INTELLIGENCE PROFESSIONALISM: A STUDY OF DEVELOPING INTELLIGENCE PROFESSIONALISM IN THE OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES IN ITALY AND THE CENTRAL MEDITERRANEAN 1941-1945

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ABSTRACT

The legacy of the wartime Office of Strategic Services (OSS) as the forerunner of the post-war Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) is well chronicled. However, the professional path of those involved in covert American Intelligence special operations has been almost completely neglected. Popular writers have focused on OSS heroics while CIA-insiders have meticulously detailed the bureaucratic struggles fought by the OSS in Washington, D.C. The special skills and organization developed by the OSS were unlike any ever before utilized by an American institution. The OSS built an organizational and operational capability that sought to take advantage of resistance in German-occupied territory through the collection of secret intelligence and special operations supporting resistance groups. To accomplish this, the OSS established and utilized inventive new methods of recruitment, training, and operations to lay the groundwork for the new professional path of the American Intelligence officer. An analysis of OSS field operations in the Mediterranean Theater during the Second World War yields the best insight into this nascent professionalism as it grew from ideas into reality.

The OSS developed its own definition of intelligence while grappling with incorporating old and new standards of professional behavior into the organization and among its members. Covert training and recruitment materials generously provided by British agents such as William Stephenson gave the OSS the jump start it needed to begin to forge a new path in subversive operations. British covert intelligence embodied traditional field craft, but OSS members would be the missionaries of a new uniquely American specialized covert operations working for American interests in conjunction with partisans in enemy-controlled territory. OSS members hailed from a wide-variety of American business, military, academic, and civilian backgrounds, bringing with them new ideas and old conceptions of what it meant to be a professional. While ultimately unsuccessful in maintaining its existence after the war, the OSS established a new path forward for American Intelligence which recognized the groundbreaking work done by the OSS and incorporated many facets of that into the new CIA.

This paper is dedicated to my mother and father,

without whose help and support

it would never have seen completion.

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INTRODUCTION

> The function of [the OSS] is the procurement by indirect and undercover means of information concerning enemy activities and dispositions, [sic] that will be of value to the armed services of the United States.
>
> -Untitled OSS Memorandum, 4 August 1942[1]

The Office of Strategic Services (OSS) established a pattern of combining small-team covert special operations with information collection and analysis, creating the foundations for the emergence of a unique brand of professionalized American Intelligence.[2] As the first organization in US history focused on foreign intelligence, the OSS advanced new models of leadership, training, recruitment, organizational structures, covert missions, and research during its brief but seminal existence. The unique circumstances of the Mediterranean Theater during the Second World War best illustrated the emergence of a capable and semi-professional wartime intelligence apparatus that served both political and military masters. A dependence on the military for logistical support and bureaucratic agencies for legitimacy formed a core part of the organizational evolution of the agency.

On July 11, 1941, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt established the Office of the Coordinator of Information (COI), with William "Wild Bill" Donovan serving at its head.[3] Roosevelt later ordered the reorganization of the COI into the OSS under the Joint Chiefs of Staff in June 13, 1942. Regardless of the many individual domestic and foreign intelligence related activities conducted by the United States since

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[1] Untitled OSS History, August 4, 1942, Folder 5 (Part 2), Box 72, Entry 92, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1. (*note: Due to expected future revisions, I have excluded Ibid. at this time to facilitate proper future identification of sources.* In citing works from the National Archives II Building in College Park, Maryland, the short form NARA-CP will be used.)

[2] As clarification for the reader, The Office of Strategic Services will be abbreviated as "the OSS" throughout this paper. Scholars such as Bradley Smith, Richard Harris Smith, and Thomas F. Troy omit "the" prior to using "OSS"; however, works found within the CIA published journal *Intelligence Studies* as well as within OSS documents at times use both "OSS" and "the OSS." I have chosen for readability purposes to include the indefinite article "the" before "OSS."

[3] First Draft of SI History, anonymous and undated, Folder 8, Box 100, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 8; David F. Rudgers, *Creating the Secret State: The Origins of the Central Intelligence Agency, 1943-1947* (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 2000), 7.

the War for Independence, an intelligence *agency* never coalesced into a policy-informing institution until the formation of the OSS.[4] The United States felt no need for a dedicated foreign-focused intelligence organization prior to the Second World War. The army, navy, State Department, and civilian contractors only collected meagre amounts of foreign intelligence. This intelligence rarely passed from one government department to another. Such a dearth of information could not properly inform the strategic policy of the United States government, which in any case, had no organized manner to collate and analyze received foreign intelligence. Understaffed embassies and a handful of military attachés provided the vast majority of the high-level military information at hand for presidents and their cabinets.[5]

The agency's larger significance to the institutionalization of American Intelligence is best illustrated by the professional organizational evolution of the OSS in the Mediterranean. Though it ultimately fell short in its ambition to be a fully professionalized institution of the American government, this paper argues that the professional development of the OSS in the Mediterranean Theater demonstrated the clearest link to the professional legacy left behind by the OSS after the war. That theater enabled the continuing development of the specific professional characteristics eventually embodied by the OSS. This development will be further discussed in the first chapter of this paper. Washington was primarily the scene of bureaucratic and political battles while London was the site of OSS and British cooperation, with its own post-war implications, but not the development of long-term

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[4] David F. Rudgers, *Creating the Secret State: The Origins of the Central Intelligence Agency, 1943-1947* (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 2000), 6.

[5] Kim M. Juntunen, *U.S. Army Attaches and the Spanish Civil War, 1936-1939*: *The Gathering of Technical and Tactical Intelligence* (Master's Thesis in History, Temple University, May 4, 1990), 9; David F. Rudgers, *Creating the Secret State: The Origins of the Central Intelligence Agency, 1943-1947,* (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 2000), 6.

small team covert partisan cooperation.[6] This paper will eschew analysis of the OSS' impact on military victory, instead focusing on the professional characteristics developed by the OSS by the end of the war.

As policy makers and military leaders grew more comfortable with OSS operations, they implicitly invited the creation of a professional, modern US foreign intelligence capability – one to which they became closely linked by the end of the Second World War – what Martin Wight called "shadow diplomacy."[7] However, the path to create this type of professional organization was difficult and required constant effort and rebuilding. It is easier in theory than in practice to take a quickly growing organization spread across the globe and successfully imbue it with professional standards. The works of scholars and former members of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) such as Thomas Troy and Bradley F. Smith in the 1970s and 1980s initiated the first detailed examinations of the precarious and often chaotic bureaucratic circumstances surrounding the existence of the OSS than presented in this paper.[8] Utilizing their access to OSS and CIA documents as official agency archivists and historians, their unprecedented access gave them insight into the machinations surrounding the creation of the OSS. The primary focus of these histories was to solidify the historical foundation of the CIA and demonstrate an indelible legacy left by Donovan. This paper leans in part upon their considerable efforts to chart the many bureaucratic and personal battles undertaken by the OSS in order to execute their mission.

Recently, a new spate of OSS histories have focused on developments outside of Europe or with groups commonly underrepresented such as women and minorities.[9] These histories have tackled the

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[6] The term general partisan is used in this paper to describe the various semi and fully organized groupings of anti-German fighters as well as those individuals who assisted in the resistance fight against the German Army in Italy.

[7] Martin Wight, *Power Politics* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1978), 116-117.

[8] Some examples of this discussion include Thomas Troy, *Donovan and the CIA: A History of the Establishment of the Central Intelligence Agency (Frederick, MD: Aletheia Books, 1981);* R. Harris Smith, *OSS: The Secret History of America's First Central Intelligence Agency* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1972); Bradley F. Smith, *The Shadow Warriors: O.S.S. and the Origins of the C.I.A.* (New York: Basic Books, 1983); Barry Katz, *Foreign Intelligence: Research and Analysis in the Office of Strategic Services 1942-1945* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989).

[9] The following is a selection of more recent OSS histories: Patrick O'Donnell, *Operatives, Spies, and Saboteurs: The Unknown Story of World War II's the OSS* (New York: Free Press, 2004); Elizabeth McIntosh,

popular imagination with a focus on agents' personal recollections, incredible acts of individual bravery from both men and women in the line of duty, and a turn away from bureaucratic details. They have been successful in shining a light on the breadth of OSS activities throughout the world and its rapid expansion in only a few short years. This mix of scholars and popular writers helped bring the OSS histories out of Washington, D.C. to the agents traversing through the jungles, hiding in mountains, and jumping out of airplanes. This paper will utilize a hybrid approach that will show the bureaucratic development of the OSS as well as highlight specific agent actions that demonstrate that sometimes faltering path to professionalization.

The people and institutions involved in the professional development of the OSS will be featured prominently in this paper. The primary figure, William Donovan, Director and leader of the OSS, ushered in a new era of government service, pulling in men and women who could ably serve him and execute his agency's goals. These men and women arrived on the scene from all walks of American life. The majority of early recruits hailed from corporate boardrooms, law firms, and universities ready to lend their knowledge, talents, and energy to this new enterprise. Led by the indefatigable Donovan, they would create new precedents in American intelligence history. Their efforts paved the way for advancements in covert operational theory and practice. They initiated the professionalization and creation of a career path previously unknown in the United States.

Donovan was a successful lawyer, a decorated former solider, and a failed career politician. He had been the hero of New York's "Fighting 69th" in the First World War, and had received decorations by the US, French, and Italian governments. After the war, he served as US Attorney for the Western

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Sisterhood of Spies: The Women of the OSS (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1998); Wayne Nelson, *A Spy's Diary of World War II: Inside the OSS with an American Agent in Europe* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2009); Charles Fenn, *At the Dragon's Gate: With the OSS in the Far East* (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 2004); Will Irwin, *The Jedburghs: The Secret History of the Allied Special Forces, France 1944* (New York: Public Affairs, 2005); Franklin Lindsay, *Beacons in the Night: With the OSS and Tito's Partisans in Wartime Yugoslavia* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993); Leon Weckstein, *200,000 Heroes: Italian Partisans and the American OSS in WWII.* (Ashland, OR: Hellgate Press, 2011), Nelson MacPherson, *American Intelligence in War-time London: The Story of the OSS* (New York: Routledge, 2003); Maochun Yu, *OSS in China: Prelude to Cold War* (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 2011).

District of New York from 1922-1924. In 1924, President Calvin Coolidge appointed Donovan to the Justice Department's Anti-Trust Division as deputy assistant to Attorney General Harry M. Daughterty. President Herbert Hoover dashed Donovan's hopes for an appointment to attorney general in 1928, passing him up in favor of William D. Mitchell, Coolidge's solicitor general. Deeply disappointed but not undaunted, Donovan formed his own law firm – Donovan, Leisure, Newton and Lumbard – located at Two Wall Street in New York. He also made an unsuccessful run as the Republican candidate for the New York Governor's office in 1932, dragged down in part by Hoover's poorly run presidential campaign and the Depression. During this period, despite devoting much of his time to his practice and political career, Donovan continued to study military experiences and operations in Europe and Africa and told those who would listen that the United States would most likely have to get involved in another European conflict.[10]

Perhaps no other man was better suited or more motivated to lead the charge to create a new American foreign intelligence agency than Donovan. His studies of warfare and concern for international intrigue led him to focus on secret intelligence, subversion, sabotage, guerilla operations, and psychological warfare as new mechanisms with which to fight the enemy. His background as a lawyer gave him experience appraising evidence. His political background gave him a sense of how to judge human character. Possibly most importantly, he was well liked and respected by British Prime Minister Winston Churchill and various British military and intelligence leaders as well as important people in the United States government, such as his friend William Franklin "Frank" Knox, publisher and part owner of the *Chicago Daily News* and later Secretary of the Navy. Together, they would be critical in the initial support of an emergent American intelligence capability.[11]

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[10] Thomas F. Troy, *Wild Bill and Intrepid: Donovan, Stephenson, and the Origin of CIA* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 21; Edward T. Dunn, *Buffalo's Delaware Avenue: Mansions and Families* (Canisius College Press, 2003), 157-161.

[11] B. Smith, *Shadow Warriors*, 66-67; First Draft of SI History, anonymous and undated, Folder 8, Box 100, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 8.

As the OSS grew and expanded, solidifying core concepts of intelligence and professionalism into a normative structure within the agency became more important. The OSS' long-term view of itself as *the* American intelligence agency with the goal of continuing after the war required the codification of intelligence work. Arguments concerning the definition of intelligence or professionalism may continue forever, but for this thesis, analysis will primarily focus on how the OSS defined these terms.

Chapters one and two focus on the OSS' struggle to standardize a definition of intelligence and the development of OSS professional characteristics. OSS members believed that creating a standardized definition of intelligence helped achieve more useful results in the field. However, the OSS often conducted its operations and administrative tasks with a dynamic and fluid definition of intelligence in order to satisfy an ever-expanding scope throughout the war. Chapter two deals with how the OSS viewed and developed its professional standards and what characteristics embodied the OSS attempt to legitimize itself for the long-term. Professional attitudes in the OSS changed as its scope expanded; some were relatively slow to develop, while others began from its inception.

Chapters three and four discuss the ever-changing nature of OSS organizational structure and the type of personnel most suited for OSS work. Chapter three analyzes the organizational structure of the OSS and how it helped, or hampered, its professional development as well as how its structure changed as circumstances required. One of the key features of a professional organization is a clear hierarchy and definite lines of authority. The OSS sought to make itself an effective intelligence agency, which necessitated reorganizations as it sought clarity and efficiency through organizational change. Chapter four covers the recruitment and training of OSS personnel. Professional organizations must contain certain barriers of entry and ways to advance its members. The OSS developed its recruitment practices to bring in only the best and brightest. It recruited managers and executives with useful professional experience as well as capable military personnel who could carry out difficult missions.

With job specific training and experience, they became a specialized and expert cadre of personnel who were recognized universally as uniquely skilled.

Chapters five through nine cover OSS nascent professionalism in the field. From North Africa to the end of the war in Italy, OSS operations developed from an initial amateurish improvisation into an espionage service attending to the needs of many different consumers. OSS actions with partisans and its cooperation with various Allied agencies demonstrated a maturation of OSS operational and administrative capabilities. This developing maturation will be analyzed with illustrative examples of operations conducted throughout the central Mediterranean comprising North Africa, Italy, the Italian islands, and Corsica. Viewed through the prism of the agents of the OSS who worked in the central Mediterranean, each chapter will focus on a different geographic area discussing how the OSS matured professionally as evidenced through the operations planned, conducted, and led by officers of the OSS. Their interaction with agents, partisans, and other OSS personnel of various nationalities will emphasize and demonstrate the OSS' overall increased capabilities. The complexity of operations, including planning, support, and administrative capability rose steadily throughout the war as the OSS became more comfortable and experienced in the field.

Chapter ten highlights two particular aspects of the OSS that best epitomized their ascension to a semi-professional state by the end of the war. The development of reliable communications and security within the Mediterranean Theater during the war demonstrated a heightened understanding of the needs of a successful professional organization. While initially slow to develop, the OSS refocused its efforts to create a mutually supportive communication and security apparatus.

OSS operations in North Africa and the central Mediterranean demonstrated a new and uniquely American use of professional small team covert intelligence and sabotage operations. They acquired highly valuable military, political, and other intelligence as well as assisted in military operations. The evolution of the OSS as an intelligence organization, with special focus on resistance

activities, covert operations, and administrative capability, laid the foundations for the emergence of a new era of American foreign intelligence.

Figure 1. Map of Important Locations in the Mediterranean Theater.[12]

[12] "The Mediterranean Basin," http://www.emersonkent.com/images/wwii_mediterranean_region.jpg (Last accessed October 15, 2016), edited by author.

CHAPTER 1: COI AND OSS CHARACTERIZE INTELLIGENCE

> There were no restrictions on the types of information which the Coordinator's secret intelligence service was authorized to collect and did collect.[1]
>
> -OSS Secret Intelligence Branch History

Intelligence Constraints

An anonymous wartime OSS Secret Intelligence Branch history observed, "Trying to fight a war without a secret foreign intelligence service is like trying to fight one without artillery."[2] The United States would never dream of waiting until the outbreak of hostilities to begin the design and manufacture of guns and ammunition or stop their design and manufacture after a war. Yet this is precisely what the United States had done with its espionage capabilities after every conflict until the Second World War. Immediately upon the cessation of hostilities, the United States had historically disbanded the service it had spent time, money, and blood building during the conflict. Creating a complex foreign intelligence service from scratch is even more difficult, especially amid hostilities. The US therefore struggled to improvise a secret foreign intelligence service to fulfill its needs as the Second World War approached. All expertise and organizational prowess had been lost or locked away in departmental basements. This meant that Donovan and his subordinates had very little practical or theoretical knowledge from which to draw upon to build the foundation of his agency.[3]

Americans, both the public and officials in Washington, D.C., generally remained disdainful of secret foreign intelligence activities as the markings of Old World Europe. Many identified spies and espionage with the oppressive labor and union-busting mercenary forces of their recent past like the

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[1] First Draft of SI History, anonymous and undated, Folder 8, Box 100, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 11.

[2] First Draft of SI History, anonymous and undated, Folder 8, Box 100, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1.

[3] B. Smith, *Shadow Warriors*, 10-15; First Draft of SI History, anonymous and undated, Folder 8, Box 100, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 2-3.

private Pinkerton agency. Such attitudes and the distinct lack of prior large-scale intelligence coordination meant that the OSS could not be "organized overnight."[4]

The longest standing indigenous intelligence service, the Secret Service within the Treasury Department, focused on financial crimes, not international intrigue. The Federal Bureau of Investigations (FBI), housed within the Justice Department, focused on domestic criminal investigations.[5] After 1901, the Treasury's focus expanded to include threats to the President of the United States. Most of the FBI's early years involved the enforcement of newly passed laws such as the Mann Act or Prohibition and the investigation of organized crime. As for the military, the army and navy relied on their woefully understaffed attaché program and limited and underfunded signals interception programs to glean information about the military capability of foreign nations.[6]

Within this environment, Donovan's COI, later OSS, would be the first intelligence agency in American history to operate independently of all other government offices with the sole stated purpose of facilitating and centralizing foreign intelligence collection and analysis. Donovan and his subordinates formulated the organizational purpose of his centralized intelligence agency using the philosophical and theoretical scraps of previous American efforts. They drew from a wide array of their own experiences as business professionals and their service during the First World War. More generally, they drew from American experiences in France during the First World War and contemporaneous army and navy intelligence operations, however meager.[7][8]

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[4] Troy, *Donovan and the CIA*, 107.

[5] Rhodri Jeffreys-Jones, *Cloak and Dagger: A History of American Secret Intelligence* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 8-22. See also, Dulles, *Craft of Intelligence*, 27-28.

[6] "According to a study done by students in the G-2 (Intelligence) Course at the Army War College, in January 1938 there were only thirty-two officers assigned as attachés to cover the military affairs of forty-six countries around the world. Of the thirty-two, eight were assistant attachés, and four were assistant attachés for air, whose responsibilities were specifically for the collection of aviation information. This was an increase of one assistant attaché over the April 1936 figures. These numbers remained relatively stable throughout the late 1930's." Kim M. Juntunen, *U.S. Army Attaches and the Spanish Civil War, 1936-1939*: *The Gathering of Technical and Tactical Intelligence* (Master's Thesis in History, Temple University, May 4, 1990), 9.

[7] Army and navy Intelligence included departments such as the Military Intelligence Division (MID) and the Office of Naval Intelligence (ONI).

Despite wars, rumors of wars, and a world-wide depression occurring in the first third of the twentieth century, the US government felt satisfied conducting international relations with a limited supply of foreign intelligence.[9] The relative success and lack of attendant ill-effects of the United States' international relations prior to the Second World War led to a belief in the adequacy of American foreign policy and intelligence capability. Real and perceived successes in the Spanish-American War, the mediation of the Russo-Japanese War, US experiences during and after the First World War, and the internal deterioration of post-Great Depression Europe led to a complacency from officials regarding the necessity of overt foreign intelligence collection, much less clandestine efforts.

There seemed to be three main motivations for this neglect by the United States of "one of the most important weapons of war."[10] First, as mentioned previously, espionage domestically carried the stigma as "immoral, undemocratic and un-American," perhaps best exemplified by Secretary of State Henry L. Stimson's famous line that "gentlemen do not read each other's mail."[11] Second, many Americans believed that the United States' remote location, relative strength, and size nullified the need to maintain a secret intelligence service in peacetime or a highly developed service in time of war. Third, many Americans felt that while a clandestine service might be built up to operate in other countries, there was always a danger that it might be used within the United States to threaten American liberties.[12]

Therefore, "Intelligence," within the American bureaucratic structure, constituted "neither a profession nor a career" in the years prior to Second World War.[13] Creating an intelligence organization in a nation traditionally opposed to intelligence activity in all its forms generated a host of issues for the

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[8] Jeffreys-Jones, *Cloak and Dagger,* 8-22. Dulles, *Craft of Intelligence*, x and 30-35.

[9] Troy, *Donovan and the CIA,* 6.

[10] First Draft of SI History, anonymous and undated, Folder 8, Box 100, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 2.

[11] David Kahn, *The Reader of Gentlemen's Mail : Herbert O. Yardley and the Birth of American Codebreaking* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 101.

[12] First Draft of SI History, anonymous and undated, Folder 8, Box 100, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 2-5.

[13] Troy, *Donovan and the CIA*), 6.

public and private image of the OSS. Even international and hawkish members of the government derided the necessity of covert foreign intelligence. The inter-war attempts of others such as Herbert Yardley and his Black Chamber to continue intelligence efforts developed during the First World War floundered and failed as funding disappeared and government agencies withdrew support. [14]

The United States was in no better position to conduct espionage when the Second World War broke out in Europe in 1939 than it had been at the beginning of previous wars. Congress and the Bureau of the Budget doled out funds for secret intelligence work on only the most parsimonious scale. Meanwhile, the army and navy's limited collection capabilities needed hundreds if not thousands more people and updated equipment. As one OSS writer looking back at the period commented, a "secret service clearly was needed. It was desperately needed."[15] That desperation extended beyond military and naval intelligence into the economic, cultural, political, and psychological intelligence which modern total wars would require. Subversion, sabotage, and guerilla warfare also constituted key intelligence components of America's successful prosecution of total war on a global scale. The OSS would grow to fill this void.

The surprise of the fall of France in 1940 awoke within American leaders a consciousness of the need to seriously revamp American foreign intelligence capabilities. However, not until Pearl Harbor did the reality of the dearth of intelligence capability truly hit home. Jarred from their complacency, President Roosevelt and other intelligence advocates such as Donovan, each with differing visions, took the first steps towards filing a widening gap in American foreign intelligence capability vis-à-vis the world.[16]

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[14] Troy, *Donovan and the CIA*, 107.
[15] First Draft of SI History, anonymous and undated, Folder 8, Box 100, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 3.
[16] B. Smith, *Shadow Warriors*, 10-15.

Forming the COI

Early parallel efforts to establish within the existing Washington bureaucracy clandestine units capable of both intelligence gathering and subversion proved abortive. Despite the increase in funds and desire, sustained resistance of administrative leaders and a reliance on traditional methods of information gathering sank most plans to expand capabilities within the existing government framework. General Sherman Miles, Army G-2 (Assistant Chief of Staff, Intelligence), argued in 1940 against subversive activities falling under the purview of the army, navy, or State Department as none of these organizations had the capability to run quality operations.[17] New intelligence needs required a new organization, centered solely on clandestine and subversive work. The government needed new rules, operating procedures, and administrative and professional paths to accommodate such an organization.[18]

Early attempts at American clandestine intelligence gathering at the beginning of the war revealed a particularly amateurish bent. President Roosevelt showed his frustration at the current state of American intelligence capabilities after a cabinet meeting wherein the three traditional US intelligence agencies (excluding the Secret Service) – FBI, Army Military Intelligence Division (MID), Navy Office of Naval Intelligence (ONI) – could not agree to a course of action regarding intelligence activities. Roosevelt wanted an intelligence coordinator operating on the national level that mimicked what he had established in New York with Vincent Astor, an old friend and supporter of Roosevelt as well as one of the wealthiest Americans. At Roosevelt's behest, Astor led a one-man intelligence operation in New York as a captain in the navy. He used his contacts in the FBI and with the head of British intelligence in New York, Sir Francis Paget, to feed Roosevelt informal intelligence reports.[19]

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[17] General Sherman Miles headed the Military Intelligence Division (MID) from early 1941 until the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. Bearing some of the internal opprobrium over the intelligence failure, General Miles was reassigned to lead the First Service Corps in Boston where he served until the end of the war.

[18] Troy, *Donovan and the CIA*, 46-47.

[19] Troy, *Donovan and the CIA*, 48, 91.

Despite the untrained and amateur nature of Astor's work in New York and its questionable value, Roosevelt liked the idea of a national level intelligence clearing house with a single director coordinating and directing operations with a direct link to himself. He also realized that the United States required a more stable and even professional organization to sort through the vastness of US intelligence needs. No number of handshake agreements or working committees could provide sufficient and reliable intelligence gathering and analysis for national needs.[20]

In the winter of 1935, Donovan had toured the Italian front in Ethiopia after first meeting with Mussolini in Rome. He spoke with Italian General Pietro Badoglio, then commander-in-chief of the Italian Army, as well as various commanders while recording data and observations on the condition of the Italian army, military strategy, and foreign policy. On his return trip, he stopped in to visit the Italian Commissioner of the Province in Benghazi, Libya, as well as speak with Italian General Italo Balbo in Tripoli. He met again with Mussolini then stopped in briefly to report to American Ambassador Hugh Wilson in Berlin before returning to Washington. Donovan's Mediterranean trip not only piqued his interest in the region, but also set the pattern for his subsequent fact-finding trips in the late 1930s. Donovan, taking an interest in conflicts emerging around the world and the rising tension in Europe, suggested a number of intelligence collection trips to the War Department. Readily agreeing, the War Department permitted Donovan to make several trips in 1937, 1938, and 1939 leading into his more official 1940-1941 trips to ascertain the military capabilities of European powers.[21]

Answering a new summons from the president, Donovan toured Britain throughout July 1940 to assess Britain's capability and willpower to resist Germany and her Axis allies. Roosevelt had received pessimistic reports emanating from the Ambassador to Britain, Joseph Kennedy, who thought poorly of Britain's chances of success in the war and urged Roosevelt to broker a peace. Donovan, convinced otherwise, conducted a sweeping VIP tour, meeting many of the most important leaders of the British

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[20] Troy, *Donovan and the CIA*, 48, 91; Troy, *Wild Bill and Intrepid*, 105-106.
[21] Troy, *Donovan and the CIA*, 28-39; Troy, *Wild Bill and Intrepid*, 31-93.

government, military, and even industry. Donovan, never one to let a good opportunity go to waste, took the time to also delve into British clandestine operations with an eye to building his comparative American operational intelligence service. Upon his return, he detailed to President Roosevelt his conviction that Britain would fight to the last man but would need help if it were to win.[22]

With the blessing of President Roosevelt along with British moral and logistical support, Donovan got to work building the foundation of his intelligence agency in mid-1940. [23] The growing European conflagration in Europe increasingly threatened to engulf the United States with each passing day. Many in Washington began to note the dearth of American foreign intelligence capability. Despite rising recognition by officials of the need to increase intelligence collection, Donovan encountered resistance from a plethora of intelligence newcomers attempting to carve out areas of responsibility before someone else stepped in to challenge them. [24]

After reporting back to the president, he made a second whirlwind tour during December 1940 through not only Britain, but also North Africa, the Middle East, and Greece before returning to the United States. While on this trip, Donovan once again asked pointed questions of prominent British officials on the operating procedures of the British secret services in the various theaters of war.[25] His trip confirmed his suspicions that America needed a professional intelligence organization which could operate outside the bounds of typical government diplomacy.

Throughout 1941 and 1942, Donovan leaned heavily on the existent British intelligence services for assistance in the United States and London. Colonel Charles H. Ellis, a Stephenson aide and "intelligence professional," rendered substantial assistance to Donovan. Ellis, a career intelligence

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[22] Troy, *Donovan and the CIA*, 36-38; B. Smith, *Shadow Warriors*, 15-25.

[23] Initial British support came primarily in the form of the "quiet Canadian" William S. Stephenson, perhaps better known by his nom de guerre, Intrepid. Stephenson directed British intelligence in the United States during the Second World War. He cultivated Donovan as a sympathetic American interventionist who could help the British frustrate the Axis and help bring America into the war. He also provided Donovan with a great deal of theoretical and administrative materials as well as trainers and training grounds for OSS agents. Thomas F. Troy, *Wild Bill and Intrepid: Donovan, Stephenson, and the Origin of CIA* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 5.

[24] Troy, *Donovan and the CIA*, 46-47.

[25] Troy, *Donovan and the CIA*, 36-38.

officer, served as member of the British Secret Intelligence Service (SIS).[26] He forwarded many different reports and documents related to the establishment and running of an intelligence organization.[27] Not surprisingly, much of the early professional attitude of the OSS can be traced to the habits and experience of British intelligence officers. This is not to say that the OSS copied every aspect of British intelligence as constant friction between the Allied intelligence services throughout the war would attest. Yet even the concept of a career intelligence officer owed much to British intelligence traditions, experience, and history. The size, scope, and effectiveness of Stephenson's activities in America demonstrate the more professional nature of his intelligence organization within the United States.

How the OSS defined intelligence determined its relationship with other agencies that collected intelligence as well as set the standard for its own collection operations. A unique OSS definition of intelligence factored into OSS professional considerations and ideas of collection, analysis, and operations. The scope of the definition adopted by the OSS determined the reach of the organization and fostered Donovan's overall vision for the agency. If the OSS selected a narrow definition, other rival entities, such as the FBI, may have appropriated certain intelligence functions. The OSS's adoption of an almost unlimited view of intelligence opened them up to mission creep and charges of "empire building." OSS members were well aware during the war of the stigma associated with "empire building," or taking control of other departments' responsibilities. For instance, an OSS officer discussing the possibility of consolidating African-focused OSS SI Branch activities in Cairo specifically noted that his suggestion did not constitute "empire building" but one that would add to the general

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[26] The British Secret Intelligence Service (SIS), commonly known as MI6, represents the oldest continuously surviving foreign intelligence-gathering organization in the world. Founded in October 1909 as the "Foreign Section" of a new Secret Service Bureau, it grew into a valued part of the British government. Prior to the 1950s, though the SIS supervised signals intelligence operations, such as Bletchley Park during the Second World War, it functioned primarily as a human intelligence agency. The agency had much in common with the OSS due in large part to its initial influence in providing training as well as recruitment materials to the fledgling COI/OSS. A rivalry developed between the SIS and OSS during the war which often required the intervention of political and military leaders. See Keith Jeffery, *MI6: The History of the Secret Intelligence Service, 1909-1949*, (New York: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2011), ix-xii, 449-453.

[27] Troy, *Donovan and the CIA*, 82.

efficiency of operations.[28] Agents and officers always guarded against the label. Finding the correct balance created its own issues for Donovan and his agency.

In order to build a stable foundation, Donovan and his officers set to work creating a theoretical and practical edifice for the agency. First on the list, outside of acquiring highly skilled talent, was to create the framework or organizational scope of the new agency. Doing so would assist in the creation of the agendas of the various operations, activities, research, and other duties which the agency would oversee. Defining the scope of their operational reach would also form the backbone for their professional development. A standardized practical definition of intelligence would allow the OSS to build training programs, create recruitment procedures, and add other accouterments of professional identity to the agency. Donovan wanted to expand into as many aspects of intelligence collection as he could and to do so, he needed a pliant definition of intelligence and a flexible professional organization.

The perceived need for the organization of American intelligence eased the decision for the president and armed forces to entrust the task of gathering secret intelligence to Donovan. Of course, even the entrusting of secret intelligence to Donovan was kept secret outside of Washington, D.C. President Roosevelt's directive of July 11, 1941, formally establishing the Coordinator of Information (COI), contained only a vague and "guileless-sounding authorization" alluding to the secret foreign intelligence activities of COI.[29] The directive ordered the COI to "to carry out, when requested by the president, such supplementary activities as may facilitate the securing of information important for national security not now available in the Government."[30] Roosevelt made it very clear, however, in

[28] "Theater Officer Pouch Material," July 7, 1944, Folder 2, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 2.

[29] First Draft of SI History, anonymous and undated, Folder 8, Box 100, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 7.

[30] Document 1, Presidential Order establishing a Coordinator of Information (COI) on July 11, 1941. "From COI to CIG: Historical Intelligence Documents," https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/kent-csi/vol37no3/pdf/v37i3a10p.pdf (Last accessed October 19, 2016).

follow up oral instructions to Donovan, that he was to set up and direct a secret intelligence service abroad, not domestically.[31]

The various recommendations and directives became formally effective in September 1941. Together they constituted the charter for the undercover operations of the Coordinator of Information. The new charter authorizing the activities of the COI met with approval from General George C. Marshall, Chief of Staff of the Army; Admiral Ernest J. King, Chief of Naval Operations; and Secretaries of War and Navy Henry Lewis Stimson and Frank Knox, respectively. Donovan had a daunting task before him. He now had to create a new secret service with only a handful of available agents with limited experience, on short notice, and with war raging around him. The COI had little to no tradition or doctrine with which to build itself. The fact the COI had the opportunity to metamorphose into the OSS and then gave a good account of itself throughout the war stands as testament to the quality of the people within the OSS and Donovan's fortitude, vision, and boundless energy.[32]

The COI now officially established, the army and navy fell in line by handing over their limited undercover human intelligence efforts. Led by General Miles, they believed it more advantageous that the two services consolidate undercover work under the COI. This willing hand-over of intelligence responsibilities did not extend to any other facet of their intelligence collection. The army and navy held on to their top-secret signals decryption operation "Magic" which regularly broke Japanese codes and was known to only a very select handful of people in Washington. Even Donovan remained outside the loop of "Magic" intercepts. Miles understood that having three heads attempt to lead undercover work or direct activities would only hamper operations. A civilian agency also had several administrative advantages over the military due to the relative agility with which it could act. The armed forces did retain their prerogative to "have full power to organize and operate" any intelligence activities in

[31] First Draft of SI History, anonymous and undated, Folder 8, Box 100, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 8.
[32] First Draft of SI History, anonymous and undated, Folder 8, Box 100, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 9.

theaters of war as they saw necessary.[33] This language would play a key role in the OSS and military's often ambivalent relationship.

Despite the hostile intelligence environment among officials in Washington, many governmental departments quickly activated their own limited intelligence collection operations. A sudden influx of government funds, like rain to weeds, set off a flurry of bureaucratic expansion within Washington, D.C. Departments and agencies added new geographic desks or filled positions long-empty and sought to expand their responsibilities through an increase in information collection. A slew of acronyms grew in the new fertile wartime ground: OCIAA, FEA, NWLB, PADDs, OWI, and many others.[34] Donovan, as the newcomer, would need to fight off these interlopers in order to establish his agency as the sole legitimate intelligence clearing house. Doing so would assist his efforts to bring the best and brightest aboard in the service of their country. The difficulty of Donovan's tasks and the resistance he faced resembled, at times, the herding of cats. [35]

Resistance to the New Agency

By the end of 1941, the FBI, Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs (OCIAA), Board of Economic Warfare, and no fewer than seven divisions in the State Department were the largest non-military intelligence collectors. By the start of 1942, the army, navy, State Department, FBI, Secret Service, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Customs Service, and Treasury Department all had new or expanding offices for foreign intelligence. The COI was tasked with synthesizing and disseminating the intelligence acquired from these agencies.[36] While Donovan penned his memos arguing for the centrality of his agency to the intelligence effort, an intelligence triumvirate of FBI Director J. Edgar

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[33] First Draft of SI History, anonymous and undated, Folder 8, Box 100, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 9.

[34] Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, Foreign Economic Administration, National War Labor Board, Petroleum Administration for Defense Districts, United States Office of War Information

[35] Troy, *Donovan and the CIA*, 107.

[36] George C. Chalou, *The Secrets War: The Office of Strategic Services in World War II* (Washington, DC: National Archives and Records Administration, 1992), 80.

Hoover, aforementioned Army G-2 (Intelligence) Brigadier General Sherman Miles, and Captain Alan Kirk of the Navy collaborated on a series of detailed memoranda in the spring of 1941. In these missives, they declared that the established, and therefore in their eyes functional, state of their intelligence cooperation required no further centralizing action.[37]

They believed their cooperation made Donovan's centralization efforts superfluous and counter-productive. For them, the FBI, army, and navy contained all the needed apparatus to provide each other and the United States with adequate intelligence. In addition, they argued these efforts were already established within existing arms of government. Typical of government infighting and turf wars, they decried any efforts to reduce the scope of their control or expand their own operations outside of perceived departmental necessities or budgetary restraints. Throughout Donovan's tenure, the FBI, army, and navy continued to actively hamper or, at best, begrudgingly cooperate with Donovan's efforts to establish the OSS as the director of centralized intelligence apparatus of the United States.

Hoover vehemently defended his agency's turf and its prerogatives in the Western Hemisphere. President Roosevelt, fearing a bureaucratic civil-war beyond his mediation efforts, declared the FBI responsible for espionage and counter-espionage domestically and in the Americas. Hoover already had begun expressing an increased desire to engage in further foreign operations. He proved a staunch critic and rival of Donovan's as both agencies expanded to fill wartime needs. Further damping Donovan's efforts in the Western Hemisphere, President Roosevelt had also granted the CIAA exclusive rights to undercover intelligence collection in Latin America. Despite Donovan's protestations, the COI and later OSS would not be allowed to operate anywhere in the Western Hemisphere.[38] Hoover, Miles, and Kirk rushed to fend off any attempt to centralize or direct their respective but rather limited intelligence activities.

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[37] Folder 31Q11, 3-1-41 thru 5-31-41 (4-2-35), Army Intelligence Decimal File, 1941-1948, RG 319, Records of the Army Staff, National Archives, Washington, D.C.; Folder 1, Non-COI: 1940-1941, Troy Papers, RG 263.

[38] First Draft of SI History, anonymous and undated, Folder 8, Box 100, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 10.

Their fears over Donovan's plans reached a boiling point on April 8, 1941. Miles wrote indignantly to General George C. Marshall, Army Chief of Staff, that a confidant in ONI had tipped Miles to a "Donovan plot" to establish a "super agency controlling all intelligence." This agency would "collect, collate, and possibly even evaluate all military intelligence which we now gather from foreign countries."[39] To Miles, such an outcome would be nothing less than calamitous. The army feared, erroneously, complete OSS incorporation of their tactical military intelligence function. The broad scope of Donovan's agency and his all-encompassing intelligence definition did not sit well with COI rivals and critics.

Many, including Hoover and Miles, argued that COI should be limited to only collecting certain highly specialized categories of information. In this way, the COI would be prevented from expanding into every area of intelligence collection. These critics celebrated victory, or so they thought, when the COI was reconstituted as the Office of Strategic Services on December 23, 1942, and made a subordinate agency of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS). However, Donovan and the OSS would take advantage of their new legitimacy under the JCS to enlarge and expand operations. The wording of the JCS directive which officially organized the OSS stated that the "intelligence functions of the OSS are restricted to those necessary for the planning and execution of the military program for psychological warfare, … and such other data and visual presentation as may be requested."[40] The same wording was repeated and reinforced in a JCS directive of April 4, 1943.[41]

At first glance, the JCS wording appears to drastically curtail the operations of the newly minted OSS; however, as the OSS saw it, the language actually conferred on the OSS a broad spectrum of authority which they wasted no time in exploiting. The OSS would focus more on propaganda and subversive warfare rather than creating a direct replacement for army tactical intelligence capabilities.

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[39] Miles to Marshall, 8 April 1941, Folder 31Q11, 3-1-41 thru 5-31-41 (4-2-35), Army Intelligence Decimal File, 1941-1948, RG 319, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

[40] JCS 155/4/D

[41] JCS 155/7/D

The placement of the OSS under the JCS in June 1942 as well as JCS directives outlining the purpose and scope of the OSS went some way to alleviating army fears of an intelligence takeover.

OSS Scope Defined

JCS directives regarding the OSS defined the "military program for psychological warfare" as meaning propaganda, economic warfare, sabotage, espionage, counter-espionage, contact with underground resistance in enemy territory, guerilla warfare, and contact with foreigners residing in the United States.[42] The OSS used the direct authority granted by the JCS directives to collect intelligence in support of this military program to drastically expand its operational reach. Just in case the OSS still felt restricted, OSS theorists argued that preparing intelligence digests, other data, and visual presentations for the JCS involved the obtaining of "all conceivable categories of data." [43] This was exactly what Donovan wanted and what the OSS practiced.

Later grants of authority by the JCS tended to eschew all formal restrictions, allowing the OSS freer reign over the methods and means of intelligence collection. The Directive of October 27, 1943, placed no restrictions upon the types of information the OSS could officially collect. Outside of the forbidden Western Hemisphere, the OSS could "collect secret intelligence…by means of espionage and counter-espionage, and evaluate and disseminate such intelligence to authorized agencies."[44] Fueled by requests from the military and various civilian agencies of the government, the OSS collected foreign data of every type and description. The OSS collected classical forms of military and naval intelligence at the behest of the armed services alongside covert political, economic, psychological, and other intelligence obtained from agents working behind enemy lines, often with resistance groups.

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[42] Directives and General Orders of the OSS establishing the orders of the agency can be found mentioned throughout OSS documents e.g. Folder 489, Box 48, Entry 110, RG226, NARA-CP; First Draft of SI History, anonymous and undated, Folder 8, Box 100, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 12.

[43] First Draft of SI History, anonymous and undated, Folder 8, Box 100, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 12.

[44] JCS 155/11/D

The most thorough description of the type of information collected by the OSS can be found in Memorandum (No. 4) dated January 1943, entitled "Types of Special intelligence Required for Psychological Warfare." The Psychological Warfare Staff (PWS), one of several committees overseeing OSS activities, submitted the memo to the Planning Group which oversaw the approval of all OSS plans and actions generally. Several pages outlined line by line all the various facets of intelligence which the OSS sought to collect including such information as local rumors, black markets, and the attitudes of foreign peoples towards the war. To best collect such information, the OSS formulated a variety of new methodologies such as sea-borne and air-borne infiltration, use of neutral territories, and integration with active Allied military fronts.[45]

First, though, the OSS would need financial and governmental support to develop the vast administrative force necessary to run complex overseas intelligence operations. To develop that support, early members of the OSS such as Dr. William L. Langer, David Bruce, Colonel Gonzalo Edward "Ned" Buxton Jr., their assistants, and many others, laid the internal groundwork for the organizational scope of the agency.[46] During 1943, the OSS rapidly matured internally, beginning with the more explicit outlining of intelligence priorities in the PWS memo. An unnamed OSS staff officer writing during the same period in 1943 commented that in his view, intelligence concerned the gathering of "the most accurate information possible, in the greatest amount possible, and to transmit this information at the

[45] First Draft of SI History, anonymous and undated, Folder 8, Box 100, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 24-25.

[46] Dr. Langer, former Coolidge Professor of History at Harvard, later headed the Research & Analysis Branch throughout the war and became one of the most prominent members of the COI/OSS. David Bruce, who would later head the OSS' European Operations out of London was married to Ailsa Mellon, who for a time was the wealthiest woman in the world. Colonel Buxton was Donovan's right hand man through most of the war as assistant director and famously was Sergeant York's commanding officer in the First World War. Men and women often worked alongside each other at administrative posts throughout the world and especially in Washington, D.C. However, no women are mentioned within the back-and-forth of documents setting out the organizational hierarchy and scope of the new agency. More research needs to be undertaken to better understand the role women played in supporting and defining the OSS as an agency.

maximum speed." Intelligence, and the agent who collected it, were justified only if they successfully provided "instant, ample, accurate military information." [47]

Donovan and his branch chiefs pushed for accurate and substantiated intelligence as a requirement to weed out unsubstantiated rumors and hearsay as sources of intelligence. The initial inundation of the OSS with poor quality intelligence from questionable sources in the days prior to 1943 most likely prompted the additional emphasis on complete and accurate information. The development of practical definitions of intelligence gave legitimacy to the OSS desire to prolong its existence well beyond the end of the war. It also served to protect the expanding agency from the chaos that could develop as new intelligence networks were built in the midst of the war and shifting military fronts. The professional evolution of the OSS received an extra push from the intelligence requirements necessary to fulfill the agency's varied tasks.

OSS and State Department Relations

The sometimes rocky relationship between State and the OSS created difficulties for Donovan's plans to use diplomatic cover stories for agents infiltrating neutral countries such as Sweden and Spain. Donovan needed State support if the OSS wanted to grow their operations outside of purely military concerns. Straddling the line between military and civilian consumers became one of the OSS' most complex achievements.[48] The OSS made developmental progress despite early setbacks and continued to develop internally throughout 1942 and 1943. However, the issue of proper "cover" for agents remained unresolved. Donovan's Executive Officer Major Otto C. Doering spoke with Donovan on the matter and suggested raising it with "the highest echelon."[49]

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[47] "Field Report," anonymous, written after April 1944, Folder 6, Box 16, Entry 92, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1-3.

[48] Donovan to Sec. of State Stettinius, December 20, 1944, Folder 1, Box 3, Entry 4, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1-3.

[49] Major Doering to General Donovan, "Development of OSS Activities in North Africa," October 27, 1943, Folder 3, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP; General William J. Donovan, Selected OSS Documents 1941-1945, Microfilm Roll List and Index, Entry 180, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1.

The OSS wanted to prevent difficulties in the future with securing believable and useful cover stories. The Research & Analysis (R&A) Branch particularly stood out due to the poor cover stories provided to their overseas agents. Doering suggested creating a separate service within OSS to strictly handle the issue of agent cover. Though the OSS never did create a separate "cover" creating entity, instead absorbing those duties with the personnel department, Donovan did take up the issue with the various civilian government agencies to enlist their assistance and cooperation, which he received.[50]

Relations with the State Department improved in fits and spurts as the war progressed, sometimes genial, often antagonistic. On one occasion, a State Department vice consul and OSS agent teamed up in the production of reports back to the State Department. The vice consul used considerable amounts of OSS material provided by the agent in filing his report, which met with high praise from State officials. The younger age of the State official proved the decisive difference in this particular relationship. After an initial period of conflict, the production of quality reports in conjunction with OSS intelligence collection gathered some steam. A few of the State personnel involved in the collaborations even noted their desire to continue the working relationship with the OSS after the war.[51]

To help maintain good relations with State, Donovan specifically requested that E. Wilder Spaulding from State act as their liaison in the committee meetings in a letter to Secretary of State Cordell Hull just after Christmas 1941. The request stemmed from Spaulding's previous participation during an informal committee meeting headed by Dr. Langer, COI's Director of Research and attended by Donovan. Donovan received swift agreement from Hull on the matter, one of the few times the two men agreed without issue.[52] Other times, Hull and Donovan faced each other down like seasoned boxers. Any objection State had to OSS activities first had to account for the directives laid out by the

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[50] Major Doering to General Donovan, "Development of OSS Activities in North Africa," October 27, 1943, Folder 3, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP; General William J. Donovan, Selected OSS Documents 1941-1945, Microfilm Roll List and Index, Entry 180, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1.

[51] "Theater Officer Pouch Review," August 3, 1944, Folder 2, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 2.

[52] Donovan to Sec. of State Hull, December 26, 1941, Folder 1, Box 13, Entry 7, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1-2.

JCS chaired by Admiral William D. Leahy. Donovan felt it necessary to remind Hull of the intelligence responsibilities and the authority under which those responsibilities were given.[53][54]

He had to remind Secretary Hull in 1944 that JCS Directive 155/11/D dated October 27, 1943, set forth OSS intelligence responsibilities which included, but were not limited to, secret intelligence activities by means of espionage and counter-espionage. More specifically, the OSS must accumulate, evaluate, and analyze political, psychological, sociological, economic, topographic, and military information. The OSS provided this information to the State Department over the course of the war in over eleven thousand intelligence reports, approximately five hundred research and analysis reports, one hundred and eighty five counter-intelligence reports, and roughly seven hundred other reports concerning foreign nationality groups or individuals within the United States. [55]

Donovan fully displayed his skills as a lawyer in making his case to Hull. His OSS could obtain information through clandestine methods not otherwise available to diplomatic officials. OSS actions relieved diplomatic officials of responsibility for intelligence activities which, if discovered, might "embarrass them" or the United States. With an eye to the post-war world, Donovan reminded Hull that the OSS could provide State's chiefs of mission and other officers with up-to-date analysis of political and economic situations. The OSS could also make available personnel trained in counter-espionage activities to assist with consular security.[56]

Donovan then got to the crux of the matter and the real reason for his need for State cooperation. The OSS depended upon the continued assistance of the Department of State to perform

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[53] The Military Order of the Commander in Chief dated June 12, 1942, later amended by Presidential Executive Order of March 9, 1943, established the OSS as an operating agency of the government under direction and supervision of the JCS.

[54] Donovan to Sec. of State Stettinius, December 20, 1944, Folder 1, Box 3, Entry 4, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1-3.

[55] Donovan to Sec. of State Stettinius, December 20, 1944, Folder 1, Box 3, Entry 4, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1-3.; OSS Report, "Statement to the Bureau of the Budget," October 18, 1944, Folder 3, Box 3, Entry 1, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1-3.

[56] Donovan to Sec. of State Stettinius, December 20, 1944, Folder 1, Box 3, Entry 4, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1-3.; OSS Report, "Statement to the Bureau of the Budget," October 18, 1944, Folder 3, Box 3, Entry 1, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1-3.

any of the above services. The OSS required the use of the Department's communication facilities, both cables and diplomatic pouches and the attachment of personnel to the diplomatic or consular services for cover purposes. While State had previously granted occasional assistance to the OSS, the continued effective operation and growth of the agency necessitated a close relationship with State. Rather than deal with each individual embassy or consular official who refused to work with the OSS, Donovan discussed later with new Secretary of State Edward Stettinius Jr. an opportunity to clarify for all officials the rules of the relationship.[57]

During the war, OSS attempts at intelligence gathering in the European and Mediterranean Theaters of Operation (ETO and MEDTO) also met fierce resistance from established intelligence entities in State, army, and navy. In November 1942, the army prepared to transmit intelligence cables to the Board of Economic Warfare (BEW) from Bern, Switzerland. The intelligence touched on Axis railroads, planes, naval construction, oil, tanks, air-raid damage, and machine tools. Considered lengthy at four to five pages each, the State Department paraphrased them and created copies but only supplied them to the army, navy, and BEW. The army specifically requested that cables of this type be withheld from the OSS entirely. The army went so far as to remove the cables from their folders the day after their creation thus preventing the OSS representative in Bern from paraphrasing them himself. Further, the army representative removed another dozen such cables from the storage folders and arranged to have them also withheld from inspection by the OSS representative. Langer immediately escalated the issue to Donovan who took it up with State and army representatives. Thereafter, the OSS received the copies of the paraphrased reports.[58]

Oddly enough, given the State Department's historic distaste for covert intelligence work, some OSS administrators received inspiration from the State Department. Langer received an informal draft

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[57] Donovan to Sec. of State Stettinius, December 20, 1944, Folder 1, Box 3, Entry 4, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1-3.

[58] Cables from Bern, "Germany: Railroads, planes, etc.," November 20, 1942, Folder 1, Box, 1, Entry 5, RG 226, NARA-CP.

of a State Department plan to create a foreign intelligence service within the State Department. The report outlined the roles and organizational structure of a proposed Office of Foreign Intelligence within the State Department and defined intelligence broadly as the "entire process of acquiring and correlating facts upon which policy decisions can be based." The process included the collection of detailed information and the "correlation, analysis, review, and presentation of facts" in subsequent summary reports. It defined "information" as that which is collected prior to any evaluation and correlation. While the State Department remained unlikely to act upon such a recommendation, Langer and the OSS used such external reports to inform their thoughts on purpose and organizational structure. [59]

Many differences existed in how the State Department and the OSS viewed their roles with regards to intelligence analysis and distribution. If SI merely duplicated State work, it would serve no purpose as a separate entity, only becoming a second diplomatic mission. SI determined to pick up where the diplomatic missions could not continue. Its field was "precisely that into which official representatives of our Government cannot go without risk of embarrassing and compromising their mission." This differentiated SI from other State intelligence collection and gave it a unique and distinct intelligence assignment.[60] OSS SI Branch training schools forbade the use of Chapter VI of the Foreign Service Regulations from the State Department. They wanted to stay away from State-like reports and any attempts to formulate policy as part of intelligence collection. Regulations stated that SI maintained no permanent policy on "any point or question in connection with the relations between our Government and neutral or friendly powers" with respect to the internal affairs of those nations. [61]

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[59] L.M.R to William L. Langer, "Creation of an Office of Foreign Intelligence," 30 September 1944, Folder 24, Box 2, Entry 1, R[ecord] G[roup] 226, US National Archives and Records Administration at College Park, MD [hereafter NARA-CP], 1-3.

[60] Ferdinand L. Mayer to Mr. James O. Murdock, "Instructions on Political Reporting," July 4, 1944, Folder 8, Box 17, Entry 92, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1-3.

[61] Ferdinand L. Mayer to Mr. James O. Murdock, "Instructions on Political Reporting," July 4, 1944, Folder 8, Box 17, Entry 92, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1-3.

The OSS succeeded in securing only a begrudging intelligence cooperation between the State Department, War, navy, FBI, and other newly formed wartime agencies in the gathering, exchanging, and evaluating of intelligence. Donovan quickly realized that each department and agency would continue to jealously guard their own intelligence prerogatives. He had originally conceived of the OSS as a centralizing force in intelligence, but in the face of continued resistance, he instead focused on expanding the reach of the OSS and proving through action the necessity of his agency's continued existence. The OSS would spend a great deal of time and effort attempting to establish itself as the legitimate foreign intelligence service of the United States. Those within the OSS sought to create a definition of intelligence that would set the OSS apart from other intelligence collection efforts and substantiate the uniqueness of OSS capabilities.[62]

COI/OSS Defines Intelligence

To facilitate the proper functioning of the OSS, Donovan and his subordinates had to pin down just what types of information agents would collect, by what methods, and in what parts of the world. An OSS definition of intelligence would assist his agency in answering these questions. Most intelligence scholars and practitioners have accepted the inherent difficulty in satisfactorily defining the term "intelligence," and the OSS was no different.[63] "Intelligence" often meant different things to different people at different times, including within the Office of Strategic Services as their own understanding of the term shifted based on the real and expected needs of consumers. They continuously redefined intelligence to fit their purpose or particular scenario, using their own experiences, whether in the field or through their research, to define intelligence along perceived practical lines. In other words, the OSS

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[62] Rudgers, *Creating the Secret State*, 67-68; Magruder to Lovett, 26 October 1945, ASW 004.7, "WD Intelligence Study – 1945," Office of the Assistant Secretary of War, Classified Decimal File, 1940-1947, RG 107, NARA-CP.

[63] See Michael Warner, *Central Intelligence Origin and Evolution: U.S. Intelligence Community Reform Studies Since 1947* (Washington, DC: Center for the Study of Intelligence, Central Intelligence Agency, 2001), discussion is found in "Introduction."

used a firsthand or fit-for-purpose definition of intelligence as the agency developed. When a consumer needed tactical military information, intelligence meant order of battle or troop identification. If a different consumer needed diplomatic information concerning intrigue, fascist operations, or trade capabilities, these items became intelligence.[64] Less narrow OSS definitions typically contained vague proposals of intelligence as simply "all information gathered" prior to making policy decisions.[65] These definitions often lacked substantive or quantitative limits on intelligence, essentially defining all human knowledge as "intelligence." Such definitions lost practicality, especially for those looking to utilize the term "intelligence" as part of a framework for argumentation.

The matter of *what* exactly constituted intelligence remained unsatisfactorily resolved within the OSS. The scope of COI, then OSS, intelligence activities continued to widen with analysis, collection, covert action, and counterintelligence serving as avenues for expansion. While more complex, the initial issue regarding what to collect to initiate proper intelligence gathering remained mired among R&A theorists in vague conceptions of foreign information and national security. Similar problems remain as of this writing as the increasingly controversial National Security Agency clings to a definition of intelligence as the collection of foreign communications and information systems for senior civilian and military leaders.[66] Their recently revealed mass collection of information on domestic targets would seem to belie their own working definition. These same issues affected the OSS definitions of intelligence and partly explain the wide breadth of activities undertaken in the OSS as well as the lack of a well-defined scope behind some early operations. In other words, the OSS collected all foreign

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[64] C. Martin Wood, Jr., to Commanding Officer, 2677th Regiment OSS (Provisional), "Operations Report for the Period 5 December 1944 – 5 March 1944," February 28, 1945, Folder 8, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 6-8.

[65] Michael Warner, "Wanted: A Definition of "Intelligence": Understanding Our Craft," *Studies in Intelligence* vol. 46 no. 3 (2008), https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/csi-publications/csi-studies/studies/vol46no3/article02.html; Lyman B. Kirkpatrick, Jr., "Intelligence," in Bruce W. Jentelson and Thomas G. Paterson, eds. *Encyclopedia of US Foreign Relations*, Volume 2 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 365; R. A. Random, "Intelligence as a Science," *Studies in Intelligence* (Spring 1958): 76. Declassified.

[66] "SIGINT Frequently Asked Questions," National Security Agency, accessed July 25, 2014, http://www.nsa.gov/sigint/faqs.shtml

information it could obtain and counted it and any analysis of that information as intelligence which they often disseminated among different parties.

Confusion surrounding the meaning of intelligence did not surprise the oft called "father of intelligence analysis," Yale history professor and OSS R&A officer, Sherman Kent.[67] Kent had joined Donovan in the early days of COI as part of the Division of Special Information housed in the Library of Congress and headed by Langer. Some previous confusion within the OSS hinged on the word intelligence itself, which many understood as both what intelligence agents *do* and what they *produce*. Kent defined intelligence as the "knowledge which our highly placed civilians and military men must have to safeguard the national welfare."[68] Intelligence encompassed both a "process and an end-product."[69] Simplistically, decision makers used intelligence to make better decisions. By subsuming both the process and product under the umbrella definition for intelligence, Kent focused on the informational *and* utility aspect of intelligence. Such a definition placed few if any limits on collection, just the way the Donovan wanted it.

Kent also argued, in line with his contemporaries during and after the war, that intelligence supported the national security apparatus (however constituted). However, that focus on what people in power – the intelligence consumers – required failed to specify the information needed to make decisions. It is another matter entirely to prioritize the importance of various collected information from its actual collection. For an intelligence agency, or officer, looking for direction, vague definitions of intelligence had wide ranging effects.[70]

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[67] "A Look Back ... Sherman Kent: The Father of Intelligence." Central Intelligence Agency. April 30, 2013. Accessed August 10, 2015, https://www.cia.gov/news-information/featured-story-archive/2010-featured-story-archive/sherman-kent-the-father-of-intelligence.html

[68] Sherman Kent, *Strategic Intelligence for American Foreign Policy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1949), vii.

[69] Sherman Kent, "Prospects for the National Intelligence Service," Yale Review 36, (Autumn 1946): 117.

[70] Kent, *Strategic Intelligence*, 193-206.

The OSS ran into issues determining standard operating procedures and priorities for agents, station chiefs, and the agency as a whole due to a fluctuating definition of intelligence. These issues led to constant field reorganizations and shifting priorities which played havoc with research and operational assignments. Kent goes into much greater depth about the nature of intelligence gathering and its utility, but to have such a broad working definition of intelligence ultimately led to an initial intelligence overreach and inefficiency. Inefficiency dogged the OSS throughout its existence due in part to the indefatigable nature of Donovan and his attempts to do everything and also please his first and most important intelligence consumer, the mercurial President Roosevelt. The original JCS charter conferring "conspicuously broad authority on [the] OSS" exacerbated the problem.[71]

Major Joseph H. Rosenbaum, assistant to Louis Ream, Donovan's appointee to deal with the Bureau of the Budget, worked on high-level White House lobbying on behalf of the OSS. He returned to his desk one day to find an anonymous long treatise waiting for him entitled "The Basis for a Permanent World-Wide Intelligence Service." Rosenbaum probably received the anonymous report due to his work in the White House and his efforts jockeying for OSS legitimacy among the various government departments. The author of the report had conducted a rigorous study of the necessary facets of an intelligence agency, including definitions and scope. Donovan's own desire to formulate a long-term plan for the OSS was no secret in Washington as anyone who had met him knew he had an eye to the post-war world. The author of the report no doubt wanted to influence Donovan's ideas and probably figured that Donovan and his men would be the most receptive to his ideas, despite his anonymity. Surprisingly, the report most likely originated from the State Department that had periodically toyed

[71] First Draft of SI History, anonymous and undated, Folder 8, Box 100, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 12-15; B. Smith, *Shadow Warriors*, 360-365.

with the idea of creating an intelligence service from their diplomatic corps. However, internal State hostility to the idea continued to disrupt any movement beyond a formative planning stage. [72]

The OSS seriously considered and incorporated the proposals outlined in the report, commenting on the validity of the ideas. The report defined intelligence as "complete and accurate information concerning the capabilities, intentions, and activities of foreign nations and their nationals … regardless of their relations with the United States, and at all times, in peace or in war."[73] It also recommended, in line with OSS desires, the establishment of an independent post-war agency of the US Government to which "trained personnel could devote a career."[74] There was much time and ink devoted to the dual concepts of intelligence and professionalism within Washington during the war. This report and OSS thinking gave voice to the fusion of these concepts as mutually supportive. As time progressed, it became more apparent to more people that even after the end of hostilities, there would be a need for the continuation of a strong American foreign intelligence collection agency. And, as was also to become more apparent, an ad-hoc agency would not suffice. Only an agency founded with government support on practical and stable principles of intelligence and professionalism could succeed where American intelligence had failed in the past.

OSS Conceptualization of Intelligence

The OSS identified early in the formation of the agency two intelligence categories: usage and subject matter. These categories further broke down into "types." Intelligence usage separated into two types: planning and operating. Governmental agencies and departments utilized planning intelligence to facilitate their policy decisions while conducting international affairs. Agencies and

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[72] "Draft: Post-War Intelligence Policy of the United States," September 1944, Folder 21, Box 2, Entry 1, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[73] "Draft: Post-War Intelligence Policy of the United States," September 1944, Folder 21, Box 2, Entry 1, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1

[74] "Draft: Post-War Intelligence Policy of the United States," September 1944, Folder 21, Box 2, Entry 1, RG 226, NARA-CP.

departments also required operating intelligence while executing activities in the international arena. In other words, planning intelligence aided governmental policy decisions while operating intelligence aided the execution or implementation of those policy decisions. Despite the pressures for constant operating intelligence, the OSS built and maintained a well-staffed planning intelligence capability. Over half of all OSS members worked in Washington on administrative or analytical matters and not in the field.[75]

The other category, subject matter, consisted of seven types: political, economic, military, psychological, geographic, scientific, and counterintelligence. The affairs of foreign governments and political activities of foreign nationals which affected international relations fell under political intelligence. Industrial and commercial information, including the availability of natural resources, along with the commercial activities and wealth of foreign nations and nationals, constituted economic intelligence. Military intelligence, the most straightforward subset, concerned the military capabilities, intentions, and activities of foreign nations and nationals. Psychological intelligence consisted of the mental traits, feelings, actions, and attributes of foreign individuals, separately or collectively, as they affected international relations. Psychological intelligence, ostensibly regarding the manipulation of enemy morale, became a hotly debated subset of intelligence and remained controversial throughout the life of OSS, not regarding its execution, but concerning what constituted psychological intelligence and the best way to execute it.[76] [77]

Geographic intelligence focused on the terrain, physical features, oceanography, climate, population, and all installations of a foreign nation. Scientific intelligence related to matters

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[75] "Post-War Intelligence," Folder 21, Box 2, Entry 1, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1.; For a deeper analysis of OSS analysis capabilities see: Barry M. Katz, *Foreign Intelligence: Research and Analysis in the Office of Strategic Services, 1942-1945* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989).

[76] The creation of a JCS committee dedicated to psychological warfare, the Joint Psychological Warfare Committee attests to this fact. This committee often proved a thorn in the OSS's side, hampering its capability to conduct black propaganda operations with the Morale Branch through the withholding of funds, personnel, or authority.

[77] "Post-War Intelligence," Folder 21, Box 2, Entry 1, RG 226, NARA-CP, 2.

technological or involving industrial espionage with particular focus on individuals who conducted research and development. Lastly, the OSS identified counterintelligence as a specific form of subject matter intelligence rather than as an independent category. Any and all information required to preclude information detrimental to the interests of, in this case, the United States from falling into foreign hands, counted as counterintelligence.[78]

Collection hinged, as always, on where agents gleaned the information for intelligence. OSS documentation outlined four different sources of intelligence: public, official, private, and clandestine.[79] Public intelligence included published or unpublished information available to all people regardless of their status or situation. Official intelligence came from "accredited" representatives of the US Government acting in an official capacity but not available to citizens in non-official roles. Private intelligence formed the counterpoint to official intelligence, and citizens procured it acting in private or non-official capacities. Lastly, clandestine intelligence identified information not available through public, official, or private channels procured without the official knowledge or permission of the foreign nation or nations concerned.[80] How did this collection of OSS definitions and delineations affect the functions of intelligence, its collection, and analysis?

The formation within the OSS of a multitude of branches and sections all presiding over a different facet of intelligence marked the most visible manifestation of the particular brand of OSS intelligence. Research and Analysis (R&A), Secret Intelligence (SI), Special Operations (SO), Operational Groups (OG), Counter-Intelligence (X-2), and Foreign Nationalities (FNB) all focused on different types of intelligence. One can assume that a much narrower conception of intelligence would in turn limit the organizational reach of the corresponding intelligence agency. In the case of the OSS, their far-reaching definition created a perceived need to control a wide variety of intelligence activities simultaneously,

[78] "Post-War Intelligence," Folder 21, Box 2, Entry 1, RG 226, NARA-CP, 2.
[79] "Post-War Intelligence," Folder 21, Box 2, Entry 1, RG 226, NARA-CP, 3.
[80] "Post-War Intelligence," Folder 21, Box 2, Entry 1, RG 226, NARA-CP, 3.

including both collection and analysis. By 1943, the OSS had created fourteen branches and sections alongside a host of smaller administrative entities.[81] The OSS's definition of intelligence manifested most visibly in the creation of these branches and departments. The conceptualization of intelligence within the OSS set the limits for and determined the way that branches conducted operations, whom they conducted them with, and the scope of those operations.

The British and American agencies had many similarities in their struggles to achieve bureaucratic legitimacy. Both agencies had to contend with an initial desire from military authorities for the dissolution or sidelining of their services. During the First World War, the SIS came under increasing control of the War Office due to the exigencies of wartime intelligence and mirrored in some ways the American decision to incorporate the OSS within the military hierarchy. The SIS's first director, Mansfield Smith-Cumming, fought many of the same bureaucratic battles Donovan would fight. Donovan's battles with the Military Intelligence Division and the FBI mirrored Cumming's struggle to retain control of intelligence operations from the British General Headquarters (GHQ) and incursions from the Admiralty and the War Office.[82]

SIS organized itself into various "Sections" each in charge of a different facet of intelligence collection and further divided into "Groups." Donovan and his administrators obviously took inspiration from the division of SIS into intelligence sections with geographic group delineations. However, the OSS neither achieved the same level of integration with the military as SIS nor did it handle signals traffic and intercept on the scale practiced by SIS.[83]

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[81] See Table 1a and 1b. The list of major branches/sections includes: Secretariat; Office of Research and Development; Secret Intelligence (SI); Counter-Intelligence (X-2); Research and Analysis (R&A); Foreign Nationalities Branch (FNB); Special Operations (SO); Morale Operations (MO); Operational Group Command (OG); Maritime Unit (MU); Special Projects Office; Schools and Training (S&T).

[82] Keith Jeffery, *The Secret History of MI6: 1909-1949* (New York, NY: Penguin Books, 2010), ix-xii, 449-453.

[83] Donovan's post-war country-wide publicity tour to drum up support for the continued existence of the OSS demonstrated the difference of approach between Britain and American concerning the level of secrecy ascribed to their covert agencies. The open and publicized creation of the CIA in 1948 stands in stark contrast to the continued British denial of the existence of SIS (MI6) until 1994. Keith Jeffery, *The Secret History of MI6: 1909-1949* (New York, NY: Penguin Books, 2010), x, 59-60, 213.

Functions of Intelligence

OSS activities generally included these various but interrelated functions: personnel procurement, evaluation, dissemination, and security.[84] How the OSS defined and executed these functions forms an excellent baseline from which to compare their actual operations with their theory and highlight any deviations in application. Personnel needed to meet a wide variety of qualifications to accomplish the varied tasks assigned to them. The OSS wanted officers and men with the necessary language and technical qualifications. They would be drawn from professions, governmental departments, and the military and would be amply paid and properly trained. The OSS branch structure lent itself into dividing personnel into three broad categories of supervisory, operational, and research personnel in line with the recruiting needs of the agency. Supervisory personnel afforded the OSS with professional experience and administrative skills. Operational personnel conducted the dangerous militaristic covert missions planned and supported by the supervisors. Research personnel provided specialized knowledge for target acquisition and intelligence analysis. These personnel typically hailed from corporate, military, and academic backgrounds respectively, as needed and directed by the various OSS branches.[85]

OSS reports asserted that procurement entailed the collection or acquisition of information which they "believed to be the raw material of intelligence." [86] Next, evaluation went through a subset of successive steps. The macro definition stated that evaluation studied and analyzed information so as to ascertain its "accuracy, adequacy, and implications as intelligence."[87] In ascertaining accuracy, the

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[84] Report, "Functions of the Current Intelligence Staff," 1943, Folder 3, Box 4, Entry 1, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[85] William J. Donovan, Memorandum for the Joint Chiefs of Staff, "Use of Military Personnel for OSS Operations in Neutral Countries," August 9, 1943, Folder 915, Box 66, Entry 146, RG 226, NARA-CP, 2-3; Draft of OSS Security Office history, "Introduction," and "Chapter III: Security Comes of Age," May 1945, Folder 4, Box 100, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 2-4, 6, 11, 55-63; "Post-War Intelligence," Folder 21, Box 2, Entry 1, RG 226, NARA-CP, 7-8; Erasmus H. Kloman, *Assignment Algiers*, (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2005), 63.

[86] Roosevelt, *War Report*, 118; "Post-War Intelligence," Folder 21, Box 2, Entry 1, RG 226, NARA-CP, 4-6.

[87] "Post-War Intelligence," Folder 21, Box 2, Entry 1, RG 226, NARA-CP, 4-6.

evaluation involved a determination as to the reliability of the source and a comparison with existent information. Furthermore, an assessment determined if they lacked further information, or conversely, showed the inadequacies of prior intelligence. Lastly, evaluation as to implications broke down the information into useful intelligence. This process pieced together isolated items into a complete whole for any subject.

