

Living with the Enemy

*German Occupation, Collaboration, and Justice
in the Western Pyrenees, 1940–1948*

In post-liberation France, the French courts judged the cases of more than one hundred thousand people accused of aiding and abetting the enemy during the Second World War. In this fascinating book, Sandra Ott uncovers the hidden history of collaboration in the Pyrenean borderlands of the Basques and the Béarnais in southwestern France through nine stories of human folly, uncertainty, ambiguity, ambivalence, desire, vengeance, duplicity, greed, self-interest, opportunism, and betrayal. Covering both the occupation and liberation periods, she reveals how the book's characters became involved with the occupiers for a variety of reasons ranging from a desire to settle scores and to gain access to power, money, and material rewards to love, friendship, fear, and desperation. These wartime lives and subsequent postwar reckonings provide us with a new lens through which to understand human behavior under the difficult conditions of occupation and the subsequent search for retribution and justice.

SANDRA OTT, an Oxford-educated anthropologist, has done research in the Basque Country for forty years. Speaking Basque, French, and Spanish, she acquired minor fame among artisan cheese-makers for the chapter on “the cheese analogy of conception” in her first book, *The Circle of Mountains: A Basque Shepherding Community* (Clarendon Press, 1981). Other works include the ethnographic film, “The Basques of Santazi” with Granada Television for “Disappearing Worlds,” and *War, Judgment, and Memory in the Basque Borderlands, 1914–1945* (2008).

Living with the Enemy

*German Occupation, Collaboration, and Justice
in the Western Pyrenees, 1940–1948*

Sandra Ott

University of Nevada, Reno



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-107-17820-5 — Living with the Enemy
Sandra Ott
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)



Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8EA, United Kingdom
One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA
477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia
314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi – 110025, India
103 Penang Road, #05–06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of Cambridge University Press & Assessment, a department of the University of Cambridge.

We share the University's mission to contribute to society through the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107178205

DOI: 10.1017/9781316823439

© Sandra Ott 2017

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press & Assessment.

First published 2017

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

ISBN 978-1-107-17820-5 Hardback

ISBN 978-1-316-63087-7 Paperback

Cambridge University Press & Assessment has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

For Matt Sauls,
with hope and love

Contents

<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	<i>page</i> ix
<i>Maps</i>	xi
<i>Principal Personalities in the Narratives</i>	xii
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	xvi
Introduction	1
 Part I The Context	
1 Pyrenean Borderlands: Setting and Cultures	29
2 Tumultuous Times: World War, the Spanish Civil War, and German Occupation	44
3 Total Occupation, Collaborationism, and Organized Resistance	68
4 The Process of Liberation and the Purge	87
5 The Judiciary and the Court of Justice	98
 Part II The Narratives and the Trials	
6 Harsh Justice: An Ill-Fated Black Market Bicycle Vendor	117
7 A German Massacre: Consequences for a Teenaged Informer	136
8 Dangerous Cohabitation: A Pro-German Basque Farmer, a Duplicitous <i>Passeur</i> , an STO Evader, and a German Interpreter	158
9 Opportunistic Accommodation: An Exiled Spanish Republican, a Basque Shopkeeper, and a German Interpreter	170
	vii

viii	Contents	
10	Ambiguities: A Town Hall Secretary, a Vichy Police Commissioner, and a Nazi Officer	192
11	Opportunism in a Franco-German Friendship: A Béarnais Shopkeeper and a Nazi Officer	217
12	Duplicitous Accommodation: A Basque Double Agent and a Nazi Officer	245
13	Collaborationism: A Teenaged Volunteer in the Waffen-SS	276
14	Sex, Vengeance, and Duplicity: The Strange Case of Dr. Vérité	296
	Part III Conclusions	
	Conclusions	317
	<i>Bibliography</i>	336
	<i>Index</i>	349

