Strategy, Tactics, and Countermeasures

The first task of the security forces is to prevent the expansion of the underground movement, since it will present a threat only if it can muster strong popular support. One way to ascertain underground activities and membership is to infiltrate the organization. Even if an underground attempts to maintain security by minimizing the information any one member can obtain, it is impossible to restrict all information concerning activities and membership. The final step is to capture the leadership of the underground movement and thus destroy its organization.

DENIAL OPERATIONS

To contain the underground and prevent expansion of its activities, the security forces must deny it both the human and the physical resources which it requires to expand. Some of the more common techniques for checking the underground are described below.

Access To Mass Organizations

To prevent an underground from manipulating legitimate organizations and mass meetings a government may impose control on the activities of large-scale organizations and on public meetings. In Malaya the British forbade political meetings and required unions and union members to register; thereafter, if the unions engaged in political activities, the British revoked their charters. When an underground attempts to make use of orderly assemblies, the government may employ the police to curtail the demonstrations, using tear gas to disperse crowds and taking photographs to aid in identifying underground leaders.

To hamper the propaganda activities of an underground the government may require licensing of all printed materials and communication facilities and may initiate censorship of newspapers and radio or television broadcasting. Also, radio detection equipment will locate clandestine transmitters enabling the government to capture them or to force them to move so frequently that they lose much of their effectiveness.

Movement and Sanctuary

Undergrounds frequently do much of their planning, maintain their records, and accumulate and store their arms and supplies outside the borders of their own country. To cut the insurgents off from such areas of sanctuary, the government endeavors to impose strict controls at the borders of the country. In countries with long borders, such as Algeria, this is difficult. However, in Malaya, where the border is short and access by sea was made difficult by British gunboats, it was possible to deny the terrorists access to outside help. To control the frontiers, regular guards are maintained on all roads and waterways and at all the normal approaches to the country while roving patrols in jeeps, helicopters, and airplanes cover larger areas.

(Courtesy of the Natural Rubber Bureau)

A British corporal of an armoured car road patrol inspects the identity card of a lorry driver in the Selangor area of Malaya.

Curfews and travel restrictions are imposed to limit the movements of the underground members, with severe penalties for violations. Passes or permits are required for any travel, and identification papers are checked frequently along the route.

In some countries, security forces have instituted the block-warden system. Cities have been divided into areas, sectors, and blocks, and a reliable person appointed in each block to report on the movements of all persons within that area. Residents are instructed to check in and out with block or apartment leader, who in turn reports to the sector leader. Such data as arrival and departure times at jobs, schools, or stores provides the police with up-to-date information on the movements of people within the zones and areas. Other informants, working covertly, check on the block and sector leaders to determine whether they are conscientiously carrying out their duties.

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Strategy, Tactics, and Countermeasures

Economic Measures

Government control of food supplies works a great hardship on underground and guerrilla activity. In Algeria, stores were permitted to stock only one week's supply; thus groups defecting to the guerrillas or the underground could not take a large quantity of supplies with them. Rationing helps control black-market trade and makes for a more equitable distribution among the populace. The use of scrip* makes it difficult for the underground to maintain large cash reserves for buying arms and food. To deny food to the enemy, it is also necessary to guard food storage areas from guerrilla raids.

When food, clothing, medicine, and other necessities are under tight control, there may be occasions when the supplies are not sufficient to meet legitimate needs. So that loyal citizens may not be subjected to unnecessary hardship, special supply units are usually formed to provide for these emergencies, as well as to aid towns and villages which have been raided by guerrillas or struck by natural disasters.

Passive Measures

Passive measures are required to protect bridges, underpasses, tunnels, power stations, radio stations, airports, rail stations, water towers or reservoirs, and critical points along important roads—all of them likely targets for sabotage. Repair crews also need protection. Areas around factories or other installations are made restricted areas, to which only authorized personnel are admitted at checkpoints. The area is usually encircled with barbed wire, and the adjacent terrain cleared of foliage. The clearings and open areas are illuminated, and alarm equipment is provided at critical points. Mines and booby traps are often placed along forbidden aproaches. In other areas, roadblocks and checkpoints are set up, and all traffic is stopped for identification. Static security posts are established at strategic points, with both regular and roving patrols traveling between them.

Active Measures

Security forces usually operate with a minimum number of personnel. If so few men are available that spreading them throughout the area would generally weaken the forces, it is preferable for maximum effectiveness against the underground to divide the area into subareas, and to control and pacify one area before moving on to the next. In this way the underground's shadow governments can be eliminated as well as its channels of supply.

The presence of government troops among the populace does much to reduce the state of terror and the effectiveness of underground threats and coercion. Population controls maintained by government troops in any area can be broken only at the risk of detection by the security forces themselves or

*Scrip is an artificial currency used for legal tender. It may be issued or recalled at any time; ... all currency must be redeemed for new scrip, the government can identify and control any

(U.S. Army Photograph)

Vietnamese soldiers exercise their dogs at the dog center near Saigon. The dogs receive 4 to 6 weeks of training prior to being assigned to a field unit patrolling against Viet Cong rebels.

by informers. But if the populace is not converted to cooperation with the government, then after the military forces leave the area the underground will reestablish itself. If pacification cannot be achieved, then resettlement of the people into controllable areas—as was done in Malaya, Greece, and Algeria—enables a small military force to protect and control large populations.

Patrols made regularly through populated areas also add to the effectiveness of controls over the populace and make overt underground action more difficult. Other patrols, timed at random intervals, can perform surprise searches. The size of the patrols depends upon the size of the security force and the usual strength of the raiders. Dogs are frequently used for patrol duty. The police and army often maintain a group of reaction troops which can respond instantaneously to surprise attacks.

To deny the underground weapons, search and seizure laws are usually enacted. These permit army and police personnel to search and detain suspects without a warrant. Successful search and seizure operations can result in the arrest of suspected members of the underground and confiscation of arms, communications equipment, medicine, and supplies. This can seriously cripple the underground. In populated areas, a cordon is thrown around a city block cutting off ingress and egress, and house-to-house searches for suspects and subversive materials are conducted. The cordon technique has the added advantage of bringing the police in direct contact with the population and emphasizing the hazards of harboring or assisting the underground in any way. In Malaya and Palestine, registration of weapons was required to keep them from falling into the hands of the underground.

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STRATEGY AND DEPLOYMENT OF SECURITY FORCES

In using security forces, the military commander has several alternative strategies. He can, for example, concentrate his forces in sufficient strength to defeat the insurgents in one area and then move to the adjoining area. This was the aim of the Japanese rural "purification" and the French "spot-of-oil" strategies. If the area is pacified and the populace is willing to cooperate with the security forces, the underground shadow governments can be broken and the insurgents beaten. However, if the area cannot be won politically, the underground will resume its activities as soon as the security forces leave. In this eventuality the next step is the relocation to controlled villages of rural inhabitants and others vulnerable to the underground, as was done in Malaya. This provides an alternative means for destroying underground supply and access to the populace.

