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WORLD WAR II -
FRANCE 1940

FRANCE'S UNCENSORED PRESS

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AN ENGLISH
TRANSLATION

FRANCE'S UNCENSORED PRESS

Contents

A FOREWORD ON FRANCE "ILLEGAL" PRESS.

A FOREWORD ON FRENCH RESISTANCE.

TRANSLATIONS OF NOTES, ARTICLES AND PIECES OF INFORMATION WHICH HAVE APPEARED IN THE FRENCH RESISTANCE PRESS SINCE THE ALLIED LANDINGS IN NORTH AFRICA.

A NOTE ON THE LABOUR SITUATION IN FRANCE.

The papers from which we have quoted are :—
COMBAT, LIBERATION, LE POPULAIRE (organ of the Socialist Party), RESISTANCE, and LA VOIX DU NORD.

COMBAT now appears to have three editions. There is a general edition for the whole of France, a special one for the Lyons district, and a third—which has lately become "legal"—in North Africa. COMBAT appears fortnightly. Its total circulation per month is about 220,000 copies (including 40,000 per month in North Africa).

LIBERATION has two editions. There is a weekly edition in the Occupied and Forbidden Zones of Northern France, and a fortnightly one in the ex—"unoccupied"—Vichy—Zone. Its total circulation per month is about 180,000 copies.

Both COMBAT and LIBERATION issue a number of separate leaflets, supplements, etc.
LE POPULAIRE has a monthly circulation of about 30,000 copies.

We do not know the circulation figures of RESISTANCE.

It should be remembered that each of these papers passes through at least a dozen hands.

* * *

Each extract is accompanied by the name of the paper from which it is taken, and the month. Whether we quote from the North African edition of COMBAT, we indicate the fact. To simplify the reading-taken, nor have we indicated the day of the month.

So far as possible, we have used different lettering for each of the papers, in order to distinguish them from one another.

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All the reading matter is an accurate translation of the original French; our own editorial comment is always in the form either of a foot-note, or of notes in *italics* in the text.

* * *

Space does not allow us to quote from as many of Resistance papers as we would have wished. The tribute of our admiration goes to :—FRANC-TIREUR, LE PERE DUCHEUNE, LA VIE OUVRIERE, HUMANITE, L'UNIVERSITE LIBRE, LETTRES FRANCAISES, ART FRANCAIS, CAHIERS DU TEMOIGNAGE CHRETIEN and to so many other papers which our compatriots are writing, producing and distributing at the risk of torture, deportation and death.

30th March, 1943.

PUBLISHED

BY



VOLONTAIRE

POUR LA CITE CHRETIENNE

at 108, GLOUCESTER PLACE, LONDON, W. 1. (Telephone : WELbeck 7595.)

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Foreword

SOLDIERS of France and Belgium, Britishers whose blood has watered the soil of France and Belgium, the Libyan deserts, the mountains of Abyssinia or our liberated Syria, prisoners who have died of privations, and lie temporarily in enemy territory, Polish and Russian heroes to-day united in a common sacrifice, victims of the same barbarian, patriots of Norway, Holland, Greece and Jugoslavia, women and children of Rotterdam, Warsaw, Dunkirk, Amiens, and those men and women whose bodies were piled up upon the roads of France by the ferocity of murderous airmen, innocent victims fallen under the unjust bullets of the enemy and of Vichy—all these dead are our dead, whose memory we honour, and to whom go out our feelings of admiration and regret... It is in vain that German propaganda tries to separate us from our allies...

(Extract from "La Voix du Nord", November, 1941, printed in the present booklet.)

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That is how the "illegal" press of France speaks of France's friends, while the "legal" press, at its master's voice, extols the generosity of France's enemies.

The "legal" press, in accordance with precise instructions issued daily by the German "Propagandastaffel", urges French workers to "relieve" the million-and-a-half French prisoners of war by going to work in Germany, seeks to excite anti-Jewish feeling, recruits ruffians for the various Legionary organisations, pours fulsome flattery on the latest objects of German favour.

The "illegal" press points out that the "relief" is a hypocritical name for slavery, that the maltreatment and deportation of Jews and foreigners, women and children, is a violation of all laws of humanity and of French civilisation, that Vichy's rule through Legion and police is a rule of spying and of terror, that "a nation's representatives must be worthy of it..."

In short, if we translated illegal by French and legal by Nazi we should have a clear understanding of the French picture to-day.

+ + +

Obviously the illegal press, written, printed and distributed at the risk of French people's liberty and life, is not easy to come by outside France. However, a good many copies have been, and continue to be, smuggled over to the Fighting French in London, and some of these are reproduced, in an English translation, in the pages of this booklet.

+ + +

A few notes of explanation are necessary concerning the presentation.

Not only the contents, but the size and lay-out of each paper corresponds, as nearly as possible, to the French original.

In view of our own shortage of paper we have had to reduce the number of articles in each of the papers, hence their pages, which in the originals usually run to four, sometimes come to two. The articles omitted, however, are those which have the least interest for persons outside France; for instance, information and speeches which have already appeared in the British and American press; strictly military reviews; notes on exclusively local matters.

Each paper is of course quite separate in the original, but in this booklet it has been necessary to let them follow on one after the other, even where this has meant placing a title page on what would normally have been the back page of the previous paper. The numbering, however, is distinct in each issue of each paper.

The principal article in each paper naturally appears on the front page: "Libération", for instance, makes a regular feature of its "Our Task". The minor articles, however, often throw a surprising light on major issues; on the other hand, many of them are more interesting for the light they throw on the preoccupations of the ordinary French man and woman, than for their actual information. Thus it is clear that the main home preoccupations are always German pillage and atrocities, abroad, the progress of Allied arms and economics; and during the last few months, the "relief" (the sending of French workers to Germany) and the violent deportation of Jews and foreigners.