Plates appear between pp. 114 and 115

Abbreviations

AD	Archives départementales (Departmental Archives)
AN	Archives Nationales (National Archives)
AS	Armée Secrète (Secret Army)
CDL	Comité Départemental de Libération (Departmental Liberation Committee)
CFP	Corps-Franc Pommiers (a Free Corps created by André Pommiers)
CNR	Conseil National de la Résistance (National Council of Resistance)
FFI	Forces Françaises de l'Intérieur (French Forces of the Interior)
FTP	Franc-Tireurs et Partisans (Free Fighters and Partisans)
GC	Groupe Collaboration
JEN	Jeunesse de l'Europe Nouvelle (Youth of the New Europe)
LVF	Légion des Volontaires contre le Bolchevisme (Legion of Volunteers against Communism)
NAP	Noyautage des Administrations Publiques (Public Services Infiltration)
ORA	Organisation de Résistance de l'Armée (Army Resistance Organization)
PPF	Parti Populaire Français (French Popular Party)
SD	Sicherheitsdienst (German Security Service, or SS intelligence service attached to the Security Police)
SDPG	Service Diplomatique des Prisonniers de Guerre (Diplomatic Service of Prisoners of War)
SFIO	Section Française de l'Internationale Ouvrière (French Section of the Workers' International)
Sipo-SD	Sicherheitspolizei-Sicherheitsdienst (German Security Police attached to the SD)
SOL	Service d'Ordre Légionnaire (Legion's Security Service)

x Abbreviations

SR	Service de Renseignements (Intelligence Service)
SS	Schutzstaffeln (initially Hitler's Protection Squadrons)
STO	Service du Travail Obligatoire (Compulsory Labor Service)

Maps

Map of occupied France	<i>page</i> xix
Map of the Basses-Pyrénées, occupied and unoccupied zones	xx
Map of the French Basque Country and Béarn	xxi

Principal Personalities in the Narratives

- Chapter 6: Mlle. Agnes Bourguine, former girlfriend of Pierre Robles, co-charged with the betrayal of Henri Magens
 Henri Magens, member of the Resistance who helped wartime fugitives cross into Spain, former lover of Bourguine
 Gisèle Robles, estranged wife of Pierre Robles
 Pierre Robles, black market bicycle vendor accused of having denounced Magens to the Germans
 André Roux, chief prosecutor in Pau
- Chapter 7: Jean (Johann) de Chappotin, Germanophile, teenaged informer, and Waffen-SS volunteer
 SS Lieutenant Otto Doberschütz, head of the German security and intelligence service (Sicherheitsdienst, SD) in Pau
 Aldo Gerini, a teenaged thug in de Chappotin's gang
 Henri Lasserre, teenaged "lieutenant" of de Chappotin, informer for the SD in Pau who shared responsibility for the denunciation and subsequent massacre of the *maquis* in Portet
 Edouard Lasserre, his father, a Pétainist attorney
- Chapter 8: Bernard Althape, a Basque farmer who played a double game as a clandestine guide and an informer to the Gestapo
 Louisa Althape, Bernard's mother
 Pierre Althape, her husband, a pro-German farmer, accused of denouncing his daughter-in-law and her nephew
 Jean Castets, cousin of Marie and Marguerite Pordoy, evaded obligatory work service (STO) in Germany, denounced and died in deportation
 Gustav Dultgen, German interpreter and customs officer in Sustary who befriended Pierre Althape

