

FRANCE IN THE NEW ORDER

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WHEN speaking of France within the New Order, one is inevitably bound to run across the question: "But why have the Nazis used such different methods in France? Why is their treatment of the French population so much more considerate than their treatment, for example, of the Poles?"

When this question is asked of Nazi soldiers and officers on French soil, you invariably obtain the reply: "Because these are our orders!"—In a more loquacious mood, certain German officials have added: "But, if we were compelled to retreat, our orders would be to loot, burn and kill—to destroy!"

Actually observers know—through facts and statements which I am about to reveal—that there are two major reasons for which Germany accorded a preferential treatment to France. The first (and this is not the major reason) is that Germany, ever since the signature of the Armistice, knows that total execution of the Armistice clauses within France as well as in the Colonies is an indispensable condition if the Nazi attack against Great Britain, the Balkans, on the Mediterranean, in Africa and in the Near East is to be successful. But the principal reason for the gentle treatment is that the Führer, in order to achieve his dream of a New Order in Europe, his *Deutsch Europa*, requires not only the geographical and political assistance of France: more important to him is its philosophical and moral adherence!

This is why Hitler has been careful not to repeat in my own country the mistake he made in Norway, for instance. There, he had organized a Quisling government, which ruled in closest collaboration with the Nazi overseers. But although perfect harmony reigned between the Norwegian Fascists and the Aryan Nazis, the entire country continued to maintain a solid front of hatred against both the conquerors and their actual leaders. It is no secret that national traditions, strengthened by Norwegian patriotism, compelled the victors to resort to merciless repressive measures, which, in turn, only reinforced the sentiments for revenge and the actual resistance to the whole Nazi ideology.

As a matter of fact, the Führer almost made a similar mistake in my country in utilizing Pierre Laval. However, he

rapidly stepped off this erroneous path as soon as he realized that the pre-Peace conditions which Laval was ready to offer on September 13 last year were being offered in total opposition to the strongest wishes of the French people, to whom the very sight of Pierre Laval was obnoxious, and his willingness served only to increase the popular determination to resist Berlin's demands.

Therefore Adolf Hitler made a minor concession of time, and pretended to have been overcome with the logic of Marshal Petain's arguments. For the old Marshal was becoming increasingly popular in France. Thus a policy of kindness and tolerance was adopted—just enough to assuage the desire in French hearts to continue the war side by side with Britain. International observers, who doubt the Führer's successes and exploits in the military field, invariably marvel over his remarkable understanding of human weaknesses and the diplomatic line he has founded upon this understanding.

In this instance, Hitler's psychology obtained a total victory. Such was the policy adopted by German leaders toward the Vichy government, and now Nazi diplomacy has been able to obtain, with a minimum of resistance, the very same advantages which Pierre Laval offered in December, 1940.

The terms of the total collaboration, for which Vichy ministers have voted, actually mean, as General de Gaulle has so aptly described it: "that Hitler has placed France's neck in a loose tying knot which Germany can squeeze each day tighter in order to compel France to collaborate more closely with the New Order"—and to fulfill within Europe the rôle which the Führer had anticipated for it. To those who are sharply critical of the French people for allowing themselves to be entangled in the organization of the New Order in France, one must, in all fairness, point out that the Nazis have two strong, indeed all-powerful weapons at their disposal: The hunger of the French people, and their total ignorance of the real developments of this war!

It is important to remember that Marshal Petain signed the Armistice because he had been convinced that Great Britain would be defeated within a fortnight—and, in connection with this, President Lebrun pronounced his famous sentence: "Tragic days are these when our generals will no longer fight!" In spite of the actual events, this conviction became ever stronger with Marshal Petain, and in his belief in British defeat—coupled with America's hesitation to take a firm stand with his govern-

ment—he found the excuse to entrench himself ever deeper in his pro-German collaboration policies. French leaders now—over the air, through the press and by other means—are busily praising the merits of the Franco-German collaboration, while, on the other hand, neither Great Britain nor the U.S. succeeded in informing French public opinion upon the truth of their plight, and the necessity for a strong determination to continue the struggle until victory. This latter is a very important fact, for there is no doubt that the isolated mutinies would have been more numerous and more important if President Roosevelt had succeeded in informing the French people of his determination to see the democracies win.

