

*[Seite: - 1 -]*

## **France**

In view of the current political events in France and in the Mediterranean zone details of the political background of the development in France are particularly interesting. The following reports deal with attempts by Laval to gain the support of the teachers and workers. Their authors are members of the groups in question:

### **Laval's propaganda for the "Revolution Nationale" and his attempts to win over the teachers**

The Vichy regime is obsessed by the idea of winning over the teachers and gaining their active support. The Legion flatters them and pretends to be fighting against the political and social prejudices under which they had so often suffered. The need for improving their material situation is loudly proclaimed; they have been granted an increase in salary, a very small one it is true, but no one else has received anything at all.

Laval intends to pay special attention to the teachers. One of his collaborators told us: "Any regime which wishes to survive must have the support of the teachers. The president desires to speak to them directly and you know how much his speeches appealing for confidence in various professional circles move his audiences. Although the anti-militaristic attitude of certain teachers and their pacifist ideas must be condemned yet these very convictions of theirs should make it easier for them to understand and support the political pacifism of the president."

Shortly after this statement had been made (end of August), all the teachers of the department of Alhier were called together at Vichy. They came there on official orders; their travelling expenses were refunded and some of them came from quite distant places such as the Alpes-Maritimes, at the cost of the department. The Marshal delivered a short speech. After this Laval attempted to justify his policy with practically the same arguments which he used when he gave an interview to the official trade union delegates on July 12th.

There was an anti-German note in this speech which surprised his hearers and for several days this aroused a considerable amount of comment in Vichy. Laval first of all explained that he had just returned from one of his journeys to Paris which often caused him to feel a certain amount of bitterness; in the capital he had learnt that the Germans had just issued a decree lengthening the working hours to 55 hours

*[Seite im Original:] - 2-*

per week and asserting their complete authority over all industrial plant and labour in the occupied zone. "This", he shouted, "is not what I call collaboration!"

Speaking of the Germans who were in favour of "a peace of annihilation" between Germany and France, he pointed out that Hitler did not love us for our own sake, and he quoted "Mein Kampf" in evidence.

The cunning old fox knew that his audience would be pleasantly surprised when he said this; however he was applauded only by the members of his own entourage, the official journalists, the "spontaneous applause" brigade, and about 20 % of the state teachers.

In addition, all the teachers without exception received two editions of a propaganda pamphlet, "L'Espoir Français", one of them 23 pages long dealing with "the Laval ministry of 1935" and the other 15 pages on the theme that "the war could have been prevented if Laval's government had remained in power." Figures and arguments are presented in a clever manner in these publications, but the conclusion drawn is so outstandingly stupid and so clearly prejudiced that there is certainly no danger of the teachers, who have shown themselves to be such balanced and sensible people in these tormented times, being influenced by this nonsense. Here is the conclusion:

"The following conclusion may be drawn from this account of the political events which took place during the 7 months and 17 days of the government of M. Pierre Laval.

His fall, brought about by the revolutionaries and the leftwingers in their pay, led to the outbreak of war.

If M. Pierre Laval had remained in power:

- 1) The entente with Italy would have been permanent.
- 2) An understanding with Germany would have been possible.

These two conditions having been realised, the other nations of Europe would have aligned themselves on the side of France.

The war would then have been senseless. But war was necessary:

- a) to save bolshevism threatened by an entente of powerful nations;
- b) to prevent France competing with Great Britain on foreign markets.

The Russians and the English therefore brought their influence to bear on the French members of parliament. Some out of greed, others out of treachery, and by far the largest number out of cowardice, they committed this crime against la Patrie: they dismissed the man who was the champion of peace for his own country and for the whole of Europe.

The French people indifferent to their own fate, did nothing to prevent them. To-day we are suffering the consequences.

If only the head of the government, who is trying to rehabilitate France as he tried in 1935 - but this time under the leadership of the Marshal - could now reckon at least with the support of the French people!"

We mentioned in a previous report that Laval and Abel Bonnard [1] intended to revoke the sanctions which they had carried out indiscriminately against members of the teaching profession at the beginning of the "Revolution Nationale"; this is now being carried out. Laval hopes to increase the reserves of the teaching profession by new measures taken to reinstate some of the officials dismissed for having connections with

Working together with Abel Bonnard is Lavenir [2], one of the fanatically pacifist teachers of Lyons, a follower of the famous Emery [3], former secretary of the Rhone teachers' union. Lavenir devotes himself, as if he were entrusted with a mission, to the task of convincing his colleagues of the purity of the government's intentions and the beauty of a Hitlerised Europe. Another colleague of Lavenir from Lyons who wrote round about the time of Munich that he accepted the idea of a Europe reconstructed by Hitler, still occupies the same position in the service of Marion [4].

