

One day he was told that one of his contacts had surrendered and was going to reveal everything. In this way the Communists tricked the worker into leaving his job and joining the *Min Yuen*.²⁷

Other Means

If the underground has succeeded in demonstrating its capacity to destroy the security of a community, perhaps through bombing or assassination, an atmosphere of terror may prevail throughout the area so that the inhabitants are afraid not to comply with underground requests. In such a situation, the threat of physical harm need not be explicit. Peasants may know that unless they assist the local underground in feeding guerrilla troops, they will suffer reprisals. If an underground cannot develop an atmosphere of general insecurity, it may have to threaten directly the individuals whose services it requires. The threats may be conveyed through letters, phone calls, or personal confrontations.

FINANCES

THE USE OF FINANCES

Payment of Underground Expenses

Depending upon their activities, undergrounds may need money to meet the following expenses: the salaries of full-time workers in the organization; advances of money to persons traversing an underground escape route who need money to pay contacts or buy food; the purchase of paper, ink, and equipment for propaganda publications; the purchase of explosives and other materials for sabotage; and the purchase of such equipment as typewriters and radios. An underground may also extend aid to families who shelter refugees, to enable them to buy extra food. This happened in Belgium after the Nazis eliminated many resistance collaborators from the bureaucracy. Previously, these sympathizers supplied fugitives with documents enabling them to switch identities and hold jobs. When this source of papers no longer existed, it was necessary for many evaders to go into hiding. Money to care for them was supplied by the treasury of the *Armée de Belgique*.²⁸

Financial aid may be extended to the families of underground workers who have been captured or forced to flee. Typical of this was the support given by the Luxembourg resistance to the dependents of 4,200 persons who were deported and nearly 4,000 who were sent to prisons and concentration camps during the Nazi occupation. *L'Oeuvre Nationale de Secours Grande-Duchesse Charlotte* not only provided immediate care for orphans, but also gave each a 30,000-franc trust fund.²⁹ At the same time in Belgium *Fonds de Soutien* (Funds for Support) was begun by the *Mouvement National Belge* for the families of workers in hiding.³⁰

61

Strategy, Tactics, and Countermeasures

friend can be a more powerful persuader than any impersonal propaganda message.²⁴

Rural Areas

In rural areas and small villages it is difficult to secretly organize underground cells because of the close personal contacts among the villagers. In this case a different technique is used. A rebel force marches in and takes over the village. They "elect" a local government. They work in the fields, help in production work, assist farmers during floods and droughts.²⁵ They assist the villagers by performing civic and public functions which the central government is unable to handle. After providing many useful services which create a village-wide social obligation, it becomes relatively easy to begin the steps of indoctrination, exacting taxes, and recruiting members for the guerrilla bands as porters or fighters and others for clandestine underground cells. These cells are organized to provide the guerrilla force with food, shelter, and intelligence concerning the tactical movements of the government forces. If the guerrillas are driven from the area, it is extremely difficult for the reentering government force to determine which villagers cooperated with the rebels out of expediency or fear for their lives and which cooperated out of sympathy for the movement.

SPECIAL TECHNIQUES

Bribery

An underground may desire the services of persons who cannot be recruited in the usual manner because of their apathetic attitude toward the movement. In such a situation, the underground may resort to bribery. This needs little explanation, except to say that bribery need not be blatant. For example, an underground worker may know of someone who is suffering financial troubles and give or loan that person "just a little to help out." As one author describes it:

The transaction thereafter can be managed with a smoothness born of centuries of Old World practice. "Obligate the fellow" is the venerable Foreign Office formula. And perhaps without ever being aware of taking bribes the victim will do his bit in a slippery underground enterprise²⁶

Blackmail

In recruiting individuals the underground may force cooperation by using blackmail, whether it be intimidation or threat of public exposure of private misconduct. Also, any persons who have assisted the underground in any way may be forced to join by a threat to expose their illegal acts. For example, one Malayan plantation worker was enlisted to supply tobacco to the *Min Yuen*.

en

Types of Funds

Cash in the Local Currency

Aid is often given in the form of cash in the local currency, which has the advantage of being easily exchanged for goods or services. The main problem is the physical transfer of the money. Usually this is handled by a front business organization, through diplomatic channels, through clandestine couriers, or by airplane-dropped agents.

Substitute Currency

Hard currency, such as U.S. dollars or British pounds, is sometimes given to an underground when the sponsoring government lacks adequate reserves of the local currency. This makes a good substitute because it is easily exchanged on the black market for local currency or goods. Hard currency is useful also when the local currency is confiscated by the authorities and replaced by scrip, a frequent government countermeasure.³⁶ This was used by the Castro regime soon after the Cuban revolution.

Dollars were used extensively in financing World War II undergrounds. One British agent in Yugoslavia reported that it was no trouble to use dollars (or gold pieces) since "there was invariably a market for 'good' money in the towns."³⁷ In France, the organization, *France d'Abord*, was able to exchange dollars for francs by utilizing diplomatic channels. In one case in April 1943, this organization received \$45,000 in U.S. money. The money was turned over to an attaché of the Hungarian Legation in Vichy, who took the dollars in a diplomatic pouch to Switzerland, exchanged them into francs at the black-market rate, and brought the money back to France.³⁸

Governments-in-Exile

An exile government may raise money for an underground by floating bonds. Since these are often supplied to an underground for sale in the country of operations, this method will be discussed in greater detail under internal sources of financing.

Counterfeit Money

One other way to finance an underground movement is through the use of counterfeit money. Although production of such money is not exclusively the province of a sponsoring government, undergrounds usually lack the necessary facilities and technical competency; therefore, the main effort is generally undertaken by friendly governments. Of course, the use of counterfeit money adds to the dangers already facing underground members. During World War II, this factor reportedly prompted the Polish state underground to reject an offer of counterfeit money from London.

63

Money is also needed for bribery. The Japanese students who were paid to take part in the attack against White House Press Secretary James C. Hagerly received 1,000 yen each, or approximately \$2.78. For participating in other demonstrations, they were given from 350 to 500 yen. Japanese security personnel estimated that the 5 weeks of demonstrations cost the Communists as much as \$1.4 million.³¹

Support of Military Units

An underground also may channel funds to military units to pay salaries and buy supplies. In the Philippines it was a prime responsibility of the Communist Politburo in Manila to obtain money for the Hukbalahap movement;³² and in Malaya, the *Min Yuen* was the major supplier of money to the rebels, obtaining many funds by extortion from large landowners and transportation companies and by appropriating cash from Communist-dominated unions.³³ Manufactures available only in urban markets outside the control of the military units are often procured by the underground.

EXTERNAL MEANS OF FINANCING THE UNDERGROUNDS

Sources of Money

Foreign Governments

Often an underground is aided by an outside sponsor, usually a government. Much money for the anti-Nazi Belgian resistance, for example, came from franc reserves in London released by the British Government. At one time, 10 million francs a month were forthcoming.³⁴ Similarly, much of the funds used by the French resistance were remitted from the Bank of England or sent from the Bank of Algiers (after the Allied landing in North Africa).

Outside support is extended to undergrounds for several reasons. The most important is that the activities of an underground often contribute to the defeat of a common enemy. Such aid also enables the sponsor to demand some reciprocity on the part of the underground.

An outside government may give financial assistance to an underground even if there is no common enemy. According to one report, such a case occurred in 1940 when the Japanese Government—not yet allied formally with Germany and Italy—provided some Polish underground persons with financial aid as well as technical equipment and Japanese passports in exchange for intelligence data on the German and Soviet occupying forces.³⁵

Friendship Societies

In addition to governmental support, funds may be channeled to an underground by friendship societies or quasi-official aid groups. Perhaps the best known of the latter was the Jewish Agency in the Palestine revolution which had offices or representatives in every part of the Western world. Open appeals for money were made in newspapers and lectures and at charity balls and other social events.

62

Strategy, Tactics, and Countermeasures

INTERNAL MEANS OF FINANCING THE UNDERGROUNDS

Noncoercive Means

Gifts

Voluntary gifts from wealthy individuals and, occasionally, from commercial enterprises have constituted a good source of income for many undergrounds. A few wealthy Chinese businessmen in Manila made large gifts to the Hukbalahap;³⁹ the Malayan *Min Yuen* received substantial aid from several Chinese millionaires in Singapore. Many industrialists and bankers provided funds for the anti-Fascist underground in Italy.⁴⁰ Donor firms in France during the resistance encountered difficulties in hiding their donations from the Germans, and this hampered the exploitation of this source of revenue. Donations from individuals were more easily covered up. Financial gifts to the underground also come from friends and relatives of underground workers. Given the manpower and opportunity, an underground can make door-to-door canvasses for contributions. Dues levied on underground members also provide needed funds.

