

Florida State University Libraries

2019

Surviving POW Camp Oflag XVII-A: Actions of a Few

Shelby Young



THE FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE OF ARTS & SCIENCES

SURVIVING POW CAMP OFLAG XVII-A:
ACTIONS OF A FEW

By

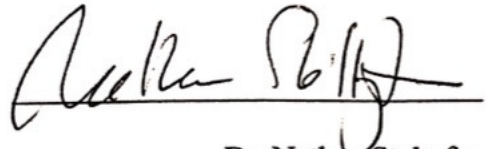
SHELBY YOUNG

A Thesis submitted to the
Department of History
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for graduation with
Honors in the Major

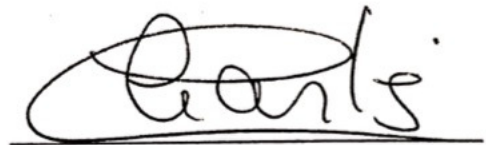
Degree Awarded:

Spring, 2019

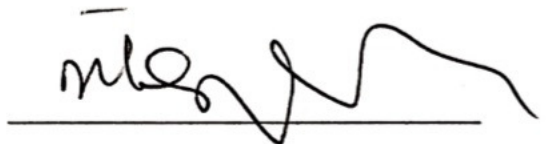
The members of the Defense Committee approve the thesis of Shelby Young defended on April 1, 2019.



Dr. Nathan Stoltzfus
Thesis Director



Dr. Marie-France Prosper-Chartier
Outside Committee Member



Dr. Nilay Ozok-Gundogan
Committee Member

Preface

I began this journey of research in 2016. My research interests began with World War II and the occupation of France. I had the chance to complete an oral history report with World War II survivors and their families in the region of Alsace, France. This research then evolved into my interest in completing a thesis. In my original oral report, I came across the film *Sous Le Manteau*. Historians began to discuss Oflag XVII-A because of this film's clandestine raw footage of a POW camp. The more I researched on the film the more I read about an escape attempt. However, in some sources I read there were mentions of an escape attempt sponsored by the French Resistance. The more I researched, I came to realize that this escape attempt, that is often discussed out of context, occurred at the same prisoner of war camp *Sous Le Manteau* was filmed at. I originally planned to analyze *Sous Le Manteau* as a form of resistance but then turned to discuss the French language as a barrier or an aid in this escape attempt among the French prisoners. The film provided for a starting primary source, but, as I researched more, I realized that there was more to discuss, and I turned away from solely analyzing *Sous Le Manteau*. At this stage, I kept trying to understand the escape attempt as part of the French Resistance. This is where I started to look outside of the historiography I was working with at the time. I began to look at the French myth of resistance and eventually pulled out primary sources that pointed towards this myth of resistance as a potential explanation.

I have now found that research evolves and has no end point. There is always more to a story, event, or an action. And so, I begin with the 1943 escape attempt at Oflag XVII-A.

Background of the Escape

It was 1943 between the villages of Edelbach and Döllersheim, Austria close to the Czechoslovakia border. The Nazi-run prisoner of war camp for officers *Offizierslag*, or Oflag,

XVII-A housed over 6,000 prisoners at most during one time, with only the capacity for 5,000, from the years 1940 to 1945. Most of these men were captured during the Battle of France in 1940 from the French military with a few hundred prisoners being Polish. The prisoners at Oflag XVII-A consisted of scholars, engineers, scientists, and educators not fighters, rebels, or soldiers. Specifically, the Polish officer prisoners were fighting alongside the French. After the fall of Poland, Polish refugees and many soldiers were streamlined into the French army due to an agreement between the Polish and French governments.¹ All prisoners were guarded by German soldiers and Austrian veterans.²

Without forced labor, since they were officers and also previous scholars who were captured, prisoners were encouraged by guards and German regulation to pass their time productively with activities. For example, Lieutenant Jean Leray who became the director of the Oflag XVII-A's unofficial university, successfully hid from the Nazis that he was the top expert in fluid dynamics and mechanics. Instead, he taught algebraic topology; a topic he considered unlikely to benefit war.³ This presence of a university demonstrates that Nazi Germans might have planned on using these French elites for war measures. In addition, French Oflag XVII-A prisoner Henry Gayot painted pictures of where these activities were housed and what this camp's buildings looked like on the grounds.⁴ These paintings provide the minimum in terms of painting the structures and the buildings, not depicting the conditions of the camp. Oflag XVII-A even had a chapel, a choir, a university (*Université en Captivité*), a stadium (*Stade Pétain*), a newspaper (*Le Canard...KG*), and a theater (*Théâtre de la Verdure*).⁵

¹ Bartłomiej Belcarz. *Polskie Lotnictwo we Francji 1940 (Polish Air Force in France 1940)*. Stratus, 2002.

² Anna Maria Sigmund, Peter Michor, and Karl Sigmund. "Leray in Edelbach." *Mathematical Intelligencer* 27, no. 2 (Spring 2005): 41.

³ Jean Leray. *Course d'Algèbre Topologique Enseigné en Captivité*. *J. Math. Pures Appl.*, 1945: 24.

⁴ Henry Gayot. Croquis Oflag XVII-A. United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Collection, 1946.

⁵ Anna Maria Sigmund, Peter Michor, and Karl Sigmund. 42.

It was precisely under this greenery-covered theater that guards did not have a clear view of one of the many underground tunnel entrances that the prisoners had dug throughout their time there. Prisoners had previously been given shovels and wheelbarrows to dig silt trenches elsewhere within the camp, and these were the tools that helped the prisoners further dig their various attempted tunnels and thus their final 90-meter long escape tunnel. Despite this tunnel being “shorter” than prior attempts at creating a successful escape tunnel, the tunnel was only big enough for the men to crawl with little oxygen. In order to hide their digging efforts, the loose dirt from this escape tunnel was put under the seats of the theater. However, not known to the guards was the secretive filming that some of the prisoners were producing. This footage was possible due to film tools that were snuck in through by visiting family members the ends of meats like sausages, since guards sliced meats down the middle in order to check for hidden items. These items were then assembled to make a camera that they then used to film the camp through a hollowed-out dictionary.⁶ This documentary and clandestine film provides 30 minutes of raw footage of not only life at Oflag XVII-A but of the prisoners’ escape planning.

