Colonial Subjects and Citizens in the French Internal Resistance, 1940-1944

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THE RESISTANCE IN COLOR:
North Africans, Colonials, and Indigenous in the French Internal Resistance, 1940-44*

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In early 1941, the Forces Françaises Libres published a magazine illustrating the exploits of the Free French.[1] Emphasizing the visual, it opened with a full-page portrait of General de Gaulle, and the next twenty-seven pages were mostly comprised of photographs. These photographs made one thing clear: the Forces Françaises Libres (FFL) were white. In a total of fifty-three images--which included photographs of Cardinal Hinsley, Churchill, the École Militaire des cadets des forces françaises libres and the Corps Féminin--only seven featured non-white faces. The portrait of the Governor from Tchad, Félix Éboué, was among them.[2] Six further photographs placed towards the end of the magazine featured Spahis and méharistes, the African cavalry and camel corps. Whilst these images acknowledged the role of the French Empire in the FFL, the Empire was never described as central to Free France. North African, colonial and indigenous fighters were explicitly marginalised not only by the number of photographs in the brochure, but also by their content and context. The landscapes were highly exoticized, with the Spahis and méharistes portrayed in action shots on horseback or

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[1] There is no official date but it is assumed that this brochure was published in early 1941, after the raid of Mourzouk in Libya on 11 January 1941 and before the dissolution of the Conseil de Défense de l'Empire Français.

[2] Forces Française Libres (1941) 2.

camelback, and the snippets of text running alongside the six images deliberately emphasized the stereotypical qualities desired of colonial soldiers at the time. One soldier had a 'proud gaze', the Spahis were 'excellent riders' and the méharistes had just led an 'audacious' attack on Mourzouk. Such romanticised language contrasted sharply with the descriptive annotations underneath the photographs of the other (white) Free French fighters: 'one of our pilots returning from a bombardment in Germany'; 'a driver'; 'one of our helmsmen'.[3]

When the Fighting French Committee in America published their quarterly review *France Forever* in July 1943, they embraced the same monochrome image of the French Resistance. The nineteen photographs of the Free French in the Fezzan, in Libya, in Algiers, in the navy, all presented white faces, the only exception being a side-shot of Félix Éboué.[4] And when the time had come to choose who would enter Paris in August 1944, the British and American Generals had chosen General Leclerc's 2ème Division Blindée because it had the fewest colonial soldiers. Whilst most divisions were made up of at least 40 percent non-white soldiers, Leclerc's 2ème DB had only 25 percent colonial soldiers. According to General Bedell Smith, the 2ème DB could even be made '100 percent white'. For the British forces, 'Anything other than [white] French Metropolitan troops [entering Paris] would be accepted with reluctance'.[5] The question of racial identity was clearly a factor for the French Resistance.

Recent historiography has challenged this image of the Free French and shown the extent of its racial diversity. The works of Myron Echenberg, Martin Thomas, and Eric Jennings reveal how the French colonies across Africa, Asia, and the Caribbean had been central to the Allies and the Free French.[6] 'The archetypal early French resistance fighter between 1940 and 1943 was, in fact, black', Jennings recently declared.[7] It was from central Africa, he reminds us, that they heard the first voices against the Armistice. By placing Africa

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[3] Ibid., 22-23, 28.

[4] France Forever (July 1943). Éboué appears on the side of a photograph of Colonel Delange on page 6. The photographs in question appear on pages 6-12.

[5] Cited in Olivier Wieviorka, Normandy: The Landings to the Liberation of Paris (London: Belknap Press, 2008) 314. Matthew Cobb picks up on Wieviorka's findings and underlines the difference between the liberation of Paris and the provinces: for the liberation of Provence, they 'welcomed the Free French armies with their African and Arab soldiers', he explains. The idea that newly-liberated people needed to be able to identify with their liberators seems more focussed on Paris. See Matthew Cobb, The Resistance: The French fight against the Nazis (London: Simon & Schuster, 2009) 265-6.

[6] Myron Echenberg, Colonial Conscripts: The Tirailleurs Sénégalais in French West Africa, 1857-1960 (London: Currey, 1991); Martin Thomas, The French Empire at War 1940-1945 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007); Eric Jennings, Vichy in the Tropics, Pétain's National Revolution in Madagascar, Guadeloupe and Indochina (1940-1944) (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001).

[7] Eric Jennings, Free French Africa in World War II: The African Resistance (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015) 3.

at the birth and the core of the French Resistance, Jennings has helped to fundamentally shift traditional geographical, national, and ethnic views of French resisters.

In spite of this literature on what was happening in the colonies, we actually know very little about racial diversity within the French *internal* Resistance. This is not to say that the image of French resisters in the metropole is homogeneous, far from it. Since the 1980s, a historiographical shift has emphasised their national, political, religious and gendered plurality. Work on Jews, foreigners, communists, women and far-right activists has challenged the picture of the male, French resister.[8] By highlighting the particularisms of resisters, Claire Andrieu pointed out, historians were challenging the universalist and assimilationist myths of the Resistance which saw it as the unanimous uprising of a whole nation.[9] Still, there is a lack of visibility of colonial resisters under Vichy.

What became of the 200,000 North African, colonial and indigenous men and women--prisoners, workers, students, unemployed--stranded in the metropole under Vichy? Did they simply not resist? One work controller in the Nord commented on North Africans that '99% were against the occupier and hundreds worked in resistance'.[10] To what extent was this the case? The works of historians Raffael Scheck, Armelle Mabon or Liêm-Khê Tran-Nu are crucial in describing the very difficult conditions for colonial prisoners of war or workers in the French mainland, the metropole, but even then the intersection between colonials and the internal Resistance remains obscure.[11] We have little visibility on an overarching link between colonials and the internal Resistance, if one should exist. Some colonial resisters do get singled out in popular memory. In 2017 a film was dedicated to the story of Addi Bâ, a *tirailleur sénégalais* who became a maquis chief.[12] The Series *Frères d'Armes* created for the centenary of the First World War features fifty stories of non-white men who contributed to the fight for

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[8] Annette Wieviorka, Ils étaient juifs, résistants et communistes (Paris: Denoël, 1986); Stephane Courtois, Denis Peschanski and Adam Rayski, Le Sang de l'étranger: les immigrés de la MOI dans la Résistance (Paris: Fayard, 1989); Denis Peschanski, Des Étrangers dans la Résistance (Paris: Atelier, 2002); Robert Gildea, Fighters in the Shadows: A New History of the French Resistance (London: Faber & Faber, 2015). Valerie Deacon, The Extreme Right in the French Resistance: members of the Cagoule and Corvignolles in the Second World War (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2016).

[9] Claire Andrieu, 'Women in the French Resistance. Revisiting the Historical Record, French Politics, Culture and Society, vol. 18, n°1 (Spring 2000) 13.

[10] Archives Nationales (AN): F/60/865. Les Nord-Africains en France. Dossier III. Note au sujet de la création d'un service spécial pour la surveillance NA de France. Rapport sur la situation des NA qui résident dans la région du Nord. Signed Contrôleur du Travail SAB.

[11] Armelle Mabon, Prisonniers de guerre 'indigènes'. Visages oubliés de la France occupée (Paris: La Découverte, 2010); Raffael Scheck, Hitler's African Victims: the German Army massacres of Black French soldiers in 1940 (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2006); Liêm-Khê Tran-Nu, 'Les Travailleurs Indochinois en France de 1939 à 1948', Mémoire de Maîtrise sous la direction de Philippe Vigier, Nanterre (1987-88).

[12] Nos Patriotes (2017).

the Republic throughout the twentieth century, including figures such as Mohamed Lakhdar-Toumi, an Algerian resister in the French metropole in the early 1940s, and Josephine Baker, the African-American dancer who came to work under the orders of de Gaulle for the French Resistance.[13] The list of the Compagnons de la Libération itself--which honors 1038 leaders of the Liberation of France since 1940--includes names such as Félix Éboué.[14] Yet, like those of African soldiers from the Great War, their stories tend to be framed in narratives of heroism and martyrdom. If this framework helps to fill the silences of historical writing and memory, it nonetheless reduces 'the complexity and diversity' of their experiences.[15]

What happened to the colonials living in Vichy France during the Occupation? How many were stranded in the metropole? Were they effected by persecution? Were 99 percent against the Occupier, as one worker from the Nord claimed? By tracing the presence of North Africans, colonials and indigenous in the French internal Resistance, this article will not only help answer these questions, but also give broader insight into the complicated relationship between Vichy, the colonies and the Resistance. Fundamentally, it will argue that although they were certainly not a majority, people of color were at the very heart of numerous resistance activities in the metropole. First, they were entangled in the Resistance in a number of ways from the very onset of the Occupation in the summer of 1940 (Part II). Second, they were involved in the most political and violent forms of protest and defiance, not least North African immigrants in Paris (Part III). This will offer a modified image of the French resister, showing a Resistance which is not monochrome but very much in color.

