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SUPREME HEADQUARTERS
ALLIED EXPEDITIONARY FORCE
Psychological Warfare Division
INTELLIGENCE SECTION

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The following report, from PWB Combat Team (G-2) Headquarters, 7th Army, is circulated for information: The comments contained in this report does not represent the views of the Intelligence Section at this Hq.

A. BACKGROUND

1. FFI:

The FFI are now going through a period of disarmament, demobilisation and demilitarisation. The measures taken by departmental administrations are receiving the full support of the public who are beginning to grow tired of the officious attitude of youths who institute unauthorized traffic controls, identity check-ups, etc., or who make false requisitions of cars which they drive dangerously and incessantly about the streets on no particular business. Parents are becoming anxious for the future of their sons whom they would like to see under army discipline as soon as possible. Many FFI units have been incorporated into Army B. Units from Isere Dept. are to be allowed to form special Chasseur Alpin detachments. Incorporation into the French Army is being expedited by FFI regional Chiefs in cooperation with officers of the Allied Military Mission. For example, in NICE the future of the FFI in Region R-2 is being handled by Captain Chasuble and his British adviser Major Gunn.

In LYON vigorous measures were taken immediately by General Brosset's command, the first DFL to put down the disorder caused by street fighting between miliciens and FFI. For a few hours after the liberation of the city and before the entry of the French troops there were serious engagements and dead bodies lay for hours about the streets. On his arrival General Brosset immediately forbade the carrying of arms by anyone but military personnel and posted a proclamation to that effect in the city. In BESANCON, the prefect of DOUBS who had the advantage of experience, immediately decreed in agreement with the local FFI commander that all FFI troops should be placed in barracks and disarmed until they could be incorporated into the army. By his swift action he thus averted the embarrassment suffered by other Prefects who, for a time, were unable to control the FFI in their departments.

In the big cities and particularly in MARSEILLES, it is confirmed by the police that many undesirable characters and convicted criminals are wearing FFI brassards. Some of them succeeded in being released from jail along with political prisoners. Some of them collaborated closely with the Germans. There is no doubt that before long there will have to be an epuration within the FFI. The general opinion among Frenchmen seems to be that incorporation in the army must take place as soon as possible. Mobilization will be voluntary which leaves two alternatives to the FFI man: either join the army and submit to military discipline or return to civilian life.

An indication of the way the FFI leaders see the future of their men was shown in the speech by a Captain Walter at a FUJP rally in MONTPELIER. He spoke of the necessity for the new

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French Army which would advance to Berlin to be a "people's army" imbued with the new spirit that pervaded the French Resistance. He went on to emphasize that all the FFI could not be spared to go to Germany. Some must stay behind under arms, according to Captain Walter, to "combat the enemy of the interior" and to maintain order in the country. This reflects the idea expressed by other Left inclined leaders of the FFI who, after diatribes against the trusts and the rich bourgeois in general will end up by saying that the FFI must be the force that will bring about the economic and social revolution. Therefore the fear that the FFI may develop into a political army is another reason why the prefects are expediting mobilization. Recruiting for the Front National, Le Movement de la Liberation National and the Francs Tireurs et Partisans (who have now added Francais to their title) continue, however.

The bourgeois dreads the FTPF whom he regards as a vanguard of the Communist revolution. The FTPF resolutely remain outside the FFI as a separate unit and there are many who believe that this body receives orders from Moscow. Inspired by this fear Frenchmen of the Right have more than once expressed the wish to PWB officers that Allied armies would remain for a while in France to prevent revolution.

The fear that the FFI may be a potential source of disorder or opposition was expressed in a talk addressed to them by General COCHET from MARSEILLES. He said "C'est la que le FFI ont un nouveau devoir a remplir Soutien du Pouvoir, elles doivent permettre a celui ci de s'exercer pleinement dans la legalite de leur role, elle perdraient l'affection du peuple qui demande aux autorites mises en place par le gouvernement provisoire de lui assurer la liberte en mettant hors de cause tout element de trouble ou de desordre qui se manifesterait".