An expert or technically proficient individual continued the process through an estimate on the implications of the evaluated intelligence. The evaluator needed to possess detailed knowledge of the capabilities, intentions, and activities of the nation to perform their implication evaluation. Intelligence consumers received the evaluated intelligence pertaining to the performance of their official duties. Counterintelligence, in the form of X-2 or the local Security Office, subsequently secured the information through five activities: procurement of adequate counterintelligence, safeguarding means and sources, safeguarding information as to its integrity, restricting dissemination while not withholding required intelligence, and finally, thorough and continuous background checks on individuals engaged in collecting or receiving intelligence materials.[88]

Donovan and his administrators viewed this collection and analysis procedure as embodying their departmentally decentralized, yet hierarchically centralized, vision for intelligence. In their view, the broad scope of intelligence activities required coordination and integration of all intelligence activities by a central agency "with a single director responsible directly to the president."[89] However, at the same time, they understood that the magnitude of the tasks and immensity of material meant that certain subjects and functions required decentralized execution. At least on one occasion, OSS drafters argued that the president should assign specific responsibilities to each governmental

[88] "Post-War Intelligence," Folder 21, Box 2, Entry 1, RG 226, NARA-CP, 4-6.

[89] "Post-War Intelligence," Folder 21, Box 2, Entry 1, RG 226, NARA-CP, 6. See also, OSS Memo, Untitled recommended organization of OSS activities in the Mediterranean, March 16, 1944, Folder 4, Box 41, Entry 99; OSS Report "A," "Underground Operations in France, Undated, Folder 31, Box 1, Entry 92, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1.

department involved in intelligence.[90] Donovan's notorious apathy to detailed administration left most of the hard serious work on building the organization in the hands of his capable subordinates. His loose administrative style also suited his decentralized vision of the OSS as it allowed him to pursue his every whim and explore every avenue of intelligence or secret warfare.

Such decentralization left the OSS responsible for coordination and integration of pertinent intelligence. This allowed the OSS to establish "uniform policies and procedures, ensuring complete and adequate procurement of intelligence, eliminating unnecessary duplication, furnishing general guidance, providing for optimum interchange of information, and encouraging maximum efficiency."[91] Even as the OSS geared up for a post-war bureaucratic struggle for its continued existence, OSS documents belie an internal disagreement on exactly the limits of OSS jurisdiction. Some called for the OSS to only operate where and in a capacity that other governmental entities could not.[92] Others envisioned the final evaluation of intelligence matching more closely with something akin to a modern Director of Intelligence's overseeing role rather than the one the OSS occupied during the war.[93] Donovan felt constrained by the former and desired to be more involved in the operations themselves than the latter suggestion.

Modern intelligence practitioners face the problem wherein analysts both direct the collection of and make the first judgments on intelligence, which can lead to selection bias.[94] According to retired CIA case officer Garrett Jones, the problem arises when analysts responsible for the collection of intelligence also critique and pass judgments as to the context and meaning of finalized intelligence.[95] The decentralized nature of the OSS made such a practice impossible internally. OSS teams in the field

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[90] "OSS Missions," September 4, 1943, Folder 24, Box 2, Entry 1, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1-3.

[91] "Post-War Intelligence," Folder 21, Box 2, Entry 1, RG 226, NARA-CP, 6.

[92] "The Basis for a Permanent World Wide Intelligence Service." See also, OSS Report, "Statement to the Bureau of the Budget," October 18, 1944, Folder 3, Box 3, Entry 1, NARA-CP, 1-3.

[93] "The Basis for a Permanent World Wide Intelligence Service." See also, OSS Report, "Statement to the Bureau of the Budget," October 18, 1944, Folder 3, Box 3, Entry 1, NARA-CP, 1-3.

[94] Garrett Jones, "It's a cultural thing: Thoughts on a troubled CIA," in *Secret Intelligence: A Reader*, eds. Richard J. Aldrich, Christopher Andrew, and Wesley Wark (New York: Routledge, 2009), 27-33.

[95] Garrett Jones, "It's a cultural thing," 27-33. B. Smith, S*hadow Warriors*, 348.

operated independently of R&A analysts. Even when directed by military necessities, the OSS field headquarters made the first judgments on intelligence before sending it to the proper military authorities for further review. Each OSS theater command mimicked the overall OSS organization in miniature. A Strategic Services Officer received marching orders for the agents in the theater from military commanders or Donovan rather than from analysts requesting intelligence collection.[96] Though constrained by a reliance on supply and sometimes personnel from the theater commander, local OSS bases worked in conjunction with military headquarters to determine overall intelligence objectives.

Selection bias also occurs when intelligence collectors determine the significance of the intelligence they collected. Collectors may have subtle or meaningful insights into the intelligence; however, their opinions should only stand as one "data-point among many," not the final word. Collectors-as-analysts partially led to the intelligence failures related to the search for Iraqi weapons of mass destruction in 2003-5.[97] Analysts involved in the collection process do not inherently vitiate the results but once invested in collection, they should excuse themselves from subsequent analysis. The OSS recognized and took such problems seriously. They mitigated those risks by having station chiefs write summary reports which served as semi-evaluation on the credibility and importance of various pieces of intelligence while keeping their contextual relevance. The OSS also used R&A to independently evaluate intelligence outside of the immediate military or political concerns related to its collection.[98]

In most cases, the consumer drove the process of collection and analysis. The United States Army, as the primary consumer, neither asked for nor required the OSS to provide finished intelligence products for most of its consumption. Instead, intelligence collection acted as a supplement or

[96] "OSS Missions," September 4, 1943, Folder 24, Box 2, Entry 1, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1-3.

[97] Garrett Jones, "It's a cultural thing," 27-33.

[98] Richard Hartshorne to Major General William J. Donovan, "Needs and Possibilities of R&A in IB," May 14, 1945, Folder 23, Box, 2, Entry 1, NARA-CP, 1-4

counterpart to army tactical intelligence already underway in an army headquarters.[99] The OSS could, and did, provide greater human intelligence (HUMINT) collection capabilities than the army had available. The army primarily relied on wireless radio interception whereas the OSS relied on human insertion into enemy territory. [100]

When the OSS decided to produce a more finished product or report, they gathered the intelligence together either in summary or raw form for the army. From there, the local R&A personnel would analyze the collected material. The analyst then forwarded the finished report to the intended parties, which most often included pertinent military authorities, Donovan, senior members of other agencies, or specific key individuals in the president's administration.[101] The exception to this procedure occurred when agents or station chiefs embedded with the G-2 (Deputy Chief of Staff, Intelligence) of an army headquarters. He would provide up-to-date information regarding enemy orders of battle, movements, troop strengths, and other items rather than sending that information back to Washington for evaluation or dissemination.[102]

Intelligence Decided

Donovan, and his branch chiefs in particular, faced an uphill struggle to define intelligence in a way that made it practical and useful for the organization and its agents. Starting from scratch created its own set of problems, namely how to best guide and plan operations in order to maximize results. Donovan and his subordinates instead focused on what constituted the required output and scope of an all-encompassing foreign intelligence agency. They had few if any theoretical sources to inform their

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[99] Untitled draft report on OSS activities with 5th Army, September-December, 1943, Folder 3, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1-2; "Report on Activities of Allied Mission in the Venice Area," March-April 1945, Folder 6, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1-10.

[100] Richard Hartshorne to Major General William J. Donovan, "Needs and Possibilities of R&A in IB," May 14, 1945, Folder 23, Box, 2, Entry 1, NARA-CP, 1-4

[101] Richard Hartshorne to Major General William J. Donovan, "Needs and Possibilities of R&A in IB," May 14, 1945, Folder 23, Box, 2, Entry 1, NARA-CP, 1-4

[102] Max Corvo, *OSS in Italy 1942-1945* (New York, NY: Enigma Books, 2005) 113, 287. Peter Tompkins, *A Spy in Rome* (New York, NY: Simon and Schuster, 1962), 29-72.

conceptual thinking about an intelligence apparatus. Donovan's own wide-ranging ideas mostly determined the limits of his agency's intelligence work. The OSS continuously adapted definitions of intelligence to fit its needs. Donovan's agency, guided by its understanding of the term "intelligence," developed organizational capabilities conducting covert operations which conceptually launched the model of the American foreign intelligence professional.

OSS intelligence operations centered on their desire to showcase the importance of the agency vis-à-vis wartime utility and United States' national security. Rather than choose a narrow interpretation, Donovan and his administrators decided upon a broad view of intelligence. Their decision hinged in large part on Donovan's desire to create a vast centralized intelligence agency to service all the foreign intelligence needs of the United States including collection, analysis, and covert operations. Building a complex intelligence agency from nothing created a unique set of challenges. With an eye on the continued post-war existence of the agency, Donovan and the OSS desired personnel who could competently and professionally serve the needs of intelligence.[103] A growing professionalism became evident as the OSS grew into a self-sustaining and dynamic organization. Donovan's vision served to increase the quality of intelligence and draw capable and dedicated individuals to the OSS.

The OSS formed the spear point of a new wave of thinking regarding intelligence and its collection. Changes within one professional area, or jurisdiction, can reverberate through the entirety of the professional ecosystem. A change to one piece of the intelligence community can shift the paradigm of intelligence collection throughout the government which is what occurred under the OSS. No longer would police-like detective work satisfy as intelligence collection. Nor could the government subsist on the occasional signal traffic intercept between nations. Now intelligence incorporated overt and covert activities as well as analysis and perhaps most importantly, intelligence sharing. Like other professional

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[103] Theater Officer Pouch Review, "MO Personnel for Italy," August 9, 1944, Folder 2, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 2.; Headquarters 2677th Regiment, "Staff Memorandum No. 5," November 6, 1944, Folder 6, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 4; Rudgers, *Secret State*, 19; Troy, *Donovan and the CIA*, 156.

organizations, the OSS engaged with other intelligence bodies and government agencies. A professional jurisdictional framework developed between the various government agencies and the OSS to protect against competing government agencies with similar or overlapping jurisdictions. [104] Using their own clever reading of the JCS Directives which authorized their work, Donovan and his agents operated under the assumption that "there were no restrictions on the types of information [which they were] authorized to collect and did collect." [105]

[104] Rudgers, *Secret State*, 19; Roosevelt, *War Report*, 78-81, 95, 111-112.
[105] First Draft of SI History, anonymous and undated, Folder 8, Box 100, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 11.

CHAPTER 2: THE OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES' PROFESSIONAL PATH

But if, as I hope, this Intelligence Service is to become professional and permanent, it is essential to approach [problems] in a professional manner.

-David Williamson[1]

Defining Professionalism

Professionalism, as the supporting component of an intelligence professional, provides endurance, competency, and legitimacy. As the OSS strove to build its intelligence apparatus, it invariably borrowed elements of professionalism from other professions to provide qualitative standards to its work. In doing so, the OSS drove the creation and lasting existence of the intelligence professional. As the war progressed and the OSS matured administratively and operationally, it demonstrated a clear emerging professionalism of the agency and its members. These incorporated professional tenants then helped mature the agency further, providing a positive feedback loop of professionalism and increasing administrative capability.

As with intelligence, there are varying definitions of professionalism and like intelligence, the OSS forged its own professional path. The OSS did not rely on any one standard of professionalism; instead, it incorporated professional features ad-hoc as necessary. Primarily due to the experience of people Donovan recruited to administer his agency and the strong influence of the military, OSS professional development incorporated facets of business, law, academia, and other fields. The eventual recruitment of so many military personnel also played a significant role in bringing a professional military style ethos into the agency, especially among the combat oriented branches.

[1] David Williamson to David Bruce, no subject Interoffice Memo, March 20, 1942, Folder 1, Box 14, Entry 92, RG 226, NARA-CP.

Understanding the context within which OSS professional ideas developed provides insight into why the OSS felt the need or pressure to professionalize and which facets of professionalism they adopted. The late nineteenth century saw the rapid growth of professional organizations in America. This growth reflected an increased specialization of industry and the needs of the new industrial age.[2] The first half of the 20th century saw leaps in the spread of professionalism outside of the traditional abodes of medical doctors, lawyers, and academicians. The rise of managerial jobs and the rapid increase in the size of the government witnessed a new generation of workers seeking out professional status as corporate managers and civil servants.[3] These same forces affected the manner in which the OSS sought, directly and indirectly, to gain professional status for a brand new profession.

Eliot Freidson, former professor of sociology at New York University, suggested, "much of the debate about professionalism is clouded by unstated assumptions and inconsistent and incomplete usages."[4] C.J. Fox, former professor of political science at Texas Tech University, goes further, stating "professionalism means different things to different people. Without a language police, however, it is unlikely that the term professional(ism) will be used in only one concrete way."[5] While they wrote in specific reference to the teaching profession, the same opaqueness applies to defining intelligence professionals. If we accept Geoff Troman's statement that professionalism is a "socially constructed, contextually variable and contested concept" defined by managers and tasks performed, then we must also accept that "professionalism is not some social-scientific absolute, but a historically changing and

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[2] Burton Bledstein, *The Culture of Professionalism: The Middle Class and the Development of Higher Education in America* (New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Co. Inc., 1976), 80.

[3] Jack Shulimson, "Military Professionalism: The Case of the U.S. Marine Officer Corps, 1880-1898," *The Journal of Military History* Vol. 60, No. 2 (April 1996): 233

[4] Eliot Friedson, *Professionalism Reborn: Theory, Prophecy and Policy* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994), 169.

[5] C.J. Fox, "What do we mean when we say professionalism? A language usage analysis for public administration," *The American Review of Public Administration* 22, 1 (1992): 2.

socially constructed concept-in-use."[6][7] If true, then how does one create a usable construct of "professionalism?"

On a basic level, as a group determines a need to professionalize, they must meet at least a minimum of requirements or practices before attaining a professional status. A group, such as the OSS, must recognize they serve the public, provide a particular or specialized body of knowledge, and serve altruistically as basic prerequisites to professionalization. Once established, the group can then develop three key characteristics of professionalism: certification of applicable standards setting it apart, a code of ethics, and recognition by governing bodies or establishing a governing body of its own.[8]

Carl Taeusch held that a professional is "trained by education and experience to perform certain functions better" than others while a member of a "limited and clearly marked" organization.[9][10] In other words, a professional meets certain educational and experience requirements and has membership in an easily identifiable organization, which itself has a series of requirements limiting membership. This definition provides a clear individual aspect while also delineating at least a base requirement for professional organizations.

The definition provided by Municipal Police Administration (MPA) of Chicago's contemporaneous 1943 study of professionalism proved more restrictive.[11] Headed by Dr. Orlando

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[6] G. Troman, "The rise of the new professionals? The restructuring of primary teachers' work and professionalism," *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 17, 4 (1996): 476; C. Holroyd, "Are assessors professional? Active Learning in Higher Education," 1, 1 (2000): 39.

[7] Professor Emeritus of Education at Froebel College, University of Roehampton.

[8] Jack Rabin, ed., "Professionalism and Productivity: A Symposium," *Public Productivity Review* (September 1983): 217.

[9] Carl F. Taeusch, *Professional and Business Ethics* (New York, NY: Henry Holt & Co., 1926), 5.

[10] Carl Frederick Taeusch taught at the University of Chicago, Tulane University, Iowa State, Harvard University, and Saint Louis University. He specialized in professional and business ethics. He also served with the Office of Military Government in Berlin in 1946.

[11] This study, authored in part and edited by the esteemed criminologist, police superintendent, and former Dean of the School of Criminology at the University of California Dr. Orlando Winfield Wilson, occurred at an important juncture of the discussion of American professionalism. The work is cited by many public administration scholars, sociologists, and historians in their discussions on professionalism and professional attitudes. It was also a landmark work in the development of theories on professionalism. Police work in many respects mirrors that of an intelligence officer. For further information and citations see W. J. Bopp, *O.W. Wilson*

Wilson, the report identified ten earmarks of a profession: an organized body of knowledge with procedural techniques, a code of ethics, a grouping of trained men (or women), an organization that draws from this group and comprises a significant part of them, definite qualifications for admission, freedom to seek employment where required, established methods of recruit training, high prestige, merit promotions, and open competitive examinations.[12] Rather than Taeusch's more encompassing definition, the MPA added qualifiers such as recruitment, merit, examinations, and that a majority population of a field would belong to the same organization.

Professionalism for the OSS included such features as a sense of higher calling or service, quality expertise in a given field, barriers to entry, self-policing, and an ability to contend with competing professional jurisdictions. A more difficult question surrounds whether these traits applied to the sense of professional consciousness developed within OSS.[13] Donovan understood the tenuousness of his and his agency's position in Washington. He worked diligently to legitimize and integrate the OSS within the government. Professionalism played an important role in facilitating the OSS' sought-after legitimacy. He knew that to ensure the survival of the OSS after the end of hostilities would require a seasoned professional cadre of agents and administrators alongside the agency's clandestine capability. Once built up, such a group differentiated the OSS from all other US intelligence operations and highlighted the specific functional capabilities of the OSS vis-à-vis the military intelligence or domestic investigative police work. The OSS had no equal in its ability to gather intelligence internationally while

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and the Search for a Police Profession (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press, 1977); E. W. Roddenberry, "Achieving Professionalism," *The Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science* Vol. 44, No. 1 (May June, 1953); and David Weisburd and Anthony A. Braga, *Police Innovation: Contrasting Perspectives* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

[12] O.W. Wilson, ed., *Municipal Police Administration* Third Edition (Chicago, Ill.: International City Managers' Association, 1950), 42.

[13] Donald Klinger, and Mohamed G. Sabet, "Exploring the Impact of Professionalism on Administrative Innovation," *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* Part 3, (1993): 254; H. L. Wilensky, "The Professionalization of Everyone?," *American Journal of Sociology* 70 (2): 137-158; Richard Hall, "Professionalism and Bureaucratization." American Sociological Review 33 (1968): 92-104.

simultaneously undertaking covert operations and producing long-range analysis, all in the service of the United States' foreign policy.[14]

OSS/Military Relations

The issue of OSS members' professional status became more complex as the organization incorporated greater numbers of military personnel. Different military castes – officers versus enlisted, careerists versus service terms, and conscription versus volunteerism – made it difficult to ascribe professional status equally to all parties. The OSS had to deal with ongoing sentiments of military service as a part-time exigency rather than a full-time necessity. These complexities, coupled with the lingering debates over the nature of corporate and academic professionalism, affected the rest of the organization's numerous members.

The OSS and the military maintained a symbiotic relationship after the formal creation of the OSS as a subordinate agency of the JCS. Their relationship affected the professional course of the OSS. While not originally conceived as a military institution, the OSS leaned heavily on individuals with professional military backgrounds. These individuals, as well as the gradual progression towards further militarization as the war progressed, had an impact on the path of OSS professionalization. After its absorption into the JCS structure, the OSS took on a more military characteristic. Donovan and other members of the OSS even considered full militarization in the hopes that it would provide a stable path towards the future. At the time, though, his administrators mulled over the effect militarization would have, and did have, on their professional status.[15]

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[14] Roosevelt, *War Report*, 119.

[15] Theater Officer Pouch Review, "Cairo Office," July 26, 1944, Folder 2, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1; Theater Officer Pouch Material, "SI Training," July 7, 1944, Folder 2, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1; "Draft: Post-War Intelligence Policy of the United States," Undated, Folder 21, Box 2, Entry 1, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1

Despite the OSS' subordinate position to the JCS, the JCS never gained budgetary oversight or control of the OSS, and Donovan's direct connection with President Roosevelt continued. [16] The OSS embodied a civilian/military duality that incorporated the work of civilians as administrators, service officers, and analysts with military members who often performed or controlled field work. OSS branches such as R&A initially focused on long-range strategic intelligence analysis to inform United States political foreign policy, while others such as Special Operations conducted clandestine operations by request of front-line military commanders. Many OSS personnel eventually had military experience or were currently members of the military, but many more operated as civilians or procured war-time commissions while serving in the OSS. Numerous OSS high-level administrators left lucrative pre-war occupations to serve within the OSS hierarchy, often infusing the young agency with their previous professional experience.

One of the perks of Donovan's restless administrative style meant when he found people he got on well with, they in turn supported his operations. The OSS had the good fortune in the Mediterranean of maintaining consistently good relations with Lieutenant General Mark W. Clark, commander of the US Fifth Army, and General Sir Harold R.L.G. Alexander, commander of the Allied Fifteenth Army Group. However, the OSS often found it difficult to get Allied Navy and Air Force commanders to assist with the needs of the various OSS missions. [17]

OSS and the Military Professional

Prior to the Second World War, British sociologists A. M. Carr-Saunders and P. A. Wilson rejected the notion of a military professional due to the military professional providing a service the

[16] Troy, *Donovan and the CIA*, 65-67; B. Smith, *Shadow Warriors*, 82, 403-407.

[17] Langer to OSS Theater Officer, "Request for Position Vacancies for Naval Officers," September 26, 1944, Folder 3, Box 15, Entry 1, RG 226, NARA-CP.

society they belonged to hoped they never actually had to perform.[18] Granting the military professional status would imply the granting of a license to kill, regardless of its defensive nature, which stood in direct opposition to the democratic ideals espoused by American society. Regardless of the opposition, the US Army and Navy officer corps had absorbed many of the attributes of the rising professionalism common in American corporate society at the time. The professionalization of the army officer corps had truly begun prior to the Civil War, disrupted only briefly by the war and its immediate aftermath.[19] In other words, despite calls to the contrary, the army and navy, and later air force, embraced professionalism as a means of boosting morale, discipline, and standards throughout the armed forces.

Attributes such as officer education, infusion of military ethics, public service, and "socialization of the officer corps" had done much to mold military officers into modern professionals if not in form, at least in structure, by the early 1900s.[20] The officer and officer corps' relationship, both political and professional, to the civilian community formed the crux of dissention among scholars. Scholars such as Allan Millett, John Gates, Edward Coffman, and others advocated similar lines of argument as Samuel Huntington's definition of the military professional; however, they would reject his insistence on the supposed necessity of military aloofness from the rest of society.[21] Within the military officer corps, often the acrimonious debates between staff and line officers revolved less around simple power struggles and more for recognition and the solid establishment of jurisdictions among competing military professionals.[22] OSS branch chiefs and section heads argued in like manner during the war. OSS

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[18] A. P. Carr-Saunders and P.A. Wilson, *The Professions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1933), 3.

[19] William B. Skelton, *An American Profession of Arms: The Army Officer Corps, 1784-1861* (Lawrence, Kans.: University Press of Kansas, 1992), 361-62.

[20] Shulimson, "Military Professionalism," 235-237. John Gates, "Progressives in Uniform," in *The U.S. Army and Irregular Warfare*, ed. Richard G. Davis (Special Publications U.S. Army Center of Military History, 2008), 6-7; Edward M. Coffman, *The Regulars: The American Army, 1898 – 1941* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2004).

[21] Huntington defined the military profession using three characteristics: expertise, responsibility, and corporateness. For further insight see Samuel P. Huntington, *The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil Military Relations* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957), 7-11.

[22] Shulimson, "Military Professionalism," 235-237. John Gates, "Progressives in Uniform," in *The U.S. Army and Irregular Warfare*, ed. Richard G. Davis (Special Publications U.S. Army Center of Military History, 2008),

members did not have the same capability in engaging with Congress as their contemporaries in the military, though, making their connection with society closer to corporate professionalism. The military benefitted from several decades of experience and Congressional associations stemming from the Congressional-Military patronage system.

Huntington's stipulation describes the intents of the OSS well. For him, the military profession "exists to serve the state" and needed to be constituted as "an effective instrument of state policy." While not strictly militarized, serving under the JCS affirmed OSS plans to assist in providing as much intelligence as possible to assist US leaders in making quality decisions. In order to be most effective, the OSS organized itself hierarchically because ultimate direction for intelligence came from the president, JCS, and the director, in that order. The "instantaneous and loyal obedience of subordinate levels" of which Huntington spoke manifested itself in the pride and general loyalty of OSS members to their missions and to Donovan. On occasions when members disagreed with OSS policy, often it was not against the OSS itself, but personal disagreements with superiors or personality clashes which initiated conflict, or in some occasions, with the organizational growing pains.[23] OSS shortages of personnel and equipment often led to infighting or disputes between OSS branches. Often, OSS Washington had to mediate in these disputes as it tried to allocate scarce resources.[24]

Julia Evetts, Professor of Sociology at the University of Nottingham, took the focus away from individual officers and soldiers and looked at "military advisers and managers" as the source of professionalism in the military. According to Evetts, military modernizers had no interest in structural models and viewed professionalism as "a mechanism of institutional or organizational control" of a military workforce rather than a means of occupational control of work by a professional (military

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6-7; Edward M. Coffman, *The Regulars: The American Army, 1898 – 1941* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2004).

[23] Samuel P. Huntington, *The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil Military Relations* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957), 73.

[24] Langer to OSS Theater Officer, "Request for Position Vacancies for Naval Officers," September 26, 1944, Folder 3, Box 15, Entry 1, RG 226, NARA-CP.

practitioners).[25] Negative consequences followed the increasing professionalism among military officers. Generally speaking, the "pressure of professional life" led to artificial professional demands and self-serving careerism. Careerism, the focus on personal career aspirations over service, corrupts not only the motives of a professional (who serves in the public interest) but also perverts individual professional judgment.[26]

Most pertinent to intelligence professionals, careerism tempts people into action for the wrong or "merely professional" reasons. These reasons can lead to finding authority in the professional status itself rather than relying on the "authority of carefully marshalled evidence and perspicuously powerful arguments."[27] Such problems are especially important for intelligence professionals because if their actions are self-perpetuating rather than serving a higher public cause, it can lead to issues with mission framing and a disruption of priorities. Engaging in intelligence activities for self-gain disavows professional status. Self-inspection or external regulations mitigate self-promotion or careerism. Due to the newness of the OSS, quite a few individuals saw intelligence activities as a means to an end, as a way of earning money or fame, rather than a way to serve the public good.[28] Financial incentive often motivates individuals to enter certain professions, but it is looked down upon as a marker of professional status. The OSS worked assiduously to rid itself of such individuals as the war progressed.

OSS Militarization: A Marriage of Convenience

The reconstitution of COI as OSS on June 13, 1942, subordinated the OSS directly to the JCS. This action reflected in part the military's refusal to allow a civilian organization outside of its control to operate inside an active war zone. As war spread across the globe, few areas remained militarily inactive, which brought the issue of OSS militarization to the fore. Donovan's prior army rank of colonel

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[25] Julia Evetts, "Explaining the Construction of Professionalism in the Military: History, Concepts and Theories," *Revue francaise de sociologie* Vol 44 No 4, (Oct-Dec, 2003): 760.

[26] Stanley Fish, "Anti-Professionalism," *New Literary History* Vol 17 No 1 (Autumn 1985), 91.

[27] Stanley Fish, "Anti-Professionalism," *New Literary History* Vol 17 No 1 (Autumn 1985), 91.

[28] R. Smith, *Secret History*, 5.

was reactivated, and he later would be promoted to major general to more properly suit him as a leader of an organization within the military hierarchy.[29] His military promotion facilitated his interaction with his peers in the various theaters of operation and Washington committees.

OSS militarization debates laid important groundwork for the professionalization path the OSS undertook. The initial poor quality and "amateurishness" of OSS operations and agents in Spain and North Africa in 1941 and 1942 lent fuel to the fire of arguments for the dissolution or severe restriction of the OSS. Within this hostile climate and with the future of his agency on the line, Donovan saw the allure of full militarization. Joint Chiefs of Staff patronage would free his agency from the petty bickering and intransigence of rival intelligence operations. Becoming a member of the military hierarchy, though forcing subordination of the OSS to the JCS, would quell some of the claims of illegitimacy as a stand-alone agency. Donovan also always fought to maintain a direct line of communication to the President.[30] Additionally, the subordination of the OSS to the JCS shifted the status of the OSS as a professional organization. For at least the period encompassing hostilities, the OSS no longer had to fear sudden termination as an agency. The OSS had sure footing, for the moment, as a member of the intelligence apparatus of the United States, despite the continued grumbling of others.

In June 1942, Army Captain Denebrink broached the possibility of merging Donovan's agents with the Army Specialist Corps. In Denebrink's plan, skilled civilian personnel within the OSS would gain military status through commissions. The discussion originated from Donovan's need for real soldiers for his overseas sabotage and partisan missions. Donovan had grandiose plans for dropping saboteurs, radio operators, resistance organizers, and arms suppliers behind enemy lines in Europe. Such plans required a particular set of skills (parachuting, survival training, technology knowledge, and leadership) found most often within the army parachute and Ranger units. On top of these demands, guerilla units

[29] Troy, *Donovan and the CIA*, 150-151.
[30] Troy, *Donovan and the CIA*, 203.

needed able bodies who could help train, fight with, and lead partisan units in the field behind enemy lines. Most of the people with those skills already served or would shortly be drafted into the Armed Services.[31]

Donovan, along with other organizations, had to go through the military for any requests for personnel. Militarizing the OSS would solve Donovan's personnel issues quickly. Following a JCS directive on guerilla warfare, Donovan asked the JCS on August 31, 1942, for an allotment of commissioned armed forces personnel. He prefaced his request by stating that due to "the nature of the work of the Office of Strategic Services it is desirable that it be as completely militarized as possible."[32] Donovan felt the best long-term interest of his organization lay in gaining the backing of the military against the bureaucratic in-fighting of Washington, D.C.

Previously after the formation of the COI in 1941, Donovan had already seriously considered the idea of fully militarizing the OSS due to several factors. Since most of the operations the OSS undertook required significant personnel poaching from the military, many members of OSS essentially served two masters. The OSS would also later exist as part of the larger military structure as a subordinate organization to the JCS. Top military leadership who sat on various committees had to approve OSS orders and operations. In the field, OSS leaders worked alongside theater commanders to create operational plans which often directly assisted the military. Unit supplies, transportation, and personnel almost all came from military sources. Therefore, Donovan felt it in his agency's best long-term interests to consider a move to full militarization. Such a move would have long-lasting ramifications on OSS professionalization.[33]

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[31] Interoffice Memo, Francis P. Miller, Lt. Col., AUS to Captain Arthur J. Goldberg, July 10, 1943, Folder 28, Box 4, Entry 92, RG 226, NARA-CP; History Project, Strategic Services Unit, Office of the Assistant Secretary of War, War Department, Washington, D.C., Roosevelt, *War Report*, 72-80.

[32] JPWC 37/2/D, 12 October 1942, "Militarization of the Office of Strategic Services," as found in Roosevelt, *War Report*, 337.

[33] B. Smith, *Shadow Warriors*, 118-119; Douglas Waller, *Wild Bill Donovan*, 115-116; Troy, *Donovan and the CIA*, 168.

As a member of the military, the OSS could stave off calls to be absorbed into the State Department or other organization. Whether or not Donovan actually believed in militarization as the proper course remains another matter. Certainly militarization offered to alleviate his supply and recruitment issues to an extent, but his agency's status as an independent intelligence organization would suffer as a result. He did argue, perhaps hoping to alleviate some of the calls to parcel out or dissolve the OSS, that militarization would favorably enhance the capabilities of the OSS. [34]

Therefore, in September 1942, the OSS conducted a study on its exact status and the desirability of full militarization. When General Albert C. Wedemeyer, one of the army's leading strategists, questioned Donovan regarding the desirability of militarizing the OSS, he replied that as a result of this recent study, it appeared evident to him that the OSS already formed a part of "the armed forces of the United States." [35] With the new presidential directive placing the OSS under the authority of the JCS, the OSS existed in a grey area as a chiefly civilian organization, utilizing military assets and personnel, under a military hierarchy, with a commissioned military officer, Donovan, at its head. To clarify the situation, the JCS issued two new directives in 1942 setting down the fundamental focus of the OSS. Official JCS Directive, JCS 67, decreed that the OSS would: "(1) prepare such intelligence studies and research as were called for by the JCS, G-2, and ONI, (2) to prepare plans for and execute subversive activities, and (3) operate an espionage organization and supply the JCS and other military organizations such information as they requested." [36]

Many in the military establishment still took issue with OSS prerogatives despite JCS control over the agency. The OSS suffered from "new kid on the block" syndrome in the world of government entities. General Douglas MacArthur, Supreme Commander Southwest Pacific Area, forbade the OSS from operating in his theater. A clash of strong personalities and General MacArthur's sense that his

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[34] Minutes, Joint Chiefs of Staff 5th meeting, March 9, 1942, item 5, Folder 2, Box 8, Entry 42, RG 218, NARA-CP.

[35] Troy, *Donovan and the CIA*, 168-169.

[36] As quoted in Troy, *Donovan and the CIA*, 156

intelligence needs were well met meant that his command excluded the OSS from his theater despite the efforts of Donovan in Washington.[37] That OSS activities mixed a variety of civilian, military, and para-military tasks ingratiated them with few in Washington or abroad as agencies and services jealously guarded their limited intelligence prerogatives. Army generals and navy admirals hardly understood the need for the OSS as an organization or its positions within the military hierarchy, much less the tasks they undertook. Donovan did himself and the agency few favors with outsiders in often changing OSS administrative structure and his penchant for forming new branches and headquarters spontaneously, often creating overlapping duties and responsibilities. These changes, however, marked significant professional strides as the OSS sought efficiency and practical solutions to their issues while continuing to expand.

For Donovan, the logical solution to these problems meant commissioning the majority of OSS personnel into the armed forces.[38] In that way, theater commanders could not necessarily refuse his services, and his personnel would be put on par with other active military personnel. Regardless of their individual motives, Donovan, General George V. Strong, Army G-2 (Intelligence), and Wedemeyer agreed on this point.[39] Such agreement proved exceedingly rare between Donovan and Strong as they often clashed over intelligence activities conducted by the OSS. The proposal then went informally to Army Chief of Staff General George C. Marshal through the new JCS Secretary, Brigadier General John R. Deane.[40]

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[37] Clayton D. Laurie, "An Exclusionary Position: General MacArthur and the OSS, 1942-1945," *Studies in Intelligence: The IC's Journal for the Intelligence Professional*, Freedom of Information Act Release 09/10/2014.

[38] Minutes, Joint Chiefs of Staff 5th meeting, March 9, 1942, item 5, Folder 2, Box 8, Entry 42, RG 218, NARA-CP.

[39] Major General George V. Strong, known as "George the Fifth" due to his name, was a forceful personality who had headed G-2's Intelligence Group in 1937-1938 and the War Plans Division in 1938-1940. He now served as Army G-2 and embodied that arm's institutional fear of being destroyed or absorbed by Donovan's COI due the dynamism of its director, its White House entrée, nearly unlimited funds and personnel, and its apparently equally unlimited wide-ranging overt, clandestine, and military capabilities. Strong had previously recommended a three-way split of COI on May 15, 1942. Thomas Troy likened him to Captain Ahab "in pursuit of his White Whale." Troy, *Donovan and the CIA*, 150.

[40] Roosevelt, *War Report*, 78-80; Troy, *Donovan and the CIA*, 168-169.

To the benefit of the OSS, Deane quickly became a fierce supporter of the OSS and a friend of Donovan's. Deane discussed the possibility of giving the OSS a military status and commissioning or absorbing any present civilian officials into the Army Specialist Corps as had previously been suggested. Deane and Marshal hoped that militarizing the OSS would instill the agency and its operations with military discipline, rigor, and an added sense of professionalism. To this point, Marshal and many others in the military establishment had expressed a distinct lack of confidence in the early operations of the OSS.[41]

Many senior military men distrusted having civilians conducting activities within active military theaters of operations. Early OSS operations, such as failed intelligence operations in Spain and North Africa, which will be covered in the next chapter, often proved counter-productive politically and hampered military operations due to poor inter-agency coordination and overlapping jurisdictions.[42] A distinct lack of quality control pervaded the OSS initially as the information which flowed from OSS sources and networks suffered from a lack of credibility and rigor.[43] Committee meetings that provided oversight for OSS activities also "prolonged…consideration of any proposal made by [OSS]" creating further OSS inefficiencies and a backlog of unexecuted operations.[44] These and other issues contributed to the general distrust of the OSS.

Donovan and several JCS committee members believed military status would clarify personnel roles and responsibilities and that "more valuable service would be rendered."[45] However, the militarization option did not have unanimous support among the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Marshall wanted a united front, whatever the end decision, between himself and Admiral King, Chief of Naval Operations,

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[41] Roosevelt, *War Report*, 78-80; Troy, *Donovan and the CIA*, 168-169.

[42] Roosevelt, *War Report*, 146-147; R. Smith, *Secret History*, 114-115.

[43] Theater Officer Pouch Review, "Istanbul Set-up," July 29, 1944, Folder 2, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[44] Troy, *Donovan and the CIA*, 169.

[45] Minutes, Joint Chiefs of Staff 5th meeting, March 9, 1942, item 5, Folder 2, Box 8, Entry 42, RG 218, NARA-CP.

before Marshall floated the idea to the rest of the JCS. King hesitated on full militarization, believing such a move "would merely make [the OSS] an extension" of Strong's G-2 (Army Intelligence).[46] King favored a less encompassing plan which would only see "a minimized number of personnel" or "only those parts that are necessary" such as Donovan receiving commissions. He also hesitated to release further naval personnel to the OSS and only then if the performance of their naval duties required it. King, however, made Marshall aware that his opinions were not set in stone but simply his thoughts on the matter to date.

Based on this and other discussions, Marshall decided to recommend "at least a partial militarization" of OSS to the Joint Psychological Warfare Committee (JPWC).[47] His guidelines specified militarization only to the extent that "the Chief of OSS and the heads of all divisions and subdivisions" would become members of the military. The navy would only allow the commissioning of officers as per King's earlier restrictions, and any other officers without command functions merged into the Army Specialist Corps. Lastly, and most importantly, Marshall decided that the OSS would remain under JCS control and not become an auxiliary to the army or navy. The current functions of the OSS as of 1942 would not change. The JCS formalized these decisions by committee in JPWC 37/2/D on October 10, 1942.[48]

JPWC 37/2/D enacted earlier JCS thinking that refused to assimilate the OSS into any one arm of the services as its activities had to support all branches of the military. With the OSS more firmly secured under the JCS and its status settled for now, an era of rapid expansion in the OSS began. The need for a professional apparatus grew more apparent as the OSS swelled. The establishment of large bases for training in intelligence, guerrilla tactics, and special operations in support of military theaters

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[46] Minutes, Joint Chiefs of Staff 5th meeting March 9, 1942, item 5, Folder 2, Box 8, Entry 42, RG 218, NARA-CP.; Troy, *Donovan and the CIA*, 169.

[47] The JCS organized the Joint Psychological Warfare Committee (JPWC) on March 18, 1942, in response to the bureaucratic bickering and jurisdictional confusion over COI/OSS activities concerning the use of propaganda.

[48] JPWC 37/2/D, 12 October 1942, "Militarization of the Office of Strategic Services," as published in Roosevelt, *War Report*, 337.

required immense resources. Properly training and vetting vast numbers of recruits to ensure a high quality of personnel became top priority. In the end, the OSS never did adopt full militarization, instead opting for partial militarization as recommended by the JCS.[49]

[49] JPWC 37/2/D

CHAPTER 3: TRANSFORMING OSS STRUCTURE

"The OSS is dynamic. It is constantly changing organizationally and in scope of activity. It is in a continual state of adaptation…to peculiar conditions in the various theaters of operations."

-Schools & Training Branch, June 1945[1]

The OSS comprised a number of sub-divisions, or branches, that handled a particular intelligence activity. For example, the Special Operations Branch primarily conducted sabotage alongside resistance fighters while secondarily reporting on available intelligence. The number of branches would grow from just a few at the beginning to a diverse set covering all aspects of intelligence and support services. Deputy directors managed related groupings of these branches. Intelligence Services (SI, X-2, R&A, FNB, CD) and Strategic Services Operations (SO, OG, MO, MU, Special Projects, Field Experimental Unit) conducted the bulk of OSS actions in a theater of operations. [2]

In the theater, branches often called upon the members of other branches to assist in performing assigned functions. Command officers closely coordinated, as much as practicable, the functions and duties of members and branches. In the early phase of OSS MEDTO operations, individual agents infiltrated by clandestine means conducted covert operations. In later phases, the OSS attached men to the advancing Allied Armies at army, corps, and divisional level for tactical intelligence operations behind enemy lines. As need and opportunity arose, OSS personnel became involved in an ever wider array of covert missions with an expanding roster of military, agency, and departmental consumers.

The large scope of intelligence activities meant the OSS organizational structure quickly became unwieldy. OSS administrators continuously debated how best to solve many of the organizational issues

[1] OSS History, Schools & Training Branch, June 1945, Folder 3, Box 75, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 6.
[2] OSS History, Schools & Training Branch, June 1945, Folder 3, Box 75, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 6.

that plagued the OSS. Official periodic reorganizations revamped the organizational hierarchy and command structure as the agency sought greater efficiency in the midst of rapid expansion. The OSS made tentative steps towards professionalism in these efforts to improve the organization and achieve their goal of a stable, long-lasting institution.

By January 1943, the foundation for the organizational structure of the OSS had been laid.[3] As stated by official OSS historian Kermit Roosevelt, the "formative stage was over…. In 1943 and thereafter, the center of interest of OSS was in the field."[4] Once the foundation solidified, the process of professionalization could proceed apace without constant interference and uncertainty over the exact nature of the OSS, though regular reorganizations would continue. Not all organizational changes throughout the war demonstrated immediate returns or marked improvement in OSS capabilities, but they did help foster within the organization a desire for continuous enhancement along with a long-term vision.[5]

Reorganizations Attempt to Solve Organizational Issues

Committee Seeks to Improve OSS Organizational Structure in Washington

In September 1943, Donovan realized the OSS needed an organizational overhaul to allow his Chiefs in Washington to focus on operations and not paperwork. Responding to Donovan's request to review OSS organization, Colonel Buxton, First Assistant Director of the OSS, and at the time, Acting Director, ordered an OSS committee to make recommendations to improve the operations of the OSS. Buxton had been Donovan's chief assistant since the formation of the COI and handled almost all OSS procedural and administrative tasks. Headed by Deputy Director of Intelligence, Brigadier General John Magruder, the committee included liberal pollster Elmo Roper; a Smith Barney executive now in charge

[3] Roosevelt, *War Report*, 121.

[4] Roosevelt, *War Report*, 124.

[5] Memo to Donovan on Organization of OSS, written by committee, October 1, 1943, Folder 918, Box 66, Entry 146, NARA-CP, 2-3.

of OSS personnel, Charles Cheston; assistant chief of the SO Branch in Washington former Pittsburgh investment banker Joseph Scribner; and Chief of the Communications Branch Colonel Lawrence "Larry" W. Lowman, Vice President of Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) before the war.[6][7]

The committee addressed Donovan's initiative to reorganize the OSS along practical lines. In considering their recommendations, the committee bore in mind four driving aspects that included the immediate usefulness of the OSS in shortening the war, long-term usefulness as a permanent government institution, present size and diversity of efforts, and the "imperative need of an organization which will put into permanent form what has been found necessary in practice."[8]

First, the immediate future usefulness of the OSS in shortening the war depended on its ability to contribute quickly to ever changing field and military conditions. Second, the organization's long-term usefulness as a permanent instrument of the government relied on faith building, experience, and the confidence of senior military and civilian leaders. Third, the changing size and diversity of intelligence efforts contributed to the need to constantly shift priorities, reassign personnel, and create new branches to support the ever growing OSS. Finally, successive reorganizations marked a professional moment for the OSS as it attempted to take lessons it had learned in the field and incorporate them into the standard operating procedures of the organization moving forward. Those incorporated practices would begin to form the professional foundation of the organization as it sought to enhance its capability.[9]

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[6] R. Smith, *Secret History*, 123; Douglas Waller, *Wild Bill Donovan: The Spymaster Who Created the OSS and Modern American Espionage* (New York, NY: Free Press, 2011), 202.

[7] A member of the OSS Secretariat complained later that Magruder "did not know a…damned thing about OSS operations and…damned little about OSS policy." James A. Montgomery, Jr. to Colonel Forgan, "Operations Staff," October 11, 1943, Folder 918, Box 66, Entry 146, RG226, NARA-CP, cover page.

[8] Memorandum for the Acting Director, "Organization of OSS," October 2, 1943, Folder 918, Box 66, Entry 146, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1.

[9] Memo to Donovan on Organization of OSS, written by committee, October 1, 1943, Folder 918, Box 66, Entry 146, NARA-CP, 1.

Table 1. Major Branches and Roles of the Office of Strategic Services July 1944.[10]

Branches & Roles	Description
Special Operations (SO)	This branch is responsible for the conduct of special operations, including sabotage and the organization and supply of resistance groups.
Morale Operations (MO)	Morale Operations are directed against the enemy's mind and are primarily non-violent. Black propaganda, clandestine radios, and other forms of morale subversion are planned and executed.
Maritime Unit (MU)	Maritime Unit engages in naval sabotage against enemy shipping and is responsible for the planning and execution of the maritime phase of operations undertaken by other branches.
Operational Groups (OG)	Operational groups are foreign language speaking units composed of highly trained officers and men capable of attacking special targets behind enemy lines and of providing the operational nuclei for guerrilla warfare.
The Planning Group	The Planning Group composed of representatives of the State Department, army, navy, and OSS, studies and develops plans for over-all OSS operations.
The Planning Staff	The Planning Staff, which operates under the supervision of the Planning Group, does the preliminary work in connection with planning, preparing and submitting recommendations to the Planning Group.
The Secretariat	The Secretariat is the channel for all papers requiring the approval of the director and assistant director. It maintains the files of the director's office, handles the distribution of cables and prepares reports for the director.
Office of the General Counsel	The general counsel is responsible for all legal matters pertaining to OSS activity.
Research & Development (R&D)	This office originates and develops special weapons and equipment.
Communications	Communications is responsible for development and supplying radio sets and for maintaining OSS communication facilities.
Security Office	This office is responsible for the physical security of OSS property and for the security of all OSS personnel.
Budget, Supply, Transportation, Finance	These branches managed the operation of fiscal, budget, and procedures systems, procurement and transportation of supplies, reproduction, civilian personnel, and such office services as mail, messenger, courier, and civilian motor pool.

[10] Duncan C. Lee, "Memorandum for all Branch Chiefs and Strategic Services Officers," July 7, 1944, Folder 73, Box 5, Entry 143, RG 226, NARA-CP, 2-4.

Table 2. Major Branches and Roles of the Office of Strategic Services July 1944.[11]

Branches & Roles	Description
Secret Intelligence (SI)	This branch is engaged in the acquisition of secret intelligence in all areas except the western hemisphere. Intelligence is evaluated and disseminated to the army and navy and other appropriate Government agencies
X-2	This branch is responsible for counter-espionage intelligence.
Research & Analysis (R&A)	An organization of scholars and research specialists who possess unusual language qualifications and have expert knowledge on particular geographic areas.
Foreign Nationalities (FNB)	This branch supplies intelligence concerning the activities of Foreign Nationalities groups within the United States with respect to issues concerning their homelands or otherwise relating to the war.
Censorship and Documents (CD)	This branch deals with radio, censorship, and documentary intelligence.
Schools & Training (S&T)	This branch provides and operates facilities for the training of OSS personnel.
Theater Officer	The OSS Theater Officer, assisted by Theater Officers for different geographic areas, coordinates all OSS matters in Washington pertaining to the various theaters and procures overseas transportation for OSS personnel.
Special Relations Office	This office maintains liaison with other Government departments and agencies.
Field Photographic Branch (FPB)	The Field Photographic Branch produces motion pictures of OSS activities in the field.
Headquarters Detachment (HQ Det.)	Headquarters Detachment is responsible for all administrative matters in connection with commissioned and enlisted personnel of the army assigned to OSS.
Naval Command	Naval Command handles all administrative matters in connection with Naval personnel assigned to OSS.
Personnel Procurement	This branch recruits personnel whether military, Naval, or civilian for service with OSS.
Medical Services Office	This office provides medical supplies and personnel for OSS activities.
Special Funds	This branch is responsible to the director for the custody, use of, and accounting for special funds.
Presentation	The Presentation Branch is an organization of skilled technicians capable of making pictorial presentations by chart, graph, and other visual means exclusive of motion pictures.

[11] Duncan C. Lee, "Memorandum for all Branch Chiefs and Strategic Services Officers," July 7, 1944, Folder 73, Box 5, Entry 143, RG 226, NARA-CP, 2-4.

Figure 2. Command Hierarchy of the OSS.[12]

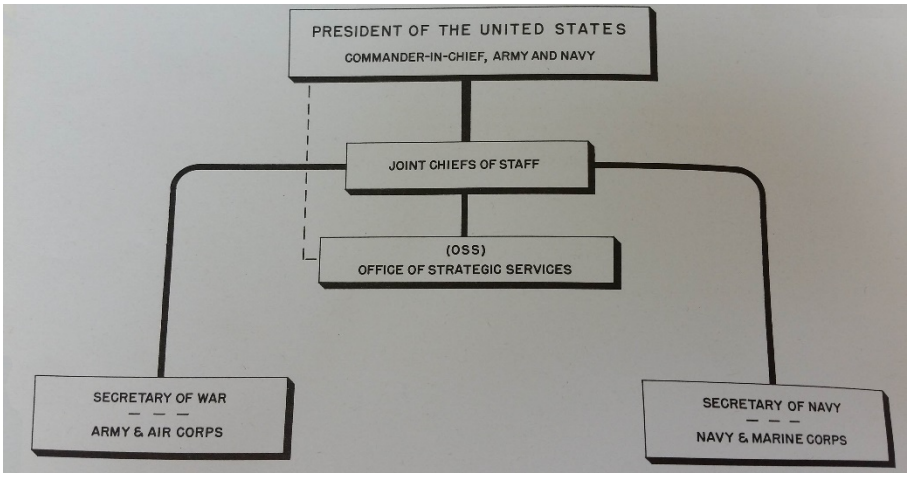
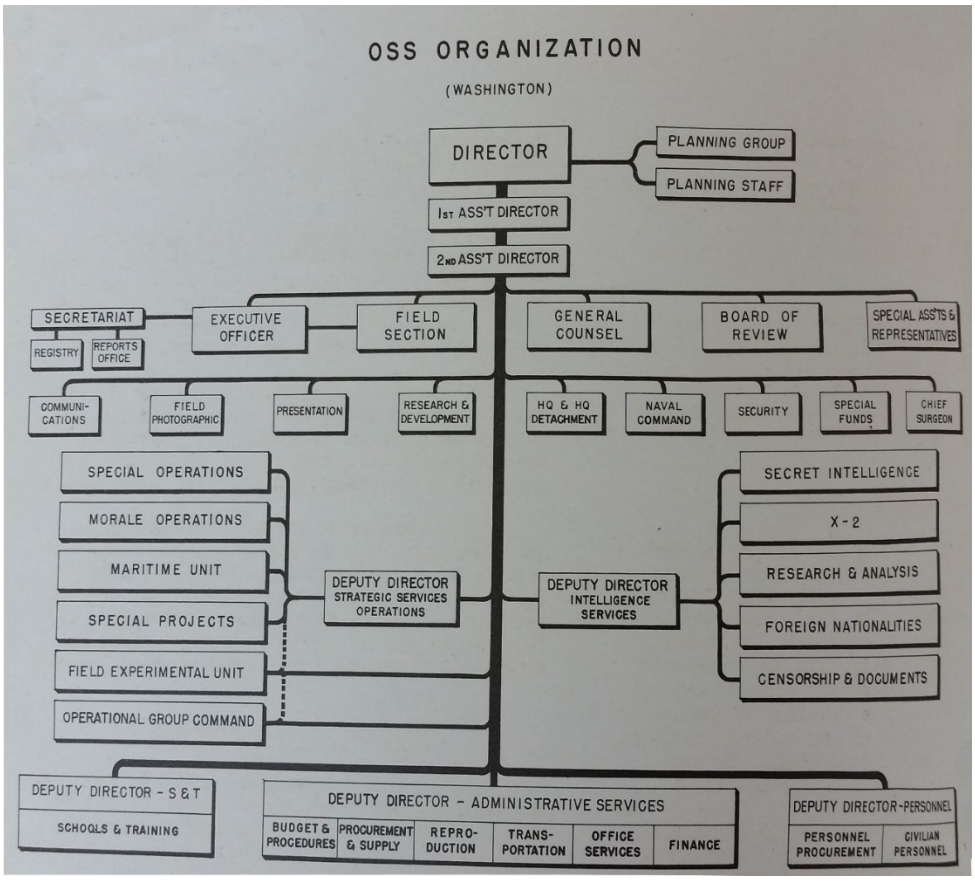


Figure 3. OSS Organization Chart by 1945.[13]



[12] Booklet, "Office of Strategic Services (OSS) Organization and Functions," Schools & Training Branch, June 1945, Folder 3, Box 75, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 3, NND 867141.

[13] Booklet, "Office of Strategic Services (OSS) Organization and Functions," Schools & Training Branch, June 1945, Folder 3, Box 75, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 5, NND 867141.

This movement to make the organization better is the most important of these four considerations of the committee as it pertains to the professional growth of the OSS. In effect, if the OSS wanted to shorten the war with its efforts and serve as a permanent government institution, it had to codify and internalize the lessons it garnered from the field. These lessons would change the nature and organization of the OSS by creating better internal support organizations, planning, direction, recruitment, training, and clearer lines of authority. All the facets of an emerging professional entity arose from that need to better itself in order to make the OSS more effective and long-lasting.

By 1943, the OSS functioned more like a holding company with the same director and purpose but dissimilar activities. In truth, OSS branches had little in common with each other from a practical standpoint. All branches wanted to help win the war, but that was "a goal shared by [the US] Army and the Chase National Bank." The committee felt that the orthodox armed forces should have the responsibility for organized uniformed bodies such as the OG's which would allow the OSS to focus on its primary mission of militarily important foreign intelligence collection.[14]

Essentially, covert combat operations would disappear, and the OSS would narrow its focus to an advanced intelligence service for the military. The only exception would be subversive activities through SO and MO, which no other Government agency conducted. However, even these subversive activities would be directed and supported but not directly participated in. The OSS would retain R&A, SI, and X-2, as well as a more limited SO and MO with very specific objectives. SO would no longer conduct sabotage or any physical subversion by agents and only serve to advise, assist, and supply underground resistance and guerrilla groups. MO's focus would change to non-State Department subversion only and the OG's would be turned over to the armed forces.[15]

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[14] Schools & Training Branch, "Office of Strategic Services Organization and Functions," June 1945, Folder 3, Box 75, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP; Memorandum for the Acting Director, "Organization of OSS," October 2, 1943, Folder 918, Box 66, Entry 146, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1-2.

[15] Memorandum for the Acting Director, "Organization of OSS," October 2, 1943, Folder 918, Box 66, Entry 146, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1-2.

The noted benefits of such a change included a more closely knit organizational structure for the OSS through the concentration of its best people on intelligence. The change would clarify jurisdictional disputes by having the OSS only operate in fields clearly not preempted by other Government agencies. It would also avoid the "embarrassment of undertaking operations which may exceed…capabilities." [16] Anticipating Donovan's reaction to their proposal, the committee members recommended measures to assist attaining the maximum efficiency as a holding company. Thorny organizational issues would persist, but the current administrative style could be made to work. Therefore, they recommended that all policy come from Donovan, or his acting director, with able assistance from an assistant director. Deputy directors, such as Magruder, could then operate as a series of vice presidents responsible for the several "operating companies," or branches, below the director. [17]

The crux of the issue and reason for the recommendations revolved around authority and responsibility. Many in the OSS worried that the organization had grown too large and engaged itself in too many diverse activities to be successfully operated. Morale issues within the agency pointed to the ineffectual organizational structure which created "general dissatisfaction over the lack of clear-cut lines of authority and responsibility." [18] Upon his return from the field in October, Donovan read and rejected the committee's recommendation to take away his beloved covert combat operators. He had hoped the committee would provide a solution to the overburdening of OSS Washington branch chiefs instead of excising OSS capabilities.[19]

The myriad of OSS reorganizations conducted throughout 1943-1944 were an attempt by the agency to combat the inefficiencies and ineffectiveness of its organizational structure. While sometimes

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[16] Memorandum for the Acting Director, "Organization of OSS," October 2, 1943, Folder 918, Box 66, Entry 146, RG 226, NARA-CP, 3-5.

[17] "Intelligence Specialist: Projects covering: Reorganization, Objectives, and Plans for Secret Intelligence in Italy," June 1945, Folder 3500, Box 253, Entry 146, RG 226, NARA-CP, 3; Memorandum for the Acting Director, "Organization of OSS," October 2, 1943, Folder 918, Box 66, Entry 146, RG 226, NARA-CP, 3-5.

[18] Memorandum for the Acting Director, "Organization of OSS," October 2, 1943, Folder 918, Box 66, Entry 146, RG 226, NARA-CP, 3-5.

[19] Douglas Waller, *Wild Bill Donovan: The Spymaster Who Created the OSS and Modern American Espionage* (New York, NY: Free Press, 2011), 202-205.

chaotic and stressful, each successive reorganization sought to clarify command structures and bring order to the initial disorder created by an almost exponential growth of personnel and activities. The driving force behind the reorganizations remained the desire to create professional standards of organization, recruitment, and communication in order to ensure the agency could endure.[20]

OSS Theater Organizational Problems

In the field, during 1943 until the end of the war, the OSS redesigned tables of organization, redefining areas of responsibility and authority. People moved around so often that names were often jotted down by hand on official organization charts only to be crossed out and replaced with another name days or weeks later. This shifting organizational structure led to early inefficiencies and some despair from its members in MEDTO.[21]

Prior to the committee meetings on OSS organization, Donovan approved the organization of OSS theater missions as replicas of OSS Washington. Every OSS mission within the theater contained at a minimum one headquarters establishment and at least one field operating branch. In the smaller missions, support (non-combat) branches would typically predominate. The personnel and facilities of each area, in turn, were divided into a rear echelon and forward advance bases to provide the highest flexibility for advancing with and keeping in contact with military forces.[22]

Each theater maintained a table of organization and kept precise records of personnel including any temporary forward operating echelons. Donovan maintained the right to modify theater organization and personnel to meet OSS needs and often utilized his power to shake up operations when he felt things were going poorly. He regularly visited combat theaters, listening to new ideas or problems and issuing orders, shuffling priorities, and bringing in new personnel. Though ultimately in

[20] Memorandum for the Acting Director, "Organization of OSS," October 2, 1943, Folder 918, Box 66, Entry 146, RG 226, NARA-CP, 3-5.

[21] Lester Armour to David Bruce, March 4, 1942, Folder 20, Box 4, Entry 92, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1-2.

[22] "OSS Missions," August 1943, Folder 24, Box 2, Entry 1, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1-4.

charge, Donovan empowered his subordinates to act independently in the absence of instructions from him. While his trips raised morale, his constant travels kept him away from his office as he circled the globe visiting remote OSS headquarters. This left his subordinates, such as the ever-reliable Colonel Buxton, in charge of the more mundane aspects of building and running the sprawling OSS organization. In order to simplify lines of authority in the field, Donovan decreed that the chain of authority for the OSS within a theater went in order of military or naval rank over seniority within the agency.[23] This often caused discord and confusion when different branch operations overlapped.

The OSS constantly struggled with how to best prioritize personnel, resources, and time when so many operations required attention simultaneously. The rapid growth and expansion of the OSS increased the responsibilities taken on by Donovan in his effort to be everywhere at once. The OSS needed to get a foot in the door in as many places as possible in order to create a precedent for its operations to continue after the cessation of hostilities. This need led Donovan to make promises which proved difficult to fulfill due to lack of personnel, transport, or resources. Often, he decided upon operational goals despite personnel and equipment shortages or without the explicit authorization of relevant military or civilian leaders in the area under consideration.[24] Administratively, Donovan's style created headaches for his deputies and prevented a clearer and less volatile administrative hierarchy from developing for much of the war.

The organization of OSS missions constantly came under scrutiny from both within and externally. OSS leaders such as Langer looked for ways to improve OSS organization and make it more responsive and effective. Ensign E. Putzell, Jr., the Assistant Executive Officer in the Office of the Secretariat, led the drafting of a general order on organizing OSS missions abroad. Objections over words and definitions created a lively debate among the drafters and Langer. He tried to instill

[23] "OSS Missions," August 1943, Folder 24, Box 2, Entry 1, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1-4.
[24] Troy, *Donovan and the CIA*, 164, 195, 205.

Figure 4. Allied Command Relationships in the Mediterranean, March 1943.[25]

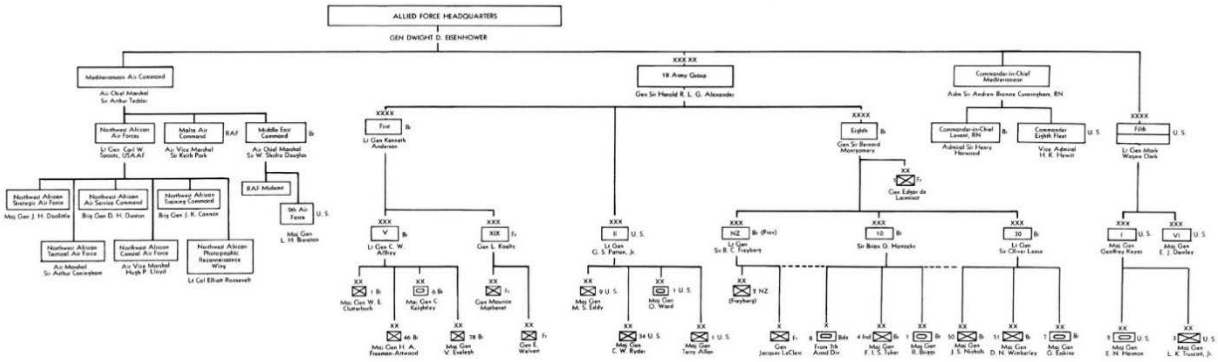
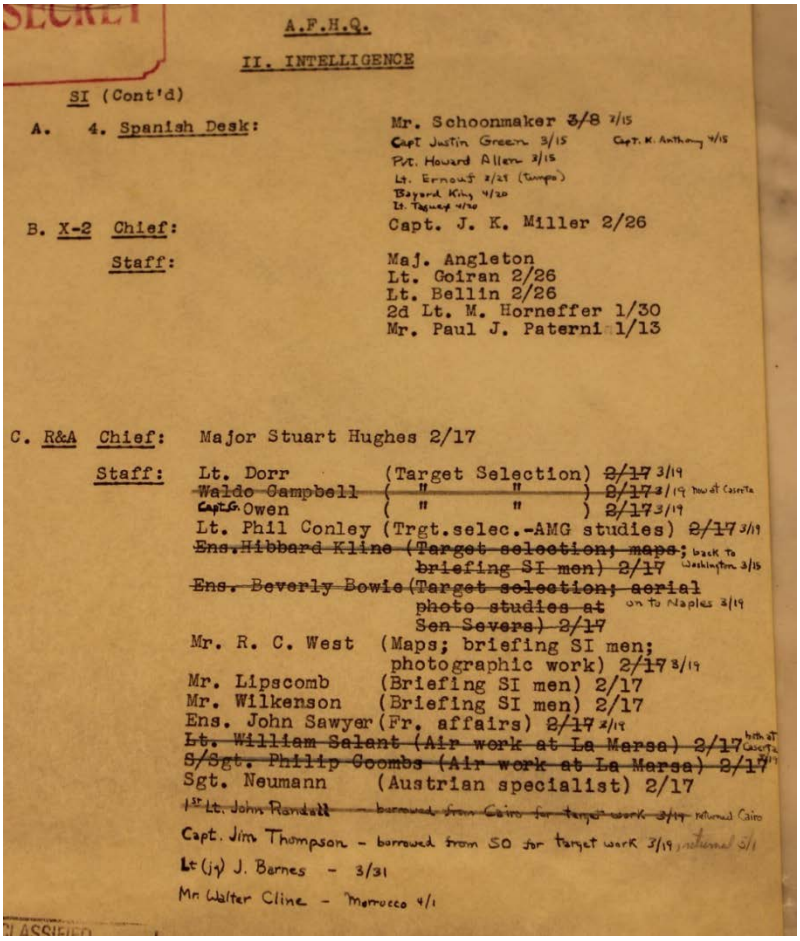


Figure 5. Example of Changing Personnel List of OSS staff at AFHQ, Algiers, February/March 1944.[26]



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A.F.H.Q.

II. INTELLIGENCE

SI (Cont'd)

A. 4. Spanish Desk: Mr. Schoonmaker ~~3/8~~ 2/15
Capt Justin Green 3/15 Capt. K. Anthony 4/15
Pvt. Howard Allen 3/15
Lt. Ernouf 2/29 (Tampa)
Bayard King 4/20
Lt. Tagney 4/20

B. X-2 Chief: Capt. J. K. Miller 2/26

Staff: Maj. Angleton
Lt. Goiran 2/26
Lt. Bellin 2/26
2d Lt. M. Horneffer 1/30
Mr. Paul J. Paterni 1/13

C. R&A Chief: Major Stuart Hughes 2/17

Staff: Lt. Dorr (Target Selection) ~~2/17~~ 3/19
~~Waldo Campbell (" ") 2/17~~ 3/19 now at Caserta
Capt. Owen (" ") ~~2/17~~ 3/19
Lt. Phil Conley (Trgt.selec.-AMG studies) ~~2/17~~ 3/19
~~Ens. Hibbard Kline (Target selection; maps; briefing SI men) 2/17~~ back to Washington 3/15
~~Ens. Beverly Bowie (Target selection; aerial photo studies at San Severo) 2/17~~ on to Naples 3/19
Mr. R. C. West (Maps; briefing SI men; photographic work) ~~2/17~~ 3/19
Mr. Lipscomb (Briefing SI men) 2/17
Mr. Wilkenson (Briefing SI men) 2/17
Ens. John Sawyer (Fr. affairs) ~~2/17~~ 2/19
~~Lt. William Salent (Air work at La Marsa) 2/17~~ both at Caserta
~~S/Sgt. Phillip Coombs (Air work at La Marsa) 2/17~~
Sgt. Neumann (Austrian specialist) 2/17
~~1st Lt. John Randall — borrowed from Cairo for target work 3/19~~ returned Cairo
Capt. Jim Thompson - borrowed from SO for target work 3/19, returned 3/1
Lt (jg) J. Barnes - 3/31
Mr Walter Cline - Morrocco 4/1

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[25] The Public Library and Digital Archive, "Chart 2 – Allied Command Relationships in the Mediterranean, March 1943," http://www.ibiblio.org/hyperwar/USA/USA-MTO-NWA/charts/USA-MTO-NWA-2.jpg (Last accessed, October 15, 2016), edited by author.

[26] "Organization of 2677th Regimental Headquarters in Algiers," February 1944, Folder 4, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 5, NND 843099.

Figure 6. OSS Organizational Chart, MEDTO, April 1944.[27]

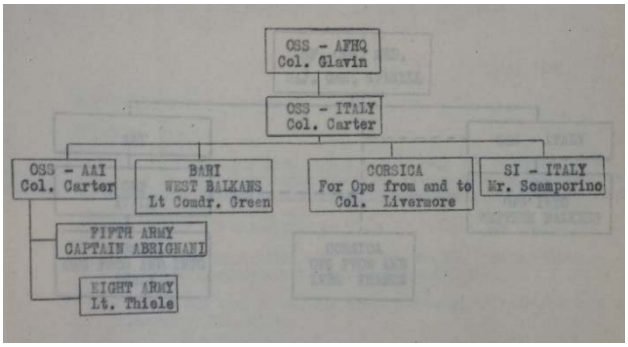


Figure 7. OSS Organizational Chart, MEDTO, June 1944.[28]

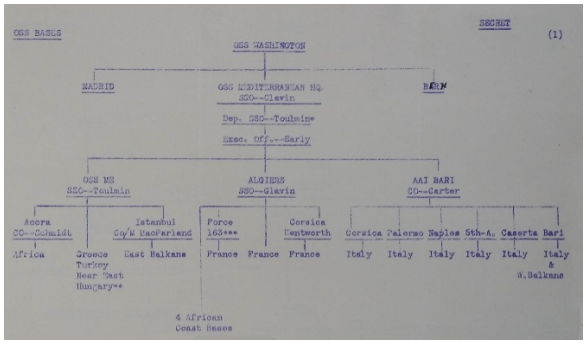


Figure 8. OSS Organizational Chart, MEDTO, October 1944.[29]

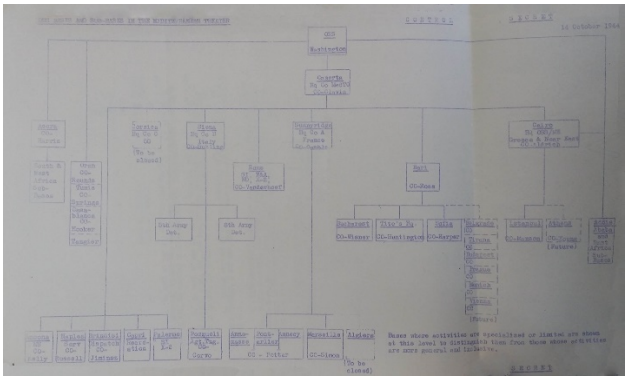
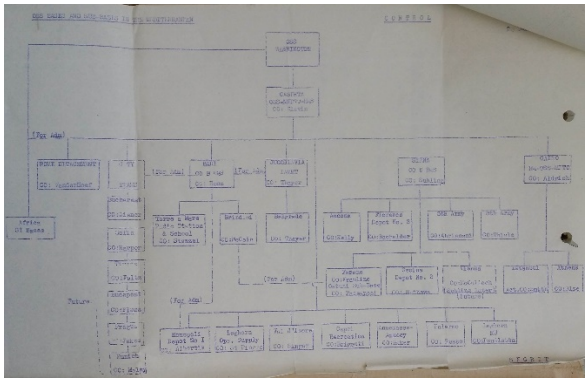


Figure 9. OSS Organizational Chart, MEDTO, December 1944.[30]



Donovan's vision in the drafters for the professionalization of the OSS. Donovan wanted a central head leading various more decentralized components who had independent responsibilities. As previously mentioned, he loved to interject in the daily affairs of his branches, but allowed them to conduct the work assigned to them with almost no oversight. Primarily, this manifested itself most often in how branch chiefs held responsibility for the results of their work directly with Donovan.[31]

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[27] C. C. Carter to Brigadier General L. L. Lemnitzer, "Office of Strategic Services – Italy," April 12, 1944, Folder 37, Box 91, Entry 190, RG 226, NARA-CP, 2, NND 877190.

[28] Edward H. Dodd, Jr. to All Area Operations Officers, Organizational Charts, June 13, 1944, Folder 814, Box 59, Entry 146, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1, NND 857146.

[29] "OSS Bases and Sub-Bases in the Mediterranean," October 14, 1944, Folder 814, Box 59, Entry 146, RG 226, NARA-CP, NND 867165.