Yet the aim is not to heroize the involvement of colonials in the Resistance either; if some people from the colonies were present at the core of the Resistance in the metropole, others did not engage in resistance activities or groups. The study of Indochinese workers (Part IV) reinforces the fact that joining the Resistance was not always about a fervent ideological or political commitment, but also about practical needs and survival instincts. In fact, resistance was not a 'natural' decision for colonial workers or prisoners stranded in France: many went on just trying to survive, never having anything to do with the Resistance. Others tried to find alternative ways to escape the hardships of the workers brigades--the Compagnies--by returning to their studies, living clandestinely or even working for the Germans. So if a study

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[13] The Series Frères d'Armes commemorates both of them, see http://www.seriefreresdarmes.com. Accessed 9 March 2018.
[14] See the full list of the Compagnons de la Libération, https://www.ordredelaliberation.fr/fr/compagnons/1038-compagnons. Accessed 9 April 2018.
[15] Alison Fell and Nina Wardleworth, 'The Colour of War Memory: Cultural Representations of Tirailleurs Sénégalais', Journal of War and Culture Studies (2016), 319.

of colonial resisters can help rectify misconceptions of a Euro-centric body of resisters, and hopefully alter collective misconceptions in popular memory, it can also allow us to probe more deeply into the complicated feelings between empire and metropole, colonials and the Republic.

PART I: FINDING COLONIAL RESISTERS

Before delving into the history of colonial resisters however, there are important statistics, definitions and methodologies to clarify. First, there were thousands of North African, colonial and indigenous workers and soldiers in the French metropole during the Nazi Occupation, but what numbers are we talking about? Since the Great War, there had been a vibrant movement of mostly male workers, soldiers and students to and from the metropole. If exact numbers were difficult to obtain--not least because of the often clandestine nature of immigration or, according to one report, because of the 'instability' and 'rebelliousness' of the North African population[16]--we can still get a good idea of approximate numbers. In total, about 223,000 colonial and Chinese workers were brought to France to work for the Great War effort over those four years.[17] The Service des Travailleurs Coloniaux was created by decree on 14 September 1916, when about 132,000 North Africans came to the metropole to work (78,000 Algerians, 35,000 Moroccans and 18,000 Tunisians). [18] But the needs of France were so great that they started to bring in 'foreign workers of white race', such that an influx of Spanish and Portuguese workers ensued. [19] After the war many returned to North Africa, but some remained, and over the years immigration would come in waves. The pace picked up in the early 1920s before falling again in the 1930s.[20] In 1936, following a decree in July allowing free flow of movement, it peaked: suddenly 27,200 Algerians were heading towards the metropole.[21] By

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[16] AN: F/60/704. Haut-Comité Méditerranéen et de l'Afrique du Nord. Session de Mars 1938. Dossier V. Annexe au Rapport n°3 'Les Nord-Africains en France'. Rapport de M. Aubaud, 6-7; AN: F/60/865. Les NAs en France. Organisation. Note sur les NAs en France (6 April 1945) 1.
[17] AN: F/60/865. Les Nord-Africains en France. Dossier III. Note au sujet de la création d'un service spécial pour la surveillance NA de France. L'Organisation de l'Immigration en France de la Main d'Oeuvre Etrangère (6 Avril 1945) 3-4.
[18] AN: F/60/704. Dossier VI. Annexe Rapport 3 'Les Nord-Africains en France'. Rapport de MM. Laroque et Ollive. 1ère Partie (1938) 9.
[19] AN: F/60/865. Création service spécial surveillance. L'Organisation de l'Immigration en France de la MOE. Rapport Bagnaud (11 avril 1945) 4.
[20] AN: F/60/704. Dossier VI. Rapport Laroque, Ollive (1938) 10-12.
[21] Ibid., 12.

1937, there were approximately 82,000 North Africans in France, most of whom were Algerian but some who were Moroccan (9,000) or Tunisian (a few hundred).[22]

What became of them after the defeat of June 1940? On the eve of the war, statistics indicate that there were approximately 50,000 North Africans in the French metropole. When war was declared, 15,000 Moroccans and 7,000 Algerians were recruited to work in France.[23] By May 1940, 17,600 Indochinese workers had arrived in France, the majority of whom were working for the state.[24] After the Defeat, thousands were sent back: 17-18,000 North Africans left as of August 1940.[25] But if most of them returned to North Africa in 1941,[26] many would come back in 1942 to help fill labor shortages.[27] In the last two years of the occupation, between 1942 and 1944, there were approximately 100,000 North African workers.[28] There were also between 13,766 and 19,362 Indochinese workers throughout the Occupation, all recruited for the Service de la Main d'Oeuvre Indigène, Nord Africaine et Colonialee-Service MOI--a service created in September 1939 by the Ministère du Travail which monitored military recruits and workers from the colonies.[29] In addition to this, approximately 80,000 colonial prisoners of war were in Frontstalags in Occupied France in November 1940. By the liberation, around 50,000 had been released or escaped or transferred to work throughout the metropole.[30]

We are therefore looking at roughly 200,000 people from the colonies in 1940-44. The French had a range of different words to define the members of its empire, differentiating between ethnicity, religion, or legal status. For the Service des Prisonniers de Guerre, Déportés et Réfugiés de la France d'Outre-Mer, North Africans were 'Muslims from Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco, and Europeans living in North Africa', and colonials were 'Senegalese,

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[22] Ibid., 13.

[23] Between Oct 1939-May 1940, over 15,784 Moroccans and 6,222 Algerians worked as agricultural and industrial laborers. AN: F/60/865. Création service spécial surveillance. L'Organisation de l'Immigration en France de la MOE (1945) 1

[24] Archives Nationales d'Outre-Mer (ANOM): 3SLOTFOM/51. 1940-44. 1940: Rapport de l'Inspecteur des Colonies de Carbon-Ferrière sur l'organisation et le fonctionnement du service de ma main d'œuvre indigène, 16.

[25] These numbers are deduced from statistics in AN: F/60/865. Création service spécial surveillance. Quelques considérations en faveur des ouvriers NAs de la Métropole. MONA à Bureaux sociaux (22 février 1946) 1; AN: F/60/865. Les NAs en France. Dossiers Périmés. Comité de l'Afrique du Nord. Note au sujet des milieux musulmans de la Métropole (20 Aout 1944) 1.

[26] AN: F/60/865. Organisation. Note (6 April 1945) 1.

[27] AN: F/60/865. Dossiers Périmés (20 Aout 1944) 1.

[28] Ibid..

[29] ANOM: 3SLOTFOM/98. Travailleurs de la MOI. Rapport Le Gregam, Inspecteur Général, sur l'effectif des travailleurs indochinois au 31 déc. 1943 (16 fév. 1944) 1-3. The Service MOI originated in the Great War to look after recruits from colonies, and it evolved over the decades until it was officially created in 1939. In 1945 it became known as the Direction des travailleurs indochinois (DTI).

[30] Mabon (2010) 34.

Malgache, Indochinese, Antillais, Neo-Caledonians, etc.'.[31] The Service MOI differentiated between 'Indigenous, Colonials and North Africans'. More specific terms were sometimes used by the French authorities, such as *kablyes*, *berbères*, *arabes*. Echenberg had explained how difficult it had been to define the *tirailleurs sénégalais* when carrying out his own study, and the problem of definition has not gone away.[32] For reasons of clarity, I will refer to the umbrella term of 'colonial(s)' to signify all those originating from the French colonies in Africa, Asia and Caribbean. This will not include Europeans from the colonies. I will avoid using the term 'black resisters' since it tends to ignore the plurality of skin tones and could be seen to exclude Indochinese workers. Other people of color in France at the time, such as black Americans or Germans, have not been included in this study to allow focus on those from the colonies.[33]

From questions of statistics to definitional problems, tracing colonial resisters also poses specific methodological approaches which require imagination and flexibility. Books and projects on resistance networks, foreign resisters, and empire allow us to stumble across a wide variety of names of colonial participants in the Resistance in the colonies or in the metropole during the Occupation.[34] Resistance network files in the National Archives in Paris do contain lists of members and general testimonies that can provide clues as to the names of those colonial resisters who participated in one way or another in the French internal Resistance.[35] In the archives in Aix, lists of Indochinese workers can sometimes indicate if they joined the FFI.[36] Archival lists of resisters, arrestees, deportees, and those executed by the Germans are also key sources of information. These include numerous online archives: the Service Historique de la Défense (SHD), with its detailed lists of over half a million resisters who were certified (*homologués*), or nominated for certification; the list of Compagnons de la Libération; the biographical dictionary, Le Maitron, with names of those in workers'

