named themselves the *Front de Libération Nationale* (FLN).[4]

In planning its basic strategy, the FLN operated on the assumption that if there was indeed no Algerian nation, as the French claimed, then it would have to create one.[5] The fundamental task, then, was to make a cleavage between Frenchmen and Algerians which would leave the latter no real choice but to support the rebel cause. Thus all its propaganda and military activities were geared to show that it was acting in behalf of the entire Algerian people, who were an entity separate and distinct from the citizens of France. It recognized the crucial importance of convincing not only the Algerians themselves, but also the rest of the world—including Arab neighbors—that Algeria was not, as the French claimed, part of France.

After establishing a base near the Tunisian border, the FLN was soon established as the *de facto* government of about one-third of Algeria, levying "taxes," administering "justice," etc. In many cases, they established governments in areas where local governments had never before existed. Because even Tunisia and Morocco were loath to antagonize France by recognizing a separate Algerian regime, the FLN delayed formally organizing a "provisional government" until September 1958. Once it did so, however, it was promptly recognized by the Arab States, the Communist bloc (although the Soviet Union withheld recognition until 1960), and many African states. By establishing a provisional government, the FLN not only enhanced its position among both the Algerians and outside supporters, but also set itself up as the official spokesman of the Algerian people, the single entity with which the French would be able to negotiate peace.

While the FLN assumed that the United States and the countries of Western Europe would probably not alienate their NATO ally by granting it open recognition, it still sought support among liberal groups in these countries, and tried to persuade politicians to press France to negotiate with it directly. The annual U.N. debates on Algeria were also valuable to the FLN in publicizing its cause and making France's allies apply some pressure on Paris to try to end the war.

Revolutionary strategy within Algeria was based largely on lessons learned from Mao Tse-tung and Vo Nguyen Giap. However, the basic plan of spreading control was the "grease-spot" technique which had been employed by Marshal Lyautey in pacifying Morocco 40 years before. Thus the FLN

guerrilla fighters, or *fellaghas*, planned to take control of a few isolated spots, and then spread their influence from these spots over increasingly larger areas.[6]

Important military and political decisions were made at the "Congress" called by leaders of the "internal" forces in the Soummam Valley in August 1956. The rebel army was formally baptized the *Armée de Libération Nationale* (ALN), and a regular command structure was established. Operational theaters, identical with the earlier civil divisions, were divided into six *wilayas*, each headed by a colonel. (The nationalists did not want to name anyone a general because they feared the growth of personal power.)[7] *Wilayas* were in turn subdivided into zones, regions, and sectors, in which operated battalions of 350 men, companies of 110 men, sections of 35 men, and groups of 11 men.[8] With but a few minor changes—addition of another *wilaya* comprising the East Base, or Algerian-Tunisian border area, and the enlargement of battalion units to 600 men and companies to 150—this structure remained intact throughout the war.

Over this hierarchy was placed a five-man general staff, the *Comité de Coordination et d'Exécution* (CCE), originally consisting of Ramdane Abane, Krim, Zirout, Benyoussef Ben Khedda, and Ben M'Hidi. A year later, following a decision to merge the internal and external forces and make the former equal in authority with the latter, the membership of the committee was

(UPI Radiotelephoto)

In the center is Algerian Rebel Provisional Government Premier, Ferhat Abbas. To his right is Foreign Minister Belkacem Krim. Interior Minister Lakhdar Ben Tobbal is at the left.

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enlarged to 14. Several political leaders were appointed members and the CCE was given broad executive responsibilities.

The major political decision made at Soummam was the creation of a *Conseil National de la Révolution Algérienne* (CNRA), consisting of 17 full members and 17 associates. Representing all factions within the FLN, it included the "nine historic chiefs" of the CRUA, three leaders of the "interior"—Zorout, Abane, and Oumrane—and three "political" leaders—Ferhat Abbas for the UDMA, Benyoussef Ben Khedda and Mohammed Yazid for the centralists of the former MTLD. It was given authority over the CCE by a provision stating that there should be "priority for the political over the military organization." A year later, however, the interior or military was given the same importance as the external or political, and CNRA was enlarged to include 54 full members.[9]

On September 19, 1958, the FLN formed the *Gouvernement Provisionel de la République Algérienne* (GPRA). Cabinet posts included a Premier (originally Abbas, later Ben Khedda), several Vice Premiers, including Krim, who also held the post of Minister of Armed Forces, and Ministries of Interior, Communications and Liaison, Arms and Supplies, Finance, North African Affairs, Foreign Affairs, Information, Social Affairs, and Cultural Affairs. Posts were distributed among leaders of both the internal and external groups. Decisions made by the GPRA affected all members of the FLN, inside or outside Algeria. When peace negotiations with France were begun, the Provisional Government took steps to tighten its control over the military forces to make sure that political decisions, once reached, could be carried out in Algeria.