Loans

The underground may also borrow funds. The Yugoslav Partisans, for example, floated a 20-million-lira loan which was marketed among the Slovene populace as "Liberty Loans;"⁴¹ and the *Service Socrates* organization of the Belgian banker, Raymond Scheyven, managed to borrow in the name of the government-in-exile over 200 million francs for the anti-Nazi Belgian underground from the end of 1943 to liberation.⁴²

A problem that sometimes confronts an underground worker in soliciting funds from strangers is that of convincing them of the agent's good faith. The underground may provide him with an official-looking document authorizing him to collect funds and sign notes. The *Service Socrates* used a more complicated system, however. This organization invited prospective lenders to suggest a phrase to be mentioned on the BBC on a given night. The underground passed the requests on to the London authorities, the phrase was broadcast at the designated time, and the individuals knew that they were dealing with bona fide agents of the underground. To safeguard the *Service Socrates* and the Belgian Government in London against future false claims, lenders were given certificates stating the amount of the loans and bearing a number. Raymond Scheyven, using his pseudonym, "Socrates," signed these certificates, and a copy of this signature was on file in London for comparison at the time of repayment after the war.⁴³

If the underground can borrow in the name of some constituted authority such as a government-in-exile, it is more likely to receive a favorable response than if funds are sought in the name of an aspiring underground whose trustworthiness as a debtor organization may be in doubt. As one writer expressed it, governments-in-exile provide necessary "symbols of legalism."⁴⁴

Embezzled Funds

An underground may obtain funds embezzled from government agencies, trade unions, and businesses. An example is the secret appropriations that the Danish resistance received from the Royal Treasury to support the publication, *Information*.⁴⁵ Also, misappropriated Grand Duchy revenues constituted perhaps half of the money raised for the anti-Nazi resistance in Luxembourg.⁴⁶ Trade union funds were embezzled on a fairly large scale by Communist leaders of Malayan trade unions in the years 1945-47, and provided a major source of income for the MCP until the British replaced the Communists with unionists loyal to the government.

Sales

The sale of various items by a door-to-door canvasser or through "front" stores may provide money. Yugoslav Communists once sold fraudulent lottery tickets.⁴⁷ The Luxembourg resistance sold lottery tickets as well as photographs of the Grand Duchess.⁴⁸ In post-World War II Malaya, the MCP treasury was supplemented by funds obtained from party-owned bookstores, coffeeshops, and even small general stores.⁴⁹ Similarly, the Yugoslav Communists raised money through sales made by party-owned clothing stores.⁵⁰

Coercive Means

Robberies

To bring in money, undergrounds frequently resort to holdups. The Hukbalahap in the Philippines, for instance, was able to collect funds by staging train robberies.⁵¹ Likewise, the OAS in Algeria conducted a series of bank robberies. In Malaya, the Communists formed a "Blood and Steel Corps" to engage in payroll robberies and raids on business establishments.⁵² Business firms, rather than individuals, are usually the targets of such robberies.

Undergrounds generally avoid outright confiscations from the general populace for several reasons. In the first place, widespread robberies would tend to brand an underground as an outlaw band and destroy its public image as a potential legitimate authority. Secondly, simple confiscations of money would not make the victims compliant servants of the underground, as other forms of coercion can do. Finally, robberies preclude the possibility of exacting continued support under the threat of exposing the affected persons' assistance to the underground.

Forced "Contribution"

Although undergrounds do not rob the general populace, they sometimes coerce individuals into making donations under the tacit threat of reprisals. Aggressive application of this technique is usually reserved for wealthier persons. Typical was the practice of the OAS, which fixed the amounts of contributions to be exacted from persons in the professional occupations, but allowed people of modest means to give what they wanted.⁵³ A person received a typewritten note in the mail informing him that a "percepteur" of the OAS would call in the near future to collect his contribution. The *percepteur* was

well dressed, curt, but polite. If his credentials were questioned—some crooks tried to extort money in the name of the OAS—he could show a photostat message signed by the Commander in Chief of the OAS, Gen. Raoul Salan. If the person refused to pay, he would not be threatened, but a week later his car or home would probably be bombed by a charge of plastic explosives. The OAS would then increase its assessment to cover the cost of the reprisal. After a few such object lessons, most of the people approached were willing to make a "contribution," and many agreed to make regular payments.⁵⁴

The Yugoslav Partisans were able to utilize this coercive technique to their political as well as financial advantage. By exacting large amounts from landowners the Partisans were able to weaken their political opponents, and going one step further, they eliminated some of these political competitors by denouncing them to the Germans as helpers of the underground. A check of landowners' financial records sometimes revealed unaccountable deficits, which led to their arrest and the confiscation of their properties.

An underground may suffer a setback, however, if a popular person refuses to contribute and the underground does not dare to make the usual reprisal out of fear of public indignation. A case in point was the widely publicized refusal of the French actress, Brigitte Bardot, to aid the OAS. Such a response serves to weaken the image of infallibility and complete control that the underground tries to cultivate.

Taxes

Taxes may be levied against the general public in areas where enemy forays are not frequent or serious enough to prevent underground municipal administrators from collecting taxes, with the backing of nearby military units. The tax may be levied on a per capita basis, as was done in Philippine areas under Hukbalahap control,⁵⁵ or it may be levied on a more selective basis, affecting only persons with regular incomes above a certain level, as was apparently the practice in the Slovene area of Yugoslav Partisan control.⁵⁶

LOGISTICS

Logistical operations are required to meet the materiel demands of both the underground and the guerrilla forces. As underground workers are generally engaged in civilian occupations, they are usually able to provide their own basic supplies of food, clothing, and medicines. What they need are operational supplies—printing equipment, paper, ink, radios, and sabotage implements. Guerrilla logistical needs, including food, clothing, medicines, arms, and munitions, are both basic and operational, and these forces have usually relied in part upon underground logistical operations to provide such supplies.

PROCUREMENT

Purchases

Black Market

Undergrounds sometimes purchase supplies on the black market—from persons who own or have access to certain goods and who are willing to sell or trade those goods in spite of legal restrictions. For instance, some workers in an Italian anti-Fascist underground had the specific assignment of bartering with a black market sponsored by some young Fascists. This market flourished during a period when the demand for staple goods was very high. Reputedly, 220 pounds of salt could be exchanged for an excellent machinegun.⁵⁷

Legal Market

Semifinished items for manufacturing may be purchased from legal firms. In most cases, this is done through a front organization which has a valid need for these items. In World War II Poland the Home Army bought large quantities of artificial fertilizer from two German-controlled factories at Chorzow and Moscie, through agricultural cooperatives and individual farmers. From this fertilizer, the underground extracted saltpeter for use in explosives.⁵⁸

Thefts

Secret Confiscations

Supplies may be removed secretly from plants and warehouses by workers. Italian workers were able to supply the above-mentioned underground with some radios pilfered from stock in factories. The risk in this method was great, however, since inventories were made regularly; further, such confiscations could not be counted upon to produce a steady supply of goods.⁵⁹ The problem of inventory checks can be avoided if office clerks are able to account for losses by forging orders and invoices, altering bookkeeping records, etc. This was done by Polish workers in two large pharmaceutical plants in Warsaw to cover the transfer of 5,000 kilograms of urotropine to the Home Army for use in explosives.⁶⁰

Raids

Raids are often made on warehouses or other storage centers. In France during World War II the manager of one warehouse was awakened by 12 masked resistance members who forced him to hand over his keys. There were trucks in the courtyard and 200 men ready to load them. A total of 38 tons of coats, sweaters, shoes, radios, and typewriters were taken.⁶¹ Many such raids were carried out in France after a previous understanding with sympathetic employees.⁶²

Administrative Functions

round—those coordinating production—knew the locations and operational features of the shops. Shop workers were selected only after extensive security checks on their backgrounds; they were also encouraged to form their own social milieu, to limit contacts with outsiders and hence lessen opportunities for security leaks.⁶⁶

Urban manufacturing is not always restricted to shops with legal covers, however. The Polish Home Army underground had some small shops that were completely hidden: false walls partitioned rooms and cellars and concealed the quarters of the shops. To conceal the noise of the machine, these shops had to be constructed near places where legal goods were being manufactured. Thus, one was built near a mechanical mangle and another just above a welding shop. Work that involved use of chemicals often had to be done at night so that no one would notice the special colors of smoke rising from the chimneys.⁶⁷

Collections From the Populace

Goods may be systematically collected from the population, although this requires a high degree of underground influence and freedom of action. In rural areas, food is often collected for guerrilla troops. This was done in Greece during World War II. The EAM, through its "Guerrilla Commissariat," supported guerrillas by the levy of regular tithes of foodstuffs from the peasants whom it effectively controlled. In addition to these tithes, for which no payment was made, other foodstuffs were purchased at a scale of prices set by the underground.⁶⁸

To avoid being considered "bandit" organizations, undergrounds often make it a practice to give at least nominal payments or IOU's for goods requisitioned from peasants or other persons of modest means. Ernesto "Che" Guevara of the Cuban *Movimiento 26 de Julio* stated that the fundamental rule is always to pay for any goods taken from a friend. He also stated that when it is impossible to pay simply because of lack of money, one should always give a requisition or an IOU—something that certifies the debt.⁶⁹

Such consideration is not always shown, however—particularly in collecting goods from wealthy manufacturers. For instance, an Italian underground approached industrialists with the attitude that it was their duty to furnish whatever was needed in the field of manufactures. Because they cooperated many of these industrialists were not punished after the liberation.⁷⁰

External Means

Import Firms

An underground may use businesses engaged in foreign trade to import equipment, under noncontraband labels. This occurred in Haganah activities. A textile firm, for example, might order textile machinery, and delivery would be in arms-producing machinery or arms parts. Payment to the firm would be made for goods or services supposedly received, thus keeping all financial records in good order.⁷¹

Security, Tactics, and Countermeasures

Types of Manufactures

Undergrounds frequently engage in the manufacture of such items as mines, flamethrowers, hand grenades, incendiaries, explosives and detonators, boots, mosquito nets, waterproof ponchos, and hammocks. Rarely, however, are they able to turn out heavy equipment because of concealment problems. One exception occurred in France during the Nazi occupation, when workers in a steel mill of Clermont-Ferrand succeeded in constructing four crude tanks out of farm tractors and sheets of steel from the factory. The components were hidden separately inside the plant until they could be welded together and armed with 37-mm. cannons and heavy machineguns.⁶³

