

Cases of Undergrounds

Before the Allied invasion of North Africa, the Southern Zone which was still unoccupied by German troops provided a reasonable amount of security for underground workers in the Northern Zone who were in need of sanctuary. Since official permission was needed to cross the demarcation line, forged papers were necessary.

It must be understood that the French underground took for granted the passive, if not active, support of the larger majority of Frenchmen. Many of those considered traitors were sought out and eliminated.

OPERATIONAL FUNCTIONS

Psychological Operations

The FFI used propaganda to raise the morale of the native population and lower that of the enemy. The main effort in this field was the publication of clandestine newspapers. The National Library in Paris lists 1,034 illegal newspapers which were printed at least once during the course of the war. While the great majority of these did not publish consistently, several publications did, and these played significant roles. The major journals and the number of editions published were—

L'Humanité—the official organ of the French Communist Party—(315 editions)
Les Volontaires de la Liberté (99 editions)
Libération Nord (190 editions)
Combat (78 editions in all, including some published under other names)
La Voie du Nord (65 editions)
Libération-Sud (52 editions)
Défense de la France (47 editions)¹⁹

Information for the newspapers was obtained from the British Broadcasting Corporation and Swiss Radio Geneva. Large supplies of paper were required for resistance psychological operations. *Combat* alone, for example, accounted for three tons per month in 1944.²⁰ Many persons in the printing trade offered paper when it was needed and some was obtained from paper factories; large amounts were also purchased on the black market. One clandestine editor set up a commercial shop which was sanctioned by the Vichy authorities, and imported paper from Germany.

The problem of printing was largely solved by the cooperation of printers, who offered their services at a great risk. Since it was necessary to shift installations from one location to another, it was ideal for the editor to have his own machine. The editor of *Combat*, for example, set up his office in a cave near Lyon.

The printing methods of *Défense de la France* are probably typical of those of the larger publications. First mimeographed, later printed on hand and mechanical presses, this paper finally acquired a linotype machine and even published illustrated supplements.

Many of the illegal publishers had the cooperation of transportation agencies and government workers in solving the circulation problem. For example, workers of the French National Railways would see that the paper was deposited at the various stops on their trips, and would also allow men with suitcases full of newspapers to travel free on the trains. Post office facilities were also used for circulation, and newspapers were circulated in churches and in the Paris subway.²¹

Most of the illegal newspapers carried the *Croix de Lorraine*, signifying their allegiance to General De Gaulle, and each one had an eye-catching patriotic slogan to appeal to the readers.²² For example, *Combat* had the slogan "One Chief, De Gaulle; one fight, for our liberty." The newspapers contained three sections. One gave news of Allied military accomplishments gathered from radio news sources in Britain and Switzerland. Another section was concerned with political propaganda; it might include a list of patriots arrested, sabotage missions accomplished, etc. The third, which was sometimes in code, would give directions to guerrillas and other patriots.²³ These newspapers were encouraged by Allied authorities, although no information is available on possible direct financial and material support for this operation from London. Many of these clandestine papers became legal publications after the liberation.

Other propaganda items were the posters given to members of the various youth groups to attach on walls.

A unit responsible for carrying on propaganda against the enemy was created in 1942. Known as the TA (*Travail Allemand*), it was composed largely of groups or individuals who had access to official German military and civil sources. The objectives of the TA were—

... anti-Hitler propaganda, whether written or verbal, and the formation of a national organization on a broad basis for peace inside the Wehrmacht and the German administration.²⁴

Pamphlets were distributed clandestinely among the German troops. Some of these may have been printed in France itself, but most of them were printed in Great Britain and dropped by parachute into France.

Minority groups within the enemy ranks constituted a target for underground propaganda. Once a loudspeaker truck was used to broadcast desertion appeals to Russian soldiers with the German forces, and this propaganda may have been a factor in the removal of these troops from the area.

One underground unit, the Communist FTPF, issued instructions in June 1944 on themes to be used in propaganda material directed toward the German troops. This pamphlet, called *Comment Faire La Guerre* (How to Wage War) contained desertion appeals, information about the collapse of the German front in the East, and other war news.²⁵

Publicity on behalf of the French cause was directed at Allied and other nations by the Free French authorities in London.

Cases of Undergrounds Intelligence

One important contribution to the Allied cause by the French undergrounds and individual agents working in France was in the field of intelligence. It was this intelligence which provided the Allied commanders with information which greatly aided them in planning the details of the invasion of June 1944.

Whereas the various resistance groups, with the exception of the Communist National Front, were generally confined to their own regions, the network which specialized in intelligence extended throughout France. Altogether, about 100 different intelligence networks operated at various times, new ones being created from the remnants of the old.

The earlier networks were organized by British intelligence services. They were formed under the direction of British agents who had remained in France after the armistice, or under British or French agents secretly dispatched to France, with contact addresses. As early as November 1940, De Gaulle sent General Roulier to France to organize a French intelligence apparatus in the occupied zone, with branches in the unoccupied zone to provide avenues of withdrawal. This network was later called the *Confraternité Notre-Dame*. Another network organized about this time was the *Alliance*. All major political parties produced their own organizations, a number of which were built up under the direction of the United States OSS. The French section of SOE also parachuted into France 366 French, English, and Canadian agents, 80 of whom died in landing, and 15 of whom were killed in battle. It has been estimated that about 100,000 persons, including 35,000 women, participated in these "special services."²⁶

The significance of the OSS and SOE intelligence operations was that Allied conventional forces used a net of underground workers to support their intelligence operations. In many cases, it was difficult for the underground to provide specific pieces of intelligence since they were not always informed of Allied strategic plans. Therefore Allied agents parachuted into occupied territory and contacted the underground. The underground provided food and shelter and assisted the agent in obtaining the necessary information. Once the information was obtained, the agent would be smuggled out of the country through an escape and evasion net bringing with him any necessary maps and documents.

Sabotage

An important task of the underground forces in France—and one of the main reasons for their existence, as far as the Allies were concerned—was sabotage and armed diversion behind enemy lines. To assist in this objective a series of contingency plans were drawn up. These "color plans" were developed to provide targets for a program of widespread sabotage against German war materiel. Comprehensive lists of targets were dropped into France in colored containers, each color indicating the type of target to be attacked. The BBC notified the underground by code the time of the initial landings on

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D-Day and the color plan to be used, thus signifying the time and type of attacks to be carried out. Although seven were originally called for, only three of the plans were actually carried out; those against the railway system, against roadways, and against railway terminals.

Training programs were set up in Great Britain to brief agents on sabotage techniques for use in attacking such targets as railroads, locomotives, highways, power lines, canals, etc. Also manuals on techniques were published and distributed to underground personnel.

Major sabotage operations began after the invasion of June 6, 1944. It was the responsibility of FFI saboteurs to interrupt the flow of German troops and equipment to the coastal areas where Allied troops had landed. To this end the Free French authorities in London, in close cooperation with the Allied General Staff, assigned two main tasks to the French resistance: to sabotage the German war effort and protect, from destruction by the Germans, objects and installations in France which would be valuable for future Allied operations. Both sabotage and countersabotage were to be carried out by the underground. The French authorities in London felt that two considerations had to be borne in mind in selecting targets for sabotage: wherever it could be avoided, facilities that could contribute to France's postwar economic revival should not be destroyed, and unnecessary losses of the population had to be kept to a minimum in order to maintain the morale of the resistance.

In certain cases an understanding was reached between the local underground leaders and patriotic managers of plants and public services as to where sabotage should be carried out. To encourage this cooperation, the British gave assurances to the French authorities in England that plants blown up to further the Allied war effort would be given priority when reconstruction began after the war.²⁷ Managers of plants and chiefs of various public services (e.g., cable lines, roads, and bridges) were asked to indicate the most vulnerable targets and to provide the resistance with maps and plans of facilities under their charge. Several plant managers who heretofore had collaborated with the Germans now cooperated with the underground in order to establish for themselves a record of patriotism.

Escape and Evasion

The large number of British troops abandoned at Dunkirk and the thousands of Jewish *émigrés* attempting to evade the oncoming Germans constituted a serious responsibility for the French underground. Others who required the use of escape routes were Allied personnel, escaped POW's, deserters from forced labor camps, and French underground officials who desired to confer with Allied personnel in London. Under the chaotic conditions which existed, the first escape routes developed spontaneously. Refugees were usually put into family homes, and then placed in the hands of a *passseur* who would conduct them to Spain, Switzerland, or directly by boat to Gibraltar or England. Some measure of coordination was achieved between the escape nets of Belgium and France. There were two main escape routes out of Belgium. One went from Brussels through Châlons-sur-Marne, Lyon, Grenoble, and

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Toulouise to the Spanish border. The fugitives were given false papers and dressed in clothing similar to that of the natives. The other route went through Paris, where the escapees changed their false Belgian papers for false French ones.²⁸ In time, and with experience, the underground devised means of providing false papers, "safe homes," and security measures to ensure the relative safety of the refugees.