It should always be borne in mind that writers of the uncensored press are cut off from all normal contacts with the outside world. Hence they cannot check the figures which they may receive concerning the Allied war effort. We give the figures as they appear in the original, but would be willing to vouch only for those which concern the internal situation of France herself.

+ + *

And now a few words about the papers included in this booklet.

We could have chosen—had we the space—a number of others: "Franc-Tireur", "Libre France", "93", "France d'Abord", "Résistance", etc. We have chosen "Libération" and "Combat" as representing the two largest non-political national movements of resistance; "La Voix du Nord" as the principal organ of resistance in the occupied and "forbidden" zones of Northern France and Flanders; "Le Populaire" as one of the only specifically political papers—it is the organ of the renovated Socialist Party. We have not included—but we wish to mention—the "Cahiers du Témoignage Chrétien", that magnificent symbol of the resistance and co-operation of Catholics and Protestants, chiefly because each "Cahier" is at least as large as the whole of the present booklet. But we would say in passing that its contributors are intimately associated with the national movements of resistance.

+ + +

Some idea of the influence of these papers can be gauged when it is realised that the circulation of "Combat" (fortnightly) is 68,000; that of "Libération" (fortnightly in the hitherto "unoccupied" zone, weekly in the occupied zone) is 60,000 for the "unoccupied" zone only. And each copy naturally passes through many hands.

When we spoke of non-political movements, we did not mean that they have no interest in politics. Quite the contrary. But they consider politics not in terms of party rivalry, but in terms of national honour and interest. Therefore a specifically political party such as that which is represented by "Le Populaire" can be united with non-

party and with Christian movements by common political aims—to-day the "kicking-out" of the invader, afterwards, the creation of a genuine democracy, with "clean" politics, and far-reaching economic changes.

This unity did not come all at once. It developed through the resistance of isolated individuals, then of small groups, many of them with their own papers. Since the beginning of 1942, however, these smaller groups have tended to join together and in this way to constitute movements on a national scale. Hence the great movements speak not merely for individuals, nor do they express mere opinions, they express the present action, and prepare the future armed action, of organised groups of militants with an acute sense of their responsibilities.

+ + +

In June and July, 1942, the leading national movements—"Libération", "Combat", "Franc-Tireur", "Le Populaire"—sealed their unity with one another and with the fighting forces of General de Gaulle by publishing in their respective papers General de Gaulle's declaration of France's war aims. After the nation-wide demonstrations of July 14th (see "Libération" of August 1st—"Fighting France") this unity was officially recognised by the assumption of the title of "Fighting France" by "illegal" fighting France at home and "dissident" fighting France abroad.

Thus, as against the quarrels of "legal" press and politicians, whose only unity is their terror of an Allied victory which would enable the French people to express their will in their regard, "illegal" France has recreated, in purified and strengthened form, France's national unity.

"Volontaire", a Christian and therefore independent French paper, published for the time being in Great Britain by Volunteers of the Fighting French Forces, has always insisted on the moral significance of French resistance. It is therefore qualified to introduce the resistance papers to all English-speaking persons.

We ask you to help us to

SPREAD THE NEWS.

FRENCH RESISTANCE

THE American landings in French North Africa on November 8th, 1942, have faced the United Nations with questions which must be answered:—

Can you answer these?

"Why are you at war? Are you spending the blood, the youth, the wealth of your peoples to free bits of land, or to free *human beings*? When you have freed the thousands upon thousands of victims of oppression (and in the case of North Africa, after four months less than half of those who were in concentration camps have been freed) is it these men and women, or is it their "converted" gaolers, whom you will recognise as the rightful representatives of their country? In short, are you, who are not afraid to fight a war which is the most radical revolution the world has ever known, afraid of a revolution in your thoughts? Are you afraid to recognise that the men and women—today necessarily anonymous—who have long prepared, organised the country for your liberating forces (remember Saint-Nazaire and Dieppe!) are more qualified to govern than public men whose names are not merely familiar but notorious?

In this country and in the United States such questions can be freely discussed. In France, where interest in North Africa is even more immediate, free discussion is possible only "illegally"—in the Resistance movements and in the Resistance press. There the revolutionary nature of the present time is clearly understood. As COMBAT writes: "Our revolution is not a splash of blood in the street", it is a new way of thinking adjusted to a new way of living, it is "a revolution of the spirit, of youth, of the people". "Our revolution" is a system of organised freedom and justice, protected against the abuse of power and red tape; its name is—real—Democracy.

Unity and Disunity

Although the Resistance papers represent people of very different religious and political creeds, of every profession and class, they reveal an extraordinary unity. How does this tally with the accusation, so often heard at the present time, that Frenchmen—in North Africa for instance—are so disunited that they can scarcely agree even in face of the Germans?

There is a certain kind of disunity without which there can be no real unity. COMBAT (North African edition, December 1st, 1942) writes: "We do not know whether there are people who can refuse to distinguish between fidelity and betrayal, between pride and baseness, between honour and dishonour, between heroism and compromise or cowardice—and still live. What we do know is that the French people could not live like that..."