In late 1943, it was becoming clear that Germany was going to lose the war. The two factors that showcased this loss to the average person were the United States’ involvement and the turning point on the Eastern front: the German defeat by the Soviets.⁷ One weekend the Oflag XVII-A prison guards unusually had called off the camp’s regular roll call due to a holiday being that Sunday. That weekend on Saturday, September 17th, 1943 a group of prisoners escaped and went unnoticed by these prison guards. After another group escaped the following day on

⁶ Christian Fraser. “How French Secretly Filmed Prison Camp Life in WWII.” *British Broadcasting Corporation*, July 31, 2013, accessed September 15, 2018.

⁷ Ralf Blank. *Germany and the Second World War : Volume IX/I: German Wartime Society 1939-1945: Politicization, Disintegration, and the Struggle for Survival*. Germany and the Second World War. Oxford, 2008.

September 18th, the guards took notice of the 132 total men missing. Of these 132 men, two made it back to France with the rest being caught.⁸

Important Defining Items

One must understand certain definitions in relation to the escape attempt at Oflag XVII-A. The French Resistance has been defined by the late 20th century French government as the ideas and traditions of France, that the Vichy Government and the Nazi Regime did not represent, carried out by French subjects during Nazi Occupation.⁹ During occupation, the French Resistance encompassed various grass-root groups that were not organized in relation to one another. For example, the *Maquis* were the guerrilla fighters in the rural areas of France. They were politically diverse illustrating that their goal was not one of politics but one of resisting, at first, conscription into the German labor draft and, at the end of the war, resisting occupation itself.¹⁰

In May of 1943, the largest eight resistance groups, two trade unions, and six major political parties became an official movement with the creation of the National Council of Resistance under Jean Moulin.¹¹ Groups that made up the French Resistance were the *Ceux de la Libération*, right-wing, *Ceux de la Résistance*, politically neutral, *Combat*, democratic Christian and newspaper producing, *Franc-Tireur*, left-wing military units, *Francs-Tireurs et Partisans*, communist, *Libération-Nord* and *Libération-Sud*, left-wing, and *Organisation Civile et Militaire*, right-wing.¹² The Free France movement, the resistance against German occupation of French colonies in the Middle East and North Africa, was given aid through the British Government

⁸ Anna Maria Sigmund, Peter Michor, and Karl Sigmund. 43.

⁹ Jacques Chirac, Discours et Messages: *En hommage aux Juifs de France victimes de la collaboration de l'État français de Vichy avec l'occupant allemand* (Paris: FFDJF, 1998), 21–28.

¹⁰ "Volontaires de la Liberté Histoire." *Histoire Mondiale du XXème Siècle*, 2014.

¹¹ "Resistance." In *Britannica Concise Encyclopedia*, by Encyclopedia Britannica. Britannica Digital Learning, 2017.

¹² "Volontaires de la Liberté Histoire." 2014.

under the direction and supervision of Charles de Gaulle and demonstrates the widespread notion of French Resistance throughout the French empire.¹³ In 1942, these resistance groups began to turn to unification. For example, the *Armée Secrète* was formed to unify military resistance movements within France. This initial unification effort gave way to the creation of the French Forces of the Interior in early 1944 which combined the *Armée Secrète*, the eight major resistance movements, and even the *Maquis*. These unification efforts were under the rule of the National Council of Resistance.¹⁴

According to this unified French resistance group, the National Council of Resistance, "resistance" was defined as opposition to the Nazi Regime itself due to the occupation of France.¹⁵ For the purposes of this thesis, "resistance" is similarly defined as an organized tool of opposition against specific actions of the Nazi regime. Furthermore, one type of resistance, "single-issue resistance" in Nazism studies is defined as resistance to one issue or policy of the Nazi Regime as opposed to resistance to the regime itself. In this case, the escape attempt made by French prisoners of war at Oflag XVII-A is a case of single-issue resistance, apart from the French Resistance. The escape was not to resist the Nazi Regime itself or even Nazi occupation of France, but to resist the soldiers' own detainment which makes it an act of self-liberation. The prisoners needed to be out of their own imprisonment before being able to think of a larger resistance to the regime.

Introduction to Argument

The central question for this thesis is whether or not this escape at Oflag XVII-A was part of the official French Resistance, *La Résistance*, movement and therefore should be considered

¹³ "Volontaires de la Liberté Histoire." 2014.

¹⁴ "FFI (Forces françaises de l'intérieur, 'French Forces of the Interior')." *Brewer's Dictionary of Phrase and Fable*, 2012.

¹⁵ Programme du Conseil national de la Résistance. Council national de la Résistance, 24 Mars 1944.

part of the French Resistance. There is no doubt that this act is not an act of resistance, and therefore, this argument remains in a grey area that society reflects on: memory. To contextualize, this escape attempt became first recognized, and most recently recognized, at the national level in France in 2013.¹⁶ So this thesis looks at the social and political functions of recognizing this event in a commonwealth era, the 21st century.

Historical Discussion

About World War II and the French Resistance movement that stemmed from the Nazi occupation of France, much—not always accurate—has been written. Society reflects and remembers historical events through a range of lenses. This escape in 1943 made by a group of prisoners of war from the Nazi-run camp in Austria, camp Oflag XVII-A, was the largest prisoner of war escape during World War II.¹⁷ Some historians have interpreted this escape for the French Resistance movement as an act of resistance against the Nazi Regime. However, this thesis argues that the Oflag XVII-A escape attempt was not a part of the French Resistance; rather, it was single-issue resistance to the soldiers' detainment, rooted in their efforts to be free.

In order to better understand the escape attempt at Oflag XVII-A, and thus whether it comprises resistance, the historiography following this event must be considered. Some historians argue that there was a causal relationship or a conditional one between the escape attempt at Oflag XVII-A and the French Resistance. To start, Jean-Claude Catherine reflects on Oflag XVII-A as part of the French Resistance through the lens of ideologies of individuals involved in both Oflag XVII-A and the French Resistance looking at art forms and memory. He argues that Oflag XVII-A was the largest officer camp during Nazi control, and this initially

¹⁶ Christian Fraser. 2018.

¹⁷ Christian Fraser. 2018.

drew attention from the French Resistance movement.¹⁸ Deconstructing this statement of Catherine's, one should understand the context of these events. The French Resistance began due to the Nazi occupation of France and, simultaneously, during the start of French prisoners' time at Oflag XVII-A in 1940. Thus, Catherine claims that attention must have been given to Oflag XVII-A from the French Resistance movement. The nature of attention in this sense is that Oflag XVII-A was one of a French POW camps specifically detaining the majority of officers from the Battle of France, the battle in which France fell and the French Resistance was consequently created from.

