War, Occupation, and Memory in the Basque Country
1914-1947

Basque Studies/Anthropology 477/677

University of Nevada, Reno
Spring 2015

Professor Sandra Ott

Tuesdays & Thursdays, 11:00am-12:15pm
Raggio Building, Room 2024 (second floor)

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MISSION OF THE CENTER FOR BASQUE STUDIES: The primary mission of the Center for Basque Studies is to conduct, facilitate and disseminate the results of interdisciplinary research on Basques to local, regional, national and international audiences.

COURSE OBJECTIVES: The course is interdisciplinary in approach. Its chief aims are:

To explore the relationships between history and cultural anthropology within the context of 20th century wars, Vichy France, the German Occupation (1940-1944) and the process of liberation and judgment, with special reference to the Basque Country in southwestern France and northern Spain;

To gain insights from a range of disciplines and genres that have contributed to the socio-cultural history of the occupation, drawing upon works of history, cultural anthropology, criminal justice, film and documentary;

To understand the sometimes confused, often changeable, and complex meanings attached to “resistance,” “collaboration” and “accommodation” within the context of Franco-German relations during 1940-1944;
To gain an understanding of the post-liberation quest for truth, justice, reconciliation, and forgiveness through the analysis of narratives based upon the trial dossiers of suspected collaborators.

This capstone course satisfies Core Objective 13 in the Silver Core Curriculum:

**Core Objective 13: Integration and Synthesis**

Students will be able to integrate and synthesize Core knowledge, enabling them to analyze open-ended problems or complex issues.

In addition, BASQ/ANTH 477 helps students to develop the skills described in Core Objective 1 (Effective Composition & Communication) and Core Objective 3 (Critical Analysis & Use of Information) through the readings assignments, written and oral assignments, and class discussions. The course also provides an historical, interdisciplinary lens through which students examine the impact of war, foreign occupation and liberation on the cultures and face-to-face societies in southwestern France (CO5, History & Culture and CO6, Cultures, Societies & Individuals).

**STUDENT LEARNING OUTCOMES & CORRELATION TO CORE OBJECTIVES**

By the end of the course, students will be able to:

1. Integrate and synthesize knowledge about the German occupation of France and analyze complex moral, socio-political and cultural issues relating to life experiences during foreign occupation and the post-liberation purge of “collaborators” in the court of justice (CO3, CO6 & CO13);
2. Articulate and evaluate the ways in which Franco-German, Franco-French and Franco-Spanish and Spanish-German relations evolved during the German occupation at global and micro-historical levels (CO1, CO5; the course integrates CO10 & CO11 in this respect);
3. Use advanced search strategies in library research databases and tools to find primary and secondary sources for the term paper (CO3);
4. Analyze and synthesize primary, secondary and cultural sources (CO3);
5. Analyze the historical experiences and identity formation of diverse ethnic groups, cultures and nationalities during the German occupation of France and the post-war period (In this respect the course integrates CO10);
6. Analyze and interpret information about cultural differences, cultural rules, and cultural biases in occupied and liberated France (CO10).

Students will primarily acquire the competencies described in Core Objective 13 through a film analysis, a term paper, class discussions, and a final exam that will integrate and synthesize students’ knowledge of the macro and micro-history of the occupation and post-liberation judicial system through the lens of narratives constructed from the classified trial dossiers of suspected “collaborators,” as well as through films and documentaries about the occupation and Holocaust.
ASSESSMENT METHODS AND PLANS FOR THE EVALUATION OF STUDENTS’ WORK

The final grade for the course will be based upon a total maximum number of points @ 1,000.