This necessary disunity is the condition of French unity. It is the disunity between all those French men and women whose refusal to compromise—to "collaborate"—with Germany and Vichy has shown them their profound unity with one another—workers, peasants, craftsmen, intellectuals, artists, clerical workers, civil servants, teachers, judges, doctors, priests, secular and Christian trade unions, political parties—and those, whatever their profession, politics or religion, who have "collaborated". It is the disunity between France and a "French State" which, after two and a half years, has to its credit (among other things): a country cut up into economically unworkable zones; one and a half million French soldiers and officers in German prison camps; thousands of French workers sent by fraud and now by force to German labour camps; four fifths of French produce and whole industrial plants removed to Germany; a doubled infant mortality rate and an increase in tuberculosis among average French children of 90%; the surrender of political refugees to the Nazis; racialist legislation and pogroms; fratricidal war in Syria and Madagascar; the surrender to Japan of Indo-China with all that that has meant, incidentally, for the U.S.A., Great Britain, China, the East Indies.... And all this in the name of French "unity"—of the "National Revolution"—of "Work, Family, Fatherland"!

We shall not press the point. What we must stress is that national unification in resistance cannot take place and has not taken place on the basis of mere negation. To say "No" consistently, daily, hourly, to all the advantages—sometimes essential advantages—whereby Vichy seeks to tempt the French people to "unite" in "collaborating" with the sworn enemy of France, requires not only tenacity but a very clear idea of what one positively wants.

The French people do not have to search the libraries to define their war aims. For the French people Democracy is not something which can be separated from territorial liberation. They know it as the indispensable safeguard of a liberty which is not only more precious than material life, but without which material life is itself in deadly peril.

"France is republican . . ."

"We are that immense majority of French men and women," wrote the Resistance paper "93", "whom the sad events of the present time have made indelibly conscious of this truth—that France is republican or she is nothing. Let's get this straight—you the ordinary Frenchman of the country, of the workshop, of the office, you the ordinary French woman with a simple home and duties which you quietly fulfil—it is not extraordinary to be republican. It is not more extraordinary than breathing. It is simply to want justice to be done to everyone. It is to want those who govern you not to indulge in political revenge. It is to claim the simple right to speak freely, to listen to the news one pleases, not to have one's letters opened secretly, not to be spied on by cowards at the service of a tripled police force, not to be in danger of unemployment and the concentration camp for a political opinion which some consider goes too far, not to have to crawl in front of sinister personages in order to obtain a deserved allowance—potato seeds or a worker's garden—not to have to ask anyone for anything or to have any debt towards anyone.

"All that is so little extraordinary that we enjoyed it till 1939 almost without noticing it. And yet, do you know, it isn't so ordinary either. For think. Not to owe anyone anything also means not to trample on anyone else's rights; to listen to the news one wants, to read the books one wants, to meet together and to take action together gives us an obligation to think; to be master in one's own home means to raise up, there, happy children, and through them always to be turned towards the future and often for their sake to sacrifice the present. Do you understand that this requires an effort, a well-balanced energy, a just pride? To be republican means to think fraternally. . . ." ("93", May 1942).

* * *

Hence when the Resistance movements, whatever their political allegiance, insist on *political* as well as territorial liberation, they are not theorising, they are simply stating the conditions on which alone they will cease to fight, because they will have achieved victory. They are simply stating the fact that their newly-found national-fraternal-unity needs concrete safeguards in the shape of democratic institutions. And because they understand so clearly, themselves, what Democracy means, they have taken for granted that "our Allies the Democracies" are equally clear-sighted, equally uncompromising on the subject of freedom, honour, justice; in short, that "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity" are indeed, as LIBERATION wrote in June 1942, "the common banners of the Allied leaders".

It is necessary, in view of recent events, to state the obvious: that because the French people are so utterly opposed to tyranny—whether German or French—and so

radically in favour of Democracy, they are opposed to any form of government which is incompatible with Democracy—whether it call itself paternalism, military order, or anything else. So much for the political aspect.

Yes or No?

But underlying this political aspect there is a moral one. The Socialist LE POPULAIRE, which cannot be suspected of a predisposition to preach, put it most clearly; the difference between those who resist and those who "collaborate" is not one of political tendencies but of morals: "Shall we applaud all successes, whatever their origin? Even if they are born of defeat, cowardice, and treason? Shall we always be on the side of the victors? Shall we abandon our friends, our guides, our leaders disgraced, shadowed, imprisoned? Shall we bow our heads meekly? Elsewhere the answer—crawling—is Yes to everything you want, Yes to the lie triumphant, Yes to the enslavement of our brothers.... Here our answer is No! Never! Two conceptions of life, two conceptions of morals. There can be no compromise between them." (October 1942.) This view is characteristic of the Resistance press. Hence the irreconcilable opposition of the French people to the maintenance in positions of authority of persons whose conduct, when faced with the choice offered to all Frenchmen at the time of the capitulation, fell short of this moral standard—that is, of this courage not to compromise for the sake of expediency.

Sabotaging French Unity

To shut one's eyes to this truth is to sabotage French unity. It is, like Nazi Germany, like Vichy, to identify "France" with so many square miles of earth and water—in which case there is no reason why it should not be indefinitely carved up, nor why any part or the whole should be called "France" rather than "Germany", "Europe" or anything else. It is to join Hitler and Vichy in their fight against the French people who have proved that for them, France is not only a certain territory, but a way of living, a civilisation; that what makes Germanic Alsace and Gaelic Brittany, Latin Provence or Basque Béarn French, is a common spirit, a common sense of humour, a common love of liberty, a common ideal (even though it is often violated) of truth, honour, justice, humanity, hospitality.

In other words, the lynch-pin of French unity is fidelity to a spiritual ideal and REFUSAL TO COMPROMISE it for the sake of expediency. This refusal to compromise brought before the firing-squad the Catholic d'Estienne d'Orves and the Communist Gabriel Péri, whose last testaments are so strangely similar. This refusal to compromise accounts for the French people's willingness to see their very land devastated by "our friends the R.A.F." (and hence to admire the Russians with their "scorched earth" policy) rather than "at peace" under the "French" authority of men whose actions exclude them from the whole Christian, humanist and Revolutionary heritage of France.