COUNTERMEASURES

As already noted the Germans divided France into two zones. In addition, Alsace-Lorraine was annexed to Germany. The Northern Zone, being of extreme strategic importance, was placed under the direct authority of German occupation officials, while the Southern Zone, unoccupied by German troops, was administered by officials approved by Marshal Pétain and the newly created "Vichy Government."

Activities aimed at detecting and annihilating the underground resistance groups in Northern France were directed by the *Geheime Staatspolizei* (Gestapo). Besides the intelligence work of their own agents, the Gestapo received the cooperation of many French Fascist youth and sports organizations, as well as of collaborating individuals.

Because of the laxities of security measures of the FFI, Gestapo agents were successful in infiltrating many of the underground networks. Interception of written messages and breaking of codes often provided agents with access to clandestine channels. Once they had infiltrated the system, they often learned underground procedures and met personnel involved in the resistance effort. In the Southern Zone, several small groups of people who had tended to be anti-British before the war or who sincerely hoped for a French-German understanding actively collaborated with the Germans. The greatest danger for the French resistance in this zone came from such militant organizations as the *Milice Française*, which became an auxiliary police force supplied with arms by the Germans. Composed mainly of ambitious pro-German sympathizers, *Milice Française* also had a youth and women's auxiliary. Other pro-Fascist groups were the *Parti Populaire Français*, the *Garde Mobile Républicaine* (GMR), and the *Légion Française des Combattants*.

The Germans also used considerable numbers of Frenchmen as undercover agents. Most were attracted by immediate prospects of material gain. Often this would be something such as gasoline, which they would then sell on the black market.

The Vichy Government, sanctioned by the Germans but administered totally by French officials, provided legal justification for many to cooperate with the government. Moral justification was given by Marshal Pétain, who exerted tremendous influence and authority during the first years of the war.

It was because of such individuals that time after time various groups of French underground lost their leaders, and that radio transmitters, supply dumps, or *Maquis* redoubts were betrayed to the Gestapo and underwent seizure

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and liquidation. It was largely because of them that the Gestapo almost succeeded in preventing the unification of the resistance and actually delayed it for a year when, with the help of an informer, they captured Jean Moulin and General Vidal, the civilian and military representatives of General De Gaulle. Nevertheless, it is estimated that no more than 3 percent of the population ever actively collaborated with the enemy.²⁹

FOOTNOTES

1. Marcel Vignerat, *Rearming the French (U.S. Army in World War II)*, Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1957), pp. 304-305.
2. F. O. Miksche, *Secret Forces* (London: Faber and Faber Limited, 1950), p. 73.
3. War Department Special Staff, Historical Division (Historical Manuscript File) *French Forces of the Interior—1944* (General Services Administration, Federal Records Center, Military Records Branch, Washington, 1944), pp. 106-108.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 25-30.
5. A map containing delimitations of military regions of French resistance as prepared by the *Commission Militaire de la Résistance* for the *Bureau Historique de l'Armée* in Paris can be found in the French Resistance Collection in the Hoover Library, Stanford University, California.
6. French Resistance Collection (Hoover Library, Stanford University, California), Folder 24, No. 7.
7. War Department, *French Forces*, p. 320.
8. H. Michel, *Histoire de la Résistance* (Paris: Presse Universitaire), p. 77.
9. War Department, *French Forces*, p. 419.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 28-29.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 28.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 25.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 23; see also French Resistance Collection, Folder 5, Nos. 4 and 5.
14. E. Reval, *Sixième Colonne, Un Grand Peuple Lutte pour sa Libération* (Paris: Thonon, S. E. S., 1945), p. 382.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 44.
16. *Ibid.*, pp. 379-380; see also War Department, *French Forces*, p. 917.
17. French Resistance Collection, Folder 5, No. 13.
18. War Department, *French Forces*, p. 44.
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20. Mme. Granet, "La Presse Clandestine en France" in *European Resistance Movements, 1939-1945* (New York: Pergamon Press, 1960), p. 184.
21. *Ibid.*, pp. 187-189.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 188.
23. *Ibid.*
24. Free German Movement in Great Britain (ed.), *Free Germans in the French Maquis: The Story of the Committee "Free Germany" in the West* (London: I.N.G. Publications, 1945).
25. D. Knout, *Contribution à l'Histoire de la Résistance Juive en France, 1940-1944* (Paris: Editions du Centre, 1947), p. 102.
26. J. Joubert, *La Libération de la France; Comment la France Fut Occupée; Comment la France Fut Libérée, 1940-1945* (Paris: Payot, 1951), pp. 69 ff.
27. WD-FFI, War Department, *French Forces*, pp. 1011, 1326-1327.
28. George Tanham, "The Belgian Underground Movement 1940-1944" (Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Stanford University, California, 1951).
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CHAPTER 7
YUGOSLAVIA (1941-45)

BACKGROUND

In preparation for the invasion of the Soviet Union, Hitler secured a neutrality treaty with the Kingdom of Yugoslavia on March 25, 1941. Reaction within the ranks of the Yugoslav Army was quick. Two days later, high ranking officers successfully overthrew Prime Minister Dragisa Cvetkovic and revised the neutrality pact. This coup d'etat forced Hitler to delay his previous plan to invade the Soviet Union: he now had to send troops into the Balkans in order to secure his southern flank. German troops attacked Yugoslavia on April 6, 1941, and within 2 weeks, the Royal Army collapsed and the government went into exile. Within several months the Axis powers had dismembered the country. Parts of Slovenia were annexed to the German *Reich*; Bulgaria incorporated Macedonia; Hungary annexed the fertile northwest province. A Croatian dream was realized when an "independent" Croatian state* was created under the leadership of Ante Pavelic. He was permitted to form a regular army, the *Domobran*, and his armed Croat *Ustashi*** became the terrorist group which was to eliminate over one-half million Serbs, their traditional rivals, and almost all Jews by the end of the war. Although German military occupation authorities were in control in Serbia, a puppet government was formed under the leadership of Milan Nedic, who had at his disposal a small military force called the Serbian State Guard, and some legal "Chetnik"*** units.

Military control was maintained throughout strategic points of the country by the presence of about 200,000 Axis troops. The German occupation was complicated by three conflicting policies. The Italians, who were aware of the Croatian nationalism and desire for the return of Dalmatia, which the Italians occupied, used Serbian *Chetnik* bands against Pavelic's Croatian raiders and later against the Communist-led Partisans. The Italians were not opposed to the Serbs in particular, but they did oppose the Croatian territorial claims. The Nazi leaders supported the Croats since they suspected the Serbians of being responsible for the 1941 coup, and objected to the Italian aid to the Serbs. The local German military commanders favored neither the Serbs nor Croats and were not opposed to supporting legal Serb *Chetnik* units to fight the Communist-led Partisans.

*Which immediately declared war against the United States.

**The *Ustashi*, a Fascist underground movement, was formed by Pavelic during Alexander's reign and after the German occupation became a military force comparable to the German SS troops.

****Chetnik* is Serbian for an armed band and has been used to describe those small guerrilla bands which have been important throughout Serbian history, especially in fighting guerrilla war against the Turks. Later, the *Chetniks* became an official organization which trained its members in guerrilla warfare in order to use them as a paramilitary organization. In 1941, Kosta Pecanac, leader of the *Chetnik* organization, went over to the Germans. Those who followed him were called "legal" *Chetniks* and were later incorporated into Nedic's armed forces. Those who refused to follow Pecanac and joined Mihaljevic were termed "illegal" *Chetniks*.

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(UPI Photo)
 Marshal Tito and his staff at Partisan headquarters in the Yugoslav mountains. Left to right, front row: Colonel Filipovich, Edvard Kardelj, and Marshal Tito. Back row: Radonja, Tito's secretary; Chalakovitch, Secretary of the National Anti-Fascist Council; Koebeck, Minister of Education; and Lt. Gen. Sreten Zujewitch.



(UPI Photo)
 Gen. Draja Mihailovic (second from right) confers with his guerrilla commanders at his headquarters in Yugoslavia.

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Organized resistance began in the spring of 1941, when Col. Dragoljub (Draja) Mihailovic retreated to the Bosnian mountains with a staff of Royal Army officers and some regular army units, which eventually became known as the Royal Army of the Fatherland. Not until June of that year after Germany attacked the U.S.S.R. did the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, (CPY), led by Jozep Broz (Tito), begin resistance activities, which were to be the first stage of a revolutionary movement designed to win control of the government. Between 1941 and 1945, Tito and his Partisans, who were to number over 200,000 by the end of the war,¹ survived seven major military campaigns directed against them by the Germans.