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[31] AN: F/9/3815. Rapatriement des Coloniaux. Nord Africains, questions de principes (1945-6). Circulaire à MM. Les Directeurs des Maisons du Prisonnier et du Déporté (Dec 1944?) 1.
[32] Echenberg (1991) xv-xvi.
[33] See Tyler Stovall, Paris Noir: African Americans in the City of Light (Boston, Mass.: Houghton Mifflin, c1996); William Shack, Harlem in Montmartre: A Paris Jazz Story between the Great Wars (Berkley: University of California Press, 2001); Andy Fry, Paris Blues: African American Music and French Popular Culture, 1920-1960 (Chicago : The University of Chicago Press, 2014); Robbie Aitken and Eve Rosenhaft, Chapter 8 'Refuge France?' in Black Germany: the making and unmaking of a diaspora community, 1884-1960 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013) 279-315.
[34] Série Frères d'Armes; Peschanski (2002).
[35] AN: 72AJ/36. Dossier 2. Armée Secrète, I. Liste membres Armée Secrète. Omar Ben Dris, AS Bellegarde, S/lieutenant 1è classe 554-1944-P/1.
[36] ANOM: DTI//132. Ministère des Colonies. Direction des Travailleurs Indochinois. These files are very rich, and carry numerous nominative lists, some of which specify if workers went to FFI or Troupes Coloniales (TC).

movements; and the Foundation pour la Mémoire de la Déportation identifying those deported from France in 1940-44.[37]

Going through these lists to identify who originated from the empire takes an extraordinary amount of time, an undertaking far beyond the realm of this article. The study here focusses in part on a specific list in the Archives de la Préfecture de Police (APP) that we scoured to find names of potential colonial resisters. We then investigated some of these files in greater depth. Names found in these lists were cross-referenced across other lists, sometimes revealing additional information on these colonial resisters; at other times we arrived at a dead end. A definitive inventory of colonial resisters should--and hopefully will--eventually be established. But even then, the selection process within these lists is imperfect. Identifying colonial resisters in lists often boils down to going over surnames, first names, and places of birth, page by page. Yet not everyone born in Oran was a 'colonial'--some were European. Likewise, assuming that certain names are more 'colonial' than others relies on ethnic stereotyping that is not particularly comfortable and overlooks complicated individual identities.

Despite the problems of statistics, definition, and methodology, trying to unearth the history of the men and women from the French empire living in the mainland during the Occupation is crucial. It opens important doors to questions about the relationship between nation and empire, between white and non-white people living in France, and between choosing to resist and choosing not to.

PART II. THE FIRST COLONIAL RESISTERS

Eric Jennings has explained that the first mass wave of resisters did not come from France or London, but from Africa--and even in mainland France, North Africans, colonials and indigenous were involved in some of the very first acts of resistance.[38] One of the main reasons for this, it will be argued, is that they immediately suffered racial prejudice and discrimination

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[37] The Service Historique de la Défense, http://www.servicehistorique.sga.defense.gouv.fr/?q=content/dossiers-administratifs-de-r%C3%A9sistants; the Compagnons de la Libération, https://www.ordredelaliberation.fr/fr/compagnons/1038-compagnons; Le Maitron, Dictionnaire Biographique Fusillés, Guillotinés, Exécutés, Massacrés 1940-194,, http://maitron-fusilles-40-44.univ-paris1.fr/; Fondation pour la Mémoire de la Déportation (FMD), https://fondationmemoiredeportation.com/. All accessed on 3 May 2018.

[38] Jennings (2015).

from the beginning of the Occupation, and as a result became quite naturally intertwined in Resistance networks as givers and recipients of aid, or even as opponents to the new regime.

The German advance in 1940 radically intensified the active persecution of people of color in France.[39] The massacres that the German army perpetrated on France's West African soldiers in May and June 1940, which historian Raffael Scheck has explored in great detail, manifested German racism in no uncertain terms. German military prejudice against French colonial soldiers had deep roots, not least during the encounter with the French army in the First World War and in the French occupation of the Rhineland in the 1920s. [40] Yet the Germans were not the only ones to discriminate against people of color, and it is important to remember France's own racist past. To be sure, France seemed more tolerant of black people than Britain, America or Germany. And many people in France thought so: France had, after all, used colonial troops in the French army in the First World War, and Jazz had become the rage in France in the interwar years.[41] When Josephine Baker arrived in France in the 1920s she described it as a haven for black people coming from America: 'the French waiters spoke to me as if we were all one colour', she wrote.[42]

But the reality was that France had its own racial rules. The attitudes of many French public officials—be they in the governments of the Third Republic, Vichy, or the Free French in London—did little to improve this. In 1937, during a period of mass migration from North Africa, the mayor of Longwy wrote in complaint to the Minister of War that he was horrified by the recent increase in immigration from Africa. He described them as unemployed, unnecessary but also dangerous sexual predators. 'Their presence, he declared, 'has coincided with a rise of exhibitionism, the pursuit of young women and girls in our alleys, assaults and even rapes'.[43] Nor did the war years do much to inoculate France from this kind of prejudice. Shortly after the Occupation, in December 1944, a group of North Africans was refused entry into a cinema in Versailles and, enraged and armed, entered into an open struggle with 'the FFI

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[39] Keith Nelson, 'The "Black Horror on the Rhine": Race as a Factor in Post-World War I Diplomacy,' The Journal of Modern History, 42, no. 4 (Dec., 1970) 606-627; Jean-Yves Le Naour, La honte noire: l'Allemagne et les troupes coloniales françaises, 1914-1945 (Hachette, 2003); Ray Costello, Black Tommies: British soldiers of African descent in the First World War (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2015); Iris Wigger, The 'Black Horror on the Rhine': Intersections of Race, Nation, Gender and Class in 1920s Germany (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017).

[40] Scheck (2006).

[41] Nelson (1970); Echenberg (1985); Stovall (1996); Scheck (2006); Gildea (2015).

[42] Josephine Baker and Jo Bouillon, Josephine (Harper & Row, 1976) 36.

[43] AN: F/60/720. Secrétariat général du gouvernement et services du premier ministre. Afrique du Nord (1915-1947). La situation des nord-africains en France dans le département des Bouches du Rhône. Letter (27 Jan. 1937) from the Maire de la Ville de Longwy to Monsieur le Ministre de la Guerre.

and local gendarmes'.[44] Baker herself recounted several instances where her race was an issue in France, and she understood that she was considered 'the savage on the stage'.[45] So if France championed the empire and its inhabitants, this did not mean that those who came from the empire to the metropole were treated as valued members of society, let alone as equals.

One of the first racist incidents of the Occupation happened in the summer of 1940, when two signs were put up in Vierzon station banning 'Jews, Arabs and people of color' from crossing the demarcation line:

'Passage times 6h. to 11h. and 15h. to 17h. Alsaciens and Lorrains on foot through Bourges. Belgians, on foot or bicycle, by Vierzon (200 per day). CANNOT CROSS THE GERMAN BARRIER: Jews, arabs and people of color. Refugees living North of the Somme/ North of the Aine to inform themselves. Parliamentaries: deputees/senators FORBIDDEN. Documents to produce : laissez-passer, identification and demobilisation certificate.'[46]

There were posters like this in other locations.[47] Outraged, parliamentary deputies Gratien Candace (Guadeloupe), Maurice Satineau (Guadeloupe), Joseph Lagrosillière (Guadeloupe), Sevère (Martinique) and Galandou Diouf (Sénégal) wrote to Pétain on 6 August 1940 that 'French people of color do not know of a clause in the Armistice which differentiates them to French people of white race'.[48] Building on the idea that France stood for ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity, they explained that 'France is more than a geographical expression, it is a grand idea, which must not perish'.[49] The deputees asked for an assurance that France, 'wounded, but still dignified and proud of her past' had not accepted, or had at least strongly challenged, this imposition by the occupier.