The FTP in NICE have found themselves obliged to issue their own order to their men to desist from pillage. It was as follows :

LES FTPF A LA POPULATION

Les Francs Tireurs Partisans Francais; combattants de la premiere heure pour la liberation de notre Patrie, qui ont montre depuis deja longues annees aux populations leurs esprit de discipline et de probite en meme temps que leur esprit combatif, entendent rester combattants propres et au-dessus de tous soupçons.

En consequence, le Haut Commandement FTPF des Alpes-Maritimes a renouvele a tous les combattants les ordres tres severes qui furent appliques des le debut de l'existence des FTPF.

Tout acte de pillage sera puni de peine de mort.
La population est averie que certaines individus ne faisant pa partie des Organizations de Resistance, porteurs de brassards FTPF ou autres, requisitionnent et pillent.
Ces abus doivent etre immediatement denonces.
Ils seront reprimés avec la derniere severite.
Tout FTPF qui se sera rendu coupable sera puni de peine de Mort.

FTPF ... SOUVIENS TOI !
HONNEUR PATRIE LIBERTE
Le Commandement des FTPF des Alpes Maritimes.

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2. COMMUNICATIONS

Lack of communication with Paris decentralizes administration. The result is that the prefect is either a little dictator or a puppet at the mercy of the Comité de la Libération. Another outcome of this state of affairs is that departments vary greatly in the measures taken. For example, the measures taken concerning the FFI by the prefect of DOUBS are unique. There is a fear among the Right that owing to a lack of directives and support from the Central Government the prefects will allow themselves to be over ridden by the hot-headed bloodthirsty Left members of the CDL. The Right therefore hopes fervently that the Allies will help in the speedy reestablishment of communications.

Express trains are running from NIMES to BORDEAUX.

3. POLITICS

A meeting of Resistance leaders from liberated departments of the south which took place at the Chateau de Vizille deplored the ordinance of 21 April 1944 by which the Provisional Government laid down the procedure for the reestablishment of democratic government. The Resistance leaders demanded that the members of the Resistance have a majority in the government.

The reshuffling of the Provisional Government has had little reaction on public opinion among officials in Southern France. The names mean very little to them. Surprise was felt at the replacement of D'Astier as Minister of the Interior and his appointment to Washington was interpreted as some kind of a rebuff. It was rumoured that he had refused the appointment. D'Astier's reputation as a Resistance leader stands high in the South Zone and his departure to the United States would not be welcomed. Concerning the Communist appointments in the Government, the story was circulated in the south that the Communists had strongly objected that their party was not represented in proportion to its strength. The official reply to this is said to have been that until an election could be held, no political party in France was entitled to call itself the strongest and that until that time the Provisional Government would consist of men deemed most able to carry out the tasks allotted them.

A Palace revolution in the best operetta fashion is reported from MONTE CARLO. The heir to Prince Louis II, Prince RANIER, has left the Palace and come down to live in the town with his sister. He has made a public announcement to the press that while acknowledging the sovereignty of his grandfather, he disagrees with the policy of his political advisor. The French Minister of State in Monaco, M. ROBIOT, collaborated closely with the Germans and is now under arrest. M. CREYSSEL, once Vichy Minister of Propaganda and then French Consul of MONACO, is also under arrest. It is believed fairly widely by those who know their Monegasque politics that the whole affair is engineered by Louis II and his grandson. Louis II having played the German card to the benefit of the Principality during the occupation, it is now up to his heir to play the de Gaulle card and it is felt that Louis II will eventually abdicate to his grandson.

4. FOOD

White bread is being sold in the coastal towns and only transport difficulties prevent it appearing also in the larger towns further inland. LYON, for instance, has seen no white bread so far. The worst district remains the ALPES MARITIMES,

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and NICE in particular. But the situation is only bad in comparison with pre-war standards. It does not approach the Italian food problem for instance. There is no starvation. People are thin and have accustomed themselves to eating less. The principal hardship has been the appalling monotony of eating the same food day after day. It would be wrong to assume however that the French are suffering any serious hardship through lack of food. On the arrival of a US vessel with 800 tons of flour in NICE recently, the bread ration rose from 150 to 250 Gr.