20% of the final grade relates to a term paper (200 points): The term paper must be double-spaced, at least 8 pages in length PLUS your References Cited page. The term paper will focus on complex moral and socio-political issues encountered in Franco-German, Franco-French and Franco-Spanish relations at grassroots, national and international levels during both the occupation and the post-liberation purge of “collaborators.” Students will be required to use primary, archival source material (derived from the course text, Living with the Enemy) and at least four secondary sources, selected from the course’s bibliography. The paper will be due at the end of the semester. (SLOs 1, 2, 3, 4)

15% of your final grade (150 points) relates to a film analysis: You will write a synopsis and analysis of the film, Lacombe, Lucien, which recounts a teenage peasant’s participation in the German police and his exploitation of a Jewish family. Your synopsis (roughly a page and a half, double-spaced) should summarize the “story” (based upon a true life story) and identify the main themes of the film. Your analysis (three pages, double-spaced) should explore the ways in which the film illustrates the “resistance—accommodation—collaboration” continuum and the concept of “double think” that are main conceptual frameworks in this class. Students should relate the micro-story of the teenager to the “bigger picture” of how the French perceived Jews, the “resistance” and “collaborationists” in the postwar years. (SLOs 1, 2, 5, 6)

10% of your final grade (100 points) relates to leadership of class discussion groups: You will lead two small, in-class discussion groups during the semester. Topics will be distributed in the first class. Select your first and second choices. You will be responsible for getting students to identify key issues in the reading assignment, and to integrate new knowledge with what you have learned thus far in the course. I will visit each group as a participant-observer. You will write a two-page, double-spaced overview of key issues and learning points. This is due on the day of the next class. You will be evaluated on the basis of your reports and how you conduct the study group session. Each performance is worth a maximum of 50 points. (SLOs 1, 2, 4, 5, 6)

5% of your final grade relates to quizzes (50 points): You will take two short quizzes on material studied prior to and after the midterm. (SLOs 1, 2)

40% of the final grade relates to exams (400 points): You will take a midterm exam (200 points) and a final exam (200 points). The midterm and the final will entail short-answer questions and 2 to 3 short essays. Study guides for both exams and in-class revision will be provided. (SLOs 1, 2, 4, 5, 6)

10% of the final grade relates to class participation & attendance (100 points): You will be assessed as a class participant (50 points) and on your attendance record (50 points). Class participation will be assessed on the quality and frequency of your contributions to discussions: A/A- performance for regular, perceptive contributions; B+ for frequent, perceptive contributions; B for frequent, sensible contributions; B- for frequent comments; C+ for
occasional participation; C for irregular participation; C- for some effort demonstrated in discussions; D for little effort shown to engage in discussion; F for virtually no effort. If your attendance record is poor, your grade for class participation will reflect your absence.

Absence is excused only in the case of proven illness. A second unexcused absence will entail a reduction of one letter grade from your final grade for the course.

The grading scale is: A 100-94; A- 93-90; B+ 89-87; B 86-84; B- 83-80; C+ 79-77; C 76-74; C- 73-70; D+ 69-67; D 66-64; D- 63-60; F below 60.

ADDITIONAL EXPECTATIONS FOR GRADUATE STUDENTS at 600-level:

To receive graduate credit for this course, students will complete two essays, each of which will be roughly 15 pages in length (double-spaced), excluding footnotes and bibliography that are both required. They will be expected to read more extensively than undergraduates, and this should be reflected in their essays. Each graduate student will receive two tutorials from the instructor, prior to writing each of the essays. Tutorials will focus on their additional reading and chosen essay topics. The essays will be weighted equally, valued at 300 points each for a total possible score of 600 points for written work. This will comprise 60% of the total assessment. Essays will be evaluated according to the following additional criteria:

- To what extent and how does the essay utilize the additional reading expected of graduate students?
- Does the student’s writing reflect broad familiarity with approaches to the resistance, collaboration and Franco-German accommodation?
- Does the student’s writing demonstrate his/her understanding of the complex moral and socio-political issues that people faced in civil and world wars?
- Is the student able to analyze key themes within an interdisciplinary framework that includes history, cultural anthropology and film?

Graduate students will not have a midterm exam but will have a final exam. The final exam is weighted at 300 points, or 30% of the final grade. Lastly, 10% of the final grade will be based upon a class presentation (topic to be agreed with me and relating to one or more of the themes addressed in this course).