Orders from the CNRA which required implementation by the urban undergrounds were generally transmitted by courier to the heads of networks in the key cities. The most important network, that of Algiers, was organized in 1956–57.

Following the Soummam Congress, political-military operations in the "autonomous zone of Algiers" were conducted not by one man, as had been the case previously, but by a council consisting of a political-military chief and three deputies charged respectively with political, military, and supply and liaison activities. Each of the three deputies had under him three men responsible for carrying out his respective activity in each of the three regions into which Algiers was divided. (Region 1 included the two largest sections of the Casbah, Region 2 included the remainder of the Casbah and Western Algiers and its suburbs, Region 3 included Eastern Algiers and its suburbs.) Each of these men, in turn, had subordinates in each of the three sectors into which the regions were divided, and each sector chief had subordinates in each of the three districts into which the sector was subdivided. In theory, a council composed of the heads of each of the three activities was to be formed, but in practice the same man often performed two or perhaps all three duties.

The military branch of each region consisted of three groups, each of which included 11 men: a chief, his lieutenant, and three cells of three men each. Including the regional chief and his deputy, there were thus 35 armed

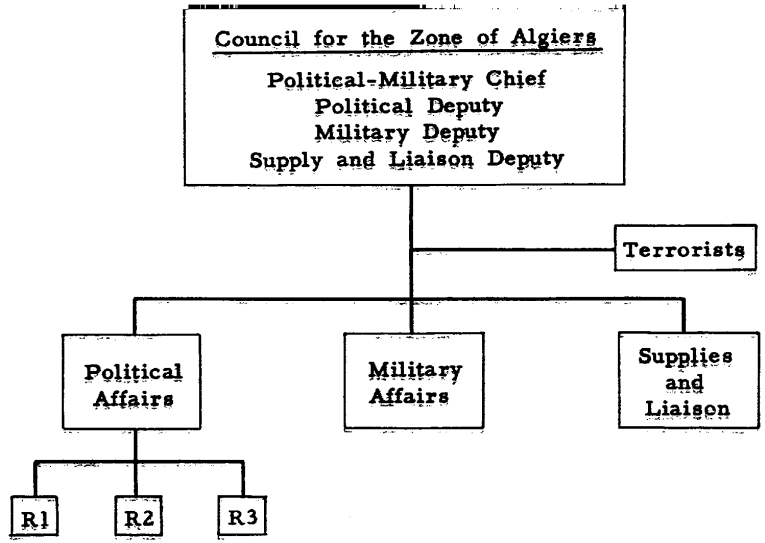

Figure 13. National Liberation Front (FLN) Political-Military Organization in Algiers.

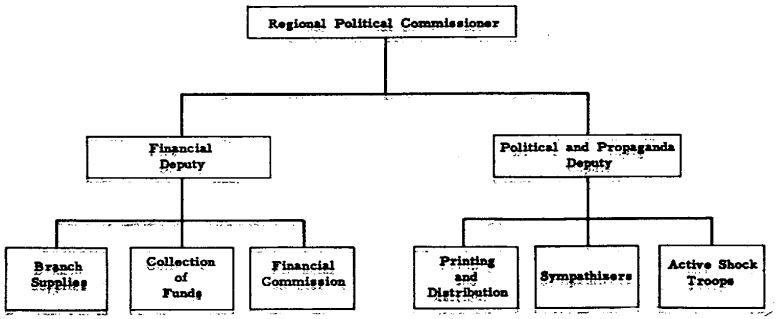

Figure 14. National Liberation Front (FLN) Political-Financial Organization in Algiers.

men per region, 105 in all Algiers. In addition to these "military" persons charged with protecting FLN members and their activities were the 50 to 150 hard-core terrorists. They, in turn, often used known gangsters or unemployed persons in terrorist activities.

Although the French authorities destroyed most of this underground apparatus at the end of 1957, it was later reconstituted along similar lines, but on a much larger scale.