West of the RhONE, in the region of Montpellier and Toulouse, the food is good and plentiful in the restaurants. The people are nonetheless glad to receive gifts of army rations, principally because they contain meat which is universally scarce. It has been found that the exchange rate of a can of US Army "C" rations, for instance, is estimated by farmers in the HAUTE SAVOIE to be four eggs.

5. PRICES

Prices are high but have not risen since the liberation. The franc is, of course, over-valued in terms of the pound and the dollar. Therefore the soldier complains bitterly that he is being "robbed" when he is in fact being asked exactly the same price as that paid by a Frenchman. The outcome is of course beneficial because the soldier is discouraged from purchasing.

The two most highly valued articles are cigarettes and gasoline.

6. THE ANGLO-AMERICANS ALSO RAN

There is a minimum of credit given to either British or American troops for the defeat of the enemy in France. This may possibly be calculated by the authorities to raise French morale by convincing them that they have liberated themselves. A headline in the MARSEILLES newspaper La Marseillaise announces that PARIS fell to the FFI and to the troops of General LE CIERC. Public speakers gloss over Allied aid and dwell exaggeratedly on the exploits of the FFI. It is probable that before long the French will believe that the FFI liberated the country and thus allowed the swift passage of Allied troops to the German border.

7. EPURATION

Owing to the outcry which was raised in GRENOBLE and LYON after the court martial in GRENOBLE had condemned to death only six out of ten miliciens in the first trial, the members of the court martial have been changed. Another alteration is that in the future, executions will not be public.

At the first sitting of the MONTPELLIER court martial under the presidency of Commandant PETIT LOUIS, assisted by two officers from HAUTE LOZERE Maquis, nineteen out of twenty miliciens were condemned to death.

It can now be said confidently that the "bain de sang" which had been feared in France has been avoided. Despite considerable disorder for short periods during liberation, there have been relatively few acts of vengeance or of summary

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justice. Thousands have been arrested and await trial. It will mean several months hard work on the part of the regional tribunals before all the cases are dealt with.

B. DIJON, ST. ETIENNE, BESANCON

1. DIJON

The welcome given to the French troops who liberated DIJON was, according to observers, even more delirious than the entry of French troops into TUNIS in 1943. The whole population crowded the streets over a distance of two kilometers from the outskirts to the Mairie.

The Maquis around DIJON was well organised but owing to lack of arms they were unable to take an active part in the fighting and prevented from carrying out their assigned task. The arms they had were one Sten to six men and nothing heavier.

In a few hours over 900 collaborators had been arrested. There were no immediate executions.

The principal newspaper was Le Progres. The paper was closed down immediately by the Regional Delegate for the Commissariat a l'Information and the managing editor, Max CAPPE, arrested by the FFI. The presses will now be used for the printing of a new paper under the title of "Centre-Est".

Copies of two German leaflets are attached which were dropped over DIJON in large numbers. The Germans took precautions to ensure that the leaflets did not fall into the hands of the French population.

2. ST. ETIENNE

The town of ST. ETIENNE is one of the most thickly populated industrial areas in Southern France. It has coal mines and steel plants. Armaments are one of its principal manufactures. Over a period of about ten years there has grown up great bitterness between employer and worker which still persists. The most flourishing Resistance movement were Catholics (Les equipes chretiennes de la Resistance) and the Communists (FTP). Their activities were mostly devoted to strikes and sabotage.

On the departure of the Germans from the city, a band of hooligans seized the Hotel de Ville and the Prefecture before the Comite departementale de liberation (CDL) had had time to assemble themselves. After a few hours, however, the CDL were able to take control. In St. Etienne, the CDL is composed of six members, distributed as follows: one Front National, one CGT, one MLN, one Equipes chretiennes, one Communist and one Socialist. The Prefect of the LOIRE is Communist as also are his two sous-prefets at ROANNE and MONTBRISON.