- Ángel López, exiled Spanish Republican, clandestine guide, and informer to the Gestapo
- Marguerite Pordoy, wife of Bernard Althape, heiress of the house Pordoy, denounced and died in deportation
- Marie Pordoy, spinster aunt of Marguerite, accused of denouncing Marguerite
- Richard Weiland, German customs officer in Sustary who also befriended Pierre Althape
- Chapter 9: Gustav Dultgen, as above, friend of Mme. Etxart, a Basque shopkeeper in Sustary
- Maienna Etxart, a provocative shopkeeper in Sustary, an arch-enemy of Edouard Sabalot and Ángel López, accused of several denunciations
- Clément de Jaureguiberry, head of Sector IV of the Secret Army
- Ángel López, exiled Spanish Republican, clandestine guide and informer to the Gestapo, deported by the Germans, survived
- Edouard Sabalot, employer of López, resister, enemy of Etxart, denounced to the Gestapo, survived
- Richard Weiland, German customs officer, friend of Etxart and Pierre Althape
- Chapter 10: Adolphe Debus, German interpreter for the SD in Oloron and Pau
- Pierre Mignard, Vichy police commissioner in Oloron
- Helmut Retzek, SS Captain and regional head of the Sipo-SD in Toulouse
- Jean de Riquer, town hall secretary and resister in Oloron, possibly denounced by Mignard, survived deportation
- Heinrich Sasse, SS Sergeant and head of the SD in Oloron who socialized frequently with Mignard
- Eleanor Hammer, Austrian interpreter/secretary for the SD in Oloron
- Chapter 11: Jeanette Arbel, ardent collaborationist and shopkeeper in Pau, occasional mistress of André Müller
- Freddy, young German spy and lover of Arbel
- Karl Hochstrasser, Swiss interpreter for SS Lieutenant Otto Doberschütz, head of the SD in Pau
- Loulou Larrieu, collaborationist shopkeeper in Pau, close friend of Arbel and Müller
- Mme. Madeiros, pro-German wife of a Gaullist mayor, mistress of Müller

xiv Principal Personalities in the Narratives

- Adolphe Marbach, retired Alsatian army officer in Pau who knew the Müller family from the First World War
- Marie Marinelli, an easily influenced, unemployed friend of Arbel and Larrieu
- André Müller, member of the German Armistice Commission in Pau, intelligence agent and close friend of Larrieu
- Mme. Müller, wife of André Müller in Germany who depended upon Larrieu for material goods
- Chapter 12: SS Lieutenant Otto Doberschütz, head of the SD in Pau
- Marie-Madeleine Fourcade, succeeded Georges Loustanau-Lacau as head of the intelligence network, Alliance
- Karl Hochstrasser, Swiss interpreter for Doberschütz
- Jean Laborde, Basque double agent in Pau, intelligence agent for Alliance, established close social relations with Doberschütz
- General Jean Morraglia, worked alongside Laborde in Morocco during the 1930s, became regional head of Alliance
- Pierre Poinot, served under Laborde in Morocco, a pro-German special police commissioner in Bordeaux, notoriously anti-Communist collaborationist
- Bénédict Rodriguez, Communist grain and citrus broker in Pau, a senior figure in the regional branch of *Liberation Sud* and subsequently *Combat*, accused Laborde of denouncing him
- Chapter 13: Jean de Chappotin, Germanophile, teenaged informer in Pau, Waffen-SS volunteer
- Captain Jean-Paul de Chappotin, Germanophile father of Jean, worked for Georges Scapini, who was responsible for Vichy's Diplomatic Service for French Prisoners of War
- Marie de Chappotin, Germanophile mother of Jean, collaborationist
- Canon Auguste Daguzan, Vicar General of Pau and resister in Pau who survived deportation
- SS Lieutenant Otto Doberschütz, close friend of Marie de Chappotin
- Aldo Gerini, teenaged thug in de Chappotin's gang
- Karl Hochstrasser, Swiss interpreter for Doberschütz
- Henri Lasserre, teenaged informer