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[44] AN: F/9/3815. Correspondance concernant des ex-prisonniers de guerre nord-africains (Nov-Dec 1944). Report from Service des Prisonniers de Guerre, Déportés et Réfugiés de la France d'Outre-mer (16 Dec. 1944).
[45] Baker and Bouillon (1976) 55.
[46] AN: 3W/246. Enquêtes au sujet d'affiches apposées dans certaines gares de la ligne de démarcation. Rôle de M. Marquet. Déposition de René Pantobe (23 Dec.1946), docs. 666-668. All further sources from 3W/246 also come from the files of the Marquet enquiry, unless stated otherwise.
[47] This case is known in specialist circles. See Eric Jennings, 'Vichy fût-il aussi antinoir?' in Jacques Cantier and Eric Jennings, L'Empire Colonial sous Vichy (Paris: Odile Jacob, 2004) 213-234; Tal Bruttmann, Au Bureau des Affaires Juives : L'administration française et l'application de la législation antisémite (1940-1944) (Paris: La Découverte, 2006) 20-3.
[48] AN: 3W/246. Copie d'une lettre adressée au Maréchal Pétain pare les députées de la Guadeloupe, de la Martinique et du Sénégal (6 Aug. 1940), doc. 672.
[49] Ibid..

Pétain's response a few days later was deeply disappointing. Despite claiming shock and regret over the situation, he downplayed the incident, saying it was probably not a uniform German policy, and only a localized issue managed by a handful of individuals.[50] He assured Candace that he was going to take the matter to the Armistice Commission, but the deputies were visibly dissatisfied with this response. On 19 August the group wrote another letter, this time with the additional signature of the deputy of Guyane, Gaston Monnerville. This was not just a local issue, they argued : 'along the whole demarcation line, our fellow brothers, without distinction, are turned away by German officers.' They were 'turned away, *'Ils sont refoulés*, mercilessly, without any consideratino aside from that of their skin color.' The deputies demanded that Pétain deal with this attitude which 'deeply wounds all French people' and was 'incompatible with (our) status as citizens of our dear and noble Country.'[51] It is still unclear whether these signs were communicating German or French demands.[52] We lose trace of how this case is resolved, but what is important to remember is how it sparked outrage amongst the political colonial elite, who challenged Pétain and his government on these points.

In this same period, the fate of colonial prisoners of war triggered some of the first clandestine grassroots organizations and acts of protest. Targets of Nazi racial persecution, colonial soldiers faced a much higher risk of death than French POWs because of their skin color.[53] In fact, as historian Julian Jackson has written, Jean Moulin himself--one of the biggest symbols of the French Resistance following de Gaulle--started out his resistance because of the fate of colonial POWs: 'Jean Moulin's resistance began on 17 June 1940 when he tried to cut his throat rather than sign a document dishonoring French colonial troops'.[54] Likewise, Germaine Tillion, the well-known resister and ethnographer fascinated by Algeria, also started out her clandestine work by helping colonial prisoners of war escape German capture.[55] Colonel Paul Hauet, in charge of the Union Nationale des Combattant Coloniaux (UNCC), got in touch with her shortly after June 1940 in order to organise a resistance group within the UNCC Association on rue Bréguet. There, Tillion was supposed to 'look after indigenous elements who found themselves in the Metropole and (whenever possible) to extract them from

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[50] AN: 3W/246. Lettre du Maréchal Pétain to Gratien Candace (9 Aug. 1940), doc. 667.
[51] AN: 3W/246. Lettre de Gratien Candace à Maréchal Pétain (19 Aug. 1940), doc. 666. The affair went on for some time, with more signs visible in other stations, and it was only officially lifted in May 1941. See Gaston Monnerville, Témoignage, … De la France équinoxiale au Palais du Luxembourg (Paris: Plon, 1975).
[52] Bruttmann (2006).
[53] See Scheck (2006).
[54] Julian Jackson, France: The Dark Years 1940-1944 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001) 427.
[55] Boris Vildé, a Russian, also published Résistance on 15 Dec. 1940 with Anatole Lewitzkithey. Peschanski (2002) 64.

German control and influence.'[56] The UNCC had initially intended to support the colonial prisoners of war, providing aid, assistance and support, yet they soon expanded to a much broader resistance activity. Aside from helping colonial prisoners escape, they set up and became linked to vast networks of escape and information, not least Boris Vildé's Musée de l'Homme group.[57]

Amidst an extraordinary network of resistance activity, the UNCC helped colonial soldiers escape. They would organize for the men to be brought to the Val de Grâce military hospital in the 5th arrondissement, and under the auspices of Colonel Le Bourhis they were written off as ill and were then transferred to the Free Zone by train. 'The system worked without any problems throughout the whole occupation', Tillion declared.[58] According to historian Armelle Mabon, Tillion was one of the first champions of the fate of colonial prisoners of war, and it was actually because she started out her resistance career by helping colonial soldiers escape that the Musée de l'Homme group came into being.[59] Beyond the Musée de l'Homme, a network of people and organizations also existed, not least around Tillion herself: Colonels Haute and Duteil de la Rochère, Boris Vildé, Soeur Hélène Studler, Léon Leymarie et Léon Beasley, Colonel Le Bourhis, and the architect from Madagascar, Pierre Razafy-Andriamihaingo.[60]

There was a critical link between supporting colonial prisoners of war and resistance. Razafy-Andriamihaingo ran an Amicale des Malgaches when, in autumn 1940, he began to establish closer ties with the UNCC, eventually leading its Malgache sector. Working in close alliance with the rue Bréguet in Paris, he provided a range of support to prisoners on the run, from housing to clothing to documentation.[61] Suzanne Razafy-Andriamihaingo, who he married in 1942, worked with him alongside Geneviève Anthonioz-de Gaulle and Mme Edmond Giscard d'Estaing.[62] The Razafy-Andriamihaingo couple--who eventually joined the maquis[63]--were not the only ones. Thiagam Dierra Collo supplied his 'marraine'--a term for the hundreds of women who looked after colonial prisoners of war--Marcelle Monmarché with

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[56] AN: 72AJ/66. Musée de l'Homme II. 'Précis Historique sur le réseau Hauet-Vildé', par Germaine Tillion et Yvonne Oddon, 4.
[57] For information on the UNCC see Julien Blanc, Au Commencement de la Résistance: du côté du Musée de l'Hommé (Paris: Seuil, 2010) 196-7.
[58] AN: 72AJ/66. Tillon et Oddon, 6-7.
[59] Mabon (2010) 121-122.
[60] See AN: 72AJ/66. Tillon et Oddon, 6-7; Mabon, (2010) 122; for the escape networks set up through Musée de l'Homme, see Blanc (2010) 193-206.
[61] Blanc (2010) 109; 198.
[62] Mabon (2010) 122.
[63] '8 mai 1945: La victoire de l'horreur nazie', https://labodiplo.wordpress.com/2014/05/08/8-mai-1945-la-victoire-sur-lhorreur-nazie/. Accessed 4 Oct. 2018.

information about ships, submarines, sabotage and strikes he witnessed in Cherbourg and La Rochelle.[64] Mohammed Taleb, from Algeria, ran a support centre near Bordeaux which also served to help evacuated prisoners escape into the Free Zone.[65] In a similar vein, the Syrian-born anti-fascist resister Moussa Abadi set up the Réseau Marcel to save Jewish children.[66]

The stories and lives of people of color in the French metropole were thus tied to the Resistance from the first moments of Occupation. Whether writing in outrage to Pétain, receiving aid from the first resistance groups or partaking in underground escape and support networks, they were responding to the racial pressures and persecutions which had been heightened by German presence. Yet if the intensification and fear of racial persecution pushed some into resistance, it was not the only trigger.

PART III. COMMUNISM AND COLONIAL RESISTERS

The Archives de la Préfecture de Police de Paris point to a much more politicised involvement of colonial resisters in the Communist clandestine networks. The Brigades spéciales (BS) 1 and 2, in charge of the Communist/Gaullist and anti-terrorist repression respectively, had nominative files for the period of the Occupation.[67] Analysing the names and places of birth of those arrested by the Brigades spéciales in 1940-44, one can identify dozens of cases involving North African men and women linked to communist resistance networks and activities. Their involvement in the Resistance took many forms: some of these North African resisters in the metropole were points of contact and mediators; some created or spread Communist propaganda; some were involved in sabotages and assassination plans. For some, we struggle to follow their experiences beyond their interrogations with the police; for others, we can trace their trajectory through other archival sources and see how they ended up shot at the Mont Valérien, or deported to Mauthausen and Buchenwald. Amidst these varied stories, however, we see the repeated involvement of a colonial population stranded in France and interconnected by common political beliefs.