Another strategy is to establish a static defense of strategic centers. In Burma during World War II the British developed the "stronghold" concept, in which static defense posts were placed at key road junctions, railways, and important villages. They were always established in threes in triangular arrangement around the key position, and were spaced close enough together so that if any one of the forts was attacked and the alarm signal given, the other two forts could send reinforcing units to attack the flank or rear of the enemy. The Germans and Japanese found that by assuming a strategy of static defense they could not destroy the insurgents, and the price for controlling strategic centers was constant guerrilla attacks. Another alternative is to divide the forces available between static defense positions and a mobile reserve force which can be stationed and moved as necessary. The mobile reserve force is a reaction unit assigned to an area of responsibility which can reinforce or counterattack in case of a raid on static points.[23]

As noted earlier, the government usually faces the dilemma of being forced to impose restrictive measures upon the populace in order to destroy the underground at the same time that it must seek to maintain or win the active support of the people. To reduce the effects of this conflict of aims, a central authority is usually appointed to direct both military and civil activities. In the countries under German occupation, constant dissension between split commands and overlapping authority of the political, military, and internal security forces made concerted government efforts difficult. The same type of organization existed in the early stages of the Malayan Emergency; later, however, cooperation between military and civic authorities through joint planning meetings produced coordination of activity. The centralization of effort was carried throughout all of the levels by setting up committees of military, police, and administrative officials, which met daily to plan the campaign against the terrorists. The police performed their normal functions within the cities and villages, concentrating on identifying potential subversive elements within the community. Army units, which supported the police in actions against larger groups and maintained control of rural areas and strategic points outside the villages, were ready for aggressive antiguerrilla campaigns. The navy and air force were used for patrol duty along borders or over large uncontrolled areas.

The size of units and patrols usually depends to a large extent upon the security forces available and the size and composition of the underground and guerrilla units. Both the army and the police usually maintain reserve and reaction units which can be called upon if needed. Communications between patrols and reserve units are of critical importance.

Although centralized direction of countermeasures is necessary, each area commander must have a certain amount of tactical autonomy. Often an area commander can act swiftly and aggressively to counter underground measures only if he is permitted to act on his own initiative. Since underground activity and the amount of popular support may vary greatly from area to area and from time to time, administrative control is usually kept flexible. Area commanders are authorized and encouraged to effect civic improvements, pay informers, or take on-the-spot corrective action to adjust any deficiencies in either the military or civic programs.

INTELLIGENCE

Kinds of Intelligence

One of the first tasks of intelligence is to set up a system which makes it possible to identify every inhabitant of an area and, if desired, keep track of his movements. National registration, which involves the issuance of identification cards bearing the photograph and fingerprints of the bearer, is the usual procedure. Further, by requiring everyone who enters certain areas to check in and out, the security forces can ascertain who was in the vicinity at the time a subversive act was committed. Undergrounds try to evade the identification system by counterfeiting identification cards, ration cards, work permits, travel permits, etc. If the government frequently changes documentary procedure, underground agents may be caught through their attempts to use out-of-date credentials.

Census information has been used successfully to catch guerrillas hiding in a village. The security forces counted or photographed the inhabitants, and when the count exceeded the census, investigation usually led to the apprehension of guerrillas who were hiding in the homes of underground members. The disappearance of a particular age group from a community or sudden shortages of materials and food are good indications of guerrilla recruitment and underground supply network, and a prediction of future guerrilla action in that area.

The particular nature of captured underground members often provides valuable clues to uncaptured members, because local underground leaders tend to seek recruits among persons in their same profession or craft or from the same ethnic group. In Malaya, for example, the British were greatly helped by the fact that the Communist movement was composed principally of Chinese; thus the British could concentrate their efforts on the Chinese element, which

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comprised about 50 percent of the total population. Further, an analysis of the activities of known individuals and of guerrilla operations may establish patterns of behavior which aid in the detection of other members of the underground. Captured personnel or defectors often supply information on how the movement developed, who its leaders are, what groups within the populace it depends upon, how it is organized, how members communicate with each other, the size and composition of the cells, the background of its members, where supplies are kept, where safe-homes are located, and who arranges for escape from the country. The government also tries to find out whether there is any rivalry among the members of the movement, what hardships members face, how effective government appeals for amnesty and punishment have been, what motives led members to join the organization and whether political ideology played a role. All this information is kept in central files where it can be studied by the authorities to discern a pattern in the underground's organization, activities, and membership. This information, combined with dossiers on leaders of the movement, can lead to the identification and capture of key underground members.

An underground is always desirous of enlisting the support of leading political figures who may have opposed members of the government prior to the insurrection. About such leaders the government requires as much information as it can gather—their political views, the organizations to which they belong, their finances, families, friends, and any circumstances which might make them vulnerable to blackmail or coercion. Political intelligence also has a positive role. It can be used to identify capable and loyal citizens who would be willing to undertake assignments in the government or to serve on commissions and other civic bodies.

Usually the underground attempts to infiltrate the security forces by blackmail, bribery of the people working with security units, or by planting secretaries, janitors, or other employees who through their work come in contact with officials who have direct or indirect access to security information. Careful security measures to seek out these covert elements are critical to any intelligence effort. Civilians employed by the military are screened for loyalty and periodic checks are made on their activities. Security checks and background investigation of all personnel in sensitive assignments are essential.

Obtaining Intelligence

Although something can be learned through interrogation of prisoners, defectors, and friends and family of known underground members, a government must develop reliable sources of information by using aggressive measures.

Paid Informants

The paid informer is probably the best source of information. Informers are usually recruited from various groups throughout the country so as to provide wide geographic and ethnic coverage. The underground uses terror,

threats, and reprisals to ensure that no one reveals its clandestine activity or the anonymity of its members. Therefore, before adequate sources of information can be developed, security forces must reduce the level of risk to the individual and offer some inducements for this dangerous role. Contacts with the informer are usually kept to a minimum and his true identity is usually known only to his security agent contact. In some cases, payment is made to the informer through a bank account which is kept for him by the government so that he will not be betrayed by a sudden increase in wealth. If the informer becomes known to the underground, provisions are made to relocate him in some other part of the country.

One of the most risky parts of the informer's task is transferring information to the security agent. Many of the techniques used are similar to those used by the underground, such as the use of intermediaries or prearranged signals. In the Philippines, the transfer of information about the movements of the Huk guerrillas was accomplished through the use of a set of prearranged signals which the farmer-agent communicated to a government air reconnaissance plane flying a set pattern over the region. The number, location, and direction of the Huk units were indicated through such devices as tying a cow to a particular post, placing the barnyard gate in a particular position, or opening a certain window. Since the signals used were common everyday actions, they could not give away his role of informer, and thus the informer could feign cooperation with the Huks or even act as a sympathizer, thereby

(Courtesy of the Natural Rubber Bureau)

Gen. Sir Gerald Templer (left) empties information boxes brought in from several communities during the "Emergency." The communities' leaders watch the proceedings.

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protecting himself. This system provided the security forces with a rapid, large-scale intelligence system which could pin-point the movements of insurgents.[24]

The Populace

During an insurgency people are generally under a great deal of stress and many seek to avoid becoming involved with either side. To open up these sources of information, measures must be taken to provide security for the informants and inducements to encourage them to perform acts which involve risk. In Malaya, soldiers and police went to each house and gave the occupants a sheet of paper on which to write, anonymously, any information concerning subversive activity. The next day the security forces returned with a sealed ballot box and collected all papers, blank or not. Since everyone was required to hand in a paper, the underground could not determine who in the village was informing to the authorities.[25] During a routine cordon and search operation in Palestine, everyone in the area was interrogated individually in an enclosed booth, and if information was obtained the identity of the informer was thereby protected.[26]