The British, who maintained diplomatic recognition of the Royal Yugoslav Government-in-exile in London, approved of General Mihailovic being named Defense Minister in January 1942. Plans were made to assist his resistance movement, consisting largely of Royal Yugoslav soldiers and illegal *Chetnik* bands totalling at that time 10,000 to 15,000 men, supported by perhaps 50,000 active sympathizers.² At first the resisters were not encouraged to carry out large-scale military operations against the enemy. This was a reflection of the personal views of Mihailovic, who felt that too much armed action would provoke the Germans to reprisals which would be disastrous to the movement as a whole. The initial plan was to hold off any mass uprising until the Allied invasion of the Balkans.

In November 1942 the high command of the Communist-led Partisans announced the creation of the Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation. To expand the movement they organized rural soviets in the "liberated areas." People in these areas were trained for work in various aspects of guerrilla and underground warfare. In the summer of 1943 Tito announced that his "council" was to be considered a "provisional government," thus hoping to present the Allies at the Teheran conference with *la fait accompli*. At this conference the Allies dropped their plan to invade the Balkans and began to increase their aid to Tito, while slowly abandoning support of Mihailovic. Allied support of the Partisans ultimately contributed heavily to the collapse of the non-Communist resistance movement.

By the summer of 1943 civil war replaced resistance as the primary activity of these two clandestine armed forces. Conflict or collaboration with the Axis became merely a tactical maneuver within a broader atmosphere of civil strife. In addition, the forces of Mihailovic and the Serbian population of western Yugoslavia were constantly threatened by the Axis-armed Croat *Ustashi*.

The entry of Russian troops into Yugoslavia in 1944 enabled Tito's forces to gain a foothold in Serbia for the first time since the outbreak of the war. Tito and his Partisans entered Belgrade with the Red Army. It was only a few months later that he announced the creation of a "united front" government, which was soon transformed into a Communist dictatorship.

ORGANIZATION OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT (PARTISANS)

The origin of the Partisan movement can be traced back to the clandestine activities of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY), which was outlawed in 1921 and forced to go underground.

In 1923 a school for Yugoslav Communists was opened in Moscow. Most of the original students were non-Serb. By the time of King Alexander's death in 1934, these men had established regional committees of the CPY in all parts of the country.

The first test of party organization and efficiency came during the Spanish Civil War. The Communists clandestinely recruited volunteers who were then channeled to the ranks of the Republican Army in Spain. Once there, party members received practical experience as political commissars and military tacticians.³

In 1937 the CPY had 1,500 members; in 1939 the membership was 3,000; in 1940, 6,000; and by the beginning of 1941, 12,000.⁴ When the CPY began resistance activities against the Germans, following Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union, the major party leaders (including party secretary Tito)—all of whom had studied in Moscow—were appointed to positions of responsibility. The most important of these leaders were Edvard Kardelj, who was assigned to direct actions in Slovenia; Milovan Djilas, who was sent to Montenegro; and Svetozar Vukmanovic, who stayed with Tito in Bosnia.

The major task of these men was to direct the "liberation" of territory nominally under German occupation, and convert it into "liberated areas" under CPY control. The first step in this procedure was generally for the party to organize groups of citizens—who were usually sympathetic to, although not members of, the Partisans—as "terrain workers." These individuals were responsible for collecting information on enemy troop movements, and anti-Communist individuals and their activities.

As the "national liberation movement" expanded, the Communists were able to lay the groundwork for control of the civil affairs of each of the "liberated areas." The basic administrative unit became the National Liberation Committee.* "Liberation committees" were soon found on all levels: local, district, and regional. Although not all of the members were Communists, party members controlled the actions of the committees.

In the liberated areas, the task of civil administration had become urgent. The national liberation committees filled this vacuum by providing schools, courts, and local governments. They also recruited men for the Partisans, set up primitive industries, and gathered food and supplies for the guerrillas. In theory, these committees were elected. However, in practice it was common to find that the only candidates were Partisans and the electors were usually

*National Liberation Committee (NLC) was a term used on both the national and local levels. The National Liberation Committee, created at Jajce in November 1943, was in effect the cabinet of the Communist provisional government. The local National Liberation Committees set up in "liberated areas" behaved in a manner similar to a Russian soviet.

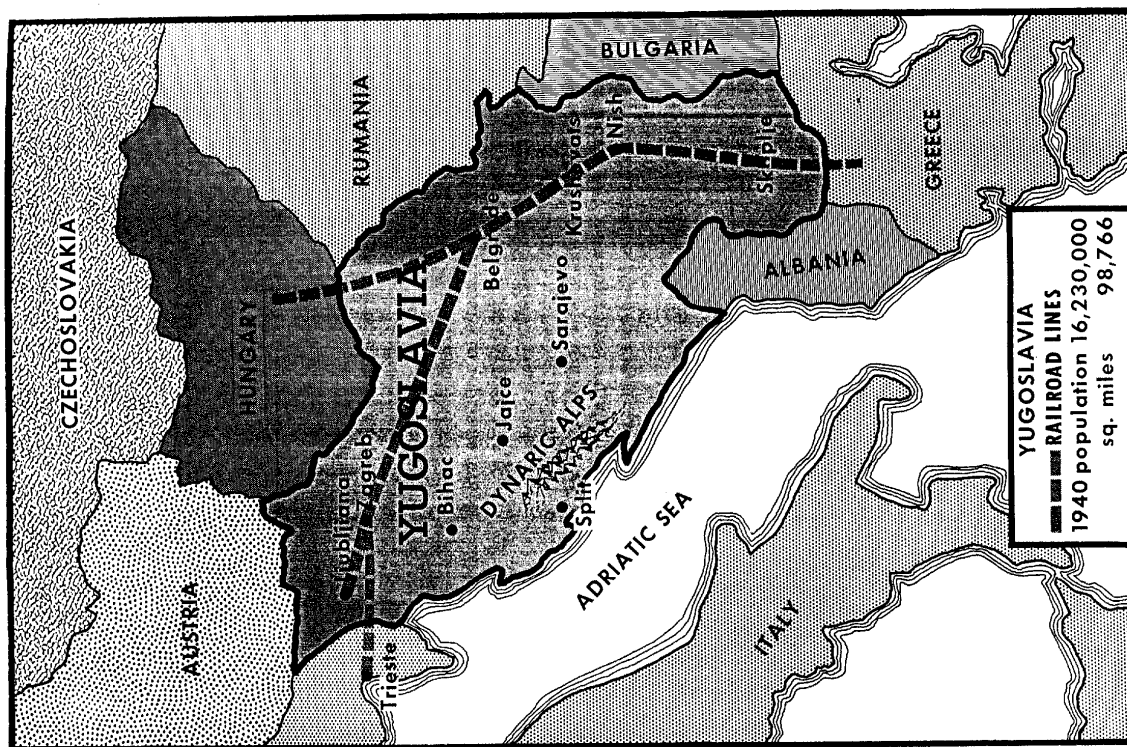


Figure 7. Map of Yugoslavia.

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limited to Partisan supporters. The committees did, however, have some degree of spontaneity and in many cases recruited efficient local people who eventually won local support by their effective jobs.⁵

The Communist Party also created national liberation committees in many occupied areas for the purpose of fundraising and recruiting for the Partisans in the mountains. They were instrumental in smuggling food and medical supplies to the guerrillas, and providing them with intelligence information, as well as performing sabotage against railroads. Since food was extremely scarce in the Partisan-held regions of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Dalmatia, and Montenegro, the underground had to smuggle supplies from the peasants in the fertile plains of the Sava Valley to the guerrillas in the mountains.⁶ When an area was under control, youth leagues, women's anti-Fascist councils, cultural centers, and Communist-armed militia were established.*

As the war progressed, provisions were made to establish more and more local soviets in towns which were "liberated" by the Partisan forces. Even if they could only hold a town temporarily, the administrative machinery was set up for eventual control by party personnel.

Largely because of its long experience in clandestine operations, the Communist Party was able to organize an effective underground to aid the Par-

*The term "Communist" was not often used in connection with these newly created organizations, as it suited the purposes of the party leaders not to associate themselves with the Soviet Union too quickly. When some overzealous party leaders in Montenegro proclaimed that province to be a Communist "Soviet Republic," they were immediately reprimanded.