Rural Manufacturing

The Vietnamese achieved a degree of safety in conducting their manufacturing in rural areas under nominal French control by using small, mobile workshops which could be moved from place to place to avoid French forays. The small size and simplicity of these shops aided their mobility—10 to 15 workers generally were involved and frequently manpower was the only source of energy. In spite of their crudeness, these shops were a major source of such items as mines and explosives.⁶⁴

Urban Manufacturing

An underground engaged in urban manufacturing has to use other devices to avoid the enemy. The Polish Army enlisted the services of workers in legally licensed shops, especially metal shops, to manufacture small arms. Production was thus conducted more or less in the open, avoiding the difficulty of completely hiding its noise and bustle. For camouflage, arms were sometimes produced in shops that turned out similar looking items. Hand grenades, commonly known as "*Sidelowki*" since they closely resembled the round cans of Sidel polish, were produced in the same place as the actual cans for the polish, and flamethrowers were made in a factory engaged in the manufacture of fire extinguishers.⁶⁵

In Palestine, the Haganah used the same basic technique, with variations. They established their own shops in industrial sections to avoid attracting attention. These places were devoted primarily to illegal production, although legitimate items were often manufactured at the same time so that production could be switched to "civilian" orders in case of inspections. Posted lookouts were used to warn of the approach of inspectors. Each shop was restricted to the manufacture of parts, which were more easily concealed than the finished products. By bringing the components together only at a well-hidden assembly plant, the underground also avoided the possibility of a raid on a shop in which all of the skilled workers and important machines might be captured. A natural look was also maintained by having open offices, reception desks, and office books which were subjected to inspection by auditors and tax assessors. To further ensure secrecy, only a few men in the under-

Parachute Drops

Supplies may also be obtained from a sponsoring government through parachute drops. Probably the most familiar instance of this type of operation is the drops which the French resistance received from the RAF. Sophisticated radio liaison was necessary in order to work out the details of the drops. Such matters as agreement on drop-zone locations, the exact times of the drops, and ground-to-air recognition signals had to be worked out in advance. Following the drops, which usually took place at night, resistance persons stored the goods in caches near the drop zone so that they might leave the scene immediately and without incriminating evidence. Special liaison agents from abroad were often used to help execute these complex arrangements.⁷²

Wartime Equipment

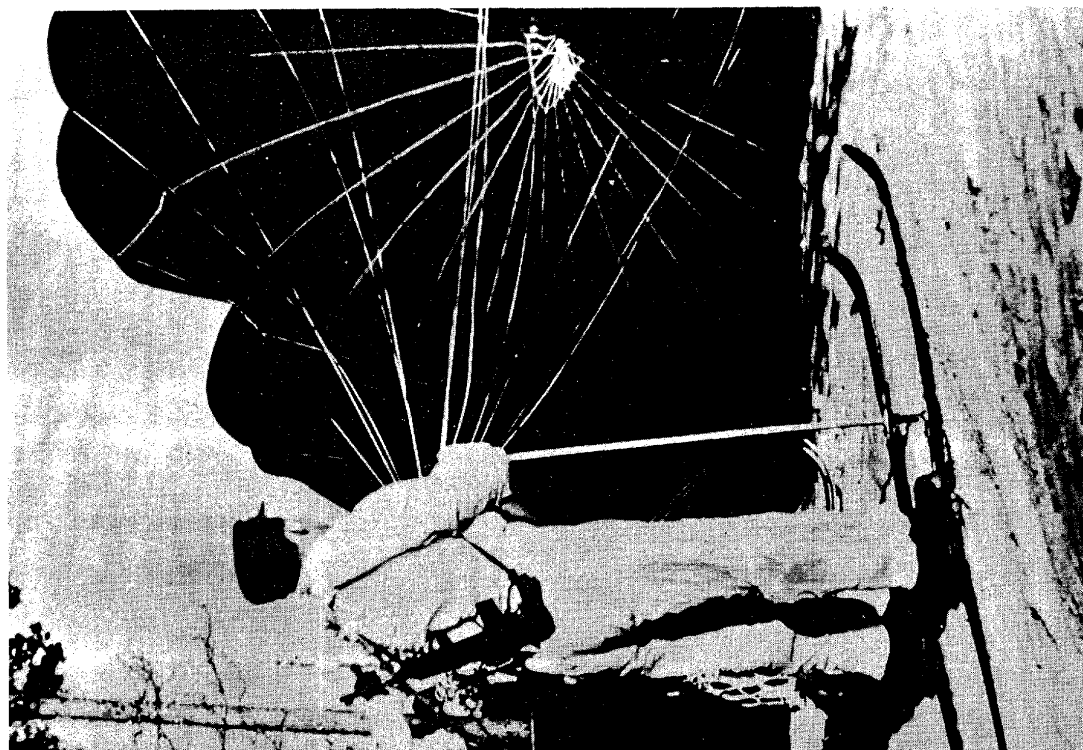
Wartime stores of equipment sometimes provide a postwar source of supplies. For example, the MCP was able to provide guerrillas after World War II with many arms cached during the war. These were arms originally received in air drops from the British, for use against the Japanese. By claiming that many drops were lost, the Communists received extra drops, and only these extra arms were returned to the British authorities after the war. The rest remained in caches and were finally used during the "Emergency."⁷³

TRANSPORTATION

By Vehicles

It is often necessary to ship contraband by trucks, in which case a number of devices may be used to hide the cargoes and avoid arousing suspicion. Arms destined by the Haganah for caches in agricultural regions were often hidden in farming implements that were being taken to these places, while consignments to urban areas were frequently put in compressors, gas cylinders, asphalt sprayers, and other industrial pieces. During the orange season, truck cargoes were sometimes covered with layers of oranges which would roll into any hole made in inspecting a cargo. Illegal cargoes were also concealed by tarpaulins covered with fertilizer, preferably with a disagreeable odor. The chances were that policemen, well-dressed and polished, would not insist on a full inspection of such cargo. Another device was the use of trucks of well-known firms such as breweries, whose products were shipped everywhere and in great quantity. These usually escaped suspicion. Underground members dressed as policemen and driving motorcycles sometimes escorted heavy truckloads under the very "auspices of the law." Trucks even succeeded in joining British military convoys, often traveling hundreds of miles and passing many roadblocks with no check at all. It was necessary, of course, to make telephone calls and inform commanders of roadblocks that two or three lorries from another unit had been added.⁷⁴

71



(Courtesy of the Norwegian Information Service)

Norwegian resistance member receives a parachute drop from Great Britain during World War II.

70

Because guerrilla bases are usually in remote areas of difficult accessibility, the transport of supplies to guerrillas has usually not been mechanized. In German-occupied Greece, for instance, the rural "Guerrilla Commissariat" used pack animals as far as they could negotiate the mountain trails, and mountain dwellers carried the supplies the rest of the way.⁷⁵ In Vietnam in the early 1950's coolies were used extensively. One Vietnam division required about 40,000 porters to supply its minimum needs. These coolies were local inhabitants organized into what was called the "auxiliary service." On level terrain, the coolies were expected to cover 15.5 miles per day (12.4 at night) carrying 55 pounds of rice or from 33 to 44 pounds of arms. In mountainous areas the day's march was shortened to about 9 miles (7.5 miles at night), and the load was reduced to 28.6 pounds of rice and 22 to 33 pounds of arms.⁷⁶

If several days or nights of travel are required, stopover facilities will be needed. Che Guevara recommends that "way stations" be established for this purpose in the houses of persons affiliated with the movement. According to Guevara, these houses should be known only to those directly in charge of supplies, and the inhabitants should be told as little as possible about the organization, even though they are trusted people.⁷⁷

STORAGE

Supplies are sometimes stored in individuals' houses. More often they are stored in centralized locations, so that fewer persons are subject to capture in the event of searches. Caches are frequently located in remote areas. French resistance people, for example, dug and camouflaged pits at the sites of parachute drops to store equipment until it could be moved to more convenient hiding places.

Remote areas are also utilized as hiding places for the benefit of guerrillas. The Malayan *Min Yuen* collected food in rural areas and delivered it to caches hidden in the jungle, where it was picked up by the guerrillas. In Vietnam, local inhabitants helped "prepare the battlefield" for the guerrillas by storing food near the scene of an impending Vietnam attack. These stores enabled the guerrillas to travel lightly and quickly. Where supplies must be stored for longer than a couple of days, the caches have to be ventilated and insulated against dampness. Of course, the ventilators must be camouflaged. Pipes from Vietnam caches beneath the ground were sometimes covered at the surface by bushes.⁷⁸

SECURITY

SECURITY MEASURES TO CONCEAL OR DISGUISE ACTIVITIES

Personal Anonymity

Conventional Living

If a member of an underground does not appear to be following a normal routine, he may attract the attention of neighbors and enemy security personnel. This is most likely to happen in locales where block wardens provide the authorities with detailed information on the activities of residents.⁷⁹ For these reasons, a former leader in an anti-Nazi underground in Germany suggests that members strive to live as "conventionally" as possible:

You can't hide from the scientific surveillance of a modern police state, but you can mislead the police. And the best way to mislead them is to live as conventionally and as openly as possible. The more you resemble a normal everyday citizen in every respect, the less apt you are to be suspected.⁸⁰

To promote this, undergrounds fill many jobs with persons who can perform their duties to the movement while engaged in legal occupations. Postmen, taxi drivers, traveling vendors, railroad inspectors, or others who travel regularly in their work are frequently enlisted for courier duty. One Vietnam manual covers this point:

In normal times as well as during periods of operation the cadres and guerrillas must take the occupations of the people into consideration when requesting them to do liaison work. They can ask the merchants, carriers, and hawkers to hide documents in their packs in order to carry them to their address.⁸¹

Also, an underground may indoctrinate its members with the need for protecting their nonconspiratorial demeanor by avoiding drunkenness, guarding against accidental admission of underground affiliation, and refraining from making boasts of underground exploits and expressions of undue familiarity with underground plans.⁸²

Documents

In many countries proper documents are essential; without them a person cannot travel, obtain a job, buy food, or rent a room. Therefore, members who must abandon their normal lives and assume new identities must be supplied with documents such as birth certificates, identity papers, social security cards, employment permits, travel stamps, etc. One technique is to forge the documents: forms are procured, a biography is created and put on the documents, and falsified signatures and stamps are affixed.