It is clear that under such circumstances it is vain to plead political or military "expediency" to the French people as an excuse for sacrificing moral principles for which, every day, they are fighting, starving, dying. It

is—if possible—yet more vain because these principles are at the same time the indispensable bases of Democracy.

This twofold refrain—Democracy and moral intransigence, as opposed to authoritarianism and “collaboration”—is inseparable from the third note which sounds throughout the Resistance: “Gaulisme”.

“Gaulisme”

General de Gaulle was the first Frenchman to act as the mass of the French people have acted since: he challenged, irrevocably, the men and the policy which, from capitulation to armistice (with the signing away of one and a half million French soldiers) and “collaboration”, have already cost France more in blood, in tears, in the health of her children and in the wealth of all her citizens than the sanguinary years of 1914-1918. His voice, as the VOIX DU NORD put it, was “the voice of France”. It was the voice of France not only in its condemnation of German and Vichy atrocities, but in its constant insistence on the rights of the French people, on personal, social, political, national Liberty, on social and racial Equality, on the Fraternity of all Frenchmen and of all nations concerned with honour; in other words, in its insistence on Democracy and in its intransigent refusal to accept dishonour.

Had General de Gaulle continued to be a voice at a microphone he might perhaps have continued to interpret French feelings, but he would have given the French people no reason to look on him as the symbol of national resistance, that is, of France. But, in fact, his call was recognised as the call of France herself by men—and women—who have formed the largest voluntary fighting services of any nation in this war. Their exploits—at Bir Hakeim, for instance, or between Chad and Tripoli—are such as to show the world that Frenchmen, when they are well-led and know what they are fighting for, deserve their reputation among the best soldiers in the world. This call has also rallied to France half the French Empire; and in these colonies the legislation in force has always been the legislation of the Republic.

* * *

To regard French Resistance apart from any one of these characteristics, as without a political aim, as without a moral basis, as without a head, is completely to falsify the picture of France and to cause not only confusion of mind today but very serious trouble for the future.

To regard it, for instance, as a series of “phalanges” at the service of a new Napoleon or Boulanger, is not only an insult to the men and women of the Resistance and to General de Gaulle, but an invitation to the Vichy “phalanges”—in particular to the Legion—to restore

“order” at the service of some Frenchmen less scrupulous of democratic liberties.

To regard it, finally, as mere opposition to Germany, is an implicit recognition of Nazi and Vichy theory, and an explicit denial of Democracy. For it is to imply that if a man is a Frenchman, whatever his principles or his record, he is qualified (provided—and this is where the denial of Democracy comes in—he has the power) to govern France.

A Warning

This point is of vital importance to all the Allied peoples. For if the victors refuse to take into serious consideration this will of the French people, as it is expressed in the only way possible to them—in their Resistance press and in their blood (they have neither the travelling nor the propaganda facilities of the “collaborators” or ex-“collaborators”) they may make themselves responsible for crimes as great as those of Hitler. For to impose “collaborators” or ex-“collaborators” on France would require not only the sacrifice of the lives of many of those Allied soldiers whom the French people confidently await as democratic friends and liberators (“the Allied generals,” wrote LA VOIX DU NORD last July, “will have no truck with traitors”) but the additional oppression of a people who have suffered enough for liberty. And against this oppression of the innocent and of the poor we, as Christians and as Frenchmen, protest in advance, and warn our friends.

* * *

A last word.

We have not given way, in respect of General de Gaulle, to that servile error of idolatry which we condemn in those who blindly entrust their fortunes to a Pétain, a Hitler, or to any other “führer”. We support, and freely serve under General de Gaulle because we recognise in him, as our compatriots recognise in him, the symbol of a France whose history is not one of subservience to those whose rule she has not wanted, whatever their power.

Idealism? Yes. But France without an ideal is the liver-spa of Vichy. And if this idealism is not respected, if the French people find that those whom they thought to be animated by the same devotion to Liberty and to Justice as themselves, deny those principles by compromising with traitors, there are developments as “realistic” as those of 1792 and 1871. History is a witness to this simple truth; that principles betrayed always reassert themselves, eventually, with a violence in proportion to the responsibility of those who, by their “realism” or negligence, have betrayed them.

VOLONTAIRE

NORTH AFRICA and FRANCE'S SUPPLIES

Where goes French produce?

(**combat**, December, 1942)

On the 19th November the Ministry of Agriculture stated that there would be a reduction in our supplies on account of the disaffection of North Africa.

We shall be short, it said, of 4,000,000 hectolitres of wine, "which corresponds to three months consumption in metropolitan France".

It appears, therefore, that our annual consumption is 16,000,000 hectolitres. But the French wine-harvest exceeded 50,000,000. Who has deprived us of the difference—the Americans or the Germans?

The same is true for cereals.

"We shall also lack," says the Ministry of Agriculture, "some 700,000 quintals of seed fruits which will not come on to our markets this winter."

Last winter they did not appear there either, because they went straight to the markets of Berlin. There was not a single lemon, and the few oranges which were distributed came from Spain.

As for the fats of French West Africa and Tunisia, we handled only the most minute proportion, while French butter goes to fill the parcels of every German soldier on leave.

Better still: the Germans had demanded the delivery of all our merchant vessels which go by oil, i.e. some 37,000 tons. We had argued that they were necessary for our communications with North Africa. Now they demand their immediate delivery, since there are no more communications.

Kollaboration.....

Industry and Food Stuffs

(**combat**, December, 1942)

At the SNGASE aircraft works the Germans have made an inventory of all the mechanical equipment.