[30] "OSS Bases and Sub-Bases in the Mediterranean," December 28, 1944, Folder 814, Box 59, Entry 146, RG 226, NARA-CP, NND 867165.

[31] Langer to Ensign E. J. Putzell, Jr., February 19, 1944, Folder 24, Box 2, Entry 1, RG 226, NARA-CP.

OSS missions began to provide "helpful hints" later in the war to new agents and other personnel assigned to remote and unfamiliar places in an attempt to ease their transition into the field. Members of the OSS had often expressed frustration upon arrival in the field that they had been provided with no information regarding where they would serve or sometimes even to whom they should report. To alleviate this issue, the OSS missions made available memos containing descriptions of travel times and distances from OSS bases, local climate and populations, clothing suggestions, billeting arrangements, local shops, and mailing addresses. Sometimes, the included information was less helpful than desired.[32]

More administrative details included money and exchange rates, assigned per diems, hours of employment, the use of civilians at the base, blackout times, and what military agencies were housed locally. Many of these items gave a semblance of order to the chaotic proceedings of the OSS missions. Agents arriving at bases such as San Leucio in Italy could now reasonably expect to find their commanding officers or local branch headquarters. While mission assignments remained secret for security purposes, agents often had a notion of within which sector of the world they would serve and could request the appropriate information once they passed training.[33]

The Creation of the Strategic Services Officer in the Theater

By fall 1943, the OSS had developed significantly as an intelligence agency, though it still had many obstacles to overcome. Better defined roles and responsibilities allowed for the undertaking of larger and more complex operations. New positions helped refine intelligence procedures, creating new standards of practice and raising the maturity level of OSS administration and professional competence.

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[32] Lt. Louis E. Madison, "Helpful Hints on Bari," January 15, 1944, Folder 4, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1-4; One clothing suggestion from the fall of 1944 commented that nobody arriving from Washington, D.C. to the Mediterranean Theater should bring summer clothes except "the defeatists" as many OSS personnel believed the war would be over before spring 1945.

[33] Lt. Louis E. Madison, "Helpful Hints on Bari," January 15, 1944, Folder 4, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1-4.

The creation of the Strategic Services Officer (SSO) as the head of each theater mission played a large part in the better administration and control of activities in the various OSS missions within MEDTO. [34]

The SSO helped give greater cohesion to the efforts of the various branches under his charge and helped relay instructions from Donovan to the local branch chiefs. In the absence of instructions from Donovan or OSS Washington, the SSO could continue to work in conjunction with the military's theater commander to run operations, including the execution of new operations, without awaiting approval from Washington. In practical effect, the SSO acted as the immediate representative of Donovan in the theater and reported directly to him. The SSO carried on all essential liaison with the US commanding general in the theater and the Allied higher command. He also secured the proper approvals for operations as well as functioned as the final escalation point for the procurement of theater resources for OSS missions and operations.[35]

The SSO controlled promotions up to and including the grade of Captain subject to the army regulations in effect in the theater and within the allotments made available to the mission. Naval and marine corps personnel as well as field grades for army personnel still went through Donovan as director. OSS documentation even spelled out matters of disagreement. [36] The SSO had responsibility for the activities of each branch in his mission, but if any branch chief disagreed, they could appeal to their branch chief in Washington and, if necessary, the deputy director responsible for that branch could refer the matter to Donovan. Often, SSOs served as the medium through which OSS Washington transmitted its instructions for branch activities in the theater.[37] Standardized procedures and more

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[34] "OSS Missions," August 1943, Folder 24, Box 2, Entry 1, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1-4; Schools & Training Branch, "Office of Strategic Services Organization and Functions," June 1945, Folder 3, Box 75, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[35] "OSS Theater Missions," August or September 1943, Folder 918, Box 66, Entry 146, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1; "OSS Missions," August 1943, Folder 24, Box 2, Entry 1, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1-4.

[36] "OSS Missions," August 1943, Folder 24, Box 2, Entry 1, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1-4.

[37] "OSS Missions," August 1943, Folder 24, Box 2, Entry 1, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1-4.

cohesive administration, such as the creation of the SSO, allowed the OSS to solidify itself within the jurisdiction of intelligence production alongside other members of the growing intelligence community.

OSS Reorganizations

Few things are more distracting to a professional organization than the stress and lack of continuity brought on by constant reorganizations and personnel changes. The OSS underwent several significant reorganizations in 1942-1944 which incorporated military organizational patterns. Most of the existing branches in the OSS such as R&A needed to expand to meet the rise in demand and the increase in available source materials. The creation of new technical and service branches in support of major OSS objectives required a more formal and therefore professional administrative and executive organization.[38]

Colonel Edward J. F. Glavin replaced Colonel Eddy as Strategic Services Officer in the Mediterranean in September 1943.[39] Glavin's organizational efforts originated in the wider OSS attempts to solidify its command structure and table of organization in the Mediterranean Theater since the late summer of 1943. To accomplish this, the OSS had formed the 2677th Headquarters Company Experimental (Provisional) in February 10, 1943 during AFHQ's reorganization of its Special Project Operations Center (SPOC).[40] It first operated out of Algiers until moving to San Leucio near Caserta in July 1944. The headquarters went through several successive reorganizations from its initial

[38] Roosevelt, *War Report*, 121.

[39] Rumors within the OSS suggested that Donovan gave Glavin his position despite his own misgivings due to Glavin's connections to the 1944 Republican Presidential candidate, Thomas Dewey. Conversely, rumors suggested Glavin's executive officer, Colonel Thomas Early received his appointment because of family connections to President Roosevelt. In both cases, Donovan hoped that such connections might help secure the OSS' post-war future. Erasmus H. Kloman, *Assignment Algiers*, (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2005), 62.

[40] General Order No. 1, 2677th Headquarters Company Experimental (Provisional), February 10, 1944, Folder 4, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1-2.

organization as part of General Order Number 61 on August 17, 1943.[41] The commanding officer of the Regiment exercised complete jurisdiction of all activities of the North African Theater of Operations (NATO) command.[42] An Intelligence Officer organized and directed the activities of SI, X-2, R&A, the Reporting Board, and the Registry which contained the OSS archives. He coordinated and planned all intelligence activities of the command, including those behind the lines and in neutral countries. Those plans he then sent to the Executive Officer of Operations and Training. [43]

OSS reorganizations continued to occur periodically every couple of months until November 1944 with the largest occurring in February, May, July, and November 1944. In November, the OSS distributed a new general order restructuring the organization of the 2677th Headquarters as set out in February. The new order established several new positions such as financial, cable control, and medical officers as well as clarifying roles and responsibilities.[44]

May 1944

Glavin kept in contact with Donovan throughout the summer of 1944, informing him of changing field appointments and the various needs of OSS Italy such as the situation in Bari. He also had to contend with meeting the various supply and personnel needs of the branches. Proper coordination and cooperation required constant communication between branch chiefs as well as with OSS Washington. The OSS found it necessary to have dedicated support personnel providing additional information to headquarters as bases continued to move closer to the front lines.[45]

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[41] 1st Lt. Howard J. Preston by order of Col. Glavin, General Order No. 1, "Constitution of 2677th Headquarters Company Experimental (Provisional)," February 10, 1944, Folder 4, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[42] The North African Theater of Operations (NATO) was officially renamed the Mediterranean Theater of Operations on October 26, 1944.

[43] Headquarters 2677th Regiment, "Staff Memorandum No. 5," November 6, 1944, Folder 6, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1.; General Order No. 10, "Organization of 2677th Regiment Office of Strategic Services (Provisional)," November 20, 1944, Folder 5, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[44] Headquarters 2677th Regiment, "Staff Memorandum No. 5," November 6, 1944, Folder 6, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1.; General Order No. 10, "Organization of 2677th Regiment Office of Strategic Services (Provisional)," November 20, 1944, Folder 5, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[45] Donovan from Glavin, #41494, July 6, 1944, Folder 1, Box 1, Entry 6, RG 226, NARA-CP.

As operations progressed through Italy in 1944, the OSS needed to establish new bases closer to the front lines. Old bases in Algiers and Palermo were too distant to effectively coordinate operations. The OSS developed new advance teams that would prepare the ground administratively before the bulk of headquarters' staff relocated. The "little Palace" at San Leucio outside Caserta, Italy, housed the OSS Advance Base established in February 1944. From its new headquarters, the Advance Base maintained closer liaison with the Special Operations sections of G-3, AAI located two miles away at the Royal Palace of Caserta. "Little Palace" belied the true size of the complex. Built around 1700 by the King of Naples, it had more recently served as the quarters and factory site of a silk company with the capacity to accommodate several hundred if necessary.[46]

Though lacking modern amenities such as central heat or hot water, a fact duly noted by stationed agents, the OSS impressed the staff of a defunct hotel into service as barbers, tailors, waiters, and even a pastry cook. The idea of consolidating MEDTO operations aroused much debate during this period. The OSS could excuse the expense of the "little Palace" should it eventually house the vast majority of OSS MEDTO administration. However, those who helped initially set up the base at Caserta knew that if no consolidation eventually took place, the expenditure would been viewed as "appalling" in extravagance and waste. However, the cost of an operation had never deterred the OSS before and would hardly do so now. One agent dismissed the expense used on the "Palace" with the flippant remark that "there is certainly nothing economical about war."[47]

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[46] Lt-Cdr Edward J. Green to Mr. Joseph M. Scribner, "OSS advanced base at Caeserta[sic], Italy," February 18, 1944, Folder 4, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[47] Personal communication from Col. A. D. Reutershan to Col. Edward Glavin regarding consolidation of OSS in Italy, March 9, 1944, Folder 37, Box 91, Entry 190, RG 226, NARA-CP; Lt-Cdr Edward J. Green to Mr. Joseph M. Scribner, "OSS advanced base at Caeserta[sic], Italy," February 18, 1944, Folder 4, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP;

With the establishment of the new headquarters at San Leucio, the operational administration of the OSS looked to move out of North Africa into Italy. [48] Before moving the entire headquarters, Glavin first wanted to establish the OSS Detachments at San Leucio. Effective March 31, 1944, Glavin reassigned Colonel Carter from his capacity as Senior Officer with Force 163, to Commanding Officer of OSS-AAI with San Leucio as headquarters.[49] As part of the May reorganization, Carter needed to have AAI name the Fifteenth Air Force as the supply agency for the OSS in Bari which now operated under Algiers rather than Cairo's control. He directly controlled all Italian OSS activities, including Bari and the Detachment with Fifth Army.[50] Carter moved on quickly, though, as by the July reorganization he had returned to Washington to take charge of the Operational Groups and by November, Donovan appointed him inspector general of the OSS.[51]

Analysis of Italian operations showed the necessity of consolidation and the concentration of staff in regions most frequently employed by theater headquarters in Italy. Glavin sent off several memos to Donovan in May 1944 with suggestions that OSS commands be moved and consolidated at Caserta and Bari. In a display of the importance of OSS cooperation with and support for military needs, he suggested that the greatest part of the Italian intelligence staff be assigned to Allied Armies in Italy (AAI) under General Lemnitzer. General Devers, Commander of the North Africa Theater of Operations, United States Army, approved the suggestions as he wanted closer liaison between Allied forces and OSS detachments then serving with front-line commands.[52]

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[48] Lt-Cdr Edward J. Green to Mr. Joseph M. Scribner, "OSS advanced base at Caeserta[sic], Italy," February 18, 1944, Folder 4, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[49] Edward J. F. Glavin to The Director, OSS, "OSS Organization, Mediterranean," March 21, 1944, Folder 4, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[50] From Glavin to Gamble for Carter, Cable #32624, March 29, 1944, Folder 1, Box 1, Entry 6, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[51] Capt. Gerald R. Murphy, AGD, "OSS Mediterranean Organization," July 25, 1944, Folder 6, Box 4, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP; OSS Organization – USA (Chart), November 20, 1944, Folder 3, Box 17, Entry 1, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[52] Memo #38204, Glavin to Donovan, June 14, 1944, Folder 1, Box 1, Entry 6, RG 226, NARA-CP; Memo #33804, Glavin to General Donovan, May 10, 1944, Folder 1, Box 1, Entry 6, RG 226, NARA-CP; Glavin to General Donovan, Cable #33804, May 10, 1944, Folder 1, Box 1, Entry 6, RG 226, NARA-CP.

Operations and resupply would move to Bari on the Adriatic coast of Italy. The other branches in Italy, X-2, R&A, and SI under Vincent Scamporino and Colonel Andrew Torielli, needed to remain in Naples (X-2 and R&A) and Caserta (SI). Glavin wanted Colonel Carter's headquarters, in charge of Italian operations, moved to Bari with Colonel Nee as Deputy for Italian Operations and OSS officer Green as Deputy for Balkan Operations.[53] While Donovan did not approve all of Glavin's suggestions, he did approve the consolidation of OSS headquarters in Italy. Personnel began their relocation from Algiers to Italy as per revised orders from Glavin.[54] San Leucio also housed other OSS headquarters such as Colonel Livermore's 2671st Special Reconnaissance Battalion that conducted OG operations out of Corsica into northern Italy.[55]

The OSS needed to concentrate all OSS duties at the San Leucio headquarters that they had just developed close to Devers' headquarters in Caserta. This concentration also allowed the OSS to more directly liaison with Devers' and Lieutenant General Alexander Patch's commands from a central locality.[56] In addition, Devers had declared Rome an open city several times throughout 1944 which allowed the OSS to maintain a temporary Advance Base there. This relocation of various OSS headquarters did not necessitate the revision in any of the staff. The advance of the Allied front in Italy and Devers' criticisms that OSS organizational structure needed to be tighter motivated the consolidation of headquarters and resources to Italy.[57]

OSS-AAI's new table of organization in May 1944 included sections for executive command, intelligence, operations and training, services, communications, and security. Several branches operated with various army commands under OSS-AAI. SI, X-2, and R&A resided within the Intelligence

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[53] Memo #33804, Glavin to General Donovan, May 10, 1944, Folder 1, Box 1, Entry 6, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[54] Memo #33804, Glavin to General Donovan, May 10, 1944, Folder 1, Box 1, Entry 6, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[55] Theater Officer Pouch Review, "MEDTO 1. OG Organization," August 16, 1944, Folder 1, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1.

[56] General Patch took over Seventh Army from General Mark Clark in March 1944 in preparation for the army's use in Southern France as part of the Operation Dragoon invasion. For a further in-depth look at Operation Dragoon see Jean-Loup Gassend *Operation Dragoon: Autopsy of a Battle: The Allied Liberation of the French Riviera August-September 1944* (NY: Schiffer Publishing, Ltd., 2014).

[57] To Donovan from Glavin, Cable #38204, June 14, 1944, Folder 1, Box 1, Entry 6, RG 226, NARA-CP.

section. Vincent Scamporino led SI as Chief with command responsibility over the Fifth Army Detachment, Bari Detachment, Corsican Detachment, Palermo Detachment, and a brief office at Salerno. R&A contained a varied staff covering politics, interrogations, document collection, target analysis, photo interpretation, and many other intelligence support services. Major Koch led the Operations and Training section with SO, OG, MO, and MU Branches. Services' officers managed supply, transportation, billeting and mess, and finance. Security section officers managed security at Caserta, Bari, Brindisi, and Naples.[58] While much of the higher organization saw changes, Glavin suggested no changes in personnel, and the transfers remained exclusively physical and administrative.[59]

Donovan's visit to MEDTO at the end of June 1944 saw the most recent May 1944 reorganization superseded with an all new reorganization in July. The changes principally served to make the organizational structure more efficient in order to increase central control of OSS MEDTO activities. The July reorganization emphasized mobility and flexibility of personnel and operations in order for the OSS to keep pace with the advancing Allied Armies. Several important high level personnel had changed as well during the July reorganization. [60]

July 1944

In July 1944, Glavin ordered a re-examination of the OSS position in the theater due to the needed special operations reorganization of AFHQ. The Special Operations Sub-Section, G-3, which oversaw covert combat operations, only had a partial interest in the OSS limited to SO or British SOE activities. The G-3 had no interest in SI or MO activities and had decreasing responsibilities ready for SO. The sub-section did not even have a working table of organization which further indicated its low

[58] Organizational Structure of OSS Italian Bases, undated, Folder 4, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[59] Glavin to Donovan, #33804, May 10, 1944, Folder 1, Box 1, Entry 6, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[60] Capt. Gerald R. Murphy, AGD, "OSS Mediterranean Organization," July 25, 1944, Folder 6, Box 4, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

importance. Meetings with the Section Chief moved from weekly to monthly and he preferred combat assignments instead of intelligence operations.[61]

Glavin struggled to get some leaders in the Mediterranean to understand that OSS activities needed to be understood on the basis that they involved both intelligence and operations. G-2, which oversaw intelligence operations, remained satisfied with intelligence collection efforts spearheaded by the OSS and, unlike G-3, felt no need to create a sub-section due to the OSS detachments with Seventh Army, AAI, and Balkan commands. Glavin wanted to increase OSS commitments to these commands as they produced more and avoided many of the pitfalls of rear-area headquarters bureaucracy. However, Glavin was willing to provide an OSS staff section for AFHQ as the OSS could provide such services to AFHQ at no cost to AFHQ.[62]

OSS in North Africa, primarily at Algiers, had been in the process of transferring to Caserta when Donovan visited Algiers in early July 1944. Most of OSS Algiers had closed due to the continuing consolidation of headquarters and activities in Italy. Throughout July, X-2 transferred its offices from Algiers to Italy to support northern Italian operations. X-2 briefly reopened the Algiers office due to "OSS requirements" with one civilian left to handle the work.[63] SI continued their North African work in Tangier through July 1944, opening offices in Centa and Melilla in northwest Morocco to assist OSS Spain in gathering information on Spanish neutrality.[64]

As part of Glavin's re-examination in July, he proposed to locate 2677th OSS Regimental Headquarters at San Leucio in the vicinity of Caserta to be close to AFHQ and a separate OSS-AAI headquarters near Siena. Colonel John E. Toulmin served as Deputy Strategic Services Officer under

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[61] Edward J. F. Glavin to General Devers, "OSS and Special Operations Sub-section, AFHQ," July 10, 1944, Folder 293, Box 33, Entry 165, RG 226, NARA-CP

[62] Edward J. F. Glavin to General Devers, "OSS and Special Operations Sub-section, AFHQ," July 10, 1944, Folder 293, Box 33, Entry 165, RG 226, NARA-CP

[63] Theater Officer Pouch Review, "X-2, Italy," August 15, 1944, Folder 1, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[64] Theater Officer Pouch Review, "SI in Morocco," August 15, 1944, Folder 1, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

Glavin with command of Bari headquarters. Bari took on new prominence as the central hub for OSS activities in the Balkans. It had responsibility over the Strategic Balkans Service (SBS) Bari, OSS Cairo, OSS Istanbul, and the American independent MO and SI mission to Yugoslavia. Donovan used the analogy of two moving columns to describe the OSS in the Mediterranean. One column, headquartered at Bari, directed operations towards the eastern half of the Mediterranean. The second column, headquartered at San Leucio near Caserta, directed itself west and northwest.[65]

Donovan approved the proposals and ordered the majority of OSS personnel to be assigned to OSS Italy, OSS-AAI, and the Seventh Army Detachment. Only enough personnel remained behind with the regimental headquarters in Algiers to maintain liaison with AFHQ. New JCS directives gave the OSS equal and joint authority with the British to maintain facilities for SI and MO activities in Italy. G-3 AFHQ received responsibility for determining the policies for SO/SOE joint operations but did not exercise control of the administration or command of the 2677th OSS Regimental Headquarters. G-2 AFHQ oversaw the staff functions of SI and MO activities.[66]

The tightening of administrative control over SI activities, began in May, continued. SI units and SI operations now accompanied forward groups while integrated with the work of the overall Italian SI Branch. Glavin wanted to rectify situations where forward operations and long range intelligence teams worked independent of each other. Their results could not always be credited to the OSS.[67]

On July 7, 1944, OSS Algiers officially moved to the "little Palace."[68] Glavin maintained his headquarters and a small staff there while the organization as a whole remained ready for any subsequent moves as operations and the front dictated. Lieutenant Colonel Thomas G. Early served as

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[65] Capt. Gerald R. Murphy, AGD, "OSS Mediterranean Organization," July 25, 1944, Folder 6, Box 4, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[66] Glavin to General Devers, "Draft Cable on OSS activities, Mediterranean Theater," July 9, 1944, Folder 293, Box 33, Entry 165, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[67] Capt. Gerald R. Murphy, AGD, "OSS Mediterranean Organization," July 25, 1944, Folder 6, Box 4, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP; Donovan from Glavin at Siena by way of Rome and Algiers, Cable #41484, July 6, 1944, Folder 1, Box 1, Entry 6, RG 226, NARA-CP

[68] "Security in Caserta, Italy: The Security Office in Caserta after the Move of Headquarters, 2677th Regiment, OSS, from Algiers to Caserta," undated, Folder 3, Box 49, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 5.

Glavin's Executive Officer and acting Deputy Commander with Major Norman H. Newhouse heading the Secretariat, Major Harold L. Lockwood as Services Officer, and Lieutenant Colonel W. F. Nee as head of the OSS Liaison Detachment with AFHQ at Caserta. Captain William Suhling took command as Commanding Officer, Company "D" which handled OG and SO operations on July 9.[69]

Several branches of the OSS maintained representatives at Caserta for liaison with OSS and army headquarters. Rome Area Command, under General Harry H. Johnson, commander of the garrison forces in the city, asked for OSS intelligence support in the Rome area. X-2 set up a new headquarters in Rome to care for its increased responsibilities due to the army's request for assistance. Lieutenant Colonel Andrew Torielli was in commanded of the small group of X-2 and MO personnel. It made sense to station X-2 and MO in Rome for the ample opportunities presented by the city. X-2 maintained several teams north of Rome and communications with other OSS headquarters and General Patch's command. The Rome intelligence and liaison staff with AMG and Allied Control Commission (ACC) remained under the OSS Regimental Headquarters at San Leucio. The reorganization designated Major Andrew H. Bearding as Chief X-2, MEDTO.[70]

The July reorganization also saw the OSS move the Advance Base Headquarters north to Siena after the closure of their headquarters at San Leucio. The headquarters continuously moved northward with Allied forces. At 1500 on July 5, 1944, the OSS officially established Siena, Italy, as the location for the Advance Base headquarters.[71] The OSS brought in Suhling, formerly the SO Chief, to command this new headquarters.[72] The OSS stationed three civilians and seven enlisted men at the Siena

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[69] Capt. Gerald R. Murphy, AGD, "OSS Mediterranean Organization," July 25, 1944, Folder 6, Box 4, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP; 2677th Regiment OSS Prov to Deputy Chief of Staff, AFHQ, July 12, 1944, Folder 293, Box 33, Entry 165, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[70] Capt. Gerald R. Murphy, AGD, "OSS Mediterranean Organization," July 25, 1944, Folder 6, Box 4, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP; OSS Internal Memo – Meeting with Rome

[71] Donovan from Glavin at Siena by way of Rome and Algiers, Cable #41484, July 6, 1944, Folder 1, Box 1, Entry 6, RG 226, NARA-CP; Capt. Gerald R. Murphy, AGD, "OSS Mediterranean Organization," July 25, 1944, Folder 6, Box 4, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[72] Capt. Gerald R. Murphy, AGD, "OSS Mediterranean Organization," July 25, 1944, Folder 6, Box 4, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

headquarters with six vehicles at the officers' disposal. Several officers from the Advance Base Headquarters assisted with liaison and Detachment work with General Lemnitzer, Eighth and Seventh Armies, and rear OSS headquarters in Rome.[73]

Meanwhile, Early moved to Rome with the balance of OSS Regimental Headquarters on July 6. Lemnitzer established his AAI headquarters on Lake Bolsena about sixty miles north of Rome. Captain Cagiati served as the Senior Liaison Officer, OSS Detachment, at AAI headquarters. The Advance Base headquarters did not stay long in Siena and continued to move north with Allied troops until they reached Florence.[74]

While the base in Siena coalesced, Glavin ordered other units out of Bari in July to begin setting up another advance headquarters in Ancona. Operations really picked up as the bases prepared their new headquarters nearer to the front of the Allied Armies. Additional personnel reinforced the forward MO, SO, and SI teams. As the Allies advanced and the Germans withdrew, agents noted that the Italians made every effort to accommodate the Americans, where the Germans had received begrudging acceptance or resistance.[75]

X-2, MO, and OG Branches operated from the forward base, and Glavin spent a good portion of his time conducting business out of the Advance HQ. The OSS also created two separate detachments for attachment to the American Fifth and British Eighth Armies. The reorganization closed the Brindisi and Pazzoli bases with most of the personnel returned to Washington for reassignment. The Italian Desk moved its military intelligence section forward to Siena on August 19, 1944, to facilitate delivery of

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[73] Donovan from Glavin at Siena by way of Rome and Algiers, Cable #41484, July 6, 1944, Folder 1, Box 1, Entry 6, RG 226, NARA-CP

[74] Donovan from Glavin at Siena by way of Rome and Algiers, Cable #41484, July 6, 1944, Folder 1, Box 1, Entry 6, RG 226, NARA-CP

[75] From Glavin Florence to Algiers Relay Donovan Repeat Rome, July 5, 1944, Folder 6, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-Cp.

urgent information to army headquarters in the field. SO Italy and the OSS Advanced Radio Station also transferred to Siena at the same time.[76]

The speed with which the OSS built the advance bases exhibited the maturation of OSS operational capability and administrative know-how. It contributed to the increasing success of field teams and the yielding of higher quality intelligence relayed back to headquarters. For example, Eighth Army Detachment operated three radio teams which reported often on military intelligence along the front lines of Eighth Army. The teams which operated in front of Eight Army all worked with partisans on operational projects and also reported out tactical intelligence "of great value to the Eighth Army."[77]

As the OSS matured administratively in Washington and in the field, the agency showed an ability to quickly move on from failures, and when necessary, reassign needed personnel and equipment to more successful operations. In one such instance, the Communications Branch created a radio direction finding (D/F) project within Italy to uncover Axis agents during 1944. After poor results, Chief of the Communications Branch, Colonel Lowman, suggested the gradual abandonment of the project in late summer 1944. The in-place equipment and people would, in the meantime, provide what communication value it could. Lowman felt the remaining personnel could accomplish more on other in-flight assignments, and any dissatisfied OSS civilian employees would need to be reassigned or released from the OSS and returned home. The relatively quick assessment of, and action upon, such reports demonstrated an ability for self-assessment in 1944 not present two years prior.[78] Having personnel as capable as Lowman with high-level professional backgrounds helped instill better organizational capability into the OSS.

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[76] Theater Officer Pouch Review, "Italian Desk-Forward," September 13, 1944, Folder 1, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP; Capt. Gerald R. Murphy, AGD, "OSS Mediterranean Organization," July 25, 1944, Folder 6, Box 4, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[77] Maj. Judson B. Smith to Commanding Officer, 2677th Regiment OSS (Provisional), "S. O. Branch – Report of Progress 5 December 1944 – 5 March 1945," March 5, 1945, Folder 8, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[78] Theater Officer Pouch Review, "DF Situation," August 21, 1944, Folder 1, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP

The MO Branch also took part in the general OSS reorganizations occurring during the summer of 1944. Many of the branches received new commanders and adjusted their tables of organization to be more in line with the realities in the field. They also incorporated many of the support branches that assisted in the steady improvement of duty abroad. Colonel Mann of MO and OSS MO agent Pershall left Algiers to assist in the reshaping of objectives, "resorting people," and moving bases of operation closer to targets and facilities. The reorganization of MO in MEDTO was long overdue, and Mann and Pershall undertook efforts to improve operations while compiling lessons learned from the past year's operations. They concluded that faulty recruiting led to most of the issues within MO in MEDTO. Many of the personnel sent were "useless [or] should be returned." Once again, the lack of specific instructions regarding MO operations from MO to the training staff led to incorrect personnel assignments by the Assessment Schools in the United States, an issue also experienced by SI.[79]

Because of the reorganization issues, MO struggled to assess the success of their operations in Italy. Internal MO cables described many of these issues. A long letter from MO MEDTO to Washington detailed the difficulties and problems of the "German team" outside Rome. Since July 1944, MO had printed over two million propaganda items just for the central Mediterranean. Most of the items never actually made it to the enemy or enemy occupied territory. While MO produced a prodigious amount of material of varying quality, no one knew for certain if the material actually reached the Germans. MO distributed the materials poorly, prompting one observer to remark that MO efforts were "lamentable."[80]

The only channels used by MO for attempting to pass the material behind German lines in Italy involved Yugoslav and French resistance groups. A handful of operations dropped material over German

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[79] Chief, SI to Mr. H. Andrews, Mr. R. Roulton, Mr. R. C. Foster, Comdr. M. Katz, Mr. G. Loud, Schools and Training Report, July 25, 1944, Folder 4, Box 14, Entry 92, RG 226, NARA-CP; Theater Officer Pouch Review, "MO Problems," July 12, 1944, Folder 2, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[80] Theater Officer Pouch Review, "MO Italy," August 30, 1944, Folder 2, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

lines, but assessment of their efficacy was near impossible. The head of MO Italy, Edward Warner, to the branch's detriment, had no interest in developing alternative media such as radio. Many within the OSS and MO felt that Warner worked more to please his OSS superiors in Washington rather than effectively guide MO in the field. Production figures became the primary concern over distribution. As a result, MO goals and objectives remained skewed and ineffective.[81]

Fall and Winter 1944

R&A Staffer Ulmer noted the ghost town nature of Algiers in the fall of 1944. The French and Spanish desks had moved to Marseille, and those left had received orders to take up swimming to "keep them from milling around." The OGs reporting to Algiers from France finished their operations and returned to base camp for reassignment. Ulmer himself voiced an uncommon desire to be assigned to a medium sized mission such as the Balkan or Central European offices rather than a large office if the OSS kept the Reporting Boards in Europe.[82]

As the year wore on, Glavin directed all remaining OSS bases in and south of Rome to move further north by the end of December 1944 to be nearer the front of operations. Unfortunately, the postponement of Fifteenth Air Group's move also postponed the movement forward of bases due to the logistical issues involved. Yet Glavin continued with steps to transfer north those available personnel and activities which could move safely. For example, Major Smith, SO Chief, went forward to Company "D's" headquarters to handle the extensive Italian SO operations at the front. When the air-lift finally began, all operations moved to the Rosignano area along with the OSS Advance Base Headquarters. The

[81] Theater Officer Pouch Review, "MO Italy," August 30, 1944, Folder 2, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[82] Theater Officer Pouch Review, "End of Algiers Office," September 20, 1944, Folder 1, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

Chief of Operations remained back in Caserta as the only exception to maintain liaison with G-3 Special Operations, AFHQ, until its dissolution.[83]

As part of the summer reorganization, SI, through Scamporino, submitted new plans to OSS Washington for SI MEDTO operations in September 1944. He also drew up a new organizational table for each team, which included a Commanding Officer (CO), Executive Officer and members of X-2, R&A, MO, and service branches. At the same time, the forward SO base in Italy moved to the Venice-Trieste area and comprised part of Major William C. Suhling's Company "D" and Major Howard M. Chapin's Counter-Espionage (CE) Section. [84] Suhling continued his work on Combat Intelligence as long as the war necessitated it, while Chapin worked on deep penetration operations. [85]

SI also had a contingency plan in place if German resistance crumbled by the end of 1944 in Italy which called for teams to enter Vienna, Budapest, Munich, and Prague immediately. SI brought in several new Commanding Officers to handle the expected operations. They also reorganized all personnel in Italy, except at Bari, for political, economic, and intelligence work with OSS and army headquarters in Rome. Before they could reach into Central Europe, northern Italy still held priority for operations and supplies. Accordingly, SI placed teams on alert for immediate operational activity for Turin, Milan, Genoa, and Bologna.[86]

The dissolution of 2677th Regimental Companies "B" and "C" and the reassignment of their personnel indicated the changing OSS priority of personnel in the Mediterranean by the end of 1944. 2677th Regiment Company "A" took over the brunt of work from Corsica into northern Italy and then from their base in Siena. Rather than use the dissolution of "B" and "C" to provide personnel in support

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[83] C. Martin Wood, Jr., to Commanding Officer, 2677th Regiment OSS (Provisional), "Operations Report for the Period 5 December 1944 – 5 March 1944," February 28, 1945, Folder 8, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 17-18.

[84] Theater Officer Pouch Review, "Plans for SI, MEDTO," September 28, 1944, Folder 1, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[85] Theater Officer Pouch Review, "Plans for SI, MEDTO," September 28, 1944, Folder 1, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[86] Theater Officer Pouch Review, "Plans for SI, MEDTO," September 28, 1944, Folder 1, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

of northern Italian operations, the OSS began shifting resources to other theaters on the assumption of the nearing cessation of combat operations in Europe. Especially with the pervasive Allied belief, however erroneous, that the war in Europe would end, if not by Christmas 1944 then shortly thereafter, the OSS wasted little time attempting to increase its presence in other theaters at the expense of MEDTO. The OSS understood that it needed to continue to ingratiate itself to as many people, organizations, and departments as possible in order to continue operating as the primary professional US intelligence organization after the war.[87]

While the majority of MEDTO underwent administrative reorganizations, the branches often found the nature of their work evolve with the shifting priorities. SO personnel did "useful if unorthodox" SO work, mainly, liaison, supply, intelligence, and air rescue.[88] The SO base at Bari, Italy, functioned with reported efficiency, but the situation in Caserta provided less than satisfactory results. SO reports mentioned several organizational difficulties in Caserta during the fall of 1944. In response, SO dispatched a new administrator to assist and evaluate the Caserta office which had several projects underway in the Verona-Bolzano area. He relayed to the SO Chief, Captain Carl O. Hoffman, that SO at Caserta had "no head, no SO organization, and no one to report SO activities." Glavin agreed that other branches had "despoiled" SO, and the speed of events in Italy had not permitted the preservation of SO as a functioning entity in Italy.[89]

Too often, other branches had siphoned off SO personnel to help with their own operations, leaving SO Caserta inoperative. Changes came swiftly, which included appointing a SO head for Caserta and Siena as well as an accounting of SO personnel. Many of the men serving in other branches were

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[87] Maj. Samuel C. King, Jr. to G-3 Special Operations, AFHQ, "Weekly Operations Report No. 6," November 26, 1944, Folder 1, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[88] Theater Officer Pouch Review, "SO at Bari," September 22, 1944, Folder 1, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[89] Theater Officer Pouch Review, "SO, Caserta," September 25, 1944, Folder 1, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

transferred into those branches and new SO personnel brought in to the theater in order to minimize the disruption to ongoing operations.[90]

Glavin issued new orders governing the staff supervision of intelligence activities in December 1944. The order changed the way OSS governed intelligence activities into two "zones." The "Forward Zone" included areas in which the military currently engaged the enemy. As of December, this included Italy and all areas within the jurisdiction of the Fifteenth Army Group. The order dictated that SI, R&A, X-2, MO, and Research & Development (R&D) in this zone focus on support activities immediately behind the front line, on the front line, and behind enemy lines. The Forward Zone also encompassed installations and personnel supporting activities in the Forward Zone such as training, holding areas, production plants for MO, and other support.[91]

The Rear Zone included those areas in which military operations had completed such as Rome. OSS activities therein concerned the acquisition of political, economic, and related information or assisting with US or UN agencies such as ACC and the State Department. The OSS created a new administrative position to manage each of these zones. Colonel Joseph Rodrigo became Senior Staff Officer for Forward Zone Intelligence with Robert Joyce as Senior Staff Officer for Rear Zone Intelligence. OSS Washington exercised progressively more direct supervision of Rear Zone OSS activity in similar ways to previous AFHQ supervision of activities in the forward military zone. For command purposes, the Senior Staff Officers for Forward and Rear Zones occupied equal staff levels. They coordinated their activities directly with the Executive Officer and the Commanding Officer of the theater.[92]

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[90] Theater Officer Pouch Review, "SO, Caserta," September 25, 1944, Folder 1, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[91] Maj. Gerald R. Murphy to All Concerned, "Staff Supervision of Intelligence Activities," December 20, 1944, Folder 6, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[92] Maj. Gerald R. Murphy to All Concerned, "Staff Supervision of Intelligence Activities," December 20, 1944, Folder 6, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

Morale Issues Associated with Reorganizations

As the OSS reorganized throughout MEDTO, inevitable organizational confusion meant that at times, morale among OSS men and women ebbed. In one particularly despondent letter, an MO officer assigned to MEDTO lamented that no American or OSS member, except Donovan, had the slightest faith in the feasibility or desirability of his MO missions.[93] He personally cabled Donovan with the ultimatum that he should be sent to Paris under R&A cover with a small staff of "very American" officers, or otherwise he would return to his post at Dartmouth rather than continue with the OSS.[94] In other instances, morale remained high despite extreme hardships heaped on the staffs of overworked headquarters and little to no leave opportunities due to the pace of OSS operations.

OSS agents in Bari, Italy, reported an upward shift in morale and enthusiasm throughout the base by the summer of 1944. Several new personnel appointed to Bari included a new SO Chief and officers in charge of Services, Supply, Billeting, Transportation, and Mess.[95] These kinds of administrative or rear-area support services had not garnered much attention early on as the OSS scrambled to get men into the field. The maturation of field stations, missions, and theater headquarters enabled them to place greater emphasis on the needs of the men and women in the field in the Mediterranean. The additional support apparatus also led to lower turnover among agents and better organization of operations.

While few officers quibbled openly about the reorganizations, which they viewed as mostly necessary, many did take issue with the financial dealings in Washington.[96] The officers described the

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[93] Theater Officer Pouch Review, "MO Mission to French," September 20, 1944, Folder 1, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[94] Theater Officer Pouch Review, "MO Mission to French," September 20, 1944, Folder 1, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[95] Theater Officer Pouch Review, "Bari Appointments," July 20, 1944, Folder 2, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[96] Much of the OSS budget remained secret, leading to arguments internally over allocations and with the Bureau of the Budget about the use of funds. The lack of enough secretarial assistance and the covert nature of OSS work meant that money often disappeared without sufficient cataloguing or accounting. Field officers and administrators regularly felt slighted by OSS Washington's withholding of promised funds and the sluggishness

financial troubles variously as “very sloppy” and as creating a “state of fury,” causing fights with the local Finance Officer “every other day.”[97] Branch and mission leaders sent numerous reports to Washington regarding agent compensation and unclear payment structures. A general lack of funds for day-to-day operations such as hiring civilian typists for memos exacerbated the situation.

The OSS tried to readjust agent and civilian salaries periodically to account for higher quality personnel as well as due to complaints regarding proper compensation from the field. As one example, SI civilian staff members received an increase during June 1944 and SI Geographic Section Chiefs received an 800 USD raise from 4,800 USD to 5,600 USD. Their direct reports received a 1,000 USD raise from 3,800 USD to 4,800 USD.[98] As a comparison, Sherman Kent left his assistant professorship at Yale which paid 3,500 USD a year to join the OSS as Langer’s deputy for 5,000 USD a year. [99]

While they appreciated, and at times demanded, higher compensation due to the nature of the work, most recruits did not cite the OSS’ better-than-average pay as reason for their employment. Most members of the OSS served out of a dedication to aid the United States’ war effort in unique and important ways that no one had before dared to attempt. The members of the OSS more often than not embodied the professional requirement that service to the public should take priority over financial reward.[100]

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with which funds were dispersed. Agents and field administrators often worked on IOUs until sufficient funds arrived from Washington.

[97] Theater Officer Pouch Review, “”MO - Algiers,” July 17, 1944, Folder 2, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[98] Theater Officer Pouch Review, “Compensation for Agents,” July 20, 1944, Folder 2, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP; Theater Officer Pouch Review, “SI Salaries in the Field,” July 1, 1944, Folder 2, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP; Robin Winks, "Getting the Right Stuff: FDR, Donovan, and the Quest for Professional Intelligence," in *The Secrets War: The Office of Strategic Services in World War II*, ed. George C. Chalou (Washington, DC: National Archives and Records Administration, 1992), 19-42.

[99] Robin Winks, "Getting the Right Stuff: FDR, Donovan, and the Quest for Professional Intelligence," in *The Secrets War: The Office of Strategic Services in World War II*, ed. George C. Chalou (Washington, DC: National Archives and Records Administration, 1992), 20-21.

[100] Robin Winks, "Getting the Right Stuff: FDR, Donovan, and the Quest for Professional Intelligence," in *The Secrets War: The Office of Strategic Services in World War II*, ed. George C. Chalou (Washington, DC: National Archives and Records Administration, 1992), 20-21.

OSS agent actions, reports, memos, memoirs, and service records detailed the construction of a professional organization, staffed by emerging professionals, serving a public need. The adoption of new training methods and the inclusion of enlisted men and officers helped infuse a sense of pride and professionalism to the planning, logistics, and execution of operations. The fumbling intelligence organizational structure of 1940-1941 transformed slowly into a more substantial and capable agency by the end of 1944. Periodic reorganizations would continue to enhance OSS administrative capability, though not without issue. However, fears of post-war irrelevance and dissolution of the agency continued to weigh on the minds of OSS leaders. The following account of an OSS action off the coast of Italy in June 1944 illustrates the precarious nature of even well planned covert operations and the difficulties the OSS faced in accomplishing their day-to-day goals.

Ligurean Sea: 1900 hours, June 22, 1944

The Army Air Forces air rescue boat (ARB) No. 423 idled uneasily in Bastia harbor on the evening of 22 June 1944. An enchanting sunset painted the men and their boats against the coastline, drawing shadows across the fishing fleet and quays. The war never seemed further away from the sleepy north Corsican port city nestled into the Ligurean Sea. Second Lieutenant Walter W. Taylor Jr. of the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) Secret Intelligence (SI) Branch and his men enjoyed the cool evening ocean breeze as they awaited the appointed start hour. American and British naval personnel joined the men before embarking towards the northern Italian coast. The men spoke of home and the mission, and gave a final drag of their cigarettes before loading up and shoving off. Certainly not one to display his anxieties in front of the men, Taylor presented a calm, collected demeanor. He had led several previous missions and was by now an old hand at night time sea-borne infiltrations. The men with him this time were members of two SI missions codenamed “LOCUST” and “MONTREAL.” The mission called for a routine infiltration of OSS agents behind the lines to provide assistance and support to Italian partisans

operating in northern Italy. As the men would discover, "routine" in the OSS took on a whole new meaning.[101]

Taylor personified the dual nature of some of the best and brightest men and women of the Office of Strategic Services. A Yale Class of 1935 graduate with a degree in geology, he enrolled in the anthropology PhD program at Harvard in 1938. With his newly granted doctoral degree still yet to arrive in the mail, Taylor enlisted in the United States Marine Corps in 1942.[102] Now a PhD and a second lieutenant in the United States Marine Corps Reserve, Taylor served as one of fewer than a dozen marines assigned to the European Theater of Operations. He quickly found himself transferred into the Office of Strategic Services. Rather than appoint Taylor to the Research and Analysis Branch as might be expected, the OSS had different plans for him. They assigned him to the Secret Intelligence Branch force operating out of Bastia, Corsica. He quickly became experienced in OSS operations after arriving in Corsica on March 28, 1944. Taylor displayed a knack for sea-borne infiltration operations and an unflinching bravery and duty to his mission.

By the end of June, he had already landed on enemy territory seven times and participated in eighteen operations to land or pick up agents in enemy territory. On two separate occasions, Taylor and his team were abandoned by the Patrol Torpedo (PT) boats due to enemy naval attacks. Each time, he and his team managed to survive and return unharmed to Bastia. His SI Section Chief lauded him as resourceful, brave, and as having an "exemplary coolness and judgment in difficult situations."[103]

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[101] 2nd Lt. Walter W. Taylor Jr. to SI Operations Officer, Det "C," 2677th Regiment, "Report of shore party of "LOCUST" and "MONTREAL" operations, 22-24 June, 1944," June 25, 1944, Folder 349, Box 35, Entry 165, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1; "SAA Bulletin 15(4): Walter Willard Taylor, Jr. 1913-1997." Society for American Archeology. September 1997. Accessed March 31, 2016, http://www.saa.org/Portals/0/SAA/publications/saabulletin/15-4/SAA15.html

[102] "SAA Bulletin 15(4): Walter Willard Taylor, Jr. 1913-1997." Society for American Archeology. September 1997. Accessed March 31, 2016, http://www.saa.org/Portals/0/SAA/publications/saabulletin/15-4/SAA15.html

[103] "SAA Bulletin 15(4): Walter Willard Taylor, Jr. 1913-1997." Society for American Archeology. September 1997. Accessed March 31, 2016, http://www.saa.org/Portals/0/SAA/publications/saabulletin/15-4/SAA15.html

Lieutenant Edmund "Teddy" Smyth, Royal Navy Volunteer Reserve (RNVR), as African Coastal Flotilla (ACF) representative, and 2677th Regiment OSS SI Operations Officer Mr. Wayne Nelson accompanied Taylor aboard the ARB.[104] The ARB shoved off from Bastia harbor at 1945 hours with Taylor and his men aboard. A radar equipped PT boat escorted the heavily laden ARB with its load of two rubber boats and crew. Taylor's team comprised Royal Navy Seamen Izzard and Hall to pilot rubber dinghy landing craft, and three OSS agents with two radiomen. 2nd Lieutenant William York commanded the ARB while Mr. Wayne Nelson would maintain "handy-talkie" radio contact with 2nd Lieutenant Taylor from the ARB. The men kept busy during the transit silently testing their equipment on deck. [105]

The success of the mission required the team to land at a pinpoint, or designated spot, on the Ligurean coastline near Genoa, Italy and avoid enemy patrols while infiltrating through German lines to meet up with Italian partisan leaders. Scarce air transport capabilities meant OSS teams operating out of Corsica had to brave constant German sea and land patrols in order to infiltrate mainland Italy through sea-borne infiltrations. The previous attempt to land the "MONTREAL" and "LOCUST" teams via PT boats had failed due to the presence and activity of two German naval corvettes and two R boats. The Germans had opened fire on the PT boats, forcing them to flee the withering fire through a smoke

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[104] Lieutenant Smyth's name is alternatively spelled Smythe or Smylie by the official OSS reports of the operation. Wayne Nelson in his autobiography spells it Smylie despite being the one who wrote official OSS reports. Lieutenant Smyth, born March 1919, was the son of linen factory owners in North Ireland. He had already earned a Distinguished Service Cross for torpedo boat actions off Tunisia in April 1943 and now found himself again commanding torpedo boats in support of Allied covert operations. Mr. Aubrey "Wayne" Nelson, born 1912 in Philadelphia, was a former actor and playwright who took the stage name "Wayne" which stuck with him the rest of his life. Nelson joined Donovan's Coordinator of Information (COI) office in 1942 following his friend Allen Dulles. After failing to get into Switzerland with Dulles through France before the Germans closed the border, he eventually found himself stationed in North Africa and Italy where he served as an Operations Officer for the SI Branch. Nelson would also go on after the war to write the official OSS history OSS War Report volumes with the assistance of Kermit Roosevelt. Houston McKelvey, "The Man from Moygashel," *The Brave Report* Vol. 34 (January 11, 2016), 11-13; Wayne Nelson, *A Spy's Diary of World War II: Inside the OSS with an American Agent in Europe* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2009), 5-6, 200-202.

[105] Wayne Nelson to Commanding Officer, Detachment "C," 2677th Regiment, "Operational Experience of 2nd Lt. Walter Taylor, USMCR," June 26, 1944, Folder 349, Box 35, Entry 165, RG 226, NARA-CP; A Spy's Diary of World War II, Wayne Nelson, p. 5-7, 200-202.

screen. Upon regrouping, the team leaders decided that any further attempt at landing that night would be futile.[106]

This time, however, Taylor determined to land his teams despite the continued dangers. The team proceeded to the Italian coast using the cover of night to obscure their small convoy from enemy sea patrols. The ARB and PTs arrived two and a half miles off the shore at 2355 hours to make their second landing attempt. While the PT boat stood by to stand watch and screen the landing, the ARB crept in closer to the shore. Two rubber dinghies launched from the ARB between three hundred and four hundred yards from shore at 0035 hours. One dinghy carried two OSS agents, a radioman, and Taylor paddled by Seaman Izzard. The other contained another OSS agent with his radioman paddled by Seaman Hall. They skulked like phantoms towards the shore, becoming distinctly more aware with each passing yard that the impossibly thin neoprene sheet of the rubber dinghy was all that stood between them and the enemy. [107]

About one hundred and fifty yards from shore, the motors of the ARB suddenly spurted to life in the distance as star shells simultaneously burst in the sky, illuminating the entire area. The ARB immediately came under enemy fire and was driven off by a German corvette and R boat.[108] Taylor instantly ordered his rubber dinghies to freeze. They were still well within range of enemy fire and now in danger of being silhouetted by the star shells. He directed them to only row once darkness returned. Pulling a silver lining from an otherwise dark cloud, Taylor took the opportunity with the shoreline illuminated to reconnoiter the landing spot. He confirmed that the pinpoint did not lie directly ahead of

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[106] Wayne Nelson to Commanding Officer, Detachment "C," 2677th Regiment, "Operational Experience of 2nd Lt. Walter Taylor, USMCR," June 26, 1944, Folder 349, Box 35, Entry 165, RG 226, NARA-CP

[107] Capt. Henry Leger to Commanding Officer, 2677th Regiment, "Report of Operations "LOCUST" and "MONTREAL," night of June 21-23, 1944, June 26, 1944, Folder 349, Box 35, Entry 165, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1-3.

[108] The Germans deployed several variations of small torpedo and naval costal defense craft throughout the war. The E-boat, S-boat, and R-boat (minesweeper) were the most common variants.

them, but further north. When the flares extinguished and gun fire concluded, Taylor guided the dinghies northwards.[109]

Meanwhile, around 0050 hours, the men aboard the ARB had spotted two small enemy craft exiting a bay near the coast. Immediately after, the first star shells burst in the air above the coast followed by enemy fire. Tracers splashed the water one hundred and fifty yards astern of the incoming ARB, and the enemy quickly began to find its range. 2nd Lieutenant York aboard the ARB desperately attempted to make radio contact with the screening PT to ask it to create a diversion. Tracer fire continued to inch ever closer to the escaping ARB. With tracers flying two feet over its occupants' heads, the ARB finally passed out of range and continued to zig-zag out to ten miles offshore. The guns now silent, York at last made contact with the PT and arranged a rendezvous twelve miles off shore. Smyth and Nelson boarded the PT. The ARB, with its lack of radar, was ordered to return to Bastia.

Taylor and his dinghymen, after only covering a short distance, realized the pinpoint did not in fact lie to the north. Enemy patrols and the shortness of time before dawn made finding a suitable landing spot paramount preventing them from turning southward. Improvising on the spot, Taylor used his knowledge of the coastline gleaned from photographic studies to successfully find another suitable landing spot. After managing to evade German sea patrols despite heavy patrolling, Taylor and his men successfully landed and secured the pinpoint. He then immediately took the rubber boats and set about reconnoitering the immediate coastal terrain.[110] He conducted a rather lengthy reconnaissance to establish the possibility of scaling a cliff to the level terrain above. Once satisfied with a suitable location to ensure the agents could proceed safely inland, he returned to the landing spot where they waited.

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[109] 2nd Lt. Walter W. Taylor Jr. to SI Operations Officer, Det "C," 2677th Regiment, "Report of shore party of "LOCUST" and "MONTREAL" operations, 22-24 June, 1944," June 25, 1944, Folder 349, Box 35, Entry 165, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1.

[110] Wayne Nelson to Commanding Officer, Detachment "C," 2677th Regiment, "Operational Experience of 2nd Lt. Walter Taylor, USMCR," June 26, 1944, Folder 349, Box 35, Entry 165, RG 226, NARA-CP.

They then made two further trips to get the agents and their equipment into satisfactory position. Despite the difficulties, the agents landed dry, thankful, and in good spirits.[111]

Two hours after landing, Taylor prepared to rendezvous with the PT boat for escort back to Bastia. After receiving a signal from the PT boat, he and the dinghymen started out to meet it. Cruising to within one hundred and fifty yards of the PT boat, several German craft suddenly opened fire on the American craft. Fortunately they had not spotted the diminutive rubber dinghies. Taylor watched as the PT boat immediately laid down a smoke screen leaving the dinghies behind and alone. Amazed to still be undetected, Taylor watched a German boat almost ram his rubber dinghies in its pursuit of the now retreating PT boat. Reacting quickly, he immediately ordered his craft to put out to sea without knowledge of the locations of any other friendly naval craft and overriding customary instructions to remain in place in such situations.[112] He knew that the probability of contact so far off shore would be low, but hoped that between the usual PT patrols, their radar, sound and sight, and the recognition signal, he could make contact again with the rescue boats.[113] For the rest of the night and throughout the next day, Taylor and the dinghymen floated five miles off shore avoiding German sea patrols and anxious about the men they left behind at the beach pinpoint. After awaiting nightfall again, he ordered his craft to return to the PT rendezvous area in order to attempt another, hopefully more successful, meeting with the scheduled PT boats.[114]

While Taylor and his men landed and started back to the rendezvous point, the PT and ARB boats continued to carry out the mission. An hour and a half after the ARB unloaded Taylor and the men

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[111] 2nd Lt. Walter W. Taylor Jr. to SI Operations Officer, Det "C," 2677th Regiment, "Report of shore party of "LOCUST" and "MONTREAL" operations, 22-24 June, 1944," June 25, 1944, Folder 349, Box 35, Entry 165, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1.

[112] Wayne Nelson to Commanding Officer, Detachment "C," 2677th Regiment, "Operational Experience of 2nd Lt. Walter Taylor, USMCR," June 26, 1944, Folder 349, Box 35, Entry 165, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[113] 2nd Lt. Walter W. Taylor Jr. to SI Operations Officer, Det "C," 2677th Regiment, "Report of shore party of "LOCUST" and "MONTREAL" operations, 22-24 June, 1944," June 25, 1944, Folder 349, Box 35, Entry 165, RG 226, NARA-CP, 2.

[114] Wayne Nelson to Commanding Officer, Detachment "C," 2677th Regiment, "Operational Experience of 2nd Lt. Walter Taylor, USMCR," June 26, 1944, Folder 349, Box 35, Entry 165, RG 226, NARA-CP.

and retired in the face of German fire, Smyth and Nelson, now aboard the screening PT, decided to return to the pinpoint.[115] Tension mounted as Nelson continued his efforts to make contact with the shore party through his "handy-talkie." The PT bravely closed to within a half mile of the shore, but still had not made contact with Taylor's team. Now only six hundred yards from the original pinpoint, a white flash in the darkness off to starboard caught their eye. A "J" in Morse code challenged the PT boat. Before they could decide on a response, several star shells erupted in the sky, once again illuminating the coast. The radar identified two small German craft approaching from the bay to starboard. Immediately, the PT swung around to beat a hasty retreat. The Germans were prepared this time. Tracer fire and 88 millimeter shells began raining down around them. The PT skipper ordered full-throttle to his engines, urging it ever faster while leaving a smoke screen in his wake. [116]

Finally outrunning the tracer fire about one mile from shore, the men began to relax slightly though German fire continued into the smoke for another ten minutes. Sensing a moment of calm, the PT boat reduced speed at two-and-a-half miles from shore. However, just then an 88 millimeter shell landed fifty to seventy five yards off the starboard bow whereupon the PT commander once again poured on the speed until his craft moved to a safer five miles out. Smyth, Nelson, and the commander decided that any further attempt to locate and pick up Taylor and his men would be futile. They also did not want to compromise the shore party itself by making repeated attempts close to shore. Doing so might tell the Germans that something other than a small craft patrol operation was in progress. Therefore, the PT turned towards Bastia at 0230 hours arriving in port at 0630 hours.[117]

Despite the men's exhaustion, when they returned to Bastia, they immediately conferred with Captain Henry Leger of OSS 2677th Regiment, Company "C," and Mr. Stonborough, A-3 of the 63rd

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[115] Capt. Henry Leger to Commanding Officer, 2677th Regiment, "Report of Operations "LOCUST" and "MONTREAL," night of June 21-23, 1944, June 26, 1944, Folder 349, Box 35, Entry 165, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1.

[116] Capt. Henry Leger to Commanding Officer, 2677th Regiment, "Report of Operations "LOCUST" and "MONTREAL," night of June 21-23, 1944, June 26, 1944, Folder 349, Box 35, Entry 165, RG 226, NARA-CP, 3.

[117] Capt. Henry Leger to Commanding Officer, 2677th Regiment, "Report of Operations "LOCUST" and "MONTREAL," night of June 21-23, 1944, June 26, 1944, Folder 349, Box 35, Entry 165, RG 226, NARA-CP, 3.

Fighter Wing. Directly thereafter, Nelson conferred with Commander Macollum of the ACF to discuss the best way to rescue Taylor and the two seamen. After mulling it over, Macollum stated that the only way to save them would be to carry out a much larger naval action. The action could cover the operational boat as it closed to shore to pick up the men. However, such a gambit required the approval of the Allied naval commander at Bastia, Captain Dickinson of the Royal Navy (RN). Macollum also called in Lieutenant Sawyer, Communications Officer, Company "C," to prepare two TBY voice radio sets that worked based on line of sight. No one knew for sure if Taylor had his own TBY radio, but all possibilities were considered. Sawyer also tested and prepared two "handy-talkie" sets for extensive use during the pick-up. Stonborough ordered all planes within the operational area to keep an eye out for dinghies on the correct assumption that Taylor may have headed out to sea.[118]

Everyone busied themselves with preparation for the now – approved naval action. Special air reconnaissance was dispatched and kept constant contact with Stonborough. At 1600 local time in Bastia, Macollum received word that five craft had been assigned to the rescue operation, two American PTs and three British Motor Torpedo Boats (MTBs). One PT was to be the operational craft and the other four boats for protection. They would arrive in column then spread out a mile apart to intercept any enemy craft in the area while the operational boat secured the men.[119] All the boat commanders and executive officers, together with Smythe, Nelson, and Sawyer gathered on the deck of MTB No. 420 at 1915 hours to listen to the briefing given by Lieutenant Blomfield, RN. This coming together of OSS and Royal Navy personnel represented the culmination of assiduous efforts by many OSS personnel and

[118] Capt. Henry Leger to Commanding Officer, 2677th Regiment, "Report of operation to Pick Up Lt. Taylor and Seamen Izzard and Hall, night of June 23-24, 1944," June 26, 1944, Folder 349, Box 35, Entry 165, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1-4.

[119] Capt. Henry Leger to Commanding Officer, 2677th Regiment, "Report of operation to Pick Up Lt. Taylor and Seamen Izzard and Hall, night of June 23-24, 1944," June 26, 1944, Folder 349, Box 35, Entry 165, RG 226, NARA-CP, 3.

Donovan himself to cooperate with and receive the cooperation of other American and British agencies. With the last light of evening fading, the rescue convoy left Bastia at 1945 hours on June 23.[120]

The lead PT boat, No. 305, closed to a half mile off shore and attracted the attention of a German E boat. While leading out the E boat, about three-quarters of a mile off shore, at 0100 hours the PT convoy detected seven other enemy craft in the vicinity. At approximately the same time, Taylor in his rubber dinghy at roughly the same distance from shore knew that enemy craft were lying in wait. The enemy presence made the return journey to the rendezvous all the more perilous, but he had an appointment to keep. Taylor heard the faint sound of a PT boat's engines approaching from the south as his craft approached the rendezvous point. "Wayne to Walt, Wayne to Walter. This is Wayne calling Walter. Calling Walter. Come in please. Over!" filled the radio waves. However, Taylor's "handy-talkie" set had gotten wet during the initial operation, rendering it useless.[121]

The PT rescue convoy searched for Taylor and his party throughout the night. Meanwhile, Taylor had flashed the recognition signal at two different angles hoping to get their attention. However, the nearest PT boat was too busy watching for enemy craft and communicating with the PT rescue convoy to notice the rubber dinghies.[122] A few minutes after sending his latest recognition signal, Taylor spotted the operational PT about one hundred and fifty yards to his south proceeding inshore towards him. He flashed the recognition again while one of the Seaman whistled. The men aboard the PT boat heard the whistles but dismissed them as engine, radio, or natural noises.[123]

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[120] Capt. Henry Leger to Commanding Officer, 2677th Regiment, "Report of operation to Pick Up Lt. Taylor and Seamen Izzard and Hall, night of June 23-24, 1944," June 26, 1944, Folder 349, Box 35, Entry 165, RG 226, NARA-CP, 3.

[121] A Spy's Diary of World War II (p. 131); 122747, 122259, Wayne Nelson to Commanding Officer, Detachment "C," 2677th Regiment, "Operational Experience of 2nd Lt. Walter Taylor, USMCR," June 26, 1944, Folder 349, Box 35, Entry 165, RG 226, NARA-CP

[122] 122747, 122259, Wayne Nelson to Commanding Officer, Detachment "C," 2677th Regiment, "Operational Experience of 2nd Lt. Walter Taylor, USMCR," June 26, 1944, Folder 349, Box 35, Entry 165, RG 226, NARA-CP

[123] 2nd Lt. Walter W. Taylor Jr. to SI Operations Officer, Det "C," 2677th Regiment, "Report of shore party of "LOCUST" and "MONTREAL" operations, 22-24 June, 1944," June 25, 1944, Folder 349, Box 35, Entry 165, RG 226, NARA-CP, 4.

Taylor again flashed the prearranged signal, a "D" in Morse code (flashed in red), to the PT boat as it approached, but his signal went unobserved. The PT passed him and continued its course towards shore. Now Taylor found himself in a tight spot. Silhouetted against the sea horizon and facing towards shore, Taylor could not flash the signal again for fear of alerting the Germans and placing the PT boat in the line of fire.[124] Again making a snap decision, he ordered his dinghy to follow the PT inshore. After a few minutes, the PT was again seen, this time proceeding seaward at less than a hundred yards to his south. When the PT boat finally passed to the seaward side out of sight of land based observers and the enemy convoy lane, Taylor flashed the recognition signal again, but again with no results. Desperately, he flung off the hood and filters on the light and aimed a full white blast directly at the PT. This was followed by the recognition signal with the filters merely held over the lens without the hood. At last, the PT responded.[125]

Meanwhile on the PT boat, someone observed a "D" in Morse code flashed in red about two hundred yards off the starboard stern. The same signal was seen again in white and then six more times in red which was the arranged pick-up signal. Hushed voices barked out orders as the PT hove to, and the rubber dinghy approached containing Taylor, Izzard, and Hall. Quickly, a scramble net was thrown over the side and one minute after securing Taylor, the seamen, and the dinghy, shots rang out in the night. Within seconds the entire sky filled with star shells illuminating the area in a brilliant light. Suddenly, heavy tracer fire opened up on the lead boat PT No. 305 containing the newly rescued men. PT No. 304 which had been patrolling the shore dashed in to draw fire from PT No. 305, which began

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[124] Capt. Henry Leger to Commanding Officer, 2677th Regiment, "Report of operation to Pick Up Lt. Taylor and Seamen Izzard and Hall, night of June 23-24, 1944," June 26, 1944, Folder 349, Box 35, Entry 165, RG 226, NARA-CP, 4; Wayne Nelson to Commanding Officer, Detachment "C," 2677th Regiment, "Operational Experience of 2nd Lt. Walter Taylor, USMCR," June 26, 1944, Folder 349, Box 35, Entry 165, RG 226, NARA-CP

[125] 2nd Lt. Walter W. Taylor Jr. to SI Operations Officer, Det "C," 2677th Regiment, "Report of shore party of "LOCUST" and "MONTREAL" operations, 22-24 June, 1944," June 25, 1944, Folder 349, Box 35, Entry 165, RG 226, NARA-CP, 4.

laying a smoke screen. PT No. 305 gunned its engine to forty knots and made for the open sea.[126] Fortunately, the enemy craft did not follow the convoy past two miles from the shore and the PTs and MTBs rendezvoused about ten miles out. PT No. 305 received orders to return to Bastia while the other four boats continued an offensive patrol on Blomfield's orders. At 0600 hours on June 25, PT No. 305 arrived in Bastia with its exhausted, but successful, cargo.[127]

Infiltration attempts such as these demonstrated the mettle of the individuals recruited by the OSS in the face of extreme circumstances. While not always successful in collecting sought after intelligence, these operations did give valuable experience to the men in tactics and planning. Cooperation between the military and OSS did not always go so smoothly, but when it did, the OSS often saw much greater success, or conversely, less disastrous outcomes. Particularly in this instance, inter-Allied cooperation between the Royal Navy, US Army Air Force, and the OSS saved lives. Men such as Lieutenant Taylor were a product of an ever-expanding OSS recruitment system that tried to leverage the best, brightest, and most adventurous Americans to accomplish the necessary risk taking inherent in covert operations.

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[126] Capt. Henry Leger to Commanding Officer, 2677th Regiment, "Report of operation to Pick Up Lt. Taylor and Seamen Izzard and Hall, night of June 23-24, 1944," June 26, 1944, Folder 349, Box 35, Entry 165, RG 226, NARA-CP, 4.

[127] Capt. Henry Leger to Commanding Officer, 2677th Regiment, "Report of operation to Pick Up Lt. Taylor and Seamen Izzard and Hall, night of June 23-24, 1944," June 26, 1944, Folder 349, Box 35, Entry 165, RG 226, NARA-CP, 4.

CHAPTER 4: RECRUITMENT AND TRAINING

A nucleus of excellent men of known courage, reliability, and intelligence can be selected and then given thorough training.

-Earl Brennan[128]

Proper staffing and training are important to any professional organization. Recruitment and training standards helped set the type of organization and level of professionalism the OSS could attain. At its inception, the OSS worked assiduously to build up its own professional recruitment and assessment standards. In the view of later recruitment assessors, membership in the OSS initially only necessitated an "adventurous" attitude coupled with useful language or social skills.[129] As the OSS expanded, the need for developed standardized procedures of recruitment and training became acute. The OSS eventually imbued its members with a unique sense of purpose, gave them expertise in the new field of intelligence, and developed barriers of entry to prevent the dilution of quality within the organization.

Finding the Right People

No prior professional or uniform screening process existed for intelligence personnel. OSS assessment staff admitted they faced a tough task of developing a system of training which would separate the best recruits from the worst. In this weeding-out process, they wanted to make sufficiently reliable predictions as to the recruit's usefulness to the OSS in any given situation.[130] Assessors could not even rely on a recruit's work history to help guide them as a man's ability to successfully jump from

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[128] Italy (Sicily), "Project No. 4," written by Earl Brennan, February 26, 1943, Folder 3504, Box 253, Entry 146, RG 226, NARA-CP, 2-3.

[129] OSS Assessment Staff, *Assessment of Men*, 1969; Troy, *Donovan and the CIA*, 1981; Douglas Waller, *Wild Bill Donovan: The Spymaster Who Created the OSS and Modern American Espionage* (New York, NY: Free Press, 2011).

[130] OSS Assessment Staff, *Assessment of Men: Selection of Personnel for the OSS* (New York, NY: Rinehart and Co., Inc., 1969), 4-10.

a plane is difficult to determine based on past work experience. Despite the issues in assessing recruits, the OSS believed it held its recruits to higher standards than the military or other governmental organizations.[131]

Additional pressures contributed to unreliable recruitment. The Bureau of the Budget placed a huge impetus on Donovan to focus on special activities, such as those conducted by Special Operations or Secret Intelligence, which they viewed as "of high strategic importance."[132] This forced compromises of speed over quality in terms of administrative organization and personnel. Donovan certainly wanted to begin operations as soon as possible, but he knew that the long historical drought of American foreign intelligence activities created impediments to operations and recruitment.

Compounding the problem of recruitment, recruiters and assessors in Washington were kept in the dark regarding the nature of the specific tasks and requirements needed by field headquarters when they requested new personnel. Few, if any, of the OSS leaders in the field had experience in subterfuge and espionage. Most came recently from civilian life and were learning the same rules and tricks as those whom they asked to be recruited. Theater headquarters, such as OSS Algiers, formulated new projects and informed OSS Washington of their staffing needs. One typically vague request from a field headquarters asked for men who could "shoulder responsibility and use initiative with common sense." With no available personnel in the field to write full job descriptions, recruiting officers of the OSS Personnel Procurement Branch in Washington had to make their best guess when engaging the interest of the required number of personnel.[133]

When overseas administrative officers sent recruitment specifications for projects to Washington, they were often lost in the vast files of the corresponding officer in Washington.

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[131] OSS Assessment Staff, *Assessment of Men: Selection of Personnel for the OSS* (New York, NY: Rinehart and Co., Inc., 1969), 23.

[132] As quoted in Troy, *Donovan and the CIA*, 107.

[133] OSS Assessment Staff, *Assessment of Men: Selection of Personnel for the OSS* (New York, NY: Rinehart and Co., Inc., 1969), 13.

Regardless, even with appropriate documentation, recruiters designated most arriving students with only a single term such as language expert, analyst, team player, or other perceived skill. Initial misconceptions of OSS work by recruiters and assessors caused further issues. Most relied on previous conceptions from dime-store thrillers, cloak-and-dagger spy heroes, and other detective stories that filled in the gaps of their knowledge. [134] OSS assessors and trainers would need to create a new professional standard that applied not only to current OSS needs, but fulfill possible future requirements.

Hundreds of special skills outside the normal sphere of civilian experience had to be quickly learned by recruits who, though possessing a particular skill useful to the OSS, had no past experience in espionage. Some men and women had to learn how to research, create networks of agents to gather information, assess vulnerabilities of US enemies, and convey this information to superiors. Others had to learn how to conduct sabotage, infiltrate enemy lines, aid and train resistance groups, encourage them to fight, and degrade enemy morale through the use of radio, pamphlets, and other means.[135]

In an attempt to quickly infuse the OSS with a higher sense of professionalism, it recruited from two primary sources: private business administration and the military. Each group brought with it a different but valuable sense of professionalism. The vast majority of field agents would come from military backgrounds, either as career officers or as newly enlisted men with the Armed Forces. The other group primarily came from business, the diplomatic corps, or military attaché positions. Their previous experiences placed them in a unique position of already having the appropriate language skills and a large number of contacts in pertinent countries, as well as at least a basic knowledge of what constituted important information. Later, the OSS would supplement its operations with people recruited in the field as needed. These included opportunists, adventurous volunteers, and those

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[134] OSS Assessment Staff, *Assessment of Men: Selection of Personnel for the OSS* (New York, NY: Rinehart and Co., Inc., 1969), 23.

[135] OSS Assessment Staff, *Assessment of Men: Selection of Personnel for the OSS* (New York, NY: Rinehart and Co., Inc., 1969), 10-15.

displeased with their current role, status, or assignment in the military.[136] Even troublemakers from conventional units could fare well in the unique situations called for by the OSS.[137]

From its inception, the OSS began searching for qualified personnel to serve as branch representatives for attachment to overseas missions. Early missions in 1940 and 1941 included Algiers, Cairo, and a Scandinavian mission. More importantly, the OSS began formalizing the type of personnel they wanted to recruit into the agency. They needed, or rather wanted, "competent, mature, and practicable [sic] men."[138] The men needed a wide breadth of knowledge in the mission areas and of the adjoining enemy occupied and neutral countries. Additionally, the men needed to be discreet "with a keen sense of security" and "an instinctive ability to preserve it."[139] The OSS needed independent and self-sufficient individuals who could keep a secret. Few men possessed such rare qualities.