The initial problem is procurement of the forms. One underground group in Norway obtained authentic ones from a contact who worked in the police department.⁸³ Another alternative is to print official-looking blanks in under-

Strategy, Tactics, and Countermeasures

ground printing shops. The Polish Home Army had teams of specialists scattered throughout the country working solely on duplicating official identity cards, labor certificates, movement orders, and other forms used by the authorities.⁸⁴

The fictitious biography that appears on the documents is then created. Of course, it must be memorized so that the user can accurately answer any questions about it. Steps may be taken to make it difficult for the police to check the authenticity of this biography. A frequent practice is to list a birthplace where police cannot easily check birth registration records. The papers of SOE agents in France often carried as birthplaces the names of towns that had been bombed out, and hence whose records had been destroyed. Locales in French colonies were also listed.⁸⁵ Another safeguard is to avoid designating the person as a salaried employee or worker. Such men have to be at their jobs, and a check at their stated place of work would reveal the falsity of the documents. Instead, such occupations as peddler, freelance writer, or artist may be used, since these persons are self-employed and need not be at a certain place.⁸⁶

Attention is given to other details to avoid obvious irregularities which would arouse suspicion: signatures and stamps are checked against genuine ones to ensure proper duplications; care is sometimes taken to date the documents when the official who supposedly signed them was not on vacation; the exact color of ink used by the official is used in the forgeries. In preparing birth certificates investigations have been made to determine the style of writing used at the time of the putative birth as well as the stamps and seals used by the issuing authorities at that time.⁸⁷

Many of these problems of authenticity can be avoided if the official documents of another person are used: the legend on these documents is entirely genuine; there is no danger of an imperfection appearing in the signature, etc. It only remains for the user to memorize the details, and for the picture and overlapping stamp to be replaced. Naturally, it is not easy to obtain such documents. Sometimes, however, the underground comes into possession of the documents of persons who have died or disappeared: a Polish Home Army member adopted the identity and used the documents of a fellow Pole of about the same age who had left the country at the time of the German invasion.⁸⁸ Another alternative is to borrow documents, although these can only be used for short periods of time. Polish couriers traveling across Europe used the documents of French workers in Poland who were slated to return to France on vacation. Of course, it was necessary to hide and provide for the Frenchmen while their documents were being used.

Meeting Secrecy

Choice of a Site

The preferred meeting place is one where the arrival of a number of persons about the same time will not attract attention nor arouse suspicion. Such a place might be found in a secluded area such as a woods. If this is not con-

74



(Courtesy of the Natural Rubber Bureau)

Inspection of documents in Malaya during the "Emergency."

venient it may be necessary to assemble in a member's house or apartment. In this case an underground may try to avoid neighborhoods where persons noted for antiregime activities reside, for they are likely to be under government surveillance and the presence of nonresidents in that locale might arouse suspicion. The same caution applies to the homes of persons connected with other underground cells, since they too may be under observation. Also, places near the homes of block wardens may be avoided.⁸⁹

75

Change of Meeting Places

Undergrounds generally change meeting places frequently. If a meeting pattern is fixed, the chances are greater that some outsider will notice the meetings, become suspicious, and report the activities to the enemy authorities. Changing their meeting place may enable underground members to evade a raid by the enemy security forces. There seems to be no fixed rule as to how often meeting places should be changed; however, in general "the greater the number of meetings, the greater the number of changes." One anti-Nazi underground in Germany made it a practice never to hold more than one meeting a week in any one place.⁹⁰

Cover Stories

An innocent explanation for convening a group of people may be announced before a meeting or as the first item of the agenda so that a cover story will be ready in case of inquiries. If possible, the meeting may be arranged to coincide with some genuine, legal occasion for being together. This makes the cover story as plausible as possible. For example, the German underground mentioned previously used birthdays, anniversaries, weddings, and other such occasions as pretexts for assembling.⁹¹

Miscellaneous Procedures

There are other precautions that an underground may take to protect its meetings. The Communist Party in the United States reportedly employs the following procedures for secret gatherings: arrivals and departures are staggered, since group movements are likely to arouse attention; when meetings are held in homes, members of the family are present to answer door knocks; as few documents as possible are used, in anticipation of searches; and after members have departed, rear guards check for incriminating items that may have been left behind.⁹²

Communications Security

Traveling

Unless they travel at night, couriers cannot conceal themselves. Therefore, their activities are generally disguised. Aged men and women and children may be used because it has been discovered that their movements are less likely to arouse suspicion than those of men in the active years of life. An anti-Nazi organization in Italy, for example, found such persons to be best for liaison purposes.⁹³ Similarly, the couriers of the Polish Home Army were almost exclusively women.⁹⁴

Couriers also disguise their missions by combining them with routine trips, thereby escaping the suspicion of observant persons while at the same time being able to provide a good excuse for their travel in case of inquiry. This is most easily done if travel is a part of a courier's daily legal life; such persons as postmen, taxi drivers, and traveling vendors, therefore, are often used for this work.

76

Other underground members, as well as couriers, may use the latter technique. For example, the leader of a network in France undertook missions while working as a railroad inspector. Equipped with papers which permitted him to ignore the curfew and move freely about the country, he was well protected while making his frequent underground trips.⁹⁵

Special occasions such as birthdays, anniversaries, and weddings provide credible excuses for travel, as well as for convening a group for a call meeting. One couple belonging to an anti-Nazi underground in Germany postponed their wedding until a time when two important underground persons could arrive for a rendezvous for which the wedding festivities provided the screen.⁹⁶

Regardless of the cover utilized, the essential point, according to a former underground leader, is that no journey should be made without providing a convincing legal excuse.⁹⁷ If he lacks the excuse of the routine trip or special occasion, a member just formulates a very plausible explanation for his travel.

Routine interceptions and searches by enemy personnel cannot always be avoided but they need not result in arrests if the messages can be hidden or disguised. One obvious way to conceal messages is by memorizing them. Messages that must be written can be concealed by the messenger on his person or they can be either coded or integrated into innocuous documents like letters.⁹⁸ Disguised messages are less liable to discovery than concealed ones.⁹⁹

Rendezvous in Public

Promptness is important because if an individual is forced to wait for his contact he may risk being picked up for loitering. Resistance people in France, for example, had to be careful of this because loiterers were often arrested on suspicion of being black-marketeers.¹⁰⁰ When one member is late the procedure may call for the other to leave the scene and return later at a previously arranged time. Caution is exercised in returning since the failure of the absent member to keep the initial appointment may mean that he has been arrested.

If underground members are meeting for the first time, they usually establish their identity by recognition signals. These may be visual identification marks and passwords. Generally, passwords are innocent sounding in case the wrong person is approached or the exchange is overheard by bystanders—e.g., a request for directions and an agreed upon reply.

If an extended conversation is anticipated, the members may first settle on the explanation they will give of their personal relationship and their reason for meeting if they should be questioned.¹⁰¹ This may be omitted if they are meeting only to transmit documents and no conversation beyond the exchange of passwords is required. In this situation, any familiarity between the liaison persons is concealed if they treat each other as strangers and hide the transmission of documents. A common technique is to wrap the documents in a newspaper and lay them where they may be inconspicuously picked up by another person.¹⁰²

77

Transmittal of Written Messages

Although written messages are sometimes delivered in person, often they are sent through maildrops. One underground used the lavatory in a dentist's office: a courier would leave material under the lid of the tank, and an hour later another would arrive and pick up the papers.¹⁰³ Sometimes, individuals are used as maildrops. In this case, people who make numerous public contacts in their daily lives are often selected, because their meetings with underground members would likely go unnoticed. Thus the Polish Home Army frequently used merchants.¹⁰⁴ Likewise, a French underground unit used such persons as butchers, bakers, and tobacconists.¹⁰⁵

Practice of Random Behavior

Undergrounds generally try to minimize repetitious behavior to avoid an observable *modus operandi*. Activities that may not appear unusual at first may incur suspicion if repeated several times in noticeable succession. Moreover, if security forces detect a routine, they are able to anticipate underground moves and concentrate countermeasures. Courier routes, rendezvous sites, meeting places, codes, ciphers, and perhaps sleeping quarters are therefore changed frequently in most undergrounds.

SECURITY MEASURES TO PREVENT BETRAYAL

Loyalty Checks

Check of Prospective Recruits

One method by which enemy personnel try to penetrate an underground is by infiltrating counteragents. Recruits, therefore, are usually not accepted finally until their past and present records of family life, jobs, political activities, and close associates have been investigated and found satisfactory. Further, most undergrounds require a probationary membership period. If someone is urgently needed before the investigation can be completed, he is sometimes brought into affiliation with a cell and assigned limited tasks, but he is not permitted to come into close contact with the cell members until the full check has been conducted. The usual practice is to restrict his contacts to one member of the cell and to places other than the cell's regular meeting places.¹⁰⁶

In addition to these background investigations, loyalty tests may be administered to prospective recruits. For example, in Palestine the Shai made it a practice to test some prospective recruits by subjecting them to capture and interrogation by underground persons posing as British security personnel.