* * *

In virtue of agreements made by the Franco-German Committee under the presidency of Barnaud, the Germans have demanded: 8,000,000 quintals of wheat (of which the first 1,000,000 to be delivered in October, 1,250,000 in November, 1,000,000 in December); 25,000 tons of meat in November and 21,000 tons of meat in December; 4,000 tons of cabbage (choucroute) in the Unoccupied Zone, i.e. 4/5 of the total production; 25% of dried fruits; 6,000 tons of jam; 6,000 horses.

After our manufactured goods go our machines and our factories.....

At Gonfreville (Seine Inférieure) the equipment of the oil refinery of the French Refining Co. was taken down and carried off by rail. The same thing happened to the special equipment of the Société des Pétroles Jupiter at Petite-Couronne. It is stated that France's oil supplies will now come from Russia, and will have been refined by the Germans.

At the Joeuf steelworks the rolling machines, the most powerful of the type in Europe, are requisitioned and sent to Russia.

TOTAL OCCUPATION

(**LIBERATION**, December, 1942)

What remained of the French army—betrayed a first time in June 1940 by Pétain—was violently dissolved by the Germans with the connivance of Laval. The Germans are now organising a régime of total occupation, with the sole difference that it is a French administration which is executing it, thus making up for the Germans' lack of qualified personnel.

Pétain no longer appears in uniform. It is at least a satisfaction no longer to see his seven stars (*the emblem of a Marshal*). The dissolution of the Armistice army everywhere gave rise to demonstrations of patriotism. Vichy, which since the 11th November could have had no doubt as to German intentions, once again acted as Hitler's accomplice in allowing the Wehrmacht to lay its hands on the French army's stores of provisions, clothing and arms.

At the same time the stocks laid up for the needs of the civilian population are rifled. At Perpignan alone, the German army requisitioned 40 tons of dried vegetables, 10 tons of coffee, 5 tons of oil, 20 tons of chocolate. Further, they seized 280,000 tins of American milk destined for our children and deposited at Perpignan with Raymondis. At Limoges the whole Government stock of cotton and wool was requisitioned. Everywhere lorries, cars, horses, fodder, cattle are taken.

It is to be hoped that the tepid and indifferent, particularly those superior officers who were reluctant to fight "for that wench the Republic", have now understood. As for the conversion of the "collaborators" at the touch of reality, it does not interest us: it is much too late.

How Vichy "kollaborates"

(**LIBERATION**, January, 1943)

At Perpignan, as a result of the campaign waged by LIBERATION, the Germans have given back part of the American milk destined for our children. But they quickly made up for it. In the Mont-Louis citadel they requisitioned all the articles they could find, that is: 20 tons of coffee, 3 tons of oil, 16 tons of farinaceous foods and 7,000 litres of petrol, 4,000 pairs of skis and 800 beds with their bedding. 26 tons of fresh vegetables are daily requisitioned on the Perpignan market.

At Vichy the Supply services have furnished the Germans with 2 lorries of sardines, 1 ton of chocolate and 200 hectolitres of rum, out of gifts of the American Red Cross.

At the Toulon arsenal the 1939 stores were intact; 150 lorries worked for 36 hours to remove these treasures.

Since the dissolution of the Armistice army, at the order of Laval, the requisitions of flour continue, but it is for the German army.

Greetings to the Free Press

(**LIBERATION**, November, 1942)

At a time when the Resistance movements and the underground press of the Zone which has so far been unoccupied, and in particular LIBERATION, are about to encounter the special difficulties created by the presence of the enemy and of his Gestapo, we are anxious to send them all our fraternal greeting. We know them, of course, and we know that they will succeed in flaunting the German police as they flaunt the police of Vichy. No, the voice of the free press of invaded France has no intention of letting itself be stifled. In all circumstances it will make itself heard, ever more loudly, ever more clearly, and ever remaining equally intransigent.

Side-light on the "Relief"

(**LIBERATION**, December, 1942)

The train no. 1011 which left Paris at 8.5 a.m. carried a number of repatriated prisoners of war on their way to work in the bauxite mines of the Var. These prisoners were only liberated after they had signed a contract to work for the German war industry. (This is not only a further indication of the motives which inspire the "relief", but evidence of the difficulty in persuading workers in France, even though so many of them are unemployed, to work for the German war-machine.)

It is not enough to tell Frenchmen in a general way that total German occupation brings them under the immediate authority of the Nazi State. In order to save as many French lives as possible, the Resistance press warns

Frenchmen of particular individuals who act as informers to the Gestapo, they give them their names and addresses, they urge assistance for those who are threatened. Here are examples from LIBERATION and COMBAT.

WARNING!

The GESTAPO is at Work

(LIBERATION, December, 1942)

The German State police, even before the occupation of the "free" zone, had established their centre at Lyons, first under the authority of Bruno Meltiz, until he left for the Russian front on Monday, 5th November, since then under that of the S.S. chief, Hartung. Two hundred policemen who speak French perfectly studied the terrain till the 11th November. A hundred and fifty of them had specialised in the detection of clandestine broadcasting stations; fifty had received French national police cards.

This preparatory work now makes it possible quickly to put the French police of the ex-"free" zone under the absolute control of the Gestapo. It is generally reckoned that large-scale repression of patriots will begin on 1st January. In faithful imitation of the occupied zone, Vichy has decreed the surrender of weapons, and has established "special sections" for the law-courts, whose duty is to execute the orders of the Gestapo. In some places German agents have conducted operations with the assistance of the French police. At Lyons a doctor was seized in the middle of the night. A number of students who had finished their term of internment for Gaulliste demonstrations were again arrested. General Weygand was removed, whilst in the country, and taken to Nuremberg. Paul Reynaud and Mandel were taken under German escort from le Portalet to Bordeaux.*

Each Gestapo agent has in his pay at least fifty French informers, recruited mainly among the S.O.L. Many of the S.O.L., apparently picked men, are asked by their leaders to resign. They then enter directly into the Gestapo formations. At Lyons, the S.O.L. leader Chanudet, of the "Grande Maison", charged with clothing the workers who go to Germany, makes a daily report to Hartung. The following informers specialise in their denunciations of Gaullistes : Landon, 11 rue du Terminus, Jouve, Michel and Guérin, 171, rue Garibaldi.