Student learning outcomes: In addition to the SLOs outlined for undergraduates, graduate students will be able to:

- Apply the concepts of the “resistance-accommodation-collaboration continuum” and notion of “double-think” in their analyses of case studies relating to collaborators;
- Demonstrate a clear understanding of the structure and functioning of the French inquisitorial system of justice.

Statement on Academic Dishonesty: Cheating, plagiarism or otherwise obtaining grades under false pretenses constitute academic dishonesty according to the code of this university. Academic dishonesty will not be tolerated and penalties can include canceling a student's enrollment.
without a grade, giving an F for the course or for the assignment. For more details, see the University of Nevada, Reno General Catalog.

**Disability Policy:** Any student with a disability needing academic adjustments or accommodations is requested to speak with the Disability Resource Center (Thompson Building, Suite 101) as soon as possible to arrange for appropriate accommodations.

**Statement on Audio and Video Recording:** Surreptitious or covert video-taping of class or unauthorized audio recording of class is prohibited by law and by Board of Regents policy. This class may be videotaped or audio recorded only with the written permission of the instructor. In order to accommodate students with disabilities, some students may be given permission to record class lectures and discussions. Therefore, students should understand that their comments during class may be recorded.

**Statement for Academic Success Services:** Your student fees cover usage of the Math Center (775) 784-4422, Tutoring Center (775) 784-6801, and University Writing Center (775) 784-6030. These centers support your classroom learning; it is your responsibility to take advantage of their services. Keep in mind that seeking help outside of class is the sign of a responsible and successful student.

### Due dates for written assignment/dates of exams

- **Quizzes:** Tuesday, February 10th (class 7) & March 24th (class 17)
- **Midterm Exam:** Tuesday, March 10th (class 15)
- **Movie synopsis & analysis (Lacombe Lucien):** Thursday, April 9th (class 22)
- **Term Paper:** Thursday, April 30th (class 28)
- **Final exam:** Thursday, May 7th, from 8:00-9:30am in our classroom.

### Books & reading assignments:

**READING ASSIGNMENTS:** Reading assignments are on E-Reserves and in two required texts (chapters from the manuscript, *Living with the Enemy: Betrayal and Justice in the Western Pyrenees, 1940-1947*, by Sandra Ott and *The Unfree French: Life under the Occupation* by Richard Vinen). The former text will be provided by the Center for Basque Studies for a minimal charge. The latter book is available in the JCSU bookstore and on Amazon.com.

### COURSE CALENDAR:

- **January 20th, Tuesday:** Introduction to the course (Class 1)

The class will set expectations and learning objectives; locate the course in southwestern France and introduce students to the rich cultural diversity of the region in the 1930s and 1940s.
January 22nd, Thursday: **Introduction to the Basques of Southwestern France (Class 2)**

During the first half of the twentieth century during both world and civil wars, the northern or French Basque Country was a place of refuge, conflict, transit, exile and foreign occupation. Who are the Basques, known for their stubborn love of independence and solidarity when confronted by outsiders?


January 27th, Tuesday: **Basques in the Great War**

More than four million French, German and British soldiers died in the Great War of 1914-1918, roughly one in six of those who served their country. Another four million citizens perished. In 1915, a British psychiatrist introduced the term “shell shock” to describe injuries men had suffered at the front: they suffered post-traumatic stress disorder. Their experiences frame what we came to call “traumatic memory.” We will also watch excerpts of a film, *The Great War* (VO6392 Multimedia Center, vols. 4 & 8). What impact did the Great War have upon the Basques of southwestern France? How did it shape their sense of identity and patriotism to France?


January 29th, Thursday: **The Rise of the Third Reich**

How do we make sense of Nazism? Why did the Nazi Party appeal to so many Germans in the 1930s? How far did the Germans support the Nazis?

*Reading assignment:* Martha Dodd, “Hitler Needs a Woman,” in *Travels in the Reich, 1933-1945* (Oliver Lubrich, ed.), pp. 41-52. *E-Reserves*, Sandra Ott, *Living with the Enemy*, pp. 71-82 on German interest in the Basques. We will watch the first part of *The Third Reich (The Rise)*, DVD produced by the History Channel (instructor’s copy).