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The political-financial organization is shown in figure 14 but an elaborate system directed by one of the political heads or business leaders of each region was organized to supply the bulk of funds.[10]

ACTIVITIES OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT

ADMINISTRATIVE FUNCTIONS

Communications

Communications constituted a problem for the ALN, and facilities were often inadequate. Radio sets were captured or purchased abroad from many countries and were often secondhand. After 1959 a few German Telefunken radios were used both by rebel headquarters in Tunis and by the *wilayas* operating in Algeria, but below the *wilaya* or battalion units most communication was by runner.[11]

In the urban centers, such as the major cities of Algeria, and Paris and Lyon in France, communication was largely by word of mouth. A courier would receive a message from the CNRA or the provisional government, and deliver it to the head of the local network who in turn relayed it to his lieutenants. In Algiers, communication in the Casbah was relatively easy because of the heavy concentration of Muslims in the one area. The close proximity of dwellings, the overcrowding of most homes, and the fact that three generations of a family often lived together greatly facilitated the task of informing large numbers of people within a very short time. In relaying messages, such as orders for a general strike, use was made of educated or influential people who enjoyed respect in the community, or of such people as shopkeepers whose places of business were frequented by many people, and who could, in the course of a day, speak to many people without arousing suspicion.

Recruitment

The original organizers of *Organisation Secrete* first sought support solely among members of the MTLD and among other people already known to favor complete independence from France. Some members of the organization were known to the French authorities as militant nationalists, and were thus under surveillance or, at times, arrest. Others, however, appeared to be cooperating with the legal authorities and worked not only in open, legal jobs but even in respectable posts within the administration. Abderrahmen Kiouane, for example, served as Deputy Mayor of Algiers before leaving the city to join the "external" branch of the FLN.

While the recruiting of political cadres was taking place, mainly in the cities, such men as Khider and Ait Ahmed were recruiting people in the hills and rural villages for the guerrilla forces. Sometimes they would enlist a

local chieftain in their cause, and he in turn would get members from his tribal group. Otherwise, individuals who showed ability and dedication were selected and they in turn recruited their friends. To avoid detection much of the training took place at night, with the future guerrilla fighters returning to their normal activities in the village during the day. Some mountain areas were so remote from the French administrative sway, however, that guerrilla training could take place virtually out in the open. Early recruiters had to be careful to recruit people who could be trusted not to reveal, consciously or unconsciously, their activities to the authorities or to anyone who might inform the authorities. At the same time guerrilla forces were being recruited and trained in Algeria, Boudiaf began organizing an underground of Algerian nationalists in Paris and training them for later acts of terrorism and propaganda actions.

With the launching of the revolt and the official formulation of the FLN, the rebels started their drive to gain support from all Algerians. Their name, National Liberation Front, was chosen to indicate that they were fighting not in the name of any one political, religious, or social group, but in the name of all Algerians. They had immediate success in gaining the adherence of the "centralist" faction of the MTLD, several members of which had been cooperating with the OS just before the start of the revolt. As the war continued and rebel successes mounted, and the FLN made it increasingly clear that it was determined to fight until France made major concessions, other organizations and persons were put under increasing pressure to join the FLN or be classed as traitors. Messali refused to join, forming his own group, the *Mouvement National Algérien* (MNA), which also participated in guerrilla operations and some political activities. By 1956 the UDMA, the Ulemas (an influential society of religious scholars), and members of the "Committee of Sixty-One" (composed of Muslin members of the Algerian Assembly) joined the FLN.

The guerrilla army, which began with only several hundred full-time fighters, grew rapidly. Volunteers were induced to join not only by propaganda appeals, but by the offer of pay for what was made to appear very respectable, if not exciting, work. Thousands of unemployed or marginally employed men were easily induced to join. To illustrate that they envisaged a social as well as a political revolution—and simply because all kinds of help was needed—the FLN also organized corps of women. In areas where soldiers were needed but not enough volunteers were forthcoming, terrorism was used to force men to join the guerrillas; a village or a family would be threatened with reprisals if it did not send a specified number of "volunteers." The ALN also used many part-time guerrillas—i.e., people who would participate in a rebel operation at night, but return to their normal activities during the day. Bandits or freebooters were also used, but were seldom considered regular members. Training centers were set up in the hills and soon a large training camp was established in Tunisia. The total strength of the ALN was perhaps 50,000 to 60,000 men at peak strength (although French sources placed the maximum number at 30,000).[12]

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Individuals were also recruited for underground work in the cities. Kiouane and Ben Khedda worked in Algiers for some time organizing people for intelligence, propaganda, and supply operations. In the early stages, known gangsters whose word was obeyed by Muslims were enrolled to help ensure that the FLN orders would be obeyed. The organization of Muslims in the Casbah was significant not only for underground activities per se, but also for the psychological weapon it gave the FLN when it wished to show that it really spoke for the entire Algerian people, and when it could organize a mass demonstration of Muslims from the Casbah to prove it. Ben Khedda also organized an all-Algerian labor union, the *Union Générale des Travailleurs Algériens*, in 1956, drawing workers away from the Communist-dominated French *Confédération Générale des Travailleurs*.[13] Various student groups and other auxiliary organizations were also formed within France, the FLN organized a large network, part of which operated underground, collecting intelligence, obtaining money and some supplies, etc.