However, attention is not the same as action. Catherine continues to analyze the escape at Oflag XVII-A as one of the first actions by the French Resistance and therefore all events within Oflag XVII-A as part of the French Resistance movement.

Similarly, Jacqueline Vautrain Collins is the translator and editor of the diaries kept by prisoners Henri Natter and Adam Réfrégier. These two prisoners were the fellow prisoners of Catherine's father Jacques Vautrain who survived the war to return to France. Collins discusses the Oflag XVII-A escape attempt and other events from this period as part of the French Resistance movement. As a note, Natter and Réfrégier were not part of the Oflag XVII-A escape attempt. Their diaries deal with life within the camp, but, as anything written, were checked by guards. Their diaries are without any strong direct negative words on the camp, guards, or any political context of World War II. Therefore, Collins analyzes these diaries through her father's perspective by "reading between the lines" and understanding what her father believes the diaries

¹⁸ Jean-Claude Catherine, *La Captivité des Prisonniers de Guerre: Histoire, Art, et Mémoire, 1939-1945*. Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2008: 121.

were coding messages about.¹⁹ She discusses that her father even spoke on the heroes of the French Resistance movement after his return which she believes attests to his personal connection to the movement of the French Resistance.

However, one survivor's perspective may not always be the case of fellow POWs. Furthermore, in Collins' explanation of the French Resistance movement's connection to Oflag XVII-A, there was a small French Resistance group within Oflag XVII-A who called themselves "*La Maffia*."²⁰ According to a newspaper article in 1945, this small group held connections to larger parts of the French Resistance movement.²¹ For example, Collins explains that this group *La Maffia* was the reason why certain items were able to be secreted into Oflag XVII-A. Of these items concealed into Oflag XVII-A were the tools that prisoners used to build their hidden camera that they then used to film footage of the camp.²² Collins uses these pieces of evidence to support her conclusion that— like the French Resistance heroes that her father thanked publicly after his survival— prisoners who were held at Oflag XVII-A were involved with the French Resistance. Although, the evidence that these French Resistance heroes were sending items into the camp cannot be directly linked. Collins argument thus provides facts for a correlation of events but no direct causation. Overall, these works historically place the escape and other events in Oflag XVII-A under the French Resistance's influence and support.

Other scholars, however, challenge this idea that there was a direct correlation between the escape attempt at Oflag XVII-A and the French Resistance movement. These works illustrate that the French Resistance movement adopted the escape attempt at Oflag XVII-A along with a

¹⁹ Henri Natter and Adam Réfrégier. *Five Years Behind Hitler's Barbed Wire: A Diary of French Officers in a German Prison Camp, 1940-1945*, ed. and trans. Jacqueline Vautrain Collins. Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company Inc., 2015: 12.

²⁰ Henri Natter and Adam Réfrégier. 243.

²¹ "Resistance: Revue du Peuple Français et de Son Armée." *Aux Armes*, December 1945, no. 14.

²² Henri Natter and Adam Réfrégier. 242.

multitude of other events, only after the fact. For example, the “Guallist Myth” argues that the majority of the French people were resisting, whereas in reality it was a small minority of people who made up the French Resistance.²³ For instance, before D-Day,²⁴ only two percent of the population was actively resisting through forms of sabotage, underground publishing, recruiting, among other forms.²⁵ However, pamphlets and newspapers produced by the French Resistance would not only write about the current state of events on the war and resistance, but would claim recruiting for the resistance was widespread, according to newspaper clippings specifically in the Northeastern zone of France.²⁶ Furthermore, this myth allowed for the French to pursue life with confidence that they were not defeated, just resisting. Robert Gildea then examines the all-encompassing events that the French Resistance has been credited with following World War II, as the “French Myth.” He describes this as the post-German occupation mindset that the French remain under.²⁷ This mindset, as Gildea describes it, concerns how the French as a population and a nation dealt with their own defeat in World War II. Gildea writes that the French did not think of themselves as victims; rather, as heroes who overcame an evil: the Nazis. Thus, the French Resistance became a tool for recovering French national pride for French citizens.

Likewise, the French Myth became a tool for economic recovery. In recovering national pride, the French Myth allowed for economic recovery as businesses were encouraged to grow and trade was not limited on an international or transcontinental level. For example, the economy grew on levels of GDP and unemployment levels began to decrease.²⁸ Gildea specifically

²³ Robert Gildea. *Fighters in the Shadows: A New History of the French Resistance*. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2015: 2.

²⁴ June 6, 1944: the day in World War II on which Allied forces, including the United States, invaded northern France by means of beach landings in Normandy.

²⁵ Robert Gildea. 26.

²⁶ Robert Gildea. 154.

²⁷ Robert Gildea. 21.

This was the first transcript published, but the broadcast was made over radio on June 22, 1940.

²⁸ Robert Gildea. 154.

provides examples that show a discrepancy between French history and how the French remember it. One example is the start to the French Resistance movement, signified by Charles de Gaulle, a lead fighter against French enemies in World War I and then the leader of the French Resistance movement, who called for French pride over the British Broadcasting Channel radio on June 18, 1940:

I, General de Gaulle, now in London, invite French officers and soldiers who are on British soil or who find their way there, with or without their weapons; I invite engineers and skilled workers in the munitions industries who are on British soil or who find their way there, to contact me. Whatever happens, the flame of resistance must never go out and will not go out.²⁹

Gildea uses this quote to draw a timeline of the French Resistance starting with De Gaulle's speech. After all, participants and fighters of the French Resistance have stated that they joined the French Resistance from the hour Charles de Gaulle's broadcast his words.³⁰ For example, foreigners, communists, and Jews—the main enemies of the Nazi Regime—had more motivation to resist because they had less to lose, in terms of items and even social mobility, and fewer chances to hide or be hidden.³¹ In these beginning times of the French Resistance, the main groups were guerilla in organization and became to be known as the Maquis, as previously mentioned.

However, Gildea points out that the French were motivated to uphold their pride by joining the resistance to save the Republic of France.³² Another point Gildea brings to light is that the French Resistance in its nature was not what Charles de Gaulle intended nor what the French remember it as. He states that the French Resistance was intended to be made of solely French males who sought to save *La France*. However, Gildea further breaks this down by

²⁹ Charles de Gaulle, *Discours et Messages I*, June 1940–January 1946 (Paris, Plon, 1970): 4.

³⁰ Robert Gildea. 21-23.

³¹ Robert Gildea. 107.