Even when citizens report information to local officials, the information is often not passed on to government headquarters because the local officials are afraid to oppose the underground which frequently directs its terrorism against such local authority. Also citizens are reluctant to give local officials information lest the officials be unknown members of the underground. In order to overcome such a situation, Ramón Magsaysay, then Secretary of Defense in the Philippines, directed the people to send information directly to him through a special mailbox, thereby preventing disloyal officials from leaking the information or the identity of the informer to the underground.[27] The effectiveness of this system was due mainly to the fact that Magsaysay commanded much respect from the people and had a reputation for being a man of the highest integrity. In the Philippines, when security forces had to use informants to identify underground members in a village, a tent was set up with a peephole, or "Magic Eye," cut in it. All the villagers were then lined up and made to pass before the "Magic Eye," behind which hid the informer. This type of operation not only produced intelligence, but had a strong psychological effect upon the community.[28]

In Kenya a similar technique was the use of the "hooded men." The informer met with his government contact at a prearranged location, and was covered with a sheet from head to foot to conceal his identity before coming in contact with other informers. All the informers were assembled and seated in a row of chairs, a security agent standing behind each one. The suspects passed before the hooded men and if one recognized a terrorist he whispered the information to the agent behind his chair; if more than one informer recognized a man, it was certain that he was a genuine terrorist.[29]

If the populace are so frightened of the insurgents that they continue to withhold information in the hope of not becoming involved, the threat of group punishment may be used. The Germans and Japanese in World War II and the British and French in postwar Malaya and Algeria used the principle of group responsibility.[30] The entire community was made responsible for the actions of any of its members and all suffered sanctions unless information concerning subversive activities was reported to the authorities. Some system of surveillance, such as the block warden, and *Pao-Chia* or parallel hierarchy systems, was imposed to increase certainty of detecting violations. It then became a crime for the individual or the group to withhold information, and active checks were made to enforce the system. The Germans used *agents provocateurs* who pretended to be allied pilots in distress or underground workers seeking aid from the community.[31] This made it doubly dangerous for the populace and greatly increased the risk involved in remaining silent.

In some cases fear of underground reprisal is so great that even the principle of group responsibility fails to produce the necessary information. One method of obtaining information without directly threatening the populace was used in the Philippines. The security forces leaked information that they were about to raid a village; on receiving this news the active insurgents immediately left the area. Instead of sending armed troops, government officials sent in a small unit with a camera and took a group photo of the village inhabitants. The next time the security forces received intelligence information that the insurgents were active in the area, they went to the village and arrested anyone not in the original group picture. Ninety percent of the suspects taken by this method proved to be members of the Huk organization.[32]

Agents

One way to penetrate an underground apparatus is to persuade or coerce a captured underground worker into working for the security forces, while ostensibly remaining a loyal member of the movement. Another way is to use the underground's own recruiting process: placing a government undercover agent in a critical job with access to classified government information, which makes him a likely target for underground recruiting.

In the Philippines, security forces used relatives of known insurgents to infiltrate the movement. A cousin of a Huk commander agreed to cooperate with the government by infiltrating the ranks of the underground. To ensure his well-being as a counteragent, the government prepared a series of incidents which helped convince the insurgent high command of the agent's "loyalty." The agent's brother was placed in jail and other members of his family were relocated. This contrivance persuaded the Huk leaders that this man joined their ranks because of "obvious grievances" against the government. In time, the Huk command had such confidence in this man that he was made an official in the National Finance Committee, and later a bodyguard to Taruc himself, a high Communist leader in the movement.[33]

An example of infiltration of underground organization in another part of the world occurred in Norway during World War II. A Norwegian named Henry Oliver Rinnan, sympathetic to the Germans, formed his own organization to disrupt and infiltrate Norwegian underground activities. With sea routes closed by German military activity, the Norwegian underground sent

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an agent to organize overland supply routes to Sweden. Rinnan, posing as a member of another underground organization, made contact with this agent, but the agent was suspicious and would not work with Rinnan. Shortly thereafter, the Gestapo captured the underground agent and then permitted Rinnan to "arrange" the escape of the man from the Gestapo. This established the underground's confidence in Rinnan and permitted him to gain vital information. When Rinnan's true identity became known later, his knowledge of the underground organization was so great that the central leadership decided to abandon all activities in the area.[34]

Government infiltration of undergrounds by double agents is not only a source of information, it is a disruptive influence compelling the underground to tighten security and creating fear which makes the underground membership less aggressive in its actions and less likely to recruit people.

Pseudo-Gangs and Large Unit Infiltration

The Germans used "dummies" on pseudo-gangs (individuals disguised as terrorists or guerrillas) in Russia and the British used them in Kenya and Palestine.[35] The British used ex-terrorists and European military men who disguised themselves as Mau Mau to penetrate this terrorist organization and gain intelligence. They dressed and acted as terrorists. The Europeans used burnt cork or bootblack to color their skin, learned Mau Mau handshakes, songs, and used terrorist clothing and equipment. The pseudo-gang used home-made guns, wore ragged overcoats and Mau Mau beads. They contacted other Mau Mau terrorist gangs and gained valuable information about the organization and its leaders.[36] In the Philippines the security forces used an organization called "Force X" to carry out "Large Unit Infiltration." The prime objective of this force, as was that of the pseudo-gangs in Kenya, was to obtain intelligence. By penetrating the insurgent organization, they were able to gain information about the security, communications, and supply systems as well as the nature and extent of civilian support and liaison methods. They would go into villages disguised as Huks and in this way determine which officials and civilians were working with the insurgents.[37] Still another way to infiltrate is to create a group which is independent of the underground but which appears to be operating against the government. For its own security (because the group could draw the attention of security forces to other subversive activity) the underground will contact this group, with the intention of restricting its movements or of absorbing it into the movement.

Uses of Intelligence

When the government identifies a member of the underground, it is often more useful to keep him under surveillance than to arrest him immediately. By shadowing him, the identity of other underground workers may be learned and the *modus operandi* of the apparatus determined. Wiretaps on telephones, hidden microphones, and other eavesdropping equipment are useful aids in the surveillance of suspects.

The nature of the conflict in insurgency situations imposes a very short lifetime on much, if not most, of tactical intelligence, particularly when compared to conventional war situations. In conventional war a commander has direct contact with the enemy or knows his whereabouts; in unconventional war the commander of security forces is fighting an enemy who avoids contacts and whose whereabouts are often unknown because his combat units are dispersed except during engagements. Therefore, in unconventional war tactical information needs to be converted into counteraction chiefly in the area and at the time that it is gathered.

The centralization of long-term intelligence concerning the underground organization and its leaders is essential for effective countermeasures. The underground is based and relies on a national organization. A centralized collection of information can provide patterns of underground activities which could not be detected on a local level. However, information for tactical, immediate use is frequently not coordinated for fear of leaks in the security system or because underground agents may deduce government intentions from their preparatory actions.

CONTROL AND PACIFICATION

To develop intelligence sources among the populace the security forces must provide the people with a reasonable degree of protection against retaliation by the insurgents. The government also attempts to mobilize suitable people into the armed forces or into labor projects. It further attempts to mobilize the attitudes of the people because, normally, a large portion of the populace is indifferent to political strife and avoids involvement with either insurgent or government forces. To reach these uncommitted people the government usually undertakes information campaigns and civil action programs to draw attention to the existing civic advantages and to the obligation of each citizen to support the government. In this endeavor the role of the individual government soldier is an important one; he must know not only how to fight the underground but how to conduct himself in contact with the people. The French in Algeria recognized that the soldier was the agent of pacification and that his actions are a major determinant of the success or failure of any pacification effort.