In the early stages of the war, the FLN concentrated not only on getting adherents as such, but on winning over the most respected Algerians in order to "prove" the worth of its cause. By the end of 1956 it had largely succeeded in this; very few Algerian Muslims would consent even to hold a minor office within the French administration. People from all backgrounds and all organizations—including Communists—were accepted into the FLN with one proviso: leaders had to dissolve the organizations which they had headed, and individuals had to break completely with any organization they had belonged to. Former Communists who were discovered to have retained allegiance to the Communist Party were liquidated.

Finance

A great deal of money was raised within Algeria itself. In the hills, the FLN imposed "taxes" on inhabitants of the areas it controlled. Threats, and often acts, of severe reprisals forced compliance when persuasion was inadequate. In the major cities, the FLN underground also collected "taxes" or assessments from people, again aided by force or the threat of force. In France, and even in Belgium, money was also collected from workers and students. The *Union Générale des Travailleurs Algériens* (UGTA), operating in the cities of both Algeria and France, obtained sizable amounts of money from workers. Rivalry, particularly in France, between the FLN and the *Mouvement National Algérien* (MNA)* and their respective unions caused many workers to contribute money to both movements.[14] Acts of terrorism, including murder, were frequent here.

Despite the large amounts collected from Algerians, the FLN would not have been so successful without outside financial help. Tunisia and Morocco, and the Arab League countries, especially Egypt, contributed large amounts. Several independent African countries made at least token contributions.

*MNA was founded by Messali Hadj. Although he was the original leader of the MTLD, from which the FLN developed, Messali refused to join the FLN.

Yugoslavia supplied large amounts of money—and also helped in many other ways, such as supplying care for FLN wounded. Communist China, from the start, supplied money to the Algerians based in Cairo. The Soviet Union gave little direct help.

Logistics

Most of the food used by the rebels—principally unleavened bread, peppers, coffee, *cous cous*, mutton, rice, and goat's milk—was obtained from villages. In areas where the rebel forces held *de facto* control, arrangements would be made for each village to supply specified amounts of certain foods. Where villagers were reluctant or unwilling to comply, threats of reprisals obtained cooperation.[15]

Although the *fellaghas* at first had no uniforms, by 1956, when the ALN was formally organized, soldiers had regular uniforms. Most of them were captured from French supply depots, others were bought from French or other sources or donated by Communist China. As Tunisia became more involved in the war, the Tunisian Government, working through Tunisian Merchants, obtained uniforms, coats, shoes, etc., for the FLN. Medical supplies were also captured, purchased abroad by Algerian representatives, or bought in Tunisia or sometimes Morocco.

Arms were acquired from a wide variety of sources. A large amount were captured from French depots, or bought from renegade French and other European sources. The Egyptians sent arms in fairly large quantities, the other Arab countries in small amounts. The wide variety of weapons and equipment included German automatic weapons, Bren guns, French semiautomatic rifles, Lee Enfields and Mausers sent from Egypt, U.S. cartridge belts, British water bottles, etc. In the way of heavy weapons, the FLN had German 81-mm. mortars and antitank mines, 20-mm. Bofors cannon, bazookas, and recoilless rifles, bangalore torpedoes from Egypt, and large numbers of plastic bombs and hand grenades.[16] Sometimes *fellaghas* tricked the French into giving them supplies. On several occasions Algerians went to the French authorities and claimed that they wanted to fight against the FLN. The French gave them supplies and arms, and after getting all they felt they could, the *fellaghas* then returned to the FLN.

Although China and some bloc countries offered arms, the Algerians accepted only small quantities, including some Czech weapons. Their reluctance to accept Communist aid stemmed both from the desire not to become involved with them and from the difficulties in getting replacement parts and ammunition for such weapons.[17]

Supplies entered Algeria in several ways. Those procured in Morocco and Tunisia were slipped over the border; those sent from Egypt went south through Libya and then into Algeria; those purchased abroad were sent by ship usually to ports in Egypt, Morocco, or Tunisia. Several such shipments, such as one sent from Yugoslavia, were captured by the French. Procurement of materials was directed by the Minister of Arms and Supplies in the Provisional Government.

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Security

Within the army, the security of each unit was generally the responsibility of the Deputy for Political Affairs. Any indications of disobedience, desertion, or disloyalty meant death.

Within the urban underground networks, strong discipline was enforced to prevent betrayals. Any "traitor" was punished by death if caught. If any member of the three-man military cells in Algiers was caught, the other two members of his cell were sent to the mountains to fight, so they could not be questioned by French authorities.