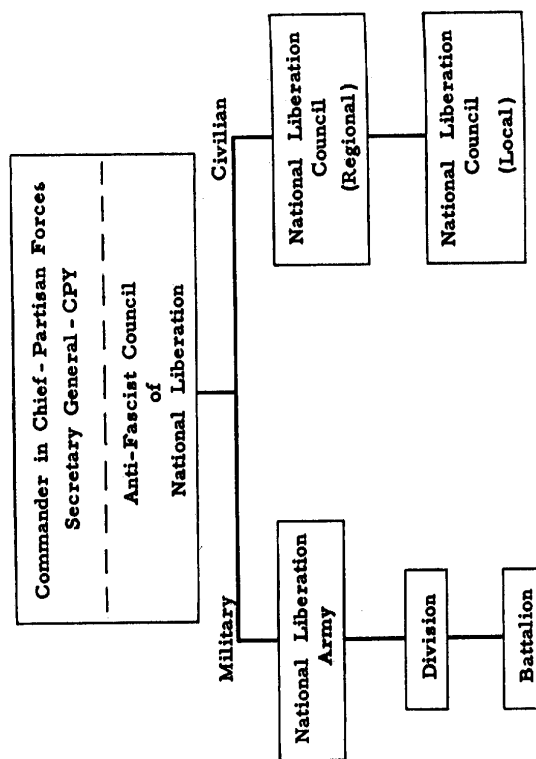


Figure 8. Organization of National Liberation Movement.

tisans. Specific targets for party infiltration were labor unions, the Royal Army, the government bureaucracy, student groups, and other political parties. The illegal existence of the CPY had allowed Tito, by 1941, to head the only political party in Yugoslavia trained in the techniques of underground existence, and which had a professional following in all areas and many institutions of the country.

The conditions of the war allowed the Communist Party to broaden its range of activities. The most significant of these was to include recruitment of non-Communists in a nationwide resistance movement, aimed initially at harassing the Axis occupation forces, and ultimately at bringing about a successful revolution.

The Communist desire to enlist non-Communist support led to the development of the "united front." In presenting the united front as a joint effort to oppose the Axis occupation forces, and hence to serve the population as a whole, the Communists wished to show the difference between their organization and that of General Mihailovic, which they characterized as a movement designed to further the interests of Serbian nationalists. The Communist Party succeeded in rallying elements of various political and cultural groups to the National Liberation Front (NLF); however, it was the only political organization which entered the NLF as a whole.

In November 1942, the first meeting of the Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation (AVNOJ) took place at Bihac, in Bosnia. Delegates representing the various local liberation committees attended this meeting from all over Yugoslavia, and here Tito proclaimed a "popular front against fascism" and a National Liberation Army. This could not yet be called a representative governing body. Its purpose was to unite already existing NLF's and to form new ones. Since party members organized these front groups, they always assumed the leadership positions.⁷

One year later, on November 29, 1943, Tito was appointed Supreme Marshal of the National Liberation Army, and President of the National Committee of Liberation, with all the powers of a provisional government. Tito officially excluded the officials of the exiled Royal Government in London from participation in activities of this movement.

Tito's military forces were initially organized into regular "Partisan" units and "proletarian" units, usually brigades. The former was made up largely of party members, veterans of the Spanish Civil War, and other patriots who could not, or did not want to, join the forces of Mihailovic. The latter were made up primarily of students from the Universities of Belgrade, Zagreb, and Ljubljana. By 1943 there were about 60,000 armed men under Partisan command.⁸

After the Allies began to supply Tito and his resistance organizations on a large scale, participation in the Partisan movement increased significantly. A reorganization of the military took place at this time. The Partisan forces were drawn up into 11 "Lenin Brigades." Later, the military command system included armies and corps. By the end of the war in 1945, Tito claimed to have a force of 200,000 men.

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The CPY dominated an actual *de facto* government which ruled large portions of Yugoslavia. The entrance of Russian forces into Belgrade in September 1944 enabled Tito to assert full control. Although only a small fraction of either the Partisan fighters or the members of the local governing committees were actual Communists, and although many people on the lower level of both the underground and the armed forces were not Party members, the Communists were able to impose their will on the people by obtaining command of key posts at all levels. By providing people with such necessities as food, schools, and security, as well as carrying out active resistance against the Germans, the Communists eroded the population's will and ability to resist the Partisan organization.

The Partisan strongholds were located in the central mountain areas. Outside of this area they carried on considerable political and military activity in Slovenia, Croatia, and Macedonia. In Slovenia they formed a liberation front which was led by Communists and supported by various liberal groups. From this front group, units were formed and maintained close contact with Tito's mountain headquarters. In Croatia there had been a Communist underground organization from the beginning of the war, but no large-scale units were formed until the summer of 1942. The Yugoslav and Bulgarian Communist Parties both claimed the right to lead the Macedonian resistance. The Communist underground organization exploited the promise of an independent Macedonia, and by the summer of 1943, under Tito's leadership, Macedonian partisans were operating in this area.⁹

The initial steps of attaining power had been taken during the war. From 1941 until the end of 1944 the CPY consolidated its control over all agencies of the National Liberation Front. Through the various local liberation committees, they had gained political control of the country. By the end of 1944 any potential opposition had been eliminated or neutralized through the "people's fronts." It was physically impossible for any other political force to challenge the armed Communists.

In the larger cities and plains villages of Serbia, where Partisans had been relatively inactive, the National Liberation Council appointed local administrative officials in the name of the provisional government. Since the CPY was in control of the Police and Interior Ministries, plus the now conventional army, there could be no opposition to these appointments. Once the larger metropolitan areas were under firm control, suppression of any non-Communist activity was carried out without compromise. Political rallies were broken up, newspapers were taken off the newsstands and burned. The final step of consolidation of Communist power was achieved by "legal means." National, regional, and local elections were held on November 11, 1945. There was only one candidate for each position, each one being approved by the Communist Party.

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ACTIVITIES OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT

ADMINISTRATIVE FUNCTIONS

Communications

The Yugoslav Communists were in direct communication with Moscow during the war years by radio transmitter and courier. The large amount of correspondence indicates that the system functioned fairly well.¹⁰ When instructions or statements were received from "grandpapa" (code name for the Moscow authorities) they were mimeographed and distributed throughout the country. Couriers bearing the messages of the central committee would hide these materials in suitcases, or tie them under such objects as the stretchers of Red Cross personnel. The large attendance at the party meetings at Bihac and Jajce suggest that communications within the country also functioned fairly efficiently.

Communication with the Allies was maintained through the radio transmitters operated by British liaison officers assigned to Partisan units. In addition, information was relayed by code in open broadcasts of the BBC.

Recruitment

Before 1940 recruiting was done through the channels of the party. In seeking out possible converts, trained cadres usually concentrated on labor unions and student groups. Potential recruits were observed carefully by the Communists before being selected as members.¹¹

Although attempts to organize their own unions failed, the Communists always sought to guide and manipulate. In this way, the party was often able to exert an influence far beyond its numerical strength, and to guide the activities of many supposedly non-Communist sport societies, cultural clubs, reading seminars, and singing groups. At the outbreak of the war individual party members and leftwing sympathizers took steps to mobilize youth organizations. Consisting largely of students from the Yugoslav universities, these individuals promoted the idea of the necessity for a "united front" against the enemy. Guided by the "liberation front," this movement was to disassociate itself from the traditional channels of Yugoslav bureaucracy. Since many non-Serbs saw this movement as one which could break the Serbian hold on national politics and administration, the initial enthusiasm for "united front" participation was encouraging.

It was under such conditions that the Communists were able to gain control of resistance activities in the area. Once a local National Liberation Committee was set up, recruitment took the form of forced mobilization. There was no real attempt to increase the membership of the Communist Party, but if possible all available manpower was transformed into labor brigades, intelligence nets, and courier systems through the united front groups.

Cases of Undergrounds

In regions where popular support for the Partisan movement was not great, the Communists forced the population into a position where participation in underground activities was unavoidable. Blackmail, extortion, assassination, and threats of informing the Germans of "treason" were not uncommon tactics used to achieve cooperation.

Some guerrillas who had been fighting with units of the Royal Army joined the Partisans when they concluded, largely from Allied broadcasts, that the latter were more active in resisting the German enemy. Other opportunists joined when it became clear that Tito was going to emerge as the "strong man" at the conclusion of the war.

The great majority of wartime recruits never became active members of the CPY. At the conclusion of the war many of them returned to their native villages to find the Communist bureaucracy in full control.

Finance

Before the war monthly dues were assessed each party member, and funds were solicited from sympathetic leftwing groups. In addition, the party owned clothing stores, conducted black-market operations, and printed and sold lottery tickets. It can be assumed that leaders received funds from Moscow during their frequent visits to the Soviet Union.