Relocation and Retraining

Because it is difficult for people to cooperate with the government forces in areas where guerrillas are active, the inhabitants are often relocated to an area where they can be protected from guerrilla raids and their activities controlled. The government may build a new, fortified village located near a highway so that security forces can use their mobile reaction units to come to the aid of local militia in case of attack. An alarm system is set up to ensure instantaneous help from the nearest military installation. It is important to

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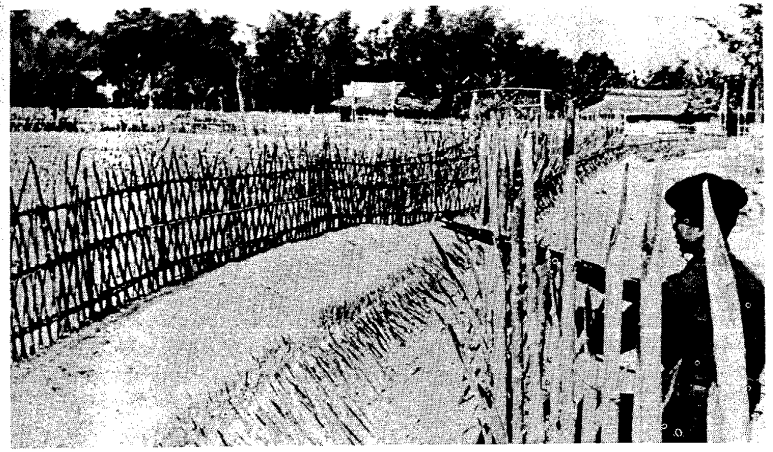
(U.S. Army Photograph)

A deep moat imbedded with bamboo stakes and surrounded by barbed wire encircles the Vietnamese village of Cu Chi. This is but one of a system of fortified villages designed to protect the villagers from the Viet Cong.



(U.S. Army Photograph)

Bamboo is used instead of barbed wire to parallel this moat in Vietnam.

recognize that relocation may cause hardship and resentment even if properly administered. However, this is a calculated risk in the attempt to cut off internal supplies and underground support for the guerrillas.

In most of the areas where both guerrilla and underground Communist cadres have had some success in recruiting individuals into front organizations, they have drawn from the dispossessed or the "have nots" of the society. Farmers who have been driven from their farms to the city and cannot find employment, the unskilled, the unemployable—all are likely to be potential recruits for subversive movements. In Malaya the British successfully provided a retraining program, intended not to convert the ex-terrorists from communism to democracy, but to provide them with skills which ensured subsistence and a future in a modern society. The EDCOR program in the Philippines is another example of how effective rehabilitation of insurgents played a significant psychological role in the defeat of the insurgent movement.

In addition, to make it worthwhile for the people to resist the subversive movement and join the government effort, a system of rewards can be set up. It is just as important to show that cooperation leads to rewards as it is that noncooperation will lead to punishment. Increases in pay and citations for bravery or patriotism encourage popular response, and periodic offers of individual amnesty are made to induce underground and guerrilla followers to defect to the government cause. On the other hand, severe punishment is administered for withholding information concerning subversive matters.

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Civilian Mobilization

In order to prevent the passage of military and police measures which may be detrimental to the community, civic leaders should play a role in determining pacification policy. Civic groups loyal to the government can assist in information programs and in organizing civic demonstrations. With military leadership self-defense units can be organized in cities and villages for guard duty and patrols, and normal police and traffic functions.

The recruitment of civilians for self-defense units serves several purposes. Since the military structure provides a built-in surveillance system, it prevents them from joining the underground, and releases police and army personnel for aggressive action against the insurgents. Families and friends of members of the self-defense units are less likely to provide information to the insurgents if it may endanger the lives of relatives and close friends. Recruiting civilians into territorial and local police units, and into regular army units absorbs much of the slack in employment or displacement caused by underground activities, thereby reducing the number of unemployed and unoccupied persons who might turn to the underground.

(U.S. Army Photograph)

A Special Forces medic conducts sick call for Rhade villagers in Vietnam.

Administrative Measures

The administrative branches of government, in performing their normal public service functions, can be effective in maintaining the support of the

people. Visible civic improvements indicate an interest in public welfare, while aid to displaced persons and refugees can prevent them from joining the underground. Relocation measures, when administered in a sympathetic manner, may induce loyalty to the government of the people affected.

The most important aspect of pacification is what the people perceive the intent of the government to be. If it appears that the government is attempting to solve their difficulties and is taking aggressive action to remove the threat of insurrection, they will provide support against the underground. In the Philippines Ramón Magsaysay demonstrated that the administrative forces of government in developing nations could be called upon directly to assist the people, if the people would directly assist the government. He had the people report graft, corruption, and poor administration directly to him and he took prompt action against the violators, thereby building popular confidence in the government. In Malaya the British selected highly qualified Chinese-speaking British civil servants, each of whom was assisted by a Malayan Chinese, to administer the relocation centers. This contributed greatly to the success of their program.

Resistance and revolution create social disorganization and stress in a civilian community. Such things as government controls, relocation, guerrilla and underground threats and reprisals have a significant effect upon the day-to-day behavior of individuals. To provide an effective administrative program during social disorder and stress, it is important to understand human behavior under these conditions and to know that procedures which are effective under normal conditions may not be effective under conditions of stress. Some of the lessons learned through evaluation of U.S. experiences in relocation and administration during World War II will be discussed next.

Individuals Under Stress

Investigations have shown that although people throughout the world may differ profoundly in their beliefs and customs, they display many common behavior patterns under stress. When people are subjected to threats, personal discomfort, loss of their homes, inadequate food, loss of means of subsistence, or restriction of movement due to controls or confinement, they react in similar ways. They display one of three types of behavior: excessive cooperation, apathy or withdrawal, or aggressive action against authority.[33] Stress may lead to violent, inappropriate behavior or it may breed fear which in turn leads to the creation of rumors. The rumors usually take the form of atrocity stories or plots of betrayal, and frequently lead to attacks upon people who have little or nothing to do with the causes of the stress. If these behaviors are recognized as symptoms of aggression arising out of stress, efforts can be made to control it. In dealing with aggressive behavior of this type, it is usually cheaper to provide some form of relief from the stress than to impose punishments which might arouse new aggressions. Outbursts of aggressive behavior are generally followed by a period of calmness and relief and advantage should be taken of this period of cooperativeness to modify conditions.

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Strategy, Tactics, and Countermeasures

Administration of Individuals Under Stress

To maintain his authority under conditions of social stress an administrator should be careful to grant simple requests which can be easily accommodated; he should be equally careful to refuse aggressive demands which would encourage destructive behavior. He should make only such rules or threats as he can enforce, lest he foster disrespect for his authority.[39] One way for an administrator to counter the stress created by social disorganization is to use existing leaders to create new organizations. In selecting leaders, members of minority groups or factions should not be chosen simply because they favor the administration. A better criterion for selection of a leader is his ability and capacity to understand the needs of the people and to solve the existing problems.[40]

To relieve tension, the constructive tendencies of people should be encouraged and opportunities should be provided for achieving social stability by creating economic security, providing opportunities to perform work which is valued and lends prestige. Self-government, education, sports, and recreation are useful, constructive ways of relieving stress and tension. However, it is dangerous to assume that when the administrator introduces these innovations, the people will accept and participate in them. They must first feel a need for the new things. Plans for social change should be tried out on a small scale in a part of the community, and be evaluated before they are applied to the entire community. In this way, large errors which might antagonize the community and increase stress are avoided.