* See page 8, col. 3.

The life and the security of French citizens are in the hands of the Germans. More than ever, in face of the enemy, solidarity is essential. All those who are in a position to warn, protect, hide threatened patriots have the imperative duty to do everything to save their fellow citizens from German police measures.

Whoever fails in this duty, whoever surrenders a patriot to the German police, whether or not through the intermediary of the French police, will be tried by the special courts which will be constituted on the very day — now close — of liberation.

GESTAPO

(combat, December, 1942)

France is now totally occupied ; the Germans are establishing themselves everywhere with their mechanism of terror. The Gestapo was already on the spot. It immediately set to work ; at Marseille and at Lyons lists of hostages have been drawn up. At Lyons there have been arrests : a doctor snatched from his bed in the middle of the night, thrown in prison and probably condemned to death ; the flat of a former Belgian consul turned inside out and the lock forced..... The French police received orders to assist in these operations without taking an active part. There was no protest from Vichy ; "honour and dignity" counsel silence.

THE "RELIEF"

(LIBERATION, 15th December, 1942)

600 workers at the Brest arsenal were designated for work in Germany : only 4 of them had signed their contract. Their train left amidst a demonstration of 10,000 Brest people, crying "Death to Laval"; "Death to Pétain".

In Vichy Prisons

(combat, December, 1942)

The following letter was addressed by COMBAT to the Minister of the Interior — Pierre Laval — on 12th December 1942. The treatment of prisoners of which it speaks was current in France and in North Africa during the office of previous Vichy Ministers of the Interior, conspicuous among whom were PEYROUTON and DARLAN.

12th December, 1942.

Monsieur le Ministre,

A number of militants of COMBAT have been arrested and imprisoned in a great many prisons of the "free" zone. Many of them have suffered odious treatment at the hands of your police, treatment which is contrary both to the laws of humanity and to any laws at all. We quote only a few examples :

Flagellation of the soles of the feet with an ox-goad.

Blows on the head (with ditto)

Kicks in the genital organs.

Burning of the toes with a lighter.

Some of our friends asked for death rather than the continuation of such treatment. Nevertheless they did not talk.

Your subordinates appear not to know that they are dealing with patriots whose faith will not give way under blows. When a Frenchman is defending his country and his liberties, threats and pain cannot turn him into a traitor.

We note that you are incapable of ensuring respect for laws in usage in all civilised countries. We note that your inspectors have deliberately placed themselves outside the law. We shall now place ourselves on the same ground. It is they who have obliged us to do so.

We warn you that each new brutality will be pitilessly punished in the person or in the goods of the man guilty of it. No threat, no punishment will deter us. To violence we shall answer with violence. For each blow we shall give ten. We have the men and the means.

As Minister of the Interior you have supreme authority over the Police. You are personally responsible for the actions of each one of your subordinates. Reflect that soon you will have to render accounts. We hope not to be obliged to draft your act of accusation.

(Signed) combat

The last spasms of Vichy-Etat *

LIBERATION, which always has first-hand information concerning what goes on within the precincts of Vichy (for, as the Vichy and Paris Press have long complained, there are "Gaullistes" everywhere) gives the following account of what happened in Vichy as a result of the Allied landing in North Africa.

At 2.30 a.m. on Sunday, November 8th, Vichy heard that the English and Americans were about to land in North Africa. Laval received the information at Chateldon and arrived at the Hotel du Parc at 5 a.m. Of course he at once telephoned the German consul, Krug von Nidda. By 7 a.m. the Ministries, Embassies, etc., were guarded by the military.

At 8 a.m. came President Roosevelt's message to Marshal Pétain. Messrs. Rochet, Guérard and Paul Morand were charged with drafting an answer. Meanwhile the Lyons police searched everywhere for General Giraud.

At 11.30 a.m. a Ministerial Council, at which Admiral Platon, Paul Marion (Minister of Information and Propaganda) and Abel Bonnard, alias "Gestapette" (Minister of Education and author of a pornographic work) were very excited and wanted to declare war on the U.S.A. But the Marshal did not want to do anything without consulting Weygand, and Laval argued that according to the "Constitutional Act No. 2" the "Head of the State" cannot declare war without the consent of the "Legislative Assemblies."

Weygand, who waited upon the Marshal at 2.30 p.m., categorically refused to assume command of the troops in North Africa. He said he had no desire to be the ally of the vanquished and added : "I am a cavalier, Monsieur Laval is a dealer."

At 6.15 p.m. yet another Council of Ministers. Laval announced that Germany demanded the breaking off of diplomatic relations with America. (On learning this news, Mr. Tuck said that this was a matter of complete indifference to the United States.)

On the following day Laval left to meet Hitler. On the 10th November came a telegram from Darlan asking permission to cease fire.

The Marshal asked the opinion of the ministers and of Weygand. The latter's advice was categorical : "All resistance would be criminal." But Laval's son-in-law, de Chambrun, who was present, joined in : "You cannot stab in the back the Head of the Government (Laval) who is in process of negotiating the return of 1,200,000 prisoners and the integrity of French territory." (This less than 12 hours before the total occupation of France!)