During the war taxes were collected in "liberated areas." One of the Communist municipal administrators had this responsibility. They were especially eager to tax the wealthy landowners, because the receipt of payment would serve as a tool for blackmail. If a wealthy person refused to pay after the first time, it would not be difficult for the Partisans to let the German occupation officials know that "there were people engaging in illegal activities." Sometimes this was done as a matter of course to eliminate any possible threat to Communist authority.

The measure of control that the National Liberation Committees exerted over the financial resources of certain areas is indicated by the following statement made by Tito at the Fifth Conference of the CPY:

The Slovene National Liberation Committee, which has rallied all patriotic Slovenes, representatives of various political groups, had floated a 20 million lire liberty loan. The Committee has also declared a compulsory people's tax to be paid by every Slovene receiving a regular income.¹²

Logistics

Although the Partisans for a time operated an arms factory at Uzice,¹³ Tito's men were in need of every type of logistical support until supplies were dropped regularly by the Allies after the spring of 1944. Tito repeatedly requested material aid from the Soviet Union. Communications with Moscow indicate that he did not, however, receive it.¹⁴

At the beginning of the war Partisan groups made periodic attacks on police posts in order to obtain arms. These raids served as training supplies

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from army depots which now were in the hands of the occupation forces, while students in Belgrade persuaded officials in the War Ministry to give the resistance access to military equipment.

After the collapse of Italy in the spring of 1943, all the Yugoslav resistance forces rushed to seize the large quantities of arms, equipment, and stores that the Italians had stored on the Adriatic Coast. At this time the Allies instructed Italian commanders in Yugoslavia to hand over all their facilities to Partisan units. Before the Germans could begin effective countermeasures, the Communists had removed most of the supplies from large Italian dumps.

One month after the first allied liaison officer was introduced to Tito, a Partisan delegation went to Cairo to draw up plans for large-scale Allied support of the guerrillas. This included dropping airborne supplies to Partisan units in Yugoslavia, training new recruits in southern Italy, and caring for the wounded Partisans.¹⁵

Security

Members of non-Communist resistance organizations were accepted into the Partisan organization as individuals, in order to create the impression of a united front, but never as a group with any authority. Thus, the Communists were able to isolate these elements from former affiliations.

The Communists had a secret police called the Department for the Defense of the People (O.Z.Na.) which was styled along the lines of the Soviet model. This unit was charged with supplying intelligence and liquidating individuals who were disloyal to the Partisans.¹⁶

OPERATIONAL FUNCTIONS

Psychological Operations

In the interim between the signing of the Soviet-German nonaggression pact and the German attack on the Soviet Union, Communist propaganda in Yugoslavia simply condemned the conflict as a war between "Fascist imperialists," while praising the principles of Marx and Lenin. From the German invasion of Yugoslavia in April 1941 until June of that year, the CPY concentrated its attacks on the Yugoslav Government, making a particular effort to discredit the remnants of the Royal Yugoslav Army. After expanding activities of their own revolutionary movement, the Communists attempted to discredit all other resistance groups then springing up in various parts of the country, and to label the King and his entourage in London as traitors. Propaganda directed at the general population stressed the theme that the *Chetniks* were tools of the Serbian monarchy collaborating with the Germans and Italians to defeat the "democratic" partisans.

At the same time, the Communists made exaggerated claims as to their actual strength and support, such as telling the inhabitants of an isolated mountain village that the whole country was in sympathy with the partisan

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movement under Tito, which was the only real national resistance organization. Being ignorant of the political or military situation, the villagers found it difficult to believe otherwise.

Throughout Yugoslavia there was a deep sympathy for Russia and for Slav brotherhood, which was fully exploited by the Communists in building their underground organization.¹⁷ The Communists also stressed the theme that the Russian revolutionaries personified the sort of behavior the Yugoslav Partisans were striving for, and emphasized the ties between Russians and Yugoslavs.

As the war progressed, the Communists tried to picture the Royal Army and *Chetniks* as collaborationists, while claiming credit for themselves for resistance operations that, in fact, were achieved by the Royal Army and/or *Chetniks*. They claimed to be responsible for keeping 16 German divisions pinned down in Yugoslavia, giving no credit to other resistance groups. They claimed responsibility for destruction of the Visegrad bridge, which in fact was destroyed by units of Mihailovic.¹⁸

While the bulk of their propaganda effort was concentrated within Yugoslavia, the Communists also maintained liaison agents in London charged with the task of urging the Allies to abandon Mihailovic and support Tito. They stressed the military value of the Partisan forces to the Allied cause. They pointed to the "united" nature of the movement, playing down or trying to deny the fact that the Partisans were controlled by the Communists. Mihailovic was pictured not only as ineffective, but as a German collaborator.

Propaganda was under the direction of the Department of Agitation and Propaganda (Agitprop), run by the Central Committee of the Communist Party. Agitprop agents infiltrated many social, cultural, and athletic organizations throughout the nation. At meetings they condemned anyone who challenged the righteousness of the Soviet Union, Tito, and the Partisans. When a town was seized by Tito's forces, Agitprop agents immediately asserted the authority of the National Liberation Movement, and urged the population to participate in the resistance effort. When a National Liberation Committee established itself in control, agents distributed propaganda whenever possible.

In the "liberated areas," schools were opened, and compulsory attendance was required at lectures on the history of the Bolshevik movement. Youth groups sang Russian and other Communist songs, while theories of communism and the history of the Russian movement were taught to prospective members of the National Army of Liberation.

The official newspaper of the CPY, *Borba*, continued publication during the war. An illegal press in Belgrade printed additional propaganda materials, and it can be assumed that the Communists took over all press facilities in each town they "liberated." They also printed and circulated fake *Chetnik* and German documents purporting to show collaboration between the two groups. Communist efforts were made easier after the Allies abandoned Mihailovic, and United States and British planes dropped leaflets urging all Yugoslavs to cooperate with the Partisans.

Yugoslavia

There were no clandestine radio broadcasts originating in Yugoslavia. However, a powerful transmitter did operate from Tiflis, in the U.S.S.R., calling itself "Radio Free Yugoslavia."¹⁹ In addition, the British Broadcasting Corporation maintained a consistent schedule of broadcasts to Yugoslavia in support of the Partisan movement.

Since the Communists knew that a general atmosphere of uncertainty and fear made it easier for them to maintain security of their forces and at the same time obtain supplies, terrorism was utilized. Terrorism took the form of *discriminate* terror directed at eliminating those influential persons among the population who were active or potential rivals. This was usually carried out in "liberated areas" by officials of NLC's. *Indiscriminate* acts of terror were usually carried out with the purpose of blaming the act on the Royal Army, thus driving the people to support the Partisans. A method of gaining immediate response in this way was to disguise Partisan soldiers as *Chetniks* and raid a Croatian village. Such raids served to inflame the Croat population against the Serbian-dominated movement led by Mihailovic.

Intelligence

Since the National Liberation Army was a mobile fighting force, living for the most part in the hills and being constantly on the move, the inhabitants of the villages were relied upon to gather information concerning German troop movements. In villages not under their control, Communist cadres had small networks of informers who reported pertinent information; this information was then relayed—usually by courier—to Partisan headquarters in the field or in a "liberated area."

Within the "liberated areas," the National Liberation Committee engaged the services of the entire population in the gathering of intelligence. Teen-agers, for example, were used as scouts; women going to market were asked to report daily gossip. Information was sought on three general categories: occupation and Royal Army troop movements; political activities pertinent to the security of the village or liberated areas; the political situation in neighboring territory, which might indicate whether or not the area could be "liberated." Trained party personnel evaluated the information brought in and relayed it to responsible persons. Of great importance to the Partisans were the long range Allied war plans, and the attitude of the Allied High Command toward the Partisans. Because of the work accomplished by Communist agents in London, Tito was evidently briefed on many Allied decisions without proper authority.²⁰

ORGANIZATION OF THE ARMY OF THE FATHERLAND

When the Yugoslav Army surrendered to the German forces on June 15, 1941, many Royal officers refused to lay down their arms. Initially setting up headquarters in Montenegro, Colonel Mihailovic, soon after named Defense

Cases of Undergrounds

Minister by the government-in-exile, began efforts to coordinate a movement to carry on resistance against the occupying powers.

One of the first groups to join Mihailovic was the *Chetnik*—a Serbian military veterans organization—whose name was generally given by outside observers to the entire organization led by Mihailovic.

Mihailovic had the support of several political parties which had been influential before the war, most of which were Serbian-dominated.* The party leaders formed a National Committee in the summer of 1941, but the Committee did not meet in a joint session until January 1944 at the Congress of Ba.²¹

The organization expanded into regions of Yugoslavia that were of immediate strategic importance to the Germans, and in areas inhabited predominantly by Serbians. The hinterland of almost all regions of the country, and especially Serbia, was at some time during the war under the domination of the forces of General Mihailovic.