Communication is an important tool in the administration of people under stress. By informing people of the necessity of change and the means of accomplishing the change, much of the people's uncertainty can be removed. The communication process should work both ways—it is important to know how people feel about innovations as well as to tell them what the changes are. The use of both formal and informal channels of communications within the community can facilitate the two-way transfer of information and the ultimate acceptance of innovations.[41]

Civic Action and Information Campaigns

Construction of hospitals, schools, sanitation and irrigation facilities, highways, and other public works demonstrate the government's interest in the people. Agricultural assistance from crop planting to harvesting earns the gratitude of the farmers. Emergency distribution of food, clothing, and medical aid is also effective. In all these endeavors, the role of the military and of civilian representatives of government is emphasized. Permitting the military to aid in assistance programs or work in the fields as they did in the Philippines has done much to remove prejudice toward them. Intensive information campaigns are conducted to discredit the insurgents and to convince the citizens that it is in their own personal interest, as well as being their obligation, to support the state. Such campaigns are reinforced by actions designed to nullify the appeals of the underground and to reaffirm the government's desire to help.

Movies, newspapers, radio, loudspeakers, house-to-house visits and other means of mass communication are used to explain the problems of the emergency to the people. People who have lived under stress for prolonged periods of time become apathetic and avoid learning of new situations for fear of personal involvement. There is probably no better way to ensure that each person knowns about the situation than to visit him personally, not only because immediate contact as such is good, but because in many areas of the world there are few radio sets to receive government broadcasts. Crystal sets have been given to people in rural areas, and radio receivers with loudspeakers have been set up in markets and other public places to help the government maintain communication with the public. Discussion groups are organized in which people learn how to combat the subversive movement. In Malaya, as noted previously, the British sent captured guerrillas from village to village as members of the British information campaign to provide firsthand information on the subversive movement. For the civic action and information campaigns the government must continually have information from the people to determine what their fears and interests are and how they are reacting to underground and government propaganda. Opinion polls of select groups within the community can provide this information.

SUMMARY

Undergrounds are difficult to detect and destroy in the early stages of their development. As a movement expands and reaches the militarization stage, certain steps can be taken in the attempt to destroy it. A first step has been to cut off any external supply and sanctuary to which the guerrillas may have access in order to force them to rely upon internal support for their existence. As the guerrillas lose their source of supply, they are forced to attack security forces, thus providing an advantage for the conventional forces, who are better organized and better trained. Secondly, the activities of the underground which are the internal source of supply, intelligence, and recruits for the guerrillas must be curtailed. This is done by denial operations. An intelligence network with a system of informers is an essential factor in identifying members of the underground and infiltrating its ranks. Still other effective means are rewards for information on underground activity and amnesty to any insurgent who surrenders.

To gain the cooperation of the people and to acquire necessary intelligence sources, the security forces must provide the populace with a feeling of security. This can be accomplished through relocation of rural families into defensible areas, an action which also cuts the guerrillas off from a readily accessible source of new recruits and provisions. Militias are organized in order to mobilize a large segment of the populace and programs are initiated

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in an effort to show the people that the government is sincerely interested in changing the social, economic, and political conditions of the country.

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PART II

CASES OF UNDERGROUNDS IN RESISTANCE AND REVOLUTION

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INTRODUCTION

To demonstrate the variety of roles which undergrounds have played in both resistance and revolution, seven widely different geographic areas in which underground movements have operated have been selected for discussion. Some worked in support of guerrilla forces in World War II resistance movements, some in support of conventional forces. Both Communist and non-Communist revolutionary movements are represented.

In each description, an attempt has been made to highlight those aspects which make the movement unique as well as to demonstrate its similarities to other undergrounds. The descriptions are not intended to be complete or representative accounts, but are intended to show the wide scope and range of underground activity. In each account, the historical setting is first presented, as background to the organization, administration and operational functions, and activities.

The administrative categories covered are recruitment, logistics, finance, communications, and security. The operational categories are intelligence, psychological operations, sabotage, and escape and evasion. The countermeasures taken by the security forces are also described. Since it was not possible to obtain comparative information, the extent of coverage varies from study to study.

Each of the accounts highlights a particular aspect of an underground, its activities, or the situation in which it operates.

The role of the various undergrounds in the French resistance (1940–45) is presented to illustrate how the underground coordinates its activities with those of conventional troops.

The story of the Yugoslav resistance (1941–45) illustrates the problems involved when two resistance groups fight each other as well as the occupier. The small Communist Party of Yugoslavia organized a partisan army and civilian National Liberation Committees in liberated areas, thereby gaining control of local and, later, national government agencies. In this way the Communists were able to turn a resistance movement into a revolution. The relationship of the underground to one area guerrilla leader in the Royalist movement is discussed in some detail.

In Malaya (1948–60), after a phase of unsuccessful political activity, the Communist Party organized a fighting force (MRLA) and a civilian support force, the *Min Yuen*. The collapse of the guerrilla fighting force was closely related to the inability of the underground to provide intelligence, supplies, and other support for the guerrilla force in the face of the British countermeasures.

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Algeria (1954–62) provides an example of a non-Communist revolution in which independence was won primarily through political rather than military means. The interesting counterrevolution of the OAS is treated briefly.

The story of the Communist insurgency in Greece (1945–49) demonstrates the importance of an external sanctuary. Yugoslavia, after being expelled from the Communist bloc, denied the Greek Communists sanctuary within its borders, and their underground was unable to provide a reliable steady source of supplies. Shortly afterwards, the movement failed.

The Communist insurgency in the Philippines (1946–54) is of interest primarily because of the wide range and the effectiveness of the countermeasures used. The capture of the underground leaders in Manila and the effective social, political, and military reforms instituted by the government led to the collapse of the Huk movement.

Palestine (1945–48) demonstrates the effectiveness of combined underground and political activities. The use of cordon and search as a countermeasure against underground activities is another feature of this description.

CHAPTER 6

FRANCE (1940–45)

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BACKGROUND

When Germany invaded Poland in September 1939, Britain and France fulfilled their treaty obligations and declared war on Germany. There was little fighting on the Western Front, however, until May of the following year; then it took the German forces only 6 weeks to defeat the French Army. By the terms of the armistice signed on June 22, 1940, by Marshal Henri Pétain, Alsace-Lorraine was annexed to Germany, and two French zones were established. A Northern Zone was occupied and directly administered by German military forces, and an unoccupied Southern Zone was established, to be administered by Pétain and a French Parliament.*

Even before the armistice was signed, Col. Charles De Gaulle escaped to London and founded the Free French movement, and by the end of 1940 local resistance groups were also emerging. At first there was little regional coordination or national cooperation, although the British, largely through their Special Operations Executive (SOE), immediately began to support the resistance effort in order to supplement the Allied war operations.

In September 1941 the French National Committee was created in London under the leadership of General De Gaulle, and came to include spokesmen for the different political parties. In the spring of 1943 the French National Committee in London merged with the North African administration, headed by Gen. Henri Giraud, to form the French Committee of National Liberation. Thus the resistance organizations working outside of France were technically unified under De Gaulle. Efforts to unite the total resistance movement within France resulted in the creation of the National Committee of Resistance (CNR), composed of delegates from all the major underground groups in France. The titular political head was Jean Moulin, while a General Delestraints (Vidal)** was named leader of the Secret Army, the military arm of the underground, known officially as the *Armée Française de L'Intérieur*. The CNR collapsed in the fall of 1943, however, after both Moulin and Vidal were captured by the Gestapo.

Early in 1944 the name French Forces of the Interior (FFI) was adopted for all resistance units; the FFI was led by J. M. P. Koenig. Membership in French underground organizations totaled about 200,000 by 1943, approximately doubling a year later,[1] with perhaps about one-fourth being part of the armed *Maquis*. They operated in an area controlled initially by 500,000 occupation troops, police, and auxiliary forces.[2] These occupation forces were, of course, greatly increased as the threat of an Allied invasion became clear.