February 3rd, Tuesday: **Civil War in Spain, Exodus, Exile in France**

The Spanish Civil War was a prelude to war between France and Germany in 1939 and World War II. We will begin with an overview of Spain’s Civil War (1936-1939) and the experience of exiled Spanish Republicans in France. Excerpts from *The Spanish Civil War* (VO3498) and *Escaping Franco* (DVD1272).

*Reading assignment:* Sandra Ott, *Living with the Enemy*, pp. 90-106.
February 5th, Thursday: **German Occupation and Vichy** (Class 6)

The Third Republic is often viewed as a politically unstable and economically backward regime during the interwar years. Global depression in 1930-1931 set the tone for the decade. On September 3rd, 1939, shortly after Hitler’s troops invaded Poland, France and Great Britain declared war on Germany. In June 1940, France suffered a humiliating defeat; and a military catastrophe became a political one. We will watch excerpts from the film, *The World at War* (VO1137), on the Fall of France, May-June 1940.


February 10th, Tuesday: **Basques under Vichy** (Class 7)

**Quiz 1**

When France surrendered to Germany in June 1940, the French parliament granted Marshal Pétain full dictatorial powers over the newly formed “French State” under what is called the Vichy regime. Pétain was a French hero of the First World War and attracted a cult following throughout France. We will watch the first part of *The Eye of Vichy* (VO8222), by Claude Chabrol. The film is a compilation of footage & newsreels produced by the Nazis & French collaborators. It will introduce us to questions about propaganda, revisionist history & “re-writing the present”.

*Reading assignment:* Sandra Ott, Chapter Six, “Xiberoans under Vichy,” in *War, Judgment, and Memory in the Basque Borderlands, 1914-1945*, pp. 76-93. E-Reserves


February 12th, Thursday: **Jews, Germans and French** (Class 8)

Under Vichy, the French authorities energetically persecuted Jews living in France. We will explore the roots and development of anti-Semitism under Vichy, Vichy’s definitions of “the Jewish Issue” and its anti-Semitic, repressive measures (from discrimination to round-ups, deportations and massacres). During the summer of 1942, the Germans began to implement their “final solution” of the Jewish issue. Vichy France bears an important burden of responsibility for this human disaster. (Excerpts from *The World at War*, DVD2664, Vol. 10, “The Final Solution”) We will compare Vichy and Nazi policy and attitudes towards Jews.

February 17th, Tuesday:  **The Rise of Organized Resistance**  (Class 9)

What factors led to the organization of local resistance groups (known as *maquis*)? Two main rival resistance groups operated in Soule. They competed for recruits and for weapons; and their leaders bitterly disagreed about strategy. Alongside their efforts, many men and women helped Allied pilots, intelligence officers and ordinary citizens escape to Spain. Numerous escape & intelligence networks operated across the French Basque Country. The Germans regarded them all as “enemies” of the Reich. Their story is a microcosm of what happened across France.

Sandra Ott, Chapter Seven, “The German Occupation & Resistance in Xiberoa,” in *War, Judgment, and Memory in the Basque Borderlands, 1914-1945*, pp. 94-113, E-Reserves

February 19th, Thursday:  **Understanding the Resistance through Film: Army of Shadows, directed by Jean-Pierre Melville**  (Class 10)

Elegant, brutal, provocative, and overwhelmingly sad, *Army of Shadows* was released in France in 1969. Critics savaged the film for glorifying de Gaulle. When the film debuted in the States in 2006, critics applauded it as a masterpiece. *Army of Shadows* is based upon the experiences of a “real life” resister.

Reading assignment: hand out from professor

February 24th, Tuesday:  **Army of Shadows (second part)**  (Class 11)


February 26th, Thursday:  **Frenchwomen and the Germans**  (Class 12)

Relations between France and Germany during the occupation were often described in sexual terms. The Resistance associated the defense of French honor with the behavior of French women. What kind of relationships did French women form with the “enemy”? What forms of gender oppression occurred in the post-liberation purge? What constitutes sexual equality?