Mihailovic's forces consisted of operational mobile guerrilla units composed of full-time fighters who had temporary bases in rural areas, and "home guards" or part-time guerrilla battalions composed of older men who assisted the regional commander in maintaining general security. The guerrilla units were commanded by Mihailovic and his High Command. Regional commanders set the policies and strategy for propaganda, intelligence, sabotage, and escape and evasion operations in the areas under their jurisdiction. The regional commanders, or "corps commanders," as they were sometimes called, usually were assigned to their home provinces where they acted independently and largely on their own initiative. They confined their activities to their own provinces. A lack of cooperation between commanders of adjoining districts is suggested by one observer who noted that "moving into an area of another commander was not popular, especially if you had the enemy at your heels at the time."²²

Within each region of operations was a civilian underground committee responsible to the regional military commander. Underground groups were located in towns, ports, industrial centers, enemy garrisons, and areas close to these, where guerrilla organizations could not operate. They were organized in order to reduce the military, economic, psychological, and political potential of the enemy, and as a support organization for the guerrillas. They cooperated in such efforts as escape and evasion, propaganda, sabotage, logistics, and recruitment for the guerrillas. They were also used to take enemy pressure off the guerrillas. If, for example, the enemy forces were attempting an offensive against the guerrillas, the underground would intensify its activities. At the same time, a successful military engagement by the guerrillas seemed to raise the morale of the underground and the local populace.

A major activity of the underground was the collection of intelligence. Separate intelligence nets were formed to work with the intelligence divisions of the regional commanders, the Home Guard, and the local underground head-

*These parties were: the Radical Party, the Socialist Party, the Republican Party, the Independent Democratic Party, the Democratic Party, the Serbian Agrarian Party, and the National Party.

quarters themselves. There were also underground agents infiltrated within the civil administration, student groups, and shipping and railway agencies. In addition, a "secret army" was called for. This force was to be composed of men who were to keep weapons hidden in preparation for a general uprising at the time of an Allied invasion.

In villages and towns where the population was largely loyal to Mihailovic, "civilian committees," or local governments, were established to carry out local administration, care for refugees, and indoctrinate the population on ways to deal with enemy troops and spies.

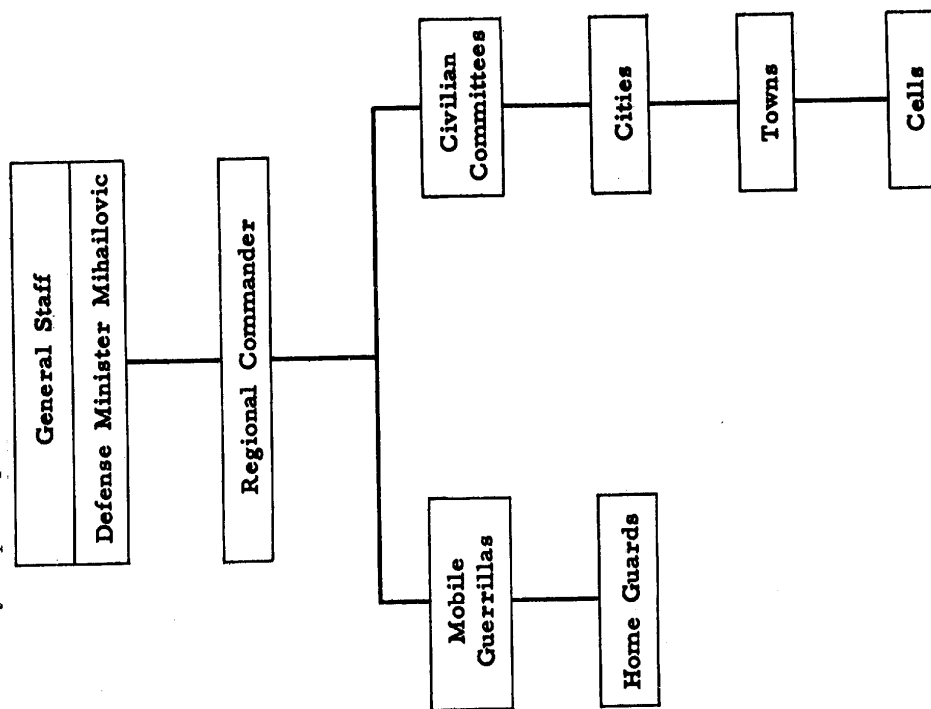


Figure 9. Organization of the Army of the Fatherland.

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ACTIVITIES OF THE ARMY OF THE FATHERLAND

ADMINISTRATIVE FUNCTIONS

Communications

According to a British observer, Mihailovic had a remarkable wireless intercommunications system which helped him maintain some coordination in a loosely knit resistance effort.²² It was through the wireless, in fact, that the Allies first heard of Mihailovic's clandestine activities. When British liaison officers arrived, they followed the general policy of controlling resistance communications with governments-in-exile, and forced Mihailovic to send and receive all such messages through British Special Operations Executive (SOE) channels in Cairo and London, and to use British codes. They supplied him with additional radio transmitters for use in internal communications, however.

When messages were sent to agents outside the country, the BBC would confirm via Switzerland and Rome their successful transmission by a code phrase in a regular broadcast.

Regional commanders, residing with the armed guerrillas in the mobile bases of the hinterland, contacted their subordinate underground agents by couriers. Communication channels led from urban areas into guerrilla strongholds, from town to town, as well as out of the country for contact with Yugoslav officials in Cairo and London. A courier network also kept Mihailovic informed of activities in Belgrade.²⁴

Recruitment

The non-Communist resistance movement relied on two main groups for support. One included members of the Royal Yugoslav Army and of various *Chetnik* groups who regarded their resistance activities under Mihailovic as a legitimate exercise of military orders. The other consisted of individual Yugoslavs who were anxious to serve the cause of their country. The Serbian landowning peasants, a politically conservative group which distrusted the Communists and viewed Mihailovic as the leader of a cause which sought the return of the monarchy, formed the backbone of the underground and intelligence networks, and when civil war began between the Partisans and the Royal Army, their allegiance lay with the latter.

With each command region, the initial step in recruitment was to obtain the support of influential people, since their actions could be expected to stimulate the cooperation of others. To gain support on as broad a base as possible, the movement sought to select leaders on a nonpolitical basis.

Selective recruitment was directed toward individuals who had access to utilities and industries operated by the enemy. Such people as railroad engineers, ship captains, port authorities, and civil servants were requested to use their working facilities in ways helpful to the underground. The fact that the Serbian Orthodox Church supported the movement was often a help

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to Mihailovic in obtaining recruits. The majority of the priests in some provinces actually lived with resistance groups and supervised recruiting ceremonies.²⁵

Finance

No national organization existed to coordinate the collection of resources for the resistance. In the local regions, the civilian committees enforced some type of tax system. Influential individuals (such as bankers) who joined the underground offered the use of their private financial resources and the resources of their business enterprises. In addition, their employees were urged to make financial contributions. Officials of the Nedic government gave money to Mihailovic from the reserves of the Serbian National Bank,²⁶ and it can be assumed that officials of the Serbian Orthodox Church were called upon from time to time to place financial reserves of the Church at his disposal.

Logistics

In 1941 the Germans were in such a hurry they had no time to take thorough measures to disarm the Yugoslav Army and since many followers of Mihailovic were military men, supplies were acquired from many of the regular army depots. The acquisition of additional arms and food was one responsibility of the local undergrounds, while the Home Guard was responsible for protecting the caches where these supplies were stored. Since there were many mountain villages which were never occupied by enemy troops, no special techniques were required by local underground members in order to obtain the necessities for daily life. It also seems likely that officials of the Church could be counted upon to provide food, clothing, and sanctuary (especially in isolated monasteries) to underground personnel and their associates who were in need of assistance. Mihailovic never received material aid from the Allies beyond some medical supplies and radio transmitters; thus the supply problem was always acute.

When printing and publishing supplies were needed by the guerrillas in order to maintain their illegal presses at their bases in the woods, requisitions were made through individual printers who cooperated with the underground effort.

Individual underground agents also secured the cooperation of coastal ship captains when their vessels were required by the underground.

In Montenegro, some *Chetnik* units made accommodations with Italian troops when threatened by Partisan forces, because they speculated that the Italians could be used as a source of supply after their expected surrender. The fact that this expectation was never fulfilled was a prime factor in the ultimate collapse of the loyal resistance.

Security

The resistance high command and its agents kept few written documents. This, and the fact that compartmentation of the movement kept any one indi-

Cases of Undergrounds

vidual from being informed of total resistance activities, prevented the movement from becoming compromised if a member was captured.