*After the Allied invasion of North Africa in November 1942, the Germans occupied the whole of France.

**Vidal was General Delestraints' underground cover name.

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The undergrounds in France contributed to the Allied war effort in several ways. The intelligence gathered by the French resistance gave the Allies detailed knowledge of German activity in France; the members of the French resistance gave invaluable assistance to Allied OSS and SOE agents. Downed Allied airmen and other military personnel were able to escape capture through underground escape and evasion nets. In addition, the French underground organized a secret army and directed preparations which led to a general uprising of the French resistance forces after D-Day.

Following the D-Day invasion the FFI Secret Army fought with the Allied armies against the Germans. The underground forces assisted the Allied invasion by sabotaging railway lines, roadways, and communication services. Additional FFI attacks were made against German troop concentrations and fuel and munition dumps. These actions created considerable confusion in the German rear, and were of value to the Allied Expeditionary Forces.

(UPI Photo)

Gen. Charles De Gaulle and Gen. Henri Giraud (left) in May 1943. The two Free French leaders created and assumed joint presidency of a council to govern liberated French territory and to lead their countrymen against the Axis powers.

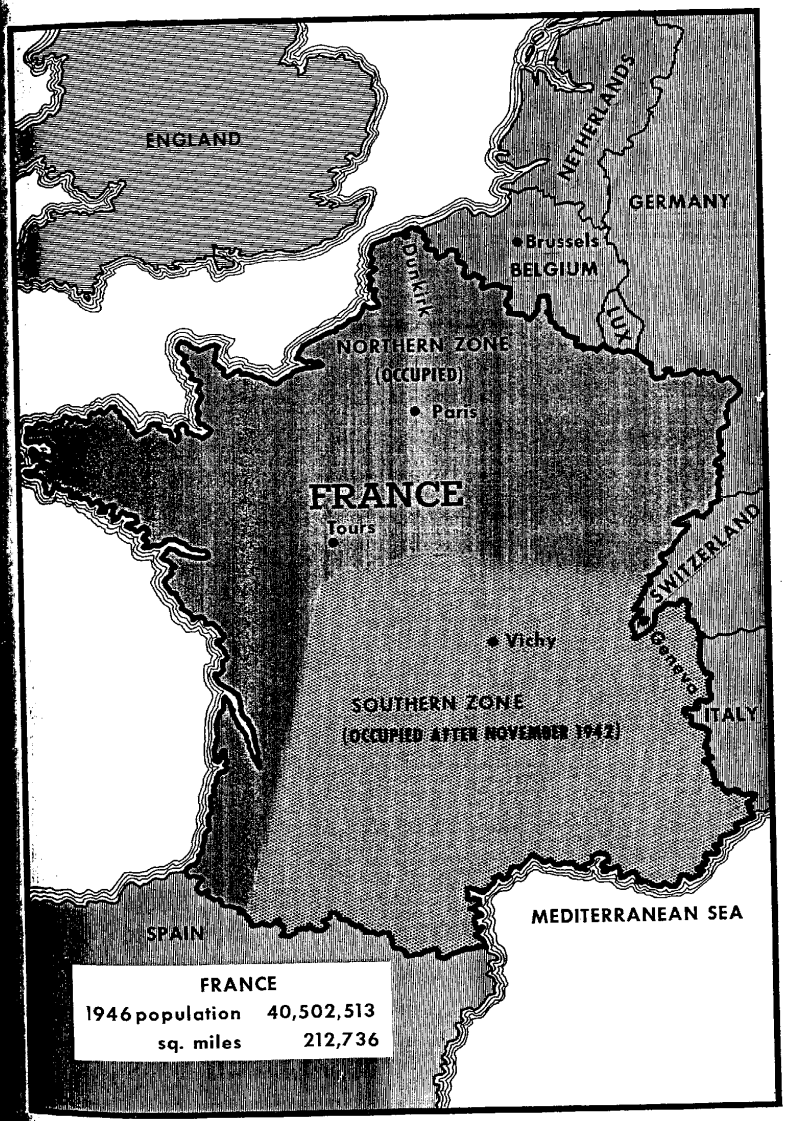

Figure 5. Map of France.

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ORGANIZATION

The resistance movement generally reflected the prewar French political and social scene. Many groups were formed under the sponsorship of prewar political parties. Their aim was two-fold: to resist the German occupation forces and to work toward the overthrow of the Vichy regime.

Two agencies were established in London in the fall of 1940 to support the French underground. One was a special French section of the British SOE and the other was the *Bureau Central de Renseignements et d'Action* (BCRA), set up as part of General De Gaulle's general staff headquarters. Although nominally independent, the BCRA relied on the SOE for support in carrying out its operations. The following spring both agencies began to infiltrate men into France to perform intelligence and sabotage missions, and to explore the state of resistance groups already functioning, set up new ones where feasible, provide instructors, and work out escape routes for hidden Allied POW's and airmen. In the summer of 1942 the U.S. Office of Strategic Services (OSS) joined the British in assisting the French resistance. In late 1943 the SOE and OSS combined their activities and established a single headquarters known first as SOE/OSS and later as Special Forces Headquarters.

Three important underground groups in the Southern (unoccupied) Zone were: (1) *Combat*, which had at its disposal organizers, sabotage teams, and other operational groups; (2) *Libération*, with an intelligence network, propaganda office, professional cells, and a paramilitary organization; and (3) *Francs-Tireurs*, the weakest of the three, consisting mainly of refugees from the Northern Zone and intellectuals from Paris.

Early in 1942, BCRA undertook to coordinate the resistance movements in the unoccupied zone and created a Coordination Committee of four members: one representative from London (Jean Moulin) and one from each of the three major groups. On October 2 of that year BCRA announced that the three

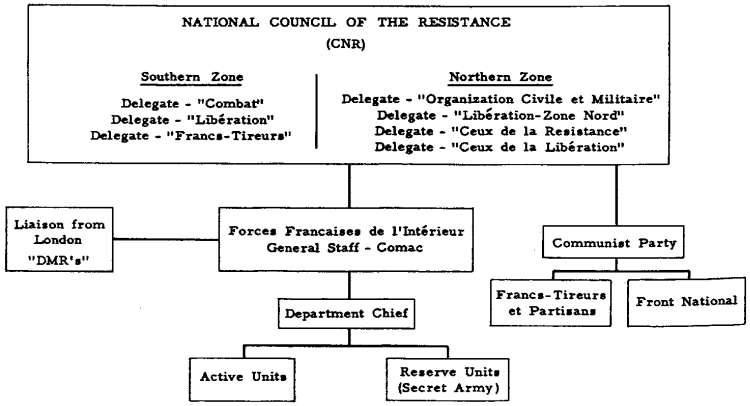

Figure 6. Organization of Undergrounds in France.

movements had recognized Moulin as the head of the resistance within France.[3] It further stated that the paramilitary organizations of the three would form a Secret Army acting under orders from De Gaulle. The staff of this army was to be structured along regular military lines, and on December 9, 1942, the command was given to General Vidal.

Before this synthesis, *Combat* had been organized geographically into six areas, *Libération* into seven. A uniform subdivision was now adopted which followed the departmental administrative system of the Vichy Government, under which the zone was divided into six regions. The coordination committee took the name of Committee of Directors, and assumed political control through regional and departmental political commissioners duly selected by the commanders of the region. Eventually, the committee assumed leadership of the Secret Army.[4]

In the Northern Zone, where pressures of the German occupation were felt directly, initial resistance groups immediately began such activities as collection of intelligence data and sabotage.