As always, the Marshal acquiesced. He telegraphed : "I gave the order to resist the aggressor, I maintain the order." It was Guérard who drafted the telegram.

11th November, 6 a.m.—German guards at the Bellerive bridge (*ex-free zone*). Pétain who, in the words of his most intimate collaborator, Dumoulin de la Barthète, "still has good forenoons", handed his protest to Marshal von Kunstedt, who arrived at the Hotel du Parc at 10.30 a.m. "You see," he said, "I sign Philippe Pétain." And rising, he added : "I think, Monsieur le Maréchal, that we have nothing else to say to one another."

Those in the old man's entourage who incline towards resistance, aware of his notorious

A Telegram to the British and American Governments

(LE POPULAIRE, December, 1942)

COMBAT, FRANC-TIREUR, LIBERATION, the FRENCH WORKERS' MOVEMENT (embracing the Trade-Union Federation and the Christian Unions), the Committee of Socialist Action (of which LE POPULAIRE is the mouthpiece), the Radical Party, the Popular Democratic Party, the Republican Federation, address warm congratulations to American and English Governments for liberating action in North Africa. Our hearts with allied combattants and impatiently await day when we shall also fight enemy arms in hand.

Gratefully salute General Giraud and all Frenchmen who spontaneously joined General de Gaulle, indisputable head of resistance, who more than ever has whole country behind him.

Demand immediately destinies liberated North Africa handed to General de Gaulle.

Demand that rallying of those responsible for political and military trahison not to be considered excuse for past crimes.

inconstancy, at once took his protest to the Broadcasting Services without passing via the Information Services.

In the afternoon another Ministerial Council, in the presence of Laval, just returned from Munich.

Meanwhile the Gestapo was at work and the American naval and military attachés were released only on the energetic intervention of the Swiss ambassador at Vichy.

13th November, General Weygand was arrested at Bourganeuf in the Creuse, and transferred by the Gestapo to Germany. Pétain made no protest.

On the 16th he abdicated his power to Laval.

His message of 19th November commenting on the transfer of full powers to the new "heir-apparent", remained recorded for the space of three days. During these three days the "Head of the State" changed his mind a dozen times as to whether or not this message was to be released.

27th November—3 a.m.—a new "coup de théâtre"—von Nidda arrived at the Hotel du Parc with a letter from the Führer to the Marshal. They woke Pétain, who declared at the Council of Ministers that he would resign. To Hitler's letter Krug von Nidda added a verbal demand : "A civil requisition" to furnish 40,000 workers to raise fortifications in southern France. The German consul suggested that the "chantiers de jeunesse" (youth-work-camps) might furnish a part of this number. For the time being the only decision was the decision to do nothing, that is, to let the Germans do what they wished.

At the Council of Ministers Pétain succumbed to his obsequious Ministers, who are anxious to retain in office the man whose responsibility in treason eclipses their own. The Marshal justified himself by saying : "I must remain in office to save what can still be saved."

For the first time since 1940 there is room in the hotels of Vichy : the rats are leaving the doomed ship. Vichy France? It is 12 million men who do not obey the Government. Laval is preparing to take the débris of his Ministry to Paris. There is much talk of a triumvirate of Laval-Doriot-Déat flanked by Benoist-Méchin, Marion, and a few others of the same breed.....

*The labels on bottles of Vichy-water always bore the words "Vichy-Etat".

DO NOT TOUCH FRENCH PATRIOTS!

(LIBERATION, November, 1942)

The Pétain Government has committed the shameful crime of not liberating, before the arrival of the Germans, the patriots who are political prisoners, thus pointing them out to the enemy as hostages.

LIBERATION sent General de Gaulle, in London, the following telegrams :

"Urgently demand Vichy officials in North Africa be constituted hostages responsible for life liberty political prisoners in Metropolitan France. Without news concerning liberation political prisoners North Africa, presume necessary measures taken."

"Urgently demand destitution and immediate change high Vichy officials North Africa."

PAUL REYNAUD

TO PÉTAIN

(LIBERATION, December, 1942)

(Paul Reynaud, former Prime Minister, who had called Marshal Pétain into his Government, was imprisoned by Pétain, after the French collapse, together with other former ministers. When the Germans occupied the Vichy Zone, they at once seized upon Reynaud. The following is the text of his telegram to Pétain before being transferred to Bordeaux by the Gestapo.)

"Place before you point of honour : are you going to surrender your ex-chief to enemy?"

The Resistance of the Workers

The October Strikes

(COMBAT, November 1942)

Faced with requisitioning, the workers have reacted violently and realised their strength. The General Strike was their energetic and immediate protest:

It began on October 13th at Lyons, in the S.N.C.F. (National Railways) workshops at d'Oullins, when lists appeared of those ordered to go to Germany. At once there were solidarity strikes at the Mouche depot and at Venissieux.

On the 14th the S.N.C.F. at Ambérieux, St-Etienne, le Teil, Chambéry, Grenoble followed. On the 14th and 15th, solidarity strikes in the Delle factory, and in the motor works of Rochet-Schneider, Berliet, Sigma, Bronzavia, Somua and Simca. On the 17th all the Lyons heavy-industry followed; the Calor factory was evacuated by the police.

At Limoges, at the arsenal, and at the Gnome et Rhône works, and at Givors, in the foundries, strikes began on the 13th.

Everywhere the militants of COMBAT were in the front ranks of resistance.

At Paris there were several strikes of protest, for instance at Hotchkiss, Lorraine and Renault.

Repression was violent, but especially against individuals. For instance, in the Neyret-Belier works at Grenoble, or in the Marignane (aircraft) works, 19 and 11 unorganized workers respectively, having refused to sign their contract, were arrested; they will probably be deported to Germany. As always, those who are alone are helpless. On the contrary, in Lyons the strikers of the S.N.C.F. achieved the liberation of their arrested comrades.