Under authority from Army Chief of Staff General George C. Marshall, Donovan began organizing in March 1942 a program of sabotage and subversive activities. He needed individuals who possessed "unusual qualifications" with foreign languages "combined with physical stamina and great personal courage."[140] He sought after men and women who showcased exceptional problem solving abilities. Not many people fulfilled such requirements, and Donovan deemed it essential that qualified persons in the army have opportunities to volunteer for this work.[141]

Military personnel often exhibited characteristics or qualifications that fit them for duty with the OSS. They possessed "rugged physical condition, facility in a foreign language, [and a] willingness to

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[136] OSS Assessment Staff, *Assessment of Men*, Chapters IX and X.

[137] William Donovan, "Memorandum for the Chief of Staff: Personnel for Subversive Activities," March 4, 1942, Folder 1, Box 14, Entry 92, RG 226, NARA-CP. OSS Assessment Staff, *Assessment of Men*, Chapters IX and X;

[138] R. Davis Halliwell to Langer, "Representatives for Missions," January 25, 1943, Folder 10, Box 15, Entry 1, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[139] R. Davis Halliwell to Langer, "Representatives for Missions," January 25, 1943, Folder 10, Box 15, Entry 1, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[140] Donovan to Chief of Staff Marshall, "Memorandum for the Chief of Staff: Personnel for Subversive Activities," March 4, 1942, Folder 1, Box 14, Entry 92, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1.

[141] Donovan to Chief of Staff Marshall, "Memorandum for the Chief of Staff: Personnel for Subversive Activities," March 4, 1942, Folder 1, Box 14, Entry 92, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1.

volunteer for a hazardous mission."[142] Fortunately for Donovan, the rapidly mobilizing army and navy meant that many found themselves underutilized or yearning for opportunities for action. Some simply wanted to get to the front to participate in the war. Many of these people found themselves in the OSS after a short time. To facilitate the recruitment of military personnel, Donovan petitioned both the Secretary of War, Henry L. Stimson, and Marshall for the needed men with the aforementioned requirements. Donovan wanted two thousand non-commissioned officer slots made available to his organization so that as men were found, they could be commissioned and sent on missions. This included foreign nationals recruited to work for the OSS.

Furthermore, Donovan made special requests to Stimson and Marshall that such persons be admitted into the United States Army for the duration of the war or their service with the OSS. Enlisting operatives into the army also solved one OSS administrative headache as all administrative tasks in connection with dependents, accidents, sickness, incarceration in foreign prisons, benefits of dependents in the event of death, etc. would be taken care of automatically through army procedures.[143]

At the administrative level, personnel came from the ranks of business executives, lawyers, and government officials. Donovan knew many of these high-level administrators personally through his work as a lawyer and his failed bids at a political career. Examples which have been or will be mentioned later in this paper include Colonel Lowman, Colonel Ellery C. Huntington Jr., David Bruce, Allen Dulles, among others. He hired mainly personal contacts that he knew he could trust, relying on their previous experience as business directors and managers to build up his fledgling agency. As such,

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[142] Col. E. F. Connely to Commanding Officer, Company D, 27th Infantry Training Battalion, Camp Croft, South Carolina, "Vonetes, John G., 2nd Lt., AUS-Inf, 0-1357893," November 22, 1943, Folder 11, Box 1, Entry 92, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[143] Donovan to Secretary of War Stimson, February 14, 1942, Folder 1, Box 14, Entry 92, RG 226, NARA-CP; Donovan to Chief of Staff Marshall, "Memorandum for the Chief of Staff: Personnel for Subversive Activities," March 4, 1942, Folder 1, Box 14, Entry 92, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1; "Memorandum to Lt. Col. M. P. Goodfellow," February 14, 1942, Folder 1, Box 14, Entry 92, RG 226, NARA-CP.

much of the early agency took on the veneer of a classic American business with many of the same management styles and expectations, but few of its efficiencies.[144]

Corporate America contributed to OSS efforts, and select top executives served important roles within the OSS. The chief of the OSS Planning Staff and later head of the MO Branch in London, executive officer of OSS Cairo, and a "black propaganda" specialist in Casablanca, Morocco, came from the J. Walter Thompson Advertising Agency.[145] Standard Oil reported on Axis oil shipments in neutral countries and helped perform espionage against petroleum fields in Romania. Famed Hollywood director John Ford directed OSS training films, and Paramount Pictures provided foreign currency for missions in Scandinavia. Goldman Sachs handled the payment of two million Algerian francs to resistance groups in North Africa prior to the Torch landings in 1942.[146]

Members of America's elite served in various capacities throughout the OSS during the war. The inclusion of such prominent American families as the Vanderbilts, Morgans, Whitneys, and Mellons led to the OSS' appellation as the "Oh-So-Social" club.[147] Paul Mellon served with the SO Branch in London, while Junius and Henry Morgan distributed clandestine operational funds and headed the Censorship and Documents Branch respectively. SO in Washington housed a Vanderbilt, and a DuPont worked on the French desk. Conspicuously absent were the Rockefellers due to Nelson Rockefeller's CIAA organization and bitter dispute with Donovan over intelligence collection jurisdiction in Latin America.[148]

Donovan faced backlash for his appointments and collection of the wealthy elites of America. After the war, several OSS members expressed disgust at the "rotund, happy-go-lucky, devil-may-care

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[144] OSS Assessment Staff, *Assessment of Men*, 1969; Troy, *Donovan and the CIA*, 1981; Douglas Waller, *Wild Bill Donovan: The Spymaster Who Created the OSS and Modern American Espionage* (New York, NY: Free Press, 2011).

[145] "Black" propaganda differs from "white" and refers to propaganda which comes from a secret source, often imitating enemy communications, and with no overt support from the nation initiating it. OSS pamphlets and radio broadcasts pretending to come from Germany or Italy were the most common forms of black propaganda.

[146] R. Smith, *Secret History*, 13.

[147] John Whiteclay Chambers II, *OSS Training in the National Parks and Service Abroad in World War II*, (U.S. National Park Service, Washington D.C., 2008), 565.

[148] R. Smith, *Secret History*, 13-14.

young Republican businessmen." In the eyes of many, this group of "dilettante diplomats,...bankers, and amateur detectives" came to the OSS for the intrigue rather than the success of the mission. Many of the men from elite backgrounds were ideologically at odds with the OSS' "unstinting cooperation with the resistance movements."[149] Regardless, Donovan defended all the members of his OSS and believed that the organization would work together toward a common purpose.

Issues in Recruitment

Continual missteps and a high turnover within COI and the OSS demonstrated the existential importance of obtaining well-qualified and capable individuals. The OSS recruited at a frenetic pace as the scope of operations and the size of the organization ballooned. However, if Donovan could not find the right men and women for the jobs required, the agency would fail. Ad-hoc recruitment soon transitioned to an official agency-run recruitment regime incorporated into the agency's hierarchy of branches. The men in charge of vetting new personnel and training them for their operations noted the uncharted territory into which the OSS waded.[150] No other service or government department had ever specifically recruited for the tasks the OSS now carried out. In response, the OSS brought in some of the best minds from a wide collection of academic fields such as sociology, psychology, physiology, and philosophy.[151] They were brought in to train, assess, research, develop materials, write reports, and help set the professional standards for strategic intelligence collection in the OSS.

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[149] As quoted in R. Smith, *Secret History*, 15.

[150] OSS Assessment Staff, *Assessment of Men: Selection of Personnel for the OSS* (New York, NY: Rinehart and Co., Inc., 1969), 4.

[151] A full list of those who participated in recruit assessment in the OSS please see OSS Assessment Staff, Assessment of Men: Selection of Personnel for the OSS (New York, NY: Rinehart and Co., Inc., 1969), v-vii. A sampling of the names and universities included: Donald K. Adams (Duke University), Egerton L. Ballachey (Michigan State College), G. Golket Caner (Harvard University), Dwight W. Chapman (Bennington College), Mabel B. Cohen (Chestnut Lodge Sanitarium, Rockville, MD), 1st Lieutenant John W. Gardner (Mt. Holyoke College), Joseph A. Gengerelli (University of California at Los Angeles), James A. Hamilton (University of California), John S. Harding (Princeton University), Donald W. MacKinnon (Bryn Mawr College).

Personnel issues affected the various OSS branches and hampered the progress for organizational professionalism. Not all personnel issues stemmed from a lack of available personnel. Sometimes, the nature of the work, or the general desire of OSS recruits to be out in the field rather than in an administrative position, caused retention issues. High turnover hurt the ability of some branches to operate effectively and build standard practices. As an example, MO, as well as other branches, began to search for candidates who would be willing to stick with the branch past the end of the war and so sought recruits on more than a temporary basis. Many initial recruits stayed with MO for only a season or quickly transferred into the other combat oriented branches of the OSS. MO found it even more difficult to recruit people who wanted a more action-oriented assignment with the OSS. The MO Branch struggled to obtain the services of top-grade personnel due to the non-combat nature of MO work. MO in Washington worried about MO Italy as there were precious few Americans in the theater with the knowledge and ability to interpret popular psychology and reaction in Italy. MO needed these people for "the execution of a post-war foreign policy." [152] MO officers already began looking to the post-war environment as they planned war-time operations but lacked the personnel to operate successfully.

One of Donovan's right hand men, Deputy Director of Intelligence, Brigadier General John Magruder, addressed the lack of qualified agents in a response to an inquiry from one of the many intelligence oversight committees. Looking back at OSS operations, he attributed any OSS personnel shortcomings to the lack of a "centrally controlled and comprehensive espionage system" in place at the beginning of the war. The lack of "experience in the development and direction" of operations also compounded organizational growth and administrative effectiveness while hampering many of the

[152] Theater Officer Pouch Review, "MO Personnel for Italy," August 9, 1944, Folder 2, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

wartime operations.[153] Overcoming the lack of experience and knowledge became the top priority of the Schools & Training Branch. The S&T team developed physical and psychological testing regimens to weed out unqualified applicants from the OSS.

Due to the lack of materials and people with prior clandestine intelligence experience, the OSS worked anxiously to create covert intelligence practices from scratch. The rushed nature of recruitment and placement sometimes created situations where OSS leaders in the field had less wartime experience than those they commanded. Administrative officers straight from the corporate or professional world gave orders which sometimes fomented resentment in the field or at branch headquarters.[154] While at OSS training areas, commanding officers for Operational Groups depended on extra advice from field veterans. Often these "veterans" could only rely on a small amount of British teaching or other tools such as Mao's little red booklet on guerrilla warfare.[155]

OSS branches often sent agents into the field without first recognizing what information the agents were to collect. Men were not initially trained in combat intelligence.[156] Branches at times lacked a ready consumer for their intelligence, hoping to create one through a display of the information gathered. Such a state of affairs prevented the clear demarcation of intelligence priorities. The confusion of intelligence collection and dissemination meant that information often did not reach the proper consumers in a timely manner. Stale intelligence was useless intelligence. The OSS improved on this issue by borrowing administrative practices from more business-like models that featured more integration and a close knit administration directing the activities of delegates with full knowledge of

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[153] Magruder to Lovett, 26 October 1945, ASW 004.7, "WD Intelligence Study – 1945," Office of the Assistant Secretary of War, Classified Decimal File, 1940-1947, RG 107, NARA-CP.

[154] Edward Breed Commander USNR, Attached to HQ, Co. G-2, 5th Army to Colonel Edward J. F. Glavin, "Report on OSS Activities during Invasion of Italian Mainland, September 12 to October 21 inclusive (with recommendations), October 23, 1943, Folder 37, Box 91, Entry 190, NARA-CP, 5-7.

[155] Patrick K. O'Donnell, *Operatives, Spies, and Saboteurs: The Unknown Story of the Men and Women of World War II's OSS*, (NY: Free Press, 2004), 8-9.

[156] Experimental Detachment G-3, Sicily to Experimental Detachment G-3, Algiers, August 13, 1943, Folder 2, Box 49, Entry 99.

organizational priorities.[157] The recruitment of men with previous professional experience, such as executives and other former managers, contributed to a steady growth of OSS professional capabilities.

Furthermore, inconsistent personnel quality and a constantly shifting organizational structure hampered the quick professionalization of the OSS. Ad-hoc recruitment and an initial lack of training facilities meant agents often went into the field with only a short briefing and their wits. Many agents had no clue as to the capacity they were to serve in until they reached their assignment in the field. Recruitment and training inefficiencies, including a variety of delays, often meant that recruits went roughly two months before they started on a definite assignment overseas.

Since Donovan had little theoretical background on which to build, William Stephenson, head of the British Security Coordination and senior representative of British intelligence in North America, provided support in terms of British experience and know-how. He had previously sent Donovan a British intelligence paper in October 1940 which outlined the basic needs of clandestine intelligence work. While the motives of Stephenson's assistance to Donovan remain debated, this report contained much practical British advice concerning the recruitment and management of secret agents. The agents and administrative personnel of the OSS received a ready-made boost in professional stature from British assistance. British intelligence also assisted in the OSS' use of desk officers and other non-combat intelligence officers intertwined with field operatives. [158]

The OSS lacked many basic materials heading into the spring of 1942. They had not developed any standard procedures for the recruitment and training of agents despite an awareness of the very real need for such procedures. OSS staffer W. L. Rehm forwarded to David Bruce, then serving as head of OSS European Theater of Operations (ETO) in London, a copy of the British secret agent recruitment form. Rehm felt that the "engagement sheet" used by the British could be adapted for use within the

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[157] Theater Officer Pouch Review, "Cairo Office," July 26, 1944, Folder 2, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1; R. Smith, *Secret History*, 13;

[158] R. Smith, *Secret History*, 29; see also Thomas F. Troy, *Wild Bill and Intrepid: Donovan, Stephenson, and the Origin of CIA* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996); Roosevelt, *War Report*, 102, 111, 120.

OSS with only minor alterations needed. In conjunction with the recruitment sheet, the creation of other recruitment processes and basic training materials proceeded.[159]

While many recruits became frustrated with the administrative procedures of the OSS, many more stuck through the issues believing that they were hastening the war's end with their work. The field missions became a labor of love for many of the OSS agents who had come from previous civilian life but now found a new calling as intelligence officers. They tapped into a growing sentiment, not unique among the OSS, of public service as the highest calling in wartime. While opportunists abound within any organization, OSS members tended to serve in their capacity not for wealth or fame, but because they genuinely believed their endeavors best assisted the war effort. Their desire to imbue the OSS with a more strict and well-formed administrative hierarchy shaped and molded the OSS from the inside assisting in the professional maturation of the OSS.[160]

Schools and Training

At the same time that Donovan and his subordinates worked on solidifying and recruiting personnel for his COI, there began to be a need to form more professional apparatus such as schools, instructors, and curriculum. On January 3, 1942, Donovan sent an order to Dr. J. R. Hayden to set up an initial training operation for SO and SI.[161] Over the next month, Hayden and other OSS men discussed the needs of such a school including suitable training courses and instructor recruiting requirements. Many of the early instructors would be responsible for recruiting and therefore serve double duty in the operation of the training schools. Instructors would need to teach the use of various types of weapons,

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[159] W. L. Rehm to David Bruce, Lester Armour, David Williamson, "Engagement Sheet," March 4, 1942, Folder 24, Box 4, Entry 92, RG 266, NARA-CP, 1-2.

[160] Jerry N. Hess, "Truman Library - David K. E. Bruce Oral History Interview." Harry S. Truman Library and Museum. Accessed August 15, 2015. http://www.trumanlibrary.org/oralhist/bruce.htm; Evan Thomas, *The Very Best Men: Four Who Dared: the Early Years of the CIA* (NY: Simon & Schuster, 1995); Allen Dulles, *The Craft of Intelligence: America's Legendary Spy Master on the Fundamentals of Intelligence Gathering for a Free World* (New York: Globe Pequot, 1965).

[161] Donovan to Dr. J. R. Hayden, "Memorandum to Dr. J. R. Hayden," January 3, 1942, Folder 1, Box 14, Entry 92, RG 226, NARA-CP.

including pistols, tommy guns, rifles, bayonets, knives, black jacks, and occasionally heavier infantry weapons. They would also need to teach courses in jujitsu, boxing, and general physical conditioning.[162]

The first step in setting up the schools required using "every possible means" to locate officers and men with the necessary language and technical qualifications for instruction.[163] Major, later Lieutenant Colonel, Garland H. Williams, described as a "no-nonsense character," established the SO training program drawing upon prior British experience in unconventional warfare. He had previously worked in federal law enforcement as the head of the Federal Bureau of Narcotics in New York and as a Major in the army reserves. Ahead of the game, he had already acquired from the army all their data on enlisted men and officers with foreign language capabilities and expected the largest number of recruits would come from these records and be supplemented by the recruiters' personal contacts.[164] Inevitably, when discussing the nature of the training schools, questions arose over the very character and definition of OSS work. Hayden's later response to Donovan's earlier memo stated that his new OSS school should teach how to secure "information of value in prosecuting the war." He qualified this assertion that such information "may be military or non-military in character" and would be secured from "non-enemy" countries. This information could also not be obtainable by governmental agencies operating in the open.[165]

Continuing its need for secrecy, the OSS established several schools and training camps in secluded areas of Maryland and Virginia in the summer of 1942 through 1943. Most were within two hours' drive from OSS headquarters in Washington, D.C. British influence could also be felt in the

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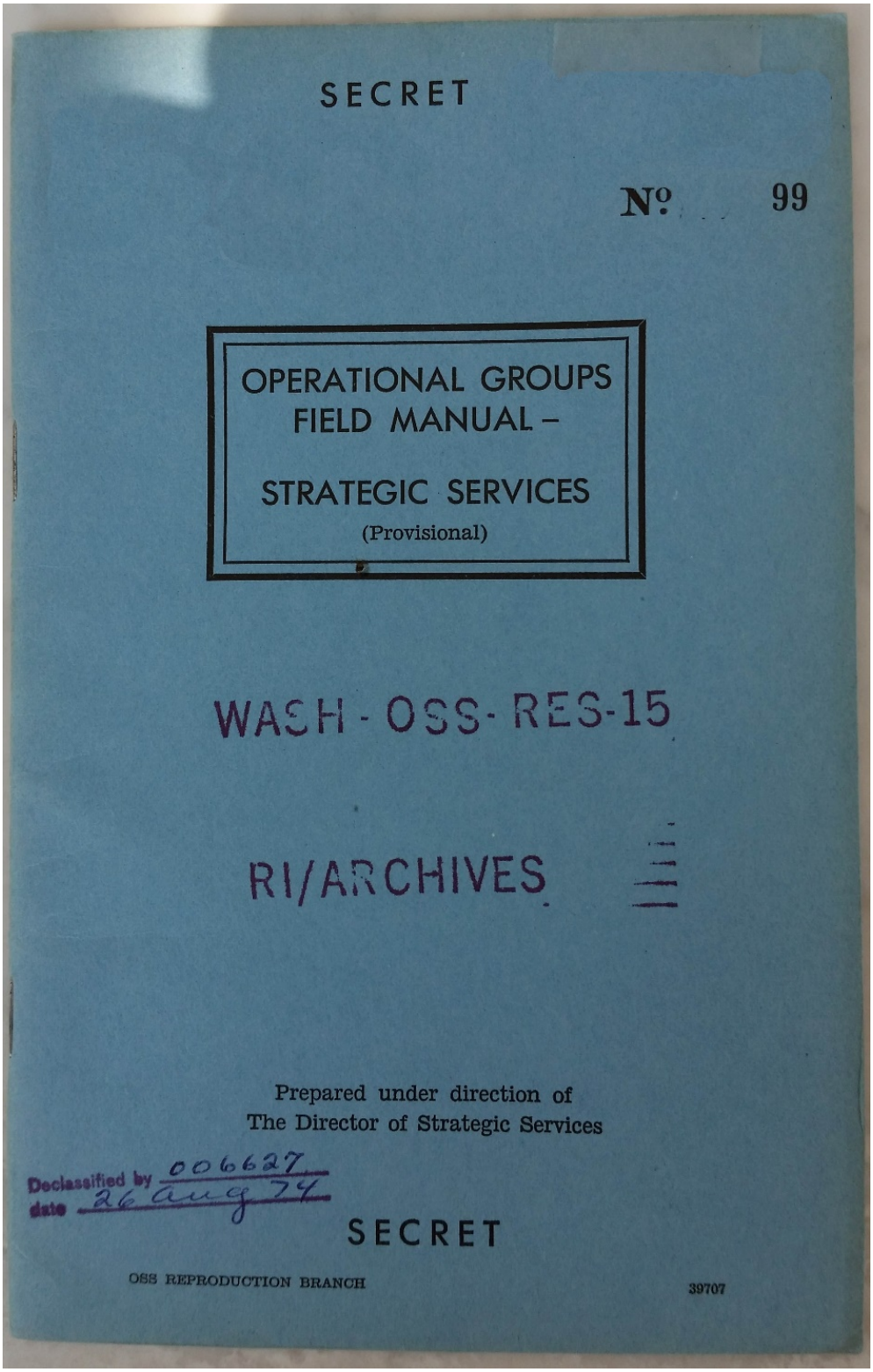
[162] Major Garland H. Williams to Captain Henry Gordon Sheen, "Memorandum to Captain Henry Gordon Sheen," January 16, 1942, Folder 1, Box 14, Entry 92, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1.

[163] Major Garland H. Williams to Captain Henry Gordon Sheen, "Memorandum to Captain Henry Gordon Sheen," January 16, 1942, Folder 1, Box 14, Entry 92, RG 226, NARA-CP, 2.

[164] Major Garland H. Williams to Captain Henry Gordon Sheen, "Memorandum to Captain Henry Gordon Sheen," January 16, 1942, Folder 1, Box 14, Entry 92, RG 226, NARA-CP, 3.

[165] J. R. Hayden to Col. William J. Donovan, "Preliminary Study of Problems Connected with the Establishment of a Training School for Special Intelligence Work," January 26, 1942, Folder 1, Box 14, Entry 92, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1.

Figure 10. OSS Operational Groups Training Manual.[166]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Nº 99

OPERATIONAL GROUPS
FIELD MANUAL –

STRATEGIC SERVICES
(Provisional)

WASH-OSS-RES-15

RI/ARCHIVES

Prepared under direction of
The Director of Strategic Services

Declassified by 006627
date 26 aug 74

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[166] Operational Groups Field Manual – Strategic Services, April 25, 1944, Folder 9, Box 75, Entry 99, RG

manner in which the OSS designed and set up their camps. The SO Branch replicated the SOE's proclivity for utilizing isolation and difficult terrain to toughen up its operatives. SO set up Training Areas A, B, C, and D in thickly forested areas. The Operational Groups established their facility, Area F, on the former Congressional Country Club grounds in Bethesda, Maryland. SI emulated their British SIS counterpart's use of country estates and established RTU-11, "the Farm," in the summer of 1942 in spacious manor houses surrounded by horse farms roughly twenty miles from Washington.[167]

Schools & Training Branch Takes Charge

S&T, newly established in the summer of 1943, acquired two country estates north of Baltimore and established Area E which served as training sites for the OSS Basic Course primarily hosting agents from SI, X-2, and MO. Areas A, B, and C served as the primary training sites for the SO and Communications Branches. The OGs also trained at Areas A and B after their initial training at Area F. The OSS Maritime Unit trained on the eastern bank of the Potomac River at Area D as well as in the lakes of Area A. However, the majority of the over thirteen thousand men and women who would serve in the OSS did not attend the training schools. Administrative personnel such as clerks, typists, office workers and the members of the R&A and R&D Branches had no need for the extra training.[168]

Unfortunately, the first SI and SO schools initially lacked the equipment to train field operatives in a professional manner. The school lacked enough qualified trainers and personnel. No trained operatives with field experience were available to lecture. Liaison with the Armed Services remained poor, hampering cross-training efforts. The army, navy, and State distrusted the "competency and

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226, NARA-CP, NND 867141.

[167] John Whiteclay Chambers II, *OSS Training in the National Parks and Service Abroad in World War II*, (U.S. National Park Service, Washington D.C., 2008), 558; Patrick K. O'Donnell, *Operatives, Spies, and Saboteurs: The Unknown Story of the Men and Women of World War II's OSS*, (NY: Free Press, 2004), 13; The Training Directorate to All Geographic Desks and Area Operations Officers, "The Training Areas," January 1, 1943, Folder 3, Box 16, Entry 92, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[168] John Whiteclay Chambers II, *OSS Training in the National Parks and Service Abroad in World War II*, (U.S. National Park Service, Washington D.C., 2008), 558-560.

effectiveness" of the OSS. Ironically, the FBI had suffered through much of the same mistrust and animosity upon its founding.[169]

The OSS sent David Williamson to New York to discuss with British Colonel Richard Ellis OSS training problems. He managed to obtain an agreement from the British to train OSS instructors. Williamson and the OSS knew they could not rely on existing American intelligence services to supply teachers due to the unique nature of OSS operations. ONI and G-2 functioned defensively, rather than pro-actively, and the FBI stressed legal considerations. The OSS operated on wholly different lines. It began leveraging British and other foreign intelligence service experience to lay down the foundations of what would become a distinctly American type of foreign intelligence collection. Initial British training and materials introduced American agents to the world of active clandestine intelligence collection. However, many differences would arise in practice between how the SIS and OSS accomplished their goals. SIS operations tended to have very politically motivated goals often shaped directly by Prime Minister Winston Churchill. OSS doctrine, in contrast to post-war American intelligence, tended to eschew political considerations in favor of immediate needs on the ground. [170]

The SIS/OSS experiences in Yugoslavia serve as an illustration where Churchill decreed that only communist Yugoslavian partisans under Joseph Broz Tito would receive Allied support. Donovan and his subordinates bristled at this British order which they felt reeked of British imperial interests. Therefore, Donovan ordered continued operations with Tito's rival, Chetnik partisan leader Dragoljub "Draža" Mihailović, despite accusations of Mihailović's collaboration with the Germans. Donovan wanted to maintain good relations with Mihailović to assist in the retrieval of downed Allied airmen in occupied Yugoslavia. The value of repatriating airmen and collection of intelligence outweighed the political risk

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[169] David Williamson to David Bruce, "Interoffice Memo," March 20, 1942, Folder 1, Box 14, Entry 92, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[170] David Williamson to David Bruce, "Interoffice Memo," March 20, 1942, Folder 1, Box 14, Entry 92, RG 226, NARA-CP.

of working alongside a possible German collaborator. A final factor remained a reported distrust among some many American military officers of communist partisans.[171]

In order to better attend to the training needs of the OSS as well as the rapidly expanding number of personnel, Donovan issued orders to the S&T Branch to set up an assessment program in 1943. Unprecedented in scope for an intelligence outfit, the assessment program used increasingly rigorous qualification checklists to screen possible OSS candidates before the individuals went through more expensive and time-consuming training. These assessments gave the OSS a greater control over the type of recruit allowed into the agency. They also helped set the OSS apart from other intelligence operations which required less stringent personnel qualifications and requirements.[172]

Secrecy issues that affected the proper assessment of recruits also plagued their proper training. Each potential recruit never received word that they were under consideration from the OSS while being scouted and initially trained. This need for secrecy hampered the ability of S&T to provide full and complete training to selected agents prior to their deployment. [173] Those in charge of training constantly lamented their inability to properly tailor courses for field conditions. Instructors and evaluators, not to mention the men, did not know to which theater or branch the men had been assigned.[174] The OSS remained reluctant to compromise on giving clarity into their operations or organizational framework for security purposes.

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[171] Theater Officer Pouch Review, "Italian SI Personnel Held by Tito," August 19, 1944, Folder 1, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP; Col. W. A. Eddy and Lt. Col. A. D. Dodds-Parker to Assistant Chief of Staff, G-3, A.F.H.Q., "OSS/SOE Resources for Operations in Italy September – December 1943," September 18, 1943, Folder 3, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[172] Patrick K. O'Donnell, *Operatives, Spies, and Saboteurs: The Unknown Story of the Men and Women of World War II's OSS*, (NY: Free Press, 2004), 9-13.

[173] Theater Officer Pouch Review, "X-2 Istanbul," September 16, 1944, Folder 1, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[174] Theater Officer Pouch Material, "SI Training," July 7, 1944, Folder 2, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

These constraints hampered OSS efforts to properly train and prepare personnel for the field. This led to constant difficulties carrying out field plans and operations.[175] The various specialized schools in the field helped to alleviate in part some of this training deficit; however, the issue of under-trained or ill-prepared agents continued throughout the war. Many agents left behind useful items and uniforms in the United States due to "improper briefings" caused by security policies. They voiced their concerns and complaints to OSS Washington, expressing a desire to make better use of the OSS personnel training and assignment system.[176]

Even mission chiefs improperly utilized training opportunities for agents in the field. At the end of 1942, an internal OSS debate arose over field instructor appointments. Colonel Huntington, at that time working with OSS Washington, argued to Donovan that all field schools should be administratively separate from S&T headquarters and its Training Division. Huntington wanted to give direct control of all field training schools to the mission chiefs. Kenneth Baker of the Training Division countered that mission chiefs often knew "absolutely nothing about training." He argued that the caliber of training determined the capability of men in the field. Therefore, Baker suggested that mission chiefs be given a veto power, rather than outright control, over Training Division field training appointments. This also prevented mission chiefs from bringing someone along with them to the field only to appoint them as a "training officer" for lack of a better post, with obvious negative consequences.

Internally, OSS branch members, especially SI members, discussed the issues with training and offered practical suggestions for improvement. SI member Steven Penrose penned a letter to a fellow SI man identified as Shepardson in early June 1944. Penrose knew that if work continued after the war, the development and training of the professional field representative as opposed to the "enthusiastic

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[175] Theater Officer Pouch Material, "SI Training," July 7, 1944, Folder 2, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[176] Theater Officer Pouch Review, "X-2 Istanbul," September 16, 1944, Folder 1, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

amateurs" must take precedence. [177] The Mediterranean Theater had suffered for some time from individuals poorly prepared for SI work by the agent schools around Washington, D.C and incompetently staffed field training schools. Personnel needed a thorough knowledge of all facets of intelligence, what elements were essential in reporting, how to properly evaluate a source, and an ability to inform and brief sub-sources. Penrose also suggested that trainees must have a clear picture of the functions of the OSS and the relation of SI to the other branches. [178]

The Schools & Training Branch also leveraged newly created training schools in the field to supplement agent training in the United States. S&T advanced field courses supplemented the basic OSS training agents received prior to their deployment. Further liaisons with the G-2 Library and Technical Intelligence Section (LTIS), AFHQ established an ever-increasing flow of valuable material to the various S&T training areas. Near the end of the war, S&T regularly received copies from LTIS of several different communications such as technical summaries and military intelligence bulletins. S&T also established a liaison with Training Section, Army Air Force, Strategic Command, as well as S&T Washington and S&T European Theatert of Operations (ETO).[179]

S&T MEDTO established a library at Regimental Company "B" under the direction of a Lieutenant Young to handle and store all the newly received materials, films, and all other aids. The Army Air Force liaison resulted in the receipt of various visual aids used in the recognition of aircraft. S&T also received regular distributions of Air Force periodicals which proved valuable as training aids. The S&T internal liaison furthered the ability of S&T MEDTO to supply material and training aids directly

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[177] Theater Officer Pouch Material, "SI Training," July 7, 1944, Folder 2, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[178] Theater Officer Pouch Material, "SI Training," July 7, 1944, Folder 2, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP; OSS Assessment Staff, *Assessment of Men: Selection of Personnel for the OSS* (New York, NY: Rinehart and Co., Inc., 1969), 8.

[179] W.T.M.B. to Executive Officer, SI, "Raw Intelligence for use by Schools & Training," September 29, 1944, Folder 1, Box 15, Entry 92, RG 226, NARA-CP; S. E. Dugan to Operations Officer, 2677th Regiment OSS (Provisional), "Report Schools and Training Branch, 1 December 1944 to 1 March 1945," March 3, 1945, Folder 8, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 2.

from Washington and London. The collection of the various materials allowed for easier dissemination and accessibility for all training areas.[180]

Effective July 17, 1944, the S&T Branch instituted a mandatary two week Basic Course for personnel of all branches. The course of instruction superseded the previous introductory courses given to students of SI, SO, X-2, and MO Branches and served as a prerequisite for specialized training in SI, SO, X-2, and MO subjects. S&T made the course available to other branches of the OSS only within capacity limitations, though. Other branches did not fall under the mandatory requirement. Despite this limitation, the OSS desired all incoming male personnel attend the OSS Basic Course.[181]

When possible, S&T secured slots in highly specialized schools such as when thirty OGs received training at Allied Force Headquarters' (AFHQ) Mountain Warfare Training Center in North Africa.[182] Thirty-four students received training and successfully completed an army course in parachute training in schools near San Vito and Gioia, Italy. OSS personnel also attended special courses handled at AFHQ's G-2 Intelligence Training Center. These supplemental courses were the direct result of cooperation between S&T and G-3 Training, AFHQ.[183]

Other branches saw the successes of specialized training and sought to acquire their own areas for training. The Communications Branch had a need for trained radio operators who protected the security of OSS radio transmissions. The Radio Communications School set up a special training room near Rutgliano, Italy, and trained sixty-four agents in the first months of 1945. Each Communications training section had an assigned instructor to maintain continuous training for all student operators

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[180] S. E. Dugan to Operations Officer, 2677th Regiment OSS (Provisional), "Report Schools and Training Branch, 1 December 1944 to 1 March 1945," March 3, 1945, Folder 8, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1.

[181] H. L. Robinson, "Schools and Training Branch Order No. 1," July 21, 1944, Folder 1, Box 17, Entry 1, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[182] S. E. Dugan to Operations Officer, 2677th Regiment OSS (Provisional), "Report Schools and Training Branch, 1 December 1944 to 1 March 1945," March 3, 1945, Folder 8, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1.

[183] S. E. Dugan to Operations Officer, 2677th Regiment OSS (Provisional), "Report Schools and Training Branch, 1 December 1944 to 1 March 1945," March 3, 1945, Folder 8, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 2

attending the school and in holding for operations.[184] These specialized branch schools afforded greater training opportunities throughout the theater as branches leveraged each other's schools.

OSS MEDTO leveraged the Communications Branch to assist in the organization and discipline of training field radio operators and the operation of base stations. Evidence emerged in after-action reports that some operators had received little to no training prior to deployment. The issue arose due to the difficulties in distinguishing between bad training, poor discipline, and disloyalty. Often, the bad radio handling reflected the overall poor radio discipline exhibited by agents and recruits. Each infiltrated team included a radio technician, but often they lacked the capabilities and competency to communicate effectively with their assigned OSS headquarters. Sometimes their equipment broke, got lost during the drop, or would have to be quickly abandoned in the course of evading enemy patrols. Worse, radio operators often became the first casualties of anti-partisan or police actions.[185]

Poor discipline did not reflect necessarily on the training OSS operatives received at the communications school. Evidence of poor training manifested itself only when several operators attempted to work with extremely short internal antennas, thereby reducing signal strength and preventing them from communicating with the base station.[186] The Communications Branch took failures with agent training seriously and often reevaluated their materials, methods, and practices to improve the training of its agents, thereby increasing their professional capability.

As the training programs developed, several intelligence teams of Italian and French OSS personnel completed the new field training regimens prior to their dispatch into enemy territory. Men continued to arrive from the United States throughout the end of 1943 and into 1944 and received

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[184] Major W. L. Fox to Chief, SI, "Preparation of Students for Assessment Schools," November 30, 1944, Folder 3, Box 15, Entry 92, RG 226, NARA-CP; S. E. Dugan to Operations Officer, 2677th Regiment OSS (Provisional), "Report Schools and Training Branch, 1 December 1944 to 1 March 1945," March 3, 1945, Folder 8, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP. 1-3

[185] Report to Operations Officer, 2677th Regt., OSS (Prov), "Report of Activities of the Air Re-Supply Det., 2677th Regt., for the period 1 December 1944 to 28 February 1945.," March 4, 1945, Folder 8, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1.

[186] "Italian Operations Centering on Rome," unknown author, undated, Folder 3, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

refresher training in close combat, parachuting, and even guerilla warfare tactics work before deploying to the various operational teams. Donovan and Glavin also made every effort to secure a C-47 for parachute training and transportation but still failed to gain dedicated OSS transport for training and operations in the theater.[187] The lack of available equipment, such as aircraft, hampered, but did not stop, the development of OSS training plans.

MEDTO Field Training Intensifies

First Lieutenant S. E. Dugan, Army of the United States (AUS), Acting Chief, S&T, upon assuming his duties in November 1944, surveyed all training activities in MEDTO. Training had assumed a highly specialized nature with particular emphasis or focus on the individual OSS branch sections. Since, security concerns prevented the early creation of central training areas for all branches and their sections, each section ran its own training program throughout the theater with assistance in most cases by S&T personnel. Dugan made the decision to make his office available to all the individual training areas to combat the decentralization of training and improve efficiency. In doing so, he made available to the individual training areas all materials, training aids, and outside trainers. Dugan's move established various training liaison contacts, creating better communication and knowledge transfer among the different training areas. He also moved to a headquarters in northern Italy after closing the Training Section, Company "B," formerly operated by Lieutenant Young. His move to northern Italy facilitated his more efficient and valuable service to the overall training program. [188]

The OSS in northern Italy embarked on a three month period of S&T intensification under Dugan. On December 5, 1944, there existed four training establishments and several other operational AFHQ training facilities. S&T decided upon intensifying the training regimens at each of the

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[187] Donovan to the Secretary of the Joint U. S. Chiefs of Staff, Attn: Captain Frank Loftin, USN, "OSS Operations, North African and Middle East Theaters," November 4, 1943, Folder 3, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[188] S. E. Dugan to Operations Officer, 2677th Regiment OSS (Provisional), "Report Schools and Training Branch, 1 December 1944 to 1 March 1945," March 3, 1945, Folder 8, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 2-3.

establishments rather than expanding due to the sufficient number of facilities. During the period from December 1944 to March 1945, a total of two hundred and five students went through the various schools. Increased personal contact by Dugan among the individual establishments promoted the intensification process. Lieutenant Zelenka of Research and Development (R&D) spent four weeks training and demonstrating R&D special gadget weapons. Students received Zelenka's training so well that once they had completed the training courses, they requested further training in R&D weapons.[189] However, further training never occurred due to the culmination of the war in Europe.

As a part of the training intensification, Dugan procured publications and documentary materials from sources within and outside the Mediterranean Theater. With these documents, he directed the increased training of SI agents along SO lines and vise-versa. The expected difficult nature of future operations, such as those planned for Austria, acted as a catalyst for the training. Agents gained access from Dugan into specialized AFHQ training schools which benefitted them greatly. Also, his supervision of the relocation of individual schools from southern to northern Italy throughout the winter and early spring 1944-1945 facilitated his intensification plans.[190]

SO and SI Italy established new training areas at Cecina and Siena, Italy, respectively. At the SO camp, all students received complete SO training and from December 1944 onward, received elementary SI training in identification, recognition, and reporting. SI Italy, however, failed to report training progress to the S&T Branch despite repeated requests from S&T. Getting branches to communicate with OSS Washington proved difficult as field priorities prevented rapid responses. S&T continued distributing material and training aids to Italian SI despite the lack of communication. During

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[189] C. Martin Wood, Jr., to Commanding Officer, 2677th Regiment OSS (Provisional), "Operations Report for the Period 5 December 1944 – 5 March 1944," February 28, 1945, Folder 8, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 21-22.

[190] C. Martin Wood, Jr., to Commanding Officer, 2677th Regiment OSS (Provisional), "Operations Report for the Period 5 December 1944 – 5 March 1944," February 28, 1945, Folder 8, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 21-22.

the winter of 1944-1945, S&T policies shifted to limit S&T personnel solely to training duty within the branch. Too many personnel had been active in field operations with other branches. [191]

SI wanted the present program to shift focus away from an emphasis on undercover aspects or "tricks of the trade" to more substantive training useful to SI operations. Training in lock picking, bribery, body searching, etc., while valuable in developing the psychology necessary for war-time work, did not substitute for the fundamentals of intelligence training. Agents and recruits needed an ability to understand and recognize good intelligence. They needed competent training in how to best gather good intelligence, report it, and use it. [192]

The efforts of S&T and the new training programs vastly improved the quality of the agents available to SO and SI by the end of the war. The agents had more hours preparing and learning the hazards of their missions before deployments. S&T also initiated a training program in counter-resistance work in conjunction with the Post Hostilities program in anticipation of a post-war role in Europe. Meanwhile, S&T began consolidating its operations and downsized from eight officers, thirteen enlisted men, and one civilian in December 1944 to five officers, three enlisted men, and one civilian by the end of February 1945. [193]

As the OSS continued to evolve and mature professionally, the agency and its leaders understood the need for "quality of service" capabilities. As they engaged with other intelligence bodies and government agencies, the agency demonstrated through its personnel and operations its unique intelligence capabilities. The OSS set up training schools and recruitment boards to sift through thousands of applicants in an effort to raise the quality of its recruits and, by extension, its intelligence

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[191] S. E. Dugan to Operations Officer, 2677th Regiment OSS (Provisional), "Report Schools and Training Branch, 1 December 1944 to 1 March 1945," March 3, 1945, Folder 8, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 2-3.

[192] Theater Officer Pouch Material, "SI Training," July 7, 1944, Folder 2, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP; OSS Assessment Staff, *Assessment of Men: Selection of Personnel for the OSS* (New York, NY: Rinehart and Co., Inc., 1969), 8.

[193] S. E. Dugan to Operations Officer, 2677th Regiment OSS (Provisional), "Report Schools and Training Branch, 1 December 1944 to 1 March 1945," March 3, 1945, Folder 8, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 2-3.

expertise. They pin-pointed military targets and obtained Luftwaffe flight schedules for Allied squadrons. Agents penetrated industrial plants and made contact with Italian workers recently returned from Germany who provided information on German V-weapons, as well as political and economic conditions inside Germany. The OSS disseminated the material, once processed at rear HQ, as intelligence bulletins to over sixty headquarters and agencies, including the American Embassy and numerous sections of the War Department.[194]

S&T Branch extended agency-wide training regimens in an effort to increase the reliability of agents which led to an increasing professional standard within the agency. To recruit an agent or commission an officer required relatively little effort, but to take those same individuals, imbue them with a sense of the organizational mission and invest the time, money, and effort towards their assimilation demonstrated a long-term plan to develop people as organizational assets. The OSS took definite steps towards creating a professional ethos for its agents and officers. The trained agents produced by the S&T programs manifested an increasing professionalization of the OSS.

[194] Charles S. Cheston, Memorandum of Information for the Joint U.S. Chiefs of Staff, "OSS Intelligence Teams in Italy," July 11, 1945, Folder 3, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 2.

CHAPTER 5: OSS PROFESSIONALISM IN ACTION IN NORTH AFRICA, EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN, AND SICILY

The OSS learned early and often that putting theory into practice proved a difficult endeavor. The nature of the organization's professional development meant failures sometimes outnumbered successes; however, with each new experience, the OSS matured as a professional organization. OSS MEDTO operations advanced with Allied military forces through North Africa, the eastern Mediterranean, Sicily, Sardinia and Corsica, southern Italy, and finally to the end of the war in northern Italy. Each successive geographic progression demonstrated a growing professionalism in the operational and administrative capability of the COI and later the OSS. The OSS best expressed its dynamic professionalism through its field operations.

The first major overseas intelligence operation for the fledging COI ironically came thanks to the efforts of the State Department. The State Department turned over to Donovan a group of individuals conducting a clandestine trade mission out of French North Africa in 1941. Donovan accepted this informal intelligence mission and used it to gain a foothold for intelligence work throughout North Africa and the Mediterranean. Despite the improvised nature of initial intelligence operations, their results pointed towards the potential for OSS development and future success.[1]

North Africa

The State Department had sent a group of men to North Africa after the United States signed the Murphy-Weygand trade accord with Vichy France in February 1941. The treaty afforded an opportunity to uncover Axis activities within North Africa. Robert D. Murphy, the man named in the

[1] Robert Murphy, *Diplomat among Warriors* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Co., 1964). Andrew Buchanan, *American Grand Strategy in the Mediterranean during World War II* (Cambridge University Press, 2014), 24-28; Murphy to OSS Washington, Cole to Cobalt cable #431, June 30, 1942, Folder 1, Box 1, Entry 5, RG 226, NARA-CP.

treaty and American diplomat for the State Department, headed a group of twelve counselors, dubbed the "12 Apostles," for the State Department mission. They organized an intelligence network throughout Vichy North Africa to spy on Axis trade goods. The group soon found itself under the auspices of the OSS when State and Navy transferred their covert activities to the OSS. Colonel William Eddy acted as OSS chief for the mission.[2] Working alongside Eddy, Murphy and his group launched OSS directed clandestine activities in North Africa. They initiated talks with known anti-French rebellion leaders among the Arab "Riffians," set up secret radio stations, and kept tabs on Axis naval and supply movements.[3]

Despite receiving little to no prior training in clandestine intelligence collection, Murphy and his group successfully established a working, yet limited, intelligence operation throughout Vichy North Africa. Murphy sent several reports back to Donovan by June 1942 detailing minor Axis activity in western North Africa. Most of these reports concerned the shipment of quantities of raw materials along the North African coast or back to continental Europe. The more important reports concerned the reliability of new informants whose intelligence could be put to the test first hand through subsequent observations. Murphy's group capably reported on expected French resistance to an Allied landing. They detailed the majority of the shore defenses in Morocco and Algeria that aided Allied assessments of potential Vichy resistance. One failed Murphy-inspired intrigue involved an attempt to cajole the Riffians to rise up against their Vichy masters. While deemed too risky and unreliable, their other intelligence efforts significantly contributed to Allied plans for "Torch," the invasion of Vichy North

[2] Eddy had been President of Hobart College prior to re-joining the marine corps in 1939 before the breakout of the Second World War. He exemplified the dual-nature of many OSS men and women.

[3] Robert Murphy, *Diplomat among Warriors* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Co., 1964). Andrew Buchanan, *American Grand Strategy in the Mediterranean during World War II* (Cambridge University Press, 2014), 24-28; Murphy to OSS Washington, Cole to Cobalt cable #431, June 30, 1942, Folder 1, Box 1, Entry 5, RG 226, NARA-CP.

Africa.[4] Murphy's group also played an important part in the early development of OSS reporting and espionage. They set the initial standard for covert cooperation with resistance leaders and the establishment of clandestine radio communications.

Initial Missteps

OSS operations in North Africa after the Allied invasion in November 1942 did not fare as well as hoped after Murphy and Eddy's successful start. OSS agents rarely went about their nominal tasks of long-range intelligence gathering or infiltration behind the lines. Misconceptions among leaders hampered OSS efforts to establish agent networks in North Africa and to accomplish their stated goal of intelligence gathering and covert operations. The Allied Armies, suffering from grave manpower shortages and the exigencies of war in rough terrain, misused OSS field agents in combat situations, calling on them to hold sections of the front or run reconnaissance patrols for front-line troops. Allied leadership and commanders, not understanding the purpose of OSS work, viewed the agent teams sent to North Africa as fair game for use in the frontline fight.[5]

In one situation, military authorities assigned OSS agents to British officers under the British run "Brandon" SOE mission. The mission called for the agents to hold a stretch of front against the Italians in the north of Tunisia. While understandable perhaps in an emergency, the use of OSS men in combat situations inevitably wasted the training and potential offered by the OSS. Furthermore, the men had received little combat training nor were they prepared for combat situations. The OSS had sent the men to infiltrate into Tunisia to assist in gathering military and political intelligence of worth to commanders and leaders, not to fight as front line soldiers. They had neither the equipment nor the command and

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[4] Robert Murphy, *Diplomat among Warriors* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Co., 1964). Andrew Buchanan, *American Grand Strategy in the Mediterranean during World War II* (Cambridge University Press, 2014), 24-28. Murphy to OSS Washington, Cole to Cobalt cable #431, June 30, 1942, Folder 1, Box 1, Entry 5, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[5] First Draft of SI History, anonymous and undated, Folder 8, Box 100, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 45; Roosevelt, *War Report*, 146-147.

control to operate effectively as soldiers. Fortunately, they only engaged in a couple of small actions and avoided any heavy or prolonged fights against heavy equipment.[6]

The OSS and military commanders eventually worked out the finer details of OSS participation in combat theaters, much to the relief of the men. Initial misuse of agents and a fundamental misunderstanding of OSS purposes hindered the growth of overseas operations and prevented the development of OSS intelligence bases and headquarters. However, not all went poorly. General Mark Clark's G-2 (Army Intelligence) in Morocco formally requested an OSS contingent for his command in December 1942, marking the first specific request for an OSS team by an American command.[7]

Other failures and missteps of the OSS's own making continued to plague operations throughout North Africa as the agency worked to develop greater administrative capability and agent quality. With limited opportunities and only a handful of personnel, the OSS opportunistically sought out operations wherever they might be found. The OSS did find success in helping to oust Fascist elements remaining in western North Africa; however, a few actions almost scuttled OSS operations in the Mediterranean.

Using their foothold in Morocco, OSS SI elements began to plan a series of infiltrations into Spain utilizing Spain's shared border with Morocco. This attempt to gain further intelligence on Axis activity in Spain through Spanish Morocco resulted in an early and serious embarrassment to the OSS. The SI Branch out of Washington and Madrid had previously begun work in Spain with four American and over fifty Spanish agents, mostly infiltrated through Spanish Morocco or through the American Embassy in Madrid. The thoroughly anti-OSS ambassador to Spain, Carlton Hayes, tolerated OSS activity

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[6] Roosevelt, *War Report*, 146-147.

[7] Erasmus H. Kloman, *Assignment Algiers*, (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2005), 55-70; Roosevelt, *War Report*, 147-148.

only insofar as it neither interfered with his duties nor requested his or his embassy's assistance. Ambassador Hayes considered OSS work "un-American."[8]

The OSS Oujda base (OSS Oujda) in Morocco, without first consulting either home headquarters at OSS in Washington (OSS Washington) or SI headquarters in Spain (SI Spain), organized an infiltration operation into Spanish Morocco and Malaga. Dubbed Operation BANANA, the plan called for agents hired by the OSS to infiltrate through the weakly patrolled border between Morocco and Spanish Morocco to gather intelligence on any Axis agents residing in Spanish Morocco. Unfortunately, several issues plagued OSS planning from the start. Agents recruited for the mission originated from the Communist "popular front" Union Democratica Espanol (U.D.E.) in Mexico and North Africa. The OSS' own intelligence on the U.D.E. considered it too politically unreliable for intelligence purposes, much less clandestine operations, but they were used anyway. Additionally, these agents received very limited training in weapons and radio use.[9] The agents comprised the first liability in the operation.

Exemplifying the amateurish nature of early OSS operations, the material the agents carried into neutral Spanish territory still bore their US markings and serial numbers.[10] If captured, the enemy could, and would, tie the material back to the United States. Such a mistake presented an unmanageable risk and destroyed all pretenses to plausible deniability for the clandestine operation. Even worse, OSS Spain already ran an intelligence operation which covered the area to be infiltrated by OSS Oujda. OSS Spain sent reports bi-weekly back to OSS Washington covering news and intelligence gathered. Proper OSS Oujda communication with SI leaders in Spain or Washington might have spared the OSS an embarrassment.[11]

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[8] Roosevelt, *War Report*, 162.

[9] Roosevelt, *War Report*, 150-155; R. Smith, *Secret History*, 70.

[10] Roosevelt, *War Report*, 150-155

[11] George C. Chalou, ed., *The Secrets War: The Office of Strategic Services in World War II* (Washington, DC: National Archives and Records Administration, 1992), 167; Roosevelt, *War Report*, 150-155

Ultimately, the Operation BANANA agents fell into Axis hands shortly after commencing their infiltration scheme. Almost immediately upon entrance into Spanish controlled Morocco, Spanish counter-intelligence agents arrested the entire operational team. Their capture led to German intelligence receiving OSS covert material and radios still prominently displaying their US origin. The failure damaged not only American prestige and diplomacy with Spain but also OSS Spain operations. Needless to say, Ambassador Hayes was furious. The OSS subsequently removed the officer in charge of the operation who neither followed up on warnings of the unreliability of the UDE recruits nor checked with OSS Washington to obtain approval for the operation. The failure of BANANA set back OSS work in North Africa and nearly ended OSS activity in Spain.[12] The lack of administrative oversight of early operations cost the OSS dearly.

OSS Algiers & Allied Force Headquarters

Once the Allies had a solid hold in North Africa, Donovan established a new field headquarters just after Christmas 1942 in Algiers, with responsibility over OSS operations throughout the Mediterranean.[13] However, this new headquarters, OSS Algiers, continually suffered from initial misconceptions of OSS work by Allied Force Headquarters (AFHQ) and later by AFHQ's heavy-handed bureaucratic style. AFHQ, commanded by Lieutenant General Dwight D. Eisenhower, controlled all Allied operational forces in the Mediterranean, including OSS activities. Donovan fumed at the appointment of a British Foreign Office representative, William H. B. Mack, as responsible for psychological warfare activities in the Mediterranean. He protested to General Smith, Admiral Leahy, and Eisenhower over the appointment of a British propagandist to lead a "notably American

[12] Roosevelt, *War Report*, 150-155; George C. Chalou, ed., *The Secrets War: The Office of Strategic Services in World War II* (Washington, DC: National Archives and Records Administration, 1992), 166-180.

[13] Joseph F. Jakub III, *Spies and Saboteurs: Anglo American Collaboration and Rivalry in Human Intelligence Collection and Special Operations, 1940-1945* (New York, NY: Springer, 1999), 79

operation."[14] Donovan also had to forestall the subordination of the OSS to the Office of War Information (OWI) in North Africa. Most American military leaders believed the OSS only performed what amounted to propaganda work that fell more in line with OWI as the official government media entity. After a brief bureaucratic struggle, Eisenhower acquiesced, Mack "gracefully stepped aside," and Robert Murphy headed a new Civil Affairs and Political Section as a State Department representative.[15]

Despite the OSS organizational changes of 1943-1944, bureaucratic red tape carried over and forestalled many OSS MEDTO operations. Red tape acted as a burden to field officers attempting to gain essential supplies, air and naval transport, and personnel for operations. Agents often described it as the greatest obstacle to completing clandestine missions. In one instance, Captain Andre Pacatte of SI sought from AFHQ in October 1943 to use requisitioned Italian and motoscafo armato silurante (MAS) fast torpedo boats for infiltrating agents ashore but found all the boats under British control. He first had to seek a paper authorizing him to request clandestine transportation, then had to speak with several officers in turn, including at least two admirals, the SIS, and the SOE at the British base in Taranto, Italy. By January 10, 1944, three months later, after several trips to various ranking officers as well as several conferences and further audiences, Pacatte received no word on any forthcoming transport.[16] Such experiences infuriated agents and stymied OSS plans and operations.

Previous authority granted to the OSS from JCS directives, the Planning Group, and Donovan-issued general orders held weight only insofar as AFHQ permitted the OSS 2677th Regimental Headquarters to implement operations with authorized facilities, transportation, and personnel. Fresh

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[14] General Walter Bedell Smith (1895-1961) served as chief of staff to General Dwight D. Eisenhower. He was promoted to a brigadier-general in February of 1942, major-general in December of 1942, and lieutenant-general in January of 1943. As General Eisenhower's representative, he negotiated and signed the terms of surrender with Italy in 1943, and Germany in 1945. After the war, he directed the Central Intelligence Agency from 1950-1953. Admiral William D. Leahy (1875-1959) chaired the Chiefs of Staff and served as personal Chief of Staff to President Roosevelt from 1942. He was the highest ranking officer in the US military and was involved in most of the important decisions of the Second World War. D.K.R Crosswell, *Beetle: A Life of General Walter Bedell Smith* (Univ. Press of Kentucky, 2010), 4, 276.

[15] As quoted in Troy, *Donovan and the CIA*, 172-173.

[16] Capt. Andre Pacatte to Maj. B. J. Smith, "Transportation," January 3, 1945, Folder 3, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

from a transfer from OSS Washington to OSS Algiers in February 1944, Major Chapin lamented the current state of extreme control exercised by AFHQ over OSS Algiers.[17] At the time, Regimental Headquarters operated under the command of AFHQ in Algiers. Regimental headquarters could conduct no purely independent operations without authorization from AFHQ. The military organization and command structure delayed operations, but the real culprit was that AFHQ controlled all facilities.[18]

The OSS could not recruit or obtain a single man or woman, desk or telephone, car or pair of shoes without prior authority or concurrence by AFHQ.[19] Every OSS operation had to be conducted in complete coordination with the overall military plan. Compounding the problem, a recent reorganization of AFHQ at the beginning of 1944, saw the JCS cede control of AFHQ to their British counterparts. The situation, as troublesome as it was, did not prevent the OSS from implementing plans from OSS Washington, but those plans could only be implemented within the framework imposed by AFHQ.[20]

By 1944, AFHQ regularly involved the OSS in its plans as a part of AFHQ G-3's Special Operations Command (SPOC) special operations sub-section in common with PWB, SOE, and all other special services in the theater. Each organization submitted their proposals and received their directives from the Special Operations Committee of G-3, AFHQ, Brigadier General Benjamin F. Caffey, Chief of Section. The Special Operations Committee planned and approved all special operations for the entire

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[17] Maj. Howard M. Chapin to Col. Atherton Richards, "North African Theater Report No. 1," February 23, 1944, Folder 6, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 2.

[18] Edward J. F. Glavin to Deputy Chief of Staff, AFHQ, "OSS Planning Group Programs," August 2, 1944, Folder 293, Box 33, Entry 165, RG 226, NARA-CP; Maj. Howard M. Chapin to Col. Atherton Richards, "North African Theater Report No. 1," February 23, 1944, Folder 6, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1.

[19] Conyers Read, Director, OSS History Project, "Security in Caserta, Italy," January 1, 1945, Folder 3, Box 49, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 3-4; Maj. Howard M. Chapin to Col. Atherton Richards, "North African Theater Report No. 1," February 23, 1944, Folder 6, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1.

[20] Maj. Howard M. Chapin to Col. Atherton Richards, "North African Theater Report No. 1," February 23, 1944, Folder 6, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1.

Mediterranean Theater, coordinating those plans with the overall military plan for the Mediterranean. This left OSS Strategic Services Officer Glavin in a tight situation.[21]

In response, he formulated a firm policy of confining OSS participation strictly within the limits of available facilities, personnel, transport, and operational supplies. If Glavin received a request from the Special Operations Committee to conduct operations requiring more materiel than available, he re-examined OSS priorities to meet the request. He determined whether the plans could be affected by shifts of personnel within the bounds of theater allotments, procurement of additional supplies or equipment, redisposition of forward echelons, or other means within his control. If nothing could be found within the theater, he requested OSS Washington to fill in the needed materiel as was the case when Washington sent six additional groups of OGs before an important deadline. [22]

AFHQ's reorganization in July 1944 did away with Caffey and the AFHQ Special Operations Command (SPOC) special operations sub-section. OSS in Italy now operated under the responsibility of General Barr, Devers' Chief of Staff. [23] On September 26, 1944, Glavin ordered the closure of all SI offices in Tunis, Oran, and Casablanca all but ending SI work in North Africa.[24] The remnants of OSS personnel at Algiers transferred to Washington by the end of October. Glavin wanted to ensure that the OSS had all the necessary administrative and leadership personnel stationed at Siena, Italy, to capitalize on OSS successes. [25]

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[21] Maj. Howard M. Chapin to Col. Atherton Richards, "North African Theater Report No. 1," February 23, 1944, Folder 6, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 2.

[22] Edward J. F. Glavin to Deputy Chief of Staff, AFHQ, "Office of Strategic Services," July 12, 1944, Folder 293, Box 33, Entry 165, RG 226, NARA-CP; Maj. Howard M. Chapin to Col. Atherton Richards, "North African Theater Report No. 1," February 23, 1944, Folder 6, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 2.

[23] Capt. Gerald R. Murphy, AGD, "OSS Mediterranean Organization," July 25, 1944, Folder 6, Box 4, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[24] Lt. Colonel W. P. Maddox, Chief SI, MEDTO to Rudyard Boulton, Div. Deputy SI, Africa Division, Washington, "Inspection Tour of North Africa," September 26, 1944, Folder 378, Box 38, Entry 165, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[25] Capt. Gerald R. Murphy, AGD, "OSS Mediterranean Organization," July 25, 1944, Folder 6, Box 4, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP; Donovan from Glavin at Siena by way of Rome and Algiers, Cable #41484, July 6, 1944, Folder 1, Box 1, Entry 6, RG 226, NARA-CP

Eastern Mediterranean

Lebanon

At times, even single agents in far-flung localities could demonstrate professional reporting qualities. In July 1942, just as the OSS was handling the transition from COI to OSS, an OSS agent in Beirut, Lebanon, identified only as Gwynn, reported on the effects German General Erwin Rommel's advance into Egypt had had on the local population. He detailed local areas of significance then prevailing in Syria and Lebanon. The emergency in Egypt forced the British to pull all military and security forces from the Syria-Lebanon area, leaving behind only a small local police force. Gwynn deemed the Lebanese populace unlikely to cause trouble, but reported that the Syrians constituted a potential threat. If the Germans managed to reach Syria, they would meet "little opposition" and most likely would receive assistance from local natives and authorities. Constant French and British infighting regarding the governing of Syria compounded local tensions.[26] The treatment of Lebanese and Syrian locals by French and British officials led to a widespread sympathy from both the Muslim and Christian populations towards the Axis. Recent British battle losses and subsequent loss of prestige in North Africa led many locals to believe it was only a matter of time before Axis troops crossed the Suez into the Levant.[27]

Despite Gwynn's reports of stoic ex-pat Americans, he planned and received permission to carry out, if necessary, the evacuation through eastern Turkey to Persia those connected with American religious missions and Beirut College. Gwynn continued reporting on the conditions through the late fall of 1942. By the first week of November, with Rommel in retreat, such drastic measures as proposed by

[26] Gwynn, "Conditions in Syria-Lebanon and reaction to Rommel's advance," Folder 1, Box 1, Entry 5, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[27] Gwynn, "Conditions in Syria-Lebanon and reaction to Rommel's advance," Folder 1, Box 1, Entry 5, RG 226, NARA-CP.

Gwynn no longer seemed necessary, and his reports dried up. His reporting demonstrated a level of OSS activity and reporting in an area sparsely developed by the OSS. [28]

Gwynn operated through extremely difficult working conditions with no support, equipment, or other assistance. His reporting showed a dedicated and thorough examination of the situation, providing both intelligence gathering and spot analysis during a period of military uncertainty. Either a dearth of State willingness or an effort by the OSS to expand their capabilities led to OSS Washington giving authorization to Gwynn to carry out his proposed evacuation if necessary. The OSS took reports from agents in far-flung parts of the world seriously. Despite a lack of resources and the relative administrative immaturity of overseas missions, OSS branches received and analyzed the intelligence quickly enough to provide valuable and relevant direction to agents, particularly in this instance.[29]

Fixing Istanbul and Cairo's Pleas to Exist

During the fall of 1943, OSS MEDTO headquarters worked to get operations off the ground in Turkey and Egypt. These bases of operations covered the Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East as well as part of the southeastern Balkans. Their operations impacted the work in Italy directly and indirectly, with the eventual primary operating base headquartered at Bari in southern Italy. An established, and sometimes antagonistic, British presence in the eastern Mediterranean restricted OSS work in the area. The British successfully rebuffed Donovan's attempts to establish a large, even dominant, OSS presence in the Middle East proper. Relegated to a secondary position focused primarily on Turkey and Cairo, continued OSS ambitions caused constant low-level conflicts between the OSS and the British Special Operations Executive (SOE).[30]

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[28] Gwynn, "Conditions in Syria-Lebanon and reaction to Rommel's advance," Folder 1, Box 1, Entry 5, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[29] Gwynn, "Conditions in Syria-Lebanon and reaction to Rommel's advance," Folder 1, Box 1, Entry 5, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[30] Roosevelt, *War Report*, 179; R. Smith, *Secret History*, 70.

Initial OSS forays into Turkey proved ineffective and nearly disastrous to the OSS in the Mediterranean as both SI and X-2 (Counterespionage) found themselves severely infiltrated by pro-German Turkish Security Service officers posing as sympathetic informants. Colonel John Toulmin, appointed head of OSS Cairo during the summer of 1943, replaced Ulius Amoss who earned a reputation for shady dealings and financial mismanagement. Toulmin immediately replaced the Turkish OSS SI base chief with Lieutenant Commander Frank Wisner, a 35-year-old Wall Street lawyer who quickly cleaned up intelligence operations in Turkey.[31] Wisner proved effective at counter-espionage and infiltration operations and successfully established agent chains throughout southeastern Europe and the eastern Mediterranean.[32]

Istanbul in particular presented constant problems for the OSS. The SI Branch there needed strengthening to rid itself of its prior six months of operating in a fairly disorganized ad-hoc state. Wisner set about immediately gaining control over his staff's activities and executed an internal reorganization.[33] Prior to Wisner's arrival in July 1944, Cairo received massive cuts in personnel, and Istanbul teetered on the edge of breaking up. Those in Istanbul saw the winds changing against them and understood the inevitability of incoming "certain radical changes."[34]

Many in the mission thought that the OSS would withdraw the Istanbul Mission due to the rotten nature and inefficiency of the mission's work. The Gestapo had penetrated the activities of the single sub-agent who handled all contacts for Central Europe for OSS Istanbul. When discovered, the "Istanbul Affair" led to a major falling out between the British SIS and the OSS which were not repaired until Wisner's arrival. Other security violations included two chauffeurs in OSS employed worked for the Russian secret service, another X-2 chauffeur reported regularly on X-2 activity to the Turkish police, and

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[31] Frank Wisner would later head the Directorate of Plans at the Central Intelligence Agency in 1952.

[32] R. Smith, *Secret History*, 114-115.

[33] Capt. Gerald R. Murphy, AGD, "OSS Mediterranean Organization," July 25, 1944, Folder 6, Box 4, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[34] Theater Officer Pouch Review, "Istanbul Set-Up," July 29, 1944, Folder 2, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

German double agent Mrs. Hildegarde Reilly who reported on OSS personnel and activities to the Germans.[35] The OSS understood that with its post-war ambitions, each mission needed to function properly and in such a manner as to impress both civilian and military leadership. OSS administrative maturation required the reorganization and constant replacement of personnel including mission or branch chiefs much as the American military replaced generals at a rapid pace during the war.[36]

After these several intelligence failures and disappointments, Wisner transferred personnel out in an attempt to clean house and root out ineffective sources and moles. His efforts drew the attention of those in Washington. OSS staff officer in Washington De Bardeleban saw a danger in decreasing the mission's strength to a point where it could not produce if an opportunity presented itself. He sent a memo to Wisner reminding him of the usefulness of the Istanbul Mission and urging him to not denude it completely of past personnel. The constant transfer of personnel made him worry that a rush of inexperienced personnel would only exacerbate the current issues in the mission.[37]

De Bardeleban grossly overestimated the previous effectiveness of intelligence gathering in Istanbul before Wisner's arrival. It turned out, though, that Wisner's actions proved wise in removing the taint in Istanbul while bringing in more competent and effective personnel. Istanbul began producing higher quality intelligence while dismissing agents and their contacts whom had proven unreliable or ineffective.[38] Wisner could not solve all the problems of OSS Istanbul though he went further than perhaps anyone else in bringing some semblance of administrative order and standardization of intelligence practices to the mission.

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[35] OSS Istanbul should have used standard procedure for the handling of contacts which required each contact to work individually with OSS headquarters rather than collectively through a sub-agent. Anthony Cave Brown, *The Secret War Report of the OSS* (New York: Brandt and Brandt, 1976), 294-302.

[36] While debates still rage over the effectiveness of the American practice of rapidly replacing front-line commanders during World War II, the analogy still works in regards to the OSS as the OSS, operating on the same philosophy, hoped the replacements would improve any underperforming area not meeting expectations; Theater Officer Pouch Review, "Plans for SI, MEDTO," September 28, 1944, Folder 1, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[37] Theater Officer Pouch Review, "First Semi-Monthly Report, Istanbul," August 11, 1944, Folder 2, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[38] Theater Officer Pouch Review, "First Semi-Monthly Report, Istanbul," August 11, 1944, Folder 2, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

Unfortunately, X-2 agents in Istanbul remained under the illusion of their own "success" until late in the war. Often German agents played a constant double game with inexperienced or overly naïve OSS agents, leading them on wild goose chases, feeding them false information, or receiving more information from the OSS agents than they revealed themselves.[39] Several Russian spies, such as the X-2 chauffeur and German double agents, like Mrs. Reilly and other women, penetrated OSS Istanbul operations during this period causing the capture of all contacts operating in the Balkans and Central Europe.[40] However, in fairness to the agents in Istanbul, they did occasionally achieve an intelligence coup demonstrating their capability. In September 1944, the SI office reported on the X-2-led "probable defection" of "important German agents" which would significantly harm the "German Intelligence Service [sic]." [41]

A German agent and his secretary defected in September 1944 to the OSS men in Istanbul. They sent the German agent to Cairo for interrogation and use by the Joint Anglo-American Psychological Warfare Bureau for propaganda purposes. The information provided by the defector helped agents in Istanbul root out bad informants and double agents. With successes often few and far between, the various OSS branches operating out of Istanbul attempted to portray every possible piece of intelligence as a great coup worthy of more men and resources, often with the subtext of preparing for the post-war world.[42] Such reports made making value judgments on intelligence reports difficult to near impossible.

OSS Cairo received renewed attention during the reorganizations of 1944. Heading into 1944, Glavin noted that he had reduced the Cairo office to a "peace-time basis." He clearly anticipated a continued OSS presence in the eastern Mediterranean after the war and began to prepare accordingly.

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[39] Theater Officer Pouch Review, "X-2, Istanbul," August 10, 1944, Folder 2, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP; Roosevelt, *War Report*, 301; Some of the false information fed to OSS agents included erroneous reports of Romanian oil production, strength of Axis agents in Turkey, false information on agent chains in Bulgaria, and German-fed information from double agents.

[40] Anthony Cave Brown, *The Secret War Report of the OSS* (New York: Brandt and Brandt, 1976), 294-302.