In February 1943, a *Comité de Coordination* for the resistance groups of the Northern Zone was set up under the guidance of General Vidal. The four largest non-Communist groups, *Organisation Civile et Militaire* (OCM), *Ceux de la Résistance* (CDLR), *Ceux de la Libération* (CDLL), and the *Libération-Zone Nord* (LZN) agreed to pool their forces in the Secret Army.

As in the Southern Zone, the occupied area was divided into military regions concordant with the prewar French administrative system.[5]

After the German occupation of the Southern Zone, the resistance groups in both zones were united. Jean Moulin persuaded representatives from all forces to establish the national Council of the CNR,[6] which was composed of representatives from all major underground groups, as well as advisers from labor unions and political parties. This council became the highest authority on French soil, but it recognized the supreme authority of the French Provisional Government in London. General Vidal was reaffirmed as commander of the Secret Army.

Just as a stable and unified resistance seemed to be taking shape, both General Vidal and Jean Moulin were captured. The various groups then became reluctant to pool their resources, and, in effect, the Secret Army ceased to exist before becoming a functioning unit of operation. In the spring of 1943 the Communists joined with the Secret Army to form what became the French Forces of the Interior (FFI). Initially the Communist *Front National* and its strong paramilitary unit, the *Francs-Tireurs et Partisans Français* (FTPF), withheld cooperation. Not until General Vidal's capture in late February 1943 did the FTPF send a representative to the Committee of Directors.*

The CNR continued to exist formally under the nominal leadership of Georges Bidault. A central committee of the resistance groups was created, with eight members. In February 1944 the central committee decided that

*The Communist Party had been the largest and best organized of the French parties before the war; because it had been outlawed in 1939, it had already established channels of communication which could be put to use for underground activity.

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the FFI was to be placed under the leadership of the CNR. The general staff of the FFI was called the Committee of Action (ComAc). This organ was also supposed to arbitrate differences and misunderstandings between the military delegates (liaison agents sent from London, who had great influence because they controlled the flow of supplies to the French underground forces) and the local and regional underground organization. In May 1944 the name of the supreme staff was changed to *Comité d'Action Militaire de CNR.*

The organization of the lower-level resistance units is not well known. A regional directive of the Communist FTPF suggested the creation of hierarchical triangular cells, with each leader responsible to the cell chief of the next higher level.[7]

Paramilitary organizations set up by the various movements (in both zones) were organized within a territorial framework corresponding to the prewar French departments (or states), and were divided into active and reserve units. An active unit might be either a "normal unit," a "*Corps Franc*," or a "*Maquis*."* These troops, supervised by departmental chiefs, had as their major tasks general guerrilla warfare and sabotage. The *Corps Franc* executed traitors condemned to death by military tribunals. The *Maquis*, largely made up of youths who were evading the *Service de Travail Obligatoire* (STO) (forced labor in Germany), were usually permanent inhabitants of mountain retreats, and their prime duty was to stay alive until such time as they might be needed as fighters.

The reserve units were composed of older men and others who had not previously enlisted.

The Communist FTPF had its own independent organizational scheme. It included three kinds of paramilitary units. (1) groups of partisans, who continually carried on guerrilla operations against the enemy (2) *francs-tireurs*, grouped or isolated, who had legitimate occupations, but devoted their free time to the underground struggle and (3) "patriotic militia," who carried on sabotage and attempted to demoralize the enemy.

UNDERGROUND ACTIVITIES

ADMINISTRATIVE FUNCTIONS

Communications

A great deal of organizational effort was needed to establish a reliable communications network between the various organizational groups and geographical regions, as well as between the country and the London authorities. Although the courier system was too cumbersome, slow, and exposed to compromise for use in everyday routine communications, couriers—crossing neutral frontiers with forged papers—were dispatched in considerable numbers until the liberation.

In the early days of the war, mail was sent by carrier pigeons and fishing vessels. Spain was considered to be a safe area through which mail could be transmitted to British authorities in Gibraltar. By this route "2622 messages were dispatched from France in April 1944 alone." [8]

The first trained radio operators were sent to France in the spring of 1941. Half of these were caught and executed by the enemy. In theory, these radio contacts with London did not seem to present problems; in practice, however, the establishment of a workable system proved to be quite difficult. Common problems were the lack of replacement parts for equipment, and heavy loss of personnel. By 1943 the efficiency of radio communications and the security of the operators were greatly improved. Such innovations as the so-called "V plan," which allotted operators a variable time and frequency schedule, and the introduction of a system of "blind messages," which were sent at certain hours to certain operators without the latter being required to confirm their reception, confused German listening posts. The Germans could not tell whether the operator heard and located in a certain spot at a specific time was the same one heard later at a different location.[9]

Written messages were often deposited at private homes, coffeehouses, stores, and "letter-boxes" to be picked up by relaying couriers or other agents and forwarded to their destination.

Since the security problems involved in transmitting written information were enormous, secret meetings were held among members of the various levels of organization.

Recruitment

The *Organisation Civile et Militaire*, the most highly organized of the resistance groups, drew members at all levels from the railway service (SNCF), the post, telephone, and telegraph service, and other public utilities. Non-political in structure, its effective membership was estimated to be 40,000.[10]

Ceux de la Résistance, a paramilitary organization with its greatest strength in Paris, recruited members from all classes. Its membership in 1943 was estimated to be 1,000 and its leader stated that it could have 35,000 troops ready by D-Day.[11]

Ceux de la Libération, another paramilitary unit concentrated chiefly in and around Paris, had a maximum strength of perhaps 35,000.[12] Its staff included *Routiers* (members of the French Teamsters Union), and it had agents among the police and the fire brigade.

In view of the lack of records and the loose structure of the organization, the figures for the membership of the French underground after its unification into the FFI may not be accurate. In the Northern Zone there were estimated to be about 182,000 "enlisted underground," 20,000 *Maquis*, 59,000 OCM and CDLR, and 200,000 reserves. Strength in the Southern Zone was estimated

*Maquis comes from the Italian word *Macchia* meaning thicket or undergrowth. It originally meant those resistance units in redoubt or mountain areas. Later it was extended to mean all those engaged in clandestine resistance against the Germans.

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at about 47,000 "enlisted underground" and 50,000 reserves. To these figures must be added the ORA (*Organisation de Résistance de l'Armée*), units of the prewar French Army whose strength in September 1943 was estimated to be 30,000 in the Southern Zone and 10,000 in the Northern Zone.[13] As late as June 1944, however, the FFI admitted that it did not possess reliable data concerning the numerical strength of its forces.

No numerical data is available for the strength of the various youth groups, but it is known that one of the largest was the Catholic Association of the French Youth (ACJF). Its activities were suppressed in the Northern Zone, but permitted under Vichy rule.

Although the number of Jews in France did not exceed one percent of the population, they were one of the most active elements in the French resistance movements. They made up 20 percent of the membership of the Southern Zone resistance groups *Combat* and *Libération*, and there were other groups in which Jewish membership amounted to 25 percent of the total. Although their situation became particularly dangerous after the Germans ordered them to wear the Star of David on their clothing (May 1942), and though threatened with complete annihilation, they still played prominent roles in the underground. Of the supreme command of the FFI, two members were Jews. Several small independent Jewish groups arose soon after the armistice. At the end of 1942 several of these groups in the Northern Zone became part of the Communist paramilitary force, FTPF.

