Contesting France

Contesting France reveals the untold role of intelligence in shaping American perceptions of and policy toward France between 1944 and 1947, a critical period of the early Cold War when many feared that French communists were poised to seize power. In doing so, it exposes the prevailing narrative of French unreliability, weakness, and communist intrigue apparent in diplomatic dispatches and intelligence reports sent to the White House as both overblown and deeply contested. Likewise, it shows that local political factions, French intelligence and government officials, colonial officers, and various transnational actors in imperial outposts and in the metropole sought access to US intelligence officials in a deliberate effort to shape US policy for their own political postwar agendas. Using extensive archival research in the United States and France, Susan McCall Perlman sheds new light on the nexus between intelligence and policymaking in the immediate postwar era.

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Contesting France

Intelligence and US Foreign Policy in the Early Cold War

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For my family

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Abbreviations in Text

AFL	American Federation of Labor
AMGOT	American Military Government of Occupied Territories
AML	Amis du Manifeste de la Liberté (Friends of the Manifest of Liberty)
BCRA	Bureau Central de Renseignements et d'Action (Central Bureau of Intelligence and Operations)
CFLN	Comité Français de Libération Nationale (French Committee of National Liberation)
CGT	Confédération Générale du Travail (General Federation of Labor)
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CIG	Central Intelligence Group
CNR	Conseil National de la Résistance (National Couincil of the
	Resistance).
DGER	Direction Générale des Études et Recherches (General Directorate for Studies and Research)
ERP	European Recovery Program
FBI	Federal Bureau of Investigation
FFI	Forces Françaises de l'Intérieur (French Interior Forces – Free French)
FTP	Francs-Tireurs et Partisans (Irregulars and Partisans)
GPRF	Gouvernement Provisoire de la République Française (Provisional Government of the French Republic)
IRIS	Interim Research and Intelligence Service, State Department
JICANA	Joint Intelligence Collection Agency, North Africa

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xii	Abbreviations in Text
MRP	Mouvement Républicain Populaire (Popular Republican Movement)
MVD	Ministerstvo Vnutrennikh Del (Ministry of Internal Affairs)
NKVD	Narodnyĭ Komissariat Vnutrennikh Del (People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs)
OIR	Office of Intelligence and Research, State Department
OSS	Office of Strategic Services
OWI	Office of War Information
PCA	Parti Communiste Algérien (Algerian Communist Party)
PCF	Parti Communiste Français (French Communist Party)
PCI	Partito Comunista Italiano (Italian Communist Party)
PPA	Parti Peuple Algérien (Algerian People's Party)
PRL	Parti Républicain de la Liberté (Republican Party of Liberty)
PSB	Psychological Strategy Board
R&A	Research and Analysis Branch, OSS
RGR	Rassemblement des Gauches Républicaines (Rally of the Republican Left)
RPF	Rasssemblement du Peuple Français (Rally of the French People)
SDECE	Service de Documentation Extérieure et de Contre- Espionnage (External Documentation and Counter- Espionage Service)
SFIO	Section Française de l'Internationale Ouvrière (French Section of the Workers' International)
SHAEF	Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Force
SSU	Strategic Services Unit
SWNCC	State-War-Navy Coordinating Committee
UPS	Union Patriotes Soviétiques (Union of Soviet Patriots)

Abbreviations in Notes

ADG	Archives du Général de Gaulle (Archives Nationales, Archives of General de Gaulle)
AIDF	Army Intelligence Document File
AN	Archives Nationales (France National Archives, Pierrefitte)
CREST	CIA Records Search Tool
CU	Clemson University (Byrnes Papers)
DDF	Documents Diplomatiques Français (French Diplomatic
	Documents)
DDRS	United States Declassified Document Reference System
FDRL	Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library
FRUS	Foreign Relations of the United States
GCMP	George C. Marshall Papers
HSTL	Harry S. Truman Presidential Library
LOC	Library of Congress
MAE	Archives de Ministère des Affaires Étrangères (France Foreign
	Ministry Archives, La Courneuve)
MID	Military Intelligence Division
NARA	National Archives and Records Administration (College
	Park, MD)
NYT	New York Times
ORE	Office of Records and Estimates, CIA
PSF	President's Secretary's Files, HSTL
ULL	University of Louisiana at Lafayette (Caffery Papers)
WDIR	War Department Intelligence Review
WMD	weapons of mass destruction
WP	Washington Post

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