Check of Suspected Members

Members suspected of collaboration may also be subjected to loyalty checks. The above-mentioned Shai technique may be used, in addition to others. A suspected person may suddenly be summoned to meet with underground security personnel. If he is indeed a collaborator he may sense pending exposure

and try to postpone the confrontation or to desert.¹⁰⁷ Or the underground may keep a suspected person in ignorance of an important revision, such as a change in the meeting place of top leaders. Then an observer is posted near the original meeting site. If enemy security personnel appear, the underground knows that the suspect is an informer since he alone was not informed of the change in plans.

Loyalty Oaths

An underground may administer an oath of loyalty to each new member, mainly to impress him with the seriousness of the job and the necessity for secrecy. The oath of a World War II Belgian underground is illustrative: members were required to swear that they would "never abandon the fight . . . accept any mission . . . obey all orders . . . never betray the country or organization . . . and serve until death."¹⁰⁸ Underground members are sometimes warned that a betrayal of confidence is punishable by death. If the oath is signed, the underground can use it to bring a recalcitrant member into line by threatening to send it to the authorities.

Underground Discipline

Undergrounds require strict adherence to security procedures. Cell members are generally obliged to report violations, and are subject to punishment if they fail to do so. To discourage betrayal of fellow workers, traitors are punished severely, often by execution. Since internal conflicts frequently develop, rules are often established for resolving them by means of courts or higher authorities. In many cases, hearings and disciplinary actions are taken by the echelon higher than that one in which the infraction reportedly occurred.

MEASURES TO MINIMIZE COMPROMISES

Limited Personal Contacts

Ordinarily a captured member can lead authorities only to members with whom he has had personal contact, since the use of cover names protects the real identities of other persons in the organization about whom he may have heard. Therefore an underground can minimize the danger of a compromise by minimizing personal contacts among members. At the base of the organization this is accomplished by organizing workers into cells and by confining their contacts to members of their own cells. Among leaders in the chain of command this is brought about by limiting one's contacts to his immediate superior and immediate subordinates, and by excluding lateral liaison among administrators in separate branches.¹⁰⁹

Places of Conspiracy

Without some emergency provision it may be difficult for an underground member to reestablish contact with the organization if his superior is captured, removing his only link with the next level of command. To provide a safe method for restoring contact, the underground may use places-of-conspiracy. This arrangement works as follows: each worker is informed of a place where he may go at a certain time of the day, bearing certain identifying marks, to meet a representative of another cell or command. The representative is not recognizable and *he* makes the approach upon noting that the time of arrival is correct and that the worker bears the proper identifying marks. The representative passes details to the organization about the worker's situation, physical appearance, and where he may be reached. After being cleared by a check, the worker is contacted for reassignment. Because of the representative's vulnerable position as a contact for persons in danger, he is limited to this one duty and knows little about other aspects of the underground.¹¹³

Code Words and Cover Names

In messages, including enciphered texts, underground workers often make maximum use of code words and cover names, which are simply words arbitrarily chosen to designate places, movements, operational plans, and persons. Thus, the code word "Olympus" could represent a rendezvous spot. In assigning cover names, male and female names may be employed without regard to sex. If a message should be intercepted and deciphered, the code words and cover names would still couch the message in a jargon not easily interpreted.¹¹⁴

Action in Case of Capture

Reaction of the Underground

If a member fails to keep an appointment or disappears, it is generally assumed that he has been captured and emergency measures are begun. A captured member's family may be hidden or taken from the country so that they cannot be used by the police to intimidate him. This is necessary if the member has maintained his legal identity, for under these circumstances the police can easily check his documents and determine the identity and whereabouts of his family. This precaution, however, does not guarantee that the police will not obtain the information they seek. It merely eliminates one device they can use. For this reason the coworkers of a captured member generally assume that they have been implicated, obtain new documents, and move to new quarters. Also, the underground will probably initiate an investigation to determine the cause of the compromise. One resistance cell in World War II suspected that the owner of a safe-house had caused the capture of a member who had stayed there. The suspect, therefore, was telephoned and told that another member would arrive soon for refuge. The cell then placed the suspect's apartment under surveillance by a young couple who strolled nearby in

81

Regulated Liaison

Liaison between echelons is regulated so that in the event a member is captured, he cannot easily lead his captors to the next highest official with whom he regularly conducts liaison. This is done by denying subordinates direct access to their commanders. Contacts with persons in higher echelons are prearranged through intermediaries, with the higher official setting the time and place for the meeting. Since he does not know the superior's address, the subordinate cannot lead police to the superior's place of residence; since he does not control the time of meetings, a compromised subordinate cannot arrange a meeting with his chief before the chief has time to discover the breach.¹¹⁵ To protect members in lower echelons in case of the capture of a superior official, the usual practice is to conceal from superiors the identities and addresses of those in lower levels, except, perhaps, those with whom the superiors are in direct contact.

Use of Couriers for Liaison

Underground members often face great danger in traveling with illegal documents and false identity papers. To avoid this risk underground leaders frequently use couriers to carry out liaison for them. In Poland, for example, the Polish Home Army used "liaison women" to carry documents and instructions for the leaders. When it was necessary for the leaders to travel, and when they needed material of a compromising nature at the end of their journey, the women would precede their superiors by some distance, carrying the illegal material and assuming the danger in case of police checks.

The problem of avoiding police suspicion was immense, and these couriers were usually uncovered after they had served for a few months. In view of this, these women were not allowed to assume other duties in the underground, so as to limit the information they could be forced to disclose under interrogation. It was also imperative that these women be trained to detect any police who followed them; otherwise they might lead the police to the leaders. A special "observation department" watched their apartments so that if they were arrested or put under surveillance, their contacts could be warned to break off liaison, change their names, and move to new quarters.¹¹¹

Minimization of Records

Official records are frequently held to a minimum, according to the principle that only information which cannot be memorized and which is needed for future reference may be put in writing. When it is necessary to record the names and addresses of underground workers, they are not written "in the clear." Only cover names are used so that if the papers are captured, identities may be protected.¹¹² This also applies to notetaking at meetings.

80

the role of lovers. Of course, no member arrived, but the Gestapo did. Soon thereafter, the owner was shot and killed by underground executioners.¹¹⁵

Behavior of Captured Members

If an underground member is told what to expect in case of capture he will be better able to avoid police tricks or resist their pressures. One method he should expect is police use of an *agent provocateur*, a counterintelligence agent who pretends to be an underground member. He is put into the cell with the prisoner and attempts to win the confidence of his cellmate and obtain information from him. A technique to demoralize a prisoner is to mention a few details about the underground and hint that another underground member has already betrayed the prisoner. Sometimes the police will attempt to obtain information by praising a prisoner's exploits and asking him to explain how he carried out such difficult tasks. A common device is to promise leniency or amnesty in exchange for information. Reinforcing this argument, the police may point out how foolish it is for a prisoner to take all the risks and punishment while the leaders are safe.¹¹⁶

Of course, a prisoner may not be able to resist torture. He may try, however, to protect the underground by resisting long enough for his absence to be noticed, which would be a signal to the underground to implement the emergency measures. However, the police may be aware of this delaying tactic. One Danish underground member withstood torture until he noticed by the clock on the wall that the time had passed for a scheduled underground meeting. He then revealed the meeting plans, feeling sure that the members had already departed. His friends were immediately captured because the Gestapo interrogators had expected this tactic and advanced the clock hands by two hours.¹¹⁷

Treatment of Released Members

If an underground worker is released, he may not be permitted to immediately reenter the organization. Instead he may be placed under surveillance until it is determined that he is not working with the police or being followed by them. One member of the Polish Home Army was "quarantined" for 6 months after his release.¹¹⁸ When a member is found to be working with the police, a common practice is to execute him. This is not the only alternative, however, because it may be that he is being forced to cooperate. One released member of a German underground assumed an informant's role after the Gestapo threatened to take action against his family. In view of this man's past loyalty to the organization and the great pressure being exerted on him, the underground decided that the best course was to smuggle him out of the country.¹¹⁹

