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Sandra Ott, Living with the Enemy: German Occupation, Collaboration and Justice in the Western Pyrenees, 1940-1948. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017. xviii + 362 pp. Illustrations, maps, bibliography, index. \$29.99 U.S. (pb). ISBN 978-1316630877.

Response by Sandra Ott, University of Nevada, Reno.

I am grateful to *H-France Review* for the opportunity to respond to Professor Keith Rathbone. I thank the reviewer for having appreciated my ethnographic, interdisciplinary approach to the trial dossiers of suspected collaborators who lived in the French Basque Country and Béarn during the German Occupation. As a cultural anthropologist with forty-two years of fieldwork experience in that part of southwestern France, I do tend to read and to analyze court documents in ways that others might not.

My response to Dr. Rathbone's review focuses first on his reading of one particular case study—Pierre Althape, a Basque farmer featured in chapter eight. I then address his "minor quibbles" with the book, one of which raises some interesting questions for readers of *H-France Review* to ponder.

As the reviewer notes, chapter one provides readers with a cultural context essential for understanding the case of Pierre Althape--an irascible, Germanophile Basque farmer, suspected of denouncing his daughter-in-law and an STO evader to the enemy. Professor Rathbone rightly recognizes the importance of knowing something about rural Basque culture and inheritance practices when trying to understand the complexity of Basque-German interactions involving Althape and the fraught circumstances that deeply divided the household in which he lived. However, I feel obliged to correct the reviewer on a few points. It is true that Althape "was deeply in debt and essentially homeless" when he asked his daughter-in-law to take him in, just as the Germans arrived in the village in late 1942. As the sole inheritor of that house, the daughter-in-law had absolutely no obligation, under Basque inheritance law, to shelter her father-in-law. He had no rights to her property, which he deeply coveted. Soon after his arrival in the household, Althape established close relations with two German officers, whom he invited regularly to the family's table (though he had no legal or social right to do so). His son worked both as an informer to the Germans and as a clandestine guide for Jews and Allied pilots. The son died mysteriously in the mountains. His wife (Althape's daughter-in-law) complicated matters by sheltering an evader of obligatory work service (the STO) in Germany. Someone (quite possibly Pierre Althape) denounced both of them. They died in deportation. From the moment of their arrest, Althape tried to claim sole ownership of the property, which rested with his young grandson. The reviewer finds that "Pierre Althape's fight over his family home makes his collaboration comprehensible, if not less reprehensible." A closer, more accurate reading of the case makes such sympathy seem very misplaced indeed. The reviewer also mistakenly states that "the family farm fell into Althape's hands." His grandson retained ownership of it.

As for Professor Rathbone's "minor quibbles" with the book, they are twofold: First, he finds "significant repetitions" in "ethnographic chapters" of the book owing to the prior publication (2006-2016) of journal articles relating to those particular cases. I would have liked very much to have "saved" such material for the book but, like most colleagues, I am expected to publish regularly and to build upon my research

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and journal articles as a scholarly book takes shape. This particular book was indeed quite a long time in the making, but I learned a great deal during that process and hope that *Living with the Enemy* reflects the ways in which my thinking about and analysis of archival and fieldwork materials matured and deepened over time.

Professor Rathbone's second quibble concerns my "choice to defend the identity of some collaborators" and not others. I wish to correct his perception that I did so and to address the interesting question that he raises. As I indicate in the introduction, I changed the names of everyone except certain prominent Nazi officers and French citizens whose names appear in other scholarly works of the period. I changed all names of suspected collaborators "in response to the stipulation by the archives that the privacy of individuals and their families should be respected" (p. 12). Perhaps I should have emphasized this point more emphatically for greater transparency and in order to avoid the kind of misunderstanding made by the reviewer. The French individuals whom I do name were often high-ranking, nationally known military officers/resisters (for example, General Moraglia and Marie-Madeleine Fourcade) and local resisters (such as Jean de Riquer) who testified to the Court of Justice in Pau.

The reviewer rightly observes that I changed the name of the wealthy French playboy and Germanophile, Maurice Pineau, featured in the last of the narratives. The reviewer fails to note that I did so in all other case studies. He also complains that I did not cite the "various articles about Pineau that appear in the British and American press" (pp. 297n, 314n). I did not do so for several reasons: firstly, in order to preserve anonymity and, secondly, because Pineau had an unusually high profile in European military and artistic circles before the Second World War and became involved in several international scandals. I found out about his brief, international notoriety by searching his real name on the internet. (I also discovered an unclaimed Swiss bank account in his name with considerable assets.) Such documents are indeed in the public domain, though access to them took considerable sleuthing. I felt compelled to conceal Pineau's true identity not just because of archival regulations. I also wished to protect the identity of his alleged lover, who figures prominently in the chapter as the focus of wartime sex scandals. She sued Pineau in a Paris court for defamation of character during the 1950s. Rightly or wrongly, I also wanted to protect myself from potential legal actions.