³² Robert Gildea. 21.

giving first-hand accounts of women participating in the French Resistance whether it was reporting or hiding people, and Gildea also gives accounts of British citizens contributing to the French Resistance efforts through intelligence.³³ These accounts collected and examined by Gildea show that it is necessary to define what encompassed the French Resistance if history intends to remember these events accurately.

In support of the ideal basis of the French Myth, Gildea uses the “British Myth” on World War II. The British myth looks at World War II from the British perspective that the British army was the only army fighting on the European continent and that Britain saved the European continent from the Nazis.³⁴ Gildea debunks this myth the same way he supports the French myth by using evidence to prove otherwise. For instance, the Polish army was composed of over 700,000 soldiers who fought against the German invasion and occupation. However, Gildea uses this example to illustrate that the British myth generalizes all European war efforts in terms of success or failure. He then continues to argue that a loss like that of the Fall of Poland or that of the Battle of France does not account for an absence of other European countries’ armies, rather these losses account for military arrangements that ended in failure rather than success. Rather, these myths provide a facet for society to cope with loss in terms of soldiers, money, or pride. Overall, Gildea argues on these myths like that of the French and British, but, more importantly, he illustrates how these myths function for a society.

Likewise, but more specifically, Olivier Wieviorka examines the nature and makeup of the French Resistance. Wieviorka breaks down the participants in the French Resistance as mainly stemming from the “mainstream of French society.”³⁵ Wieviorka discusses the French

³³ Robert Gildea. 106-154.

³⁴ Robert Gildea. 170-181.

³⁵ Olivier Wieviorka. *The French Resistance*, trans. Jane Marie Todd. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2016: 132.

Resistance as a hierarchy with Charles de Gaulle and his chosen commissioners at the top with the rest of mainstream society making up the larger part below. This view accounts for the perspective that the French Resistance was not a tight knit web of scholars, soldiers, or even politicians, but it also encompassed ordinary citizens fighting to liberate the French nation. These citizens ranged from different classes, backgrounds, careers, and nations like Germany, Italy, and even Spain as some argue.³⁶

Wieviorka describes the memory of the French Resistance as a “snowball effect.”³⁷ These words of Wieviorka come to mean that the French Resistance was a movement that—in memory—spiraled in a period from the years 1940 to 1945. The snowball effect means that the French Resistance encompassed all events and diverse groups within France during these years. In remembering the French Resistance immediately following French liberation and post-World War II, the French Resistance movement has been remembered as encompassing and obtaining any French-related event or action against the Nazi regime.³⁸ This note further illustrates the side of historiography that not all events, like the escape attempt at Oflag XVII-A, occurred in connection to the French Resistance movement.

This essay evaluates one event at Oflag XVII-A in light of these works’ conclusions. Moreover, the assumption that this escape from Oflag XVII-A in 1943 was part of the French Resistance movement has been assumed, but these sources and further primary sources cannot directly link the two. This thesis attempts to continue to fill the gap in research on why the escape from Oflag XVII-A was a choice of individuals against their own imprisonment for their liberation and that the French Resistance has later included this event as their own through

³⁶ Robert Gildea. 212.

³⁷ Olivier Wieviorka. 3.

³⁸ Olivier Wieviorka. 132.

memory of *La Résistance en France*. This event illustrates the importance of focusing on the actual events that make up history rather than memory, without taking the way history is remembered for granted.

Context of Escape

In relation to the historiography, the context surrounding the Oflag XVII-A escape attempt must be examined. The French Resistance grew out of the occupation of France by the Nazi Regime who set up a puppet government, the Vichy government, which collaborated with the Nazi Regime as an authoritarian government over the free zone: the southern part of France and Algerian France.³⁹ The French Resistance became the grass-roots movement in France that opposed the Nazi regime's occupation of France and the German-collaborator Vichy government through actions within France. For example, Léon Werth, a Jew who lived in Vichy France, documented in his memoirs the reasons for resistance in revealing what life was like for his wife in Paris, the German-occupied zone, as well as his own life in the rural Jura Mountains, the Vichy-occupied zone. The two lives were drastically different as he states daily life continued for those around him in the rural area; whereas with his wife, aspects of life were changing from what buildings were being used for the government in power to how late people could walk the streets. His diary shows how the French Resistance was concerned with the presence of Nazi Germany in France.⁴⁰

In Oflag XVII-A, a circumstantial relationship between prisoners and the French Resistance did not contribute to their capturing. Rather, the French prisoners of Oflag XVII-A were captured due to, in majority, battle defeats like that of the Battle of France.⁴¹ For context,

³⁹ Robert Gildea. 12.

⁴⁰ Léon Werth and David Ball. *Deposition 1940-1944: A Secret Diary of Life in Vichy France*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2017.

⁴¹ Anna Maria Sigmund, Peter Michor, and Karl Sigmund. 44.

the escape attempt at Oflag XVII-A was three years after the first prisoners' capturing and also, simultaneously, three years after the beginning of German-occupied France. This proves that there was not a direct relationship between prisoners of war at Oflag XVII-A and French Resistance members.

Additionally, the prisoner perspective of Oflag XVII-A is important to critically analyze and understand. According to the account of Oflag XVII-A survivor Casimir Kipman, he knew his life was not in danger at these officer camps, but he knew he did not want to be detained and used for German advantage.⁴² Kipman was a Polish Jew who grew up with his father, a German Jew, in Poland. He was an officer in the reserve, thus when war broke out, he became second lieutenant in the Polish army. On September 1, 1939 the German army was behind Kipman's regiment and the Polish army was pushed to cross into present-day Ukraine. It was here from the months of September to December of 1939 that the Polish government made an agreement with the French and British governments to smuggle Polish officers to France through Romania, to Greece, and then to Marseille, France. Kipman detached from the Polish army to fight Germany through the French army. In June 1940, Kipman was on the front line and Germany attacked his company. He states he woke up in a hospital administered by the French but supervised by the German. It was here that a French nurse approached Kipman to let him know, without having asked, that Kipman was no longer Jewish on documents.⁴³

After his stay in the hospital, he was sent to Oflag XVII-A in August of 1942. From his recollection, there were around 5,000 French officers and about 200 Polish officers. Per the *Wehrmacht* or Nazi Germany military, officers did not have to work in camps. Rather he states the camp had "not so bad" conditions with food and activities like the university. Each officer

⁴² Casimir Kipman. United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Collection. 1995.