The principal conflict in St. Etienne is between the A.S. (Armee Secrete) which chiefly consists of ex-Army officers, and the Communists. Each body spreads scurrilous stories about the other. A typical A.S. story about the Communists tells how a village priest in the neighbourhood was seized and held for ransom at 500,000 francs. The Prefect reported to a PWB officer that a thousand arrests had been made in St. Etienne. Attached are some tracts distributed in the district by the Communists and by the Catholics.

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3. BESANCON

The offices at the Prefecture offered a more orderly appearance than any yet seen. Everything appeared to be strictly "protocolaire" and the prefect of the DOUBS himself resembled the Prefect of pre-war France. This may be because he had not been a militant resister. He stated that he had been formerly Secretary General at the Prefecture, a position which had enabled him to do clandestine work against the Germans. He says that he succeeded in sabotaging certain important administrative measures.

The Prefect in conversation with a FVB officer said that the DOUBS had had an excellent resistance record, and claimed that the Department had sent fewer workers to Germany than any other Department. In 1942 only 6 had been deported. He also claimed that only 10 people in BESANCON had joined the Milice of DAINARD.

With the agreement of the chief of the FFI, the Prefect disarmed the FFI immediately on liberation and placed all the men in barracks in BESANCON. The Prefect showed little enthusiasm for the FFI and felt that their present and future status constituted a major problem for France. He obviously refuses to be dominated by them and is determined to be master in his own house. For example, the FFI recently requested him to supply them with 150 gendarmes uniforms. He had refused and said to a FVB officer "I can't have them dressing up as policemen and running the town". The Prefect may have been feeling especially bitter on the subject because he had just learnt that FFI sentries had mistaken the car containing M. BOULEY, Commissaire de la Republique, for BOURGOGNE and LANCER-COITE, for a Milice car. The FFI opened fire and the Commissaire was wounded in the head.

The Prefect expressed his suspicion of the FFI who, though in a minority, are according to him well organised, active and cunning. He described their present policy to be that of infiltration into the administration. He is convinced that they are all acting under directives from Moscow. Inquiries in the town showed that the Communist Party is weak in BESANCON. Out of 5,000 votes cast for the Left in the last election, the Communists obtained only 1,200. The Prefect repeated the story heard elsewhere about the Front National, namely that the middle class people had joined this body because it was one of the best organised movements and now they regretted it because they had discovered its Communist line. In line with his previous remarks, the Prefect went on to disparage Soviet Russia, saying that her part in the war had been over estimated and it was only to be expected that with her superior numbers she should have been successful.

The Comite Cantonal de Liberation d'AMENECY has helped the neighbouring department by sending 58 head of cattle and 90 sacks of flour to BESANCON on the day of liberation. The bread ration has increased but there is a great shortage of wheat, supplies of which are calculated to last until 15 November 1944.

Distribution.

General McClure
Col Kehm
Mr Jackson (A.I.S.)
Mr Crossman
Mr Oechsner
Captain Lerz
Intelligence (3)
Leaflets
Radio
P.W.D. (Forward)
Major O'Brien, P.W.D. Rear

P & FW, 6 A.G. (6)
P & FW, 12 A.G. (6)
P & FW, 21 A.G. (6)
Political Officers, S.H.A.L.F.
Radio Luxembourg (3)
S.H.A.L.F. (Forward), G-2
" " " " G-3
" " " " G-5
O.C.S., Major Coolidge (2)
AF. HQ., P.W.D.

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ANNEX I

TALES WITH ILON BAILBY

M. BAILBY was director of the Paris evening paper, L'Intransigeant and then founded Le Jour which he later amalgamated with the Echo de Paris. Le Jour was noted, along with Le Figaro, as one of the most independent papers evacuated from Paris to the South Zone after the fall of France. Its pro-British and pro-American sympathies, combined with outspoken comment, led to its being suspended on several occasions. Bailby also directed L'Alerte, which began to appear in Nice in September 1940. It styled itself "Hebdomadaire de la Renovation Francaise" and was fundamentally pro-Petain, anti-semitic, anti-Masonic, and anti-democratic. M. Bailby is a man who is not at all sure of his future and is therefore very anxious to justify his past. He was a close personal friend of Marshal Petain because their properties in the Alpes Maritimes are adjacent. When Bailby contemplated leaving France in 1942 the Marshal persuaded him to stay. He continued publication of L'Alerte until September 1943 when the German censors insisted on his submitting his articles to them. He refused to do so and closed down the paper.