OPERATIONAL FUNCTIONS

Psychological Operations

Propaganda was of crucial importance to the FLN in every phase of activity. With the ALN, each unit commander was assisted by a Deputy for Political Affairs who was responsible for indoctrination and "ideological solidarity" within the unit. The army also received indoctrination through radio broadcasts from the Provisional Government in Tunis.

Great stress was placed on spreading propaganda abroad. For not only did the FLN face the problem of proving to the world at large that its war was justified; it had to prove, first, that Algeria was not part of France, and second, that it ought to be completely independent. In addition to printing up large amounts of propaganda literature in Cairo—and then Tunis—for distribution throughout the world, the FLN also opened several offices in important cities abroad. Members who worked in these offices then established contacts with the local press, delivered speeches wherever possible, and contacted government officials who might be sympathetic. It was hoped that these people would seek to have passed parliamentary resolutions or acts favoring independence for Algeria—or at least nonsupport for France—or possibly take steps to pressure France into recognizing the FLN as the spokesman of the Algerian people and negotiate directly with it. The United States was a major target of FLN propaganda, as Washington had on many occasions helped France diplomatically and materially and was presumed to exert strong influence on her. The U.N. debates also provided an excellent forum, providing press coverage the FLN might not have otherwise received.

As a means of getting direct help from governments or important individuals, the FLN tried to show that the government or person in question would receive benefits from an independent Algeria, be it bases, economic rights, etc. Sometimes individuals were given a direct stake in the outcome of the war. Several oil companies, such as the Italian concern headed by Enrico Mattei, allegedly gave money to help the Algerians in return for promises of oil concessions.

The FLN Radio Cairo and Radio Damascus were able to maintain close contact with the Algerian masses. The constant distribution of leaflets and

the weekly distribution of the rebel newspaper *El Moujahid* (The Fighter), which was printed in Tunis clandestinely, provided further propaganda coverage. Display of the green and white FLN flag for Algeria and the singing of patriotic songs encouraged nationalist feelings, while even the mere formal organization and use of uniforms helped keep army morale high. Within Algiers, each political-military unit had a typewriter and a mimeograph machine to print propaganda.

In spreading propaganda to the public at large, the FLN used a wide variety of appeals and techniques. To the people with some education and some general understanding of politics, it distributed vast quantities of literature—printed in Cairo, Tunis, or Algerian cities—explaining why Algerians could no longer live under French rule, why fighting was necessary to achieve independence, and that by cooperating with the FLN they would at last have a chance to do something to serve themselves and their "country." The FLN also stressed that it wished to effect an economic and social, as well as political, revolution, including such basic reforms as equality for women. To religious conservatives and to less educated people went appeals that this was a war for the defense of Islam and Arab culture. *El Moujahid* and other tracts were distributed by the underground in the cities and in France, and radio broadcasts supplemented this written propaganda.

Propaganda was also aimed at the people of France. Frenchmen were told that the war waged by France was unjust, that the FLN was justified in fighting for independence, that the very principles invoked by the FLN were learned from the French Revolution, etc. Some French journalists and scholars accepted money from the FLN to write books and pamphlets supporting its cause. Some existentialists, such as Jean-Paul Sartre, said that the FLN represented progress, and wrote tracts supporting the Algerians. Many church groups either openly supported Algerian independence or indirectly helped the FLN by stating that some of the counterguerrilla measures employed by the French Army, such as the use of torture to obtain information, were un-Christian. The FLN was able to call strikes and boycotts, while its underground organized Muslims in the major cities for demonstrations. This was of great importance, for example, during De Gaulle's tour of Algeria in 1960, when thousands of Muslims from the Algiers Casbah came forth shouting in favor of both De Gaulle and the FLN.

Terrorism was used in both the hills and the cities of Algeria and France. Uncooperative villagers, or those who showed a preference for the rival MNA, suffered reprisals. Often, the threat of such reprisals sufficed to obtain cooperation. Muslims in cities were also killed, or threatened with death by the military groups or terrorists if they did not cooperate.

In the cities, a number of bombings took place, mainly for the purpose of creating general disorder and weakening France's claim to being able to keep order. Bombs were usually either stolen from the French or, more often, made by the underground itself from materials which could be bought or stolen. Acts of sabotage were committed in both Algeria and France, and directed by leaders of the underground apparatuses.

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Sometimes the mere threat of violence brought large psychological advantages. For example, in 1957 the FLN announced that certain tourist ships or planes leaving France would contain bombs, and warned foreign tourists to boycott French carriers. Although no such bombs actually exploded, fear caused a large drop in French profits from the tourist trade.