While a handful of people throughout France—including a number of the former French ministers, Messrs. Daladier, Mandel, Reynaud, Blum—are now kept informed of the actual events in the United States, the entire nation is flooded by poisoned propaganda informing Frenchmen that the United States will limit aid to Britain to purely verbal assistance and that the imminent defeat of England will mean the end of the blockade, and food for the French people at last! The "New Order" propaganda in France does not limit itself to a material appeal. A theory, a *credo*, had to be founded. Thus certain "elites," referred to as Marshal Petain's brain trust, men such as Abel Bonnard, Chateaubriand, Carbuccia, Prouvot and the grandson of the famous Gobineau, have proved themselves to be able spokesmen and persuasive orators, while Fabriolus launches the theory: "France found in her defeat a sense which she had lost for too long a period: the sense of solidarity with Europe. Temporarily misguided by her trans-oceanic alliances, our country was responsible for the momentary ruin of the European continent. To-day, together with Germany, she will work towards the restoration of the European continent!"

While the journalists write in this sense, while in the famous *Conferences des Ambassadeurs* young Gobineau holds forth, and while Mr. René Belin, Labor Minister, is actively propagandizing, the important question to determine is: "To what degree will French public opinion react?" In order to answer this question, one would have to determine to what degree Great Britain and the United States will contribute towards the maintenance in French hearts of the hope for a British and American victory.

Although this is the heart of the question, it must also be said to the credit of the French people that to-day they

smilingly shrug their shoulders over the childish innovations of the New Order in France. For instance, the Vichy government now states that those Frenchmen and Frenchwomen who have been "denationalised" (and such is my own case) can regain their French nationality only through a special decree signed by Germany. Upon hearing this, the well-known Paul-Louis-Weiler exclaimed: "I prefer to remain an apatriote of French origin rather than regain my nationality through the Nazis' good will."

The measures resorted to in order to build anti-Semitism are even more childish. Although the government declares a general exemption in favor of Jews who fought in the last world war, whenever they face the necessity of exempting such and such a distinguished Jew from general anti-Semitic repressive measures, the title of "Honorary Aryan" is bestowed upon him or her! Such was the case for various very popular singers, Charles Trenet for instance, Vultura, and others.

Censorship is very strict. In a few weeks the famous political trials of Messrs. Reynaud, Mandel, Daladier, Blum, Guy La Chambre and others will take place behind closed doors, except for one or two public sessions, to which fifty representatives of the press have been invited; of these 40 are Nazis, and the 10 French journalists have been carefully selected.

When I arrived in the United States, I was asked during an interview over the air: "Can you explain in twenty minutes what was the main factor for the collapse of your country?" At that time, I reiterated my conviction that it was the lack of sincerity in the press, and the distortion of the news concerning the international situation which had been—to a great degree—responsible for the complete unpreparedness of my people in face of the actual and swift moving developments of the war. To-day, upon a different scale, the situation in France is similar. All and every means are used to persuade the French people that its duty is to assist in the Franco-German collaboration and to help build the New Order.

At this point, it is important to determine what exactly is this New Order—and what shall France's specific function be! We, in France, had known, as far back as 1938, of the famous *Herrenvolk* Theory, and of Hitler's conception of the immediate organization of the New Order. The Theory itself recognized four classes of society throughout Europe, of which the German Nazis themselves would be the ruling class. Regulating the movement of all of Europe, a giant apparatus had been con-

ceived, which included one Foreign Affairs for all of Europe with Mr. Von Ribbentrop supervising all of Europe's diplomacy, with subsidiary offices in each of the capitals. In the same way, the German Economic Department would control all of European economy, while the Financial Bureau would regulate all exchanges and financial transactions. And more recently, one month after the French Armistice, in fact, Rudolf Kirscher writes in the *Frankfurter Zeitung*:

It is no longer a question of seeking an outward compromise between isolated European states—a balance that shifts the weight but temporarily—leaving the system of collaboration unchanged. Nor is it a question of restoring the equilibrium of Europe in the old sense.

For the first time in history, we face the task of encompassing the entire European continent as one political unit—and of organizing this unit under Führer principles. That is to say that the heart of the New Order—far from being the shifting of frontiers and the changing of maps—is the union of the entire continent under German and Italian leadership, with a clear demarcation and gradation of the responsibility of its members.

Thus the New Order in Europe means the end of multiple national sovereignty, as well as the repudiation of equality among the nations. Europe is to gravitate solely around the Third Reich!