Professor Rathbone also expresses concern that my "non-citation of sources makes it difficult for future scholars to investigate the same case." While it would be extremely hard to locate the British and American press articles about Pineau without knowing his real name, any bona fide scholar wishing to examine the cases explored in my book could do so through the official channels for gaining access to the archives. I cite all archival sources (including the file numbers, report numbers, dates, and place names) and use the real initials of the accused. In file 30W, which contains the dossiers of suspected collaborators and their punishments, case files are organized alphabetically by surname. A researcher can thus call up a carton relating to a specific letter. Scholars and other archive users can also readily read about suspected collaborators in the post-liberation press. Newspapers in Pau, Biarritz and Bayonne reported almost daily on the trials underway in the Court of Justice during the first few years of such proceedings. Journalists used the real names of the accused and, in major cases, often described and commented upon their courtroom tactics and behaviors. I cite these newspapers with full details for each source.

Professor Rathbone incorrectly states that I chose not to protect the identity of the two juvenile delinquents whose stories feature in chapters seven and thirteen. As with all other suspected collaborators whose cases I explore in the book, I used pseudonyms, once again in order to abide by the regulations and to protect these individuals and their families. One of the delinquent teenagers was still alive, and in his nineties when I conducted archival research on his case—something I discovered simply by being observant, inquisitive, yet discreet while living in Pau. His name was in the telephone directory, which gave the same address as the family residence cited in the postwar archives.

By contrast, I chose not to protect the identities of several Nazi officers and their interpreters. All of

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them appear in a few publications about the period. One officer, Otto Doberschütz, played a role in the roundup of Jews in the Bordeaux region before his transfer to Pau. He was thus a figure of some minor notoriety in the southwest. Revealing his identity could potentially lead to difficulties with surviving descendants. In this particular case, however, the revelation has thus far initiated highly interesting exchanges between the step-grandson of Otto Doberschütz and me. He contacted me last year after having read an article by me in which the Nazi officer appears by name. The step-grandson had long wanted to know more about Doberschütz and found my work of great interest. He sent wartime photographs of Doberschütz (whom I had never before seen), his first wife (my informant's grandmother) and their two children. He recounted what he knew about his grandmother's second marriage to an American G.I., their emigration from postwar Germany to the United States, his grandmother's refusal to speak about her wartime experiences, and his own journey back to Germany in the 1990s in search of his mother's two half-siblings. In this instance, revealing the real name of a character in the narratives not only resulted in a mutually beneficial exchange of information about the past, it also gave tantalizing glimpses into another story that began with Otto Doberschütz and evolved transnationally.

Finally, Professor Rathbone asks "what broader conclusions about other parts of occupied France or even other occupations can" be drawn from my work. I tried to answer the first part of this question in part three of my book. "The broadest conclusions of this book confirm some of those reached in local studies about other parts of France: namely, that only a very small minority of individuals in the Basses-Pyrénées betrayed their fellow countrymen. Relatively few people joined collaborationist movements. Active involvement in organized resistance was likewise limited" (p. 317). I also highlight the book's significant departures from conclusions about life in occupied France reached by other historians. The reviewer notes two of these: the relative abundance and accessibility of food in the southwest and the transnational nature of experiences in Béarnais and Basque communities during the Spanish Civil War and German occupation. A third departure from the existing historiography is my "mediated reconstruction of social life through a very close reading of trial dossiers relating to ordinary but colorful individuals accused of 'collaboration' with the enemy" (p. 318). A fourth departure, not noted by the reviewer, concerns the use of German and Swiss prisoners of war as witnesses for the prosecution in the Pau court, a phenomenon not previously reported for the trials of ordinary, small-fry collaborators. In the final paragraph of my book, I return to another issue raised by the reviewer: namely, the extent to which the wartime and postwar experiences of the Basque, Béarnais and other denizens of the Basses-Pyrenees were unique. I urge historians who study trial dossiers in other parts of France to take an ethnographic approach to their contents. We might then be better placed to determine the extent to which these case studies are unusual, "rooted in peculiarities of the southwest, or echo the experiences of suspected collaborators in other parts of France" (p. 335).

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