- Chapter 14: Georges Baudry, head of the postwar military security service in the *pays basque*
- Mimi Cassou (Mme. de Cornu following her second marriage), alleged young lover of Maurice Pineau and Wilhelm Leissner
- Jean-Pierre de Cornu, husband of Mimi de Cornu
- General Edmond Laurent, chief of the French Army's intelligence service (SR) in the 1920s, military attaché under Gamelin in 1937, military chief of the Basses-Pyrénées in 1940
- Wilhelm Leissner, Condor Legion veteran who headed the K-Org of the *Abwehr* in Madrid (1938) and was close to Admiral Wilhelm Canaris, established close relations with Pineau and Mme. de Cornu
- Sylvie Liberman, Pineau's secretary who denounced him to Vichy intelligence for giving information to the Germans
- Lorenzi, chief commissioner of Territorial Surveillance, oversaw the arrests of Mme. de Cornu and Pineau
- Maurice Pineau, editor, playboy, and self-styled double agent in Biarritz and Pau

Acknowledgments

I am greatly indebted to numerous colleagues who have often provided helpful advice and constructive criticism of articles and conference papers that led me to write this book. Special thanks are owed to Robert Gildea, whose book, *Marianne in Chains: In Search of the German Occupation 1940–1945*, inspired me to seek out the stories of ordinary people in occupied France. I also wish to extend my sincere thanks to Andrew Bergerson, Brett Bowles, Herrick Chapman, Sarah Fishman, Shannon Fogg, Bert Gordon, Rod Kedward, Meg Koreman, Ken Mouré, Julia Torrie, and Richard Vinen for their generous guidance over the years. I am likewise grateful to the historians of France who, since 2006, have kindly listened to and commented upon my presentations at the annual meetings of the Society for French Historical Studies and the Western Society for French History. I also thank Nick Bray very much for having read the entire manuscript with great care and for suggesting ways in which I could improve my “story-telling.”

During the past seven years, staff members at the departmental archives of the Pyrénées-Atlantiques in Pau have helped me tremendously. I extend special thanks to Mathilde Faure and Monique Vanderplaetsen. I am also grateful to the archivists at the l’Usine des Tramways in Pau, the staff at the municipal libraries in Pau and Bayonne, Jacques Battesti and the archivists in the Musée Basque et de l’histoire de Bayonne, and to Mark Lucas at the Knowledge Center of the University of Nevada, Reno, who cheerfully obtained numerous obscure French texts for me. During the academic year 2012–2013, the University of Nevada, Reno, granted me permission to take sabbatical leave in order to work on this book. I am most grateful for that privilege.

I also wish to express my thanks to the anonymous peer reviewers who have critiqued journal articles submitted to *French Historical Studies*; *French History*; *The Journal of the Western Society for French History*; *French Politics, Culture and Society*; and *History and Anthropology*. Material from some of the published articles appears in certain chapters of this book. I thank the Editorial Board of the CBS Press for permission to utilize

portions of a book chapter published in *War, Exile, Justice, and Everyday Life, 1936–1946* (Reno: Center for Basque Studies, 2011); Oxford University Press for permission to use some material first published in *French History* (Vol. 22, No. 1, March 2008 and Vol. 30, No. 3, September 2016); Vivian Berghahn, Managing Director and Journals Editorial Director at Berghahn, for permission to use material that appeared in *French Politics, Culture & Society* (Vol. 23, No. 1, Spring 2014); and David Henig, Editor of *History and Anthropology*, for permission to use parts of two articles (Vol. 17, No. 1, March 2006; Vol. 20, No. 1, March 2009). I am also grateful to Sarah Shurts, Co-Editor of *The Journal of the Western Society for French History*, for permission to use material published in two online articles (Vol. 36, November 2008; Vol. 39, 2011) that served as a springboard for two chapters in this book.

I am indebted to the College of Liberal Arts at the University of Nevada, Reno, for having supported my research in France through substantial grants from the Scholarly and Creative Activities Grant program. I also wish to express my immense gratitude to the National Endowment for the Humanities for a faculty summer stipend, which funded my work in the National Archives in Paris in 2009. Most of the other archival research in France upon which this book is based has been made possible by annual financial support from the Quasi-Endowment Fund of the William A. Douglass Center for Basque Studies at the University of Nevada, Reno. I offer special thanks to John Echeverria and William A. Douglass for their generous contributions to that fund.