FOOTNOTES

1. Vo Nguyen Giap, *People's War People's Army* (Hanoi: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1961), p. 76. This book is also available through the U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington.
2. Otto Hellbrunn, *Partisan Warfare* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1962), p. 44.
3. See G. Rivlin, "Some Aspects of Clandestine Arms Production and Arms Smuggling," *Inspection for Disarmament*, ed. S. Melman (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963), pp. 191-202.
4. See J. K. Zawodny, "Guerrilla and Sabotage: Organization, Operations, Motivations, Escalation," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 341 (May 1962), 8-18.
5. For descriptions of cell sizes, see Gene Z. Hanrahan, *The Communist Struggle in Malaya* (New York: Institute of Pacific Relations, 1954), p. 90; T. Bor-Komorowski, *The Secret Army* (London: Victor Gollancz, Ltd., 1950), p. 23; and F. B. Barton, *North Korean Propaganda to South Koreans*, Technical Memorandum ORO-T-10, EUSAK (Bethesda, Md.: Operations Research Office, 1951), p. 109.
6. Intracell behavior is described in the following sources: War Department Special Staff, Historical Division (Historical Manuscript File), *French Forces of the Interior—1944* (General Services Administration, Federal Records Center, Military Records Branch), p. 320; Ronald Seth, *The Undaunted: The Story of the Resistance in Western Europe* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1956), p. 259; and Jon B. Jansen and Stefan Weyl, *The Silent War* (New York: J. B. Lippincott, 1949), p. 115.
7. Communication among members of an intelligence cell are discussed in Alexander Foote, *Handbook for Spies* (London: Museum Press, Ltd., 1949), p. 44, and Barton, *North Korean Propaganda*, pp. 151-157. The regulation of vertical liaison is discussed in Rivlin, "Clandestine Arms," pp. 191-202, and Jan Karski, *Story of a Secret State* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, Ltd., 1945), p. 160.
8. Jansen and Weyl, *Silent War*, p. 129.
9. See Foote, *Handbook for Spies*, p. 55.
10. Jansen and Weyl, *Silent War*, pp. 117-118.
11. See Maurice J. Buckmaster, *They Fought Alone* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1938), p. 31. The recruitment of friends is also discussed in Oluf R. Olsen, *Two Eggs On My Plate* (London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1952), pp. 126-127, and George K. Tanham, "The Belgian Underground Movement 1940-1944" (unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, Stanford University, 1951), pp. 145-146.
12. Jansen and Weyl, *Silent War*, p. 122.
13. *Ibid.*, pp. 91-93.
14. See Lucien W. Pye, *Guerrilla Communism in Malaya* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1956), pp. 173-175, 218-247.
15. *Ibid.*, pp. 220-221.
16. Hanrahan, *Communist Struggle*, p. 88.
17. Pye, *Guerrilla Communism*, pp. 243-244.
18. See Foote, *Handbook for Spies*, p. 21.
19. Jansen and Weyl, *Silent War*, pp. 92-93.
20. Hanrahan, *Communist Struggle*, pp. 87-88.
21. Pye, *Guerrilla Communism*, p. 243.
22. Giap, *People's War*, p. 77.
23. *Ibid.*, pp. 77-78.
24. Barton, *North Korean Propaganda*, p. 110.
25. Giap, *People's War*, p. 56, and Alberto Bayo, *Ciento Cincuenta Preguntas a un Guerrillero (One Hundred Fifty Questions Asked of a Guerrilla Fighter)* (Havana, 1959), Question 85.

Strategy, Tactics, and Countermeasures

26. R. W. Rowan, *Spies and the Nazi War* (New York: Robert McBride Co., 1934), pp. 113-114.
27. Pye, *Guerrilla Communism*, pp. 115-116.
28. Tanham, "Belgian Underground," p. 185.
29. Seth, *The Undaunted*, p. 152.
30. Tanham, "Belgian Underground," p. 153.
31. Eugene H. Methvin, "Mob Violence and Communist Strategy," *Orbis*, V (Summer 1961), p. 174.
32. Alvin H. Scaff, *The Philippine Answer To Communism* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1955), pp. 34, 146.
33. See Harry Miller, *Menace in Malaya* (London: George Harrap and Co., 1954), pp. 104-105, 113.
34. Tanham, "Belgian Underground," p. 186.
35. Walter Schellenberg, *The Labyrinth* (New York: Harper, 1956), pp. 125-133.
36. Franklin A. Lindsay, "Unconventional Warfare," *Foreign Affairs*, 40 (January 1962), pp. 264-274.
37. Jasper Rotham, *Miss Fire: The Chronicle of a British Mission to Mihailovich 1943-1944* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1946), p. 164.
38. E. Reval, *Sixième Colonne: Un Grand Peuple Lutte Pour sa Libération (The Sixth Column: A Great Nation Fights for Its Liberation)* (Paris: Thonon, S.E.S., 1945), pp. 100-101. Available at the Harvard University Library.
39. Scaff, *Philippine Answer*, p. 34.
40. Charles F. Delzell, *Mussolini's Enemies* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), p. 297.
41. U.S. Senate, Committee on the Judiciary, *Yugoslav Communism: A Critical Study* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1961), p. 93.
42. Tanham, "Belgian Underground," pp. 105-106.
43. Ibid. For the use of radio broadcasts to establish identity, see also Maurice J. Buckmaster, *Specialty Employed* (London: The Batchworth Press, 1952), pp. 40-41. and Buckmaster, *They Fought Alone*, p. 154.
44. Zawodny, *Guerrilla and Sabotage*, p. 10.
45. David Lampe, *The Danish Resistance* (New York: Ballentine Books, 1957), p. 8.
46. Seth, *The Undaunted*, p. 152.
47. D. A. Tomasic, *National Communism and Soviet Strategy* (Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1957), p. 48.
48. Seth, *The Undaunted*, p. 152.
49. Pye, *Guerrilla Communism*, p. 80.
50. Tomasic, *National Communism*, p. 43.
51. Scaff, *Philippine Answer*, p. 34.
52. Pye, *Guerrilla Communism*, p. 88.
53. Ray Alan, "Brigitte, France and the Secret Army," *The New Leader*, XLIV (1961), pp. 3-5.
54. Ibid.
55. Scaff, *Philippine Answer*, p. 34.
56. U.S. Senate, *Yugoslav Communism*, p. 93.
57. L. Valiani, *Tutte Le Strade Condurrano a Roma (All Roads Lead to Rome)* (Firenze: Tipocolografia Classica, 1947), p. 161.
58. Bor-Komorowski, *Secret Army*, p. 75.
59. Valiani, *Tutte Le Strade*, p. 329.
60. Bor-Komorowski, *Secret Army*, p. 76.
61. French Press and Information Service, "Free France," V (New York, February 15, 1944), p. 140. Available at the Library of Congress, Washington.
62. French Resistance Collection (Hoover Library, Stanford University), Folder 27, No. 7, p. 3.
63. "Free France," Volume VI (October 15, 1944), pp. 264-265.

94

Administrative Functions

64. George K. Tanham, *Communist Revolutionary Warfare: The Vietnam in Indochina* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1961), p. 87.
65. Bor-Komorowski, *Secret Army*, p. 77.
66. Rivlin, "Clandestine Arms," pp. 191-202.
67. Bor-Komorowski, *Secret Army*, p. 77.
68. D. M. Condit, *Case Study in Guerrilla War: Greece During World War II* (Washington: Special Operations Research Office, 1961), p. 154.
69. Ernesto Guevara, "La Guerra de Guerrillas" (Guerrilla Warfare), *Army*, 11 (May 1961), p. 63.
70. L. Longo, *Un Popolo alla Macchia (People of the Maquis)* (Italy: Arnoldo Mondadori, 1947), p. 306.
71. Rivlin, "Clandestine Arms," pp. 191-202.
72. See War Department Special Staff, *French Forces*, pp. 379-380, 917.
73. Pye, *Guerrilla Communism*, p. 70.
74. Rivlin, "Clandestine Arms," pp. 191-202.
75. Condit, *Case Study: Greece*, p. 155.
76. Tanham, *Communist Warfare*, p. 70.
77. Guevara, "La Guerra," p. 64.
78. Bernard B. Fall, *Street Without Joy: Indochina at War, 1946-1954* (Harrisburg, Pa.: The Stackpole Co., 1961), p. 108.
79. For a discussion of a block warden system, see Joseph Kraft, *The Struggle for Algeria* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1961), p. 105.
80. Jansen and Weyl, *Silent War*, pp. 151-152.
81. Heilbrunn, *Partisan Warfare*, p. 87.
82. See Ladislav A. Farago, *War of Wits* (New York: Funk and Wagnalls Co., 1954), p. 200.
83. Olsen, *Two Eggs*, p. 123.
84. Bor-Komorowski, *Secret Army*, p. 144.
85. Buckmaster, *Specialty Employed*, p. 70.
86. David J. Dallin, *Soviet Espionage* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1955), p. 96. and Buckmaster, *They Fought Alone*, pp. 25, 30-31.
87. Dallin, *Soviet Espionage*, pp. 95-98.
88. Karski, *Secret State*, pp. 122-123.
89. See Jansen and Weyl, *Silent War*, p. 112.
90. Ibid.
91. Ibid., p. 153.
92. J. Edgar Hoover, *Masters of Deceit* (New York: Henry Holt, 1958), p. 282.
93. Valiani, *Tutte Le Strade*, p. 158.
94. See Karski, *Secret State*, pp. 229-235, and Bor-Komorowski, *Secret Army*, pp. 59-60. For discussions of the use of these persons as couriers in other undergrounds, see also Buckmaster, *They Fought Alone*, p. 244, and Tanham, "Belgian Underground," pp. 147-148.
95. Philippe de Vomécourt, *An Army of Amateurs* (New York: Doubleday, 1961), pp. 34-36.
96. Jansen and Weyl, *Silent War*, p. 153.
97. Ibid., p. 153.
98. Farago, *War of Wits*, pp. 216-217.
99. For a discussion of simple codes and ciphers, see Fletcher Pratt, *Secret and Urgent* (Garden City, N.Y.: Blue Ribbon Books, 1942).
100. Buckmaster, *They Fought Alone*, p. 27.
101. See Jansen and Weyl, *Silent War*, pp. 152-153.
102. See Farago, *War of Wits*, pp. 212-213.
103. Dallin, *Soviet Espionage*, p. 495.
104. Bor-Komorowski, *Secret Army*, p. 59.
105. de Vomécourt, *Army of Amateurs*, p. 72.