All Muslims who held, or who seemed interested in holding, offices under the French administration were threatened with assassination and a few were killed. An example was thus made of Aly Chakal, well-known collaborator who held a seat in the French Assembly, who was killed by the FLN in Paris in 1957. While organizing the Algerian undergrounds, FLN leaders directed assassinations of French officials to indicate the impotence of French authority and the strength of the FLN.[18]

Intelligence

Within the army, each unit had a liaison and intelligence officer who usually directed the gathering of intelligence, as well as supplies, from neighboring villages. He maintained contact with the huge number of civilian auxiliaries who served as "human radar," scouts, intelligence agents, and guides. These *moussebellines* infiltrated French-held villages, prowled the terrain ahead of regular FLN columns, and provided a steady stream of fresh information.

Additional information was supplied by deserters from the French Army, both Muslim and (occasionally) French, and by Muslims who worked in the administration and then defected to the rebel cause.

In the major cities the FLN instructed people to report on the daily activities of French police and armed forces. In Algiers, it also enrolled large numbers of people who had been employed by the French as intelligence agents or spies, and used these double agents to obtain information of French administration measures and troop movements.[19]

COUNTERMEASURES AGAINST THE NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT

At first the French Government—and most army officials—felt that the uprising in Algeria was simply the work of a "handful of ambitious terrorists," egged on by Cairo, who could be fairly easily subdued. They did not recognize that this might be a well-planned revolt led by people determined to win independence. Military actions were thus piecemeal and ineffective, although their announced aim was to stamp out the revolt completely. Coupled with this underestimation of the actual and potential strength of the FLN was the refusal to conduct any negotiations with the rebel organization.[20]

In order to integrate Algeria more fully with France, a serious psychological, as well as military, campaign was begun to combat the rebels. In 1956

"pacification," or the campaign to "win over the populace," was instituted. It was directed initially by General Salan.[21]

The pacification program, both its civilian and military aspects, was controlled completely by a Resident General in Algiers. Proceeding on the assumption that the French Government would have to promise, and begin to implement, reforms in those areas of mass discontent upon which the rebels could capitalize, a large-scale reform program was begun in the countryside and in the cities. To this end, over one thousand army Special Service units were sent into rural areas.

Each unit was headed by a French Army officer of company grade and staffed with an assistant and a secretary, the latter often the officer's wife. The officer generally opened his residence and headquarters in the midst of an Arab settlement or village, and prepared to administer to the needs of the people, as well as to organize, arm, and train a local self-protection force. The main effort centered on improving the living conditions of the native population. French Army volunteers organized and taught school classes; helped build homes, sanitary facilities, and water supplies; demonstrated improved agricultural and health practices; provided medical services and evacuated the ill and injured to hospitals for surgery. Women physicians and civilian employees taught the Muslim women how to care for their babies.

In an effort to persuade the people that combatting the rebels was a matter of direct personal interest to them, they were asked to assist the pacification effort. Village home defense and raider units were organized, and participants were rewarded for deeds well done. All such operations were accompanied by wide-scale propaganda stressing the greatness of France, France's respect for Algerian Muslim institutions, France's genuine desire to help the people, etc. Propaganda was spread by word of mouth, as well as by leaflets and radio. Each French soldier was taught to be an agent of pacification, and to master political and psychological activities as well as military operations.[22]

In the major cities there was little need for self-defense units, but there was great need for organizing people to make sure they obeyed the laws, and did not cooperate with the rebels by supplying them with intelligence, or by carrying out sabotage operations. In addition to undertaking a large propaganda compaign, including not only the above-mentioned instruments but also rallies and meetings, the French organized a hierarchical control system in which one member of each family was responsible for knowing the whereabouts of the family. The responsible member reported to a floor chief, and, in turn, the floor chief reported to the building chief. All building chiefs reported to a block chief. And so on, up to the highest level.[23]

Pacification won over the population in some areas. In many others, however, it was either ineffective, or actually drove the people over to the cause of the FLN, which promised better reforms without any of the restrictions imposed by the French, and which claimed credit for forcing the French to adopt whatever reform measures where instituted.

Even after pacification had begun, Premier Mollet, in mid-1956, tried to negotiate secretly with the rebels in order to arrange a cease-fire on a basis of