These propagandists make the same mistake as the official trade unionists: neither attempts at moral appeasement, nor promises of material advantages can change convictions and ingrained feelings. The vast majority of the teachers are looking forward to the liberation of France.

Delmas [5], who in private conversation expresses his approval of Laval and Deat, has spoilt his reputation in the Parisian district where he was well known; at the end of the school year only 3,631 teachers out of a total of 140,000, had joined the professional organisations set up by Vichy.

## Laval and the Trade Unions

The reorganisation of the trade unions attempted by Laval has made no progress. The situation in the unoccupied zone is unchanged and the government has not succeeded in establishing a labour information Committee (Comité d'Information ouvriere) to correspond with the committee presided over the Lafaye [6] in Paris (the C.I.O.S.). In the occupied zone the C.I.O.S has still no popular support and there is an increasing lack of unity within the committee itself: the representatives of the trade union federations avoid as far as possible any contact with the delegates of the pseudo trade union movement created by the [Belinists] [7] and in addition some organisation such as the Christian Trade Unions, and the Building and Leather Workers Unions have disowned those of their members who belong to this committee. The attitude adopted in this matter by the executive commission of the Federation of Leather Workers is significant:

"Whilst confirming their desire to adhere to the laws and decisions issued by the government, the executive commission states that it cannot agree to the presence of delegates of political groups within a committee for working-class and trade union information or in any other committee for studying trade union problems even though they claim rightly or wrongly to be representatives of the workers."

The Federation of Leather Workers thus express the repugnance felt by the official trade union representatives, whether due to tactical considerations or to a deep conviction, against associating with the delegates of the R.N.P., the P.P.F. and the "Atelier"-group. This attitude marks a change in the policy of the followers of Belin. They are avoiding any cooperation with those people who are openly in the pay of the Germans and are making approaches to members of the resistance movement. The position of the resistance movement has remained unaltered and they are making every effort to build up a stable organisation with the double aim of strengthening the movement for liberation and preparing for what will come afterwards.

## Trade Union Unity

The prospects of a German defeat have certainly influenced this evolution. Increasing attempts are being made to resume contact with those who had been treated as outlaws from the official trade union movement and accused of being demagogic and bellicose. It is well known that "Au Travail" has for some time now deliberately preserved a strict silence on the problems connected with the war and has done its best on different occasions to develop this cooperation with the resistance movement.

The order of the day of the supporters of Vichy is: UNITE! UNITE! This is the government's slogan; too. The means by which it is hoped to achieve this is the creation of the unified trade unions provided for in a decree issued on 28th August by Lagardelle [8] and appearing in the official paper on 8th September dealing with the application of the Charter of Labour (Law of 4th Oct. 1941).

The appeal for unity is couched in urgent and even imperative terms: Bertin, who is not to be put off by the failure of his attempts to establish friendly cooperation writes:

"Trade union unity is a necessity. It could have been achieved in a friendly and brotherly manner. Under the present circumstances it can only be achieved by force."

Leading Trade Unionists who are opposed to the Vichy type of unity, are relentlessly attacked by this same Bertin and also by the "Voix Ouvriere" [9], the journal of the Legion groups in the factories (groupes legionnaires d'entreprises). [10] At the same time they attack in a more restrained manner the Christian opponents of trade union unity who support the existence of a number of diverse trade unions within an organisation covering the whole trade.

### A Single Trade Union Organisation

At the moment Lagardelle's great idea is to create a compulsory and single trade union organisation. The decree instituting them was issued only after a long stay in the office of the Marshal, where it encountered opposition from diverse sources. The publication of the decree seemed to constitute a clear victory for the Ministry of Labour and the non-confederationist members of the official trade union movement.

But the problem of applying the decree still remains. The social services organisation under the direction of Terray [11] in Paris, assisted by M. Nicolas [12] and represented by M. Dolfuss [13] in Vichy, are preparing the putting into practice of the Charter according to the following principle, which may appear rather dogmatic: that no new constructive measures should be undertaken until the previous ones had been firmly established. They do not consider it possible to establish single trade unions, professional unions or federations before the long and difficult task of fixing the demarcation line between the different professions has been carried out. The preliminary measures necessary for the setting up of the new trade union organisation will also take some time.