⁴³ Casimir Kipman. 1995.

was given two letters to write to their families. Kipman says the prisoners kept tabs on what was happening outside the camp through these letters and through trading the German guards' cigarettes for newspapers. He says each morning there was roll call and then each officer was free to do what he sought to do. He says everyone got along; although, later, the German guards formed a special barrack for Jews.⁴⁴

In 1943, an anonymous letter was written to the guards listing who was Jewish within the camp. Kipman then states that despite conditions being "not so bad" the conditions inside the Jewish barrack were "that bad." According to Kipman, there were around 90 to 100 Jews in this one barrack, compared to the 200 prisoners typically held in one barrack. Kipman was one of six Polish Jews who was put in this Jewish barrack.⁴⁵

After the creation of the Jewish barrack, Kipman along with the other identified Jews in Oflag XVII-A were transferred to Oflag X-C. Kipman remembers hearing that this camp was a "special camp for enemies."⁴⁶ In the camp, 90 percent were Jewish and the rest were communists or identified as enemies of the German Regime.⁴⁷ Oflag X-C serves as a comparison of conditions and life to Oflag XVII-A. As Oflag X-C was for enemies of the state whereas Oflag XVII-A was for officers, the assumption would be that conditions are worse at Oflag X-C. On the contrary, Kipman states that conditions were the same at the two POW camps despite Oflag X-C being a main German Red Cross food pass station.⁴⁸

Furthermore, according to German Red Cross notes for supplies, a majority of supplies requested, at least from the years of 1940 to 1942, was for secondary literature requested by

⁴⁴ Casimir Kipman. 1995.

⁴⁵ Casimir Kipman. 1995.

⁴⁶ Casimir Kipman. 1995.

⁴⁷ Oflag X-C. German Red Cross. 1940-1945.

⁴⁸ Casimir Kipman. 1995.

POWs at Oflag X-C. For example, there were 58 Hungarian prisoners at Oflag X-C who requested for Hungarian literature. There were also request for books on teaching Hungarian. After 1943, the German Red Cross reports and requests for secondary literature stopped.⁴⁹ These facts may further illustrate that by 1943 the Germans were clearly weakened, and priority turned away from these camps. This could perhaps be seen as a motive for escape if treatment and priority for POWs decreased. Kipman ends his remarks with a statement that he knows he was valuable; he had trained the Polish army and then the French army.⁵⁰ His statement further alludes to the possibility that the German Regime had aspirations to use POWs for war time measures.

The Escape Attempt: Actions of a Few

To, in part, fill this gap in historiography, there are various aspects from primary sources that illustrate how the escape at Oflag XVII-A was single-issue resistance. First, the ideological goals of the French Resistance differed from the reasoning behind the Oflag XVII-A prisoners' escape. For example, the prisoners in 1942, at a time when Germany began to lose the war, were facing malnutrition and even absence of materials they were requesting. According to records from the German Red Cross, from the years of 1940 to 1942 requests from the prisoners to the guards were being sent.⁵¹ These records show requests for books, a leisure-time activity. However, as 1943 approached, these requests stopped. This halting of requests shows the beginning of conditions and treatment changing for the prisoners at Oflag XVII-A and provides one motivation for wanting personal freedom despite risking one's life through an escape attempt.

⁴⁹ Oflag X-C. 1940-1945.

⁵⁰ Casimir Kipman. 1995.

⁵¹ Oflag X-C. 1940-1945.

On the contrary, the French Resistance sought to resist the Nazi occupation of France and, therefore, the Nazi Regime itself. The idea of resisting the Nazi Regime was central to the French Resistance. For example, Leo Bretholz, an Austrian Jew who escaped Nazi deportation by fleeing to France, joined the official French Resistance movement by becoming a member in 1943. He spoke on accounts that illuminated the goals and ideals of what the French Resistance sought to accomplish: a French state without foreign occupation, specifically Nazi German occupation. He stated that the small resistance group he had joined trained him to be discreet in his identity while also showing him certain trades. Bretholz continued that the majority of their training taught them to become Frenchmen.⁵² Bretholz's account shows the nationalist parameters that the French Resistance trained their members in.

Furthermore, Bretholz's words are evidence that the French Resistance had the main goal of liberating France from Nazi German control. Likewise, the National Council of Resistance issued a pamphlet on March 24, 1944 stating:

They [the National Council of Resistance] proclaim their will to deliver the homeland [France] by closely collaborating in the military operations that the French army and allied armies will undertake ... [Adolf] Hitler has plotted his direct action against this homeland since 1940.⁵³

This excerpt explicitly states that the goal of the organized French Resistance movement is liberating their homeland and directly issuing that their goal is against Hitler and his regime. Compared to the French Resistance's goal to resist the Nazi occupation of France and, therefore, the Nazi Regime itself, the escape attempt at Oflag XVII-A reflected the prisoners' goal in liberating themselves.

⁵² Leo Bretholz "Leo Bretholz Describes Resistance Training and Activities in a French Underground Group He Joined in 1943." United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Collection, 1992.

⁵³ Programme du Conseil national de la Résistance. 1944.

Resistance comes in all scales, contexts, and shapes. Personal emancipation can be a small act of resistance, but it does not render itself as a form of resistance against the occupation of France. For instance, one small micro-instance of resistance within this period was the forging of documents. Not atypical for the period, many people who had the ability to change documents found themselves erasing or changing the fact that someone who would be in contact with the Nazi Regime was a Jew. For example, the case of Casimir Kipman: while he was in a French, but German supervised, hospital in 1940 a nurse approached him when he awoke to consciousness that he was no longer a Jew on paper; she had changed his documents to show he was a Gentile.⁵⁴ Likewise, the story of Leo Bretholz illustrates a small micro-instance of resistance.⁵⁵ The family who was housing him knew he was to be deported as a Jew, yet the family remained steady in their small act of resistance in hiding and housing him. These examples illustrate one of the many multitude of types of resistance that occurred under Nazi occupation of France, yet was not directly related to the French Resistance movement.

Large scale acts of resistance follow as intelligence collecting, recruiting, and even producing media. For example, *Combat* was the newspaper founded in 1941 for clandestine coverage of the resistance.⁵⁶ Furthermore, this illustrates there is no idealized vision of resistance; there is no right or wrong type of resistance in an action that is catered to save one life or many lives.

On this case for this thesis, there had been various escape tunnel entrances dug throughout Oflag XVII-A, and guards became well accustomed to finding these tunnels.⁵⁷ This fact illustrates that this escape attempt was not the first attempt, but could be considered the most

⁵⁴ Casimir Kipman. 1995.