A large percentage of other ethnic groups (Poles, Italians, Germans, Austrians, etc.) participating in the French resistance could be attributed to two factors: considerable prewar immigration and the wartime influx of political refugees. The Communists had tried persistently to gain the sympathy of these people through their prewar industrial organization, the Organization of Immigrant Workers. The best-organized national group were the Poles. Approximately 82,000 Polish officers and men had reached France in 1939 and had taken part in the Battle of France. After the surrender in 1940, these, with the help of Free French authorities, formed an extensive organization designed to evacuate their own men as well as Allied airmen stranded in Europe. Prewar Polish immigrants also created the Polish Organization for the Fight of Independence (POWN), which cooperated with the FFI and maintained close contact with Polish authorities in London. It even received its own supplies by Allied parachute drop. In 1944 it became integrated with the FFI with the understanding that control would revert to Polish authorities after the liberation. The thousands of Germans and Austrians who had found political asylum in France after 1933 also formed underground units. Small national groups of Italian deserters and anti-Franco Spaniards were also active in the *Maquis* of the Southern Zone.

Finance

External Sources

Most of the funds for the resistance came from outside France, mainly from London and Algiers. Funds sent or brought to France by French, English, and United States agents consisted of French francs, Free French treasury bonds, and U.S. dollar notes. Before the summer of 1943, only French francs and U.S. dollars were used, but as the francs were in the form of a deposit sent by the Bank of France to England before June 1940, the Germans were able to establish their serial numbers and hence to trace their source of distribution in France. Later, U.S. dollars were sent, as they could be easily and profitably exchanged for francs within France. If the handling of dollars became risky, they were sometimes taken to Switzerland, where they could be exchanged for francs.[14]

Internal Sources

The resistance was able to raise a considerable amount of money in France itself. The sources for this income were—

(1) *Expropriation of public funds.* This operation, ordered by the FFI authorities and carried out by local resistance organizations, was directed mainly against local branches of the Bank of France, tax collectors' offices, and similar public institutions. Many staff members of these institutions cooperated with the underground. At first, receipts were made out by the underground for all expropriated funds, but this was soon stopped, as bandit groups would pose as legitimate agents and collect funds.

(2) *Donations.* Because banks and commercial enterprises found it difficult to conceal their donations from the German authorities, the amounts received from such sources failed to meet the underground's initial expectations. In addition, donations from individuals were not significant.

(3) *Internal loans.* Obtaining loans from wealthy individuals, and occasionally banks, became the responsibility of the *Comité de Financement* (COFI), which was established in February 1944 under the auspices of the CNR.

Logistics

An extensive technical apparatus was needed to assure proper functioning of supply operations carried out clandestinely by parachute drops or airplane landings. Considering the technical details involved, the necessity of using ground crews who could not be trained properly, and the tremendous proportions which these airlift operations assumed toward the end of the war, the results achieved were remarkable.[15]

A primary task was to find suitable ground for parachute drops and landing operations. Grounds for these operations had to be makeshift, for the regular airports were controlled by the enemy. They did, however, have to meet certain minimum requirements. They had to be large enough, not too close to enemy troop encampments, not located in sectors of extremely dense antiaircraft implacements, and accessible to resistance personnel. When such an area had been found, its coordinates and bearings, along with the pertinent conditions of the surrounding territory, were submitted to the authorities in

England for review. It was the responsibility of SOE or BCRA specialists in the field to verify the accuracy of these specifics.

In London, the submitted details were closely scrutinized. The computed risk of losing a plane and its crew was weighed against the benefits to be derived from supplying the particular resistance group. The British Air Ministry had to approve the proposed drop zone. When a site was approved, a ground file was set up, including a map of the area, an operation number, and a BBC message and recognition letter for communication with the recipient group in France.

In France, a Reception Committee, or "R.C.," was then organized. The R.C. leader was given the BBC code phrase and instructed to listen to the proper BBC broadcasts in order to receive notice of the incoming shipment. The resistance group's headquarters would also listen to the broadcast and notify the R.C. leader when the signal was received, in case the R.C. had missed the signal. At the site, pits were dug and camouflaged so that the received containers could be temporarily stored. This enabled the Reception Committee to make a quick withdrawal after the drop, a maneuver often expedient because a circling plane often aroused German suspicions and prompted searches of the area by German patrols. Then, too, temporary storage was often necessary because there was not enough nighttime left to conceal the transportation of the containers. After a site had been used once, its safe use greatly decreased, so resistance groups changed sites frequently.[16]

The "specialists" of the SOE and BCRA were organized into committees called COPA (*Comités des Opérations de Parachutage et d'Atterrissage*). They not only supervised the preparation of parachute and landing grounds and the actual operations themselves, but were also in charge of distributing properly the parachuted supplies. The COPA representative also inspected security measures and caches prepared by the FFI for hiding containers, etc., and contacted the crews designated to assist in the operations. The preparation of aerial operations thus included—

(1) The preparation of suitable terrain in a distance of at least 200 to 400 meters from the nearest buildings.

(2) The assignment of a team of four to five reliable men with a radio transmitter.

(3) Transportation of parachuted supplies.

(4) Designation of temporary hiding place (cache) such as a forest, a thicket, a barn, or a camouflaged excavation.

A minimum of 20 to 30 such grounds had to be prepared for each department; approximately one ground was needed to supply two *trentaines* (groups of 30 men). Instructions were issued as to the technical procedure to be followed during an actual air-supply operation. Such an operation would be announced by a previously agreed-upon code-phrase on the BBC, whereupon ground crews would be alerted, and lamps arranged in a certain pattern would be lighted when the airplane could be heard. If the airplane was supposed to land, passengers to be picked up would wait in readiness at an exactly designated point of the provisional field.

Toward the end of the war, new methods of directing airplanes to their targets were used, such as directional radio beams and ground-to-airplane radiotelephones. However, these new devices were never available in sufficient numbers.

Security

An effective security system, so indispensable to a successful underground organization, was not a strong-point in the French resistance movement. The Communists, who had been forced underground in the summer of 1939 and had developed effective security procedures, were the resistance group best protected against enemy penetration and detection.

An "Instruction from the ComAc," issued in August 1944 and directed to all regions and departments of the FFI, advised on the basis of past mistakes and examples how the underground forces should be deployed:

> Do not make the mistake of constituting excessively large units and to give them too rigid an organizational frame.
>
> Except for the national leaders of the underground, members of the resistance should not travel outside their region of action.[17]

The size of the various resistance groups was not, however, dependent on the will of the organizers: there were many factors which caused a confluence of men in certain areas, and they had to be taken care of whether the leaders of the region liked it or not.

The need for security measures increased sharply when the resistance was flooded with young men who were evading forced labor conscription by the Germans.

Throughout 1943, officials from the SOE and BCRA traveled through France. Before leaving England, each of these agents went through detailed preparations, and was given a series of aliases, cover stories, and identity cards. In each place where he was to contact underground officials, he would be provided with a "safe house" in which to stay, and an alternate "safe house" if the first was known to the Germans. Each agent had a pill which he could take if subjected to unendurable torture; many of the officers within France carried these cyanide capsules for security reasons. Agents agreed beforehand that if one did not show up for an appointment, he was presumed to be captured. The arrested agent would wait 2 days before releasing any information to his captors, thus allowing the network time to reorganize itself. Especially important was changing the location of "safe houses."

As the number of parachute drops increased, it became more difficult to provide safe areas for drops and landings. Precision was immensely important, as the landing strip had to be outlined by fires at night. Usually, if an expected airplane did not arrive within 2 hours of the appointed time, the Reception Committee returned home. By 1944 the Air Operations Office in London and the FFI in France had built up a network of 600 landing grounds.[18] Although 150 reception committees stood by each month, an average of only five operations succeeded.

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