But the single trade union idea is also sponsored by certain trade union federations, the leaders of the Legion groups in the factories and the propaganda services (Services de propaganda ouvrière) [14], which include social propaganda directed by Chasseigne [15] at the Ministry of Information; the office of the "Comités Sociaux" of which Dumoulin [16] of "L'Atelier" [17] and Michaux [18] of the "Travailleurs de l'Etat" [19] are the chief inspectors [20], and

the labour propaganda section of the Legion. These are anxious to hasten the formation of the single trade union which will provide them with the membership which has so far eluded them.

Lagardelle, caught between these two currents, and influenced by his collaborator, Ivan Martin [21], is trying to reduce the scope for independent action which Belin had accorded to M. Terray [22] and which had assumed such proportions that the administration of the ministry was developing into a diarchy.

## Leaders and Members

Lagardelle is therefore forced to hasten the application of his decrees. He is, however, under no illusion as to the difficulties he will encounter: the greatest difficulty is undoubtedly the lack of personnel sufficiently trained to lead the workers' Trade Unions. Preparations are being made for the training of such personnel in special courses and there is talk of reviving the former Workers' Colleagues with State help and under State control. Emilie Lefrance [23] who has been given a special position in Lagardelle's ministry is very much concerned with this problem. But this would only offer a long term solution and at the moment Lagardelle would be satisfied if he could only persuade the resistant trade unionists to abandon their policy of non-cooperation. If they persist in their attitude it will not encourage the numerous individuals who avoid taking on any official Trade Union position, for fear of the distrust the workers will feel towards anyone appointed to the trades councils by ministerial decree on the basis of article 70 of the Charter and applying article 3 of the decree of 28th August. The resisting Trade Unionists have no desire to occupy any responsible positions under such conditions; the only unity which is possible is the "unity by force" with which Bertin threatens them. But for them the only unity which counts is unity in the struggle for independence, for the liberation of France, and the restoration of freedom.

As far as the rank and file of the workers are concerned there can be no doubt that the single trade union organisation will be regarded by them with the utmost indifference; they can never be convinced that it is in their interest to subordinate their organisations to the state, particularly when it is a police controlled state. Their position is the same as that of their ancestors under the Second Empire and one is reminded of the famous letter of Tolain [24]:

"I believe as you do that the workers of Paris are intelligent, and as far as I am concerned I am glad that you have this opinion. But how can one reconcile such intelligence with such apathy? Why don't they help themselves? This reproach is often thrown at them and it is difficult to refute it without making accusations. When the initiative comes from above, from a superior authority or from the employers, the workers have very little confidence in the results. They feel and believe that they are being dominated, led, swallowed up ... There is only one way of appealing to them; it is to say: You are free, organise yourselves; manage your own affairs, we will put no obstacles in your way. Our help, if you have need of it and consider it essential, will be completely disinterested, and as long as you restrict yourselves to your own business, we will not interfere."

("History of the Labour Movement", by Ed. Dolleans [25].)

Besides, if the Vichy regime does not change and the German occupation continues, how can you expect the workers not to fear and dislike the idea of joining trade unions where they run the risk of contact with members of the P.P.F. who are in the service of the Gestapo, with legionaries whose absurd denunciations are automatically taken seriously by the public authorities and lead to dismissal or internment, or with spies of the employer or the government? A collaborator of Lagardelle openly admitted the gravity of the situation in a striking statement:

"The regime is carrying out a home policy which is preventing the realisation of our social policy."

Furthermore, what sense is there in taking part in trade union activity as long as the Germans have absolute control of the wages and conditions of work? Such activity can only lead to nothing.

## **Reconstitution of the Confederations**

In reality the workers can only be united for the achievement of certain ideals: National liberation, the restoration of the Republic, freedom and independence for working-class action. This can only be secret unity.

This is what the militant resisting members of the C.G.T. are trying to do at the moment. They are going to fight the collaborationists in every federation and union, the secret resistance groups whose work will be coordinated in each zone by an administrative commission and regional delegates both of which have already been appointed. This work is beset by great practical difficulties (the financing and setting up of a specialised press is absolutely necessary); the recent house arrest of A. [26] and B. [27] has not served to facilitate matters.