The cellular structure of the underground, which demanded only indirect contact between the resistance leader and the lower echelons of the movement, prevented the high command from knowing the actual numerical strength of the clandestine organizations. The cell structure was, however, a useful security measure in that it also served to limit the information any single underground worker might have.

As a result of accommodations made with the Italians, there were never any *Ustasha* incursions in areas where Italian troops were stationed. Considering the large number of Serbs assassinated by this Croat terror group, Italian preventive measures were of prime importance to Mihailovic.

In the military organization, special agents responsible to the regional commander checked the activities of subordinate units. The underground and Home Guard networks often had security agents who reported breaches of security to the local or regional command.

OPERATIONAL FUNCTIONS

Psychological Operations

Mihailovic tried to present his movement as one composed of democratic elements acting in the interest of all Yugoslavs as opposed to the Partisans, who were dominated by the monolithic Communist Party. He also emphasized the fact that the movement was serving the strategic policy of the "Allied cause." Serbian nationalists appealed to their compatriots in an effort to reassert Serbian influence in the political activity of the country, while officials of the Serbian Orthodox Church requested allegiance to the cause of Mihailovic on religious principles.

Urging that Partisan politics be avoided in regions protected by his officers, Mihailovic asked that persons of all religions and shades of political opinion unite behind a policy of liberation from the enemy. There were Croatian and Muslim officials in Mihailovic's headquarters, in guerrilla units, undergrounds, and support organizations. A province commander had a battalion composed of Croats and an underground support group. Potential political friction was to be avoided by placing a military man, the regional commander, in charge of underground resistance activities. Specific operations within a village or town, however, were planned by the local civilian committees. Their targets were not only the enemy occupation forces but also Yugoslav groups acting against the legal Royal Government (i.e., the Partisans and the Croatian *Ustasha*).

Propaganda was aimed at publicizing the purpose and accomplishments of the underground and the guerrillas, in order to bolster the national spirit of the local population and lower the morale of the occupying soldiers. Both the guerrillas and the underground workers printed and regularly distributed

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newspapers in several languages, along with numerous pamphlets and leaflets. Where radios were available, the population was encouraged to listen to the daily broadcasts of the BBC which gave accounts of resistance.

Often the guerrillas would launch an attack against occupying forces when the primary objective was not to inflict a military defeat *per se*, but to give a psychological boost to the underground workers.

Intelligence

The guerrilla force, the Home Guard, and the underground in each province had their own separate intelligence nets. The Home Guard (into which the nets of village organizations were integrated) and underground organizations were obliged to relay pertinent information to the regional commander. The individual guerrilla units had intelligence agents mainly concerned with their immediate target, but useful intelligence from this source was also forwarded to the regional commander. Where intelligence depended upon the observations of peasants who were normally unconcerned or unacquainted with military matters, the information received was often misleading and "wildly exaggerated."²⁷

The administration of the Italian and German police was infiltrated, usually by individuals who were not members of regular intelligence networks but of the underground. Women, who could find employment as interpreters and secretaries with the occupation forces, proved to be particularly effective in carrying out intelligence and counterintelligence missions.

Sabotage

To keep reprisals at a minimum, Mihailovic and his forces carried out the most sabotage missions in such a manner as to deflect the blame from the inhabitants of the immediate area. Sabotage of a coal car on a railroad train was planned so that the explosion took place hundreds of miles away. A similar technique was applied to barges carrying goods down the Danube River.

One major sabotage mission was carried out with the cooperation of Allied liaison agents. In September 1943 resistance forces battled with Axis troops and destroyed a critical bridge along the Belgrade-Zagreb rail line.²⁸

Escape and Evasion

No special network was organized for escape and evasion activities. When the necessity for assistance presented itself, aid to an escapee was expected from any and all persons involved in the resistance. This included providing shelter, security passes, and means of transportation.

Persons in need of escape and evasion facilities included army officers fleeing from the enemy, civilian deportees liberated by the underground, suspected members of the resistance, escaped prisoners of war, resistance officials being sent on missions to Allied countries, and Allied personnel. Perhaps the

officials.³² The Italians, having successfully negotiated arrangements between themselves and certain Serbian *Chetnik* groups, were able to restrict violence in their areas of occupation. At the same time Germans were often carrying out full-scale counterinsurgency operations against forces under Mihailovic.

The Germans offered rewards for the capture of top resistance leaders. Both Tito and Mihailovic had a price of \$50,000 on their heads. The Germans also instituted a program of harsh reprisals on the population for all subversive activities. A military order stated that for each German soldier killed, 50 to 200 Yugoslavs would die. The net effect, however, was to increase the population's hostility rather than instill fear. These tactics contributed to the decline of the population of Yugoslavia, which decreased by over 10 percent during World War II.

The Germans were successful in deciphering the code used by Tito for his internal communications and were often aware of planned Partisan action long before it took place. The Germans were able to infiltrate Tito's High Command in hopes of capturing the Partisan leader. It was only by a narrow escape that Tito evaded arrest by German paratroopers who were dropped at his hideout in Dvar, Bosnia.³³

FOOTNOTES

1. Otto Heilbrunn, *Partisan Warfare* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1962), p. 182.
2. David Martin, *Ally Betrayed* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1961), p. 45.
3. U.S. Senate, Committee of the Judiciary, *Yugoslav Communism—A Critical Study* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1961), p. 52.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 50.
5. Hugh Seton-Watson, *The East European Revolution* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1961), p. 219.
6. D. A. Tomasic, *National Communism and Soviet Strategy* (Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1957), pp. 66; see also Seton-Watson, *Revolution*, p. 124.
7. U.S. Senate, *Yugoslav Communism*, p. 97; see also Milovan Djilas, *The New Class* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1957), p. 73.
8. Martin, *Ally Betrayed*, p. 45.
9. Seton-Watson, *Revolution*, pp. 122-123.
10. See Moshe Pijade, *La Fable de l'Aide Sovietique à l'Insurrection Nationale Yugoslave* (Paris: Le Livre Yugoslav, 1956), passim.
11. Vladimir Dedijer, *Tito* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1953), p. 117.
12. See U.S. Senate, *Yugoslav Communism*, p. 93.
13. Seton-Watson, *Revolution*, p. 125.
14. See Pijade, *La Fable*, passim.
15. Martin, *Ally Betrayed*, pp. 234-235.
16. See U.S. Senate, *Yugoslav Communism*, p. 124.
17. Seton-Watson, *Revolution*, p. 119.
18. Martin, *Ally Betrayed*, pp. 41-42.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 33.
20. U.S. Senate, *Yugoslav Communism*, pp. 102-103.
21. Martin, *Ally Betrayed*, p. 190.
22. Jasper Rootham, *Mass Fire* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1946), p. 28.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 29.

COUNTERMEASURES

The initial step of the occupying powers was to break up the existing state of Yugoslavia. In addition to the regular German and Italian Army units, elite SS troops, Bulgarian and Hungarian military divisions, and Croat *Ustashi* were used as occupation troops. Police measures were enforced by the Gestapo, aided by quisling police and authorized armed home guard units.

The major concern of the Germans was to protect the communication and transportation lines running south from Serbia to Greece and east to the Black Sea. The presence of Mihailovic supporters in Serbia forced them to maintain about 200,000 German and satellite troops in the region.³⁴ Not until the Italian collapse in 1943 did the Germans consider Tito to be a more formidable foe than Mihailovic.

In dealing with these resistance forces, the Germans also tried to exploit the national rivalry between the Serbs and Croats, and authorized armed militia units and puppet governments in German-occupied Serbia and the newly created "independent" state of Croatia. The Croat *Ustashi*, which was violently anti-Serb in sentiment, was given a virtual free hand in raiding Serbian villages. According to estimates, over half a million Serbs and almost all Jews were killed. Independent Serbian armed bands did not hesitate to retaliate against Croats and Muslim *Ustashi* and the Germans made no attempt to interfere.

Since they were confronted with two rival resistance groups whose enmity toward each other sometimes surpassed their animosity for the Axis occupiers, the Germans often had to take into account the existing situation between the partisans and the loyalists before planning operations against either or both. Thus, the Germans and Italians were not unwilling to give material support to one or the other resistance organization when it suited their purposes.³⁵

Although the Germans and Italians were allies, their occupation policies often conflicted. Considering Yugoslavia to be their sphere of influence, the Italians often felt that the Germans were interfering in their affairs. This was especially true in Croatia, where the situation was further complicated by friction between the German Army, the Gestapo, and Foreign Office

CHAPTER 8
MALAYA (1948-60)

Cases of Undergrounds

24. Wilhelm Hoettl, *The Secret Front* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1964), p. 154.
25. Martin, *Ally Betrayed*, photo between pp. 172-173.
26. Hoettl, *The Secret Front*, p. 154.
27. Rootham, *Miss Fire*, p. 63.
28. Martin, *Ally Betrayed*, p. 41.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 249.
30. Heilbrunn, *Partisan Warfare*, p. 182.
31. Hoettl, *The Secret Front*, pp. 154, 165.
32. Seton-Watson, *Revolution*, pp. 79-80.
33. Martin, *Ally Betrayed*, pp. 238-239.