[41] Theater Officer Pouch Review, "X-2, Cairo Report Jan.-July '44," July 5, 1944, Folder 2, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[42] Theater Officer Pouch Review, "X-2, Cairo Report Jan.-July '44," July 5, 1944, Folder 2, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

Glavin took steps to have the Cairo office direct its activities towards a "post-hostility pattern" as it seemed clear to him that the office's obvious post-war function would focus on acting as an intelligence collection station, or clearing house, for the Near East and Africa. He described the professional evolution of the SI Branch in the Mediterranean as having taken on "the character of a long-run organization." He recognized various agents' efforts in the professional maturation of the OSS. He also recognized the need for continuous development despite the ongoing administrative and operational progress made by various OSS offices. [43]

The Cairo office had known it would need to curtail their activities for several months in 1943 into 1944. Cairo conducted operations in areas which the military considered of little importance despite the continued operation of Greek and Yugoslav units in conjunction with OSS branches in Bari. The morale of the office suffered naturally as the agents themselves had an indeterminate future making it difficult to concentrate on their work. Passionate reports originated out of Cairo clamoring for continued use and transfer of available resources due to the political and economic importance of the field post-war. With their supplies and personnel being siphoned off, Cairo began looking desperately to the future for their raison d'etre. Cairo also began unsuccessfully appealing to government agencies who concentrated on political and economic fields that could potentially find much of strategic value in the region.[44]

The Cairo office, facing constant reduction since the spring of 1944, repeatedly affirmed its continuing relevance to exist to OSS Washington. Cairo leaned on its ability to still conduct many "very professional operations." The staffers' reports took pains to point out that their operations maintained a "really high degree of proficiency and a business-like operation which could serve as a model for other areas." With an eye to the post-war environment, OSS Cairo felt it could handle the setting up,

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[43] Capt. Gerald R. Murphy, AGD, "OSS Mediterranean Organization," July 25, 1944, Folder 6, Box 4, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[44] Theater Officer Pouch Review, "Supply Situation," July 26, 1944, Folder 2, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

equipping, and supplying of a base in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, for continuing operations into the Balkans. Greece as well offered the "first big post combat responsibility" for the OSS where much "pioneering" could take place which would "likely set the pattern for the future of OSS."[45]

So what then could Cairo produce that could be a model for other OSS operations? Unlike most other OSS missions, Cairo maintained a supply capability on par with the army's. In a snipe directly aimed at other OSS officers and administrators, the OSS Supply Officer Nicholas in Cairo felt that the army supply people with whom he worked "[knew] a lot more than mail order executives."[46] The always present tension between those with high ranking business backgrounds and those without simmered to the top here. With palpable disdain for OSS supply personnel, Nicholas suggested the acquisition of a good supply colonel or major from the army to oversee the continued supply operation in Cairo. Compared to the supply operations in Cairo, the rest of the OSS appeared "amateurish."[47]

By their own account, OSS Cairo fully incorporated army supply procedures, demonstrating an extreme level of integration and cross-pollination of OSS standards with those of the army. The complete adoption of army standards and practices showed the weakness and lack of enforcement of current OSS standards and practices. Cairo adopted their supply organizational standards without prior discussion or authorization from OSS Washington. That OSS Washington did not rebuke or force Cairo to revert the changes also highlighted the lack of rigidity enforced on, and flexibility afforded to, field missions. The OSS did not appear to take too careful notice of Cairo's admonitions, though, as no other OSS mission modeled their organization or administration after their Cairo counterpart.[48]

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[45] Theater Officer Pouch Review, "Cairo Office," July 26, 1944, Folder 2, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[46] Theater Officer Pouch Review, "Cairo Office," July 26, 1944, Folder 2, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[47] Theater Officer Pouch Review, "Supply Situation," July 26, 1944, Folder 2, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[48] Theater Officer Pouch Review, "Supply Situation," July 26, 1944, Folder 2, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

Operations Move Beyond North Africa

The capture of Tunis in Tunisia on May 7, 1943, completed the Allied campaign for North Africa. Operations on the islands of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica became obvious choices for the next series of OSS infiltration schemes. The plans and operations would demonstrate the uniqueness of OSS activities and its ability to successfully defend its professional jurisdiction as a covert foreign intelligence agency. Campaigns to capture the islands took place simultaneously as the OSS assisted Allied operations in Sicily during July through August and in Sardinia and Corsica from July through October 1943. Planning for the operations began much earlier than the capture of Tunis as OSS SI leaders such as Corvo, Scamporino, and Brennan helped plan future operations in both Sicily and Sardinia. Operations on these large central Mediterranean islands gave ample opportunity for the OSS to improve and develop their infiltration procedures for landing agents ashore from submarines or light craft at night.[49] The OSS would gain valuable experience in coordinating clandestine sabotage and intelligence actions during these operations.[50]

Sicily

AFHQ initially kept the OSS from operating in Sicily for fear that covert operations might alert enemy coastal defenses prior to the Allied landings. AFHQ's prevention of pre-landing operations denied the OSS an opportunity to set up partisan networks within Sicily to assist the Allied advance. The insular nature of the battlefield and the speed of the Allied advance worked against the OSS fully developing operations in Sicily after the landings. The OSS did manage to attempt several line-crossing operations in Sicily but with only limited success. Other weaknesses and difficulties also plagued OSS planning and execution. Personnel recruited and trained in the United States for Sicily proved ineffective and inferior to local peoples who the OSS recruited, trained, and briefed at the front. These

[49] Clear examples of agent infiltrations begin in section "Southern Italian Islands" and subsequent sections and chapters.

[50] Roosevelt, *War Report*, 188-190

recruits experienced much better success using their natural cover as natives while using their intimate knowledge of the terrain to their advantage.[51]

Despite the physical and bureaucratic obstacles, Earl Brennan, a former State Department consular official and in 1943, Chief of SI Washington, initiated planning for operations into Sicily and other parts of the central Mediterranean. In March 1943, Brennan recruited Biagio M. Corvo, a US Army private of Sicilian descent, into the OSS, to lead operations in Sicily and southern Italy. Private – later Captain – Corvo, recruited twelve more Sicilian-Americans as field agents along with two young lawyers, Victor Anfuso and Vincent Scamporino, from Boston University. Corvo's SI operational group continuously suffered from a lack of personnel, especially qualified Italian-Americans who as one agent put it would "take a shot at their relatives." This issue remained a thorn in the side of the OSS throughout the war and reduced its ability to find qualified personnel for Italy. The concept of using American agents familiar with operational areas did not always work well in practice but remained a core principal of OSS recruiting throughout the war.[52]

Internal memos circulated around the OSS in March 1943 with suggestions for subversive psychological warfare activities in Sicily and the Italian mainland involving locals. These included special communications and morale activities against the Italian civilian population and troops. The suggestions fell in line with the approved "Lines of Action" in the Basic Plan for Italy approved that month by the Joint Chiefs. [53] Donovan received copies of the circulating suggestions, and Brennan and Scamporino wanted the materials for their planned operations out of North Africa and into Sicily and southern Italy. Both Brennan and Scamporino waited for Donovan's approval of any activities before proceeding as

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[51] Roosevelt, *War Report*, 188-191.

[52] Max Corvo, *OSS in Italy 1942-1945* (New York, NY: Enigma Books, 2005) 92; Roosevelt, *War Report*, 188-191.

[53] Walter O'Meara to Mr. Frederick Oechsner, "Suggestions for Subversive Activities in Italy," March 15, 1943, Folder 21, Box 6, Entry 92, RG 226, NARA-CP.

Donovan kept a close eye on SI activities. He exercised a clear hand in all levels of decision making at this time in the Mediterranean.[54]

The early OSS mirrored in many ways the traits and habits of its founder. Donovan always had a predilection for dangerous escapades, which caused no end of ulcers for his immediate subordinates. While touring North Africa, Donovan, against AFHQ wishes, decided to go ashore during D-Day in Sicily. He then directed the advance OSS team consisting of two officers and eight enlisted men who landed on D-plus-4. The heads of the British Secret Intelligence Service (SIS) and SOE considered such actions madness and wondered aloud what would have happened had Donovan been captured. Fortunately for everyone involved, Donovan and his team survived the landings unharmed. A few OSS personnel linked Donovan's habitual "rash behavior" to the reason for the intense suspicion from the British secret services towards the OSS. Donovan knew a great deal not only about OSS operations but also British secret intelligence including the top-secret ULTRA signals intercept program, creating an enormous security risk.[55]

An example of such a disaster, but on a smaller scale, occurred in July 1943 when OSS Washington sent a new SO Chief to Sicily to run the burgeoning operations. His actions would exemplify the lack of administrative oversight and control the OSS still exhibited over field officers. On August 1, after formulating plans for sabotage behind the lines, the SO Chief personally led a team behind enemy lines in the mountainous area around Mistretta in north-central Sicily. Why he decided to lead the operation personally is never made clear. While moving through German lines, one of the men set off a land mine, alerting the enemy and foiling the infiltration attempt. Most of the team escaped back to Allied lines, but the SO Chief stayed behind with the radio operator who had tripped the mine and another wounded enlisted man. Both wounded men ended up either escaping from the Germans or

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[54] Walter O'Meara to Mr. Frederick Oechsner, "Suggestions for Subversive Activities in Italy," March 15, 1943, Folder 21, Box 6, Entry 92, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[55] Roosevelt, *War Report*, 190

hiding until recovered by the advancing Allies. Unfortunately, SO headquarters never heard from the SO Chief again despite several attempts to locate and recover him.[56]

The capture of the SO Chief realized some of the greatest security fears expressed about Donovan's own rash adventures in the front lines. Freshly installed from the United States, the SO Chief knew of the latest OSS operations and organization and had no business personally leading an infiltration mission. The security breach in his loss fortunately did not cause any recognizable short or long term disasters but potentially impeded OSS infiltrations in Italy. In a professional environment, leaders of an organization have a duty to take into consideration the effects, and dangers, their involvement in day-to-day operations can have, especially in the unique and necessarily secretive clandestine situation of the OSS.

R&A Joins the Fray in Sicily

As the OSS developed internally and the scope of its operations grew, Donovan impressed upon Langer a need for greater R&A utility for the military. Langer agreed with Donovan and ordered R&A overseas Outposts to pivot towards combat-support activities during 1942-1943 and partially away from long-range strategic intelligence. Donovan's growing desire to impress his JCS superiors with OSS' utility and a desire to involve the OSS in combat operations led him to direct R&A to give combat intelligence overriding priority. As operations got underway, the R&A Branch began developing its field headquarters administration to analyze local intelligence. Langer raised the question of establishing an R&A outpost in North Africa in a conversation with Donald C. McKay on January 9, 1943.

R&A Outpost staff performed important intelligence work supporting OSS Washington with the latest reference materials from other intelligence agencies as well as the production of their own reports. The OSS set up outpost staffs in the European, North Africa, and Middle-Eastern Theaters and tasked them with the collection of foreign reference works, highly classified summaries from field

[56] Roosevelt, *War Report*, 191.

organizations, and the performance of tasks and functions similar to other agency (G-2, ONI, FEA, Office of War Information (OWI)) outpost staffs. Typically this involved keeping Washington informed of developments in the theater or with Allied Supreme Command, especially on matters concerning psychological warfare and civil affairs. Contact with exiled governments and the forwarding of any related intelligence fell to the outpost staffs. At times, they assisted various OSS branches with field research such as assisting the MO and SO Branches with target acquisition.[57]

McKay suggested Dr. Rudolph Winnacker, a member of the history departments at the Universities of Nebraska and Michigan, to lead the outpost. He was already well known for his government service, and was the ideal man to run such an outpost due to his close and continuous "contact with North African questions."[58] Langer readily agreed and Winnacker left in early May for Algiers. Winnacker would create the groundwork for how R&A in North Africa and southern Italy would collect intelligence for Washington moving forward. He later created an R&A workshop at Palermo, Sicily, dubbed the "university" for his recruitment of local students and professors who contributed to the work. He established contacts throughout the islands and southern Italy who eagerly cooperated with his successors, creating an enduring intelligence chain.[59]

In mid-1943, Winnacker's operation in Palermo, Sicily, received renewed attention. Winnacker convinced Donovan that R&A "could be really effective in connection with operations…very close to the front." [60] Through further pressure from Donovan, Langer spread R&A into other battle-related activities, including tactical air force targeting, briefing of SI and SO combat missions, some POW interrogation, and document collection immediately behind the advancing armies. By November 1943,

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[57] Report, "Functions of the Current Intelligence Staff," "Europe-Africa Division," 1943, Folder 3, Box 4, Entry 1, RG 226, NARA-CP, 5.

[58] Report by Donald C. McKay to William L. Langer, "Mission to North Africa and Italy," March 21, 1944, Folder 9, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP; B. Smith, *Shadow Warriors*, 17.

[59] Report by Donald C. McKay to William L. Langer, "Mission to North Africa and Italy," March 21, 1944, Folder 9, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP

[60] Report by Donald C. McKay to William L. Langer, "Mission to North Africa and Italy," March 21, 1944, Folder 9, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP

Donovan had assigned the entire R&A staff in the theater to work with the Army G-3 on the general operational plan for Italy to foster better relations with the army.[61]

Winnacker divided the work into three types, which set a precedent for future OSS work with the American Military Government (AMG): processing lists of anti-fascists in Italy, writing reports on Italy (mainly economic), and studies of local problems with instructions and recommendations for cooperation with Civil Affairs (CA), another government agency involved with post-liberation governance. Winnacker complained to Eddy and Langer about his suffering at the hands of Army G-2 and other American field organizations who hampered or slowed his work in establishing an R&A research base. He had to exercise extreme caution and tact in the handling of local personnel and by the end of August, his patience had almost reached its breaking point.[62]

Winnacker spent most of August 1943 getting the local research activities organized in Palermo. He encountered many difficulties, not least of which was the low quality of the professors and students in southern Italy, especially Sicily. Local Italians, even when recruited to the OSS or Allied cause, focused almost exclusively on petty local interests or issues which held little value to OSS plans. Despite his difficulties, Winnacker quickly employed over sixty people including typists, cleaning women, office managers, research directors, and research personnel. However, he continued to hold a low opinion of those whom he employed. He often complained of lying, stealing, and "general dishonesty" which he attributed to "a prevalent folk characteristic" among his workers.[63]

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[61] B. Smith, *Shadow Warriors*, 365; Donovan to the Secretary of the Joint U. S. Chiefs of Staff, Attn: Captain Frank Loftin, USN, "OSS Operations, North African and Middle East Theaters," November 4, 1943, Folder 3, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[62] R. A. Winnacker to Col. W. A. Eddy and W. L. Langer, "Report for the period August 15, to August 25th 1943," August 29, 1943, Folder 1, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[63] R. A. Winnacker to Col. W. A. Eddy and W. L. Langer, "Report for the period August 15, to August 25th 1943," August 29, 1943, Folder 1, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

Sicily Ends

The campaign for Sicily ended quickly preventing the OSS from developing in-depth intelligence operations on the island. While the SO and OG Branches moved operations to the Italian mainland or Corsica, SI Italy continued to attempt long range penetration operations from bases in Palermo and southern Italy while simultaneously building its reputation and growing its Italian contacts. SI and OG also worked together in Corsica to conduct operations to cultivate contacts with northern Italian partisan bands.[64] The professional maturation of the OSS continued with more complex personnel recruitment, as well as more complex and detailed intelligence work aided by past failures and experiences.

By September 1944, operations had moved outside the range of the Sicilian bases operating primarily out of Palermo. However, Glavin wanted to continue to operate a contingent of SI agents out of Sicily to assist the American Military Government (AMG). They assisted the AMG in dealing with local intelligence collection and rooting out Fascist political agents remaining in Sicily. Glavin hatched a plan to throw off possible German counter-intelligence agents in Sicily. SI Sicily made an open and "obvious" show of removing people and equipment from the island to the mainland. In secret, though, SI infiltrated people and equipment back into Sicily using new cover facilitated by their previous exit.[65] By all accounts, the ruse worked, insomuch that SI Sicily continued to capture Fascists and assist AMG without issue.

SI also gathered political, economic, social, and counter espionage intelligence from Sicily and distributed it to ONI, G-2 Assistant Chief of Staff, Broadcasting (IBS), and the British Field Security Station (FSS) at Palermo throughout the first half of 1944. The broader Allied Italian espionage effort leaned heavily on OSS maintenance facilities and provided the OSS with monthly reports. The cooperation between SI and other Allied and military agencies demonstrated army and navy support for OSS efforts

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[64] Roosevelt, *War Report*, 192.

[65] Theater Officer Pouch Review, "SI in Sicily," September 14, 1944, Folder 1, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

underway in Italy. SI also provided key political intelligence and established contact with anti-Fascists and Mafia members.[66] Other intelligence outfits wanted analysis of which political players in Italy still had support and who might be available to fulfill political objectives or lead the government after the war. The OSS provided key lists and biographies to military authorities and the State Department. They also provided a side-service which gave "listening and observing" intelligence in Italy to a wide variety of organizations such as the AMG who had direct involvement in Italian day-to-day business.[67]

Southern Italian Islands

In August and September 1943, the OSS expanded operations against the islands off the southwest coast of Italy while beginning operations on the Italian mainland. The end of August saw several OG operations against Sardinia, while SI and other OGs attempted to clear the Lipari Archipelago off the north coast of Sicily. The islands of Stromboli and Lipari fell to a three phase OSS operation planned as a joint OSS-navy venture. The cooperation of the navy proved vital in allowing the OSS to infiltrate the islands using small motor torpedo boats (MTBs) operating out of the port of Palermo, Sicily.[68] Successful joint operations would also help improve the relationship between the OSS and the military services. [69]

The OSS Seventh Army Detachment carried out the three-phase Lipari operations. After interrogating captured Italian merchant marine sailors, the operations officer of the detachment began planning for the capture of the Lipari Archipelago. He selected Captain Frank J. Tarallo to lead eight

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[66] For a further in-depth look at the US relationship with the Sicilian Mafia during WWII please see: Rodney Campbell, *The Luciano Project: The Secret Wartime Collaboration of the Mafia and the U.S. Navy* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1977); Salvatore Lupo, "The Allies and the mafia." *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* Vol. 2 Issue 1 (1997): 21-33; Stefano Luconi. "Italian Americans and the Invasion of Sicily in World War II." *Italian Americana* 25.1 (2007): 5-22.

[67] Theater Officer Pouch Review, "SI in Sicily," July 26, 1944, Folder 1, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[68] The OSS utilized many different maritime craft throughout the war including, but not limited to, motor torpedo boats, patrol torpedo boats, rafts, kayaks, Army Air Force rescue boats, rubber landing boats, yachts, motor boats, and even surfboards. Chief, MU, NATo to Chief, MU, Washington, D.C., "Maritime Equipment – In Stock, On Order and Deliveries," June 28, 1944, Folder 83, Box 5, Entry 143, RG 226, NARA-CP, 5.

[69] Experimental Detachment G-3; 7th Army to General W. Donovan and Col. W. Eddy, "Lipari Operations," September 10, 1943, Folder 3, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

other men in the operation. The US Navy provided the use of three PT boats in the joint-venture which covered the landing operations as well as provided fifteen armed seamen. The first phase called for Tarallo and two enlisted men to land in Lipari Harbor from the first boat under a truce flag and demand the unconditional surrender of the Archipelago, bluffing that a large Allied force had taken Lipari. Once completed, they would signal the second and third rubber boats into the water. [70] In the second phase, the men on the other two boats would take over the radio station, capture the Italian naval codes, and arrest all Fascist leaders. With the first two phases completed, the third called for a dash to Stromboli where another radio station existed. The plan assigned two men to capture any code books and destroy any enemy communication capability. [71]

At 0930 hours, August 17, after a final conference with Rear Admiral Lyal A. Davidson, commander of the US fleet in Sicilian waters, the OSS-navy flotilla cleared the harbor of Palermo. Just after 1200 hours of the same day, the first phase of the plan had been executed perfectly. All parts of the first phase went according to plan, and the Archipelago surrendered to Tarallo. The second and third parties captured the radio stations but could only secure half-burned, but still useful, copies of the Italian naval codes. The third party also took charge of Civil Affairs and of securing general intelligence on the island. By 1500 hours, the men had executed all phases exactly according to plan with no losses and had complete control of the Lipari Archipelago and Stromboli. [72]

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[70] George C. Chalou, ed., *The Secrets War: The Office of Strategic Services in World War II* (Washington, DC: National Archives and Records Administration, 1992), 186-187; Experimental Detachment G-3; 7th Army to General W. Donovan and Col. W. Eddy, "Lipari Operations," September 10, 1943, Folder 3, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[71] Experimental Detachment G-3; 7th Army to General W. Donovan and Col. W. Eddy, "Lipari Operations," September 10, 1943, Folder 3, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[72] For more information on the actions of Rear Admiral Davidson see Samuel Eliot Morison, *History of United States Naval Operations in World War II. Vol. 9: Sicily-Salerno-Anzio, January 1943-June 1944* (Univ. Press of Illinois, 2001). George C. Chalou, ed., *The Secrets War: The Office of Strategic Services in World War II* (Washington, DC: National Archives and Records Administration, 1992), 186-87; Experimental Detachment G-3; 7th Army to General W. Donovan and Col. W. Eddy, "Lipari Operations," September 10, 1943, Folder 3, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

The Lipari operations proved how well clandestine operations could function as a combined operation. The coordinated planning and elaborate ruse demonstrated an increasing complexity in OSS plans. The infiltration methods used also proved valuable for future operations.[73] Fortunately, the agents did not have to engage in combat. In the run up to the operation, the agents had received no combat training but were armed with an assortment of German and Italian arms.[74] Training still had to catch up with the realities in the field.

The men captured a total of forty-eight prisoners including one officer, the commandant of the Port of Lipari, and four petty officers in charge of insular communications. Private Nate de Angeles worked as the official OSS liaison during the first and third phase and arranged the final surrender of the German garrison in the Lipari archipelago to the OSS. Several of the POWs proved quite useful after exhaustive questioning, and the OSS used them on operations. Volunteers from the islands also participated in very hazardous missions for various OSS branches.[75] Lessons learned during this operation would be applied to future operations as the OSS developed in Italy.

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[73] Experimental Detachment G-3; 7th Army to General W. Donovan and Col. W. Eddy, "Lipari Operations," September 10, 1943, Folder 3, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[74] The men were armed with one Thompson .45 caliber submachinegun, two Schmeiser Machine Pistols, four hand grenades, daggers, and two Italian automatic rifles.

[75] Experimental Detachment G-3; 7th Army to General W. Donovan and Col. W. Eddy, "Lipari Operations," September 10, 1943, Folder 3, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

CHAPTER 6: SARDINIA AND CORSICA

The professional development of the OSS in the Mediterranean as the Allies began the campaign for Italy remained stunted. The OSS, despite some abortive attempts in Tunisia, had yet to work in an integrated manner with any military campaign. The campaigns in Tunisia, and later Sicily, moved and ended too quickly, preventing OSS development. The OSS could not set up an effective intelligence operation to support Allied forces within the period available. The OSS needed to find ways to provide effective service to Allied commanders in order to continue to survive, grow, and develop. OSS infiltration and intelligence operations based out of various Mediterranean islands and southern Italy showed what the OSS could do which no other organization could attempt. These operations provided another example of the way OSS operations could assist the military advance of the Allied Armies, well demonstrated in the capture of Sardinia from the Germans and Italians.

Sardinia and Corsica

Brennan, Chief of SI's Geographic Section, planned in February 1943 for the use of twenty-four to thirty agents in post North African operations. A further three hundred and fifty sub-agents would operate jointly with activities in Sicily and Sardinia. Expecting the Sardinian operations to last several months, Brennan asked for pre-allocated funds that would cover operational costs within Sardinia until December 1943.[76] At the same time, Eddy in Algiers wrote to Donovan relaying AFHQ's request that infiltration groups for Sicily and Sardinian be provide immediately. Eddy suggested the OSS recruit at least twenty Sardinians with a recent knowledge of operational territory.[77] To make the new group more self-sufficient, he suggested eight of the twenty be trained in W/T use. The OSS plan for Sardinia,

[76] Italy No. 4 (Sicily): Amending Memorandum, written by Earl Brennan, February, 1943, Folder 3505, Box 253, Entry 146, RG 226, NARA-CP, 2-3.

[77] Eddy to Director, OSS, Personal Message #84, February 15, 1943, Folder 3505, Box 253, Entry 146, RG 226, NARA-CP.

"Italy No. 10 (Sardinia)," concluded that a large Sardinian element among Italian-Americans could be used for psychological warfare operations in conjunction with the OSS plan for Sicily. The OSS would gain valuable experience from its operations for the liberation of Sardinia and Corsica which got underway in July 1943.

Camboni and Mission to Sardinia

Glavin put SI and SO in charge of operations for Sardinia. The duty to organize things fell to Corvo. He drew up new plans to effect an operation in Sardinia to help secure the island before the Germans could make good an escape. Private Antonio Camboni arrived in North Africa to take charge of the OSS party on June 24, 1943. After two days of practice around Algiers, the team left at 1200 on June 30 aboard PT boat "Zamba" accompanied by Corvo and Captain Passanesi. The presence of the two officers helped increase the confidence of the men that the mission would succeed. [78]

The OSS team consisted of Privates Camboni, John De Montis, Vincent Pavia, Peppino Puleo, and Second Lieutenant Charles H. Taquey, in charge of communications. Corvo's plan called for the team to land on the Sardinian coast below Mt. Mannu, contact the natives, and report back by radio such intelligence as obtainable. Although naturalized American citizens, both De Montis and Camboni were native Sardinians. They arrived offshore at what they thought was the correct landing point shortly after 0000 hours July 1.[79]

The boats stopped just off shore and the team paddled in on a rubber boat loaded with equipment. Good planning meant a moonless night facilitated the infiltration ashore. The men began landing at the foot of a high cliff when they noticed a flash of light on the cliff above. Below, Camboni could not determine the origin of the light. It appeared to him much like the light when the door of a room has been opened and reclosed. Only later did they find out that it came from the Italian outpost

[78] Antonio Camboni to Vincent J. Scamporino, "Report on a mission performed in Sardinia from July to Oct. 1943," October 22, 1943, Folder 319, Box 35, Entry 165.

[79] Antonio Camboni to Vincent J. Scamporino, "Report on a mission performed in Sardinia from July to Oct. 1943," October 22, 1943, Folder 319, Box 35, Entry 165.

which had sent up a flare. As the men attempted to disembark, a high surf threw most of the men out of the boats as they landed. The area chosen for the landing had the dubious reputation for terribly strong currents. Luckily, no one drowned due to their life belts, but, exhausted, the men managed to gather the boat and equipment without much loss. The men endured a terrible night. Unable to build a fire due the enemy presence, the men, already suffering from exhaustion, remained cold and wet until the next afternoon.[80]

At first light, the men proceeded to scale the very difficult and dangerous cliff face using only a small twisting path. By evening, Camboni, after struggling up the cliff face, encountered a small thatch hut containing a small band of Italian soldiers. "Ciao, Italiani," he nonchalantly greeted the soldiers in their native language.[81] He indicated that his group had become lost and needed to make its way to Alghero. The soldiers responded that the OSS men were near Punta Furana and the way to Alghero was very far to the south. The soldiers did not appear to realize who their visitors were. At this point, Camboni realized his team had landed a good distance further up the coast than originally planned. One of the soldiers asked whether the men had come from Tunisia.[82] Camboni replied affirmatively and that they had had an accident while heading toward Sassari. The soldiers kindly pointed out the way and asked if the men needed any bread or water. They asked them to stay, but De Montis declined saying that they all needed to be on their way quickly. [83]

As the team proceeded down the road, they encountered another soldier post. The land rose very sharply to a mountain on one side and dropped off to the cliff on the other, hemming them in. While waiting to scout the area, the nearby Italian soldiers surprised the men and took them prisoner.

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[80] Antonio Camboni to Vincent J. Scamporino, "Report on a mission performed in Sardinia from July to Oct. 1943," October 22, 1943, Folder 319, Box 35, Entry 165.

[81] Hello, Italians.

[82] The Allied campaign to liberate Tunisia had just concluded a few weeks prior and had been the scene of massive Axis evacuations from the port of Tunis in Tunisia.

[83] Antonio Camboni to Vincent J. Scamporino, "Report on a mission performed in Sardinia from July to Oct. 1943," October 22, 1943, Folder 319, Box 35, Entry 165.

The soldiers marched them back to the first post, disarmed them, and confiscated the 250,000 lire they carried. Fortunately, the team managed to hide the radio in the bushes and avoid its capture momentarily. The Italian corporal in charge now knew that the team were American and called in reinforcements to guard them. At midnight, a Major with roughly twenty-five heavily armed soldiers appeared, followed shortly after by an even larger detachment.[84]

The Major interrogated Camboni who revealed his Sardinian origin. The Major remarked, "You speak better Italian and Sardinian than I do. You must be a fuoruscito (exile or emigrant)." He continued, "tell that crippled president of yours we are ready for the American Army." Camboni and De Montis resented the insult. The Major half apologized but De Montis remained incensed. The OSS men protested the order to be handcuffed to which the Major relented. The Italians marched Camboni and his men three kilometers and then took them by truck to Porto Torres to be interrogated by General Morro. During the interrogation, Camboni acted as interpreter for Lieutenant Taquey who could not speak Italian. A corporal of the Carabinieri guarding the men remonstrated them when he heard them speaking English. He snapped, "Only Italian is to be spoken here." Camboni, continuing his bold resistance to his captors, replied that "not him nor anyone else was going to tell us what language to speak."[85]

The next morning, the Italians took the men to Bortigali, headquarters of the High Command. While awaiting the interrogator and before knowing that Camboni could understand Italian, a colonel said "These men should all be poisoned." Camboni, cavalier as always, replied immediately in Italian, "I guess we can take it." The men were then handed over to Major Faccio, head of Counter-Espionage (CE) in Sardinia. Faccio claimed to have orders to shoot them all immediately if they did not tell him everything they knew. Then Faccio tried to soften up Camboni with promises of salvation if he would

[84] Antonio Camboni to Vincent J. Scamporino, "Report on a mission performed in Sardinia from July to Oct. 1943," October 22, 1943, Folder 319, Box 35, Entry 165.

[85] Antonio Camboni to Vincent J. Scamporino, "Report on a mission performed in Sardinia from July to Oct. 1943," October 22, 1943, Folder 319, Box 35, Entry 165.

only speak as Faccio cryptically claimed to have "a personal and special reason to keep" the men alive. After the Major left, the original Captain returned and demanded the codes to the now captured radio. Camboni replied, boldly again, "You could kill five people, not one hundred and thirty millions, and if you are representative of the Italian people I would prefer to die than have to admit to being of Italian ancestry."[86]

On the afternoon of July 4, the Italians relocated the men to the San Sebastiano cell house prison in Sassari. The men stayed there for the entire month of July enduring more questioning, threats of torture, and deprivations of food and sanitation. About the middle of July, the Italians captured another OSS team along with some British agents. This prompted a round of cell changes in a futile attempt by Major Faccio to get Camboni to reveal secrets in conversation. Towards the end of the month, Camboni and the rest of the men found themselves together in a cell roughly eight feet wide and twelve feet long. With only horse beans infested with worms and sour black bread to subsist on, and no sanitary accommodations in the cell, the men began to fear for their health. The jail also filled at this time with Italian Army deserters and anti-Fascists. Fortunately for Camboni and his men, they befriended one of the guards who kept them informed about the progress of the war.[87]

Despite the failures of the mission to this point, a new transfer to Gerolamo Bellinguerra Caserna dei Carabinieri, a Carabinieri prisoner camp, provided new opportunities for the men. Here, the men immediately began to make friends with the native Sardinian Carabinieri guards. Camboni and his men answered their questions while dramatizing their arrival on the island. As they gained their guards' confidence, the men began to carry on a psychological campaign, telling them of the futility of fighting a war not popular with the Italian people or their army. On many occasions they repeated that Americans had no ill feelings toward the Italian people, and that almost ten million Italians lived with pride in

[86] Antonio Camboni to Vincent J. Scamporino, "Report on a mission performed in Sardinia from July to Oct. 1943," October 22, 1943, Folder 319, Box 35, Entry 165.

[87] Antonio Camboni to Vincent J. Scamporino, "Report on a mission performed in Sardinia from July to Oct. 1943," October 22, 1943, Folder 319, Box 35, Entry 165.

America, a free democratic country. De Montis worked especially hard in this phase of the campaign, and he and Camboni met several Carabinieri from their home town in Sardinia. Through these friendships, the men could communicate with their families and assure them of their safety.[88]

The inexperienced and irascible Major Faccio continued to question Camboni without success about various people on the island and his purpose for being there. Eventually, the Italians got the OSS radio to function and received at least a couple of transmissions from the OSS base station including a message from Corvo to Scamporino. While they did not understand the contents of the messages, it created quite a sensation among the Italian CE men and the headquarters of the Forze Armate in Sardinia. They naïvely thought that by operating the radio, they would discover military secrets and continued to press the men for the meaning of the messages. The men were once again transferred, but while travelling to Olbia to be taken to the continent, they found out that the armistice had been signed.[89][90]

They managed to convince the friendly Carabinieri driver to return to Sassari where upon arrival the men were finally set free. The men managed to procure civilian clothes for their own safety as they almost landed in the hands of the Germans while briefly at Olbia. About the middle of September, the OSS ordered Camboni and his men to proceed to Macomer where they met with OSS Colonel Oblenksy and his party arriving in Sardinia. A few days later, they met General Theodore Roosevelt Jr., who helped debrief the men and gave them leave permission. Camboni and De Montis stayed in Sardinia and befriended Major Manlio Aielli who commanded the Carabinieri in the province of Sassari. Through

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[88] Antonio Camboni to Vincent J. Scamporino, "Report on a mission performed in Sardinia from July to Oct. 1943," October 22, 1943, Folder 319, Box 35, Entry 165.

[89] W. Eddy and A.D. Doods Parker to Assistant Chief of Staff, G-3, AFHQ, "OSS/SOE Resources for Operations in Italy September – December 1943," September 18, 1943, Folder 3, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1-5; Antonio Camboni to Vincent J. Scamporino, "Report on a mission performed in Sardinia from July to Oct. 1943," October 22, 1943, Folder 319, Box 35, Entry 165.

[90] The Italian Armistice was signed September 8, 1943.

him they made many valuable contacts and continued to gather information on Italian police forces and Sardinia.[91]

The initial navigational error which landed Camboni and his men at Capo Mannu instead of Monte Mannu, which was unpatrolled, caused the mission to develop substantially differently than planned. However, under the circumstances, the team managed to pull together a few "lucky breaks" which turned the mission from an apparent disaster to a salvageable conclusion. The Italians thought they had a significant intelligence coup with the capture of Camboni's team and their radio. Yet they never acquired usable intelligence as news of the men's capture spread through the island, and heavy-handed Italian CE efforts to intimidate the natives and the OSS men failed. The tactics of the Italians only served to further incense the natives against the Italian authorities and increase the willingness of natives to assist the OSS men, especially once they were identified as native Sardinians.

Camboni's team helped to increase the friendly feeling of the Sardinians towards the United States which also helped save the lives of the men involved. The mission made the first radio contact between the Allies and the Forze Armate della Sardinia.[92] The Germans decided to evacuate the island during the large scale landing by the Allies in part due to helpful military information later acquired by Camboni's team. Contacts and networks had been established by the mission by the time of Obolensky's arrival. The mission's presence also caused enemy reinforcements to be brought to Sardinia briefly from the mainland due to fears of a greater Allied presence. The units in Sardinia could not then be used against the Allies in Italy. Camboni's men, despite low morale after their capture, sincerely believed their mission a success after its completion.[93]

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[91] Antonio Camboni to Vincent J. Scamporino, "Report on a mission performed in Sardinia from July to Oct. 1943," October 22, 1943, Folder 319, Box 35, Entry 165.

[92] Armed Forces of Sardinia, the Italian military force responsible for Sardinia and commanded by General Antonio Basso.

[93] Salvatore J. LaGumina, *The Office of Strategic Services and Italian Americans: The Untold History* (New York: Springer, 2016), 90; George C. Chalou, The Secrets War: The Office of Strategic Services in World War II (Washington, DC: National Archives and Records Administration, 1992), 186-187; R. Smith, *Secret History*, 81; Rick

Obolensky and the Fall of Sardinia

Lieutenant Colonel Serge Obolensky, a white Russian émigré to the United States now serving in the OSS, commanded in September 1943 the last major OSS action in Sardinia. Obolensky's team consisted of OG First Lieutenant Michael Formichelli as translator, SO Second Lieutenant James Russell, and British Army Sergeant William Sherwood as radio operators. His objective was to parachute into Sardinia to establish liaison between the commanding general of the Italian Army of Sardinia, General Basso and Generals Eisenhower and Badoglio at AFHQ. If possible, Obolensky was to induce General Basso to attack and destroy the retreating Germans during their evacuation of Sardinia towards Corsica. Any subsequent OG units, sent if needed as reinforcements, would come under Obolensky's command.[94]

He and his team landed fifteen miles from Cagliari near midnight on September 13. Leaving the radio operators behind, Obolensky and Formichelli set off to find the nearest Italian military base. Friendly inhabitants and three Italian soldiers informed them that the German troops had already left, but an Italian base was located at Decimomannu. From there, the Italian colonel in charge ordered a platoon of Carabinieri to escort the two men to General Basso's headquarters at Bordigali near Macomer. Obolensky explained to General Basso that allied headquarters expected Basso to press the Germans relentlessly and disrupt their evacuation. When told that further American units could be sent to help, a reference to OSS OGs, Basso objected on fears of a possible clash between Italian and Allied

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Atkinson, *The Day of Battle (*New York: Picador, Henry Holt and Company, 2007), 244, 302; W. Eddy and A.D. Doods Parker to Assistant Chief of Staff, G-3, AFHQ, "OSS/SOE Resources for Operations in Italy September – December 1943," September 18, 1943, Folder 3, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1-5; Antonio Camboni to Vincent J. Scamporino, "Report on a mission performed in Sardinia from July to Oct. 1943," October 22, 1943, Folder 319, Box 35, Entry 165.

[94] Lt. Col. Serge Obolensky, "Report of Sardinia Operation," undated, Folder 6, Box 45, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 24.

soldiers. Except for a couple minor skirmishes, the Italians never harried the Germans and allowed them to peacefully evacuate to Corsica.[95]

On the fourteenth, Formichelli braved straggling German patrols and went back to the foothills to retrieve the two radio operators. Reunited at last in Bordigali, Obolensky made contact with OSS Algiers on the evening of the fifteenth. His previous attempts to contact OSS Algiers had been thwarted by static interference and low batteries for the radio. Regular radio communications were achieved by the morning of the sixteenth. Obolensky radioed back reports on the progress of the German retreat and the Order of Battle of the Italian Divisions still in Sardinia. He also provided militarily relevant information such as the condition of Italian Air Force airfields and set a special message to the King of Italy's headquarters the day the Germans left Sardinia.[96]

Brigadier General Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., arrived on September 18 and appointed Obolensky his executive officer. He brought with him OG officers First Lieutenants Rocco J. Benedetto and Joseph J. Benucci. Both proved invaluable as interpreters through their contributions in collecting valuable information and establishing good will with men of the Italian Army. Roosevelt concluded his mission by October 6, leaving others in charge to continue to the work of Allied occupation. Obolensky continued to report for several weeks on Sardinian issues such as putting the 230,000 Italian troops to work cleaning up damaged portions of Sardinia. The OSS mission to Sardinia concluded successfully with shouts of "Viva L'America" from an "exceedingly friendly" Sardinian population.[97] The OSS raised its reputation and legitimacy within the theater with this successful operation ordered by Eisenhower and AFHQ.

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[95] Lt. Col. Serge Obolensky, "Report of Sardinia Operation," undated, Folder 6, Box 45, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 25.

[96] Operations X. D. G-3, 7th Army to Donovan and Eddy, "Further Bathtub Operations," September 1943, Folder 3, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP; Lt. Col. Serge Obolensky, "Report of Sardinia Operation," undated, Folder 6, Box 45, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 25.

[97] "Operations," possibly January 1944, Folder 6, Box 45, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1-3; Lt. Col. Serge Obolensky, "Report of Sardinia Operation," undated, Folder 6, Box 45, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 26, 30.

Livermore Enters the Theater and Takes Corsica

OSS Lieutenant Colonel Russell B. Livermore, who would hold several command positions in MEDTO by the end of the war, obtained permission from Eisenhower, then commanding NATOUSA, in February 1943 to recruit personnel in the US for four to eight OG teams for use in the theater. The OSS secured authority from Army Ground Forces Headquarters to recruit officers and men from divisions of the US Second and Third Armies. They thought that the men best qualified for OG work would be found in regular line organizations. Accordingly, the first recruits came from Infantry divisions and Engineer units. Radio operators came from the Signal Corps schools and trained medical technicians from the Medical Corps.[98]

Under War Department approval and within War Department allotment of grades and ratings, Major (later Colonel) Livermore, Major Lovell, and Captain Quay made personnel selections according to specifications submitted by Operational Groups Headquarters in Washington. Recruiting for the Italian-speaking Operational Groups progressed steadily from April 20 to May 14, 1943, when the OSS activated Operational Group "A," consisting of seventeen officers and one hundred and twenty-six enlisted men chosen from Ft. Belvoir, Ft. Jackson, Camp Blanding, and Camp Breckinridge. In the process of recruiting, OSS Security Office personnel investigated candidates' civil and military records and conducted personal interviews. After over 2,000 interviews, acceptable candidates were ordered to Training Area "F" at Washington pending security clearance. The initial training at Area "F" was merely an extension of army training and did not disclose the true nature of OSS work. The OSS gave no specialized OG instruction until the Security Office completed security checks.[99]

During June 1944, SI experienced a setback as several SI teams faced serious issues carrying out their operations. SI operated several teams from Bastia, Corsica, which had infiltrated into northern

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[98] "Operational Group of OSS Operational Report," undated, Folder 6, Box 45, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[99] "Operational Group of OSS Operational Report," undated, Folder 6, Box 45, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP; "Operational Group 'A,'" May 1945, Folder 7, Box 45, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 18, 21.

Italy by sea.[100] SI Team "FIG" remained safe and in operation, but the Germans captured another team, "GRAPE," which desperately tried to delay its trial while in jail through bribery and other means. No report surfaced on its success or failure. "LEMON" lost two members believed captured or dead as well as their leader killed. The remaining operator transmitted under German control while SI played along to prevent his murder by the Germans. "CITRON" parachuted behind German lines on June 14 and took more than a week to first transmit back to headquarters on June 23.[101]

On July 13, 1943, Livermore left for NATOUSA by air, and on July 23, two officers and eight enlisted men left as well. Both officers and four of the men spoke the Sicilian dialect fluently and were urgently needed by General Patton's Seventh Army in Sicily. The other four men were radio operators. The rest of the men departed for port on August 10, 1943. The prior day, Colonel Huntington reviewed the troops and during a banquet held for the men gave them a rousing speech in Italian. The Italian OGs boarded the troop transport USS Monticello at Staten Island and departed at 0930 hours on August 21, 1943, for North Africa. After twelve days, the unit debarked at Oran and arrived at Algiers on September 8.[102]

The OGs operated only in enemy or enemy-occupied territory. They had two broad missions, the first being to organize, train, and equip resistance groups to convert them to guerrilla fighters, and the second, to execute hit-and-run actions against the enemy. They had no operational function in neutral territory or in captured or occupied territory. All OG personnel were members of the army, always operated in uniform, and conducted operations as military units, however small those units might have been. Being military units, they operated in accordance with military principals under orders issued by the G-3 Section, Special Operations, AFHQ, and G-3, Special Operations, Fifteenth Army Group.

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[100] In a couple of instances, SI teams left port aboard a submarine then transferred to an Italian Moto Fishing Schooner for infiltration.

[101] Theater Officer Pouch Review, "SI Italian Section. 15-30 June," July 10, 1944, Folder 2, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[102] "Operational Group of OSS Operational Report," undated, Folder 6, Box 45, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

Unfortunately, the attitude of the army commanders in the early days of the Mediterranean campaigns varied "from compete indifference to mild interest."[103]

In mid-July, 1943, with the Sicilian campaign in full swing, Livermore flew to North Africa and induced G-3 to include the OGs in some of its plan. Of the two officers and eight men who flew to Algiers in advance of the remainder of the OGs, OG's under Lieutenant Colonel Serge Obolensky arranged and participated in the September 15, 1943, surrender of Italian troops in Sardinia. The OGs were also attached to General Roosevelt, Jr.'s shore party in Sardinia after the surrender.[104]

With the Germans retreating from Sardinia, AFHQ wanted to send a French force in September 1943 to take Corsica and harass the Germans. Donovan intervened and convinced AFHQ to include a token force of Americans to accompany the French Expeditionary Force. This OSS force consisted of a Major Coon and five other OSS personnel. Another OSS OG commanded by Captain James Piteri joined this force later and harried the Germans along the highway to Bastia, Corsica. At Ponte Nuovo, the OGs operated in conjunction with Colonel de la Tour's Goumiers against German machine gun nests and a staff headquarters.[105]

On one particular harassing mission with the Goumiers, Lieutenant Thomas L. Gordon and several enlisted men took up positions along the road outside of Barchetta to prevent enemy reinforcements reaching the main battle lines. Soon the OG party and the Goumiers were subjected to heavy enemy mortar and artillery fire. The Goumiers withdrew, but Lieutenant Gordon and his OGs remained in position. When enemy reinforcements approached, Gordon and his men proceeded under

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[103] Colonel Livermore to Charles Cheston, Col. Bigelow, 1st Lt. Lanier, "Various O.G. Matters," September 2, 1944, Folder 1, Box 15, Entry 92, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1-3; "Operational Group of OSS Operational Report," undated, Folder 6, Box 45, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[104] "Operational Group of OSS Operational Report," undated, Folder 6, Box 45, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[105] Gourmiers were a French unit that consisted of French Moroccan soldiers who were attached to the French Army and served under French officers.

heavy fire to destroy several armored vehicles loaded with troops. A Goumier captain who witnessed the action from a nearby hilltop stated later that is was "one of the bravest acts" he had ever seen.[106]

In the action, Gordon and Technicians Fifth Grade (T/5) Sam Maselli and Rocco T. Grasso lost their lives in a mortar attack. Gordon posthumously received the American Distinguished Service Cross, nomination in the French Legion of Honor in the grade of Chevalier, and the French Crofix de Guerre with palm. T/5s Maselli and Grasso posthumously received the Bronze Star Medal and the French Croix de Guerre with palm. Another T/5, John Tessitore, received the French Croix de Guerre with Silver Star and the American Silver Star Medal for his actions during the engagement.[107]

In October 1943, two officers and twelve men commanded by Livermore secured the islands of Capraia and Gorgona, northeast of Corsica, in a couple of daring operations. They dodged German sea and air patrols while setting up a communications station on the small island between Corsica and Italy. The OSS swiftly sent reinforcements to Corsica to exploit the OG success. Just three days earlier on October 16, OSS direction-finder radio cars in Corsica aided Allied forces in capturing an enemy paratroop unit still on the island. The OSS sent additional mobile radio units from Sicily to Italy to capitalize on this success.[108]

During December 1943, OGs planned three more undertakings which led to the execution of nine missions in northern Italy authorized by AFHQ in January 1944.[109] One such undertaking involved the Combat Intelligence of G-2 AFHQ which wanted the OSS to gather information on costal defenses and enemy installations for a proposed operation devised by AFHQ. The operation called for R&A

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[106] "Operational Group of OSS Operational Report," undated, Folder 6, Box 45, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[107] "Operational Group 'A,'" May 1945, Folder 7, Box 45, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 18, 21; "Operational Group of OSS Operational Report," undated, Folder 6, Box 45, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[108] Donovan to the Secretary of the Joint U. S. Chiefs of Staff, Attn: Captain Frank Loftin, USN, "OSS Operations, North African and Middle East Theaters," November 4, 1943, Folder 3, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[109] "Corsica Base Essential Data," undated, Folder 4, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP; Donovan to the Secretary of the Joint U. S. Chiefs of Staff, Attn: Captain Frank Loftin, USN, "OSS Operations, North African and Middle East Theaters," November 4, 1943, Folder 3, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

assistance in analyzing enemy defenses while OGs carried out several operations to prepare the groundwork for the AFHQ operation.[110]

OSS OGs in Sardinia and Corsica performed demolition, sabotage, and the occasional raid behind enemy lines where assaults on enemy positions proved more effective than sabotage. Four officers and thirty men from various branches reinforced Corsica, joining with a team of six SO men operating from the island. An OG reserve existed at Algiers containing eight officers and roughly seventy-five men with a group of fifteen anti-Nazi Germans trained by the OSS available for infiltration operations into northern Italy. The OSS had already by the latter half of 1943 begun using POWs for infiltration missions. As quickly as the OSS could get agents into the theater, they placed them on operations.[111]

SI, SO, and the OG Branches followed these successful operations in Sardinia and Corsica, seeking to leverage the locals and location to best effect. The OSS quickly established a series of operations based out of Corsica. During the winter of 1943-1944, OSS Corsican bases consisted of three stations in Ajaccio, Ile Rousse, and Bastia. Station Chiefs preferred hotels in which to set up their headquarters as the hotels also served as convenient billets for the men under their command. The stations served as primary holding areas for agents en-route to central and northern Italy for operations. Stations also acted as liaisons for contact with US and British patrol and torpedo boats.

Livermore, now Commanding Officer of OSS Corsica, commanded the SI and OG contingents who operated out of the Corsican bases.[112] Corsica continued to gain importance throughout the summer of 1944 with many successful operations conducted into central and northern Italy. Operations

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[110] "Corsica Base Essential Data," undated, Folder 4, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[111] Col. W. A. Eddy and Lt. Col. A. D. Dodds-Parker to Assistant Chief of Staff, G-3, A.F.H.Q., "OSS/SOE Resources for Operations in Italy September – December 1943," September 18, 1943, Folder 3, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[112] Colonel Livermore would go on to command the 2671St Special Recon Battalion of the OSS which consisted primarily of OG units who conducted raids into northern Italy and southern France until the end of the war. Col. Livermore was thought of very highly by his peers and was recommended for promotion and higher command positions several times throughout his service time.

continued from Corsica until operations in southern France and central Italy in late 1944 moved beyond the range of the Corsican bases.[113]

SI and SO recruited locals from Corsica for operations in Italy and France. All Mediterranean OSS missions tried to use agents with ties to the areas in which they operated when possible. Using people with ties to the land made for easier agent cover and relations with the local populations, and ultimately better intelligence gathering. SO established a team from recruits of three men including a radio or "wireless telegraphist" (W/T) operator, recruited in Corsica, for operations in France. To assist those recruited locally, OG field training got underway in Corsica under the auspices of Major Stapleton at Ile Rousse and SI training under A.W. Nelson with Sergeant R. L. Pomeroy and Corporal Mario Zamparo assisting.[114]

Taking advantage of better administrative capabilities, the OSS followed up more quickly on successes in the field, providing more men or material when available. Better training and more reliable recruitment standards meant a higher standard of leadership and agents also leading to greater successes in the field. However, the OSS continued to struggle with several issues such as a lack of good administrators in key theater positions, poor communications, and operational failures in the field, but the OSS continued to improve.

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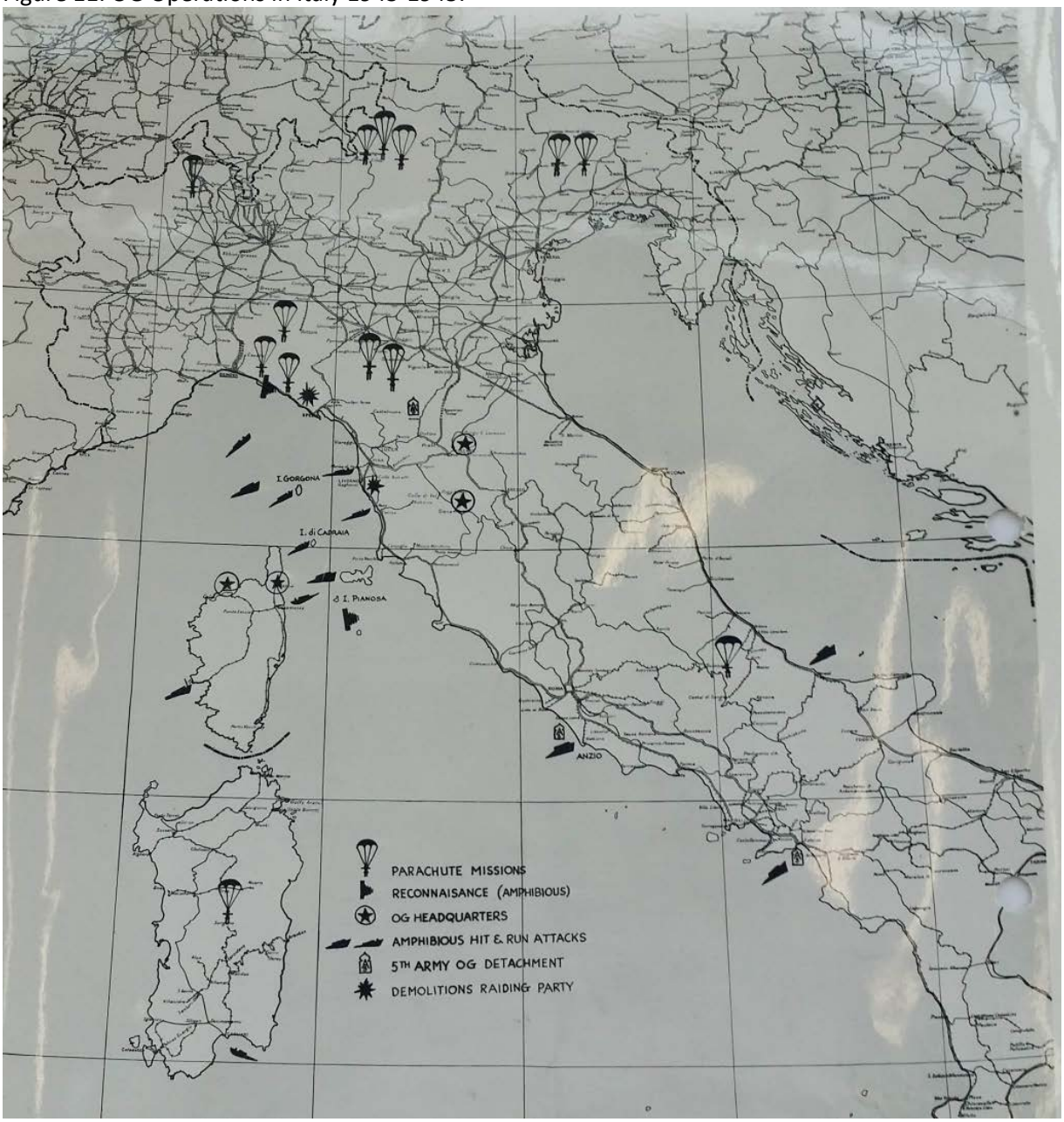
[113] "Corsica Base Essential Data," undated, Folder 4, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[114] Donovan to the Secretary of the Joint U. S. Chiefs of Staff, Attn: Captain Frank Loftin, USN, "OSS Operations, North African and Middle East Theaters," November 4, 1943, Folder 3, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

Figure 11. OG Operations in Italy 1943-1945.[115]



[115] Map of OG Operations in Italy 1943-1945. Folder 6, Box 45, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, NND 843099.

CHAPTER 7: SOUTHERN AND CENTRAL ITALY

In the summer and fall of 1943, the OSS gained valuable experience participating in the successful capture of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica. Developing operations from the islands of Sardinia and Corsica did not yet provide substantial intelligence to Allied commanders but set the stage for eventual OSS-partisan cooperation. The OSS had only conducted raids and some multi-day infiltrations from Sardinia and Corsica by the time of Operation Avalanche, the September 1943 Allied invasion of the Italian mainland. While SI Italy had initiated contacts with Italian resistance forces in Italy, they lacked sophisticated development.[1]

No intelligence chains yet existed in southern Italy, and the OSS worked diligently to expand operations across the country and work with the various commands of the Allied Armies. In order to best accomplish its new mission, Donovan replaced Colonel Eddy as SSO MEDTO with Colonel Glavin in September 1943, ushering in a new phase of OSS operations and development in Italy. The ever-expanding table of organization of OSS Algiers had become too difficult for Colonel Eddy to manage effectively as he was more comfortable working with a small, intimate staff.[2]

Palermo served as the advance headquarters of the OSS while it organized another unit in Morocco at General Clark's headquarters under the command of Donald Downes. Downes' unit would represent the OSS during the Salerno landings. New complex plans involving operations with full field equipment and small arms into southern Italy and the surrounding minor islands required more effective administration, recruitment, and training. Effective sabotage work also required specialized equipment such as radios, explosives, and amphibious craft for which the OSS had to wait. Operations

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[1] Theater Officer Pouch Review, "Swiss Desk Activities," August 28, 1944, Folder 1, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[2] George C. Chalou, *The Secrets War: The Office of Strategic Services in World War II* (Washington, DC: National Archives and Records Administration, 1992), 186-187.

could continue only in bursts for short periods of time until more supplies arrived from the United States. Many OSS commanders improvised and utilized whatever resources they had on hand. The expanded scope of operations requiring SI, OG, SO, MO, and other OSS branches required a competent administrative organization to handle the rapid influx of personnel and activities.[3]

Downes Initiates Mainland Operations

Edward Breed, Commander USNR, attached to Fifth Army Detachment, landed at Salerno Beach the afternoon of September 14, 1943. Before landing, Scamporino and his staff in Palermo, Sicily, briefed Breed that his mission consisted primarily of observation and reporting on Donald Downes' situation in Amalfi, northwest of Salerno. The Allies had landed at Paestum, near Salerno, on September 9, to begin their campaign to liberate Italy, and Downes commanded the only OSS unit which operated as an integral part of an American field army. Scamporino expressed concerns about the progress and development of OSS operations around Salerno and wanted Breed's analysis. [4]

Breed called on Colonel Howard, G-2, Fifth Army, at his headquarters on the beach near Paestium shortly after landing. He then proceeded on Howard's orders to the town of Maiori, northwest of Salerno, to interrogate German prisoners captured by the American 1st Rangers. The Rangers held the stretch of front that included both Maiori and Amalfi as well as Donald Downes and his OSS men. Colonel Ellery C. Huntington, Jr. along with Captain Alessandro Cagiati[5] accompanied Breed

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[3] Col. W. A. Eddy and Lt. Col. A. D. Dodds-Parker to Assistant Chief of Staff, G-3, A.F.H.Q., "OSS/SOE Resources for Operations in Italy September – December 1943," September 18, 1943, Folder 3, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[4] Robin W. Winks, *Cloak & Gown: Scholars in the Secret War, 1939-1961*, 2nd Edition, (New Haven, MA: Yale University Press), 204.Edward Breed Commander USNR, Attached to HQ, Co. G-2, 5th Army to Colonel Edward J. F. Glavin, "Report on OSS Activities during Invasion of Italian Mainland, September 12 to October 21 inclusive (with recommendations), October 23, 1943, Folder 37, Box 91, Entry 190, NARA-CP, 1;

[5] Misidentified in the documents as Lieutenant Cangiati, and variously misspelled as Cangiati, Caggiati, Caggiatti.

on a LCT to the beach. After arriving at midnight on September 15, Breed interviewed Downes to better understand the situation at the front.[6][7]

Donald Downes, loved and hated in equal measure, hailed from the American East Coast as a 1935 graduate of Yale. Charming, affable, but very opinionated and when challenged could become quite disagreeable, Downes had led OSS operations as a member of SI since the Torch landings in 1942. He had been instrumental in setting up the doomed infiltration into Spanish Morocco, Operation BANANA. Despite this, AFHQ had summoned Downes to Italy to organize an OSS team to accompany the Allied landing in Italy.[8] Clark had personally requested OSS detachments in support of the American landings at Salerno as head of the US Fifth Army in September 1943.[9] The first OSS detachments landed with Fifth Army near Salerno on September 9, 1943.

Downes knew the landing area well. He had spent several summers on the Italian Amalfi coast appreciating the great Roman and Greek ruins such as the large temple to the Goddess Hera in Paestum. After only two days ashore near Salerno, General Alfred Gruenther, Chief of Staff, Fifth Army, ordered Downes to Maiori near Amalfi to serve as G-2 to Colonel William Orlando Darby, the hard-fighting commander of the 1st Rangers. Downes, still a civilian, now commanded OSS operations in Italy with Fifth Army and served as intelligence officer to Colonel Darby in the US Army.

Things quickly got out of hand and beyond Downes' administrative capability. He made the poor decision to use former mobsters and criminals as part of his OSS team within the town, which only exacerbated his command and control issues. Additionally, Downes, in perhaps contravention of the Geneva Convention, decided to utilize the incoming Italian refugees. In an attempt to alleviate the

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[6] LCT stands for Landing Craft, Tank and LST stands for Landing Ship, Tank.

[7] Edward Breed Commander USNR, Attached to HQ, Co. G-2, 5th Army to Colonel Edward J. F. Glavin, "Report on OSS Activities during Invasion of Italian Mainland, September 12 to October 21 inclusive (with recommendations), October 23, 1943, Folder 37, Box 91, Entry 190, NARA-CP, 1.

[8] Robin W. Winks, *Cloak & Gown: Scholars in the Secret War, 1939-1961*, 2nd Edition, (New Haven, MA: Yale University Press), 204.

[9] Charles S. Cheston, "OSS Intelligence Teams in Italy," July 11, 1945, Folder 3, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

supply difficulties of the Rangers and employ the extra manpower present in the town, he ordered his staff to round up as many refugees and townspeople as possible and organize squads for the unloading of the LSTs and LCTs idling on the beach.[10]

They carried important ammunition, gasoline, oil, and rations that Darby's Rangers desperately needed. Darby, though worried about the implications of using refugees for war-work, looked the other way. Downes paid the men out of unspecified OSS funds fifty lires a day with rations, a more generous wage than officially offered by the AMG. He made little effort to make an accounting of costs and expenditures. Downes had boasted to Darby upon arriving in Maiori that, as a civilian not bound by army rules, he could open the banks and take whatever money necessary to pay for operations. Huntington returned to Salerno on September 15 to make a separate report on the situation.[11]

The disorder in the town increased considerably during the next few days. Reports placed the blame for much of the disorder on the tenure of Downes. Lack of discipline ruled the day, and the personnel often behaved as they pleased, bordering on banditry. They requisitioned cars without "rule or reason" and kept almost no records of amounts dispensed or of agents dispatched.[12] Several of his men had ransacked Maiori after Downes' had ordered a search for a stay-behind Fascist radio giving away Ranger positions.[13]

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[10] Edward Breed Commander USNR, Attached to HQ, Co. G-2, 5th Army to Colonel Edward J. F. Glavin, "Report on OSS Activities during Invasion of Italian Mainland, September 12 to October 21 inclusive (with recommendations), October 23, 1943, Folder 37, Box 91, Entry 190, NARA-CP, 1; Robin W. Winks, *Cloak & Gown: Scholars in the Secret War, 1939-1961*, 2nd Edition, (New Haven, MA: Yale University Press), 206.

[11] Donald Downes, *The Scarlet Thread: Adventures In Wartime Espionage*, (New York: British Book Centre, 1953), 152-156; Edward Breed Commander USNR, Attached to HQ, Co. G-2, 5th Army to Colonel Edward J. F. Glavin, "Report on OSS Activities during Invasion of Italian Mainland, September 12 to October 21 inclusive (with recommendations), October 23, 1943, Folder 37, Box 91, Entry 190, NARA-CP, 1; Robin W. Winks, *Cloak & Gown: Scholars in the Secret War, 1939-1961*, 2nd Edition, (New Haven, MA: Yale University Press), 206.

[12] Edward Breed Commander USNR, Attached to HQ, Co. G-2, 5th Army to Colonel Edward J. F. Glavin, "Report on OSS Activities during Invasion of Italian Mainland, September 12 to October 21 inclusive (with recommendations), October 23, 1943, Folder 37, Box 91, Entry 190, NARA-CP, 2.

[13] Robin W. Winks, *Cloak & Gown: Scholars in the Secret War, 1939-1961*, 2nd Edition, (New Haven, MA: Yale University Press), 206; Donald Downes, *The Scarlet Thread: Adventures In Wartime Espionage*, (New York: British Book Centre, 1953), 152-156.

The front had become large and unwieldy, meaning that Downes often lost contact with his agents or poorly directed their activities. Downes appointed as his chief of staff Raimondo Craveri, known as "Mr. Mundo" in the OSS, a young leftist banker and son-in-law of Benedetto Croce, the well-known anti-Fascist and Free Italy Movement resident of Capri.[14] Rumors heard within the OSS stated that Mr. Mundo reportedly worked for the British. Other security lapses doomed Downe's tenure. Major Plum of CIC accused Armando Gentile, one of Downes' men, as a German agent, and placed him in prison. Most of the rest of Downes' men hailed from Spanish prison camps or from previous guerilla warfare activities in Africa. [15]

An AMGOT official arrived on September 16 but left after posting a few proclamations and provided no assistance. Conditions grew steadily worse in the city as accommodations and food grew more scarce. On September 17, the British Twenty-Third Armored Division moved in to Maiori and took control of the town, bringing supplies and a bit of order to the chaos. Downes now established his Fifth Army Detachment headquarters at Amalfi, roughly six kilometers up the coast from Maiori. While operating along the coast, members of the OSS served as interpreters for CIC, AMGOT, and several other army organizations. AMGOT took over the unloading of the LSTs and LCTs, freeing up OSS men for other work. In the days following, he received irregular visits from Pacatte, operating on the Island of Capri, and Lieutenant North, from the Island of Ischia, who updated each other on their status.[16]

Downes enlisted agents through refugee interrogations from which they developed several agent teams. These teams, which included several fifteen-year-old boys, penetrated into enemy territory from Maiori and Amalfi and returned with "valuable information." Downes and Huntington

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[14] Robin W. Winks, *Cloak & Gown: Scholars in the Secret War, 1939-1961*, 2nd Edition, (New Haven, MA: Yale University Press), 209.

[15] Edward Breed Commander USNR, Attached to HQ, Co. G-2, 5th Army to Colonel Edward J. F. Glavin, "Report on OSS Activities during Invasion of Italian Mainland, September 12 to October 21 inclusive (with recommendations), October 23, 1943, Folder 37, Box 91, Entry 190, NARA-CP, 5.

[16] Donald Downes, *The Scarlet Thread: Adventures In Wartime Espionage*, (New York: British Book Centre, 1953), 152-156; Edward Breed Commander USNR, Attached to HQ, Co. G-2, 5th Army to Colonel Edward J. F. Glavin, "Report on OSS Activities during Invasion of Italian Mainland, September 12 to October 21 inclusive (with recommendations), October 23, 1943, Folder 37, Box 91, Entry 190, NARA-CP, 2.

also maintained other agents operating in the area such as Lieutenant Hoagland and De Angeles' teams operating with the Fifth Army at Salerno on mainland Italy. Information gathered during interrogations indicated that the Germans were gradually withdrawing towards Naples, and the OSS passed this intelligence on to the Allied commanders.[17]

Donovan visited the Downes' headquarters the last week in September, stopping in at Capri en route. As operations progressed, it became clear to Donovan, Breed, and Huntington that the OSS Italy Mission was badly organized for large scale operations. Breed especially commented on the doubtful character of many of the men sent through the lines. As a rule, unlike OSS stateside recruitment, within Italy, Downes had practiced little real discrimination in the selection of agents.[18]

Downes had resented the "intrusion" of Huntington and his staff in what he considered to be his territory of HQ, G-2, Fifth Army. Downes made this clear to Huntington "in no uncertain terms" just before Donovan's arrival at the end of September. In his first interview with Donovan, Donovan summarily discharged Downes and replaced him with Huntington. Downes had refused orders from Donovan to protect Donovan's friend's villa on Capri and to force Italians in OSS employ to swear an oath to the House of Savoy.[19] Donovan wanted to replace Downes with Huntington who had worked well with French Gaullists in North Africa, forged a cooperative link with British SOE in London, and more importantly, had a military commission.[20] Downes considered Huntington a "good-natured incompetent," and fellow OSS man and friend of Downes, Peter Tompkins, described the fifty-year-old

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[17] Col. Huntington to Col. Glavin, no subject, October 19, 1943, Folder 37, Box 91, Entry 190, RG 226, NARA-CP; Edward Breed Commander USNR, Attached to HQ, Co. G-2, 5th Army to Colonel Edward J. F. Glavin, "Report on OSS Activities during Invasion of Italian Mainland, September 12 to October 21 inclusive (with recommendations), October 23, 1943, Folder 37, Box 91, Entry 190, NARA-CP, 2.

[18] Edward Breed Commander USNR, Attached to HQ, Co. G-2, 5th Army to Colonel Edward J. F. Glavin, "Report on OSS Activities during Invasion of Italian Mainland, September 12 to October 21 inclusive (with recommendations), October 23, 1943, Folder 37, Box 91, Entry 190, NARA-CP, 2; Donald Downes, *The Scarlet Thread: Adventures In Wartime Espionage*, (New York: British Book Centre, 1953), 152-156.

[19] Savoyard kings had led Italy from the unification of Italy in 1861.

[20] Robin W. Winks, *Cloak & Gown: Scholars in the Secret War, 1939-1961*, 2nd Edition, (New Haven, MA: Yale University Press), 208.

Huntington as "very pleasant," but "spoke not a word of Italian and understood less of intelligence."[21] Despite everyone's misgivings and adding to the general confusion, Huntington received permission to keep Downes in command of the headquarters until the fall of Naples, which occurred on October 1.[22]

Pacatte Near Salerno

Despite the dysfunction apparent in Downe's part of the organization, the OSS still found success in the field. An OSS SI team led by then First Lieutenant Andrew Pacatte landed at Paestum, Italy, south of Salerno on September 9, 1943. OSS forces occupied Paestum and Cappaccio and provided Sixth Corps Counter Intelligence Corps (CIC) with Italian speaking personnel.[23] Pacatte's group entered Agropoli and immediately began interrogating local Italian authorities, though Captain Cowles of CIC chose to return to headquarters for fear that the Germans might return and overrun them.[24]

The OSS and the CIC failed to cooperate in this instance, but overall cooperation between CIC and the OSS proved fruitful for both organizations, especially with regards to information sharing.[25] OSS security diligence and helpful POW interrogations did lead to the capture of a number of enemy agents operating in the Salerno-Naples area. They caught one German spy on the road from Agerola and turned him over to CIC together with three Italian accomplices. Later on, Downes' staff operating along the Sorrento peninsula arrested three other accomplices from Castellamare. Later, upon arrival in

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[21] R. Smith, *Secret History*, 84-85.

[22] Edward Breed Commander USNR, Attached to HQ, Co. G-2, 5th Army to Colonel Edward J. F. Glavin, "Report on OSS Activities during Invasion of Italian Mainland, September 12 to October 21 inclusive (with recommendations), October 23, 1943, Folder 37, Box 91, Entry 190, NARA-CP, 2.