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[64] Blanc (2010) 226-7.
[65] Ibid., 198-9.
[66] There is a lot of material around Moussa Abadi. See Fonds Abadi, Centre de Documentation Juive Contemporaine (CDJC); 1468W/0613 at the Archives Départementales in Nice; AN, Association des Témoignages pour Mémoire, videotaped interview of Mousas Abadi and Odette Rosenstock with Annette Wieviorka (18-19 Apr. 1995); Miranda Pollard, 'A Question of Silence? Odette Rosenstock, Moussa Abadi and the Réseau Marcel', French Politics, Culture & Society 30.2 (2012) 113-133; Odette Abadi, Terre de détresse (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1995).
[67] Archives de la Préfecture de Police (APP): GB49-92. Dossiers instruits par la Brigade spéciale 1; GB93-139. Dossiers instruits par la Brigade spéciale 2.

When the Brigades spéciales 1 (BS1) cracked down on Communist activity, tracking suspected members and bringing them in for interrogation and arrest, they uncovered dozens of colonial resisters with ties to North Africa. Lucienne Decaster, born Hadjadje in Alger on 17 October 1915, was arrested in March 1941 when BS1 were tracking down the spread of Communist propaganda in the 19th arrondissement in Paris.[68] Maurice Langlassé, a married man with four children, had given up her name when he was being interrogated. They had known each other before the war, when they were both members of the Communist Party in 1938. At the time, she was handing him various packages of *L'Humanité* and *Voix de Paris*. At the defeat, he recognized her at a secret meeting discussing the spread of communist posters and tracts.[69] When BS1 arrested Decaster she denied everything, not least of having ever seen Langlassé in the first place:[70] 'I do not know Langlassé (…) and in fact I never actively participated in the Communist Party and always abstained from propaganda, especially since it was outlawed'[71], she exclaimed. 'Langlassé's declarations are false (…) I completely deny all statements by this person whom I do not now.'[72] They found nothing in her flat at the time,[73] but both Decaster and Langlassé were inculpated according to the decree of 26 September 1939, the degree which prohibited any activities linked--directly or indirectly--to the Third International and communist organisations, not least spreading propaganda in their favour.[74] Decaster was imprisoned until she was deported along with 959 other women on 31 January 1944 to Ravensbruck.[75]

Around the same time, Raphaël Amiel was arrested during a similar anti-Communist crackdown. Born in Tunis on 4 September 1890 by Kalifa and Anna Lévy, 'Rapha' was 50 years old and unemployed.[76] He lived in Paris at 47 rue de Turenne with his partner, Charlotte Autexier, where he was arrested for being in breach of the anti-communist decree of September

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[68] APP: GB52, Lucienne Decaster (née Hadjadj). Affaire Langlassé Decaster. Letter from the Commissaire de Police to André Cougoule (17 Mar. 1941).
[69] APP: GB52. Interrogation Langlassé and Decaster (18 Mar. 1942).
[70] APP: GB52. Letters from Inspectors Raoult et Danidaux to the Commisaire de Police (17 Mar. 1941).
[71] APP: GB52. Interrogation (18 Mar. 1942).
[72] Ibid..
[73] APP: GB52. Report (17 March 1941).
[74] APP: GB52. Conclusion on the affair.
[75] Lucienne Decaster, born Hadjadje, is probably the sister of Charles Hadjadje who, like her, was arrested for communist propaganda in 1942. See Mémoire Vive http://www.memoirevive.org/charles-hadjadje-46282/ and Foundation pour la Mémoire de la Déportation (FMD) http://www.bddm.org/liv/details.php?id=I.42.#HADJADJE; http://www.bddm.org/liv/details.php?id=I.175.#DECASTERouVERGER. Accessed 3 May 2018.
[76] APP: GB54 Raphaël Amiel. Affaire Allanic Amiel Gruny Macaire Beaufumé. Letters Inspectors Blancard-de-Lery and Portalès to the Commisaire Chef de Service (4 Apr. 1941).

1939.[77] In his interrogations, Amiel denied being involved in any kind of subversive activity: this ex-soldier who had fought in the First World War declared someone had merely dropped off the twenty-three tracts they had found in his home, and that he had kept them 'without any real goal'.[78] He had never, he underlined, distributed or spread communist propaganda.[79] In spite of this statement, the police believed that, like the four others they arrested that night, he was involved in spreading communist propaganda.[80] In fact, the police had been suspecting him since June 1940 not just of mild communist activism, but of being a 'dangerous' *chef de cellule*.[81] Amiel was arrested in the roundups of 1943 and sent to Mauthausen. He died in the camps.[82]

In 1942, as tensions mounted and Resistance activities increased, several networks were under surveillance and more arrests were made. The Ambroise network, a left-wing network that distributed clandestine press and tracts, came under investigation in June. Yvon Sauveur Djian, an Algerian Jew, was particularly involved in distributing Communist propaganda in Parisian student circles. Born in 1919 at Djidjelli, the Constantine province in Alergia, Djian had been a student in letters and, now unemployed, lived near Montparnasse. He had joined the Jeunesses Communistes in 1936 and had initially started spreading tracts in student communities, but eventually came to have a leading role as one of three directors in the Jeunesses Communistes in the Paris Region. Under the occupation, Djian found himself directing the spread of Communist propaganda in the Paris Region alongside Yves Despouy and Camille Baynac.[83] He received a stipend from the Party to liaise with 'students, Catholics, gaullists and the Front National.'[84] At his home in rue Lecourbe, the police found many Communist tracts, brochures, manuscripts and small posters. Djian was shot at the Mont Valérien.[85] He has been officially certified as a resister and a Déporté et interné de la Résistance (DIR).

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[77] Ibid..
[78] I say this because he was part of the 'Association Républicaine des Anciens Combattants'. APP: GB54. Interrogation Amiel (4 Apr. 1941).
[79] Ibid..
[80] APP: GB54. Conclusions (4 April 1941).
[81] APP: GB54. Fiche Préfecture de Police, Amiel, Raphael (4 April 1941).
[82] See http://www.nom-amiel.org/wk/ami1222. Accessed 3 May 2018.
[83] APP: GB50, Othman Ben Aleya. Affaire Ambroise (ou Tintelin) (June 1942), Report on Ambroise, 18-19.
[84] Ibid..
[85] Djian is mentioned in the Maitron dictionary, see http://maitron-fusilles-40-44.univ-paris1.fr/spip.php?article22765. Accessed 3 May 2018. Other sources mention his name, including Serge Klarsfeld's memorial list, the CDJC and the SHD.

In September 1942, BS1 started to follow Messaoud Ben Hamiche, born 7 June 1898 at Darna-Douat Houdrarène,[86] as part of a bigger investigation. As he attended a series of meetings in Place d'Italie, Porte d'Ivry, and the Hospice de Bicêtre, BS1 followed him by foot and bus until eventually, one day, they followed him into the back rooms of a bar, something which struck them as out of the ordinary since clients did not usually have access to these spaces.[87] Mme Louise Guyomard, who ran the bar, tried to downplay the situation by saying that Ben Hamiche was doing her a favor by checking something. Yet when they entered the cellar, BS1 found 5,000 hidden Communist tracts.[88] The young 18-year-old Roland Le Moullac suddenly entered the bar: 'No don't come in!' shouted Guyomard, confirming the suspicions of BS1 that this space harboured illegal Communist activity. Ben Hamiche was promptly arrested, and on him they found one key, two letters from political detainees, and a newspaper clipping about 'two Muslim Chiefs explaining their hatred of communism.'[89] Like Decaster, Ben Hamiche denied everything: 'I have never belonged to the Communist Party', he started off. 'I refuse to explain myself on this subject,' he declared. When asked about the two letters found in his possession, he answered that he could not give them any explanation. [90]

In October 1942, the BS2, in charge of anti-terrorism, arrested approximately thirty-three people from the Valmy group. The Valmy group was part of the Organisation Spéciale (OS) of the Communist Party, and it had a unique mission to take down French 'traitors'.[91] BS2 had been tracking them since January 1942, with unsuccessful results at every turn.[92] In October, the luck of the BS2 changed, and a string of people were brought in, the internees naming more and more members of their underground organization. Jean Baptiste Karoubi's name was given up by the 'terrorist' Georges Abribat, who mentioned him as being one of the members of the groupe Valmy. According to Abribat, Karoubi was not a central figure: he had not yet participated in any attacks, and his activity was really only limited to a few meetings.[93] In his own interrogation, Karoubi confirmed this. Born on 24 June 1910 in Alger, Karoubi was described as being of French nationality and 'Aryan race', but with an Arabic mother (Jua Ben

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[86] APP: GB63, Messaoud Ben Hamiche. Affaire contre Gilardet et autres (Oct 1942) Interrogation Ben Hamiche (15 Oct. 1942) 1.
[87] APP: GB63. Inspectors Decourt, Calandre, Bel, Yvon, Geraud, Champeau, to Monsieur le Commissaire Principal, Chef de la Brigade Spéciale 1 (14 Oct. 1942) 1-2.
[88] APP: GB63. Interrogation (15 Oct. 1942) 1.
[89] Ibid., 2.
[90] Ibid., 2.
[91] See Jean-Marc Berlière and Franck Liaigre, Liquider les traîtres. La face caché du PCF 1941-1943 (Paris: Robert Laffont, 2007).
[92] Ibid., 259.
[93] APP: GB97, Jean Baptiste Karoubi. Tillet Magnan (Oct. 1942). L'inspecteur Principal Adjoint Le Mevel et les Inspecteurs Beauval, Dhaussey et Sabie.