85

Strategy, Tactics, and Countermeasures

26. R. W. Rowan, *Spies and the Near War* (New York: Robert McBride Co., 1934), pp. 113-114.
27. Pye, *Guerrilla Communism*, pp. 115-116.
28. Tanham, "Belgian Underground," p. 185.
29. Seth, *The Undaunted*, p. 152.
30. Tanham, "Belgian Underground," p. 153.
31. Eugene H. Methvin, "Mob Violence and Communist Strategy," *Orbis*, V (Summer 1961), p. 174.
32. Alvin H. Scaff, *The Philippine Answer To Communism* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1955), pp. 34, 146.
33. See Harry Miller, *Menace in Malaya* (London: George Harrap and Co., 1954), pp. 104-105, 113.
34. Tanham, "Belgian Underground," p. 188.
35. Walter Scheellenberg, *The Labyrinth* (New York: Harper, 1956), pp. 125-133.
36. Franklin A. Lindsay, "Unconventional Warfare," *Foreign Affairs*, 40 (January 1962), pp. 264-274.
37. Jasper Roetham, *Miss Fire: The Chronicle of a British Mission to Mihailovich 1943-1944* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1946), p. 164.
38. E. Reval, *Sixième Colonne: Un Grand Peuple Lutte Pour sa Libération (The Sixth Column: A Great Nation Fights for Its Liberation)* (Paris: Thonon, S.E.S., 1945), pp. 100-101. Available at the Harvard University Library.
39. Scaff, *Philippine Answer*, p. 34.
40. Charles F. Delzell, *Muscolini's Enemies* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), p. 297.
41. U.S. Senate, Committee on the Judiciary, *Yugoslav Communism: A Critical Study 1943-1944* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1961), p. 98.
42. Tanham, "Belgian Underground," pp. 105-106.
43. *Ibid.* For the use of radio broadcasts to establish identity, see also Maurice J. Buckmaster, *Specially Employed* (London: The Batchworth Press, 1952), pp. 40-41.
44. and Buckmaster, *They Fought Alone*, p. 154.
44. Zawodny, *Guerrilla and Sabotage*, p. 10.
45. David Lampe, *The Danish Resistance* (New York: Ballentine Books, 1957), p. 8.
46. Seth, *The Undaunted*, p. 152.
47. D. A. Tomasic, *National Communism and Soviet Strategy* (Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1957), p. 43.
48. Seth, *The Undaunted*, p. 152.
49. Pye, *Guerrilla Communism*, p. 80.
50. Tomasic, *National Communism*, p. 43.
51. Scaff, *Philippine Answer*, p. 34.
52. Pye, *Guerrilla Communism*, p. 88.
53. Ray Alan, "Brigitte, France and the Secret Army," *The New Leader*, XLIV (1961), pp. 3-5.
54. *Ibid.*
55. Scaff, *Philippine Answer*, p. 34.
56. U.S. Senate, *Yugoslav Communism*, p. 93.
57. L. Valiani, *Tutte Le Strade Condanno a Roma (All Roads Lead to Rome)* (Firenze: Tipocalografia Classica, 1947), p. 161.
58. Bor-Komorowski, *Secret Army*, p. 75.
59. Valiani, *Tutte Le Strade*, p. 329.
60. Bor-Komorowski, *Secret Army*, p. 76.
61. French Press and Information Service, "Free France," V (New York, February 15, 1944), p. 140. Available at the Library of Congress, Washington.
62. French Resistance Collection (Hoover Library, Stanford University), Folder 27, No. 7, p. 3.
63. "Free France," Volume VI (October 15, 1944), pp. 264-265.

64. George K. Tanham, *Communist Revolutionary Warfare: The Vietminh in Indochina* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1961), p. 67.
65. Bor-Komorowski, *Secret Army*, p. 77.
66. Rivlin, "Clandestine Arms," pp. 191-202.
67. Bor-Komorowski, *Secret Army*, p. 77.
68. D. M. Condit, *Case Study in Guerrilla War: Greece During World War II* (Washington: Special Operations Research Office, 1961), p. 154.
69. Ernesto Guevara, "La Guerra de Guerrillas" (Guerrilla Warfare), *Army*, 11 (May 1961), p. 63.
70. L. Longo, *Un Popolo alla Macchia (People of the Maquis)* (Italy: Arnoldo Mondadori, 1947), p. 305.
71. Rivlin, "Clandestine Arms," pp. 191-202.
72. See War Department Special Staff, *French Forces*, pp. 379-380, 917.
73. Pye, *Guerrilla Communism*, p. 70.
74. Rivlin, "Clandestine Arms," pp. 191-202.
75. Condit, *Case Study: Greece*, p. 155.
76. Tanham, *Communist Warfare*, p. 70.
77. Guevara, "La Guerra," p. 64.
78. Bernard B. Fall, *Street Without Joy: Indochina at War, 1946-1954* (Harrisburg, Pa.: The Stackpole Co., 1961), p. 108.
79. For a discussion of a block warden system, see Joseph Kraft, *The Struggle for Algeria* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1961), p. 106.
80. Jansen and Weyl, *Silent War*, pp. 151-152.
81. Heilbrunn, *Partisan Warfare*, p. 87.
82. See Ladislav A. Farago, *War of Wits* (New York: Funk and Wagnalls Co., 1954), p. 200.
83. Olsen, *Two Eggs*, p. 126.
84. Bor-Komorowski, *Secret Army*, p. 144.
85. Buckmaster, *Specially Employed*, p. 70.
86. David J. Dallin, *Soviet Espionage* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1955), p. 96.
87. and Buckmaster, *They Fought Alone*, pp. 25, 30-31.
87. Dallin, *Soviet Espionage*, pp. 95-96.
88. Karski, *Secret State*, pp. 122-123.
89. See Jansen and Weyl, *Silent War*, p. 112.
90. *Ibid.*
91. *Ibid.*, p. 153.
92. J. Edgar Hoover, *Masters of Deceit* (New York: Henry Holt, 1958), p. 282.
93. Valiani, *Tutte Le Strade*, p. 158.
94. See Karski, *Secret State*, pp. 229-235, and Bor-Komorowski, *Secret Army*, pp. 59-60.
- For discussions of the use of these persons as couriers in other undergrounds, see also Buckmaster, *They Fought Alone*, p. 244, and Tanham, "Belgian Underground," pp. 147-148.
95. Philippe de Vomécourt, *An Army of Amateurs* (New York: Doubleday, 1961), pp. 34-36.
96. Jansen and Weyl, *Silent War*, p. 153.
97. *Ibid.*, p. 153.
98. Farago, *War of Wits*, pp. 216-217.
99. For a discussion of simple codes and ciphers, see Fletcher Pratt, *Secret and Urgent* (Garden City, N.Y.: Blue Ribbon Books, 1942).
100. Buckmaster, *They Fought Alone*, p. 27.
101. See Jansen and Weyl, *Silent War*, pp. 152-153.
102. See Farago, *War of Wits*, pp. 212-213.
103. Dallin, *Soviet Espionage*, p. 495.
104. Bor-Komorowski, *Secret Army*, p. 59.
105. de Vomécourt, *Army of Amateurs*, p. 72.

106. See Foote, *Handbook for Spies*, pp. 24-26; and Jansen and Weyl, *Silent War*, pp. 92-93.
107. See Foote, *Handbook for Spies*, p. 59.
108. Tanham, "Belgian Underground," p. 147. Another oath is to be found on page 182.
109. See *Ibid.*, p. 179; Seth, *The Undaunted*, p. 259; and French Resistance Collection, Folder 5, No. 13, pp. 1-4.
110. The regulation of vertical liaison is discussed in Rivlin, "Clandestine Arms," pp. 191-202, and Karski, *Secret State*, p. 160.
111. See Bor-Komorowski, *Secret Army*, pp. 59-60, and Karski, *Secret State*, pp. 229-235.
112. See de Yomecourt, *Army of Amateurs*, pp. 93-94, and Hoover, *Masters of Deceit*, p. 282.
113. See Foote, *Handbook for Spies*, pp. 27-28, 60.
114. See *Ibid.*, p. 57.
115. Lampe, *Danish Resistance*, pp. 66-74.
116. See S. Regalado, "From the Experience of the Underground Work of the Communist Party in Venezuela," *World Marxist Review*, V (January 1962), 57-59.
117. Lampe, *Danish Resistance*, pp. 138-139.
118. See Karski, *Secret State*, pp. 160-161.
119. See Jansen and Weyl, *Silent War*, pp. 177-179.

CHAPTER 3

UNDERGROUND OPERATIONAL FUNCTIONS AND TECHNIQUES

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter an underground's operational missions are discussed—subversion, psychological operations, establishment of shadow governments, intelligence, sabotage, and escape and evasion. As in the preceding chapter, a "standard" technique is presented wherever one has been developed for a function and, when possible, alternative techniques for accomplishing the function in varying environmental conditions. In most instances, examples from past underground experiences are used as illustrations.

SUBVERSION

Undergrounds seek to neutralize or win control of certain individuals or organizations within the society. To accomplish this they use a variety of techniques.

UNDERGROUND LETTER-WRITING CAMPAIGNS

To Divert the Police

In a number of instances, letters have been the device used to tie up the police and channel their energies into work not dangerous to the underground. Such tactics were frequently employed by "Special Action N" cells of the Polish Home Army. According to one source, underground personnel in one instance sent official-looking letters to all German residents in Warsaw instructing each to prepare a parcel of food for wounded German soldiers in the Warsaw hospitals. The letters seemed quite authentic: Nazi Party stationery was used, and every detail was covered—even the number of eggs to be included in the parcels. On the appointed day the German mayor's office and the approaches to it were packed with German civilians. The Gestapo ordered that all present be held for investigation, an action that not only aroused resentment but occupied the police for a full 24 hours.¹ The same source described the sending of anonymous letters to Gestapo headquarters denouncing German officials for acts of disloyalty. Among the accusations were charges that the officials had accepted money in return for favors, that they had secured their future by making deals with the underground, or that they had had intercourse with "racially inferior" Poles. The resultant investigations disproved these charges, but much time and manpower was wasted in surveillance and cross-examination.