It is important to understand that the Führer does not plan to reconcile the defeated nations to his cause, after the war. His conception is clearly defined by a military spokesman who declared last June:

The vanquished must never rise again. The very germ of resistance and revenge is to be exterminated! No reparation payments, no economic concessions can ever regain independence for the defeated states. A total victory can mean only the utter destruction of the vanquished nation, and its complete and final disappearance from the historical arena.

Another military spokesman says: "A war of destruction is a war whose political aim is the destruction of the enemy state!"

Regarding France's peculiar rôle in the "New Order," and the reason for which France's treatment at the hands of the Nazis totally differs from the methods utilized by them in other European countries, we must remember that from 1920 to 1940 my country was the real organizer of Europe—in the political field and in all others. France was the leader of democratic principles, and the leader of the principle of equality

among nations. Thus, in the super-battle of the West, the Nazis struck out not only at the country of France, but also at the very structural principle of Europe.

The Third Reich, then, is no longer satisfied to have conquered France as a strategic position against England. Witness the limited official collaboration but total unofficial collaboration in the diplomatic field, already visible in Bucharest and Lisbon. In the same way all French ports and strategic bases are freely used to further the Führer's military plans. Nor will the actual economic exploitation and colonization of France be sufficient to satisfy Nazi demands.

But, by entering the New Order (and the leaders of my country have so far offered no serious opposition), my country must renounce its European mission. Politically and morally, it must blot itself out to become a satellite of the Third Reich.

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Is the organization of the New Order solid, and will it last? No! Because it is not an aim in itself, but merely a step in the Führer's wish to conquer the world. Continental Europe is merely the nucleus of Germany's domain, in the Nazi conception: a springboard for further conquests, rather than the frontiers of a sacred Empire!

In October, 1938, the well known Baron von Rheinbaden wrote in the *Berliner Monatshefte*: "Day by day, it becomes plainer that the African share of the European colonial states will be basically reallocated, and that in the Near and Far East this European war will have far-reaching consequences."

As far back as 1936, while writing an exposure of German war aims, I myself reproduced a statement which had just appeared in the German military press: "The Italian Empire is the bridge to the nearby African continent with its raw materials—and beyond that, over the sea to the Indian Ocean." At this time, although the conquest of Africa was thought of principally as a means towards a decisive victory over the Allies, it was also designed to create a special German colonial Empire, called "Eur—Africa," which would become a consequence of German rule on the European continent. It is now obvious that Africa is very accessible and very desirable. An ideal colonial domain, because the negro population represents cheap and willing labor, and Africa is a source of valuable minerals, diamonds and gold.

Also necessary for the maintenance of his New Order was the factor of the Near East. And in order to draw it within his

sphere of influence, one now observes the Führer seeking his road beyond the Dardanelles and the oils of Mosul and the pathway to the Indian Ocean. This is the reason for the actual intense activity in Syria.

Thus, the Führer is engaged in a war in which he is bound to fall under the eternal law which history has always applied to great conquerors from the time of the ancient Egyptian Empire until—and including—the Napoleonic era. All of them, Ramses, Nebuchadnezzar, Alexander the Great, Attila, Ghenghis Khan and Napoleon during their own lifetime witnessed the collapse of their Empire—or the announcements of its collapse.

Underlying all the various and odd factors responsible for their failures, one could always find this basic fact: Their Empires, too rapidly acquired, had no real, solid, substantial or stable basis, and were doomed to fall.

And to-day economic observers remark that although Nazi conquests have added strong new industrial units to German economy, the productivity of continental European economy under German leadership cannot be arrived at by the mere addition to German production of the former production in conquered countries.

It will not be a simple task to place these economies at the service of the German war economy, because they have already been partly destroyed or greatly disorganized. French industry, for instance, has been largely cut off from the raw material sources, while the existing reserves of raw material are being plundered and looted.

Another positive factor, which is numerically bound to destroy this German Europe, lies in the national conflicts and resentments which exist within this domain. Eighty million Germans are to-day faced by some hundred millions of alien peoples. This fact is of utmost importance.

Thus it is doubtful whether the New Order, now being created in France, will ever step out of its present immature form to reach full maturity. In British and American action, in the hearts of our patriotic people who remain faithful to the best traditions of democracy, we place our faith.