⁵⁵ Leo Bretholz. 1992.

⁵⁶ "Volontaires de la Liberté Histoire." 2014.

⁵⁷ Anna Maria Sigmund, Peter Michor, and Karl Sigmund. 42.

successful at Oflag XVII-A. This fact also shows that the prisoners' goal of escaping to freedom was a continuing idea through Oflag XVII-A's holding time. The question of opportunism and resistance follows this timing; by 1943 it had become clear to many that Germany would probably lose the war. This led to resistance in Germany, and French resistance grew over the course of the war according to the memos produced by the French Resistance stating more escapes and acts of resistance were occurring.⁵⁸ The escape plans at Oflag XVII-A in the year of 1943 can be analyzed through the theme of resistance throughout the war, not just resistance throughout France. Even so, by 1943 supplies were dwindling, even for officer camps according to Kipman, the surviving POW from Oflag XVII-A and Oflag X-C.⁵⁹ Moreover, Oflag XVII-A prisoner Henri Natter, after surviving Oflag XVII-A, detailed stories of escape attempts.⁶⁰ Natter's stories, translated in his diaries after Russian liberation of Oflag XVII-A, detail how he sought survival from the camp. This source further shows the goal of freedom that prisoners retained throughout. Therefore, the primary goals of the French Resistance and the escape attempt at Oflag XVII-A contextually differ.

Following the different goals between the French Resistance and the escape attempt at Oflag XVII-A, the escape attempt at Oflag XVII-A did not consist of solely French Resistance members and therefore was not one of its events. In fact, one of the two survivors of the 132 men who escaped Oflag XVII-A, did not join the French Resistance until almost one year after his escape. Lieutenant Jean Cuere-Grandier escaped Oflag XVII-A on September 17th, 1943, he fled to Vienna, Austria where he worked as a nurse until he found his way back to France.⁶¹ Grandier was an example of an Oflag XVII-A escapee who had no outside communication with the

⁵⁸ Oflag X-C. 1940-1945.

⁵⁹ Casimir Kipman. 1995.

⁶⁰ Henri Natter and Adam Réfrégier. 243.

⁶¹ Christian Fraser. 2018.

French Resistance, but did join it after his escape. This shows that the Oflag XVII-A escape attempt was not solely made of French Resistance members. Furthermore, Collins discusses prisoners Natter and Réfrégier as linked to the French Resistance because of their “coded” messages on life in the camp.⁶² Showing that there is a connection between prisoners’ messages and the French Resistance aids her argument. Contrastingly, Pierre Waendendries, son of one of the prisoners who survived Oflag XVII-A through Russian liberation, spoke on how his father knew of the escape plans, yet he, too, had not joined the French Resistance.⁶³

Furthermore, the timing of the Oflag XVII-A escape attempt and the founding of the French Resistance became a point of interest in answering if this escape attempt was part of the movement. Overall, the French Resistance can be directly prompted as starting after General Charles de Gaulle’s call to resist Nazi occupation of France in June of 1940.⁶⁴ Beyond this, as stated, the French Resistance became an organized movement in May of 1943 with the creation of the National Council of Resistance.⁶⁵ Nevertheless, the escape attempt occurred in September of 1943. This timeline provides only four possible months of organization on the side of the French Resistance. During these four months only two official members of the French Resistance, according to the official Vichy government lists, were sent to Oflag XVII-A.⁶⁶ Therefore, among the official prisoner lists, after the creation of Oflag XVII-A as a prisoner of war camp for the Nazi Regime, the Vichy government had listed that some leading French Resistance members were transported to Oflag XVII-A.⁶⁷ These facts concede to secondary

⁶² Henri Natter and Adam Réfrégier. 104.

⁶³ Christian Fraser. 2018.

⁶⁴ Charles de Gaulle. 4.

⁶⁵ Programme du Conseil national de la Résistance. 1944.

⁶⁶ “Liste Officielle No. 68 de Prisonniers Français.” Paris, France: Centre National d’Information, 1941.

⁶⁷ “Liste Officielle No. 68 de Prisonniers Français.” 1941.

literature that some French Resistance members were held at Oflag XVII-A, but the escape attempt itself was not made of solely these members.

On the contrary, from these French Resistance members held at Oflag XVII-A, the group named *La Maffia* was created. This group sought to promote the French Resistance goal of a Nazi Germany-free France within Oflag XVII-A. However, the only workings of this group were discussed in late 1943 and 1944, after the Oflag XVII-A escape attempt.⁶⁸ Likewise, the French Resistance through the service of the National Council of Resistance, never organized or detailed memos on the Oflag XII-A escape attempt. The National Council of Resistance, beginning in May of 1943—before the escape attempt—self-declared that they would be the sole organizers of French Resistance movements.⁶⁹ All these facts illustrate against the case that the escape attempt at Oflag XVII-A was organized and prompted by the French Resistance and for the case that the prisoners who escaped from Oflag XVII-A did so for freedom.

Furthermore, in relation to Oflag XVII-A's prisoners of war, artifacts and sources that detail life in the camp provide evidence that the escape attempt at Oflag XVII-A was focused on the single-issue resistance idea of freedom. The majority of information on life at camp Oflag XVII-A available now can be taken from the 30 minutes of secretive raw footage prisoners filmed during their time titled as the clandestine film *Sous le Manteau*.⁷⁰ This footage does not show the entirety of camp Oflag XVII-A, but prisoner Henry Gayot painted pictures of buildings that housed activities with some directly similar to buildings within this footage.⁷¹ The combination of these paintings and this film give a fuller image of what activities and buildings these grounds had: a chapel, a choir, a university, a stadium, a newspaper, and a theatre. All of

⁶⁸ Anna Maria Sigmund, Peter Michor, and Karl Sigmund. 42.

⁶⁹ Programme du Conseil national de la Résistance. 1944.

⁷⁰ Fred Orain. *Sous Le Manteau*. Paris, France: Armor Films, 1954.

⁷¹ Henry Gayot. 1946.

these activities were within their own building and area within the camp. Although, the prisoners made room in one of the barracks for a chapel, one barrack was divided into two with one half used as the camp's chapel.⁷² Religion as an activity remained different from the rest of the options at Oflag XVII-A, potentially because of the negative nature and outlook on religion that Nazi ideology held. This reasoning could be why the chapel did not have its own building and area within the common space of the camp.