During my frequent visits to France and the French Basque Country, I have enjoyed the ample, warm hospitality and friendship of many individuals to whom I owe so much, most notably: the Eyheralt family, whom I dearly love and have known for forty years; the late Poyo Althabegoity and his beloved widow, Odile; Nick Bray and Josette Dacosta; Jean-Claude Larronde and Isabelle Ajurriaguena; and John and Carol Merriman. *Eskerrik hanitx*. I also thank Michelle Uthurry for her helpful introductions to her mother and brother, Bernard, former mayor of Oloron, who in turn introduced me to M. and Mme. Robert Félix, M. Michel Martin, and M. Pierre-Louis Giannerini, all of whom contributed to my understanding of occupied Oloron. I also thank M. Jean Touyarot, who generously shared his vivid memories of the occupation with me. Special thanks are due to Argitxu Camus Etchecopar, Joël Larroque, Robert Elissondo (for *Ikerzaleak*), Jacques Battesti (Musée Basque et de l'histoire de Bayonne), Pierre-Louis Giannerini, and Xavier de Riquer for photographs, and to Dan Montero for his much-appreciated technical assistance with the manuscript. I also wish to thank my dear friends Bonnie and Ed Beck, Bob and Sheila Gast, Nancy Fenstermacher, and

xviii Acknowledgments

David Ritchie for their encouragement and interest in my work. I thank Alex Cerati for keeping me fit and well during an otherwise sedentary daily routine. Thanks are also due to my students and to my colleagues in the William A. Douglass Center for Basque Studies (Kate Camino, Xabier Irujo, Daniel Montero, and Joseba Zulaika) and in the Jon Bilbao Basque Library (Iñaki Arrieta Baro) at the University of Nevada, Reno, for their support and friendship.

Above all, thank you, Matt Sauls, for your patience, encouragement, and love.

Cambridge University Press & Assessment
 978-1-107-17820-5 — Living with the Enemy
 Sandra Ott
 Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

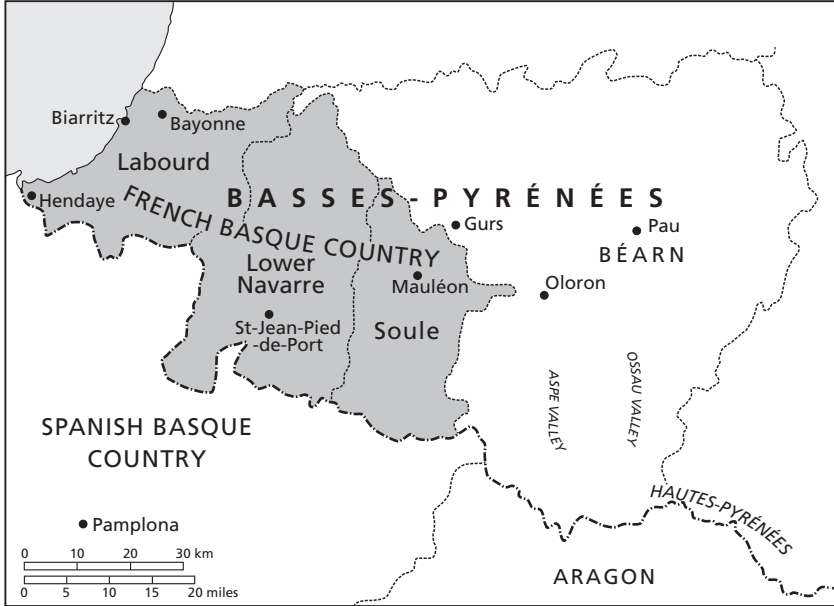


Map of occupied France



Map of the Basses-Pyrénées, occupied and unoccupied zones

Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-107-17820-5 — Living with the Enemy
Sandra Ott
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)



Map of the French Basque Country and Béarn