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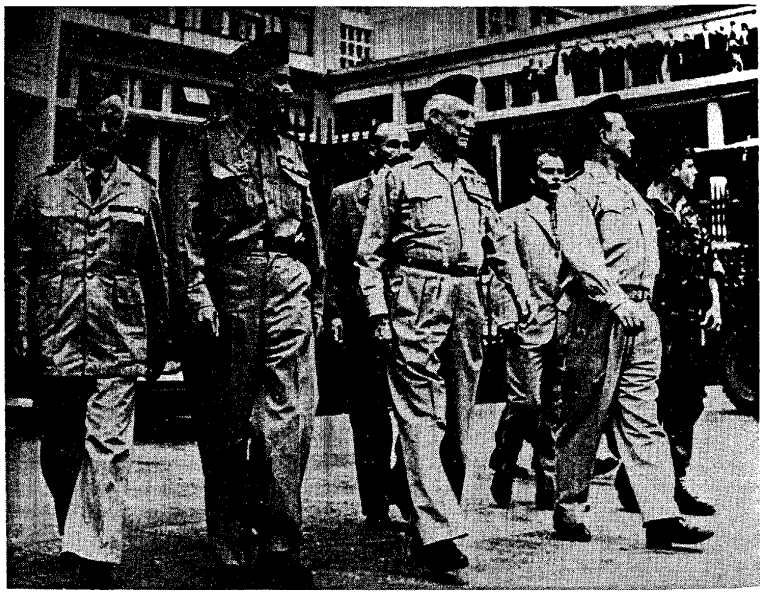
granting internal autonomy to Algeria. Some of his subordinates, however, sabotaged these efforts by capturing the airplane containing the five Algerian negotiators. After this, the rebel line hardened and military operations were stepped up. Subsequent peace feelers under the Fourth Republic produced no results, and the official French policy continued to be nonrecognition of the FLN as a spokesman of the Algerian people.

In September 1959 President De Gaulle offered the rebels self-determination and the right to opt for independence. The Algerians subsequently accepted this arrangement in principle, and there followed 2 years of peace feelers and three meetings between Algerians and Frenchmen climaxed by the signing of the Evian Agreements in March 1962. Complete sovereignty over Algeria, including the entire Sahara, was to be granted if the people voted for independence in the referendum, later scheduled for July 1, 1962. The situation was complicated, however, by the uncertain attitude of the French Army, many of whose officers chafed at the idea of being driven from Algeria, and because the Secret Army Organization (OAS), operating in Algeria and composed of French Army and settler elements, seemed determined to launch a civil war, if necessary, to "keep Algeria French."



(UPI Photo)

The four ex-generals responsible for the revolt of army elements and the Europeans in Algeria against the French Government are (left to right): Andre Zeller, Edmond Jouhaud, Raoul Salan, and Maurice Challe.

ORGANIZATION OF THE SECRET ARMY ORGANIZATION (OAS)

Early in 1958 a group of high-ranking French military officials in charge of operations against the FLN in Algeria began to demand more effective government support in France for the campaign. The hero of the Second World War, Charles De Gaulle, reappeared upon the political scene and assured the military that he would, with the proper constitutional authority, work to settle the "Algerian problem" in an "honorable" way. The General declared that Algeria was "organically French." He was installed as President through a virtual coup d'etat, and given very broad powers.

Within a short time, however, the President of the new Fifth Republic began to make peace bids to the rebels and finally offered Algeria "self-determination." The men who were responsible for putting him into office felt De Gaulle had betrayed them. After several unsuccessful attempts to gain more authority, the military junta organized under General Raoul Salan and supported by elements of the army and Foreign Legion attempted a military coup termed the "revolt of the generals," in January 1961. After De Gaulle put down this putsch and disbanded the disloyal army and Foreign Legion elements, remnants from these groups, coupled with European Algerians, formed the nucleus of the Secret Army Organization.

At the time it was organized, the OAS declared that its goal was "to keep Algeria French." After the signing of the Evian Agreements, a faction led by the Algerian student leader, Jean-Jacques Susini—who had been considered the theorist of the organization—indicated it would be satisfied if it merely obtained increased privileges for Europeans within an independent Algeria. At the same time, a few army officers, working with such metropolitan French leaders as Georges Bidault, a member of the French Parliament and former Premier, indicated that their basic aim was to overthrow De Gaulle.

Whatever may have been the actual goals of its leaders, several unusual factors shaped the strategy of the OAS. It could not hope to win the support of the majority of the people of the country in which it carried out major operations. At most, it could gain the allegiance of only one-ninth of the total populace—the Europeans plus a few Muslims. Within France, its strength was confined to a minute fraction of the general populace. Furthermore, whether operating in Algeria or in France itself, the OAS had to draw support from, and operate in, not the rural or mountainous areas, but the few major cities. With its potential numerical strength small and its area of operations sharply limited, the OAS therefore concentrated on one major activity: terrorism.