March 3rd, Tuesday:  **Betrayal & Resisting Divisiveness through Ritual**  (Class 13)
As happened elsewhere in France, the Basques responded in a variety of ways to the opportunities that life under Vichy and German Occupation presented and to the threats posed not only by those regimes, but also by fellow citizens and strangers who passed through their communities. We will compare the experiences of Basques in two rural communities and explore the different ways in which they handled the divisiveness caused by betrayal and its tragic consequences. Denunciations deepened existing tensions and created new divisions in communities across France during the German Occupation. In the purges of the post-Liberation period, accusations of collaboration often pitted relatives, neighbors and friends against each other. Denunciations challenged the resilience of relationships and practices at the core of Basque social organization. How did rural Basques deal with their difficult situation?


**March 5th, Thursday:**  
**Violence, the Process of Liberation, and the Purge**  
(Class 14)

**Revision for Midterm Exam**

In the summer of 1944, as an Allied victory approached, resistance movements became increasingly aggressive toward German troops. The enemy retaliated in a spiral of violence. August 1944 saw the process of liberation begin, as Germans left southwestern France. With de Gaulle’s provisional government in place, the difficult search for truth and justice began. So did the hunt for “collaborators.” Was female-head-shaving a just punishment for “horizontal collaborators”?


**March 10th, Tuesday:**  
**Midterm Exam**  
(Class 15)

**March 12th, Thursday:**  
**The Fall of the Third Reich**  
(Class 16)

We will watch the second half of the documentary film, *The Third Reich, The Fall*, and consider how Germans’ perceptions of the Reich, Hitler, and the war changed as defeat became likely, then a certainty.

*Reading assignment:* Andrew Bergerson & Maria Stehle, “Rudi Mosaner’s Wanderjahre: Irony and Impunity in Nazi Europe,” in *War, Exile, Justice, and Everyday Life, 1936-1946*. Copies provided by Dr. Ott.

**Spring Break**
March 24th, Tuesday: **The Purge, the Judiciary, and the Court of Justice in Pau**  
*(Class 17)*

**Quiz 2**

During the late summer and fall of 1944, French citizens clamored for justice and the punishments of *collabos*. The court of justice in Pau first convened in late October. The judiciary faced a thankless task. Consistent jurisprudence was impossible to achieve. The purge brought further tumultuous times to the Basques.


March 26th, Thursday: **Case Study: A Teenaged Informer and the Tragedy of Portet**  
*(Class 18)*

Henri Lasserre came from a wealthy family in Pau. He had no ideological commitments. His parents spoiled him. Lasserre’s trial dossier offers another opportunity to explore the complex factors that gave rise to juvenile delinquency in wartime and led teenagers to aid the enemy.


March 31st, Tuesday: **Using Film to Understand the Occupation: Lacombe, Lucien by Louis Malle**  
*(Class 19)*

The film director Louis Malle described his anti-hero, Lucien Lacombe, as a young peasant who might well have become a resister but entered the service of the Gestapo by accident. Who collaborated, who resisted, and why did they do so? *Lacombe Lucien* (DVD2671) is a classic example of Laborie’s “double think.” Compare Lucien Lacombe to Henri Lasserre. Make notes on the plot, the characters, their motives, their inter-relationships in preparation for writing a four-page synopsis & analysis of the film and what the film teaches us about the experience of foreign occupation and Franco-German relations. **Film synopsis and analysis due on April 9th.**


April 2nd, Thursday: **Lacombe, Lucien (continued)**  
*(Class 20)*

We will watch the remainder of the film and discuss it. No reading assignment for this class.
April 7th, Tuesday:  **Case Study: A Teenaged Volunteer in the Waffen-SS**  (Class 21)

Few scholarly works have been devoted to French volunteers who wore the German uniform. The lack of attention may in part stem from the fact that military collaborationism remains an embarrassing subject in France. This class contributes to our understanding of teenagers who voluntarily joined the Waffen-SS. The narrative centers on Jean de Chappotin, a blond, German-speaking youth who became a juvenile delinquent and then willingly fought for Hitler.