[23] The Army's Counter Intelligence Corps (CIC) performed many of the same duties for the army as X-2 provided for the OSS. CIC provided security for the army against enemy actions in the rear. They provided security for supplies, installations, and personnel. They conducted security surveys and investigated, sometimes domestically, the political leanings of known radicals in the army. CIC guarded against infiltrations from enemy agents and leaks of Allied plans performing document security and anti-Fascist sweeps throughout liberated Europe. The CIC eventually rose to approximately 7,000 personnel by the end of the war and continue as part of the army as the United States Army Intelligence and Security Command.

[24] The Counter Intelligence Corps School, *Counter Intelligence Corps History and Mission in World War II* (Fort Holabird: Baltimore, Maryland), 18.

[25] The Counter Intelligence Corps School, *Counter Intelligence Corps History and Mission in World War II* (Fort Holabird: Baltimore, Maryland), 18.

Naples, the team arrested two German soldiers in civilian clothing and one Italian soldier in the "Hermann Goering" uniform and turned them over to CIC.[26]

Pacatte gave instructions to the local officials but declined to oust any from their current positions despite their past affiliations or actions. Pacatte left such work for the follow up AMG authorities as he feared ousting officials could cause potential chaos due to the limited number of OSS men available for security purposes. Such chaos could hamper Allied military activity.[27]

Two days after landing, Pacatte began infiltrating agents to gather military information with the assistance of Hoagland. They forwarded their gathered intelligence to the American Sixth Corps and the Thirty-Sixth Division. From Agropoli, Pacatte moved to the Island of Ischia on the orders of Downes. From Ischia, he began infiltrating teams into Naples with the clever use of local fishing boats. However, several teams failed to land due to difficulties arising from their inability to motivate local fishermen to brave German sea patrols. For this reason, Pacatte decided to move his operations to the island of Capri where the US Navy based their PT boats.[28] Capri also held the promise of fast becoming a center for political and intelligence activity due to its rise as a sanctuary for mainland political refugees.

The OSS became very active in Ischia and Capri, running operations to Benevento, Castel Volturo, Pozzuoli, the Gaeta region, and Castellamare. They worked in close collaboration with US Military authorities, the AMG, and CIC, providing information on leave-behind German agents as well as undesirable Italians. Further recruiting efforts on the island garnered several important volunteers, such as the Italian General Pavone, to lead armed forces or guerrilla units behind enemy lines.[29][30]

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[26] Edward Breed Commander USNR, Attached to HQ, Co. G-2, 5th Army to Colonel Edward J. F. Glavin, "Report on OSS Activities during Invasion of Italian Mainland, September 12 to October 21 inclusive (with recommendations), October 23, 1943, Folder 37, Box 91, Entry 190, NARA-CP, 2.

[27] 1st Lt. Andre Pacatte to Vincent Scamporino, "Covering report activities Sept 9-26," September 26, 1943, Folder 3, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[28] 1st Lt. Andre Pacatte to Vincent Scamporino, "Covering report activities Sept 9-26," September 26, 1943, Folder 3, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[29] 1st Lt. Andre Pacatte to Vincent Scamporino, "Covering report activities Sept 9-26," September 26, 1943, Folder 3, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP; R. Smith, *Secret History*, 85-86.

OSS Expands Operations out of Salerno into Naples

Operations continued to develop out of the Seventh Army Detachment that had carried out the Lipari operations, providing further experience for OSS leaders and agents. Their first post-Lipari operation failed where Lipari had succeeded. On September 7, 1943, a team from OSS Seventh Army Detachment, Italian Section, Palermo, made up of ten specialist recruits, left Palermo at 1420 hours aboard two motor torpedo boats (MTB) bound for the Italian mainland in the region just east of Terracina which lies north of Naples. Prior to their departure, the team had trained using large rubber rafts in realistic landing conditions, including the lowering of the rafts from American PT boats about three hundred yards from the shore. The exercises lasted for five consecutive days in all types of weather and terrain along the Sicilian coast ranging from perpendicular cliffs to sandy beaches. However, despite the careful selection of the agents and the intense training regimen, none of the agents knew how to swim and the OSS issued no lifebelts, a seemingly obvious oversight.[31]

Upon arrival off the coast at Terracina, the crews of the MTBs prepared to lower the boats; however, just as they had begun, a German ship quietly slipped in between the two MTBs. The German ship commenced signaling them, believing the MTBs friendly. One MTB managed to simulate answers for ten minutes but then seeing that further signals would lead to complications, decided to maneuver into position and fire a torpedo at the German boat. The boat immediately exploded, proving by various explosions to be carrying ammunition supplies. The unexpected action forced the team to call off the

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[30] Retired General Giuseppe Pavone, a First World War hero, was suggested by Benedetto Croce to lead a group of Italian volunteer soldiers to fight under Allied command and pledge their loyalty to the Italian nation. Donovan expressed enthusiasm about the venture and presented the idea to Badoglio who, while initially receptive, had second thoughts as the British demanded a cut in the number of men and Badoglio's government formed its own Royal Army combat group. The Allied Control Commission eventually disbanded the group on November 9, leaving the OSS with a barracks full of young willing Italian recruits who would fight for Italy, but not its tarnished King.

[31] "OSS Operations Interim Report to Commanding General, Fifth Army," November 12, 1943, Folder 37, Box 91, Entry 190, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1-4; Operations, X. D. G-3, 7th Army to General Donovan and Col. Eddy, "Mainland Operations: 7th Detachment, Italian Section, Palermo," September 14, 1943, Folder 3, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

landings as they retreated in the face of German shore battery fire.[32] Despite this failure, the OSS forged ahead with its plans to expand the Seventh Army Detachment. Private (Acting Sergeant) Nato de Angeles, who had prior experience at Lipari, commanded several teams which would assist in the liberation of Naples.

In October, Scamporino recounted to Glavin an operation that helped kick-start the popular uprising that liberated Naples from the Germans in September. On September 14, an augmented OSS unit from the Seventh Army Detachment boarded a British destroyer for Salerno. The unit consisted of sixteen civilians and two well experienced enlisted men, De Angeles and Private Henry Calore. De Angeles led the operation with Calore serving as radio operator. Scamporino chose De Angeles to lead the teams because he had intimate knowledge of the terrain.[33]

The team members comprised Sicilians recruited to perform intelligence work behind German and Italian lines above the Salerno salient.[34] After evading capture and entering Naples, members of the team would become some of the principal contributories to the uprising of roughly three thousand Neapolitan "scugnizzi" (street kids). The revolt helped drive the Germans out of the city and paved the way for the entry of Fifth Army with hardly a shot being fired by the troops.[35] Three teams conducted covert activities in conjunction with the support of local Italians. The first team, BARBY, infiltrated through Allied lines immediately after arrival and cut enemy communication lines, disrupted traffic, created demonstrations, collected available intelligence on enemy units in their area, contacted Italian soldiers and engineers, and, using the soldiers and engineers, blew up transportation systems used by

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[32] Operations, X. D. G-3, 7th Army to General Donovan and Col. Eddy, "Mainland Operations: 7th Detachment, Italian Section, Palermo," September 14, 1943, Folder 3, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[33] Vincent Scamporino to Colonel E.J.F. Glavin, "Naples Mission," October 20, 1943, Box 91, Folder 37, Entry 190, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1; Operations, X. D. G-3, 7th Army to General Donovan and Col. Eddy, "Mainland Operations: 7th Detachment, Italian Section, Palermo," September 14, 1943, Folder 3, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[34] Operations, X. D. G-3, 7th Army to General Donovan and Col. Eddy, "Mainland Operations: 7th Detachment, Italian Section, Palermo," September 14, 1943, Folder 3, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[35] Vincent Scamporino to Colonel E.J.F. Glavin, "Naples Mission," October 20, 1943, Box 91, Folder 37, Entry 190, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1.

the Germans. They operated in the general area northwest of Salerno and on the road to Castellamare di Stabia and to Naples.[36]

The team augmented their numbers with locals known to personnel on the team. One man functioned as the central intelligence point, receiving the group's intelligence and reporting it out to Seventh Army Detachment and Fifth Army command. The second team, AVELLINO, used the same methods of operation and worked in the area north of Avellino. De Angeles and Calore found a central location in order to best serve both teams. The third team, AVENGER, stayed in reserve for use by divisional CPs for specific desired missions.[37] De Angeles received instruction to spot recruit and use other civilians in the field, using his old connections through prior operations. His work helped solidify the practice of cooperating with advanced Divisional command posts which the OSS continued as a standard practice. He also demonstrated the utility of handing primary reports to the advanced command posts of the operating army to assist with their tactical plans. The practice of cooperating with advanced Divisional CPs became standard throughout 1943 and into 1944 as well as the practice of handing in reports to the Advanced CP of the operating army. These two practices exemplified the growing professional partnership between the OSS and the army.[38]

The mission's eventual success was the culmination of twenty-eight days of operations out of the OSS base at Salerno under De Angeles. He split up the men under his command into two groups of six men each, Group A and Group B. De Angeles sent four other recruits to Colonel K. D. Manu, OSS Services Officer of Experimental Detachment, G-3, attached to the Fifth Army. Group B set off for

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[36] Operations, X. D. G-3, 7th Army to General Donovan and Col. Eddy, "Mainland Operations: 7th Detachment, Italian Section, Palermo," September 14, 1943, Folder 3, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[37] Operations, X. D. G-3, 7th Army to General Donovan and Col. Eddy, "Mainland Operations: 7th Detachment, Italian Section, Palermo," September 14, 1943, Folder 3, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP; Scamporino to General Donovan and Col. Eddy, "Mainland Operations: 7th Detachment, Italian Section, Palermo," September 14, 1943, Folder 3, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP; Vincent Scamporino to Colonel E.J.F. Glavin, "Naples Mission," October 20, 1943, Box 91, Folder 37, Entry 190, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1.

[38] Operations, X. D. G-3, 7th Army to General Donovan and Col. Eddy, "Mainland Operations: 7th Detachment, Italian Section, Palermo," September 14, 1943, Folder 3, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP; Scamporino to General Donovan and Col. Eddy, "Mainland Operations: 7th Detachment, Italian Section, Palermo," September 14, 1943, Folder 3, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

Naples after a briefing on September 16, 1943. Incessant German artillery fire along the main road out of Salerno forced the group to detour via truck through orchards, farms, and backroads. Their plan called for the group to wend its way to Naples via Castellamare di Stabia and the German-occupied Sorrento peninsula in the west. After facing machine gun nests along the highway and destroyed bridges in towns such as Amalfi and Positano, they finally reached Sorrento the night of September 16.[39]

A kindly innkeeper provided rooms for the team in Sorrento, asking no questions and accepting the team members' story that they were trying to return to their families in Naples. Taking a day to blend in with the locals paid off when they learned that eight German armored cars maintained a steady patrol between the tip of the Sorrento peninsula and the plains. The group decided to walk to Capo Sorrento, as the tip of the peninsula was known, and there noticed a lone Italian solder in an armored car. Asking a nearby restaurant proprietor named Don Vincenzo for the story, he related that the Germans had taken the non-commissioned Italian officer as a prisoner and locked a number of Italian soldiers in a lighthouse on the cape. The Germans then proceeded to blow up the lighthouse, killing the soldiers. The team immediately dispatched agent Marsiglia back to the OSS Salerno base with the story and all the intelligence they had gathered to this point. [40]

The group of five men continued towards Naples, placing member DiGregorio in charge of the rendezvous with Marsiglia in Naples once in town. The two men arranged the rendezvous at le Gallerie Umberto every day between 1000 and 1500 hours until they met. Unfortunately for the men, a blockade of Germans awaited the group as they entered Castellamare di Stabia, the strategic port town south of Naples. A group of sixty peasants, awaiting their own chance to cross, filled the team in on the situation. The German sentinels at the bridge allowed only emergency personnel across the bridge.

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[39] Vincent Scamporino to Colonel E.J.F. Glavin, "Naples Mission," October 20, 1943, Box 91, Folder 37, Entry 190, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1.

[40] G-3, AFHQ to Colonel W. A. Eddy, "Report on Operations," September 23, 1943, Folder 37, Box 91, Entry 190, RG 226, NARA-CP; Vincent Scamporino to Colonel E.J.F. Glavin, "Naples Mission," October 20, 1943, Box 91, Folder 37, Entry 190, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1.

Agent Farina spoke German fluently and took it upon himself to advance and ask the guard for permission to speak to the commanding officer. Farina discovered that the officer commanded a detail of four sentries, sole guards of the important bridge. [41]

Farina devised a plan to get the team across by feigning that they had all met on the road and shared the common goal of returning to family members in the same vicinity of Naples. As the lone person among the group who spoke German, the peasants had begged him to speak on their behalf. The German officer, wary of letting a group across the bridge replied, "If you are thinking of crossing, you should think of yourself, not the others." [42] The officer then stated that Farina could pass by himself. Feigning that he did not understand the second remark, Farina motioned for the others to come with him and cross, but the guards barred their way and forced Farina to proceed by himself. [43]

Once across the bridge, the German officer summoned him inside his office and demanded to know the cause for Farina's anxiety on behalf of his companions. When pressed about his ability to speak German, Farina replied that he had conducted business as a produce merchant all over Germany before the war. He continued that he and his four compatriots had "escaped through the American lines to seek the protection of the Germans" due to terrible conditions under Allied occupation. The Germans contemplated asking Farina about the American front-line positions but "a man of such obviously low mentality" could not be expected to know such information. [44] Farina took this opportunity to extricate himself by thrusting his hand out to shake the Germans' hands and about-faced

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[41] Vincent Scamporino to Colonel E.J.F. Glavin, "Naples Mission," October 20, 1943, Box 91, Folder 37, Entry 190, RG 226, NARA-CP, 2.

[42] Max Corvo, *OSS in Italy 1942-1945* (New York, NY: Enigma Books, 2005) 153-155; Vincent Scamporino to Colonel E.J.F. Glavin, "Naples Mission," October 20, 1943, Box 91, Folder 37, Entry 190, RG 226, NARA-CP, 2.

[43] Vincent Scamporino to Colonel E.J.F. Glavin, "Naples Mission," October 20, 1943, Box 91, Folder 37, Entry 190, RG 226, NARA-CP, 2.

[44] Vincent Scamporino to Colonel E.J.F. Glavin, "Naples Mission," October 20, 1943, Box 91, Folder 37, Entry 190, RG 226, NARA-CP, 3.

out of the office. He hoped that this surprise move would keep them from calling him back and he was right. [45]

Meanwhile, the other four men, believing Farina captured, made for the mountains. Farina believed that the men would make their way around the mountain into Castellamare. He proceeded on that assumption while the men waited for Farina in the mountains. When Farina did not return, each group – now believing the other dead – went their separate ways. Farina went to Naples and the other four decided to return to the Salerno base. Farina waited three days in the mountains then set out for Naples to keep the rendezvous set between DiGregorio and Marsiglia. He avoided the most common routes into Naples. He had heard that the Germans had placed machine guns along the old smuggler's route into Naples around the bridge at Castellamare with orders to shoot on sight. Farina vowed to continue with the mission despite fearing the death of his compatriots, including DiGregorio. His patience was rewarded when he encountered Marsiglia on his way back to Naples after successfully reporting at the Salerno base to de Angeles. [46]

As the two men proceeded on their journey into Naples, they encountered and were stopped by a German motorcycle patrol. When the patrol asked for documents, the men complied but their wallets were stuffed with the 70,000 liras for the mission which aroused the suspicion of the patrolmen. Escorted back to German headquarters at Castellamare, the men lost their personal effects after a thorough search and when pressed about the large sum of money responded that it comprised their total savings for their families in Naples. After a brief interrogation, the German officer conducting the interrogation excused the guards and escorted them to the door. In an instant, Marsiglia formulated an impromptu escape plan. He eyed the first floor balcony window and motioned the idea to Farina. At

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[45] Vincent Scamporino to Colonel E.J.F. Glavin, "Naples Mission," October 20, 1943, Box 91, Folder 37, Entry 190, RG 226, NARA-CP, 3.

[46] Max Corvo, *OSS in Italy 1942-1945* (New York, NY: Enigma Books, 2005) 145-155; Vincent Scamporino to Colonel E.J.F. Glavin, "Naples Mission," October 20, 1943, Box 91, Folder 37, Entry 190, RG 226, NARA-CP, 3.

that moment, he took a step and plunged through the window followed by Farina, and they took off together for the street through a garden. [47]

Hearing no shots, the men continued until they reached the road to Naples. From there, they eventually reached Torre del Greco and proceeded to Naples. Nothing further prevented their advance and once in Naples, they met a friend, Nicola D'Delfio, from whom they borrowed 25,000 liras after explaining their situation.[48] During the next two days, the Germans issued an order requiring that all men from ages of 18 to 33 report to German headquarters for military service. The penalty of death was imposed for those who failed to report. The Germans issued this order in an attempt to forestall the growing signs of a revolt by the populace of Naples. [49]

The situation in the city rapidly deteriorated thereafter with organized looting and killing of civilians by the Germans. City officials, Pubblica Sicurezza men, and the Carabinieri remained completely passive or gave active support to German actions, often only to turn around and hail the Allies as liberators.[50] Meanwhile, the Germans began demolition operations within the city, blowing up anything of value within the vicinity of Naples including the ports. Farina and Marsiglia reported in their after-action report that Germans gunned down old men and women as well as the Red Cross workers who tried to aid the wounded.[51] The men immediately set about recruiting youngsters, the so-called "scugnizzi," paying them about 100 liras apiece to loot the muskets and ammunition they found stored

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[47] Vincent Scamporino to Colonel E.J.F. Glavin, "Naples Mission," October 20, 1943, Box 91, Folder 37, Entry 190, RG 226, NARA-CP, 3.

[48] D'Delfio later worked full-time for the OSS in Naples.

[49] Memorandum of Inforamtion for the Joint US Chiefs of Staff, "OSS Intelligence Teams in Italy," July 1945, Folder 3, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1-3; Vincent Scamporino to Colonel E.J.F. Glavin, "Naples Mission," October 20, 1943, Box 91, Folder 37, Entry 190, RG 226, NARA-CP, 4.

[50] Pubblica Sicurezza maintained order at the central government and local level and were responsible for the protection of public order. Carabinieri served as the national gendarmerie of Italy and policed both military and civilian populations.

[51] The secondary literature is silent on this specific claim from Farina and Marsiglia, however, the brutality of the German occupation in Naples after the Italian armistice is well documented. For further reading on the German occupation and withdrawal from Naples, please see Norman Lewis, *Naples '44: A World War II Diary of Occupied Italy* (NY: Da Capo Press, 2005), 60-70; Isobel Williams, *Allies and Italians under Occupation: Sicily and Southern Italy, 1943-1945* (NY: Springer, 2013), 120-125; Salvatore J. LaGumina, *The Office of Strategic Services and Italian Americans: The Untold History* (New York: Springer, 2016), 99-118.

near the Royal Palace. Repairmen took the damaged arms and put them into the best shape possible. Farina and Marsiglia then handed back the weapons to the youngsters, all expenses paid the by the OSS men. [52]

Farina and Marsiglia laid low for a short period while they sought to join the civilians in the growing uprising. They joined with some Italian army officers who had begun battling with the Germans in the city. They fought against German soldiers and armored cars while stationed in the second story of a ruined building near Capo di Chino. As the battle raged, civilians seized weapons and vehicles from dead Germans and turned them against their occupiers. Four hundred sailors from Capri and an entire platoon of Bersaglieri joined the guerrilla combat against the Germans.[53] Finally, the arrival of Allied troops saved the city from further catastrophe and ended the mission of Farina and Marsiglia on October 5.[54]

Huntington Takes Command

The change of command from Downes brought Colonel Huntington into brief prominence as the overall OSS man in charge of operations in Italy. Huntington had previously practiced law in New York as a member of the firm Satterlee and Canfield. He had been a Major of artillery in the First World War and remained active in the 17th Regiment of the New York State Guard. He received his commission as a Colonel from the War Department shortly after joining Donovan's COI in 1942. Huntington officially took over from Downes in mid-October 1943 with Captain Andre Bourgoin as his long-range intelligence

[52] Vincent Scamporino to Colonel E.J.F. Glavin, "Naples Mission," October 20, 1943, Box 91, Folder 37, Entry 190, RG 226, NARA-CP, 4.

[53] Bersaglieri were, and still are, elite units of the Italian Army distinguishable to this day by the plume of black capercaillie feathers that adorn the right side of their helmet.

[54] Vincent Scamporino to Colonel E.J.F. Glavin, "Naples Mission," October 20, 1943, Box 91, Folder 37, Entry 190, RG 226, NARA-CP, 5.

officer and Alessandro Caggiatti as Commanding Officer of the forward echelon with Tenth Corps.[55] Huntington's administrative prowess would serve him well in the few months he served as commander of OSS Italy.

He complained to Glavin that Fifth Army prevented him from getting enough officers and personnel. He also set about getting rid of undesirables in his new command. As the former head of OSS Security, Huntington placed a premium on trustworthiness and the character of those who worked with him. The civilians originally sent with the landing teams caused "massive headaches" and proved far less reliable and capable than locally recruited agents. Huntington sent a memo back to Washington forbidding the sending of more agents from Washington. Many of the civilians from the US resisted working behind the lines and yet received "fabulous compensation." [56]

He also wasted no time deriding the troubles caused by Downes, joined in a relative chorus by the other OSS men in the area.[57] Huntington lamented the organization set up by Downes and desperately needed more radios for operations. Downes' organizational structure had kept many capable people from being assigned proper tasks quickly or at all such as men with combat or training experience awaiting orders at headquarters and radio specialists working on logistics and guard duty. Many men wandered from task to task with no real responsibilities just a vague conception that something needed to be done. Huntington expressed his exasperation with the current state of OSS

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[55] Elizabeth P. McIntosh, *Sisterhood of Spies: The Women of the OSS* (Ananapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1998), 21-24; "History of COI/OSS Security," undated, Folder 4, Box 100, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 2; "OSS Fifth Army Mission Roster," October 30, 1943, Folder 37, Box 91, Entry 190, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[56] Memo from Colonel Huntington to Colonel Edward Glavin, October 19, 1943, Folder 37, Box 91, Entry 190, RG 226, NARA-CP;

[57] Fifth Army G-2, Edwin B. Howard, proved to be the only friendly voice to speak on Downes' behalf, commending him for his "fine work" during the period of May through October 1943. Colonel Edward B. Howard to Donald Downes, "Commendation," October 4, 1943, Folder 37, Box 91, Entry 190, RG 226, NARA-CP;

Italy affairs in his hope that by the fall of Rome the OSS might "have done something" useful and established itself. [58]

Huntington issued a memo on new objectives and scope for OSS Fifth Army operations in response to his analysis of the situation. He wanted to establish a pattern for OSS army missions and Detachments. Reaching beyond his authority, something which gave Donovan headaches, Huntington laid out that the primary activities of the mission would be decided by him. Irrespective of the functions of the organization as described in basic OSS directives, the new activities included long and short range intelligence, operational programs to comply with G-3 Fifth Army, and any assistance to Fifth Army as needed.[59] A sign of the political chaos in Italy, he also directed OSS agents and members to avoid any political entanglements and would tolerate no promotion of political ideologies. He also sought to end all extra-judicial activities of OSS members and address the numerous complaints lodged against the OSS by the Armed Forces and Italian civilians. Huntington, while perhaps not the world's best intelligence theorist, certainly brought a desperately needed measure of administrative flair and professionalism to the field.[60] Despite the issuance of his new orders, Huntington expected to be relieved shortly when the Allied Armies reached Rome. However, it would take a further nine months before Allied forces entered the city.[61]

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[58] Colonel Edward B. Howard to Donald Downes, "Commendation," October 4, 1943, Folder 37, Box 91, Entry 190, RG 226, NARA-CP; Memo from Colonel Huntington to Colonel Edward Glavin, October 19, 1943, Folder 37, Box 91, Entry 190, RG 226, NARA-CP;

[59] Colonel Ellery Huntington, OSS Headquarters Special Detachment G-2, Fifth Army Headquarters to All OSS Personnel, "OSS Fifth Army Operations – Objectives and Scope," October 20, 1943, Folder 37, Box 91, Entry 190, RG 226, NARA-CP; Memo from Colonel Huntington to Colonel Edward Glavin, October 19, 1943, Folder 37, Box 91, Entry 190, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[60] "There was also top-level concern about Huntington's ability as an untested though possibly overzealous neophyte agent. Colonel Buxton warned that the general "had his hands full reacting, not always positively, to Ellery Huntington's schemes." McIntosh, *Sisterhood of Spies*, 24.

[61] Colonel Ellery Huntington, OSS Headquarters Special Detachment G-2, Fifth Army Headquarters to All OSS Personnel, "OSS Fifth Army Operations – Objectives and Scope," October 20, 1943, Folder 37, Box 91, Entry 190, RG 226, NARA-CP; Memo from Colonel Huntington to Colonel Edward Glavin, October 19, 1943, Folder 37, Box 91, Entry 190, RG 226, NARA-CP.

OSS Organization After Naples (Oct-Dec 43)

The OSS wanted to expand on their field radio teams immediately after the fall of Naples. Within days, the OSS sent ten agents from Palermo into the Naples area. They would have sent more, but between thirty and fifty agents remained in reserve at Palermo awaiting US Navy PT boat availability before they could infiltrate the Italian mainland. Plans required agents to infiltrate with radio sets in the area far north of Naples between Rome and Genoa. Another special team consisting of six men with a radio prepared to infiltrate the Fiume-Trieste area in northeastern Italy.[62]

During the period September-December 1943, the OSS had twenty-four men with three radios in the Naples area, though only one radio made contact. OSS Fifth Army Detachment contained thirty-five officers and men and established regular radio communication with agents in the field and with OSS Algiers. The OSS also set up and maintained direct radio communication with the OSS Bern station in Switzerland run by Allen Dulles which transmitted messages to agents in northern Italy for OSS Italy. Most importantly for future operations, the office helped establish an OSS courier service from Switzerland into Italy utilizing Italian partisans.[63] These services would come in handy as the OSS developed its northern Italian operations throughout 1944.

The OSS infiltrated teams by boat and parachute, though those agents who never attended parachute school had to be put in by boat. This meant that the OSS was wholly dependent for operational transport from the navy or Army Air Force. US Navy PT boats had cooperated "very generously and efficiently" thus far but had a limited radius. Only limited operations could be conducted in the northern end of the Adriatic Sea or the northwestern coast of Italy due to the limitations of the boats. Often, planned operations had to be shelved for months due to the lack of

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[62] Col. W. A. Eddy and Lt. Col. A. D. Dodds-Parker to Assistant Chief of Staff, G-3, A.F.H.Q., “OSS/SOE Resources for Operations in Italy September – December 1943,” September 18, 1943, Folder 3, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[63] Col. W. A. Eddy and Lt. Col. A. D. Dodds-Parker to Assistant Chief of Staff, G-3, A.F.H.Q., “OSS/SOE Resources for Operations in Italy September – December 1943,” September 18, 1943, Folder 3, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

transport capability. This lack caused the OSS to request the use of Italian corvettes and MAS torpedo boats. Several such craft operated out of Palermo with others in mainland naval bases. The OSS wanted them assigned to them specifically, but barring that, then at least be given priority for their use on demand. AFHQ denied this request and the boats remained under the navy and then Italian control.[64]

Croze and the Anzio Beachhead

Frenchmen Captain H. E. Andre Bourgoin and Lieutenant John Croze were two of the most successful examples of OSS recruitment of foreign officers to participate in OSS behind-the-line operations. Bourgoin, a French national, had spent the better part of the last twenty-four years managing petroleum concerns in North Africa, and now served as a Mediterranean SO specialist for the OSS. Croze, a former French Army officer, had received a commission into the US Army as a Second Lieutenant. The two men had participated in many different OSS Italy operations, most prominently alongside the OSS in Salerno with Downes later as part of the OSS French desk running operations in southern France from Corsica. Captain Bourgoin brought along Croze to Morocco in early 1943.[65]

Bourgoin and Croze participated in the second wave of the Allied invasion of the Italian mainland in the winter of 1943. While the Allied Armies fought their way up the peninsula, Bourgoin and Croze recruited a group a young Italians who would ultimately render great service to the OSS. The group consisted of Italians either too young to have joined the Italian army or who deserted and wanted to fight on the Allied side. Many Italians had a positive perception of the Allies, especially the

[64] Col. W. A. Eddy and Lt. Col. A. D. Dodds-Parker to Assistant Chief of Staff, G-3, A.F.H.Q., "OSS/SOE Resources for Operations in Italy September – December 1943," September 18, 1943, Folder 3, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[65] Report, "John Croze," undated, Folder 3, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

Americans, which made it much easier for OSS agents, even Frenchmen like Bourgoin and Croze, to recruit locals for OSS operations.[66]

They recruited approximately sixty Italians from areas in North Africa and Sicily. The two men quickly trained and sent them behind enemy lines in southern Italy on short one to two day intelligence trips to gather vital German Order of Battle information. Their team also collected details on the location of supply and ammunition dumps, gun emplacements, and other high value intelligence. Once the Allies secured Naples and the OSS set up a headquarters on the Italian mainland, OSS MEDTO sent the entire group to training areas where they received further instruction on obtaining accurate information and correct map reading. [67] Captain Bourgoin would later open and command an OSS training area in August 1944, assisting with SO agents.

The group's greatest achievement came during the Allied Anzio landings in January 1944. With the Anzio beachhead established, the group went ashore with the earliest OSS arrivals. On the beach, Croze remained in constant contact with Sixth Corps headquarters with the assistance of a jeep with a built in radio transmitter and receiver.[68] Sixth Corps gave Croze daily requests for specific information needed in the conduct of the battle. Croze's equipment also allowed him to communicate directly with "Station Victoria," the group of OSS agents stationed in Rome led by Peter Tompkins. Tompkins and his Rome agents worked closely with Croze and furnished timely answers to Sixth Corps' demands for information. Croze also served as a pipeline for all the useful information at the beachhead coming from the north of Italy to OSS headquarters.[69]

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[66] Alessandro Cagiati to Major R. J. Koch, "Forward Echelons," April 12, 1944, Folder 279, Box 31, Entry 165; Report, "John Croze," undated, Folder 3, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[67] Report, "John Croze," undated, Folder 3, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[68] Edward Breed Commander USNR, Attached to HQ, Co. G-2, 5th Army to Colonel Edward J. F. Glavin, "Report on OSS Activities during Invasion of Italian Mainland, September 12 to October 21 inclusive (with recommendations), October 23, 1943, Folder 37, Box 91, Entry 190, NARA-CP, 4-5; Report, "John Croze," undated, Folder 3, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[69] Report, "John Croze," undated, Folder 3, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

He would eventually relay the beachhead-saving information that originated in Rome regarding an impending German counter-attack.[70] During the Allied crisis at the Anzio beachhead, the Rome station provided five reports a day, sometimes an hour in length. Its intelligence came directly from Kesselring's headquarters through an OSS sub-agent who worked on Kesselring's staff. The Rome team, through Croze, warned Sixth Corps' G-2, Colonel Langeman, of a developing German counter-attack aimed for the sector between the American and British forces.[71] The advance warning allowed the Americans to prepare for the attack and reinforce the British. Langeman credited the information with saving the beachhead.[72]

In addition to his invaluable liaison service, Croze helped train and brief the agents who furnished the majority of the combat intelligence received at Sixth Corps through the early part of 1944. His agents fared well in southern Italy, working with great success in addition to their contributions at Anzio. They operated in pairs, without weapons, and slipped through German lines at night. There they spent four or five days as "natives with homes" near the battle zone. Without supplies, they "lived off the land" receiving food from Italian families and even at times, the Germans themselves.[73] After gathering all they could about their sector, they returned and reported to the OSS base station with Sixth Corps. Langeman admitted that the information the OSS provided could not be obtained by the American or British armies on their own and proved of great value.[74]

Examples of OSS Professional Cooperation

From the beginning, in order to better gain the trust of the AMG, ACC, and other government organizations like the State Department, the OSS cooperated and contributed to their various plans,

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[70] Report, "John Croze," undated, Folder 3, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[71] Charles S. Cheston, "OSS Intelligence Teams in Italy," July 11, 1945, Folder 3, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[72] Report, "John Croze," undated, Folder 3, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[73] Report, "John Croze," undated, Folder 3, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[74] Report, "John Croze," undated, Folder 3, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

however poorly conceived. The OSS supported various failed crack-pot schemes such as the Psychological Warfare Branch's (PWB) Granai campaign in September 1943.[75] The campaign attempted to induce Sicilians to consign their grain to the government at a cheap price. OSS MO agent Gengegrelli planned and printed posters as well as leaflets and distributed them throughout Sicily. Failures by the PWB in accounting for the attitude of the locals, their economic needs, and a general dissatisfaction with giving up hard earned grain to yet another authority doomed the campaign. Despite Gengegrelli's efforts, the Granai campaign induced almost no locals to participate, and the OSS found it difficult to quantify if any grain contributed to the government came from the PWB campaign.[76]

The last two weeks of October 1943 saw a significant increase in OSS field collaboration with other agencies and departments. In conjunction with the Allied Military Mission (AMM), the OSS set up a base for operations and communications at Brindisi. The Allied Military Government (AMG) made a special request for three OSS men to assist with AMG efforts on Sardinia after the capture of the island. The OSS established a liaison with the Italian Servizio Informazione Militare (SIM) and began joint intelligence operations. The SIM functioned as the military intelligence organization for the Regio Esercito (Royal Army) equivalent in many ways to the German Abwehr. Despite questions regarding their credibility, SIM did give the OSS access to some Italian resources that were otherwise inaccessible. Such cooperation also allowed the Allies to keep tabs on SIM work and root out any Fascist remnants or German double-agents.[77]

OSS branches in the Mediterranean assisted many different government agencies who often begrudgingly offered their own support. The most important collaborations concerned OSS work with

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[75] Despite the name, the PWB did not operate as an OSS branch. The PWB operated out of Algiers under AFHQ commanded by Brigadier General Robert A. McClure. The PWB conducted "white" or open propaganda whereas the OSS Morale Branch conducted "black" or clandestine propaganda.

[76] Theater Officer Pouch Review, "PWB Support of Granai Campaign," September 27, 1944, Folder 1, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[77] Donovan to the Secretary of the Joint U. S. Chiefs of Staff, Attn: Captain Frank Loftin, USN, "OSS Operations, North African and Middle East Theaters," November 4, 1943, Folder 3, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

the Civil Affairs Division of Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Force (SHAEF), and AFHQ sections in North Africa and Italy. The OSS participated in planning operations for PWB/SHAEF, servicing the Office of War Information (OWI), US Embassies, and a large contribution from R&A in appraising the bomb damage of strategic bombing targets. North African OSS staff in Algiers, in conjunction with AFHQ, provided Washington with spot political intelligence and collected documentary materials. More importantly, they selected intelligence targets based on military requests and forwarded the information to appropriate OSS branches operating in the target zone. To a lesser extent, they served other government agencies in the field, notably AMG and the staff of the Allied Control Commission in Italy.[78]

As early as May 1944, the OSS began formulating long-term plans preparing for cooperative intelligence operations in post-war Germany with Civil Affairs (CA) and the State Department. A study formally conducted by members of the Planning Group, the branch chiefs, and General Magruder suggested to Donovan that regardless of the sequence of military events, the occupational setup and relationships with both CA and State should be a gradual development of OSS intelligence centers as detachments from OSS bases advancing along communication lines. Senior Officers of the organic SI and X-2 units stationed with the various Armies would be designated as Liaison Officers between army headquarters and the OSS base or the advanced center once established. The Liaison Officer would be the channel for requests from the army for strategic intelligence. These advanced centers would be separate from typical OSS units operating within an army by providing all appropriate agencies with coordinated intelligence. The centers would also act as mustering areas for newly arrived intelligence personnel.[79]

During May through June 1944, AFHQ's Psychological Warfare Branch (PWB) in charge of "white" propaganda also moved to a new Italian headquarters in Rome. OSS Washington selected Mr.

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[78] Report, "Functions of the Current Intelligence Staff," 1943, Folder 3, Box 4, Entry 1, RG 226, NARA-CP, 6.
[79] For 109 from 106, Cable #44504, May 23, 1944, Folder 8, Box 2, Entry 6, RG 226, NARA-CP.

Minifie, previously running the Naples office, to help the joint PWB-OSS psychological warfare mission. PWB prepared a special force of personnel to go to Florence and seize and hold the radio stations and printing presses immediately upon liberation. PWB also ran a successful program to the Italian partisans called "Italia Combatte" based on material supplied by the OSS. The program assisted in breaking down German espionage networks established in Italy.[80] The extent of the success of the counter-espionage activities becomes difficult to verify and almost impossible to quantify, unfortunately. However, given other successful operations in Italy by X-2, the PWB program likely deterred at least some Italians from continuing collaboration with the Germans.

OSS And The Vatican

At times, the OSS' desire for success outweighed their caution when dealing with extraordinary intelligence collected from unusual places. The phrase "too good to be true" often comes up in discussions of intelligence collection, and the OSS' experience with Vatican intelligence provided a cautionary tale of trust and oversight on their path towards professionalism. In an effort to support the war effort in other theaters, SI set up an operation to examine Vatican political sources to gain information on the Japanese. The Japanese ambassador to the Vatican conducted regular political discussions with Vatican officials, and rumors reported that the Japanese had opened the possibility of peace talks to be mediated through the Pope.

SI searched for any relevant information on Japan in Italy to assist the war effort in the Far East. In mid-1944, SI established an Italo-Japanese intelligence section with headquarters in Rome. The section conducted interrogations and explored every opportunity for gathering Italo-Japanese intelligence. SI tapped the Vatican as a possible source of Japanese intelligence due to the stationing of Japanese Ambassador Arata and his close relationship with an intimate friend of the Pope, Monsignor

[80] Theater Officer Pouch Review, "PWB in Italy," July 6, 1944, Folder 2, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

Montini.[81] SI reported often on Japanese intelligence gained from their Vatican sources such as a rumored effort by Japanese industrialists to start peace negotiations with papal mediation. Other information purported to detail conditions within the Japanese army and dissident activity in China and Korea.[82]

Many OSS officers felt that the Vatican and other diplomatic channels could produce beneficial intelligence. However, they understood that to acquire any meaningful intelligence, a thoroughly qualified Japanese intelligence man, one who spoke and read the language, would be required. SI MEDTO Planning & Executive Officer Lieutenant Commander Milton Katz understood that the scarcity of such personnel made the plan impossible to carry out.[83]

Despite the difficulties, attempts to gather intelligence on the Japanese continued with instructions that the men must do the best they could as quickly as possible and transmit all material to Washington. Katz prepared a memo for the Chiefs of SI and R&A which contained a detailed list of desired Japanese data. Unfortunately, almost all information gleaned from Vatican sources proved to be red herrings. [84]

James Jesus Angleton, head of X-2 Italy, conducted the VESSEL operation which sought information from within the Vatican. In the fall of 1944, Scamporino, head of SI MEDTO, received a few reports from VESSEL of someone purported to be in touch with information sources in the Vatican. Many in Washington, including President Roosevelt, took the reports to be reproductions of actual Vatican documents. The "reproductions" turned out to be fabrications, causing the OSS severe humiliation, discrediting them among Allied organizations. Scamporino had been involved in several

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[81] "Italo-Japanese Section," undated (possibly September 1944), Folder 3500, Box 253, Entry 146, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1.

[82] SI Reports, "Italian Division, SI, MEDTO, Report for Period 15 December – 31 December 1944," January 20, 1945, Folder 303, Box 34, Entry 165, RG 226, NARA-CP, 11-12.

[83] Theater Officer Pouch Review, "Information on Japan from Axis Countries," September 22, 1944, Folder 1, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[84] Theater Officer Pouch Review, "Information on Japan from Axis Countries," September 22, 1944, Folder 1, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

intelligence mishaps and inter-branch rivalries such as the VESSEL informants providing false information purportedly from the Vatican.[85]

The man behind the fabrications, Virgilio Scattolini, director of the Social Center of Catholic Action in the Vatican, had sold bogus information to various newspaper wire services before the war and sought to reestablish his lucrative trade with the OSS after the fall of Rome. SI and X-2's distrust of one another, and the high stakes intelligence coup which once again gave the OSS the ear of President Roosevelt, proved the operation's downfall. Angleton's involvement with intelligence middlemen and agents in the Vatican would continue after the war. [86]

X-2 in Italy

X-2 found great success in Italy and made great administrative and operational strides from the end of 1943 to the fall of 1944. During the period, X-2 caught two hundred and thirty German agents, mostly of Italian origin. The Allies executed sixteen agents by August 1944 and kept the remainder in prison awaiting trials. During the same period, the Germans dissolved the Abwehr and absorbed its functions into the Sicherheitsdienst as well as changed the name to the Reichs Sicherheits Hanptant (RSHA). X-2 tried to stay ahead of or least even with their German counterparts, taking great pains to gather all material possible on the habits and living conditions of the agents before the Germans pulled back their resources. Commando teams received the information gathered by X-2 with orders to capture any suspected or identified agents and take them to the hills to prevent their flight to neutral countries. The Senior Intelligence Officer of the Allied Armies sponsored the counter intelligence project.[87]

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[85] George C. Chalou, *The Secrets War: The Office of Strategic Services in World War II* (Washington, DC: National Archives and Records Administration, 1992), 231-232.

[86] George C. Chalou, *The Secrets War: The Office of Strategic Services in World War II* (Washington, DC: National Archives and Records Administration, 1992), 231-232.

[87] Theater Officer Pouch Review, "Counter Intelligence Plans for Italy," August 22, 1944, Folder 1, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

X-2 set up two Special Counterintelligence (SCI) Units in July 1944, one for northern Italy and the other for the Seventh Army. A part of the Italian SCI units reported to the British S Force to help exploit the capture of Florence, though, with limited effectiveness X-2 HQ failed to receive field reports. While X-2 reorganized and readjusted their bases, transportation and communication issues continued to plague the pace of their operations and the speed with which they could finish rebasing.[88]

During July and August 1944, X-2's SCI-2 Unit did manage to apprehend enemy agents in Florence and seize the last of the known enemy wireless telegraphists (W/T) in Rome. The Allied Military Governor of Rome commended the Italian X-2 Section for excellent work during this period.[89] At the same time, X-2 established their office at Bari. The office briefed missions and checked on field personnel before they undertook field operations in the Balkans.[90] X-2 discontinued their joint SX (SI & X-2) program in North Africa by September 1944. They decided to operate the area around Rome themselves rather than conduct another joint program like North Africa which saw SI handling X-2 material and performing X-2 functions.[91] Increased personnel numbers surely helped X-2 reach this decision.

Since reaching Rome, X-2 apprehended twenty-two German intelligence agents, four of whom had W/T sets. One of the captured agents turned into an X-2 double agent, feeding the Germans misinformation on X-2 activities. Other notable successes involved the dispatch of a penetration agent and the raid of an Abwehr recruiting center, providing the names of thirty-five stay behind agents.[92] X-2 established itself securely in Rome during this period, leaving only one man behind in Naples with

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[88] Theater Officer Pouch Review, "X-2, Italy," August 15, 1944, Folder 1, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[89] Theater Officer Pouch Review, "X-2, Italy," July 27, 1944, Folder 2, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[90] Theater Officer Pouch Review, "X-2 MEDTO Report 16-31 Aug.," September 11, 1944, Folder 1, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[91] Theater Officer Pouch Review, "SX Program Discontinued in North Africa," September 13, 1944, Folder 1, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[92] Theater Officer Pouch Review, "X-2, Italy," July 27, 1944, Folder 2, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

another four sent forward to Florence to cover Spezia and Florence during the occupation. Outside recognition of X-2 efforts flooded in from military headquarters and civilian organizations.[93]

[93] Theater Officer Pouch Review, "X-2, Italy," July 27, 1944, Folder 2, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

CHAPTER 8: RELOCATION, PARTISANS, AND SUPPLY IN NORTHERN ITALY

OSS cooperation with northern Italian partisans comprised not only a substantial portion of operations, but also served as the means by which the OSS enhanced their professional capabilities. Operational success relied significantly upon the partisans' good-will and determination. Agents often spent weeks, sometimes months, in the field behind enemy lines working alongside them. Partisans supplied the needed safe areas to parachute into, places to hide, and allies to fight the Germans. In contrast to other theaters, the extended length of the Italian campaign allowed the OSS and the partisans to establish the necessary requirements for successful cooperation.[1]

Missions often embroiled OSS agents in political dramas between various resistance groups who vied for Allied support and recognition. These groups often perceived OSS agents as official spokesmen for and liaison to Allied commanders and political leaders, often with unfortunate consequences. If the OSS could not, or would not, follow through on partisan requests, the partisans often became disillusioned with either the OSS or US policies as a whole. The OSS had to walk a relatively fine line between devoting time and effort to supporting the resistance, providing timely military intelligence to Allied commanders, and delivering valuable political, economic, and social intelligence to policy makers. Simultaneously, OSS headquarters struggled to relocate closer to the front line while organizing, supporting ongoing operations, and developing the machinery to supply the partisans. These tasks took a logistical and administrative toll on OSS personnel. Glavin, Livermore, and other leaders struggled to succeed in the face of these obstacles.

[1] Long-term radio communications typically represented several months of constant contact with teams or partisan forces in enemy-occupied Italy. Agent chains involved sources who reported back to an OSS handler who then radioed or otherwise reported the collected intelligence back to an OSS headquarters.

Problems of Relocation

OSS branches faced a difficult task balancing the need for constant relocation to remain with the Allied front while managing the challenge of ongoing operations. The logistical effort required to move and maintain operations placed a heavy burden on administrative tasks and the men and women at the various headquarters. Such shifts entailed an administrative expertise which the OSS had to develop in terms of new headquarters and better logistics handling.

In July 1944, Glavin's Operations Adjutant, Gifford M. Proctor, disagreed with Glavin's proposed move of the Operations Staff of Company "D" to Siena. Proctor expressed concern that proper consideration had not been given to the effort required. The only justification he saw for moving Operations to Siena would be to increase its efficiency, an outcome he did not count on. He felt that efficiency would take an immediate negative hit due to the loss of vital time in the various transitions between Caserta and Siena. [2]

Proctor also worried that Siena would only have one radio base for agent traffic in Italy. This meant that either Operations or Intelligence staff radio traffic would be left out. Forcing the Operations staff to use a courier service from Rome to Siena would be completely impractical. Retransmission of agent messages from Rome to Siena would place an "impossible burden upon Communications, increase the garbles, and make many signals completely valueless upon final arrival" because of the time lost between bases, several decodings, encodings, and transmissions. He argued that the OSS in Italy should only relocate when the main supply administration and communication facilities moved forward as well. Any move needed to consider its effects upon communications, supplies, transportation, recruiting, agency contacts, intelligence, security, and day-to-day administrative work.[3]

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[2] Gifford M. Proctor, Operations Adjutant, to Colonel Glavin thru Captain Suhling, "Memorandum," July 11, 1944, Folder 202, Box 101, Entry 190, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1.

[3] Gifford M. Proctor, Operations Adjutant, to Colonel Glavin thru Captain Suhling, "Memorandum," July 11, 1944, Folder 202, Box 101, Entry 190, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1.

Arguments ensued over whether the pressure to move the Operations staff north resulted from a misconception of Operations as a front-line command. It served an administrative, not tactical, purpose. Directions for operations came from higher echelons such as AFHQ and AAI through proper command or liaison channels. Proctor argued, but Glavin disagreed, that tactical, as opposed to strategic, functions for the armed forces could be successfully carried out through forward echelons rather than regimental or company headquarters. Forward echelons just needed strengthening in terms of personnel and equipment.[4] Glavin did take to heart Proctor's warning that if Siena was not to be a permanent base but merely a stepping stone, he should plan ahead for the next relocation. He therefore placed a forward echelon in Florence to help organize 2677th Company "D"s move to the city in December 1944.[5]

However, despite occasional procedural disagreements, OSS members generally agreed that officers and headquarters gave much better thought to planning and pre-planning. The improvisational nature of operations dissipated as leaders and headquarters gave more time to the formulation of detailed long-range plans. Such plans included assessments of operational details, logical headquarters locations, and supply and logistical issues like those brought up by Proctor.[6] Northern Italy added further obstacles such as the capability of the German Army to continue resistance in the field and the demands of various Allied agencies in regards to partisan cooperation with the military advance. Possible German withdrawal also meant necessary planning for the liberation and control of cities in which OSS-led partisan groups would operate as the closest American-directed troops in the vicinity.

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[4] Gifford M. Proctor, Operations Adjutant, to Colonel Glavin thru Captain Suhling, "Memorandum," July 11, 1944, Folder 202, Box 101, Entry 190, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1-2.

[5] C. Martin Wood, Jr., to Commanding Officer, 2677th Regiment OSS (Provisional), "Operations Report for the Period 5 December 1944 – 5 March 1944," February 28, 1945, Folder 8, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 17.

[6] William G. Suhling, Jr. Major, Inf. Commanding to Commanding officer, 2677th Regt. OSS (Prov), "Proposed Plan of Operation, North Italy & Austria," August 27, 1944, Folder 37, Box 91, Entry 190, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1.

OSS Political Neutrality Dealing with Partisans in Northern Italy

The Italian surrender in September 1943 caused political complications for the OSS and the Italian partisans. Allied command and OSS leaders expressed great concern regarding potential political upheaval in Italy after the Italian surrender. Poorly organized groups of patriotic Italians immediately began limited fighting against the Germans. Most were ideologically motivated anti-Fascists and Communists. The OSS sought to capitalize on this nascent resistance and turn it into an organized disruptive force which would shorten the war. The OSS did its best to remain politically neutral in this charged ideological conflict and ordered its personnel to make no guarantees or promises of support to partisan political groups after the war. Allied political leaders saw the simmering civil-war in Greece and wanted to avoid a repetition in Italy.[7]

Three main political factions shared control of partisan activity in Italy after the surrender. The Italian Communists, by far the largest and most organized, sought control of specific areas throughout German-occupied Italy where they could recruit and act as a shadow government. Their forces were the least reluctant to fight and most active against the Germans, therefore also the most immediately useful to the OSS. While the loyalty of Italian Communists was more than often above reproach, Allied leaders and many in the OSS worried about Italian Communist plans after the cessation of hostilities.[8]

The second and far smaller group consisted of moderates and European liberals often composed of pre-war and pre-fascist political leaders. Many of these men and women were freed from Fascist prisons after the fall of Mussolini and included anti-Fascist luminaries such as Benedetto Croce. Italian liberal republicans tended to be far older than their Communist counterparts due to their involvement

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[7] Col. W. A. Eddy and Lt. Col. A. D. Dodds-Parker to Assistant Chief of Staff, G-3, A.F.H.Q., "OSS/SOE Resources for Operations in Italy September – December 1943," September 18, 1943, Folder 3, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[8] Col. W. A. Eddy and Lt. Col. A. D. Dodds-Parker to Assistant Chief of Staff, G-3, A.F.H.Q., "OSS/SOE Resources for Operations in Italy September – December 1943," September 18, 1943, Folder 3, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

in pre-Fascist governments. They were more skilled at fighting their battles in Rome with the reestablished Italian Government rather than holding a rifle at the front.[9]

The third group included monarchists and those who supported Pietro Badoglio's new post-Fascist Royalist regime after the Italian surrender. Most of these joined the Badoglio Government's forces. The OSS worked with and supported multiple partisan bands, not only to support their fight against the Germans, but also in order to prevent the outbreak of chaotic political conditions that might hamper Allied military operations. These tasks formed part of the high-level or strategic plan of the OSS in Italy since the fall and winter of 1943.[10]

Italy offered the OSS opportunities to collect long-range intelligence from important sources across the political spectrum, using both clandestine and overt means. Political neutrality thus served OSS plans to employ sources that otherwise might be unavailable. The OSS used its neutrality to monitor the activities of the Badoglio and Bonomi governments, various political luminaries, the monarchy, the Vatican, and representatives of other nations. OSS reports provided a constant flow of information for US government agencies on the precarious state of Italian internal and political affairs.[11] The OSS also made every effort to retain its independence in intelligence operations from US or Allied policy such as continued support of the disavowed Yugoslavian partisan Leader Mihailović.[12]

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[9] "German Occupied Italy No. 2," March 16, 1944, Folder 5, Box 313, Entry 210, RG 226, NARA-CP; Col. W. A. Eddy and Lt. Col. A. D. Dodds-Parker to Assistant Chief of Staff, G-3, A.F.H.Q., "OSS/SOE Resources for Operations in Italy September – December 1943," September 18, 1943, Folder 3, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[10] Col. W. A. Eddy and Lt. Col. A. D. Dodds-Parker to Assistant Chief of Staff, G-3, A.F.H.Q., "OSS/SOE Resources for Operations in Italy September – December 1943," September 18, 1943, Folder 3, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

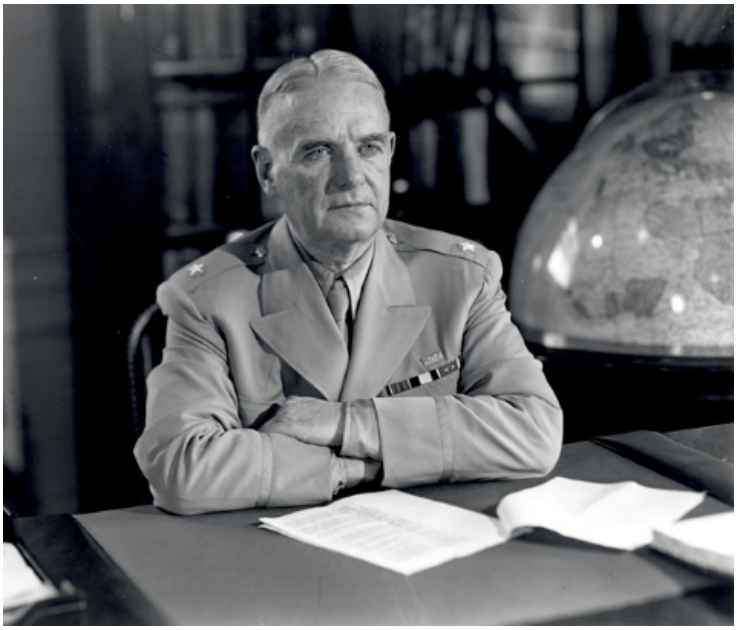
[11] William J. Donovan, Memorandum of Information to the U. S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, "OSS Special Operations in Italy," July 19, 1945, Folder 3, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[12] Theater Officer Pouch Material, "Slots Needed for SPOC," July 7, 1944, Folder 2, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP; Donovan secretly ordered the continuation of an American Independent Mission to Yugoslavia to support Mihalovic after Churchill forbade any support to non-Tito led Yugoslav partisans.

Figure 12. Pietro Badoglio about 1935.[13]

Figure 13. Benedetto Croce.[14]

Figure 14. William "Wild Bill" Donovan, Director of the OSS.[15]



[13] Andrea Carli, "Settant'anni fa il proclama di Badoglio. L'esercito allo sbando, per l'Italia inizia una nuova Guerra," September 8, 2013 (Last Accessed October 17, 2016), http://i.res.24o.it/images2010/SoleOnLine5/_Immagini/Notizie/Italia/2013/09/Badoglio-olycom-258.jpg?uuid=69ab67d2-188b-11e3-a0d5-d911e77dc1b8.

[14] "Benedetto Croce," (Last Accessed October 17, 2016), http://www.filosofico.net/crocefilosofo/crocepagee.html.

[15] William Joseph ("Wild Bill") Donovan, Head of the OSS, Folder 19, Box 236, Entry 139 (A1), RG 226, NARA-CP.

In order to clarify the official status of partisan groups vis-à-vis the AMG, the OSS, and the interim official government of Italy, the affected parties held a meeting on June 22, 1944. The committee prohibited military personnel from involvement in partisan problems and from making any promises. Military personnel received explicit permission to use any information provided by the partisans but could not employ partisans in any fighting role once the military liberated partisan-held zones. In all cases, parties referred partisans to the AMG with whom the representatives of the various organizations worked closely.[16] Glavin kept Donovan appraised of all efforts to cooperate with Allied occupation agencies in the use of partisan resistance groups. This cooperative stance assured the OSS a place at any diplomatic or military discussion regarding the future of partisan support in Italy.

OSS officers and agents worked assiduously to remove themselves from the political infighting among the partisans. While not afraid to utilize radical political elements among the populace for OSS operations, the agency itself never publically favored one group to the exclusion of others, instead focusing on each particular group's utility or effectiveness against the Germans. Often, this meant that individual agents had to bury their own political animosity towards a group in order to further war goals. Payments sent to groups only occurred for services rendered and when services halted, payments ceased. Supply drops worked along the same line. Supplies reached groups in equal measure or according to need.[17]

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[16] Glavin to Donovan, "Organization of Resistance Groups," June 22, 1944, Folder 1, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, attached meeting notes.

[17] Theater Officer Pouch Review, "Relations with Austrian Group Rome," September 25, 1944, Folder 1, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP; While the exact distribution of supply among partisan is beyond the scope of this paper, the OSS and Allies made a conscious effort to supply partisans along practical needs and for the most part without regard to political leanings. For further information see: Operations Research Office, The Johns Hopkins University, "Allied Supplies for Italian Partisans during World War II," under contract with the Department of the Army, March 1954, Folder 1481, Box 742, Entry 190, RG 226, NARA-CP, 39-50; Peter Tompkins, "The OSS and Italian Partisans in World War II: Intelligence and Operational Support for the Anti-Nazi Resistance," https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/csi-publications/csi-studies/studies/spring98/OSS.html, (last accessed February 20, 2017); Joseph F. Jakub III, *Spies and Saboteurs: Anglo American Collaboration and Rivalry in Human Intelligence Collection and Special Operations, 1940-1945* (New York, NY: Springer, 1999), 71-139; Salvatore J. LaGumina, *The Office of Strategic Services and Italian Americans: The Untold History* (New York: Springer, 2016), 127-135.

OSS agents and branches made every effort to avoid the slightest implication of political support, due to possible post-war repercussions. The OSS relied on the State Department and other government agencies to shape US foreign policy and international relations. Partisans often felt, or incorrectly assumed, that the OSS officially represented the American government. They tended to view OSS material support as tantamount to political and moral support. Often, agents had to disabuse partisans of this notion, sometimes leading to momentary partisan disillusionment with the Allied cause.[18]

An example from January 1944 illustrated the delicate situation OSS men often found themselves. Italian Prime Minister, former Marshal, Pietro Badoglio expressed a desire to meet with Donovan during talks with OSS men Donald C. McKay and Hugh S. Gary on January 21, 1944. He spoke candidly to the two OSS officers whom he held in strictest confidence. He held no great opinion of the political leaders then active in southern Italy and predicted that once Rome fell, all the party leaders of influence and ability would come out of hiding. He expressed his concerns about Italian Communism and the frailties of the Italian state.[19]

When asked by the men what role Italy would occupy in the post-war world, Badoglio pleaded for post-war US intervention in Italy and Europe. He feared that Britain wanted a weak Italy and Russia would dominate continental Europe. Italy would also need much in the way of aid to reconstruct her infrastructure as the country had little in the way of natural resources. Badoglio suggested a commercial treaty with the US which would greatly assist Italy. He made these suggestions to the OSS officers who had no capability to promise to resolve or execute such requests. His eventual

[18] Theater Officer Pouch Review, "Relations with Austrian Group Rome," September 25, 1944, Folder 1, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[19] Donald C. McKay and Hugh S. Gary to General William J. Donovan, "Conversation with Marshal Badoglio," January 21, 1944, Folder 2, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

disappointment over the OSS' inability to affect US foreign policy meant that Italian resources, however meagre, often remained outside of OSS hands by his order. [20]

Partisans often felt emboldened as they received Allied support in the form of arms and training. Fifteenth Army Group wanted to ensure that partisans worked in conjunction with, and not separately from, military plans. OSS leadership helped mitigate the frequency with which partisans took matters into their own hands. Ready and willing to fight, partisans often engaged in skirmishes against German forces or participated in sabotage operations against transportation targets. The OSS certainly did not begin the partisan movement in Italy, but sought to enhance its capabilities while focusing its forces in pursuit of Allied war objectives. At times, partisan political objectives hindered OSS progress, but more often than not, political rallying cries served to increase the ranks of the partisan bands, lending strength to the Allied cause. OSS men along with their recruited agents, partisan forces, and leaders gained a deep appreciation for each other during the weeks, months, and years that they served together fighting against a common enemy.

The chief northern Italian partisan group, the CLNAI (Comitato di Liberazione Alta Italia, National Liberation Committee for Northern Italy), sent three representatives to AFHQ near Caserta in late November 1944.[21] They wanted to obtain official recognition as *the* unified freedom movement in northern Italy. The OSS had provided financial aid to the movement for the last several months, and now the CLNAI sought acceptance from Allied military authorities. They also sought recognition from the Bonomi government led by the liberal Socialist Ivanoe Bonomi who had replaced Badoglio on June 9 as Prime Minister. The resulting agreement saw them recognized as the paramount partisan authority in northern Italy for military operations. Further, AFHQ agreed to provide one hundred and sixty million

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[20] Donald C. McKay and Hugh S. Gary to General William J. Donovan, "Conversation with Marshal Badoglio," January 21, 1944, Folder 2, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[21] The Comitato di Liberazione (CLN) served as an overarching unified partisan committee which oversaw regions outside of but also including northern Italy. The Comitato di Liberazione Alta Italia, National Liberation Committee for Northern Italy (CLNAI) was the northern Italian branch of the CLN.

lire a month to the organization paid by the Italian Government to two banks in Rome that then passed the money to banks in Milan that issued physical currency to CLNAI.[22]

Not everything went as smoothly with the finances. The CLN chief in Turin, a Mr. Fiorio, signaled to OSS Regiment Headquarters on February 7, 1945, that the agreement had failed to produce results in the Piedmont region. Strict Nazi controls and the lack of Metropolitan lire notes prevented partisans from receiving the funds. An internal OSS meeting held in Rome decided upon revising the directive detailing the financial plan with SACMED, permitting the parachuting of new funds. As a show of faith in the professional capabilities of the OSS, SACMED also directed the OSS and the SOE to establish new procedures around the revised directive. [23]

OSS Chief of Operations in the MEDTO, Major Judson B. Smith, worked with SOE representatives Lieutenant Colonel Bouverie (SOMLO) and Lieutenant Colonel Beevor developing the new procedures. The procedures also passed muster with Captain J. M. Murphy of the Finance and Fiscal Branch, and most importantly, with Suhling of Company "D" who implemented the plan. The OSS managed to scrounge together extra lire from captured stocks in Tripoli. Once the procedures passed internal OSS rigor, AFHQ subsequently approved them on February 18 and called for their implementation in Piedmont.[24]

The OSS also kept tabs on British SOE activities and plans for Italy. The SOE ran political and sabotage groups, a "Special Force" with Fifth Army Headquarters, a liaison staff with General Mason MacFarlane, and other clandestine intelligence groups. These SOE groups ran throughout Italy with their main strength in the north and northeast. They carried out systematic sabotage with their own

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[22] CLN-OSS Conference, November 26, 1944, Folder 48, Box 92, Entry 190, RG 226, NARA-CP; C. Martin Wood, Jr., to Commanding Officer, 2677th Regiment OSS (Provisional), "Operations Report for the Period 5 December 1944 – 5 March 1944," February 28, 1945, Folder 8, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 6-8.

[23] C. Martin Wood, Jr., to Commanding Officer, 2677th Regiment OSS (Provisional), "Operations Report for the Period 5 December 1944 – 5 March 1944," February 28, 1945, Folder 8, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 6-8.

[24] C. Martin Wood, Jr., to Commanding Officer, 2677th Regiment OSS (Provisional), "Operations Report for the Period 5 December 1944 – 5 March 1944," February 28, 1945, Folder 8, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 6-8.

and OSS resources. Special Force and the liaison staff worked in the front lines recruiting and training a small element of Italian volunteers for infiltration behind enemy lines for sabotage activities. British groups, in contrast to OSS practice, worked with an express goal to prevent any extremist political party gaining an upper hand in Italy and often withheld supplies from groups. The OSS had less rigorous standards for with whom they partnered as long as they fought the Germans. However, since the OSS always remained apolitical in their work with Partisans, agents often felt hamstrung by the inability to assist ideological compatriots. The OSS and SOE also collaborated in their liaison with Italian Government bodies and worked with them to find more recruits for operations such as POWs or the San Marco Battalion.[25]

OSS political neutrality came with other inherent difficulties, as well. In November 1944, the British pushed to keep noted anti-fascist Count Carlo Sforza, the symbol of Italian democratic politics, out of the Italian government. R&A monitored British efforts to strive for a "definitely rightist" cabinet headed by Pietro Badoglio or Vittorio Emanuele Orlando with Bonomi as Prime Minister.[26] The political Center and Left awaited any American or British announcement of who they backed politically, and Partisans often pressured OSS field agents to declare their support for whatever political position the Partisans held.[27]

Despite the cozy working relationship between CLN/CLNAI and the OSS, the Combined Chiefs of Staff expressed concerns over Partisan cooperation to British Field Marshal Harold Alexander.[28] British General, later Field Marshal, Henry Maitland Wilson, as Supreme Allied Commander Mediterranean,

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[25] Col. W. A. Eddy and Lt. Col. A. D. Dodds-Parker to Assistant Chief of Staff, G-3, A.F.H.Q., "OSS/SOE Resources for Operations in Italy September – December 1943," September 18, 1943, Folder 3, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[26] After the Italian surrender in September 1943, Marshal Pietro Badolgio took over as Prime Minister after Mussolini's ouster. He remained in that position for roughly nine months until June 1944 and the fall of Rome, when anti-Fascist Ivanoe Bonomi replaced him as Prime Minister. Vittorio Orlando was Prime Minister in the final years of World War I and represented Italy during the Treaty of Versailles negotiations.

[27] Hughes and Mangano to Langer, Kent, and Stebbins, Cable #16514, November 28, 1944, Folder 3, Box 1, Entry 6, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[28] CLNAI was the northern Italian affiliate of the national CLN.

signed the original agreement with the CLN but left the theater in January 1945 for Washington D.C. Alexander succeeded him as Supreme Commander at AFHQ. [29]

Alexander was much more concerned about the CLN and readied his headquarters to denounce and disown the CLN. The Combined Chiefs feared that the CLN, if granted too much assistance, would legitimately threaten the Allied recognized government in Rome. He did not trust the partisans and feared any change of government in Rome could weaken the Allied hold on the Italian political scene which continued to roil with constant infighting among conservatives, liberalists, monarchists, republicans, and communists. SACMED directed all commands to prepare to denounce the CLN on orders from the Combined Chiefs. Despite official fears, the OSS continued to work well with the CLN who highly regarded the OSS and saw them as their lifeline to the Allies. The OSS ran the only CLNAI radio links in operation around Milan and Turin.[30]

CLNAI demonstrated their cooperation with the OSS by turning over three enemy agents and their transmitting equipment to X-2 in early 1945. The OSS had requested from the counter-intelligence chief of CLNAI that CLNAI collaborate exclusively with X-2 and hand them all counter-intelligence material and personnel on hand. Whether it complied with the OSS request completely faithfully is difficult to determine; however, they did turn over their two greatest prizes to X-2, Count von Thun and Max Knipping.[31] The French later executed Knipping in 1947 for acting as delegate general of policing for the French militia in the northern zone of Vichy France.[32]

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[29] C. Martin Wood, Jr., to Commanding Officer, 2677th Regiment OSS (Provisional), "Operations Report for the Period 5 December 1944 – 5 March 1944," February 28, 1945, Folder 8, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 6-8.

[30] C. Martin Wood, Jr., to Commanding Officer, 2677th Regiment OSS (Provisional), "Operations Report for the Period 5 December 1944 – 5 March 1944," February 28, 1945, Folder 8, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 6-8.

[31] Chief, SI to The Director, OSS, "Italian SI Achievements in the Last Phase of the Italian Campaign," June 18, 1945, Folder 3, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[32] Article on J. Delarue as found in Association CD-ROM/Résistance/Ile-de-France, and Emmanuel Debono. La Résistance en Ile-de-France. Paris: Association pour des études sur la résistance Intérieure (AERI), 2004. (original in French)

SI Developments in Italy

SI worked on infiltrating new teams made up of Italian recruits into northeastern Italy during the beginning of 1944. PLUM consisted of two Italians landed by submarine at their designated location in the Istria-Trieste region on January 30. However, after an initial successful radio contact on March 10, Yugoslav Partisans took them into custody. After two more months of no contact, OSS Liaison officers discovered that the Yugoslavian Partisans had captured the pair as the leader of the Yugoslavian Communist Partisans, Tito, had not cleared them specifically to work undercover in his area. OSS attempted to negotiate their release with Tito's Partisans but despite several cables, no word ever came regarding the team's release. Tito and his partisans would remain a thorn in the OSS' side in northeast Italy.[33]

Despite issues in Italy in early 1944, Scamporino reported to OSS Washington in August 1944 that things now "looked rosy" for SI Italy. Major Ricca, Scamporino's Deputy, spoke with him declaring that the "situation is now perfect." Ricca felt SI Italy had finally found its "proper place" with reference to the rest of the organization and continued to make new and important contacts in the field throughout the fall of 1944. SI organized supply drop efficiency continued to improve as well. The air crew in charge of supply mission RAISIN 6 in northern Italy executed a perfect supply drop to Partisans on the night of July 17-18. All supplies from the planes reached the Partisans without loss. Scamporino wanted the crew commended for their effort as the day after the drop, roughly one thousand German troops attacked the Partisans but suffered defeat, leaving approximately two hundred Germans killed in action.[34] The extra supplies had prevented the Partisans from being overwhelmed.