BACKGROUND

Ever since the first Chinese Communists began organizational work in Malaya in the 1920's, the membership of the Malayan Communist Party (MCP) has been drawn largely from the Chinese community, and the party itself influenced by China.¹ Before World War II it enrolled some 5,000 members and controlled a mass base of 100,000 people in front organizations.² The party expanded greatly after the Japanese invasion of Southeast Asia in 1941. During the war its leaders, helped by the British 101 Special Training School, built up in the jungles an effective guerrilla force called the Malayan People's Anti-Japanese Army (MPAJA)*, which led the resistance against the invaders, and a civilian support army called the Malayan People's Anti-Japanese Union (MPAJU). They obtained arms from the British in return for a promise to follow British military orders.³ Despite this agreement, the party platform of February 1943, like that of 1940, announced the party's intentions of eventually obtaining independence for the Malay states from Great Britain.⁴

During 1944-45, the MCP made plans for developing the MPAJA into a permanent armed force through which it could seize power after the defeat of Japan. In April 1945 it ordered the formation of secret MPAJA units which would remain incognito and stay in the jungle, while those MPAJA members who had worked with the British would remain in "open" units. In addition, arms were to be cached for use, if necessary, in a war against the British. The party also, between September 1945 and May 1946, adopted a program for advocating liberal reforms, while saying nothing about communism or its intention of establishing Communist rule.⁵

The Japanese surrendered on August 15, 1945, and in early September the MCP demanded "self-rule" pending independence. British Commander Mountbatten refused, however, to discuss politics, and in mid-September British troops established effective control throughout Malaya. In the interim between the Japanese surrender and the British reentry, however, the MCP and its affiliated MPAJA-MPAJU set up many local administrative organs called people's councils or committees, and took the opportunity to eliminate "collaborators" and any potential rivals. In certain areas the Malays, in reprisal, attacked non-MCP Chinese.⁶

After the British returned, only a part of the MPAJA—the "open" section—demobilized, and these maintained contact through veterans' associations. Approximately 4,000 men in its "secret" section kept their arms.⁷

From the end of 1945 the party concentrated on gaining control of the

*The MPAJA was established in March 1942.

gency," as the insurrection came to be called, lasted for about 12 years. To put it down, the government used 49,000 British and 250,000 native troops and police.¹²

In 1951, concluding that their violent tactics of indiscriminate terror would not succeed, the Communists turned to a strategy of discriminate terror, attacking only British military forces and installations. On the political front, the MCP openly acknowledged its errors and attempted to rid itself of the reputation of being a Chinese movement by trying to attract Malays and Indians; it also sought to organize a united front with other groups.¹³ These tactics brought few results, however, and in 1955 party leaders offered to make a negotiated peace with the British. The latter insisted instead upon the unconditional surrender of the guerrillas, and although they offered to pardon individual rebels, they refused to grant amnesty to the party as a whole. The renewal of the British offer of independence in 1957—this time on terms which completely suited the Malays¹⁴—cut the remaining ground from under the Communists, and individual surrenders increased until only a few hundred guerrillas remained active by the end of the following year. By 1960 the government removed the emergency restrictions imposed 12 years before. In the middle of 1962 it was estimated that there were 500 to 550 MCP guerrilla members located in the rugged terrain of the Malay-Thai border.

ORGANIZATION

Prior to launching the "Liberation War," the Malayan Communist Party had passed through three phases of growth: the prewar conspiratorial phase, which lasted until the start of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937, the wartime resistance phase, and the postwar "united front" phase. In each period the party organization was revised to fit current policies.

Upon entering the fourth phase, that of "armed struggle," the party reorganized once again along lines which its leaders hoped would enable it to conduct a guerrilla campaign patterned after the Chinese Communist experience. Careful theoretical planning and a highly disciplined organization, however, could not cope with the special problems of jungle warfare and the skillful countermeasures program instituted by the government. "As a result, the experience of the party has been one of replacing the large and the impressive with the small and the barely functional; big organizational units had to give way to smaller and more scattered ones, minimum objectives became only ambitious plans, and audacious actions degenerated into ineffective plots."¹⁵

Theoretically, the central committee of the Malayan Communist Party determined and controlled the operations of the rebellion. The members of this committee were in turn senior officials of one of the 11 regional committees. These regional committees, supported by local cells and cadres, were in charge of the two major units of the Communist movement, the Malayan Races Liberation Army and the *Min Yuen*.

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labor movement in Malaya, as a prelude to overthrowing the government. Mainly through its ability to apply physical coercion, it managed to dominate the new trade union movement. At the same time it created the satellite New Democratic Youth League and began to infiltrate such groups as the Malay National Party and the Malayan Democratic Union. Subsequent efforts to form a nationwide Communist-controlled united front failed, however.⁸

This failure coincided with the change in line of the international Communist movement, signalled by the reorganization in September 1947 of a new Communist organization known as the Cominform.

In February 1948 two international Communist conferences held at Calcutta were attended by Malayan Communists, who, along with other delegates from Southeast Asia, were ordered to adopt a policy of armed uprising in the name of "national liberation." In March the central committee of the MCP called for a "mass struggle and armed revolution" against British "imperialism." The following May, the MCP ordered the greater mass of the party to go underground; militant action was taken to disrupt the economy through strikes and terrorism; and agents were sent to remobilize the MPAJA and reconstitute it as the Malayan People's Anti-British Army (MPABA).⁹

The MCP began immediately to implement this policy and organized strikes during April and May. They were accompanied by terrorist actions: workers were intimidated, rubber factories were burned, and contractors and managers were murdered. Most of the terrorism was carried out by the Mobile Corps, formed from the secret section of the MPAJA. Plans were also crystallized for mobilizing the "open section" of the MPAJA as soon as the government outlawed the party—a move which the latter expected.

In June the government issued drastic emergency regulations and outlawed the party, whereupon party leaders returned to the jungle and began a full-scale insurrection. Their two major forces were the guerrilla army—the newly constituted Malayan People's Anti-British Army subsequently renamed the Malayan Races Liberation Army (MRLA)—and the civilian support group known as the *Min Chung Yuen Thong* (*Min Yuen*). The total strength of the MRLA never exceeded 6,000 men; the *Min Yuen*'s strength is estimated to have ranged between 10,000 and 100,000 active participants.¹⁰

The Malayan Communists attempted to pursue the general strategy of Mao Tse-tung and follow a protracted three-phase struggle which would pass from guerrilla warfare to the eventual establishment of large "liberated areas." They produced such texts as *Strategic Problems of the Malayan Revolutionary War*, obviously inspired by and modeled after Mao's *Strategic Problems of China's Revolutionary War*, published in 1936.¹¹ However, the MCP movement was handicapped by two factors: Mao's strategy for mobilizing the masses was designed for rural, agricultural areas and was ineffective for jungle-based fighters, and the Chinese character of the movement limited its appeal to less than half of the total Malayan population. These two factors, coupled with an effective countermeasures program which concentrated on resettling the jungle-edge "squatters" who had aided the guerrillas, were among the major reasons for the eventual failure of the insurrection. However, the "Emer-

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gency," as the insurrection came to be called, lasted for about 12 years. To put it down, the government used 49,000 British and 250,000 native troops and police.¹²

In 1951, concluding that their violent tactics of indiscriminate terror would not succeed, the Communists turned to a strategy of discriminate terror, attacking only British military forces and installations. On the political front, the MCP openly acknowledged its errors and attempted to rid itself of the reputation of being a Chinese movement by trying to attract Malays and Indians; it also sought to organize a united front with other groups.¹³ These tactics brought few results, however, and in 1955 party leaders offered to make a negotiated peace with the British. The latter insisted instead upon the unconditional surrender of the guerrillas, and although they offered to pardon individual rebels, they refused to grant amnesty to the party as a whole. The renewal of the British offer of independence in 1957—this time on terms which completely suited the Malays¹⁴—cut the remaining ground from under the Communists, and individual surrenders increased until only a few hundred guerrillas remained active by the end of the following year. By 1960 the government removed the emergency restrictions imposed 12 years before. In the middle of 1962 it was estimated that there were 500 to 550 MCP guerrilla members located in the rugged terrain of the Malay-Thai border.

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