This film that was assembled due to tools that were snuck in, yet unknown to the guards. These items were then assembled to make a camera that they then used to film the camp through a hollowed-out dictionary.⁷³ The dictionary remained in the camp as a way of capturing film as seen in Image 1.⁷⁴



Image 1. Christian Fraser. 2018.

These items of film materials as well as the dictionary used for hiding the film were able to be hidden by family and friends who sent loved one's items at this camp. At Oflag XVII-A, as two years passed since its opening as a Nazi Germany prisoner of war camp, guards allowed for items to be sent and given to prisoners upon inspection. Some historians offer that food was allowed to be sent as aid dwindled on the Nazi side of the war causing malnutrition to become

⁷² Anna Maria Sigmund, Peter Michor, and Karl Sigmund. 42.

⁷³ Christian Fraser. 2018.

⁷⁴ Christian Fraser. 2018.

rampant across Nazi-run officer camps, including Oflag XVII-A.⁷⁵ Prior to this, books and educational items were allowed to be sent and received upon inspection as guards promoted prisoners to spend their time productively. Again, the promotion of productivity alludes to a potential other use for the prisoners on behalf of the Nazi Regime.

To elaborate, as mentioned, there might have been a possibility for using POWs on behalf of the Nazi Regime. Aside from the promotion of productivity for prisoners that German guards were on record doing,⁷⁶ there were other instances in which this point was brought up. For instance, in Casimir Kipman's interview, his final statement was that he knew he was of value to the German army as he had trained not only the Polish army, but the French army as well. As a Polish Jew and a high enemy to the Nazi Regime, Kipman thought when he was transported to Oflag X-C, an enemy camp, from Oflag XVII-A he would receive worse treatment. However, Kipman says the treatment and resources within the two officer camps were almost the same, except for the size of the camps.⁷⁷ Furthermore, this may not have been the first potential time the German Regime intended to use prisoners of war for other means. In 1942, Andrei Vlasov, a Russian, fought for the Soviet Red Army and was captured as a POW by the Germans during the siege of Leningrad. It was at this time when he began to fight for the German army.⁷⁸ Vlasov is quoted in saying "Russia can only be defeated by Russians."⁷⁹ The Russian Liberation Army under direction of Vlasov fought for the German army on the Eastern front against Soviet Russia. This army was composed of Russian POWs as the Germans and the Russians knew that no one

⁷⁵ Anna Maria Sigmund, Peter Michor, and Karl Sigmund. 42.

⁷⁶ Jean Leray. 1945. 24.

⁷⁷ Casimir Kipman. 1995.

⁷⁸ Catherine Andreyev. *Vlasov and the Russian Liberation Movement : Soviet Reality and Émigré Theories*. Cambridge University Press, 1987. 10-21.

⁷⁹ Catherine Andreyev. 1987. 10.

else knew how to survive Russian weather and terrain as well as Russians.⁸⁰ This example illustrates the attempt at compromising POWs under the German army. This is one example that the Germans could have possibly intended to reciprocate with other nations like France. This example does not go as far to prove that the German Regime had plans for POWs like those at Oflag XVII-A, but these examples are significant in showing the possibility and potential for such actions.

These prisoners were drafted into the French army for leadership positions for their services, skills, and knowledge⁸¹, and thus those leading activities in Oflag XVII-A had to be careful in showing what they knew to guards. This fact may support a notion that the German Regime had anticipations of using these French elites for war arrangements. Furthermore, the film *Sous le Manteau* shows footage of not only life at Oflag XVII-A but of the prisoners' escape planning. This footage shows how the prisoners lived in barrack huts, each divided into two sections with each section holding around one hundred men. Aside from malnutrition, diseases spread throughout the camp as showers were only allowed twice a month and the little food that was at Oflag XVII-A was not always fresh or clean.⁸²

In 1940 and 1941 there were more prisoners than later years, so when footage was taken in these early years there is nothing directly being said about resistance, but it shows the act of single-issue resistance through secreting items into the camp. As the film was being secreted, resistance could have been mentioned in actions or even symbols but was not. Furthermore, those who planned the escape, unidentified today, could not have had any direct association to the resistance if they were captured in battle during June 1940 before the resistance began.

⁸⁰ Catherine Andreyev. 1987. 15-17.

⁸¹ Anna Maria Sigmund, Peter Michor, and Karl Sigmund. 42.

⁸² *Oflag 17A – Tournage Clandestin Derrière les Barbelés*. Paris, France: France 5, 2013.

This footage offers motivation as to why prisoners of Oflag XVII-A would want to escape this treatment and yearn for freedom, despite the allowance for recreational activities. The footage continues to show guards patrolling common areas outdoors and the guard tower that could barely be seen through the greenery-covered theatre. This part of the film illustrates the potential for an escape which is then further mirrored by the footage of one of the 32 escape tunnels prisoners had dug during their time there. In addition, this footage shows that the tunnels were dug using shovels and wheel barrows that, earlier in the film, were given to prisoners by the guards to work on the camp itself.⁸³

According to Pierre Waendendries, son of one of the Oflag XVII-A prisoners, the plans for the escape tunnel that succeeded were more successful due to the shorter distance they had to dig the last time.⁸⁴ This escape tunnel was shorter in distance due to the theater, above the tunnel, being closer to the barbed wired border. Examination of this footage exposes the motivations behind prisoners' want to escape and the escape attempt itself, showing that if this was resistance at all, it was single-issue resistance, motivated by a gamble for freedom.

By analyzing and thus understanding main points from the primary recordings of the history of the escape at Oflag XVII-A, the theme of memory, specifically on the French Resistance post-World War II, becomes prevalent. Upon reflection, history must remember these actors as officers and leaders who strived for their self-liberation and freedom from harsh conditions and imprisonment. A larger point in remembering the escape attempt at Oflag XVII-A properly is that this event was not encompassed by the French Resistance, rather it was a single-issue resistance act mobilized at the same time of widespread resistance throughout France. Oflag XVII-A could have and might have encompassed various forms of resistance in its internal

⁸³ Fred Orain. 1954.

⁸⁴ Christian Fraser. 2018.

organization, but the escape attempt made here was a form of single-issue resistance against their detainment.

This thesis has attempted to bridge this gap between events outside of the French Resistance that are still resistance related acts by French citizens. In order to understand the actions of a few at Oflag XVII-A, one must understand the motivations and relations of the individuals inside and outside of this camp's borders as well as the French Resistance. Overall, this evidence from Oflag XVII-A provides insight into the camp and the individuals who acted through resistance.