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[33] Theater Officer Pouch Review, "Italian SI Personnel Held by Tito," August 19, 1944, Folder 1, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[34] Theater Officer Pouch Review, "Successful Drop in Northern Italy," August 19, 1944, Folder 1, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

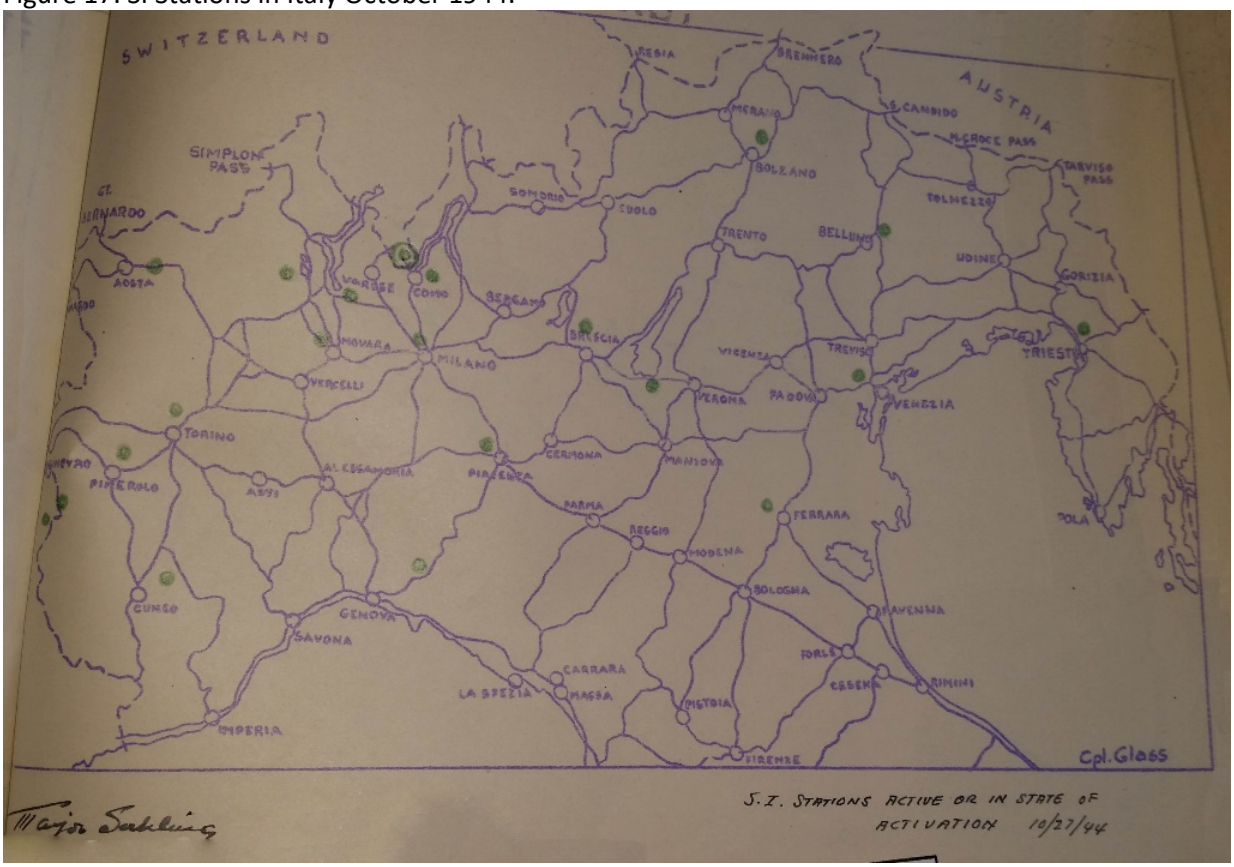
Figure 15. An unidentified Italian partisan in Florence, August 14, 1944.[35]

Figure 16. Italian partisans scramble to recover air-dropped supplies, April-May 1945.[36]

[35] IWM Collections (TR 2282): An Italian Partisan in Florence, August 14, 1944.

[36] IWM Collections (NA 25391): British Aid To Partisans In Northern Italy, April - May 1945, April-May 1945. This image, while taken during an SOE drop to northern Italian Partisans, represents a typical supply drop scenario such as those performed by the OSS.

Figure 17. SI Stations in Italy October 1944.[37]



During August 1944, the OSS counted fifty-four agent chains reporting on Italian intelligence. Twenty-eight belonged to SO and twenty-six to SI, of which Corsica, and Bern, Switzerland, each had six. The OSS established seven new chains during the first half of August 1944.[38] Additionally, new OSS reinforcements trickled in from training schools in the US throughout the fall. Eight officers and sixteen enlisted men for SO arrived in the latter part of August. A further fourteen SO men shipped out in September from Washington, D.C. to the theater. Five officers and fifty enlisted men awaited approval from the theater command to join the OGs operating out of Corsica.[39] By December 1944, SO had

[37] Major Suhling, "S.I. Stations Active or in State of Activation," October 27, 1944, Folder 39, Box 93, Entry 190, RG 226, NARA-CP, NND 877190.

[38] Theater Officer Pouch Review, "Italian Chains," September 7, 1944, Folder 1, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[39] Col. W. A. Eddy and Lt. Col. A. D. Dodds-Parker to Assistant Chief of Staff, G-3, A.F.H.Q., "OSS/SOE Resources for Operations in Italy September – December 1943," September 18, 1943, Folder 3, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 3.

eighteen radio teams in northern Italy, one team with a radio in southern Germany, three officers and an enlisted man with the Dawes Mission in Czechoslovakia as well as an Air Crew Rescue Unit in Yugoslavia. SO members not in the field remained in command, staff, and operational assignments within the OSS throughout the theater.[40]

August 1944 also saw four new SI teams successfully infiltrated into northern Italy while four others prepared to leave. Seven teams reported regularly to the Brindisi base on orders of battle, military plans, Partisan strength, and political conditions behind the lines. The teams organized eight supply drops during the summer to resistance groups totaling 52,218 pounds. Progress came despite the transfer of some personnel to OSS London to assist with operations in France after the D-Day landings.[41]

Bad weather caused several delays and setbacks in the fall of 1944. Three attempts to place missions into northeastern Italy failed, and weather prevented all supply drops. Complicating matters, SI still had to obtain permission from Tito before introducing new missions into northeastern Italy, despite the mission area not covering Yugoslavia.[42] SI did receive some good news. In north central Italy, SI successfully infiltrated a mission into Piedmont, bolstering OSS members already present on the ground. Also, twelve agents received parachute training at the British school at San Vito demonstrating good, or at least effective, cooperation between the OSS and its British counterparts. SI also managed to establish direct radio communication between OSS bases at Brindisi and Siena after the moves of the previous months.[43]

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[40] Maj. Judson B. Smith to Commanding Officer, 2677th Regiment OSS (Provisional), "S. O. Branch – Report of Progress 5 December 1944 – 5 March 1945," March 5, 1945, Folder 8, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[41] Maj. R. Stuart Hughes to Langer, May 26, 1944, Folder 1, Box 1, Entry 6, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[42] Theater Officer Pouch Review, "Date Team Escapes Chetniks," August 18, 1944, Folder 1, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[43] S. E. Dugan to Operations Officer, 2677th Regiment OSS (Provisional), "Report Schools and Training Branch, 1 December 1944 to 1 March 1945," March 3, 1945, Folder 8, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1-4.

SI activated a total of twenty-four clandestine stations throughout northern Italy in the final phase of the Italian campaign in 1945 thanks to the work of Brennan, Scamporino, Ricca, Corvo, and others. These stations transmitted an average of 125,000 cipher groups per month of which ninety-five percent contained intelligence traffic.[44] Italian SI set up and provided the only direct communication link between CLNAI, AFHQ, and Fifteenth Army Group. SI had recruited, trained, briefed, and parachuted the team into occupied Italy much earlier in February 1944, and it continued to function through the rest of 1944. SACMED and the commanding general of Fifteenth Army Group used this link for transmitting all military directives to the northern Partisan groups. A SI section made up the intelligence staff of CLNAI and directed its intelligence activities. When the OSS Fifteenth Army Group Detachment's Chief of the Intelligence Service parachuted into Italy in February 1945, SI gained complete control of all CLNAI intelligence activities.[45]

Company "D" Expands

In the last quarter of 1944, SO at Company "D" under Major Smith focused on Italian operations operating out of Florence. Assistant Chief of Operations, Lieutenant Colonel C. Martin Wood, Jr., preferred a hands-off approach, providing Suhling and Smith at Company "D" with little interference. Both Suhling and Smith proved extremely capable officers ably directed by Colonel Riepe, G-3, Special Operations, Fifteenth Army Group. While hands-off in terms of specific orders, the Majors still received general OSS aid for their operations. The primary form of support manifested itself as air-lifts to operational zones and the procurement of personnel for Company "D." However, personnel remained limited due to the constant lack of officers and agents with appropriate language skills. For all its expansion, the OSS still struggled to fill its ranks with qualified personnel. OSS administrative maturity

[44] Chief, SI to The Director, OSS, "Italian SI Achievements in the Last Phase of the Italian Campaign," June 18, 1945, Folder 3, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[45] William J. Donovan, Memorandum of Information to the U. S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, "OSS Special Operations in Italy," July 19, 1945, Folder 3, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

and professionalism displayed itself not in micromanaging the execution of orders, but in skillfully allowing leaders to command while providing the necessary support to enable successful operations.[46]

The largest issue plaguing OSS operations remained finding qualified translators for operations, especially near the front for 2677th Regiment Company "D" in 1945 in northern Italy. Despite the limitations in personnel, the SO Branch worked at implementing plans to train, brief, equip, dispatch, and direct small teams of American officers and enlisted men for liaison missions to the Partisans in northern Italy. In the rear area, SO representatives worked overtime screening all available personnel. Those SO deemed qualified they sent forward to Company "D" where Captain Suhling organized new SO teams of 5-8 men each.[47]

Despite the lack of available officers, sufficient civilian secretarial help at Regimental HQ enabled all enlisted men to transfer to Company "D" to boost capability. For a time, Smith operated as SO Chief and Operations Officer while Suhling handled logistical issues. Company "D" also presided over the use of Partisans in the front lines. Smith initially instituted a new operational plan while in Florence at the end of October 1944. Beginning in October, the number of front-line Partisans grew to "very sizeable proportions." The increased number allowed for larger and more daring operations seeking to increase the level of interdiction aimed at German rear areas. The Partisans and OSS teams would later receive commendations for their work with the American Fifth Army. Lieutenant Colonel Lazar, G-3, Fifth Army, came around on Partisans and began viewing Partisan assistance as indispensable. He

[46] C. Martin Wood, Jr., to Commanding Officer, 2677th Regiment OSS (Provisional), "Operations Report for the Period 5 December 1944 – 5 March 1944," February 28, 1945, Folder 8, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 6-8.

[47] Maj. Judson B. Smith to Commanding Officer, 2677th Regiment OSS (Provisional), "S. O. Branch – Report of Progress 5 December 1944 – 5 March 1945," March 5, 1945, Folder 8, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

quickly requested further aid to the Partisans in December 1944. Acting on these orders, the OSS forwarded a further one thousand rations per day along with their other supplies to the Partisans.[48]

Costal Operations involving the OSS Maritime Branch

As Italian operations proceeded in 1944, Lieutenant Richard Kelly investigated what available naval resources existed for MU. In June, he recommended to Glavin, who agreed, that the OSS keep the Italian San Marco Battalion (SMB) of naval specialists in operation. Miscommunication regarding the nature of Kelly's recommendation of the SMB led to a mistaken belief in the capabilities of the SMB. Chief of the MU in MEDTO, Lieutenant William H. Pendleton, USNR, noted his surprise that the SMB were "not the underwater group [of] which we all had heard." Further research by R&A and Naval Intelligence showed that the strengths of the SMB lied in approaching target locations via water and attacking targets such as storage dumps, railways, and harbor installations.[49]

AAI did not want any harbors unnecessarily damaged, so instead, MU and SMB chose a railway line, accessible from the sea, which they destroyed during June. MU planned three operations for the SMB for May and June, but the refusal of British naval Commander Green for the use of transportation facilities out of Bari prevented the other two operations from occurring. The US Air Force and AAI wanted the group to continue MU's clandestine infiltration along the Eastern Italian coast to attack the main German supply route. The SMB interdicted German coastal shipping and coordinated follow-up attacks with the British Desert Air Force (DAF). However, enemy shipping remained negligible around

[48] C. Martin Wood, Jr., to Commanding Officer, 2677th Regiment OSS (Provisional), "Operations Report for the Period 5 December 1944 – 5 March 1944," February 28, 1945, Folder 8, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 6-8.

[49] Lieutenant William H. Pendleton, USNR, Chief, MU (NATO) to Chief, MU, Washington, June 28, 1944, Folder 83, Box 5, Entry 143.

Italy. Eventually, the group ended up in Ancona where it could make use of the fast surface craft of the Royal Navy. [50]

The MU Branch found itself quickly running out of things to do in the summer of 1944. Virtually no enemy shipping existed in the Mediterranean, and very little enemy shipping of consequence existed along the coasts. The trained underwater saboteurs of the San Marco Battalion remained inactive for months. [51] However, despite a new location in Ancona and the availability of British naval craft, Badoglio's government forbade the use of San Marco men in Italian waters. Meanwhile, the American fast surface craft remained in New York due to the lack of available space on Liberty supply transport ships. MU and the US Navy still awaited fulfillment of their first request in May for ten rubber landing boats which never made it into the theater.[52] The lack of fast boats in the theater prevented MU from carrying out ferrying operations with agents and material.

A general lack of resources and available personnel did not stunt the imagination of OSS leaders. They concocted ever more complex operational plans requiring inventive infiltration schemes. Sometimes these plans involved not only physical danger to the agents, but waded into treacherous political waters. Glavin visited the Algiers office in September 1944 to pitch his idea of forming an OSS team to infiltrate into Eastern and Central Europe up the Danube River in speedboats. He wanted to use excess craft and MU personnel for his scheme to increase SI coverage up the river. An MU officer thought better of the idea and suggested to Glavin that MU officer personnel would be better served being transferred to SEAC as their utility in the MEDTO had diminished with the advance of the Allied

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[50] Lieutenant William H. Pendleton, USNR, Chief, MU (NATO) to Chief, MU, Washington, June 28, 1944, Folder 83, Box 5, Entry 143.

[51] Theater Officer Pouch Review, "MU, NATO," July 6, 1944, Folder 2, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP

[52] Theater Officer Pouch Review, "San Marco Battalion," July 24, 1944, Folder 2, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

Armies. Glavin never did succeed in his politically dangerous attempts to expand OSS operations along the Russian sphere of influence in Southeast Europe.[53]

MU at Ancona conducted three innovative infiltration operations during September to November 1944 in waters deemed too dangerous by higher authorities. Underwater mines and other hazards had prevented operations previously, but MU used shallow draft boats to successfully overcome the dangers of the mines.[54] Despite being denied the use of Italian craft and men, MU managed to move forward and solve a key problem with available resources. Constant innovation in the field displayed a high level of creativeness and resourcefulness on the part of OSS teams and branches looking to make an impact with scarce resources.

MU continued to experience a period of operational difficulty during early 1945. During the period of December 1944 to March 1945, MU received information on the successful completion of only four operations. They had managed to infiltrate two teams and ten separate agents, and delivered three tons of supplies to various Partisan groups, while dealing with consistently poor weather conditions and heavy enemy resistance. Further adding to their woes, MU headquarters often received delayed or incomplete information on the success or failure of operations. Reports sometimes failed to come in for weeks, even months. Also, the lack of necessary equipment such as suitable craft to undertake infiltration operations stunted MU operational options. To alleviate some of their equipment and personnel problems, MU headquarters assigned Ensign Kelly O'Neall to investigate the feasibility of using special Italian maritime equipment and personnel from the Mezzi d'Assalto Group (MAG) of the Italian Navy.[55] The special forces of the Italian Navy had a reputation as one of the elite forces within

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[53] Theater Officer Pouch Review, "New MU Speedboats Need for Danube?," September 20, 1944, Folder 1, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[54] C. Martin Wood, Jr., to Commanding Officer, 2677th Regiment OSS (Provisional), "Operations Report for the Period 5 December 1944 – 5 March 1944," February 28, 1945, Folder 8, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 18.

[55] Lt. William H. Pendleton, "Maritime Unit Report of Activities Since 5 Dec 1944," March 2, 1945, Folder 8, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

the Italian military with valuable assets and technical expertise as demonstrated by the San Marco Battalion.

This request marked a point where the OSS more generally took a direct interest in the work of Italian naval specialists. During Donovan's visit to 2677th Headquarters on January 7, 1945, he issued a verbal directive to the Chief of Operations, who passed it down to MU, directing him to investigate the possible recruitment of Italian specialists from MAG for OSS operations in the Far East. The OSS needed swimmers and technicians who had worked on secret projects involving marine weapons such as explosive motor boats and one man submersibles. O'Neall's investigation turned up thirty personnel immediately available for instruction purposes to the OSS. A rather large amount of available equipment came as an unexpected boon to OSS efforts. Donovan praised O'Neall's investigation and urged other branches to watch for such opportunities as MU found. However, with Italy not at war with Japan, MAG personnel could not be transferred for participation in hostile activities in Southeast Asian Command (SEAC). Subsequently, the equipment and personnel languished in the Mediterranean as the front had advanced too far north for MU infiltration techniques to be effective.[56]

At the same time as these investigations and operations, OSS Washington planned to liquidate MU MEDTO due to the reduced need for seaborne infiltration and support. The OSS now found itself dealing with new personnel issues concerning the possible evaluation and transfer of personnel to other theaters such as SEAC. MU MEDTO advised MU Washington that a mass transfer of personnel for general duty in SEAC would "undoubtedly result in a lowering of morale and cause disciplinary problems."[57] A lack of available MU officers possibly exacerbated the issue.

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[56] C. Martin Wood, Jr., to Commanding Officer, 2677th Regiment OSS (Provisional), "Operations Report for the Period 5 December 1944 – 5 March 1945," February 28, 1945, Folder 8, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 8-9.

[57] Lt. William H. Pendleton, "Maritime Unit Report of Activities Since 5 Dec 1944," March 2, 1945, Folder 8, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

Supplying the Partisans

The OSS demonstrated some of its greatest administrative and professional feats in its effort to supply the Partisans of northern Italy. Not only did it require specialized skills unique to the OSS, but also required administrative flexibility and competent personnel working independently under a centralized directive. As of August 1944, the OSS maintained Partisan groups in seven different areas within northern Italy – Piedmont, Lombardy, Veneto, Liguria, Emilia, Toscana, and Marche – each further sub-divided into numerous zones. The numerical strength of the Partisan groups in each zone varied from less than one hundred to over eight thousand with an average of approximately one thousand. At the time, almost half of the zones reported a healthy supply of arms.[58]

The OSS and SOE worked simultaneously to supply the Partisans in northern Italy. Both organizations provided air drops of various arms and supplies. They often fought over the use of the same aircraft due to limited availability. When supply drops dried up due to weather or other circumstances, the Partisans took supply matters into their own hands by raiding arms factories and armories or capturing what they could from German patrols. Often, former Italian army soldiers bolstered Partisan ranks, which considerably improved their strength and organization. When supplied, sabotage and airmen rescue efforts constituted the bulk of northern Italian Partisan activities. These activities often led to small engagements against German and Fascist anti-Partisan patrols.[59]

AFHQ wanted to exert a greater control over the Partisans through the OSS while planning for their eventual disarmament and avoiding worst case scenarios. AFHQ directed that military equipment be dropped only in limited quantities to select and proven Partisan groups. The change in policy caused SO Operational Supply Officer Lawrence no end of difficulties with his long-range supply phasing. Furthermore, he continued to work on the future supply program for Austria before its presentation to

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[58] Cpt. W. B. Kantack to General Donovan, "Italian Patriot Activities," August 4, 1944, Folder 3, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[59] Cpt. W. B. Kantack to General Donovan, "Italian Patriot Activities," August 4, 1944, Folder 3, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

AFHQ. To add insult to injury, AFHQ eventually denied the Austrian supply program after plans had already been drawn up. [60]

The supply of Partisans in northern Italy reached an all-time low in the month of October 1944. In response, the OSS and Allied Air Corps instituted an ill-fated "mass drop" program in November. Partisans received only ninety-seven out of three hundred and twenty-three tons of air-dropped supplies in usable condition out of an estimated five hundred and fifty tons needed to maintain current levels of combat effectiveness. One report described this "meager supply" as accomplishing "nothing but the… eventual ruin of the Partisan movement in northern Italy." [61] OSS supply officers complained that supply deliveries to northern Italy failed to meet the commitments made by the Army Air Force. Complaints regarding a dearth of supplies fell on deaf ears, especially as Allied forces in northwestern Europe and Italy often ground to a halt due to a lack of supplies.

In response, the OSS retooled Partisan supply plans to utilize more forward air bases which presented a number of advantages. Supply planes had flown out of Brindisi and other airfields from the Italian "heel," often encountering great difficulties during their flights north. Weather caused the greatest troubles as there were three distinct weather "belts" on the approximately five hundred mile flight. Due to this, the OSS worked with the Allied Tactical Air Force (ATAF) to have them take over as much of the north Italy supply commitment as possible. ATAF, flying from bases in the more northern Leghorn-Florence area, could make rapid runs to pinpoints and avoid most weather hazards. The short duration of the flights also facilitated answering calls from the field much more promptly than was previously possible. Results quickly followed the change. In the month of February, Partisans in northern Italy received approximately eight hundred tons of supplies, an over seven hundred percent

[60] C. Martin Wood, Jr., to Commanding Officer, 2677th Regiment OSS (Provisional), "Operations Report for the Period 5 December 1944 – 5 March 1944," February 28, 1945, Folder 8, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 15.

[61] C. Martin Wood, Jr., to Commanding Officer, 2677th Regiment OSS (Provisional), "Operations Report for the Period 5 December 1944 – 5 March 1945," February 28, 1945, Folder 8, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 13.

increase in supply. It marked the first time in the campaign when the Partisan movement had been adequately supplied. [62]

OSS Air Resupply Detachment (ARD) suffered constantly from a lack of planes and equipment and an overwhelming number of requests. The ARD struggled to deal with a backlog of materiel and personnel drop requests for resistance groups that were often in "a desperate plight." In August 1944, MO Italy requested an audacious plan to drop over a hundred pounds of MO literature to Italian and French resistance groups near the Swiss border for infiltration into Switzerland and Germany. The Swiss Desk, while willing to discuss such an operation, curtly replied that they could not begin any new projects until those already undertaken successfully got underway. In no way did the severe lack of transport and desperate need for every ounce of tonnage to go to the Partisans allow for such plans.[63]

Due to unfavorable weather conditions and difficulties on the ground, the ARD underwent a slow period during the winter of 1944. Lack of good flying weather often complicated attempts to establish successful pinpoints for supplying Partisans. German anti-Partisan sweeps also interrupted active pinpoints in northern Italy, diminishing the capabilities and operational zones of the OSS-led Partisan groups. This slow period saw the ARD cut to one officer and nine enlisted men. Despite these issues, once conditions proved favorable for flight in February, the ARD dispatched three hundred and sixty tons of supplies from Brindisi in the last major supply operation from that base.[64]

The ARD moved closer to the front along with the Fifteenth Bomb Group from Brindisi to Rosignano in April 1945. Air operations saw several difficulties as well as innovative solutions during this period. Coordinating the Italian operations of 2677th Regiment Company "D" under Fifteenth Army

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[62] C. Martin Wood, Jr., to Commanding Officer, 2677th Regiment OSS (Provisional), "Operations Report for the Period 5 December 1944 – 5 March 1945," February 28, 1945, Folder 8, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 13.

[63] Theater Officer Pouch Review, "Distribution for MO Italy," September 1, 1944, Folder 2, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[64] C. Martin Wood, Jr., to Commanding Officer, 2677th Regiment OSS (Provisional), "Operations Report for the Period 5 December 1944 – 5 March 1944," February 28, 1945, Folder 8, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 13-15.

Group with the non-Italian operations of 2677th Regiment Company "C" under AFHQ proved especially difficult. Throughout the spring, the ARD developed no definitive plan to address the various complications, while other OSS branches worked to solve air-lift problems. The Operations Chief of OSS Italy eventually went from Florence to Rosignano to work out a practical plan for accomplishing the Detachment's objectives.[65]

In the interim, the OSS flew successful missions from Rosignano with planes from Brindisi that refueled, loaded, and then proceeded to targets in northern Italy and Central Europe. One of these missions, codenamed DONIPHAN, successfully supplied the only OSS team in Germany on the night of February 16/17. The aircraft managed to evade heavy anti-aircraft fire and numerous weather hazards. Even with a lack of direct communications with the field team, they returned with only two damaged aircraft. The result of these shifts in air-lift operations led to an improvement in the supply situation for the northern Italian Partisan groups. The tonnage air-lifted now met AFHQ directives and facilitated the introduction of OSS plans for personnel drops into Austria.[66]

The OSS Operational Supply Branch (OSB) under the 2677th Regiment achieved many successes despite also encountering incredible difficulties during the period of December to March 1945.[67] Lawrence had to navigate confusing supply schedules and shifting directives from AFHQ and Fifteenth Army Group. AFHQ changed several directives regarding the supply of Italian Partisans which involved a shift towards qualitative rather than quantitative supply. Rather than provide an abundance of war materiel, AFHQ focused on food, clothing, and non-warlike supplies, decreasing the supply of military

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[65] "Report of Activities of the Air Re-Supply Det., 2677th Regt., for the period of 1 December 1944 to 28 February 1945," to Operations Officer, 2677th Regt., March 4, 1945, Folder 8, Box 41, Entry 99; C. Martin Wood, Jr., to Commanding Officer, 2677th Regiment OSS (Provisional), "Operations Report for the Period 5 December 1944 – 5 March 1944," February 28, 1945, Folder 8, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 13-15.

[66] "Report of Activities of the Air Re-Supply Det., 2677th Regt., for the period of 1 December 1944 to 28 February 1945," to Operations Officer, 2677th Regt., March 4, 1945, Folder 8, Box 41, Entry 99; C. Martin Wood, Jr., to Commanding Officer, 2677th Regiment OSS (Provisional), "Operations Report for the Period 5 December 1944 – 5 March 1944," February 28, 1945, Folder 8, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 5, 10.

[67] Due to the enormous difficulties in obtaining supplies for its own organization, much less the partisans, the OSS created the Operational Supply Branch, headquartered in Washington, D.C., to handle the vast logistical efforts of the OSS.

equipment. Again, the fear of creating an armed populace that might prove difficult to disarm or foment post-war revolutions stayed the hand of Allied leadership from writing Partisans a blank supply check.[68]

Scarce transportation and a reliance on OSS supply depots rather than theater depots further complicated the procurement of supplies. For northwestern Italy, neither OSS ETO nor Sixth Army Group, fighting in southern France, could make available sufficient supplies. Sixth Army Group stated in January 1945 that to supply the OSS with the totality of needed tonnage, the army group would have to take from frontline American soldiers. The OSS then turned to SHAEF in Paris for the needed supplies with the hope that SHAEF could forward supplies in France to Annecy from Lyon or other locations. Such a route would forego the more unreliable and uneconomical air-lifts or sea transports. However, SHAEF denied the request, and the OSS had to stretch its own Italian supply sources and air-lift capabilities.[69]

Under the conditions, the Operational Supply Branch (OSB) performed a minor miracle in establishing the Cecina packing station in approximately eighteen days in December 1944 into January 1945 for use by the Fifteenth Bomb Group. The Cecina packing station packed and dispatched its first operation to partisans on January 9, 1945, with eighteen planes successfully loaded. The station packed four hundred and forty tons in February while not even running at full capacity. The extreme efficiency demonstrated at Cecina was due to Lawrence and other OSB officers and agents.

The administrative capability of the OSS had improved dramatically since the earlier days of supplying partisans with left-over materiel from Sardinia, Corsica, and the coasts of North Africa. Lawrence and his station shipped approximately five thousand tons from Monopoli to Cecina and

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[68] Gifford Proctor to Col. Glavin, "Clandestine Transportation," January 12, 1944, Folder 199, Box 101, Entry 190; C. Martin Wood, Jr., to Commanding Officer, 2677th Regiment OSS (Provisional), "Operations Report for the Period 5 December 1944 – 5 March 1944," February 28, 1945, Folder 8, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 2-3.

[69] C. Martin Wood, Jr., to Commanding Officer, 2677th Regiment OSS (Provisional), "Operations Report for the Period 5 December 1944 – 5 March 1944," February 28, 1945, Folder 8, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 13.

accomplished the task with a reduced staff due to OSS personnel cuts and drawback. Only two officers and thirteen enlisted men staffed the Monopoli base into 1945.[70] OSB officers and men demonstrated great individual initiative in accomplishing the difficult tasks set before them. OSB also demonstrated the ability of OSS branches to accomplish complex administrative tasks in short order. The American Seventh Army sent the OSS a commendation thanking OSB for forwarding supplies to support the front from southern Italy.[71]

An example operation helps illustrate the typical character of OSS partisan supply planning. Delays and transport issues often caused an overloading of objectives into missions. Operation Bond VI, conceived in October 1944 and planned for mid-November, called for the landing of a full load of supplies for the partisans in the area north of Marina di Ravenna. A secondary objective involved handing over a letter from the Eighth Army general to the partisan commander. Additionally, the plan also directed the team to gather intelligence and information. Once infiltrated, one agent team of four people of the San Marco group would act as instructors in the use of equipment, conduct sabotage plans approved by Eighth Army, and continue directing the intelligence efforts of OSS Radio Bionda. The multi-part plan also included one Italian speaking British officer to act as Allied representative and liaison officer with the partisans north of Marina di Ravina.[72]

A tertiary goal of the plan included two exfiltrations, one German prisoner captured by the partisans and one US Army flyer. Team supplies also included MO propaganda to hand over to partisans for distribution. The almost over-encumbered operation remained in a holding period for several days awaiting the end of the full moon and unfavorable weather. The OSS made one attempt to run the

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[70] C. Martin Wood, Jr., to Commanding Officer, 2677th Regiment OSS (Provisional), "Operations Report for the Period 5 December 1944 – 5 March 1944," February 28, 1945, Folder 8, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 11.

[71] C. Martin Wood, Jr., to Commanding Officer, 2677th Regiment OSS (Provisional), "Operations Report for the Period 5 December 1944 – 5 March 1944," February 28, 1945, Folder 8, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 10-13.

[72] "Projected Operations For Period 9 Nov. to 25 Nov.," October 30, 1944, Folder 3, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

operation on October 28, but sand blocked the harbor and had to be dredged. Weather uncertainties prevented a definite date given for the operation, which needed the next dark period to launch. The wait did allow for an extra four thousand five hundred pounds of supplies to be added to the operation to provide a full supply load to the partisans. Three other operations suffered similar difficulties in launching during this period, either from the sand blocked harbor or difficult weather. Other plans for operations depended on the successful implementation of prior delayed operations and therefore awaited staging.[73] The multitude of difficulties and delays explained the abundance of mission objectives placed onto a single operation instead of spreading it out over several teams or operations.

Fifth Army Detachment ran daring nightly overland supply operations to infiltrate supplies to partisan groups in desperate need during the winter of 1944. The overland routes supplemented the air drops operating concurrently but which could not provide sufficient supplies for partisan needs. Company "D" with Fifth Army furnished partisan couriers from the front lines with supplies. Agents and radio operators with equipment infiltrated overland as well to Fifth Army SO teams. During the three winter months, Fifth Army Detachment controlled and directed nine SO teams working with partisans.[74] Partisans could conduct operations with the extra supplies and supplement their numbers, increasing their strength and capabilities.

Supply played a preeminent role in OSS successes with partisan groups. SI Italy directed the largest amount to pinpoints, established and designated by SI, approximately sixty percent of the overall supply tonnage allocated to OSS Italy from January to April 1945. SI claimed more than a million pounds of supplies dropped to designated pinpoints in the month of February alone. Within this time, SI had gone from failures and minor operations to leading one of the largest partisan supply operations of the

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[73] "Projected Operations For Period 9 Nov. to 25 Nov.," October 30, 1944, Folder 3, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[74] Maj. Judson B. Smith to Commanding Officer, 2677th Regiment OSS (Provisional), "S. O. Branch – Report of Progress 5 December 1944 – 5 March 1945," March 5, 1945, Folder 8, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 5.

war. This supply played a decisive factor in the final uprising of the northern partisan formations and the liberation of northern Italy in the last month of the war.[75]

To facilitate the supply operations, SI maintained close contact at all times with authorized representatives of the Italian underground movement and its leaders. Agents remained imbedded with groups such as the CLNAI for months at a time directing training, intelligence operations, and formulating plans for harassing the enemy. They always participated at meetings between Allied authorities and partisan representatives to ensure maximum coordination of partisan activities with those of the Allied armies and OSS supply operations. In addition to military activities, SI also directed efforts to keep all Allied agencies and State Department officials informed of the political and economic situation in northern Italy. Such work helped to ease the transition of the partisans into following through with American-directed post-war demobilization.[76]

"F" Detachment

Lieutenant Colonel Wood received direction from Donovan to travel to Paris in November 1944 to set up "F" Detachment at Annemasse, adjacent to the Swiss-Italian border in France. The trip resulted in the dispatch of personnel for "F" Detachment on November 25, 1944. Lieutenant Colonel Baker received command of "F" Detachment with the primary mission to supply the alpine regions of the Piedmont in Italy. The OSS had previously neglected supply operations in the area because of the difficult terrain and bad weather. Due to the neglect, an estimated twenty thousand partisans went without food, arms, ammunition, and appropriate winter clothes. However, the OSS attempted to

[75] Chief, SI to The Director, OSS, "Italian SI Achievements in the Last Phase of the Italian Campaign," June 18, 1945, Folder 3, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 2.

[76] Chief, SI to The Director, OSS, "Italian SI Achievements in the Last Phase of the Italian Campaign," June 18, 1945, Folder 3, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP 1-4.

alleviate the situation through "F" Detachment.[77] The constant need for supplies required that air supply operations continue out of the remote Brindisi base. Utilizing multiple air bases at Monopoli and Cecina to meet the constant demand for supplies added extra complexity to the already difficult operational problems. Additionally, supplying OSS "F" Detachment operating along the French-Italian border proved an extra burden on supplies. The original hope that OSS ETO or regular army channels would supply "F" Detachment proved ephemeral.[78]

"F" Detachment, now headquartered at Annemasse with a main supply base at Annecy deeper in France, set up supply distribution points at Val d'Isere and Guillestre just inside the French border from Italy. From these two points, teams infiltrated fifteen tons of food, clothing, and arms. They found success obtaining intelligence of "great value" from the partisans they supplied. The OSS passed this intelligence on to OSS ETO, the French military, and the theater commanders. "F" Detachment worked with the partisans under extreme winter weather conditions and enemy activity. Further hampering operations and adding to the constant dangers, the Germans had registered a battery of 149mm Italian guns on the only road leading to Val d'Isere and remained very active on the Italian side of the French-Italian border.[79]

Deliveries of supplies to partisans increased over the first months of 1945. The increase occurred despite the severe weather and increased enemy patrols in the Italian Alps. A member of the

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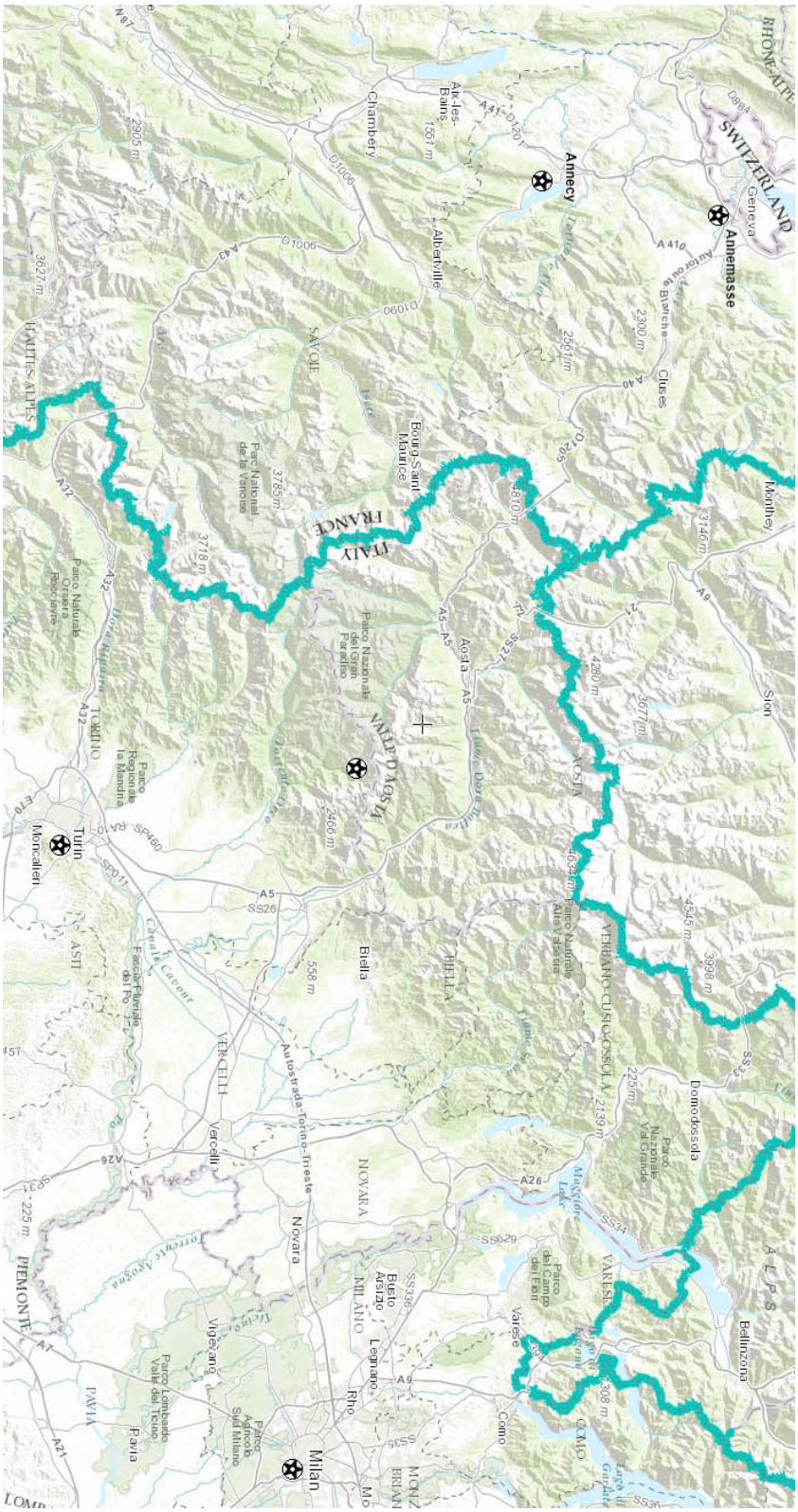
[77] C. Martin Wood, Jr., to Commanding Officer, 2677th Regiment OSS (Provisional), "Operations Report for the Period 5 December 1944 – 5 March 1944," February 28, 1945, Folder 8, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 16-18.

[78] Judson B. Smith to Commanding Officer, 2677th Regiment, "S.O. Branch – Report of Progress 5 December 1944 – 5 March 1945, March 5, 1945, Folder 8, Box 41, Entry 99; C. Martin Wood, Jr., to Commanding Officer, 2677th Regiment OSS (Provisional), "Operations Report for the Period 5 December 1944 – 5 March 1944," February 28, 1945, Folder 8, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 10-13.

[79] Judson B. Smith to Commanding Officer, 2677th Regiment, "S.O. Branch – Report of Progress 5 December 1944 – 5 March 1945, March 5, 1945, Folder 8, Box 41, Entry 99; C. Martin Wood, Jr., to Commanding Officer, 2677th Regiment OSS (Provisional), "Operations Report for the Period 5 December 1944 – 5 March 1944," February 28, 1945, Folder 8, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 12-13.

Figure 18. The Italian-French Border.[80]



[80] Map created by author. https://www.scribblemaps.com/create/

detachment, Lieutenant Jiminez, traveled in January from Val d'Isere into northwest Piedmont and established contact with the leaders of the local partisan bands. Exhibiting great logistical and leadership skill, he ascertained their needs and organized a porterage system for the transport of supplies from France into Italy. His efforts, and the arrangements made during his eighteen day trip, greatly improved the operational procedure of "F" Detachment. While it remained the source of "highly valuable military and political intelligence," it also owed its continued existence to the whims of 2677th Regimental Headquarters. Due to issues in supplying and maintaining personnel with "F" Detachment, regimental headquarters threatened to close down the detachment several times throughout the winter and spring of 1945. The Detachment's saving grace remained its capability to report on developments along the Franco-Italian border.[81]

Partisans reported identifying the German 157th Mountain Division in the area of operations in December after that Division had participated in the German attack on Fifth Army's front earlier in the month.[82] Five other German divisions remained active on the Franco-Italian frontier throughout the winter despite no Allied military presence in opposition. The divisions along the frontier most likely remained in order to suppress resistance created or supplied by "F" Detachment. Unfortunately for Baker and the operation, a French correspondent published an article in a French newspaper detailing "F" Detachment operations and the specific locations and roads used by Italian porters. As a result, the already troublesome German activity vastly increased in scale and accuracy, making "F" Detachment operations almost impossible. [83]

#lat=45.58328975600667&lng=7.03125&z=9&t=terrain (accessed October 27, 2016).

[81] Maj. Judson B. Smith to Commanding Officer, 2677th Regiment OSS (Provisional), "S. O. Branch – Report of Progress 5 December 1944 – 5 March 1945," March 5, 1945, Folder 8, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[82] The German 157th Mountain Division had previously been the 157th Infantry Division until September 1944, and would later be redesignated as the Eighth Mountain Division in February 1945 and operated along the border as part of the Ligurian Corps.

[83] C. Martin Wood, Jr., to Commanding Officer, 2677th Regiment OSS (Provisional), "Operations Report for the Period 5 December 1944 – 5 March 1944," February 28, 1945, Folder 8, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 10-13.

Due to continued difficulties in supplying the Detachment itself and their mission now too dangerous due to the information leak, the OSS decided to gradually phase down the operation as to not arouse any antagonism from Italian partisans. They feared the partisans might view the change as a total withdrawal of Allied support. Before completing the drawdown, Baker discovered an important piece of intelligence he relayed to theater commanders regarding the Franco-Italian border.[84] On February 8, 1945, Baker learned from his Italian intelligence runners that the French aspired and expected to annex Val d'Aosta in Italy once German forces withdrew. No Anglo-American forces could occupy or secure the area, posing a significant political problem. In a fit of hyperbole, OSS analysts rated the situation more dangerous than Greece and the then current situation on the Slovene border in northeastern Italy which also dealt with a similar land grab attempt. AFHQ received the information from the OSS, initiated a staff study, and informed the government in Rome to take appropriate measures. After the war, the Val d'Aosta would receive semi-autonomous status from the government in Rome.[85]

Company "A"

A little further south along the Ligurian coastline, 2671st Company "A" launched operation GINNY II on February 27, 1944. Company "A" ordered GINNY II to demolish a tunnel entrance and road-bed fill on the Spezia-Genoa rail line. Initially unsuccessful due to difficulty in locating the pinpoint, the team attempted another landing on March 22. A landing party, commanded by Lieutenant Vincent J. Russo, reached the mainland and reported by radio that it was "on the target."[86]

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[84] C. Martin Wood, Jr., to A.C. of S., G-3, AFHQ, "Supply of Partisans in Northwest Italy," November 23, 1944, Folder 46, Box 92, Entry 190, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1-4; C. Martin Wood, Jr., to Commanding Officer, 2677th Regiment OSS (Provisional), "Operations Report for the Period 5 December 1944 – 5 March 1944," February 28, 1945, Folder 8, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 12-13.

[85] C. Martin Wood, Jr., to Commanding Officer, 2677th Regiment OSS (Provisional), "Operations Report for the Period 5 December 1944 – 5 March 1944," February 28, 1945, Folder 8, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 14.

[86] History of OSS Operational Groups, "Operations," undated, Folder 6, Box 45, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 17.

The boat party and escort stood by, off the point, according to plan, when they spotted an enemy convoy going north. Simultaneously, all lights on the coast went off. The boats had to move quickly as flares lit up the night and the Germans opened fire. Meanwhile, the boats lost radio contact with the landing party after observing machine-gun fire on shore. Soon the radar reported targets between the ships and shore, and a plane overhead. The escort boat suffered a broken steering mechanism, preventing the boats from retrieving the shore party once the area cleared. The boats retired to base, counting on a pre-planned rendezvous with the shore party the following night. [87]

On the following night, two PT boats returned to the pinpoint. Radar indicated the presence of several large targets at sea, making it impossible for the boats to contact the landing party. Two nights later, they made another attempt. At the pinpoint, those in the boats observed several blinking lights near the landing beach. Unfortunately, as the shore party did not have such signal equipment, they figured that the Germans were laying a trap for them. A photo reconnaissance mission later flown over the area revealed no damage to the tunnel and no trace of the party. [88]

The OSS did not learn the fate of the shore party until April 1945. The Germans captured all fifteen members of the party two days after they had landed. Although the men had been in uniform, the Germans brutally executed them.[89] An investigation in April of the landing site discovered a common grave containing the OG team members. The investigators had been tipped off by a German radio broadcast boasting of wiping out a commando raiding party in March 1944. The American Military Tribunal tried German General Anton Destler and convicted him for ordering the execution of the OG men, sentencing him to death by firing squad. The ruling remains controversial as General Kesselring,

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[87] Edward J. F. Glavin to Deputy Chief of Staff, AFHQ, "OSS Personnel in Algiers," July 28, 1944, Folder 293, Box 33, Entry 165, RG 226, NARA-CP; History of OSS Operational Groups, "Operations," undated, Folder 6, Box 45, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 17.

[88] History of OSS Operational Groups, "Operations," undated, Folder 6, Box 45, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 17.

[89] History of OSS Operational Groups, "Operations," undated, Folder 6, Box 45, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 17.

who faced no punishment over the matter, knew of the capture of the men and at least knew of the execution order and may even have issued it himself.[90]

The result of the various OSS reorganizations of MEDTO saw the creation of several new companies featuring OG sections and a new OSS Regimental Headquarters. Company "A" of the 2671st Special Reconnaissance Battalion Separate (Provisional), engaged in operations in Corsica and Siena during the period from September 15, 1943, until the surrender of Axis forces in May 1945. Livermore dissolved Companies "B" and "C" of the 2671st Battalion once they had completed their missions to southern France, the Balkans, and Greece in November 1944. The OSS returned their personnel either to the US before shipment to other theaters or they transferred them back to their original army units displaying a lack of concern for personnel shortages in Italy.[91]

With operations proceeding up Italy, Livermore recommended to Donovan during the fall of 1944 that the OSS join the OGs in MEDTO and ETO into a single entity. Livermore wanted to consolidate the OGs into one force of roughly three hundred and fifty of the best men to make administration, planning, and execution more efficient and effective.[92] He also wanted to reorganize the OGs into a separate battalion attached to the 2677th Regiment.[93]

The Corsican OG base moved to Siena with other OSS branches in August 1944. General order No. 3 of the 2671st Battalion announced the change of station of Company "A" from Ile Rousse, Corsica, to Siena. The OSS decided to continue Company "A" OG operations then in progress and planned but made no new commitments regarding new OG operations. The accelerating liberation of France no longer necessitated OG cooperation with the Maquis, and OG operations in Yugoslavia and in Greece

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[90] Report of the GINNY II Operation, March 21, 1944, Folder 6, Box 45, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[91] Maj. Samuel C. King, Jr. to G-3 Special Operations, AFHQ, "Weekly Operations Report No. 6," November 26, 1944, Folder 1, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[92] Theater Officer Pouch Review, "OG Activities," September 11, 1944, Folder 1, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[93] Capt. Gerald R. Murphy, AGD, "OSS Mediterranean Organization," July 25, 1944, Folder 6, Box 4, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP; Theater Officer Pouch Review, "SPOC Semi-Monthly Report 15 Aug," September 1, 1944, Folder 1, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

supported British raids as non-independent OG planned operations. The OG move to Siena helped refocus OG efforts to northern Italy and away from campaigns outside of OG control.[94]

2671st Battalion companies should not be confused with 2677th Regimental Companies, such as Company "D" which gained full jurisdiction over all OSS activity with the Allied Armies in Italy in November 1944. The reshuffle which created 2671st Headquarters served to clarify the lines of command and spheres of influence for Operational Group actions. It also simplified some of the overlapping intelligence operations then running throughout Italy. [95]

2671st Battalion Company "A" operations consisted primarily of parachuting uniformed officers and enlisted men deep behind enemy lines in areas of strategic or tactical importance to the military. Company "A" contacted Italian partisan and resistance groups and worked to better organize them, arrange for their supply of arms and clothing, and then lead them in operations against enemy forces. Special Operations Section of G-3, Fifteenth Army Group directed these operational groups in conjunction with military requirements. The Company successfully parachuted twenty officers and one hundred and eighteen enlisted men behind the lines. Many of them remained behind the lines for several months on operations.[96]

At the end of November 1944, 2671st Battalion Company "A" reported a total strength of twenty-five officers and one hundred and fifty-four enlisted men in active service with the Company. Administratively, it contained four OGs while the Fifth Army Detachment OG moved to 2677th Regiment Company "D" with the forward elements of IV Corps of Fifth Army. Fifth Army Detachment continued to

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[94] Edward J. F. Glavin to The Director, OSS, "OSS Organization, Mediterranean," March 21, 1944, Folder 4, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[95] Headquarters 2677th Regiment, "Staff Memorandum No. 5," November 6, 1944, Folder 6, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 2.

[96] Gen. Mark W. Clark to Commanding Officer, 2671st Special Reconnaissance Battalion Separate (Provisional), "Commendation of Company "A" 2671st Special Reconnaissance Battalion Separate (Provisional)," May 1945, Folder 3, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

mount OG actions just behind enemy lines. Company "A" also contained three OG Italian Sections and two OG German Sections with the German Section having more members.[97]

Each OG worked with the Partisans, such as the Garibaldi Divisions, in northern Italy to execute sabotage behind the lines as well as liberate towns while taking as many prisoners as possible. The OG-led liberation of Torriglia in 1945 captured the garrison of four hundred Italian Alpini troops. Subsequent prisoner interrogations provided key intelligence such as identification of enemy order of battle and troop concentrations. There were twelve hundred Partisans for each OG in the field. Keeping track of and providing assistance and organization to the partisan groups occupied the majority of Company "A's" time and efforts. Fifteenth Army Group identified these OSS operations with Italian Partisans as providing an important supplement to the operations of the Allied Armies.[98]

Agents of Company "A" demonstrated an operational flair as they carried out attacks on enemy supply lines, dumps, convoys, and similar targets in Italy during the end of 1944. The attacks caused constant and serious harassment for the German and Italian force in front of Fifteenth Army. The partisans, under the nominal control of Fifteenth Army Group headquarters but led by individual OSS teams, attacked in full force during the final offensives of the war in April and May 1945. They caused significant damage to German installations, troop convoys, and other targets of opportunity while successfully blocking many of the escape routes out of northern Italy. The partisans continued onward, under Company "A" direction, liberating many important cities and towns and successfully saving public utilities and industrial installations throughout northern Italy. These utilities and installations helped the

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[97] Maj. Samuel C. King, Jr. to G-3 Special Operations, AFHQ, "Weekly Operations Report No. 6," November 26, 1944, Folder 1, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[98] Maj. Samuel C. King, Jr. to G-3 Special Operations, AFHQ, "Weekly Operations Report No. 6," November 26, 1944, Folder 1, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP; Gen. Mark W. Clark to Commanding Officer, 2671st Special Reconnaissance Battalion Separate (Provisional), "Commendation of Company "A" 2671st Special Reconnaissance Battalion Separate (Provisional)," May 1945, Folder 3, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

American Military Government in stabilizing the region after hostilities while preventing greater suffering of the populace.[99]

Company "A" completed these tasks while continuously harried by enemy forces in the difficult terrain of northern Italy. Due to the nature of their work, agents understood that if captured, they more than likely would suffer torture and execution. The OSS presence and their agents' leadership capabilities determined the overall success of the partisan operations which led to success and a high quality of intelligence received by Fifteenth Army Group G-3. The men of Company "A" received a special commendation after the war from General Clark as commander of Fifteenth Army Group for their "outstanding performance of these unusual and dangerous operations."[100] Other organizations and military leaders had begun to recognize the work of the OSS which in turn demonstrated the increased professional proficiency of the agency. The unique skill set of the OSS had no equal.

CAYUGA Mission

The results of the OSS CAYUGA mission to Parma demonstrated an increased operational expertise and maturing professionalism of OSS operations. To flesh out the personnel for the mission, Company "A" rounded up Italian speaking men from Fifth Army and Fifteenth Army Detachments for assignment to the CAYUGA mission. On December 8, 1944, two members of the Field Photographic Service arrived to photograph and document all aspects of the para-drop operation. On December 12, CAYUGA received their briefing. Initially, the team consisted of Lieutenant, later Captain Fornichelli and six enlisted men but would later receive an additional officer and thirteen more enlisted men.[101]

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[99] Gen. Mark W. Clark to Commanding Officer, 2671st Special Reconnaissance Battalion Separate (Provisional), "Commendation of Company "A" 2671st Special Reconnaissance Battalion Separate (Provisional)," May 1945, Folder 3, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[100] Gen. Mark W. Clark to Commanding Officer, 2671st Special Reconnaissance Battalion Separate (Provisional), "Commendation of Company "A" 2671st Special Reconnaissance Battalion Separate (Provisional)," May 1945, Folder 3, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[101] Operational Group "A," undated, Folder 7, Box 45, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 3-5; "Cayuga," undated, Folder 6, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

After two unsuccessful attempts, the team landed safely on December 27, 1944, in the province of Parma. They contacted Company "A" headquarters, relaying partisan information and intelligence and remaining in communication until roughly January 9. Upon landing, CAYUGA rapidly commenced organizing the few partisans in the area and strengthening their resistance while simultaneously arranging for supply drops. This initial effort saved the mission from advancing German patrols in the area. For the next ten days, the team successfully fought off a succession of enemy patrols. They eventually reestablished radio contact with headquarters on January 19.[102]

Supply drops to the partisans became the primary focus for CAYUGA and during their period of operation from December through May, they orchestrated seventy-six plane loads of supplies. The team did miss a further six plane loads on February 13 due to their failure to show up at the appointed drop zone. Planes refused to drop without the agreed upon signal for fear of the Germans gaining possession of the supplies and to reduce wastage. On March 11, Company headquarters in Florence received an urgent request from Fornichelli for a drop containing quinine for Staff Sergeant Alessi who had become very ill. In a demonstration of the matured capabilities of OSS units, within a day, Company "A" successfully planned, prepped, and air-dropped the needed medical supplies to CAYUGA.[103]

Shortly after, on March 18, Captain Enzo Peveri, vice commander of a partisan division operating in the CAYUGA zone, visited Company "A" headquarters in Florence. He came to confer with Lieutenant Colonel Stapleton, Colonel Riepe, Captain Materazzi, and others regarding problems and conditions in his zone. He also brought back word that partisan leaders highly respected Captain Fornichelli and had performed his duties most excellently. Captain Peveri's information led to a further conference by Materazzi, Riepe, and Squadron Leader Brock to discuss solutions to Peveri's problems. Peveri also met with the British No. 1 Special Force who maintained contact with his division as well. By the end of the

[102] Operational Group "A," undated, Folder 7, Box 45, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 3-5; "Cayuga," undated, Folder 6, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[103] Operational Group "A," undated, Folder 7, Box 45, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 3-5; "Cayuga," undated, Folder 6, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

month, Stapleton, Materazzi, and Lieutenant Duckwa of No. 1 Special Force had decided to set up a joint intermission communications system in the CAYUGA area.[104]

By the end of April, Fornichelli and his team had hired, armed, and instructed a group of three hundred and seventy Italians for the preservation of the industries and utilities in and around the city of Parma. The team recruited the men from various quasi police organizations after a careful background check regarding their loyalty to the partisan cause. Fornichelli's actions directly complied with the desires of Special Operations G-3, Fifteenth Army Group, that wished to preserve as much of the Italian infrastructure as possible.[105]

They discovered preparations by the Germans for the destruction of all utilities in Parma and prevented the laying of explosives prior to the German departure from the city on April 24, 1945. CAYUGA and its men then occupied the installations, preventing damage from possible civil disturbances. The result of their efforts saved all industries and public utilities in the area. American forces occupied the city on April 25 and catalogued fifteen industrial establishments, ten workshops, three power stations with transformers, two aqueducts, and two food dumps available for the "reconstruction of Italian life."[106] The OSS worked diligently to keep chaos in newly liberated areas to an absolute minimum as to decrease issues for the incoming AMG.[107] CAYUGA's varied accomplishments stood in stark contrast to early OSS failures in North Africa and Sicily.

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[104] Operational Group "A," undated, Folder 7, Box 45, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 3-5.

[105] "Cayuga," undated, Folder 6, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[106] "Cayuga," undated, Folder 6, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[107] "Report on Activities of Allied Mission in the Venice Area," undated, Folder 6, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1-10.

CHAPTER 9: END OF THE WAR IN ITALY

Planning for the German collapse had begun earlier during the fall of 1944. OSS Italian bases prepared Bulgarian, Romanian, and Austrian missions with plans for intelligence penetration after any collapse to secure strategic intelligence, often utilizing existent labor channels. SI continued to gather teams and partisan strength in northwestern and northeastern Italy to capture or liberate Italian cities, often facing more resistance from bad weather than the Germans.[1]

As the circumstances of the war changed, and the end of the war seemed more inevitable, Donovan and his OSS began to shift their thinking towards post-war intelligence activities and policies. Chief among their problems remained how they would survive into the post-war political-bureaucratic arena with Congress intent on demobilizing so many other wartime agencies. They leveraged their wide-ranging intelligence operations to argue for the continued relevance of the OSS to the national security of the United States. Those within the OSS also sought to determine the professional policies of intelligence collection in a peacetime environment.[2] The OSS placed itself in a position through experience and training to take on the mantle of intelligence centralization after the war.

The OSS' view of the post-war landscape envisioned a prominent role internationally for the United States. Such a role necessitated an active intelligence agency to maintain national defense on a permanent peace-time basis. An internal OSS memo specifically pointed to failures with intelligence prior to 1940 which led to the surprise attack at Pearl Harbor. The memo leveraged the highly visible failure of Pearl Harbor to hammer its point home. To prevent such failures in the future, it made sense to charge the agency with the responsibility of "securing, analyzing, and disseminating" pertinent

[1] Theater Officer Pouch Review, "Plans for SI, MEDTO," September 28, 1944, Folder 1, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[2] "Post-War Intelligence Policy of the United States," Undated, Folder 21, Box 2, Entry 1, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1

information and material of both an economic and political nature which affect national interests and defense.[3] This wording set the tone for OSS arguments for the consolidation of foreign intelligence within a single agency served by an expansive view on intelligence.

Donovan continued to present the idea of the OSS as a permanent organization to those who would listen. He had originally presented an overview of a permanent OSS to several army officers on May 1, 1943. The officers, obviously wary of the OSS as a threat to their military intelligence prerogatives, questioned Donovan on his long-term plans for the agency. To assuage his audience, but still aware of his agency's need for allies in both the government and military, Donovan replied that first and foremost the war-effort took precedence before any long-term planning. However, "if [the OSS acts] intelligently and it can be integrated into the whole operation, I think we will have sense enough as a people to continue it."[4] Donovan's response contained both administrative tact and practical exhortation.

Later in September 1943, Donovan once again seized an opportunity to push his superiors into at least considering his proposals for continuing OSS operational capability after the cessation of hostilities. Donovan spoke in person with General Walter Bedell Smith, Chief of Staff to Mediterranean Theater Commander General Eisenhower, during the American landings at Salerno, Italy. Gen. Smith requested a statement from Donovan on his views regarding the need for post-war intelligence. Donovan seized his opening to submit a formal report to Gen. Smith on September 17 bearing the long-winded title: "The Need in the United States on a Permanent Basis as an Integral part of Our Military

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[3] "The Basis for a Permanent World Wide Intelligence Service," Folder 21, Box 2, Entry 1, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[4] "Discussion by Brigadier General Donovan…,"OPD 210,31 SOP (Section I) Cases 1-73), Operations Division (OPD) Decimal File, 1942-1945, RG 165, Records of the War Department General and Special Staffs, National Archives Washington, D.C.

Establishment of a Long-Range Strategic Intelligence Organization with Attendant 'Subversion' and 'Deception of the Enemy' Functions."[5]

Donovan argued for the continuation of subversive propaganda against current enemies to wear down morale. He never wavered from his belief in the power of a "fifth-column" in society that could have the power to shape the internal politics of a nation. He believed such activities had led to the collapse of France and wanted to guard the United States from such elements in the future. The need for a permanent intelligence operation in part stemmed from the need for an agency that could guard against and take the fight to the enemy outside of over military means. Without the protection against internal dissent and the analysis of international relations, the US would be at an inherent disadvantage against current and possible enemies. Donovan argued his agency now had the experience and professional capability to engage in such activities now and into the future and could act as a necessary bulwark against international intrigue.[6]

As military campaigns wrapped up in various OSS missions, OSS operations transitioned from primarily military in nature to more politically motivated. Intelligence efforts began keeping a lookout for anything affecting the vital national interests of the US. Priorities shifted from reporting on enemy activity towards more intelligence gathering on production, economic, political, and sociological information. The OSS generally formulated new intelligence plans in late 1944 onwards as part of a "long range scheme." Donovan, Glavin, Magruder, and other officers wanted and expected to continue OSS work after the war. In order to accomplish this task, the agency continuously reinvented itself or adapted to the prevailing needs of its intelligence consumers. As the priorities of the US government changed, so did those of the OSS. The OSS rarely drove its own agenda for intelligence gathering, though it did espouse a "collection for collection's sake" mentality at times. How the agency collected intelligence stayed the provenance of OSS, but most often the demands for intelligence and guidance on

[5] B. Smith, *Shadow Warriors*, 394. Rudgers, *Secret State*, 19-20.
[6] B. Smith, *Shadow Warriors*, 394. Rudgers, *Secret State*, 19-20.

which subject areas had priority came from military leaders and the foreign policy drivers of the United States.[7]

When the military held court, the OSS took appropriate orders; when power shifted back to civilian leaders, OSS priorities shifted as well. The OSS had actively supported military operations and the overall campaign in Italy, working with northern Italian partisans and facilitating surrender discussions with German generals. At the same time, the OSS had begun gathering more political intelligence. X-2 and SI sought to uncover secret gentlemen's agreements, entangling alliances, subterfuges of an international flavor, and – perhaps most importantly for the post-war environment – any possibility of countries excluding the US from any area or activity of US national interest. For Italy, this meant securing US interests in Rome and ensuring that communist partisans did not gain a superiority in Italian politics.[8]

The continuous organizational upheaval within the OSS did manage to accomplish a repositioning of the OSS towards end-of-the-war and post-war activities. Especially as an Allied victory became only a matter of time, the OSS shifted focus away from individual Missions and Detachments working with front-line military forces, expanding its reach within with the Allied military governments and Allied commissions in the newly liberated territories. Donovan and his subordinates wanted to ensure a post-war intelligence capability that would guarantee OSS survival after the peace. Donovan desperately worked to not let the OSS be a mere wartime agency doomed to inevitable dissolution after the war. Part of that plan involved ensuring that capable administrators held important posts within

[7] Theater Officer Pouch Review, "Cairo Office," July 19, 1944, Folder 2, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP; Theater Officer Pouch Review, "Plan for Post War MO in Germany & Central Europe," September 21, 1944, Folder 1, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[8] Theater Officer Pouch Review, "SI in Sicily," July 26, 1944, Folder 2, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

each theater. While not perfect, the organizational capability of the men in charge of the OSS in MEDTO had progressed significantly from the initial forays in North Africa.[9]

Concerns of Dissolution after the War

The impetus for a pivot towards post-war readiness came in force from Dr. Langer's R&A Branch. In July 1944, Langer and the R&A petitioned Donovan regarding American security interests in post-war Europe. R&A wanted OSS operations in Europe planned and conducted based on a comprehensive, working doctrine regarding American interests in the European settlement. Post-war considerations started to factor heavily in the thinking of the OSS not only among the field agents and chiefs, but also the analysts. Detailed planning figured into OSS plans to stay relevant and active after the war. The OSS needed the guidance of "an authoritative statement of doctrine" to enable the OSS to adapt its activities and efforts to the new requirements of national policy in the post-war period. If the OSS did not craft such a doctrine, it would risk seriously hampering its activities and its standing in Europe. While the fighting continued, the JCS provided broad guidance to OSS strategy and objectives, but after the war, guidance would come from the level of general foreign policy.[10]

Colonel Henson Langdon Robinson of S&T highlighted R&A fears of post-war irrelevance to the Map Division Outposts in the Mediterranean in the summer of 1944. He detailed the perilous and uncertain future of the R&A Branch. Donovan had selected Robinson, a Dartmouth graduate, reserve army officer from World War I, and successful businessman from Springfield, Illinois, to run the day-to-day operations for S&T in early 1944.[11] In response to the comments of Robinson and internal fears, the Executive Committee of R&A held a meeting at which they discussed the future course of action for the

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[9] Theater Officer Pouch Review, "Future of R&A," August 3, 1944, Folder 2, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[10] Research and Analysis Branch to Brig. Gen. William J. Donovan, "American Security Interests in the European Settlement," July 17, 1944, Folder 1, Box 11, Entry 1, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[11] Dr. John Whiteclay Chambers II, "Office of Strategic Services Training During World War II," *Studies in Intelligence*, Vol. 54, No. 2 (June 2010).

branch. The consensus reached decided that unless the branch could make relatively clear relationships with a policy-forming agency, such as the State Department or the Joint Chiefs of Staff, top personnel would leave rather quickly. A group of R&A men favored ties to the State Department, although they understood that the State Department would never officially recognize R&A as a partner in information. From this point, the committee decided that the branch should prepare a research program aimed specifically to "whet the appetite" of the military. R&A felt that if the JCS approved their research programs then their future would be much more secure, especially in the post-war environment.[12]

As the war receded, the OSS understood that pressures would be brought to bear by friend and foe alike to stop their intelligence activities and withdraw OSS intelligence officers from the field. The OSS often watched British secret services to ensure the Italians did not make any separate agreements or receive secret support from the British. Many in the OSS even argued that the OSS needed to prepare to go completely underground with agents, sub-agents, and informers in areas in which they might be excluded by circumstances before their removal. This shift in priorities represented a change in emphasis from a strictly military organization to one that could perform other long range functions in the interests of the US and its policies.[13]

With the spring 1945 campaigns in Italy underway, Glavin and his staff made plans for immediate action upon enemy withdrawal or collapse in northern Italy. Regimental Headquarters alerted and briefed all SO field teams. One version of headquarters' plan envisioned SO personnel-led partisans would close the Swiss-Italian border to prevent Nazi and Fascist leaders and collaborators escaping into Switzerland. Close communication continued with SO radio teams for any sign of enemy resistance collapsing. Meanwhile, Allen Dulles and his OSS Switzerland Mission continued to probe contacts with German and Nazi military leaders in northern Italy, attempting to coax them into

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[12] Theater Officer Pouch Review, "Future of R&A," August 3, 1944, Folder 2, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[13] Theater Officer Pouch Review, "SI in Sicily," July 26, 1944, Folder 2, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

surrender. Ultimately, these efforts proved fruitful with the German surrender of northern Italian forces in the OSS Bern-led Operation Sunrise.[14]

The OSS almost missed an opportunity for a propaganda coup at the tail end of the war when 2677th Regimental Headquarters cancelled a proposed operation to parachute Corvo and a special party outside Milan on April 26, 1945. The operation planned to parachute higher level OSS officials into the city to be present at the turning over of the city to increase overall OSS prestige. However, Glavin forbade the carrying out of the operation at the last moment. This cancellation presented the British a chance to parachute into the area around the city and enter before the proceedings began. Why Glavin and his headquarters denied Corvo the opportunity is unclear, but as the British completed their operation without delay, top officials may have allowed the British to take the lead in turning over the city to the Allied Armies.[15]

When word arrived to Corvo's team that the British had authority to land their party in Milan, the OSS men were furious. Not to be outdone, the Milan Mission circumvented its orders and immediately left by automobile convoy. Darting through the frontlines and dodging enemy forces, they arrived in Milan on April 29. With no Allied troops yet in the city, the party set up their headquarters at Hotel Milano as the sole Allied headquarters in contact with the general headquarters of the CLN commanded by General Cadorna. Since IV Corps headquarters did not enter Milan for several more days, G-2 of IV Corps ordered that the OSS continue acting as the Allied authority in the city until the arrival of IV Corps.[16]

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[14] Maj. Judson B. Smith to Commanding Officer, 2677th Regiment OSS (Provisional), "S. O. Branch – Report of Progress 5 December 1944 – 5 March 1945," March 5, 1945, Folder 8, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.; Neal H. Petersen, *From Hitler's Doorstep* (Philadelphia, PA: Penn State Uni. Press), 466; Michael Salter, *Nazi War Crimes: Intelligence Agencies and Selective Legal Accountability* (Abington: Routledge-Cavendish, 2007); Allen Dulles, *The Secret Surrender* (New York: Harper and Row, 1966); Bradley F. Smith and Elena Agarossi, *Operation Sunrise: The Secret Surrender* (NY: Basic Books, 1979).

[15] Chief, SI to The Director, OSS, "Italian SI Achievements in the Last Phase of the Italian Campaign," June 18, 1945, Folder 3, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[16] Chief, SI to The Director, OSS, "Italian SI Achievements in the Last Phase of the Italian Campaign," June 18, 1945, Folder 3, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

In an ironic twist, Colonel Wells and other IV Corps officers later expressed the highest praise to Glavin for OSS work in Milan. Within the city, a special OSS mission seized the files of the Italian Fascist Republic's foreign office, interior ministry, and the armed forces. The OSS then transported these files to Caserta where R&A analyzed them for their immediate import for theater authorities. The mission also captured the secret ciphers of the individual ministries which the OSS stored at Caserta, as well.[17]

Colonel King, G-3, Special Operations Section, AFHQ recognized the work of the 2671st Special Reconnaissance Battalion (Provisional) OSS in MEDTO. AFHQ acknowledged the "new and powerful type of warfare" which the OSS had undertaken under a "veil of secrecy" in the "most hazardous" of conditions. The OSS had achieved at least partial recognition from the military and their intelligence peers. King described the OSS as the "straw which broke the camel's back" of Axis forces in Italy.[18] Field Marshall Alexander also praised OSS efforts, specifically the 2677th Regiment, for their work in helping achieve the unconditional surrender of enemy forces in Italy in May 1945.[19][20] The overall competence of OSS operations and the security with which OSS accomplished their objectives reflected well on the organization as a whole to their peers and the theater military commanders.