His politics remain reactionary and his attitude towards Communism is that of a man who considers it an imminent and perilous disease which may sweep through France. He is no victim of the "Bolshevik bogey" propaganda. He is merely repeating what he has consistently said for years. The spectacle of the roughly dressed, well armed toughs of the Mlr roaming the streets with the power to arrest convinces him that the second French revolution will not be long delayed. He himself was arrested by some MFI in his home and kept in custody for a day until the Securite Militaire gave orders for his release. He is still not permitted to leave his house. He is very uncertain of what is going to happen to him in view of his close and openly avowed association with Petain. He is relying on the moderate elements around de Gaulle to restrain the measures taken against those who, like himself, have never collaborated with the Germans but are deeply compromised with Vichy.

His criticism of the present provisional administration in the provinces is that the Prefect cannot, owing to the state of communication, receive directives from the central government, and he is therefore at the mercy of the people whom he administers. (This shows the line along which Bailby's mind works. The Prefect is there to impose the Government's will on the people). Therefore if the people clamour for epuration in a big way, the Prefect in the absence of any outside support, is obliged to submit to their demands. Here Bailby is, of course, afraid that the epuration called for will include himself. Hence one of his most ardent wishes is that communications will be swiftly reestablished so that the Central Government may have some measure of control over the provinces, in order to prevent the excesses which may otherwise ensue.

Bailby is eager to hear about the men who survive in the Government from Algiers. He seems to know nothing at all about Algiers politics. His main interest is to find out the strength of the Communists and the capacity of men of the Right like Mayer and Javuinot. He remains essentially anti-democratic and clearly fears the results of the elections which must come before long. In order to comfort himself, he says that elections cannot possibly be held until the war is over and all the prisoners and deportees have returned home. This time lag, he estimates more than twelve months.

With regard to his own literary future, he admits that he cannot hope to start another paper. Even if he were "bien avec le

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Gouvernement", which he is emphatically not, he could not, he says, criticise de Gaulle or openly say what he felt. The Algiers press laws were roughly explained to him and he rather approved of them.

Bailby is quite bewildered and a little frightened by the revolutionary atmosphere that prevails in France today. He places his trust in the fact that de Gaulle is after all a "general de carrière", and unlikely to take kindly to Communism. He admired, for example, de Gaulle's extreme deference and courtesy in his recent letter of condolence to General Giraud after the attempt on the life of the latter. This reminded him of the good old days when two star generals knew their place. Bailby uses the term "la cause" to refer to his anti-Bolshevik crusade.

Bailby was outspokenly bitter against the LEC programme "les Français Parlent aux Français". He considered the nightly talks of Schumann, the porte-parole of France Combattante, to be "ranting nonsense" and something which no intelligent Frenchman could listen to for a minute. This remark of Bailby's compares strikingly with contrary reports which have been heard all over Southern France.

It has been considered of importance to report in some detail what Bailby is thinking because he is an extremely influential man who must reflect to a certain extent the line of thought of those who, while abominating the German enemy, nonetheless feared still more what they have always considered to be the alternative to a compromise with Germany. This alternative, Communism, they now believe to be coming down from the hills and out of the cellars in the shape of young men with tommy-guns which, once trained on the German occupiers, are now being waved dangerously in the direction of the bourgeoisie. This theory of the "two alternatives" contributed largely to the fall of France in 1940. It goes deep and was fed carefully and consistently by enemy propaganda during the occupation.

Unfortunately the tough groups of the FFI who, in some cases, have taken the law into their own hands, and the fact that the FFI stand outside the FFI as a separate unit, tend to nourish the idea that Communism means disorder and disunion. Bailby, and men like him, who have been living for years in voluntary or forced obscurity, and have worked closely with Vichy, are now itching to get back to Paris so that they may make known their point of view and defend themselves against accusations made against them. Also, so that they may meet together and find safety and possibly great strength in numbers.

Bailby is still convinced that Petain was right.