Tentative Conclusion

In conclusion, there have been various perspectives produced on World War II and the French Resistance movement that stemmed from the Nazi occupation of France during this period. Nevertheless, the French society, among others, has reflected and remembered some of these historical events through a nationalistic pride lens rather than a historical one. The context, defining ideologies, and aspects that make this not part of the French Resistance illustrate the importance of understanding history through the lens of actuality rather than memory. Overall, the Oflag XVII-A escape was not a part of the French Resistance; rather, it was single-issue resistance, as a micro-instance of resistance, to the soldiers' detainment rooted in their freedom. This event and the memory it left on society demonstrates the significance of examining critical and sensitive points in history with an intent to remain unbiased yet understanding to the lives that history has touched. This thesis attempts to recognize the validity of an event through memory in the 21st century by examining the memory of an event's social and political functions. To contextualize, this escape attempt became first recognized, and most recently recognized, at

the national level in France in 2013.⁸⁵ So this thesis looks at the social and political functions of recognizing this event in a commonwealth era, the 21st century.

As prefaced, research has no end point. A broader scope of this narrative and historiography might reveal deeper connections between the escape attempt at Oflag XVII-A, no connection at all, or even that this escape attempt sparked other forms of resistance like the French Resistance itself. The knowledge of a multitude of languages might have revealed more details. For example, of the only surviving prisoners who have been interviewed from Oflag XVII-A, according to the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, one spoke English, two spoke Czech, and one spoke Croatian.⁸⁶ In addition, this thesis compares Oflag XVII-A and Oflag X-C on the basis that there was a transfer of prisoners from Oflag XVII-A to the latter. If time and length allowed, a comparison of various other camps including but not limited to Oflag XVII-B, Oflag X-A, and Oflag X-B, could reveal more on conditions between officer camps in order to narrow the exact different variables of Oflag XVII-A. Lastly, as of 2019, the majority of survivors for World War II are dwindling and prisoners from the French list of prisoners who spent time at Oflag XVII-A, provides for fewer first-hand accounts.

In addition, this thesis begins the conversation within historiography on the possibility of German intentions to use POWs from World War II to fight as part of the German military. Following Vlasov's Russian Liberation Army, there was an attempt at compromising Russian POWs to fight for Germany and against Russia. This, among other signs, might have showed more or less evidence had time and research provided.

⁸⁵ Christian Fraser. 2018.

⁸⁶ "USC Shoah Foundation Institute Testimonies." United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Collection, accessed 2018.

Furthermore, a researched account on how the memory of resistance, like the memory of the goal of self-emancipation through an escape attempt at Oflag XVII-A as part or not part of the French Resistance, parallels movements in the 21st century. An account on how nations of peoples will reflect and remember conflict and resistance in the Middle East and Latin America could be expanded using the notions of this thesis in order to understand society today. Specifically, these regions as Western society today deals with an ever-growing global interconnectedness within the economy and diplomacy.

Bibliography

Primary Sources:

Blank, Ralf. *Germany and the Second World War : Volume IX/I: German Wartime Society 1939-1945: Politicization, Disintegration, and the Struggle for Survival*. Germany and the Second World War. Oxford: OUP Oxford, 2008.

Bretholz, Leo. "Leo Bretholz Describes Resistance Training and Activities in a French Underground Group He Joined in 1943." United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Collection, 1992.

"FFI (Forces françaises de l'intérieur, 'French Forces of the Interior')." *Brewer's Dictionary of Phrase and Fable*, edited by Susie Dent. 19th ed. Chambers Harrap, 2012.

Gaulle, Charles de, *Discours et Messages I*, June 1940–January 1946 (Paris, Plon, 1970): 4.

Gayot, Henry. Croquis Oflag XVII-A. United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Collection, 1946.

Kipman, Casimir. "USC Shoah Foundation Institute Testimony of Casimir Kipman." Evan Beloff, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Collection, 26 August 1995.

Leray, Jean. *Course d'Algèbre Topologique Enseigné en Captivité*. J. Math. Pures Appl., 1945, 24.

"Liste Officielle No. 68 de Prisonniers Français." Paris, France: Centre National d'Information, 1941.

Natter, Henri and Adam Réfrégier. *Five Years Behind Hitler's Barbed Wire: A Diary of French Officers in a German Prison Camp, 1940-1945*, ed. and trans. Jacqueline Vautrain Collins. Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company Inc., 2015.

Oflag X-C. German Red Cross, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Collection, 1940-1945.

Orain, Fred. *Sous Le Manteau*. Paris, France: Armor Films, 1954.

Programme du Conseil national de la Résistance. Council national de la Résistance, 24 Mars 1944.

“Resistance: Revue du Peuple Français et de Son Armée.” *Aux Armes*, December 1945, no. 14.

“USC Shoah Foundation Institute Testimonies.” United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Collection, accessed 2018.

Werth, Léon, and David Ball. *Deposition 1940-1944: A Secret Diary of Life in Vichy France*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2017.

Secondary Sources:

Andreyev, Catherine. *Vlasov and the Russian Liberation Movement : Soviet Reality and Émigré Theories*. Soviet and East European Studies. Cambridge University Press, 1987.

Belcarz, Bartłomiej. *Polskie Lotnictwo we Francji 1940 (Polish Air Force in France 1940)*. Stratus, 2002.

Catherine, Jean-Claude (ed.), *La Captivité des Prisonniers de Guerre: Histoire, Art, et Mémoire, 1939-1945*. Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2008.

Drake, David. *Paris at War: 1939–1944*. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2015.

Fraser, Christian. “How French Secretly Filmed Prison Camp Life in WWII.” *British Broadcasting Corporation*, July 31, 2013, accessed September 15, 2018,

<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-23423329>.

Gildea, Robert. *Fighters in the Shadows: A New History of the French Resistance*. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2015.

Oflag 17A – Tournage Clandestin Derrière les Barbelés. Paris, France: France 5, 2013.

"Resistance." In *Britannica Concise Encyclopedia*, by Encyclopedia Britannica. Britannica Digital Learning, 2017.

Sigmund, Anna Maria, Peter Michor, and Karl Sigmund. "Leray in Edelbach." *Mathematical Intelligencer* 27, no. 2 (Spring 2005): 41–50.

"Volontaires de la Liberté Histoire." *Histoire Mondiale du XXème Siècle*, France Télévisions, 2014.

Wieviorka, Olivier. *The French Resistance*, trans. Jane Marie Todd. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2016.