King thought highly of OSS efforts in northern Italy, calling out the often overlooked logistical support the OSS gave in the later portions of the Italian campaign. The establishment from scratch of the supply packing station at Cecina warranted special mention. Poetic language accompanied OSS commendations from King describing the organization's efforts. "General Donovan's concept of Strategic Service and your excellent execution and performance of that Service compels the etching of a new and most valuable scroll for placement in Mars' libraries for future study of the art and on the

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[17] Chief, SI to The Director, OSS, "Italian SI Achievements in the Last Phase of the Italian Campaign," June 18, 1945, Folder 3, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[18] Col. Geo. L. King to All Members of 2671st Special Reconnaissance Battalion (Prov) O.S.S., "Commendation," June 2, 1945, Folder 5, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[19] Maj. Gen. L. L. Lemnitzer to Commanding Officer, 2677th Regiment, Office of Strategic Services (Prov), May 23, 1945, Folder 5, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[20] SS General Karl Wolff signed the surrender in Italy on April 29, 1945, with a cessation of hostilities on May 2, 1945.

conduct of war."[21] Also, the OSS Field Photographic Branch gained a public relations coup through its almost exclusive coverage of the ceremony which installed General Clark as commander of the Fifteenth Army Group at Siena, Italy, in December 1944. Such a momentous occasion demonstrated the acceptance of OSS branches by the military, or at least Clark's ego.[22]

Next Steps and Conclusion of the War

Austria always figured into OSS plans as the next-in-line operation following a successful campaign in northern Italy. However, penetration of Austria by SO proved extremely difficult due to the higher enemy police administrative cohesion compared to Italy and the large Gestapo presence. The collapse of the Italian state and its loss of administrative control after the Italian surrender facilitated OSS infiltration operations. German military control in Italy ebbed and flowed as the battlegrounds shifted and certain areas and cities, typically along major highways, grew in importance. While the Germans moved in to fill the void of the now absent Italian state apparatus, they could maintain only a semblance of the police administrative capability found in Greater Germany.[23]

To work around this situation, Glavin and his staff at headquarters drafted a plan to work with the estimated two million French and Italian workers now scattered throughout Greater Germany. OSS MEDTO planners created a mission which involved getting teams into Austria from Italy with a goal of contacting deportees. The planners also developed contingency plans in case infiltration into Austria failed from northern Italy. One other plan considered tapping the vast Communist underground known to exist in Austria. An SO Lieutenant Goff worked on introducing teams to Communist groups, but with

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[21] Geo L. King to Commanding Officer and All other Members of the 2677th Regiment, OSS (Provisional), "Commendation," June 2, 1945, Folder 3, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[22] H. J. Forbes to Chief, Operations, "Field Photographic Branch – Operations Progress Report for the period 5 December 1944 to 5 March 1945," March 5, 1945, Folder 8, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[23] C. Martin Wood, Jr., to Commanding Officer, 2677th Regiment OSS (Provisional), "Operations Report for the Period 5 December 1944 – 5 March 1944," February 28, 1945, Folder 8, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 4-5.

the rapid advance of the Soviets through Central Europe in the winter and spring, success and trust remained minimal as Communist partisans waited for Soviet troops.[24]

Unsatisfied with the progress of current penetration operations and plans in northern Italy and Austria, the regimental operations chief traveled to Paris and Switzerland with the intent of creating a full-scale Austrian resistance based on intelligence provided by "contact K-28."[25] Immediate results materialized with the establishment of a pinpoint, the promise of more pinpoints, and approximately twelve resistance groups in various stages of armament and organization. A central leadership known as the Provisorische Oesterreichisches Nationalkommittee (P. Oe. N.) linked together the various groups.[26]

The OSS had met with the representatives of the Austrian underground in Rome since August 1944. In conjunction with British intelligence agencies, especially ISLD and SOE, the services drew up plans to support the resistance groups and infiltrate money, supplies, and men. The Austrians provided the group with twenty "safe contact" names within Austria, but after review, ISLD determined them to be of little value and no longer participated in collaborating with the resistance groups. SOE took over ISLD's work and the OSS believed that since ISLD closely aligned itself with the British Foreign Office, ISLD feared political involvement in Austria. The OSS provided 34,000 lire in August to the Austrian resistance in preparation for further intelligence gathering and infiltration.[27] Newly installed supply planes in northern Italy factored into OSS plans to create and support a full-scale Austrian resistance.

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[24] Maj. Judson B. Smith to Commanding Officer, 2677th Regiment OSS (Provisional), "S. O. Branch – Report of Progress 5 December 1944 – 5 March 1945," March 5, 1945, Folder 8, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 2; C. Martin Wood, Jr., to Commanding Officer, 2677th Regiment OSS (Provisional), "Operations Report for the Period 5 December 1944 – 5 March 1944," February 28, 1945, Folder 8, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 4-5.

[25] C. Martin Wood, Jr., to Commanding Officer, 2677th Regiment OSS (Provisional), "Operations Report for the Period 5 December 1944 – 5 March 1944," February 28, 1945, Folder 8, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 10.

[26] Current Intelligence Study Number 9, "POEN and the Austrian Underground," April 13, 1945, http://www.foia.cia.gov/sites/default/files/document_conversions/89801/DOC_0000709435.pdf, (Accessed August 17, 2015); Siegfried Beer, "Target Central Europe: American Intelligence Efforts Regarding Nazi and Early Postwar Austria" (presentation, Karl-Franzens Universität Graz, Austria , August 1997), 5-7; Neal H. Petersen, *From Hitler's Doorstep* (Philadelphia, PA: Penn State Uni. Press), 466; *Günter Bischof, Fritz Plasser, and Barbara Stelzl-Marx, New Perspectives on Austrians and World War II (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2009)*, 110.

[27] Theater Officer Pouch Review, "Sabotage School, Vis.," August 21, 1944, Folder 1, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

The beginning of 1945 saw the continued advance of the Fifteenth Army Group northwards. Italian partisan Groups militarily aided the Fifteenth Army Group by situating themselves to cut all roads leading into Italy from Austria as well as disrupting enemy communications and traffic. As planning got underway, 2677th Headquarters sent requests to AFHQ for directives as to the scale of the resistance uprising to be created. However, disappointingly for the 2677th Regiment, AFHQ rejected a full-scale uprising for fears of creating a "second Greece or Yugoslavia." AFHQ feared that the arming of resistance groups in Austria and Italy would create great difficulties in post-war disarmament with various politically motivated resistance groups struggling against one another.[28]

AFHQ declared Austria not a "supply tonnage operation," preventing further escalation of plans from the OSS. However, despite this setback, Lieutenant Colonel Chapin coordinated further progress in the penetration of Austria with Goff. Rather than coordinating full-scale resistance, the OSS scaled back their plans to feature an operation aimed at the establishment of contacts for a new OSS operation FREEBORN and small-scale sabotage. Due to the limitations of the AFHQ directive, King of AFHQ, argued that SI, and not OG or SO, should direct any penetration of Austria. 2677th Headquarters Command agreed. Following this agreement, detailed planning for FREEBORN waited for discussions with Glavin, which never materialized due to the conclusion of the war.[29]

By March 1945, OSS teams in the field had established a courier system of Safe Houses between Milan and Florence. OSS Fifth Army Detachment used partisan couriers to cross enemy lines with Company "D" supplying them by air. Couriers traversed the winding route at night along the Fifth Army Front bearing intelligence and valuable documents of use to the field armies. Agents and OSS radio

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[28] C. Martin Wood, Jr., to Commanding Officer, 2677th Regiment OSS (Provisional), "Operations Report for the Period 5 December 1944 – 5 March 1945," February 28, 1945, Folder 8, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 4-5.; Siegfried Beer, "Target Central Europe: American Intelligence Efforts Regarding Nazi and Early Postwar Austria" (presentation, Karl-Franzens Universität Graz, Austria , August 1997), 5-7

[29] C. Martin Wood, Jr., to Commanding Officer, 2677th Regiment OSS (Provisional), "Operations Report for the Period 5 December 1944 – 5 March 1945," February 28, 1945, Folder 8, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 4-5.

operators infiltrated men and equipment overland to SO teams working with the Fifth Army Detachment. Air teams flew in or dropped personnel and supplies for these teams as well. During the January-March period, Fifth Army Detachment controlled and directed nine teams reporting intelligence in northern Italy.[30]

At this time, another thorny legal issue arose regarding the use of Italians in a reformed fighting force on the Allied side of the lines. Many of the men used by the OSS in infiltration missions had come from the Military Mission Italian Army (MMIA). OSS employment of partisans in the front lines skirted legality as it possibly contravened the Geneva Convention.[31][32] Company "D" attempted to secure official confirmation at the beginning of 1945 with suitable directives to keep the organization in the clear but received no official response and in the absence of that response continued operations. Glavin then decided to "let sleeping dogs lie" while hoping no issues arose out the partisans' use in Allied military plans. Fifth Army also winked at the legality of the operations due to finding the partisans so useful.[33]

By early April 1945, the Germans faced threats from OSS-led partisan bands to their last remaining supply lines through the Alps back to Germany. German Panzer General Hans Roettiger, Chief of Staff of Army Group C in Italy, reported that partisans had occupied or endangered the Western Apennines and Western Alps. The partisans had not only increased in numbers but also exhibited better leadership evidenced in the skill of their maneuvers and effectiveness of their attacks. Increased OSS

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[30] Maj. Judson B. Smith to Commanding Officer, 2677th Regiment OSS (Provisional), "S. O. Branch – Report of Progress 5 December 1944 – 5 March 1945," March 5, 1945, Folder 8, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[31] R. J. Overy, *The Oxford Illustrated History of World War II*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 97-98; Charles T. O'Reilly, *Forgotten Battles: Italy's War of Liberation, 1943-1945*, (Lantham, MD: Lexington Books, 2001), 84.

[32] The Military Mission Italian Army (MMIA) contained the reformed remnants of the Italian Army now fighting alongside the Allies. Often distrusted as front line troops due to poor morale, equipment, and leadership, the MMIA did furnish several thousand men as auxillary troops which were greatly sought after by frontline Allied commands.

[33] C. Martin Wood, Jr., to Commanding Officer, 2677th Regiment OSS (Provisional), "Operations Report for the Period 5 December 1944 – 5 March 1944," February 28, 1945, Folder 8, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 6-8.

air-supply to the partisans fueled the enhanced activity which the Germans rightly blamed on "clear Anglo-American influence." The Germans, already at dangerously low levels of manpower, lacked the resources to effectively counter partisan activities by this point.[34]

One spectacular case fully displayed the effectiveness of combined OSS operations. Kesselring, commanding the German forces in Italy, noted the increased effectiveness of OSS-led partisan teams in northern Italy in early 1945. Their impact was especially felt when the weather improved and the increased capacity and skill of OSS bases and teams came into full effect. The partisan activity had "spread like lightning" over the first half of February with demonstrably better leadership among the partisans due to OSS integration.[35] Kesselring ordered radical counter measures requiring the combining of forces even if that meant weakening some areas of the front. Despite the deteriorating military situation, he ordered the German SS, Fourteenth, and Liguria Armies to carry out large scale operations against partisan bands throughout northern Italy effective immediately in March 1945.[36] Kesselring also had to contend with OSS MO success among his own soldiers and officers. He felt compelled to issue a contradicting statement denying authorship of an MO propaganda pamphlet attempting to induce German soldiers to abandon the Nazi effort and surrender.[37]

SI reception committees also set up pinpoints for SO and OG teams parachuting into northern Italy. They coordinated with the partisans to facilitate the successful drop of men and supplies. The SI manned drop zones demonstrated a great stride in inter-branch cooperation within the OSS. These field committees assisted teams with special operations and liaison with the various partisan zone

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[34] Appendix B, "Translation – Telegram to the German Supreme Command from C-in-C, South-West," April 5, 1945, Folder 3, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[35] Appendix A, "Translation – Telegram from C-in-C, South-West," February 26, 1945, Folder 3, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP; Theater Officer Pouch Review, "MO Propaganda Material," September 27, 1944, Folder 1, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[36] Appendix A, "Translation – Telegram from C-in-C, South-West," February 26, 1945, Folder 3, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP; Theater Officer Pouch Review, "MO Propaganda Material," September 27, 1944, Folder 1, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[37] Theater Officer Pouch Review, "MO Propaganda Material," September 27, 1944, Folder 1, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

headquarters. SI helped establish or control almost twenty of the largest and most active partisan bands in northern Italy. These SI run groups would in turn liberate Genoa, Milan, and Turin, Italy's three largest industrial centers. They secured the areas around the cities as well as carried out anti-scorch measures in northwestern Italy. They did so in accordance with directives from the allied high command and OSS headquarters. The field teams and command structures exhibited a high level of coordination and communication. One particular accomplishment saw Lieutenant Aldo Icardi, embedded with the partisan Val Toce Division since September 1944, as the first American officer to enter liberated Milan.[38]

Captain E. Q. Daddario accomplished spectacular feats with the assistance of Italian Partisans. Alongside the Di Dio partisan formation and a group of handpicked specialists, Daddario captured Field Marshall Rudolfo Graziani, accepted the surrender of German General Hans Leyers and his troops, and captured the Fascist ministers Guido Buffarini-Guidi and Angelo Tarchi.[39] He assisted the CLNAI in Milan, averting last minute bloodshed by negotiating with SS Colonel Walter Rauff, Chief of the SS in northwestern Italy. Rauf and his men turned themselves over to the Allies at the Hotel Regina when they arrived in Milan. Daddario also prevented the removal of Italian masterpieces from Bellaggio and, with Italian General Cadorna, he greeted American General Willis D. Crittenberger, IV Corps commander, outside Milan. Crittenberger wrote a commendation specifically thanking Daddario for the preservation of Milan and his work with the partisans.[40]

The OSS mission in Milan also prepared valuable reports for the guidance of the military authorities in the area as well as Fifteenth Army Group. These reports covered the future aims of the

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[38] Chief, SI to The Director, OSS, "Italian SI Achievements in the Last Phase of the Italian Campaign," June 18, 1945, Folder 3, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[39] After Benito Mussolini fell from power, he fled to the north and created, with German assistance, the Italian Social Republic (Repubblica Sociale Italiana or RSI). Informally known as the Republic of Salò, it exercised nominal sovereignty in northern and central Italy, relying heavily on German troops to maintain control. Several former Fascists authorities, such as Field Marshal Rudolfo Graziani, served under the new Republic. For a more in depth look at the functioning of the Republic, see Ray Moseley, *Mussolini: The Last 600 Days of Il Duce* (NY: Taylor Trade Publications, 2004), 25-40.

[40] Chief, SI to The Director, OSS, "Italian SI Achievements in the Last Phase of the Italian Campaign," June 18, 1945, Folder 3, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

partisan formations and the general conditions on the volatile Franco-Italian border as well as the equally volatile Italo-Jugoslav frontier. SI maintained direct contact with SI team NORMA that had contact with CLN in Bolzano and German Colonel General Heinrich Gottfried Otto Richard von Vietinghoff's headquarters. Thanks to the preparation and supply of the team, this radio link could send the request to General Clark for the dispatching of an official Allied mission to Bolzano to accept the surrender of the German South Tryol Armies under Vietinghoff.

SI prided itself on its "far-sighted" policy of organizing resistance in strategic areas, which enabled great military successes throughout northern Italy. In the words of Earl Brennan, SI Chief after the war, "when all facts are collected and the history of the campaign is written, the role played by [the] OSS will prove to have been a determining factor turning the tide against the enemy." [41] Such was the OSS self-image. The OSS held itself in high esteem, gaining more confidence as the war progressed to its now inevitable conclusion. Justifiably, the OSS had much to praise about its efforts in Italy as the various commendations sent by Allied commanders after the war attest.

[41] Chief, SI to The Director, OSS, "Italian SI Achievements in the Last Phase of the Italian Campaign," June 18, 1945, Folder 3, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

CHAPTER 10: INTERNAL PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENTS: THE TWO CASES OF SECURITY AND COMMUNICATIONS

A successful professional organization does two things very well: security and communications. The organization must secure itself against internal and external threats and clearly articulate its purpose to its members and associates to achieve its objectives. Appropriating through recruitment the experiences of corporate America, government departments, and the military, the OSS eventually developed a first-class security and communication apparatus that underpinned its success in the field. Self-policing and a capability to conduct internal audits are important professional characteristics used by the OSS as it matured or developed throughout the war.

OSS internal security maturation typified the overall move from improvised organizational arrangements to a more professional footing. General administrative security within the OSS differed from field security which focused primarily on source protection and radio security. Government agencies and military willingness to share intelligence information fluctuated in direct proportion to the presumed security of secrets handed to the OSS. AFHQ only released information of impending operations with the "most carefully accredited personnel" who received orders to remain silent. Donovan remained one of the few in the OSS acquainted with both AFHQ and OSS plans. As per standard procedure in contemporary intelligence agencies, the balance of the field organization received and acted on their orders without complete, or any, knowledge of wider operational plans.[1]

The OSS Communications Branch would play an important part of this flexible structure, providing a link between teams, the OSS, Armies, and partisan groups in the field.[2] Communications

[1] Maj. Howard M. Chapin to Col. Atherton Richards, "North African Theater Report No. 1," February 23, 1944, Folder 6, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 3.

[2] Capt. Alessandro Cagiati to Maj. R. J. Koch, "Forward Echelons," April 12, 1944, Folder 279, Box 31, Entry 165, RG 226, NARA-CP.

established, maintained, and serviced all radio communication facilities, such as Message Centers, for the OSS in the theater. Communications also controlled all codes and cipher systems and handled the classification of radio communications. They provided the links between OSS bases in the theater and established radio communication from military authorities to partisans. Communications and Security mutually supported each other and established important procedures throughout MEDTO.

OSS Institutes Security in MEDTO

The OSS considered the concept of security and attendant security officer during its first organizational surveys in North Africa. In the initial stages of organizing OSS Algiers, the surveyors made the decision to include Security as part of the organizational chart. Unfortunately, nothing else developed until OSS Washington Security Officer, Weston Howland, offered two members of his staff, L. Cabot Briggs and Major C. T. S. Keep, to Colonel Eddy as security officers. Eddy refused the officers due to his feeling that the Security Office in Washington "was an unrealistic branch, and existed solely to irritate other branches of OSS by telling them who they could or could not employ."[3]

Managerial styles conflicted as OSS Algiers worked vigorously to establish a "homogenous" organization in contrast to the highly departmentalized Washington office.[4] Howland wanted the Security Office in Algiers to report directly to him or to Colonel Buxton. OSS Algiers viewed this proposal as an example of absentee management by Washington. They felt such off-handed control would hinder their efforts to establish a cohesive working unit. The extreme delay experienced by Algiers in receiving requested personnel also factored into Eddy's refusal of the security officers.[5]

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[3] William J. Donovan, "Memorandum to Dr. J.R. Hayden," January 3, 1942, Folder 1, Box 14, Entry 92, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1-3; "History of Security Branch, OSS, NATO," undated, Folder 3, Box 49, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1.

[4] It is not entirely clear what is meant by the term homogenous in the documents. However, it can be inferred quite clearly that those at OSS Algiers, including Eddy, did not want outside forces meddling in their affairs. There seemed to be a current of distrust and wariness from OSS Algiers regarding the efforts of OSS Washington to imprint its organizational structure on OSS Algiers.

[5] "History of Security Branch, OSS, NATO," undated, Folder 3, Box 49, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1-2.

The Security Branch shortly afterwards did manage to appoint Lieutenant Commander Warwick Potter, USNR, as Security Officer in Algiers. However, the OSS deemed his position as only temporary and in short order, he was appointed as Security Officer for SO with no jurisdiction over any other branch. OSS Algiers located Potter at the joint OSS-British SOE parachute school Station "A." With Potter only able to conduct security matters for SO, the rest of the organization lacked basic security. No physical security existed and no one conducted screening of recruited or permanent personnel. For all practical purposes, outside of Potter's work in SO, no security existed at OSS Algiers. Eddy soon realized that this state of affairs could not continue and decided, perhaps reluctantly, to formally request a security officer from Washington.[6]

Howland again chose Briggs who arrived to head the Security Office in Algiers on October 16, 1943. Simultaneously, Colonel Glavin arrived to relieve Eddy as Commanding Officer. Briggs answered to both Glavin and Howland on matters of general security policy.[7] The security situation in Algiers forced Briggs to start from the beginning and establish basic security controls while educating the members of OSS Algiers in "security mindedness." His jurisdiction covered physical security, staff members, station personnel, and the security of agents, though all checks with all outside agencies remained under X-2.[8]

Branches had to this point recruited personnel with only casual supervision by their commanding officer. Acceptance had hinged on evidence from British SOE security, verbal commitment to the Allied cause, being a personal contact, or recommendation from local authorities. Worse yet, individual branches did not maintain complete rosters of employees. It appeared that every member of the organization knew one or two others whom no other member had ever heard of. Briggs decided to

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[6] "History of Security Branch, OSS, NATO," undated, Folder 3, Box 49, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 2.

[7] Security Branch, OSS Washington, knowing Glavin would shortly replace Eddy, reached out for and received Glavin's approval of Briggs as the prospective Security Officer in Algiers.

[8] Director SI to All SI Personnel, "Security Violations," March 15, 1943, Folder 1, Box 31, Entry 92, RG 226, NARA-CP; "History of Security Branch, OSS, NATO," undated, Folder 3, Box 49, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 3.

begin with military rosters and payrolls to parse actual employment sheets. He did commend the Communications Branch for maintaining a much higher level of security and being generally ahead of the rest of OSS Algiers.[9]

Briggs remained the only principle Security Officer in NATO until the end of February 1944. He had to cover security matters for OSS bases operating out of Corsica, Sicily, and the Allied Armies in Italy. In March, Briggs received Lieutenant George G. Parry, USNR, Lieutenant (Junior Grade) Herbert G. Lownestein, USNR, and Second Lieutenant Anthony Marcucci, AUS, as his staff. OSS security consciousness had grown considerably since Briggs had arrived.[10]

Security at Caserta, Italy

The OSS worked hard to stamp out security concerns among members of their own organization as its administrative capability matured. It took almost two years, but once the OSS felt secure enough about its outward security, such as who it admitted and the prevention of information leaks, the organization began to look inward towards its internal security practices.

The OSS came around slowly to the need for stringent field security. Neither Glavin nor any other OSS leader had attached a security officer to the OSS-AAI forces until January 1, 1944. They had taken only irregular measures regarding security, providing no adequate check on visitors to headquarters or installations. Command had not developed a pass system, and the reorganizations and relocation of various headquarters made security even more difficult. The "large rambling structure" of the San Leucio headquarters made it difficult to maintain adequate security. A security audit noted insufficient guard detachments prevalent "in all OSS installations in Italy." Conversations in offices could

[9] "History of Security Branch, OSS, NATO," undated, Folder 3, Box 49, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 4-5.
[10] "History of Security Branch, OSS, NATO," undated, Folder 3, Box 49, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 4-5.

easily be overheard, and the Italian civilian employees who worked with OSS members never received security background checks.[11]

By 1944, Colonel A. D. Reutershan, CO OSS-AAI, felt the need to appoint an officer to handle security after some enlisted personnel used the name of the OSS to illegally requisition property and conduct black market activities. This period had seen OSS Washington order an influx of five hundred OSS civilian recruits in Italy. With the expansion of operations, the OSS also found it necessary to recruit large numbers of agents as rapidly as possible and send them through the lines. The need for recruiting agents with the greatest possible speed prevented recruiting agents from carefully checking the security status of prospective employees. In response, Reutershan appointed Captain Frank Fortunato of SO as acting security officer for OSS-AAI. Fortunato's initial lack of authority hampered the development of security procedures, but he managed to collect valuable information for later use by the Security Office.[12]

On March 9, 1944, Lieutenant, later Lieutenant Commander, George G. Parry, Jr., USNR, arrived from the Security Branch, OSS Washington, as the first full time security officer for OSS-AAI. He established a Security Office at the headquarters and placed Fortunato as his assistant, even though Fortunato was still a member of SO. Parry immediately set out to correct the "misbehavior of OSS personnel." He collected info on members of the organization participating in the black market and a case of general misconduct of leading members of an operational mission. His Security Office disciplined and removed from service thirty Italian civilians and a few enlisted men engaging in black market activities. The findings forced the cancellation of an operational mission and the officer in charge removed and transferred out of the OSS. Parry had the principal agent of the mission placed in prison. Parry's office worked tirelessly, performing security checks on everyone in the organization by

[11] Conyers Read, Director, OSS History Project, "Security in Caserta, Italy," January 1, 1945, Folder 3, Box 49, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1.

[12] Conyers Read, Director, OSS History Project, "Security in Caserta, Italy," January 1, 1945, Folder 3, Box 49, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 2.

the middle of April. They conducted over five hundred investigations without clerical or stenographic assistance. Throughout the rest of the year, the Security Office engaged in a "seemingly never-ending effort to improve physical security conditions" in Italy.[13]

Parry's second order of business involved improving physical security in Naples, Caserta, and San Leucio. Newly appointed Commanding Officer OSS-AAI, Colonel Clifton C. Carter, gave Parry permission in April 1944 to make necessary alterations to the "little Palace" in order to better guard it. The refusal of AFHQ to release more guards prevented sufficient staffing to secure the entire location. Therefore, Parry arranged for the previous "restricted area" to be isolated by walls from the rest of the Palace. Guard posts were established in front of the restricted area and gates to the Palace. However, the limited number of guards meant only the gate posts could be manned during daylight hours.[14]

From May through July, Parry made frequent inspection tours of Anzio, Ancona, Bari, and Rome. Carter initially did not allow Parry to establish a security office when OSS-AAI moved to Rome after the liberation of the city. Parry protested this exclusion to no avail as Carter told him "there was no work" for a security officer in the initial stages but "that there would be work later." When Parry finally could establish a Security Office in Rome, he appointed Fortunato, who recently had returned from the Security Branch in Washington, as head Security Officer.[15] Parry had other fish to fry.

On July 7, 1944, OSS Algiers officially moved to the San Leucio "little Palace" outside Caserta. Considerable security confusion attended the arrival of the headquarters staff. They found the Palace virtually empty with no attended guards or security as the whole of OSS-AAI had moved to Rome. Insufficient coordination between the two headquarters and Parry's visit to Siena on official business

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[13] Conyers Read, Director, OSS History Project, "Security in Caserta, Italy," January 1, 1945, Folder 3, Box 49, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 3-4, 7; "Security in Caserta, Italy: The Establishment of the Security Office of OSS, Allied Armies in Italy," undated Folder 3, Box 49, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 3; "History of Security Branch, OSS, NATO," undated, Folder 3, Box 49, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 7.

[14] Conyers Read, Director, OSS History Project, "Security in Caserta, Italy," January 1, 1945, Folder 3, Box 49, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 3-4.

[15] Conyers Read, Director, OSS History Project, "Security in Caserta, Italy," January 1, 1945, Folder 3, Box 49, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 5.

caused the issue. Upon his return, he reorganized the guards briefly using enlisted personnel until he secured military police from AFHQ. Parry also took over as theater Security Officer from L. C. Briggs who moved to ETO. He continued throughout September and October 1944 to engage in a seemingly never-ending battle to improve physical security conditions in Caserta and other bases in Italy.[16]

The efforts of Parry and his new Security Office in Italy assisted in weeding out some of the worst practices the OSS carried over from its inception. The issues with personnel and recruits, the lack of discipline, and the generally poor security conditions in the field hampered the professional growth of the OSS. With better auditing practices and self-policing, the OSS could overcome its amateurish beginnings. Security issues always presented themselves, such as the large number of Italian civilians involved in OSS work. However, the OSS' reputation continued to grow and its relations with other government entities in the field improved as OSS Security matured. Greater physical and signals security fostered an increasing trust and reliance on the OSS from the military and other partners. OSS Security Offices eventually reported receiving the cooperation of all officers, civilians, and enlisted personnel while engaging in their work.[17]

Security in Bastia, Corsica

Other branches and headquarters reported similar strides in security practices with varying degrees of success. 2671st Battalion, Company "B," formed in November of 1943 had no security officer or controls until February 1944. However, the single officer assigned to security also handled SO work, and the Security Office of Company "B" had no other personnel despite roughly one thousand personnel (military, civilian, and agents) assigned to Company "B" over this period.[18]

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[16] "History of Security Branch, OSS, NATO," undated, Folder 3, Box 49, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 15.; Conyers Read, Director, OSS History Project, "Security in Caserta, Italy," January 1, 1945, Folder 3, Box 49, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 6-7; "History of Security Branch, OSS, NATO," undated, Folder 3, Box 49, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 12-14.

[17] "History of Security Office, OSS Corsica," January 13, 1945, Folder 3, Box 49, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1-6.

[18] HQ Co. B, 2677th Regiment, OSS (Prov) to Lt. Comdr. G. G. Parry Jr, "History of Security Office, Company B, 2677th Reg. OSS (Prov), January 1, 1945, Folder 3, Box 49, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP

OSS headquarters in Corsica fared better. On March 21, 1944, Lieutenant Anthony Marcucci arrived as Security Officer in Corsica. As usual, there was no previous security officer for the command. Marcucci formally submitted a fifteen-step security plan to Briggs, Livermore, and Archibald Van Buren, Executive Security Officer, OSS Washington. This fifteen-step plan improved security "considerably," and further steps were taken to establish the security of planned operations.[19]

Marccuci's fifteen step program included the following items:

1. A General Security File was prepared by the Security Officer. All Section Heads were made responsible for seeing that all officers, civilians, and enlisted men in their sections saw, read, understood, and initialed this General Security File.
2. A list of the fundamental security principles was posted on the bulletin board.
3. Secret and Confidential documents were safeguarded with the greatest care. (No longer were they kept in an unlocked bureau).
4. The Message Center and the Radio Station were put "off-limits" to non-communications personnel.
5. Specific security regulations in regard to the Message Center and Radio Station were drawn up.
6. A pass system to enter the Bastia Headquarters was established.
7. Social visitors were kept to a minimum and were restricted to the day room and dining room only.
8. A security indoctrination course was conducted by Lieutenant Marcucci.
9. The Operations Officer was made responsible to conduct operations without much fuss or public display.
10. The Communications Officer was made responsible to take necessary safeguards against leakage.
11. Several staff meetings were held for the express purpose of discussing security.
12. Personnel were instructed in the proper use of the telephone.

[19] "History of Security Office, OSS Corsica," January 13, 1945, Folder 3, Box 49, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1-6; "History of Security Branch, OSS, NATO," undated, Folder 3, Box 49, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 7.

13. The Security Officer prepared a Memorandum on Safe-guarding Military Information and reproduced a Security Classification Guide to prevent over-classification. Both of these memoranda were distributed to every branch.
14. The Security Officer saw to it that under no circumstances personnel familiar with plans and operations were permitted to take part in actual operations, thus bringing them in contact with enemy-held territory.
15. The security of Italian agents was discussed with Captain Joseph Bonfiglio and Mr. Thomas H.W. Stonborough, Chief SI, Corsica.[20]

Within a short period of time, insecure procedures at OSS headquarters in Bastia gradually disappeared. Marcucci's security talks to the OG, SI, and Station Complement proved effective against future security breaches. Personnel began self-policing by reporting any violation or breach of security to the Security Officer, resulting in more security conscious personnel without becoming overbearing. No longer did personnel discuss confidential and secret matters everywhere and with everyone. Operations were kept on a need-to-know basis. Personnel now treated classified matters with the greatest care. Unfortunately, "a general looseness" of naval crew talk presented the new primary security problem, but the OSS had no jurisdiction over navy personnel and, unfortunately, nothing much could be done.[21]

In April 1944, Marcucci made further alterations to Corsica Base security by implementing a nine-step communications security plan. He also implemented a guard system at Ile Rousse and Bastia which established guard posts and Duty Officers. The guards had orders to allow no person admittance without a special OSS personnel pass or permission from the Security, Executive, or Duty Officers. To facilitate investigations, Marcucci established close liaison with the other counter-intelligence offices

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[20] "History of Security Office, OSS Corsica," January 13, 1945, Folder 3, Box 49, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1-2.

[21] "History of Security Office, OSS Corsica," January 13, 1945, Folder 3, Box 49, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 2.

such as X-2 and CIC. For his successful efforts, Glavin ordered him to 2677th Headquarters in Rome at the end of July to assist him with establishing Regimental security.[22]

5 Men, a Stiletto, and Some Missing Leather

As security in the theater tightened, misappropriations and loss of equipment became more serious matters, requiring investigations and follow-up. In a display of more professional attitudes, accountability gained importance as the OSS required reporting on funds, equipment, and the details of personnel use. Security and discipline issues continued to be a problem in rear-areas such as Naples until the end of the war. Naples itself had yet to recover from the German destruction of the city and the deplorable state of its inhabitants.

The following humorous but telling account by Lieutenant William H. Pendleton, USNR, Chief of MU, in a report to the Transportation Officer of the 2677th Regiment, relates an unusual response to bureaucratic strictures.

> "On the night of the 12th of December, 1944, I allowed five members of the crew of the P-568 to take the command car on liberty to the Alhambra Theater in Naples. The car was properly demobilized and parked directly in front of the theater. An Italian with a long black beard and armed with a stiletto was paid five lires to stand guard over the car. He was further allowed to finish the cigarette of [Specialist First Class] Bernier after Bernier had finished with it; he seemed satisfied with the deal. Two US Army MP's observed the command car as it drove up, one having been almost run over when the driver, a member of my crew, divided his attention briefly between parking the car and watching a nifty looking USO girl, who was also being watched by the MP's. The crew members were satisfied that the MP's would not soon forget the command car. The crew members left the command car watched by the MP's and guarded

[22] "History of Security Office, OSS Corsica," January 13, 1945, Folder 3, Box 49, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 5-6.

by the Italian with the long black beard and the stiletto, while they spent one and a half hours watching the show. The show was lousy. After the show and after five beers apiece in an off-bounds bar not more than 75 feet from the Alhambra theater, the five crew members re-entered the car to drive back to the ship. The crew members were feeling no pain, not even when they sat down on the seats of the command car. One crew member held Bernier on his lap and this fact enabled him to be the first to notice, when the car passed over a street hollow, that the upholstery was missing. It was also recalled at this time that the Italian with the long black beard and the stiletto was likewise missing. Examination showed that the leather upholstery had been neatly sliced from all seats and other pertinent parts of the command car. The theory is held by the five crew members that the instrument employed could possibly have been a sharp weapon of Italian design, possibly one of the stiletto type. It is difficult to see how this incident could have been avoided. It is difficult to see what can be done about it now. It is difficult."

It is believed the opinion is held in Caserta that the members of P-568 willfully absconded with the leather upholstery, and are now doling it out piece by piece, size 1 centimeter by 1 centimeter, in trade with the natives. The theory mentioned in No. 1 paragraph is not borne out by the facts. *This port has plenty of leather, which is used for flavoring the cognac*. If, by any chance, my crew members are holding out on me, I will see that proper corrective measures are taken, and furthermore that the leather is put to better use than that of trading with the natives. However, I do not feel that my crew members would be guilty of such a misdemeanor. *The girls up here like soap, not leather*. But if they are, I will see that their punishment is not unduly severe as such leather, if here, will immediately be used for covering the seats of the MU jeep which was supplied by headquarters in Caserta as our means of land transportation. Not only do the seats of this jeep lack leather, but there has been little to prove

that an engine exists under the hood, or that, with the inclusion of the steering wheel, *there are more than four wheels on the jeep.*" (emphasis added)[23]

Failures to Communicate

Since the establishment of OSS Algiers, a serious shortage of OSS personnel at field headquarters prevented the sufficient reporting of operations to properly inform Washington. The lack of personnel and communication reproduction facilities for document dissemination created a gap in perceptions between OSS Washington and OSS field headquarters. The field officers wanted Washington to depend on the judgment of the individuals tasked to carry out orders without having to report every detail, while Washington wondered why orders remained unexecuted. [24]

The situation caused a rift between the field offices and Washington. Compounding the problem, those in the field or engaged in operations could not spare sufficient time to write out requested reports, sometimes even if enough resources were allocated. Such matters contributed to an inadequate understanding of OSS MEDTO activities back in Washington, leading to increased friction. Field headquarters increased their efforts to alleviate the communication issue and generate more reports despite staffing problems. Though time consuming, the renewed focus on reporting helped OSS Washington better understand day-to-day operations in the theater. Efforts made during the successive reporting periods eased the discrepancy somewhat.[25] To increase the capabilities of the agency and provide a proper experience-based foundation from which to draw for training and learning required the OSS to place an extra effort into reporting. The OSS had to overcome such issues to progress to a higher quality of service.

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[23] Chief, Martime Unit to Transportation Officer, 2677th Regiment-OSS (Prov), "Command car, removal of upholstery," December 20, 1944, Folder 73, Box 5, Entry 143, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1-2 and Addendum.

[24] Maj. Howard M. Chapin to Col. Atherton Richards, "North African Theater Report No. 1," February 23, 1944, Folder 6, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 3.

[25] Maj. Howard M. Chapin to Col. Atherton Richards, "North African Theater Report No. 1," February 23, 1944, Folder 6, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1-4.

By mid-1944, the OSS made a greater effort to report on the progress of the various branches in the field. OSS Washington filed detailed reports regarding the preparations of SI, MO, R&A, and the Operational Groups as the Allied Armies advanced in Italy. Periodic visits from small groups of higher ranked OSS officials typically brought with them changes in leadership, requests for supplies, and the reorganization of headquarters.[26] Though administration still remained a tangle of reports, queries, and communication issues in the theater, at least as it concerned operations, this latest round of house cleaning created greater efficiency in intelligence activities and planning.

Chapin, in a report to OSS Washington, pleaded for Washington to depend on the judgment of an "exceptionally able group of men" whose lack of communication did not entail a lack of interest but a lack of facilities. An issue arose that agents often asked Washington to fulfill "unreasonable or mysterious requests." Agents provided no detailed information but claimed the prompt fulfillment of these requests would contribute to OSS MEDTO effectiveness. These requests caused OSS budget officers a number of headaches as they fought their own battles with the Budget Office about where and how the OSS spent various funds.[27] Attempts by OSS Washington financial officers to debate the finer points of action plan costs delayed OSS some operations in the Mediterranean.

In addition to their other communication issues, a "security gag" compounded the reporting issue.[28] A very strict military security apparatus in MEDTO presented a further obstacle to Washington's understanding of theater operations. Such tight security also hampered the coordination of plans between different theaters. After a conference among OSS MEDTO officials, they agreed that OSS Washington was secure enough to receive OSS Algiers operational plans. There always remained a fear, however, that intelligence communicated to Washington could be intercepted. OSS Algiers let only a

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[26] Headquarters 2677th Regiment, "Staff Memorandum No. 5," November 6, 1944, Folder 6, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 2-3.

[27] Maj. Howard M. Chapin to Col. Atherton Richards, "North African Theater Report No. 1," February 23, 1944, Folder 6, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1-4.

[28] Maj. Howard M. Chapin to Col. Atherton Richards, "North African Theater Report No. 1," February 23, 1944, Folder 6, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1-3.

handful of individuals know about plan details and in Washington, only Donovan and his direct subordinates had access to the details. For security reasons, most of the men of OSS Algiers carried out their portion of each plan without knowing the larger picture.[29]

Communication difficulties continued to plague the OSS in Italy through the summer of 1944. Despite organizational improvements which facilitated better operations, various branches and commanders faced numerous obstacles in the field. Most of these obstacles manifested as a consequence to the initial ad-hoc manner in which OSS branches and teams became involved in operations in the field. As opportunities presented themselves, Donovan ordered his subordinates to take full advantage of them even if that meant not having a full complement of OSS support personnel available or sound operational plans in place. Perhaps the most important non-combat OSS branch, Communications, struggled constantly to keep the sprawling OSS machinery linked internally and with intelligence consumers. Colonel Clifton Coleman Carter, "Coke" to his friends, briefly commander of OSS Allied Armies in Italy (AAI), later renamed OSS Italy, became the most vocal critic of the lack of cooperation he received from Communications. [30]

Throughout his assignment in Italy and even afterwards in Washington, Carter never had access to enough coders to send even the simplest kind of message traffic. During his entire stint commanding OSS AAI in Rome, Carter faced constant difficulties staying in contact with the OSS headquarters in Bari. The supply operations out of Bari played a key role in OSS logistical efforts to Italian partisans. He further fumed that the OSS detachment with AAI headquarters had no communications except by motor

[29] Maj. Howard M. Chapin to Col. Atherton Richards, "North African Theater Report No. 1," February 23, 1944, Folder 6, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 3.

[30] Theater Officer Pouch Review, "Communications Difficulties in Italy," August 4, 1944, Folder 2, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

carrier. Carter would remain a strong advocate of increased Communications personnel and capability throughout his service with the OSS. [31]

Colonel Lowman noted a steady flow of complaints had reached OSS Washington regarding Italian operations and ongoing communication inadequacies. The numerous changes in command and great difficulties involved in the military campaign contributed to the difficult situation. Many OSS Italy personnel felt that the base at Algiers focused on "administrative traffic, special installations for the Signal Corps, a combined operations room, and circuits for the French Desk" to the detriment of forward operations in Italy. Lowman informed OSS Washington of these criticisms and added his own that he had not lost "sight of our inadequate T/O [table of organization]."[32]

The OSS struggled, as did the military, with establishing an effective front-to-rear communication system capable of supplying high quality tactical level intelligence quickly. Some Allied commanders criticized the OSS communications set-up in Italy in August 1944. The slow speed of some communications from forward areas to OSS headquarters at Siena did not allow the immediate use of valuable tactical intelligence. When informed, Donovan reviewed the situation but believed that the OSS and the Communications Branch had taken appropriate actions to remedy the situation. They had conducted an internal analysis to address communication failures and determined that lack of equipment and personnel had caused most of the outstanding issues. A faulty table of organization with conflicting or unclear lines of authority had also hampered proper and quick dissemination of valuable intelligence. Lowman, to forestall the same issues in France, recommended to the head of French

[31] Theater Officer Pouch Review, “Communications Difficulties in Italy,” August 4, 1944, Folder 2, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[32] Theater Officer Pouch Review, “Communications Difficulties in Italy,” August 4, 1944, Folder 2, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

operations to assign his best men with the fullest authority to coordinate and operate the "front to rear" type of intelligence.[33]

At times, field headquarters had to reorganize their organizational structure to accommodate unique mission circumstances. In one instance, OSS Algiers had to place Radio-Intelligence within the Communications Branch rather than Secret Intelligence as OSS organizational charts dictated. The Chief Signal Officer of AFHQ controlled all communications facilities in MEDTO. By his directive, only Communications Branch members were approved access to the signal intelligence officer, signal intelligence material, the use of equipment, and the cooperation of signal personnel. Therefore, OSS Algiers restructured their organizational charts and placed Radio Intelligence within the Communications Branch.[34]

Communications and X-2 Work Out an Issue

As OSS headquarters reorganized and moved closer to the AAI front, other OSS branches sorted through their own organizational issues in the search for greater efficiency. OSS X-2 agent Silveira wrote a long letter to X-2 Washington to discuss the possibility of transferring control of wireless direction finding (DF) personnel and equipment from the Communications Branch to X-2 to furnish X-2's Radio Intelligence. James Murphy, Chief X-2, MEDTO, asked that all personnel be transferred to X-2. Silveira knew that Communications would not agree to this request unless X-2 assumed total responsibility for the technical equipment. However, the bulk transfer of personnel and equipment might overload the capabilities of the Mediterranean X-2 Branch. The matter of maintenance and supply alone would

[33] Theater Officer Pouch Review, "Communications with the Front," August 21, 1944, Folder 2, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[34] Maj. Howard M. Chapin to Col. Atherton Richards, "North African Theater Report No. 1," February 23, 1944, Folder 6, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 3.

require additional personnel, and X-2 had none to spare. Therefore, X-2 felt hindered by the OSS organizational set-up at the time.[35]

Colonel Lowman had no issues removing DF from Communications but did not want to force the transfer without Donovan's decision.[36] He believed DF could move to X-2 but had just missed raising the issue with Donovan during his recent theater visit at the end of July 1944. Lowman's concern centered on ensuring Communications would have no further responsibility for DF after a transfer. He feared that X-2 would use Communications personnel to mount missions as X-2 had done previously. If Communications did retain DF, then Lowman insisted that it operate according to Communications' very conservative abilities, which resulted from their extremely limited amount of personnel. The resulting need to reassign personnel between branches had caused several issues administratively for OSS branches in North Africa and southern Italy and most recently, with SO in Caserta. Other Communications activities drained all available manpower, which left few if any to mount aggressive DF missions against the Germans.[37]

The only sensible option available for X-2 meant allowing Communications to retain the technical responsibility over the equipment and personnel. Communications would then furnish these qualified personnel to X-2 as needed for operations. Operational control would fall to X-2 which would give them the ability to determine when, where, how, and for how long personnel would be used for an operation. The ideal situation would have Radio Intelligence operating as a separate entity with its own personnel and equipment, but the limitations in OSS personnel and the current OSS administrative

[35] Theater Officer Pouch Review, "Control of Radio Intelligence," August 9, 1944, Folder 2, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[36] Theater Officer Pouch Review, "Communications Viewpoint on Transfer of DF," August 11, 1944, Folder 2, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[37] Theater Officer Pouch Review, "Communications Viewpoint on Transfer of DF," August 11, 1944, Folder 2, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

hierarchy left X-2 and Communications in an awkward situation.[38] Eventually, Donovan gave his concurrence in August 1944 that DF missions move to X-2 using X-2 personnel.[39]

OSS Reporting

The OSS developed an internal organization in mid-1943 designated the Current Intelligence Staff to further augment their continuous application of various intelligence reports. CIS generally functioned to promptly secure, process, and disseminate to the military special types of current intelligence reports, especially those relating to political warfare. The staff processed reports from R&A, SI, and the Foreign Nationals Branch (FNB) for the immediate use by the military and all OSS personnel engaged in planning and execution of OSS operations. Non-OSS individuals and agencies also often had access to the reports distributed by CIS. The dissemination of CIS work took on several forms including the Psychological Warfare Analysis Weekly, a daily intelligence summary, and maintenance of the OSS Situation Room. CIS also captured oral reporting in the Situation Room from "theater reporters," who contributed to the Joint Intelligence Committee (JIC) Summary and Special Disseminations.[40]

The OSS needed a way to inform internal components of the agency of the intelligence gathered and the current activities of each branch. Mirroring some of the functions of later professional journals, the CIS and JIC summaries kept branches and interested OSS members apprised of developments and information regarding OSS work with reports and theoretical musings on the state and future of the agency. Special Disseminations had the benefit of editorial revision and supervision from CIS staff. This editorial control ensured higher quality work and the semblance of professional writing and reporting.

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[38] Theater Officer Pouch Review, "Control of Radio Intelligence," August 9, 1944, Folder 2, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[39] Theater Officer Pouch Review, "Control of Radio Intelligence," August 9, 1944, Folder 2, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[40] Report, "Functions of the Current Intelligence Staff," 1943, Folder 3, Box 4, Entry 1, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1-6.

These kinds of distributions assisted the OSS in bridging the gap between itself and departments such as the State Department as the OSS sought equal footing among the long-established government entities.

Much as the OSS distributed its collected information in order to facilitate its own plans, it required information from its consumers to best tailor its intelligence operations. To help make worthwhile plans for attacking targets, the OSS required access to army plans and up-to-date operational intelligence. Rather than make useless proposals to the army and its consumers, the OSS requested that targets for SO and OG sabotage and demolition come from the army after which the OSS would brief and dispatch its men. Working together with the army provided valuable contributions to the fighting forces in the front lines by interdicting and harassing enemy rear areas.[41] SI subversive agents needed no such specific target information. Instead, their role called for them to infiltrate a general area under army direction after which they used their own resourcefulness and contacts. All plans and operations required the involvement of the highest coordinating military authority as detailed by AFHQ.[42]

In August 1944, the OSS decided to reassign Reporting Board personnel from Algiers to the Rome area to support operations. OSS Reporting Boards spawned from a need to write and disseminate reports from field headquarters and branches for use in Washington and for record keeping. When Hugh R. Wilson took over as Deputy Chief of SI in March 1942, so much information poured in to OSS offices in Washington that it threatened to overwhelm the OSS facilities handling it. Wilson introduced

[41] Col. W. A. Eddy and Lt. Col. A. D. Dodds-Parker to Assistant Chief of Staff, G-3, A.F.H.Q., "OSS/SOE Resources for Operations in Italy September – December 1943," September 18, 1943, Folder 3, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[42] Col. W. A. Eddy and Lt. Col. A. D. Dodds-Parker to Assistant Chief of Staff, G-3, A.F.H.Q., "OSS/SOE Resources for Operations in Italy September – December 1943," September 18, 1943, Folder 3, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

State Department methods for handling reports, seeking to increase efficiency and standardization of report handling. [43]

The Reporting Board handled, edited, appraised, and determined distribution for all intelligence received by SI. The Board had two main purposes: to conceal the sources of information from readers and to reduce the report to its clearest or most concise form. Most Reporting Boards in the field consisted of personnel from R&A and SI. By August of 1944, the Reporting Boards operated under a Reporting Board Branch within the OSS hierarchy. [44]

The issue of authority and organizational hierarchy arose in Rome almost immediately as virtually two Reports offices surfaced in the city. Previous encouragement given to the Italian Section to regard itself as "SI Italy" created the misunderstanding. Scamporino endorsed a replacement from OSS Washington Reporting Board to take command of the situation in Rome. He hoped this replacement would gain the trust of SI men such as Earl Brennan who had lost faith in the other Reporting Board officers. Elsewhere in Italy, the Reports Section in Siena functioned well despite a minimum of personnel. They unfortunately had no room for civilian women, who often served an important role as typists. With the expected move to northern Italy as operations progressed, Siena requested no further staff. Bari, however, became swamped with work, so the Reporting Board Branch transferred the greater part of the Algiers section to Bari to assist them, relieving some of the issues in Rome.[45]

Radio reports from teams operating behind enemy lines flooded into OSS Italy bases throughout the late summer of 1944. Most reports complained of insufficient air drops, supply problems, and German counter-measures. They also covered the military situation, defense works, political-economic

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[43] "SI History (First Draft)," undated, Folder 8, Box 100, Entry 99, NARA-CP, 10; T.S. Ryan, Reports Officer, MEDTO to Chief SI for Director, "Filed Report," August 3, 1945, Folder 3, Box 29, Entry 92, NARA-CP.

[44] "SI History (First Draft)," undated, Folder 8, Box 100, Entry 99, NARA-CP, 10; T.S. Ryan, Reports Officer, MEDTO to Chief SI for Director, "Filed Report," August 3, 1945, Folder 3, Box 29, Entry 92, NARA-CP; Theater Officer Pouch Review, "Dearth of Reporting Board Personnel, Bari," August 19, 1944, Folder 1, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[45] Theater Officer Pouch Review, "Reports Offices in Italy," September 23, 1944, Folder 1, Box 35, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

situation, and intelligence from partisans in military significant areas. These reports assisted in the formulation of OSS strategy in Italy and helped the OSS assess the success or failure of the various operations then in place.[46] They continued to provide ever more detailed information on an ever increasing range of subjects such as civilian accounts of indiscriminate or poorly aimed bombing raids. Raids often had a negative effect on the populace, though the raids were often contrasted with the executions and the massacre of civilians by the Germans.[47] In addition to the reports received from the field, AFHQ regularly sent agent teams orders and directives regarding military plans for partisan use.

Aided by Italian partisan groups, SI and SO wireless telegraphist (W/T) teams infiltrated northern Italy by land, sea, and air. They collected military, economic, and political intelligence from most areas under enemy control, utilizing a courier system organized to link OSS teams with OSS bases in liberated Italy via France and Switzerland. According to army sources, information on enemy battle order, transmitted by these teams, proved of great tactical value.[48] In December 1944, OSS intelligence reports identified a threatening concentration of enemy forces northwest of Florence. The Germans intended to retake Pescia and cut Allied supply lines between Pisa and Florence. OSS-directed partisans provided up-to-date information and mounted reconnaissance patrols while Allied Command sent reinforcements to the area which contained, then repulsed, the subsequent German attack.[49]

G-2, AFHQ, praised OSS SO teams' intelligence efforts, calling them in December 1944 the "best example of reporting" that they had ever seen as well as the "best detailed information received by G-2 to date" from any source. SO and SI intelligence reporting established a reputation as correct, detailed, and accurate, especially regarding the location of German divisions in the front line. Along with military

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[46] Cpt. W. B. Kantack to General Donovan, "Italian Patriot Activities," August 4, 1944, Folder 3, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[47] Cpt. W. B. Kantack to General Donovan, "Italian Patriot Activities," August 4, 1944, Folder 3, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[48] Charles S. Cheston, Memorandum of Information for the Joint U.S. Chiefs of Staff, "OSS Intelligence Teams in Italy," July 11, 1945, Folder 3, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1.

[49] Charles S. Cheston, Memorandum of Information for the Joint U.S. Chiefs of Staff, "OSS Intelligence Teams in Italy," July 11, 1945, Folder 3, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 2.

intelligence, SO and SI also expanded in the late winter to weather observation and dispatched between 8 and 10 observers who reported to Mediterranean Allied Tactical Air Force (MATAF) twice each day on weather conditions in northern Italy.[50]

OSS Documenting

One often overlooked aspect of professionalism is the ability, or desire, to document organizational history, often through periodicals and journals, and to be kept in appropriate archives. Such histories provide opportunities to not only document historic or important events, but also serve as a vehicle through which to tackle organizational self-improvement. The OSS raised the complement of personnel assigned to the Field Photographic Branch (FPB) considerably, enlarging it by the end of the war. The FPB catalogued operations in the field and provided film reels and photographs for public consumption and for internal OSS use. The increased personnel tackled the increasing work load of having at least four teams operating in the field at all times for a total of eight teams in the Mediterranean Theater. [51]

Alongside R&A's diligent archival process, the two branches saved hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of documents. The FPB under Lieutenant H. J. Forbes, USNR, spent the first three months of 1945 preparing the Intelligence Photographic Documentation Project (IPDP). The largest FPB project, IPDP, started after personnel finally became available. The IPDP took on the added tasks of assisting with strategic bombing analysis and documenting the state of affairs in cities throughout liberated Italy and Europe.[52]

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[50] Maj. Judson B. Smith to Commanding Officer, 2677th Regiment OSS (Provisional), "S. O. Branch – Report of Progress 5 December 1944 – 5 March 1945," March 5, 1945, Folder 8, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[51] H. J. Forbes to Chief, Operations, "Field Photographic Branch – Operations Progress Report for the period 5 December 1944 to 5 March 1945," March 5, 1945, Folder 8, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[52] H. J. Forbes to Chief, Operations, "Field Photographic Branch – Operations Progress Report for the period 5 December 1944 to 5 March 1945," March 5, 1945, Folder 8, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

The project focused on large areas of Italy such as port facilities, railroad terminals, bridges, viaducts, and other militarily significant areas. Initially, communication issues and misunderstandings between the FPB and OSS Washington caused difficulties in the procurement of supplies and equipment necessary to complete the large scale project, causing several delays. Under Forbes, the project situation normalized, and the FPB moved from Bari to Rome to set up a new photography laboratory and get to work.[53] In a matter of weeks, the project was underway, cataloging and recording vast visual records for the OSS, military, and other government agencies. The FPB demonstrated a unique and operationally complex aspect of the OSS that other government agencies struggled to produce.

Distrust in Communications

Base stations themselves faced difficulties in securing communications with infiltrated field teams. The base station often waited patiently for word from the teams once infiltrated but often received no communication. In response, the base station would broadcast a notice over the radio that it would no longer listen for signals for that team. That often got the attention of the field team who then made contact and reported in to the base station. Another difficulty involved evaluating the possible disloyalty of agents and their operators which prevented rapid radio communication. Such evaluation become most difficult when the agent and his operator did not trust each other. [54]

Distrust among field teams and their radio operators hampered many operations' ability to collect and transmit intelligence. Operators sometimes lied and cited technical difficulties when radio sets were in perfect working order, preventing them from contacting the base station. The reasons for these lies varied, but the most common were fear of capture, lack of knowledge on how to properly run the radio, or actual betrayal. On the other hand, when agents distrusted their operators, they

[53] C. Martin Wood, Jr., to Commanding Officer, 2677th Regiment OSS (Provisional), "Operations Report for the Period 5 December 1944 – 5 March 1945," February 28, 1945, Folder 8, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 23.

[54] "Italian Operations Centering on Rome," unknown author, undated, Folder 3, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 5.

persuaded themselves that the operator lied about technical difficulties when actual technical issues occurred. Trust is vital to developing professional ethics and codes. Distrust between agents and their teams or agents and administrators often hampered the development of professional traits within the OSS. The actions of the OSS NADA team illustrate the difficulty of parsing truth from lies between agents and operators.[55]

The leader of the NADA team operating in northern Italy reported that a radio set crystal which did not work for a former operator and agent worked correctly for him and his operator. The agent inferred, with the concurrence of the base station, that the other agent and his operator had not wanted to make contact with the base. Captain (later Major) Alessandro Cagiati wrote to Suhling, Commanding Officer of Company "D," 2677th Headquarters, of the need to transfer the previous radio operator of NADA "as there was some doubt as to his behavior."[56] However, agents could also too easily accuse an unskilled operator of disloyalty when the real culprit was his incompetence. Teams needed agents and operators who trusted each other in order to effectively, and reliably, communicate their intelligence back to the base station.[57]

Communication Equipment Issues

OSS operations in MEDTO suffered from inadequate amounts of equipment and communication organization throughout 1944. Delays in production in the United States caused a shortage in the overall supply of agent radio sets. Having Algiers as the central warehouse so far in the rear as well as having to split equipment between French and Italian operations caused further delays in deliveries. However, some fault must be given to OSS mismanagement and the poor planning of operations. A general disorganization in operational communication existed around Rome including an "uneconomical

[55] "Italian Operations Centering on Rome," unknown author, undated, Folder 3, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 5.

[56] A Cagiati to Captain Suhling, undated, Folder 63, Box 93, Entry 190, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[57] "Italian Operations Centering on Rome," unknown author, undated, Folder 3, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 5.

concentration" of radio communications around the city. The communication plan of operations dictated the use of communications facilities and when these plans changed or became chaotic, it endangered, sometimes seriously, the functioning of the communications facilities. OSS radio operators sometimes could not carry their set with them on missions due to poor transportation or planning. [58]

The various factors that fed into the lack of equipment makes it difficult to parse out the root cause of the issue. However, agents reported very little equipment breakage or technical failure when they possessed sufficient equipment. Often, discerning whether operators or the agents told the truth about the condition of the sets made it difficult to assess the level of actual equipment breakages or failures. A higher level of technical failure may have occurred in the field than agents reported with operators or agents making successful field repairs.[59]

The OSS opted to infiltrate sets into enemy territory overland or by sea to help to minimize any breakages in transport. Equipment delivery by parachute, in contrast, experienced repeated damage to equipment, especially radios. Despite issues in equipment transportation, enough radio sets existed for the operations in Rome, Milan, Lucca, Venice, Florence, and other cities throughout 1944. However, OSS mismanagement meant that most sets ended up concentrated in and around Rome instead of in the hands of agents behind enemy lines. [60]

Agents often quarreled over sets and specific radio plans – with associated radios – and OSS branches mismanaged the distribution so badly that, at times, groups made do with wholly inadequate means of communication. The Communications Branch decried the haphazard and unplanned accumulation of operators, sets, and signal plans in a single area, which caused a drastic diminishing of

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[58] "The Military Significance of Political Conditions in Rome," to Director, February 21, 1944, Folder 5, Box 313, Entry 210, RG 226, NARA-CP; "Italian Operations Centering on Rome," unknown author, undated, Folder 3, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1-2.

[59] "Italian Operations Centering on Rome," unknown author, undated, Folder 3, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 1-2.

[60] "German Occupied Italy No. 2," to Director, Gen. Magruder, Col. Rodrigo, March 16, 1944, Folder 5, Box 313, Entry 210, RG 226, NARA-CP; "Italian Operations Centering on Rome," unknown author, undated, Folder 3, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 2-4.

returns on OSS team capabilities. Even with fewer sets, plans, and operators, if the OSS had organized the equipment under one scheme – one central signal plan with one or more emergency plans, extra radio set crystals, and spare sets – agents could have achieved more satisfactory results and communications.[61]

Communications specialists decried the haphazard or lackadaisical use of communication plans. The poor state of communication briefings given to agents constituted one of the most conspicuous OSS training failures. Agents seldom understood communication procedures and consequently used the code name of signal plans as the code name of the operator and/or his radio set, causing no end of confusion in reports and at the base stations.[62] Successful communication and contact between an OSS base station and its message center in the field depended upon both working equipment and understanding the procedures outlined in a signal plan.

Training changes saw a re-emphasis on briefing agents to use code names whenever they referred to their communications as the signal plan dictated and not for any person or thing other than the cipher, signal plan, and the crystals of that signal plan. Italian operations to this point had failed to follow this rule, leading to reports which obscured the subject of the communication and proving that bad terminology hampered operations. The Communications Branch brought in experienced personnel to overhaul communication training which helped alleviate some, but not all of the communication issues in the field. As the OSS matured, the organization began to maintain lexicons, glossaries, and standard vocabularies. The agency trained as many members as feasible in communication schools to ensure clear and standardized communications.[63]

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[61] "Italian Operations Centering on Rome," unknown author, undated, Folder 3, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 2-4.

[62] "Italian Operations Centering on Rome," unknown author, undated, Folder 3, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 3.

[63] Conyers Read, Director, OSS History Project, "Security in Caserta, Italy," January 1, 1945, Folder 3, Box 49, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 3-4; "Italian Operations Centering on Rome," unknown author, undated, Folder 3, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 3-5.

Based on these and other experiences, company and branch headquarters conducted periodic audits of radio technicians and their equipment to ensure proper packing and handling of their equipment during the para-drop. Several reports stated that poor packing had led to broken radios. However, an audit discovered the radios in perfect working order. Other findings such as better organization of mismatched spare parts and the suggestion to move from glass tubes to metal for durability helped improve radio communications. These kinds of professional controls demonstrated a professional self-assessment and desire for continuous improvement. The OSS established internal processes that created standardized procedures ensuring a higher level of quality control even among field operations. Oversight and audits remained key markers for organizational proficiency and helped foster a professional ethos of self-examination.[64]

[64] Report to Operations Officer, 2677th Regt., OSS (Prov), "Report of Activities of the Air Re-Supply Det., 2677th Regt., for the period 1 December 1944 to 28 February 1945.," March 4, 1945, Folder 8, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 2.

CHAPTER 11: OSS LEAVES A LEGACY

The end of the war in Europe on May 7, 1945, and in Japan on September 2, 1945, marked a new era for United States' international relations. Hoover and his FBI fought against Donovan's OSS for the right to become America's post-war intelligence service. However, President Harry S. Truman trusted neither man and quickly moved to dissolve Donovan's beloved OSS on October 1, 1945, while balking at FBI expansion into foreign intelligence. Donovan, somewhat broken over the recent events, declared to the single-minded Allen Dulles, "Our war is over, Allen."[1] Yet while the OSS may have lost a battle in the struggle for professionalized American intelligence, it did not lose the war. The professional foundations established by the actions of the OSS lived on into the post-war world as large numbers of OSS men and women would go on to serve and direct covert intelligence operations at the Central Intelligence Agency, created by the 1947 National Security Act. Ironically, the CIA succeeded where the OSS had failed in gaining complete bureaucratic independence and almost complete budgetary freedom.[2]

OSS theoretical concepts had transformed into the practical reality of a new intelligence professional, dedicated to and given responsibility for securing, analyzing, and disseminating covert foreign information which affected US national interests and defense. Donovan and those in the OSS had hoped that when political leaders looked to who would lead the post-war intelligence effort, they would choose to continue the OSS and grant it full independence as an agency of the government.

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[1] Donovan, even as a private citizen, never wavered in his belief that the United States needed a permanent intelligence agency to take over the functions of the OSS which "are in reality essential in the effective discharge by this nation of its responsibilities in the organization and maintenance of the peace." Donovan to Harold D. Smith, Director, Bureau of the Budget, "Donovan's OSS Liquidation Plans and Statement of Principles," August 25, 1945 as quoted from Troy, *Donovan and the CIA*, 455.

[2] Executive Order 9621. "Termination of the Office of Strategic Services and Disposition of its Functions," September 20, 1945, effective October 1, 1945; Director SSU, Memo #WARX 72649 Signed Magruder Director SSU. October 3, 1945, Folder 56, Box 14, Entry 6, RG 226, NARA-CP; as quoted in Joseph J. Trento, *The Secret History of the CIA*. (New York: MJF Books, 2001), 44.

Though Donovan was unsuccessful in saving the OSS as an agency, the newly-formed CIA would take the lessons learned and personnel from the OSS and, for good or bad, utilize them in the emerging fight against new enemies.[3]

Despite the war-time bureaucratic wrangling and recriminations, no government agency or department, or any other intelligence operation in the United States, could match the organizational scope of the OSS. Once operational, OSS covert intelligence collection gathered data no other service did, employed methods none others did, and operated where no other service could. Agents collected information of political and military significance in addition to the people, foreign entities and nations which other services watched. In the field, Donovan's agents regularly worked with, and alongside, resistance fighters conducting sabotage, subversion, and black propaganda efforts which no other United States entity could accomplish. They often operated in places where their actions, if discovered, meant they risked summary execution by the enemy. Any look at the functions and personnel of all the other government agencies, departments, and offices confirmed the "head-start" the Office of Strategic Services had in developing a working intelligence apparatus. OSS personnel already had the required training, experience, sources and contacts, as well as the administrative capability to continue intelligence work into the post-war world with only little adaptation required.[4]

OSS activities with the Italian resistance in mid-1944 to May 1945 had ushered in a new wave of professional maturation. Professional codes of ethics, administrative flexibility, high standards of conduct and service in the field, and better training all marked this period of development in the OSS. The agency and its members began to more fully exhibit these professional characteristics over time as they developed their operations with the Italian partisans. OSS branch, leader, and agent capability increased as professionalism took root within the agency. While circumstances outside their control

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[3] "Draft: Post-War Intelligence Policy of the United States," Undated, Folder 21, Box 2, Entry 1, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[4] "Draft: Post-War Intelligence Policy of the United States," Undated, Folder 21, Box 2, Entry 1, RG 226, NARA-CP.

often hampered its progress, the OSS made great strides in a short amount of time towards operating closer to a professional ideal.

The administrative capabilities of the OSS increased significantly throughout the latter half of the war with the organization quickly emerging as the leader in US covert human intelligence. OSS signal communications dependability and accuracy drew notice as well as the high degree of communication security generally maintained by the OSS throughout operations in Italy. While not perfect, the OSS improved its handling of personnel and equipment from its early days in Algiers to the final partisan offensives directed from northern Italy. The ability of the OSS to make quick, sometimes improvised strategic redeployments and reorganizations in the field demonstrated its organizational competence and thorough training as well as the "devotion to duty" of OSS members.[5]

Senior OSS officers had often speculated during the war how professionalism would assist the long-term goals of the OSS. They knew that effective covert intelligence required a competent organization with associated professional trappings. Competent and well-trained field agents as well as a proficient administrative staff factored into the specific requirements for the OSS to have a professional bearing if not outright professional recognition. Most crucially, operational control needed to be vested "in professional personnel who are personally secure, completely dependable, free from political pressures, and totally divorced from the actual formulation" of government policy. It needed "virtually complete independence" from governmental personnel controls, funding, and internal organization, as well as complete support from other government agencies. Wartime and political necessities had placed the OSS under the JCS, but Donovan never gave up hope of having a fully independent agency. He was pragmatic enough, though, to understand the safety the JCS offered his

[5] Maj. Gen. L. L. Lemnitzer to Commanding Officer, 2677th Regiment, Office of Strategic Services (Prov), May 23, 1945, Folder 5, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP.

agency against the plots of other government entities less disposed to the continued existence of the OSS.[6]

The OSS continuously sought to clarify roles and responsibilities while standardizing administration. It also created a code of professional ideas and ethics. Officers like Huntington, Lowman, Glavin, and others brought with them from their civilian and military life professional practices that infused the OSS with a greater sense of professionalism. The professional evolution of the OSS benefited from Donovan's choice to use business executives and academics alongside military personnel who brought to the organization their management experience and skills. Their years as executives or military training counterbalanced Donovan's lassiéz-faire management style and the chaos of war. OSS branches proved themselves adaptable to almost any situation. Operations of the OSS set a precedent for small covert operations operating alongside resistance forces in hostile territory after the war.[7]

No other intelligence agency had advanced professionally as far as quickly as the OSS, though not everything had advanced as easily in practice as it had in theory. Unfortunately, agents and administrators often struggled with unclear administrative hierarchies and institutional overlap, especially in the field, with regards to orders and authority. In the field, as in Washington, clear lines of authority meant everything to the efficient operation of OSS as an intelligence agency. Even in the case of drafting the standard order of OSS organization, different offices and branch chiefs experienced

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[6] OSS Internal Memorandum, August 31, 1945, ASW 004.7, "WE Intelligence Study – 1945," Office of the Assistant Secretary of War, Classified Decimal File, 1940-1947, RG 107, NARA-CP. as quoted in David F. Rudgers, *Creating the Secret State: The Origins of the Central Intelligence Agency, 1943-1947* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2000), 63' "The Basis for a Permanent World Wide Intelligence Service", 20 September 1944 (?), single-page, Folder 21, Box 2, Entry 1, RG 226, NARA-CP.

[7] Langer to Ensign E. J. Putzell, Jr., February 19, 1944, Folder 24, Box 2, Entry 1, RG 226, NARA-CP; Maj. Howard M. Chapin to Col. Atherton Richards, "North African Theater Report No. 1," February 23, 1944, Folder 6, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 3.

difficulty agreeing to the best course of action. Often field circumstances required changes to tables of organization which no longer conformed to standards initially instituted.[8]

During the twenty-month campaign in Italy, thanks to ever professionalizing administrative capabilities, logistics, training, and more qualified recruits, the OSS managed to maintain agent networks within enemy territory, collecting vital intelligence for Allied ground and air forces. By the end of the campaign, more than seventy teams transmitted information from twenty-four clandestine radio stations from northern Italy back to various OSS headquarters. OSS detachments with Allied armies sent through the lines as many as one hundred and fifty men per month on reconnaissance and intelligence patrols.[9]

With no military fronts to support and enemies to harass with resistance forces, the OSS found itself alongside many other wartime agencies on the Bureau of the Budget's proverbial chopping block. Post-war government leaders would use the OSS' acquired experience to help build the new permanent independent intelligence agency, the CIA, spawned from the ashes of the OSS in 1947.[10] However, the OSS, evolving from amateur spies to a semi-professional espionage service, set the stage for the formation of the professional intelligence officers and organizations of the Cold War. Men and women who had served in the wartime OSS would shortly find themselves recruited into the new CIA to reestablish the professional intelligence standards they had begun to develop during the war.

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[8] Langer to Ensign E. J. Putzell, Jr., February 19, 1944, Folder 24, Box 2, Entry 1, RG 226, NARA-CP; Maj. Howard M. Chapin to Col. Atherton Richards, "North African Theater Report No. 1," February 23, 1944, Folder 6, Box 41, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 3.

[9] Charles S. Cheston, Memorandum of Information for the Joint U.S. Chiefs of Staff, "OSS Intelligence Teams in Italy," July 11, 1945, Folder 3, Box 39, Entry 99, RG 226, NARA-CP, 2.

[10] "The Basis for a Permanent World Wide Intelligence Service", 20 September 1944 (?), single-page, Folder 21, Box 2, Entry 1, RG 226, NARA-CP.

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