Saïd). He worked as a *porteur* in the Halles Centrales, was married with one child, and lived at 217 rue de Belleville in Paris.[94] Karoubi had apparently joined the Communist party in 1934, and a couple of years later met Abribat. But after getting married in July 1938, he had left the party. Karoubi met Abribat again a few years after the hostilities, and although he explained to him that he did not have much time he did not reject outright Abribat's proposal to participate in Communist activites.[95] All that the BS2 had on him was a brochure given to him by Abribat, apparently, entitled 'Manuel du Légionnaire'.[96] Still, Karoubi was arrested, and on his cell door in the Fresnes prison was written 'Very dangerous, to keep under surveillance night and day'.[97] He was eventually sent to Mauthausen.[98]

Antoine Meghzi was arrested much later, in February 1944. Following a shooting in Clamart--where resisters in the Francs-Tireurs et Partisans (FTP), the chief military wing of the Communist Resistance, had opened fire on 'guardians of the peace' and hit one of them in the arm[99]--the Germans set up a surveillance team at the home of Victor Marquigny, who was neck-deep in violent resistance (planting bombs, attacking Germans, participation in assassinations).[100] They launched a series of arrests which included Meghzi, known as 'Duru', for being a liaison agent. Born in 10 July 1922 in Paris, Meghzi was a French national with a Kabyle father. He had evaded the forced labor service (STO) and joined the armed communist resistance group[101]. Meghzi eventually appeared in a German tribunal and was sentenced to death. He was shot on 2 June 1944 along with other FTP fighters.[102]

As these files indicate, North African men and women played a variety of roles in the French internal Resistance during the Occupation. Djian, Decaster, Amiel, and Ben Hamiche were all linked to communist propaganda, but there was also a strand of more active and violent involvement. Michel Idriss, born in 1920 in Fouha (AEF), was wanted for killing and shooting police officers in Paris. A 'Wanted' flyer described him in deeply colonial and stereotypical terms: 'quite muscular, tanned skin (North-African genre), thick lips, dark brown curly hair--

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[94] Ibid..
[95] APP: GB97. Interrogation Karoubi (28 Oct. 1942) 1.
[96] Ibid., 2.
[97] See Berlière and Liaigre (2007) 273.
[98] See http://www.monument-mauthausen.org/spip.php?page=print-fiche&id_article=600&lang=fr and http://maitron-en-ligne.univ-paris1.fr/spip.php?article143416&id_mot=190. April 2018.
[99] APP: GB93, Meghzi. Affaire Alsace-Lorraine.
[100] Ibid., 2-3.
[101] Franck Liaigre recently published a book which transcends commemorative glorification of the FTP, but captures the historical impact it had during the Occupation. See Franck Liaigre, Les FTP: Nouvelles histoire d'une Résistance (Paris: Perrin, 2015).
[102] See Maitron, http://maitron-fusilles-40-44.univ-paris1.fr/spip.php?article147610. Accessed 3 May 2018.

speaks correct French, sometimes with hesitation'.[103] If BS1 and BS2 were not looking explicitly for colonials, their dealings with them were systematically framed in a highly racial and colonial language, where assumptions and stereotypes were upheld in a variety of ways, not least descriptions of their physicality.

One of the most well-known cases is that of Mohamed Lakhdar-Toumi, an Algerian described as a 'great resister'.[104] Married with two young children, he was living with his lover at the time of his arrest in 1943.[105] Lakhdar-Toumi had been a member of the Jeunesses Communistes d'Alger in 1934-5, and in his police interrogation he explained that in 1940-41 he began discussing politics with a few colleagues, one of whom suggested he work more actively for the PCF. Lakhdar-Toumi was initially involved in oral propaganda, especially in cafés, and in 1942 he did most of the 'inscriptions on walls and sidewalks'.[106] But his involvement in the Resistance escalated when he joined the FTP in March 1942 and was involved in finding and passing on information, such as the location of German garages which could become targets.[107] He had also got hold of revolvers. Arrested on 30 January 1943, Lakhdar-Toumi denied any links to actual attacks, but was sent to the Fresnes prison before being deported to Natzweiler-Struthof and later Dachau, which he survived.[108]

Crucially, these files show the strong and long-term link between colonial resistance in the metropole, Communism, and the French Communist Party (PCF). Indeed, many of these North Africans had previously been members of the PCF. Karoubi, for instance, had joined the Communist Party in 1934.[109] Likewise, Ivon Djian had joined the Jeunesses Communistes in 1936[110], and Raphaël Amiel had joined the Communisty Party in 1937.[111] Decaster was also involved in the communist party before the war.[112] Some were tied to well-known Communist Resistance movements. Ben Sliman[113], Karoubi[114] and Michel Idriss[115]--from Martinique,

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[103] APP: GB19, Michel Idriss. Circulaire de recherches remises par le service.
[104] Lakhdar-Toumi at Série Frères d'Armes, http://www.seriefreresdarmes.com/mohamed-toumi. Accessed on 3 May 2018.
[105] APP: GB133, Lakhdar-Toumi. Interrogation Lakhdar-Toumi (31 Jan. 1943).
[106] Ibid., 1
[107] Ibid..
[108] Ibid., 2.
[109] APP: GB97, Karoubi. Interrogation (28 Oct. 1942) 1.
[110] APP: GB50. Report Ambroise, 18-19.
[111] Amiel was part of the Association Républicaine des Anciens Combattants: APP: GB54 Amiel. Letters (4 Apr. 1941).
[112] APP: GB52. Interrogation. (18 Mar. 1942).
[113] APP: GB103, Ben Sliman. Diot et Autres (Jun-Jul. 1942). Interrogation Bouzerait (12 Jun. 1942) 2.
[114] APP: GB97. Interrogation (28 Oct. 1942) 1.
[115] APP: GB19. Circulaire.

wanted for murder--were all linked to the Organisation Spéciale (OS). Meanwhile, Meghzi[116] and Lakhdar-Toumi were part of the FTP.

Men and women originating from the colonies were involved in the most active and violent forms of resistance in the metropole. They resisted, were arrested, were shot at the Mont Valérien, were deported to Mauthausen and Buchenwald. Some are commemorated: Lakhdar-Toumi was honored in a commemoration ceremony in Paris in 2006 at the 62nd anniversary of the liberation of Paris.[117] Meghzi was acknowledged by the FFI and FTP and later the ministère des Anciens Combattants.[118] Yvon Djian, Ben Hamiche, and Lucienne Decaster are named on the SHD list of certified resisters, and the latter in a file at the National Archives.[119] But much more work needs to be done to fully comprehend and trace their involvement, and their stories need to be firmly woven into the fabric of Vichy memory. All the while, one must be careful not to reduce their stories to heroic narratives and tales of martyrdom. Involvement in the Resistance was complicated, and the France they seemed to be fighting for was not necessarily one which they fully embraced. Lakhdar-Toumi, of all people, would later be imprisoned for his participation in the Toussaint Rouge in 1954 during the Algerian War. As the next section will show, sentiments towards France--be it that of De Gaulle or that of Pétain--were far from straightforward.

PART IV. COLONIAL WORKERS, DESERTION AND THE STRUGGLES OF DAILY LIFE DURING AND AFTER THE OCCUPATION

Colonial workers, soldiers and students were not either victims of persecution or heroes of active resistance, though, and one of their main preoccupations was surviving their very difficult conditions. Many had come to fill France's labor shortage, and during the Occupation would continue to work in their workers' brigades, the Compagnies. The archives of the Service de la Main d'Oeuvre Indigène (MOI) allow us to piece together the daily lives of thousands of workers, not least from Indochina, and if they reveal an overlap between

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[116] APP: GB93. Affaire Alsace-Lorraine, 3.
[117] See Linda Amiri, 'Résistants déportés algériens: les oubliés de l'histoire', L'Humanité (26 Aug. 2006). See https://www.humanite.fr/node/355647. Accessed 3 May 2018.
[118] Maitron, http://maitron-fusilles-40-44.univ-paris1.fr/spip.php?article147610. Accessed 3 May 2018.
[119] See AN: Z/4/13, dossier 123.