To Disrupt Production

"Special Action N" units also forged orders to halt German production in Poland. Communications were sent to factory and workshop managers proclaiming May 1 as "Nazi Labor Day," and stating that all workers were to have a 24-hour leave with pay. This order was received with surprise, because many holidays had already been cancelled in order to step up war production. It was, however, accepted as genuine, since it was couched in the usual Nazi terminology and bore the letterhead of the German Labor Bureau. Because it was sent just before the appointed holiday, there was not time for the Labor Bureau in Berlin to discover and countermand the forgery. As a result, most production in Poland ceased for a day, including that at the important Ursus Tank Works and the gigantic railway repair installations at Pruszkow. Reportedly, the production losses were comparable with those resulting from a minor RAF attack.²

To Remove Dangerous Persons

In addition to diverting the police and disrupting production, Polish Home Army members tried to effect the transfer of civilian officials who were particularly active in repressing the underground. Efforts were also made to get rid of *Volksdeutschen* (citizens of German descent and sympathies). A letter bearing the forged signature of one of these persons would be sent to Berlin "volunteering" the individual for service in the German Army. According to the author of many such letters, one might read as follows:

The Fuehrer has awakened in me the consciousness of the German community. I am at present serving the *Vaterland* as farmer [or merchant, policeman, etc.] I cannot continue any longer to stand by while my German brothers are heroically dying. I wish to contribute my services to the glorious German army and herewith solicit the privilege of immediate induction into the *Wehrmacht*.³

Because the authorities in Berlin had more pressing business than checking the authenticity of such a request, the letter would likely be followed by immediate induction of the "writer."

ORGANIZATIONAL SUBVERSION

The General Plan

Undergrounds seek to infiltrate communication and transportation industries because agents therein can sabotage facilities needed for the mobilization of the military and police forces. Unions are also prime targets, as the control of these groups enables an underground to call strikes, weaken governmental control, or cause general social disorganization. Control of labor unions is also desirable because union funds can be diverted to underground activities.

90

Underground funds also may be concealed in union accounts by falsifying the records. Strikes, demonstrations, and riots also diminish the effectiveness of the government forces. Police, militia, and regular army troops may be required to control them, and this draws manpower from the units assigned to combating the underground. Punitive measures taken by the police and injuries suffered by participants or onlookers are exploited by underground agitators to turn minor skirmishes into major incidents. By exploiting the resulting agitation, an underground may be able to rally the people to the revolutionary movement and disrupt government control.

Tactics of Subversion

Leadership Tactics

An underground may influence the actions of an organization if it can install its members in leadership positions. The underground member seeking a leadership post in an infiltrated organization represents himself as dedicated and loyal to the organization, takes the initiative in planning activities, and volunteers for any job no matter how time-consuming or unpleasant. He avoids any appearance of subversive activity. His candidacy for a position is supported by cell members in the rank-and-file, but close ties between the candidate and his cell collaborators are hidden from the general membership so that the candidate's support appears spontaneous and unsolicited. Thus, having demonstrated to the members that he is active, eager, and capable, and having the apparently unsolicited support of a number of other members, the underground agent rises to a position of leadership. It has often been noted that Communists who aspire to leadership in any organization are "the readiest volunteers, the devoted committee workers."⁴

Membership Tactics

By being the most vocal members at meetings and the last to leave, a small, articulate, and disciplined group can pass resolutions which the apathetic or outmaneuvered majority may not favor. One author has pointed out that most voluntary groups are composed of a small core of administrators and subleaders, a few faithful meeting-goers, and a large group of dues-payers who take little active part in its work. A small group working in concert can thus easily influence the direction of the organization and eventually gain control.⁵ Subversive agents also attempt to gain control of recruiting. This enables them to draw in more of their own group and obtain information useful in screening future recruits. By installing one of its members as education officer, the cell can disseminate information on the underground movement. Editorship of the organization's newspaper permits the publication of subversive ideas, gives the underground access to printing materials, and permits it to establish its own distribution routes.

Rewards and Sanctions

If an underground can gain control of a labor union, it has at its disposal

91

Operational Functions

specific political or military reasons. Under the label of psychological operations are communicative acts such as propaganda as well as physical acts of murder, assassination, or a simple show of force which are intended to influence the minds and behavior of men.

THE AUDIENCE

Psychological operations are directed toward six broad audiences, each of which requires specific appeals and may require the use of different communications media. These audiences are—

- (1) *The enemy.* This may be a foreign occupier, a colonial government, or a native ruling group. The underground's psychological operations objectives are to harass and confuse the enemy, and reduce his morale and efficiency.
- (2) *Persons sympathetic to the enemy.* The object here is to persuade the group to withhold assistance from the enemy and perhaps to win some persons over to the support of the underground cause.
- (3) *The uncommitted.* The underground seeks to persuade this group to resist authority and support the underground, or at least not to cooperate actively with the government.
- (4) *Persons sympathetic to the underground.* The object here is to provide moral support and tactical instruction on what is to be done and how to do it.
- (5) *The underground.* Psychological operations directed at members of the underground are designed to maintain morale and unity.
- (6) *Foreign supporters.* The objective here is to win financial aid, material assistance, and diplomatic recognition from foreign governments.

THE PROPAGANDA MESSAGE

When writing a message for the various subgroups within a society, the theme of the message, as well as the objectives of the propaganda campaign, must be carefully considered. One author had identified four types of propaganda messages: "conversionary," "divisive," "consolidation," and "counter-propaganda." In this schema, a conversionary message attempts to transfer the allegiance of persons from one group to another. Divisive appeals are designed to divide various groups under enemy domination and control. Consolidation propaganda hopes to bring about unified compliance by the population to directives of the occupying force. Finally, counterpropaganda messages are aimed at disrupting the images portrayed by enemy propagandists.⁶

Studies of past propaganda campaigns have brought to light certain guidelines for composing messages which, if followed, may increase the probability of success of propaganda operations. First, messages should be directed to audiences within the target country rather than directed to the public at large. Second, messages should exploit existing attitudes of the audiences rather than

93

a powerful system of rewards and sanctions by which to obtain strict obedience to its orders. If a man is dropped from a union he may not be able to get employment. If the union leader improves, by legitimate means, the lot of union members, they will be more willing to go along with political actions or to obey strike calls. Goon squads may be used to persuade reluctant members. Having all these instruments of persuasion and coercion, the leadership can call a strike which a majority of the members may not want. They will go along, however, either because they have faith in the leadership's ability to win higher wages for them, or because they know that if they oppose the leadership, they may be punished by loss of membership, or worse.

Front Groups

If it is unable to infiltrate existing organizations, the underground creates organizations which serve as an innocent façade to its actual work. These organizations usually espouse some worthy cause which will enlist the support of respectable members of the community, at least to the extent of permitting the use of their names, but the leadership is kept firmly in the hands of underground members.

Paper Groups

These are organizations with only one or two members, which obtain charters from some national or international body and then send delegations to its confederation or congress. Usually the paper group gets equal representation with larger, legitimate groups. If many paper groups send delegations that vote as a bloc, they can give the impression that there is wide popular backing for a particular individual or policy.⁷

United Front

When the subversive group is not large, it seeks to draw a number of legitimate groups into a united front, and thus gain the prestige of speaking for a larger group of people. Once in such a united front, the subversive group will seek to discredit the leaders and take control. Here, too, the technique of the paper organization is used in bargaining for leadership positions.⁷

PSYCHOLOGICAL OPERATIONS

Gen. Vo Nguyen Giap, on looking back at the Vietnam revolution, says that in preparing for armed insurrection, propaganda is the most essential task to be performed; and during the insurrection propaganda is even more important than fighting.⁸

The broad objectives of psychological operations are to affect by various means the attitudes, emotions, and actions of given groups within a society for

92

Operational Functions

attempt to effect a complete change in attitudes. Third, claims made in messages should not exceed the limits of belief of the audiences. Fourth, messages should ask for responses which will promote not only an ideal but also the individual's own well-being, measured in terms of job opportunities, survival, etc.¹⁰

MEANS OF COMMUNICATION

In directing a message at a target audience, the underground worker must first determine the communications media available to that audience. For example, unless a message were intended for the educated elite, it would be foolish to print newspapers in a country where most people are illiterate; likewise, it would be manifestly unproductive to direct radio broadcasts to a country where there are few radio receivers, or none. Other devices, such as rumors spread by word of mouth, slogans on walls, or chants at mass demonstrations may be used.

Radio

Most radio broadcasts to an enemy-controlled country originate outside its borders. The BBC assumed the responsibility for such operations for European resistance movements during World War II. Within the country, the underground may be able to broadcast for short periods on popular channels. It also may interrupt the government's communications or prevent them from reaching the people. In Algeria, for example, the OAS frequently jammed government radio broadcasts. One important advantage of radio is, of course, that one does not have to be literate in order to hear and understand radio broadcasts. This medium also has some disadvantages, however. If the underground wants to be sure that the target group listens, it must find a way to inform the audience in advance of the time and channel on which the illicit broadcast is to be heard. Furthermore, broadcasts by low-power portable transmitters have limited range. Enemy radio-locating equipment can pinpoint the position of a transmitter, forcing the underground to change the frequency and the site of the transmitter frequently. One successful technique used during the war to counteract this was to set up radio equipment close to a government transmitter, and to broadcast close to the frequencies used by the government. This made it difficult to locate the transmitter and attracted the audience listening to the government broadcast, since they could hear the clandestine broadcast in the background.

Newspapers

Undergrounds have made extensive use of newspapers and leaflets. The advantage of printed material is that it can be used and reused by passing it on from person to person. In World War II, the clandestine underground press in Europe kept the people informed and rallied them to the resistance. They

05



(U.S. Army Photograph)

A Vietnamese soldier destroys a Viet Cong propaganda poster.

04