It is not a class strike. The strike has become a powerful weapon of patriotic resistance.

Workers, in every firm, unite together. Collective resistance will make Vichy retreat. In every works there is a militant of COMBAT. Find him out and group yourselves around him. He will give you our orders, he will look after you, he will help you to bring off victory.

To the Rescue of the Workers!

(COMBAT, December 1942)

In a few days forced requisition, hard labour, will be the lot of the French workers. The tears, the sweat, the blood of our people will flow. Universal law condemns the trade in white women; that of Vichy orders the trade in white men.

Gentlemen of Vichy, take advantage of the few weeks during which you still have the illusion of power. Continue your meals on the black market in the company of your German masters. But shut your ears to the rumbling of anger which rises from the towns and the villages. This anger of a whole people, prelude of our revolution.

We shall march at its head and we shall lead it to you for a settlement of accounts. There will also be tears, sweat, blood. Treason has to be paid.

Frenchmen, show your solidarity with the workers!

Farmers, give employment to our workers!

Traders, give employment to our workers!

Middle-class, give employment to our workers!

Employers, show your solidarity with your workers!

People of France, to the rescue of the workers of France!

450,000 HOSTAGES

(LIBERATION, 10th January 1943)

Laval has got himself into trouble. Serious trouble—such as every Frenchman would like to make for him. His master is not pleased and he did not take kid gloves to tell him so. There is the sinking of the Fleet, the Marshal who cannot get himself obeyed, skilled workers who have to be taken off by force and who then do nothing, all these Frenchmen who just laugh when you talk to them about Europe... No, Hitler is not pleased. Finally, after a diatribe which lasted a good hour, he softened and told Laval—who blushed with pleasure—"I have no confidence in France, but I have confidence in you. You will be the last Head of the French Government, and if you fail the German administration will take the country in hand."

Ah, there is something to make us happy! Laval will undoubtedly multiply his zeal to deserve the confidence of the Führer. But what can the zeal of this little traitor do when it is France which will not play? So let Hitler send us his German administration: that will make fewer men and many more worries for that dear Adolf. When one has force nothing is impossible: but one must have a lot of force and

always more force. And there is one thing which force cannot achieve: to turn a man who has been kidnapped during the night and secretly deported into an industrious and satisfied worker.

Laval has promised workers, specialists. They do not come; so Hitler takes them. In the occupied zone his agents come right into the public places and take away those who are not doing anything, anyhow. On this side of the demarcation line the recalcitrant are taken away by force. But stealthily, by small doses, and individually; the public authorities have not forgotten their great fear of October 1942. According to the latest information, Hitler has thus succeeded in gathering a total of 450,000 French workers.

As always in our national history, the working class has to make the hardest sacrifices. Cornered, betrayed, overpowered, they have had to give hostages to the enemy. But Hitler will not have time to execute his diabolical plan. One day, sooner perhaps than we dare to hope, these hostages, with their comrades, prisoners of war, will raise—in the very heart of defeated Germany—the flag of French insurrection.

CALENDAR FOR 1942

(LIBERATION, 10th January 1943)

23rd February, 1942:

"The path I have chosen is that of Liberty." Philippe PÉTAIN.

6th May, 1942:

"Hold aloft, and firmly, the honour of the flag. Defend yourselves to the

limits of your possibilities and make the British pay as dearly as possible their highwayman-like action."

DARLAN to the troops of Madagascar.

12th June, 1942:

"Monsieur Laval and I, we march

hand in hand. There is between us complete understanding and absolute confidence." Philippe PÉTAIN.

23rd June, 1942:

"I hope for the victory of Germany." Pierre LAVAL.

L'effort**C'Auto****Aujourd'hui****L'AVENIR**L'HIVER A PRIS
possession
du front russe**Le Petit Parisien****JOURNAL DES DÉBATS****Le Petit Journal****LE COURRIER DU CENTRE****L'CRU****CANDIDE****GRAND MINT****LE PETIT MARSEILLAIS****EN TUNISIE**
LA DEPÊCHE**VICHY CENSORSHIP***Instructions to the Press, issued under the authority of the Vice-President of the Council,**Admiral Darlan, March, 1942.*

"These instructions are absolute. Any proved violation will entail administrative and if necessary penal sanctions in conformity with the legislation in force."

There follow 92 PERMANENT instructions. But the Press also receives DAILY instructions. Here are a few examples of both.)

"It is forbidden to show public discontent . . ."

"It is absolutely forbidden to allude to the control exercised over postal, telephonic and telegraphic services."

"Absolutely nothing must appear concerning Franco-British relations."

"All information concerning the Franco-American Committee must be submitted to the Central Censorship."

"It is forbidden to write about the Alsace-Lorraine prisoners of war . . ."

"It is forbidden to publish advertisements or articles which show the pleasures of life in certain health and bathing resorts, particularly on the Riviera; or to publish society columns with notices of receptions....."

"Censorship authorities will urgently request the papers to publish prominently, with careful typography, the agency message entitled "French indignation at the aggression against Madagascar" (15/5/1942).

"The following passages from Churchill's speech must appear as sub-heads over 3 columns on the front page: 'At any moment we may receive news of grave importance. The full effects of these events cannot yet be measured. We are in the presence of a recession of our hopes.' . . ." (2/7/1942).

"No mention must be made of the newspaper-directors' lunch held to-day in Vichy" (8/8/1942).

"It is forbidden to mention the explosion of a lighted card on the night of 13th-14th in front of the re-office for French workers or Germany at Tar- (1942).