Indochinese workers and the internal Resistance or the FFI, they also raise awareness about colonial workers' everyday struggles and practical needs.

Indeed, the Amitiés Africaines--an association aimed at supporting colonials in the metropole--commented that colonial workers believed they were, 'for right or for wrong, abandoned by the French in the Metropole.'[120] Many were in Compagnies, in prisoner of war camps or in TODT organisations where they worked for the Occupier. They endured strict rations, illness, and an overall lack of care--grim conditions to which they sometimes responded with violence. In the Toulouse area, for instance, Indochinese workers attacked their chiefs on 14 and 20 April 1944 after a period of food restrictions, where rations of meat, chocolate and couscous had been reduced, and where one French officer, Fournier, had had a particularly strict interpretation of disciplinary measures against them.[121]

The growing discontent and degradation of daily life probably goes a long way in explaining the increasing desertions uring the Occupation. Statistics put together by the Service MOI show that there was a sharp increase in desertion across the 72 Compagnies, going from 26 desertions in 1940 to 445 in 1943.[122] Desertions had begun to rise in late 1941, but then swelled from February 1942 onwards.[123] Interestingly, some deserters joined the resistance, not least the maquis. Nguyn-Dinh, for example, left the MOI in Port-St-Louis (Bouches du Rhône) on 15 June 1944 to join the maquis.[124] Around the time of the Liberation, the number of Indochinese workers deserting the Compagnies to join the FFI was especially high. Vu duy Toan and Lê van Vy left the MOI for the FFI on 8-9 September 1944; Hoang ba Nhuong on 16 October; Phung ninh Truy and Nguyên van Kinh on 9 November; Trân-van-Viêm on 13 November; and Trân van Nhâm on 16 November.[125] Others joined the Troupes Coloniales, which, as part of the French army, were now participating in the Allied campaign to defeat Germany.[126]

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[120] AN: F/60/993. Amitiés Africaines. Letters from Dentz (1943-44).
[121] ANOM: DTI//132. Legion 4 protests, 2.
[122] ANOM: DTI//132. Déserteurs ou égarés en zone occupée. Etat numérique des déserteurs du 1 Jan. 1940-31 Dec. 1943.
[123] ANOM: DTI//132. Letter from Front Stalag 135 to Secrétariat d'Etat au Travail, Direction du Travail de la Main d'œuvre and Service de la Main d'Oeuvre. Objet: recherche de prisonniers de guerre Indochinois (5 Aug. 1941).
[124] ANOM: DTI//132. Letter from Adjudant Nguyen-Dinh to Directeur DTI Paris (28 Aug 1946).
[125] ANOM: DTI//132. Liste des travailleurs indochinois déserteurs.
[126] The Fonds Ministériaux, DTI//132 - Ministère des Colonies. Direction des Travailleurs Indochinois carry numerous nominative lists, some of which specify if workers went to FFI or TC.

There are, according to Rod Kedward, 'hundreds' who joined the maquis.[127] For the maquis in the Vercors, Blanchard points to 'about fifty *tirailleurs sénégalais*, all ex-prisonners' amongst the 4,000 maquisards.[128] The Corps Franc de la Montagne Noire (CFMN) maquis made up of 900 men included many foreigners, not least Algerians, Moroccans and one Iraqi.[129] These include El Borni Ben Mohamed Ben Allelkhelifi (Tunisian), Tahar Méziane and Rabia Khimmoun (Algerians). According to one survivor, Algerians and North Africans were generally handling the multiple-barrel machine guns.[130]

All of these young maquisards (late twenties-early thirties) were shot by Germans in July-August 1944, and some of their names are commemorated on a monument in the Front Bruno forest in Labruguiere.[131] Addi Bâ, born in Guinée in 1913, is a well-known figure mentioned in numerous works.[132] He escaped captivity in 1940 with several other colonial soldiers, but lived clandestinely in terrible conditions. Although the others left to Switzerland, Addi Bâ decided to remain in France to fight in the Resistance where, in March 1943, he was part of a small group that began a maquis in the Vosges, also known as the 'Camp de la Délivrance'. He was eventually arrested and tortured by the Germans, dying on 18 December 1943. Resokanany was another non-white maquisard. Born in Madagascar, he joined the FTP during the Occupation and resisted in the Indre under the name of Bamboula. He later joined

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[127] H. R. Kedward, 'Mapping the Resistance: An Essay on Roots and Routes', Modern and Contemporary France, Volume 20, Issue 4 (2012) 491-503.

[128] Pascal Blanchard, La France noire. Trois siècles de présence (Paris: La Découverte, 2011).

[129] Official information on the CFMN is available online via the Musée de la résistance http://museedelaresistanceenligne.org/media1222-Combats-de-la-Montagne-noire-des-20-et-21-juillet-1944#fiche-tab as well as the Office national des anciens combattants et victimes de guerre (ONACVG) http://www.onac-vg.fr/fr/actualite-mimc/details/id:320/. Marion Camarasa, who researches Algerian immigration to Quebec, highlighted their role in the CFMN, see Marion Camarasa, 'Lorsque des Algériens étaient dans les Maquis…' (17 April 2010) http://ksari.com/index.php/coll-marion-camarasa/1571-lorsque-des-algeriens-etaient-dans-les-maquis.

[130] Testimony of David Blum carried out by the Association Amitiés judéo-lacaunaises. Témoignage recueilli par Johannes Blum, 'Du Corps Franc de la Montagne Noire à Buchenwald: Témoignage (posthume) de David Blum'. Avant-propos et notes: Olivier Héral Publié initialement Revue du Tarn, 203, Automne 2006, 469-484. http://ajl.celeonet.fr/docs/blumdavid.pdf

[131] See the Amicale du 3ème régiment de dragos et de l'escadron d'éclairage divisionnaire n°3. http://www.3emedragons.fr/IMG/pdf/livre_resistance_cle49dcdd.pdf . For more on the Corps Franc de la Montagne Noire see Michel Goubet, 'La Résistance Toulousaine, structures, objectifs (printemps-été 1944)', Revue d'histoire de la Deuxième Guerre mondiale (25, 99 (1975) 25-44; Archives départementales du Tarn: 109 J 1-23, Amis du Corps Franc de la Montagne Noire.

[132] Mabon (2010); Peschanski (2002). See also Etienne Guillermond, Addi Bâ, le résistant des Vosges (Paris: Duboiris, 2013); Julien Fargettas, Les tirailleurs sénégalais. Les soldats noirs entre légendes et réalités, 1939-1945 (Paris: Tallandier, 2012); Tierno Monénembo, Le Terroriste noir (Paris: Seuil, 2012); Nancy Lawler, Soldats d'infortune, les tirailleurs ivoiriens de la Second guerre mondiales (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1996); Georges et Georgette Froitier, Odyssée d'un couple de résistants vosgiens (Epinal, 1987).

the maquis and became a sergeant at the end of the war.[133] Mohamed Lakhdar, the Algerian Communist, came to France in 1936 at the age of twenty-two. He joined the Resistance immediately by handing out tracts and papers, and joined the FTP in April 1942. Arrested by the French police in January 1943, he was shot shortly thereafter.[134]

Yet not all workers deserted the Compagnies to join resistance groups. In August 1941, one Indochinese worker who had been missing was found in Front Stalag 135, where he was a prisoner of war.[135] Another was being looked after by an elderly woman who lived on the Champs Elysées while he was working as an accountant for a Centre de Jeunesse.[136] Another worker, Tien, managed to make it to Paris from where he sent a postcard to an old friend still in the work brigade, 24ème Compagnie in Saint-Chamas: 'One week spent in this great city makes me so happy. It is a shame you are not with me. Otherwise you would taste with me the good times to compensate for the bad days we have lived.'[137] Often, these men were looking for work. Nguyen Van Nhan was thus working as a lumberjack in the Gironde before becoming a cook; Phan Dinh Thui worked for a while in a restaurant on Place de la République; Lai Van Chan worked at the Crédit Mobilier Indochinois.[138]

Others did not desert, but rather asked to be liberated so that they could continue their studies. Nguyen Xuan Thien who was in a work brigade in Mazargues (in greater Marseille) asked to be freed so that he could study photography in Paris.[139] Mai Van Ty had volunteered to fight for France when the war was declared, leaving his family behind in Indochina. The war was now over, but there were no boats: he was stranded in the metropole for the time being; As such, he wanted to put his time to good use and study in Paris 'for my future'.[140]

Some deserters even chose to work for the Occupier. Han Nguyen Van, a 34 year-old worker who had deserted the 64è Compagnie Indochinoise in Bergerac, shared that he wanted to go work for the Germans.[141] After having been found in Marseille and sent to the internment