April 9th, Thursday:  **Case Study: The Trial of a Black Market Bicycle Vendor**  (Class 22)

Film synopsis and analysis of *Lacombe, Lucien* due

Who should be pardoned and why? Is the death penalty a morally acceptable punishment?


April 14th, Tuesday:  **Case Study: Friendship with a Nazi Officer**  (Class 23)

We explore the friendship between a Nazi officer and a pro-German woman in Pau. His 29 letters to her reveal his reflections on the war, his hopes and, above all, his material needs during 1943-1944. The cycle of letter-writing and gift-giving that linked the two friends raise important questions about the location of power, indebtedness and gratitude in Franco-German partnerships. The letters also provide an unusual opportunity to test assumptions about the inequality of such relationships in occupied France. (Excerpts from *The World at War*, Vol. 5, “Inside the Reich”)


April 16th, Thursday:  **The Holocaust**  (Class 24)

Derived from the Greek version of the Hebrew Bible, “Holocaust” means “burnt offering.” The German Judeocide is also often referred to as “shoa,” the destruction and annihilation wrought by the Nazis. What made the Holocaust possible? Centuries of Christian anti-Semitism, the emergence of anti-Semitic, racist ideologies in 19th c. Germany, German humiliation at the end of the Great War, Hitler’s psychopathology, among many other reasons. In making *Shoah* (DVD0923), film-maker Claude Lanzmann did not want to offer a grand causal narrative
explaining how the atrocities came to be perpetuated, nor did he merely wish to invoke a *memory* of the past. Instead, Lanzmann sought to expose “the implacable nakedness of the violence” as it emerged, to enable viewers to see the unprecedented, cold-blooded fury of the Germans. In this class we will watch excerpts from *Shoah* and discuss the themes that emerge from the narratives.

No reading assignment. Handout on Lanzmann’s film.

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<th>April 21st, Tuesday: Case Studies: A Pro-German Basque Farmer and the Strange Case of Dr. Veritas, Self-styled Double Agent (Class 25)</th>
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One case explores the complex relationships forged in one Basque farmhouse—between its members and with German officers. It is a tale of betrayal, complicity and ambiguity. The second case focuses on an elderly playboy and self-styled double agent and his tumultuous relations with a young lover. The enemy was not always German.


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<th>April 23rd, Thursday: Conclusions: Anthropological Perspectives on the Experience of Foreign Occupation (Class 26)</th>
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What themes emerged from these case studies? What constitutes an “ethnographic approach” to the study of post-liberation trial dossiers? In what sense did the “enemy” become an insider during the post-liberation search for truth and justice?


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<th>April 28th, Tuesday: The Klaus Barbie Trial (Class 27)</th>
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What was the public, “official” memory of the German Occupation of France at the time of Liberation and throughout the following fifty years? Why did the dual need both to remember and to forget figure so prominently in both personal and collective memories of the “Dark Years”? We will watch part of another film by the controversial film-maker, Ophuls, his *Hotel Terminus: The Barbie Trial* (Justice, Memory & History) (2 vols. VO8071, VO8072). What have we learned from the past?


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<th>April 30th, Thursday: Hitler’s Children (Class 28)</th>
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**Term papers due**

Hitler had no children, but infamous men such as Goering and Himmler did. Hitler’s godson has spent his adult life speaking out against father and the Nazi regime. Bettina Goering, granddaughter of Hermann Goering (Hitler’s second in command) lives in voluntary exile in Santa Fe. These individuals talk about how they have coped with the fact that their last names are equated with terror and genocide. *Hitler’s Children*, a film directed by Chanoch Ze’Evi.

No reading assignment.

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<th>May 5th, Tuesday:</th>
<th>Revision for the Final Exam (Class 29)</th>
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Final exam takes place on Thursday, May 7th, from 8:30-10am.