Its organization was intended to be military in character. It was headed by a supreme council which controlled five staff divisions: the "Organization of the Masses," the "Military Structure," the "Organization of Information and Operations," "Political and Psychological Action," and the "Finance Department." The leaders were all veterans of French military campaigns and sev-

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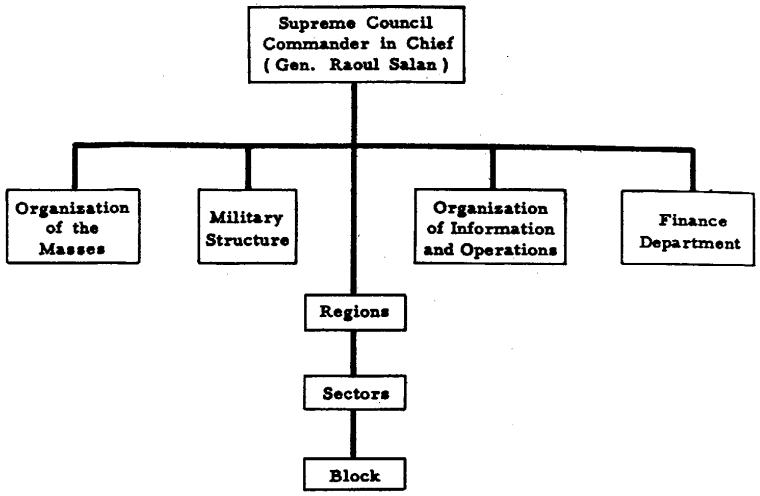

Figure 15. Organization of Secret Army Organization (OAS).

eral of them were experienced in psychological warfare operations. The OAS maintained geographical areas similar to those used by the French military staff. Each geographic region (with headquarters in Algiers, Oran, and Constantine) was divided into sectors, quarters, blocks, and, when necessary, single buildings. In Algiers, with a population of approximately one million, the region was divided into six sectors containing approximately 150,000 people, with a colonel in charge of the region, and captains in charge of the sections. The sector commander had absolute authority and no operations could be carried out in his sector without his permission.[24]

In January 1962 the high command of the OAS had about 25 members. There were possibly 2,000 terrorists and saboteurs in addition to 20,000 block leaders, spies, fundraisers, and agitators.[25] Besides having the passive support of perhaps 85 percent of the million Europeans in Algeria, the OAS hoped to recruit the active participation of 100,000 disbanded militiamen.

Geographical areas were also set up within France. Because of government countermeasures and general lack of popular support, operations in the homeland were not nearly so coordinated or tightly knit. The OAS early in 1962 claimed to have 7,000 members, including 500 plastic-bomb experts, working for the movement in metropolitan France.[26]

Although it was apparently well organized at first, rifts in the OAS began to appear soon after the capture of Generals Jouhaud (the second in command) and Salan in April 1962. There was sharp disagreement, for example, on whether to negotiate with the FLN for further guarantees for European rights, and thus give up the original goal of "keep Algeria French," or whether to continue an all-out fight against Algerian independence.

ACTIVITIES OF THE SECRET ARMY ORGANIZATION

ADMINISTRATIVE FUNCTIONS

Communications

A courier network operated in the urban centers to distribute instructions to the various branches of the OAS. The Secret Army claimed that no assassination was carried out without direct instructions from the area chief. Radio transmitters were probably used also by insurgent commands to communicate with each other, if telephone service was unavailable, or not feasible, for security reasons.

The communication network between agents in North Africa and France probably ran through Spain, since OAS officials resided in Madrid.

Information and instructions for the general population (e.g., the calling of a general strike) were transmitted by leaflet, poster, and radio and television broadcast. In "secure areas" news was easily spread by word of mouth. On several occasions the OAS "captured" local radio stations and made open broadcasts to the people, telling them what was expected of them. They used jamming devices to stop De Gaulle's broadcasts and messages to the people of Algiers.

Recruitment

The OAS drew its active support from three major groups: (1) the *colons*, many of whom were eager to maintain their privileged position in Algerian economic life, and were particularly active in the Operations Organization in Algiers, Oran, and Constantine; (2) career army officers, many of whom had great personal admiration for the leaders of the insurgent high command and felt a sense of frustration aroused by the unsuccessful counterguerrilla campaigns in Indochina and North Africa; and (3) veterans of the disbanded French Foreign Legion (none of whom were French, except some of the high officers). The last-named were generally anti-Arab and professional soldiers of fortune; they had taken part in the "revolt of the generals."

OAS leaders claimed to be in contact with important officials in the French Government and Army; they also received some support from the 60,000 Algerian-born Europeans in the French Army, many of whom were transferred out of North Africa.

The Organization of the Masses was charged with mobilizing the general (often passive) support of the *colons*, particularly members of the local police, firemen, and prison officials. This allowed the active personnel of the Secret Army to move openly in downtown areas of the three major cities of Algeria.

The OAS had hoped that the majority of soldiers in the French Army would not attack their fellow countrymen participating in the movement. However, soldiers eventually did fire on civilians attempting actions against Muslims.

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