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[133] Resokanany mentioned in Kedward (2012); See also Blanchard (2011); Monique Lupo-Raveloarimanana seems to have written a bit on this.
[134] Peschanski (2002) 111.
[135] Ibid..
[136] ANOM: FM DTI//132, Renseignements sur le Travailleur Indochinois Nguyen-giap-Thoi (1943). Others also worked for Centres de Jeunesse, such as Tran Ngoc Pham. See ANOM: FM DTI//132. Letter from Chef de Centre Rural de Jeunesse to Chef du Service de la MOI (17 Dec. 1941).
[137] ANOM: FM DTI//132. Translation of 'Carte n°4' (21 Jun. 1943).
[138] ANOM: FM DTI//132. Liste Nominative des Travailleurs Indochinois disparus ou égarés en zone occupée, et n'ayant pas rejoint la Base Principale de Marseille (2 Jul. 1943).
[139] ANOM: FM DTI//132. Letters (14 Oct. and 9 Nov. 1943) between Louis Brunel and the Ministre du Travail, Service de la MOI à Vichy.
[140] ANOM: FM DTI//132. Handwritten Letter (3 Jul. 1942) from Mai Van Ty.
[141] Although it is not known what happened to him thereafter. ANOM: FM DTI//132. Report of Inspector Billard (15 Feb. 1944).

camp in Compiègne, Nguyen Van Ké was freed and went to work for a German company in La Baule, near Saint-Nazaire.[142] In fact, the Indochinese talked about the better working conditions with Germans in comparison to France. Reports sent to the Ministère du Travail in March 1942 included the comments of Indochinese workers at the time: apparently Germans were strict, treated workers well, delivered good rations, and their chiefs 'take care of the men'. By contrast, 'the French chiefs are not interested in the workers'.[143] According to one witness, Tran Van Ba, many Indochinese being pursued by French authorities for criminal activity decided to go work in Germany 'in order to not be bothered by the French authorities'.[144] Tran Van Ba himself was writing to the head of the Service MOI to protest against the internment of a relation who he affirmed was completely innocent, and who he felt was interned on false grounds--another window into the tensions between French authorities and the colonial population stranded in the metropole.[145]

Thus the high levels of desertion amongst workers' brigades did not mean that colonial workers were necessarily joining the Resistance, and many deserters chose other routes to follow in order to try and access better living conditions. This is no surprise when considering their terrible conditions. One Indochinese assistant from the Faculté de Médecine in Paris visited an MOI group in Camargue, the south of France, and was alarmed by the terrible conditions of the colonial workers in the salt mines: 'Most present lesions in their hands and feet. They work barefoot or with shoes they have made themselves. Many are wasting away and all are exhausted by their work in salt. The morning I went to the Giraud *Salines* (16 August 1942) be buried one of them who, according to his comrades, had died of exhaustion.'[146]

Deserting work brigades to join a Resistance group could therefore be motivated by both a desire to fight the occupier, and a desire to improve living standards. The two were probably not mutually exclusive. The flurry of desertions to join the FFI just before or after the Liberation--rather than in 1942 or even 1943--reinforces this point. Whilst it is impossible to know exactly why, at the last minute, colonial workers joined the FFI, the argument of a desire for better living conditions is corroborated by the fact that many of the workers who went to the FFI or the Troupes Coloniales (TC) ended up deserting these very units a few months later

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[142] ANOM: FM DTI//132. Handwritten note (3 Jul. 1944)
[143] ANOM: FM 14slotfom/4/4. Inspections and eétat d'esprit 1943 camp travailleurs indochinois. Report (Jun. 1943).
[144] ANOM: FM DTI//132. Handwritten Letter (29 Jul. 1943) from Tran Van Ba to the Chef de Service de la MOI.
[145] Ibid..
[146] ANOM: FM 14slotfom/4/4. Inspections and état d'esprit 1943 camp travailleurs indochinois. 4/4.1. Letter from student, Dao Van Ty, to Médecin Général, directeur du service de la santé des troupes coloniales (10 Jun. 1943).

to return to their workers' brigades. So if the 3ème Compagnie saw workers deserting every month between April and October 1944 for the FFI or the TC, they got workers streaming back in regularly between May and December 1945.[147] The hectic toing-and-froing of colonial workers between Compagnies to FFI to TC during and after the Liberation casts a shadow of doubt about the integral commitment to the FFI and the Republic, and suggests a possible more practical concern of improving daily living conditions. Liêm-Khê Tran-Nu has argued that the desire to join the FFI was indeed short-lived and largely driven by a desire to escape the MOI and to improve living conditions. '…those who joined the FFI came back to the MOI when their salaries increased', she explained.[148] As one Service MOI agent put it, 'these men want to be soldiers to change their material condition'.[149]

Under Vichy, many colonials felt 'far from their traditions, are isolated, ordered around by empoyers who know nothing about the Muslim soul, treated like cheap labor',[150] and crucially this did not necessarily translate into resistance. After the Liberation, feelings of alienation would only heighten as the return home of colonial prisoners and workers dragged out for a variety of reasons, not least logistical. Resentment and frustration swelled in 1944-45 as a result, reminding us not to idealise the relationship between colonials and Free France which grew more and more complicated with time. In centres of repatriation erected in 1945-46, the Indochinese were reported to be 'hostile, often refusing to work, going on hunger strike'.[151] An incident at the cinema in the Paris region in December 1944, for instance, saw colonials engaged in 'open armed struggle with the FFI and local gendarmes', causing several injuries on all sides. The North Africans, it was reported, had seized 35 gendarmes. Ultimately, colonials did not necessarily see the FFI as their allies, and had their own everyday struggles which had little to do with the ideological battles being fought in France.[152]

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[147] ANOM: FM DTI//132. Liste Nominative des Travailleurs retour des FFI et des Troupes Coloniales. La 3è Compagnie. Many more lists exist, and a close analysis suggests similar patterns.
[148] Liêm-Khê Tran-Nu, Les Travailleurs Indochinois en France de 1939 à 1948, Mémoire de Maîtrise sous la direction de Philippe Vigier, Nanterre (1987-88) 111.
[149] Ibid..
[150] AN: F/60/993. Afrique du Nord, Algérie, Maroc, Tunisie, Islam, économie, mines, situation politique, guerre, fonctionnaires, industrie, transports maritimes, ravitaillement, association 'Amitiés Africaines', PUCHEU (Pierre). Notes sur un projet de création de 'chantiers de travailleurs musulmans' (27 Jun. 1943) 1.
[151] AN: F/9/3815. Rapatriement des Coloniaux. 4. Rapports de Visites dans les différents centres 1945-6.
[152] AN: F/9/3815. Correspondence concernant des ex-prisonniers de guerre nord-africains (Nov-Dec. 1944). Report from the Service des Prisonniers de Guerre, Déportés et Réfugiés de la France d'Outre-mer (16 Dec. 1944).

CONCLUSION

Around 200,000 people from the empire were in the French metropole during the Occupation. What did they do? This article has shown that colonial resisters were involved in French internal Resistance networks and movements from the very beginning of the Occupation. Racial persecution and ideological commitments, most notably to Communism, often played an important role in inspiring people to take up resistance activity. We have brought a number of new names into the picture, alongside names which were already familiar. We have traced varying forms of resistance activity from spreading propaganda to writing to Pétain to enabling sabotage and 'terrorist' activities. North African, colonial, and indigenous people, like other resisters, endured political repression, torture, and deportation. Many of them paid with their lives. At the same time, not all colonial workers deserted their Compagnies to join the internal Resistance, and many just tried to survive the extremely difficult conditions they lived in. This allows us to understand not only the ideas which linked colonials to the French internal Resistance, but also the realities which meant that the two did not necessarily intersect.

The study of the colonial population under Vichy provides further insight into the history of the maquis, the FFI, and the internal Resistance. 'The Resistance has a thousand faces and penetrates through a thousand voices' declared the clandestine paper *Libertés* in November 1943; this study has shown that it also came in different shades and ethnicities. Adding to the existing historiography, it confirms the physical diversity of resisters both within and beyond the French metropole, showing the transnational nature of what is so often seen as a national struggle. It also gives an insight into the persecution, political involvement and practical conditions of colonials stranded in Vichy during the war, situations which at times drove them to engage in the Resistance, and sometimes not. As well as recognising, discussing and commemorating the role of colonial resisters in the Second World War, we also need to better understand their complicated relationship with France and the French, and ultimately with a Republic which simultaneously integrated and sidelined them--a relationship which would become only more tense in the years and decades to follow.