Here it is sufficient to mention that the trade unionists chosen for this work are absolutely loyal and devoted to their aim and have all distinguished themselves by important services rendered to the resistance movements. But it is becoming increasingly evident that the National Security Department is keeping a close watch on them.

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## *Editorische Anmerkungen*

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1 - Abel Bonnard (1883-1968), französischer Schriftsteller und Politiker, während der Besetzung Frankreichs Erziehungsminister unter P. Laval (1942-1944), nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg wegen Kollaboration mit der deutschen Besatzungsmacht zum Tode verurteilt (1945), später in 10-jährige Verbannung abgeändert (1960).

2 - André Lavenir, Lehrer und französischer Gewerkschaftsfunktionär (CGT), Pazifist, während der Besetzung Frankreichs Berater der Vichy-Regierung, insbesondere des Erziehungsministers Abel Bonnard (1942-1944), nach der Befreiung wurde von einer Gefängnisstrafe abgesehen, jedoch wurde er zum Entzug der bürgerlichen Ehrenrechte für fünf Jahre und zur Annullierung seiner Pensionsansprüche

verurteilt, Rehabilitierung (1949). Geburts- und Todesjahr konnten nicht ermittelt werden.

- 3 - Emery = Paul Léon Émery (1898-1981), Lehrer, französischer Publizist, Pazifist und Gewerkschaftsfunktionär im Département Rhône (CGT), nach „Europe speaks“ Sekretär der Lehrgewerkschaft, während der Besetzung Frankreichs Befürworter einer Kollaboration mit der deutschen Besatzungsmacht, nach der Befreiung zu fünf Jahren Haft und zum Verlust der bürgerlichen Ehrenrechte verurteilt, jedoch 1946 wieder freigelassen.
- 4 - Paul Jules André Marion (1899-1954), französischer Journalist und Politiker, Mitglied des Zentralkomitees der französischen KP (1926-1929), Ausschluss aus der KP (1929), Führer der Parti populaire français (1936-1939), während der Besetzung Frankreichs Informationsminister (= Propagandaminister) der Vichy-Regierung (1941-1944), nach der Befreiung Flucht nach Deutschland (Sigmaringen) und weiter nach Tirol (1945), Verhaftung in Innsbruck (1945), Verurteilung zu 10 Jahren Gefängnis und zum lebenslänglichen Verlust der bürgerlichen Ehrenrechte, Begnadigung einige Monate vor seinem Tod.
- 5 - Delmas = (?) André Pierre Émile Delmas (1899-1979), französischer Lehrer und Funktionär der Lehrgewerkschaft, Mitglied des ständigen Ausschusses (seit 1926) und Generalsekretär (1932-1940) der nationalen Gewerkschaft der Lehrer, während der Besetzung Frankreichs Zusammenarbeit mit der Vichy-Regierung, nach der Befreiung „wegen Kollaboration“ bestraft, aber schon bald rehabilitiert und wieder politisch aktiv.
- 6 - Gabriel Lafaye (1888-1959), französischer Sozialist und Gewerkschaftsfunktionär, während der Besetzung Frankreichs Unterstützung der Vichy-Regierung, vor allem durch die Herausgabe von „l'Atelier“ (zusammen mit René Albert Mesnard), nach der Befreiung Ausschluss aus allen gewerkschaftlichen Funktionen und Verurteilung zum Verlust der bürgerlichen Ehrenrechte für fünf Jahre, Beendigung der politischen Karriere.
- 7 - Anmerkung im Original: „As we already mentioned there are only certain indications of this. When Dr. Ley, chief of the Labour Front, came to Paris the Belinists: Savoie (Food), Foulet (Federation of trade unions of the Paris district), Joneau (Civil servants), rushed to join a delegation of the C.I.O.S. which was going to visit the well-known Nazi together with the traitors of l'Atelier: Dumoulin, Mesnard, Louis-Louis and with Desphilippen (R.N.P) and Beugras (P.P.F.).“ [Auguste Adolphe Savoie (1876-1949), französischer Gewerkschaftsfunktionär, während der Besetzung Frankreichs Befürworter und Mitarbeiter der Vichy-Regierung, Mitarbeiter an der „Charte du travail“, nach der Befreiung Ausschluss aus allen gewerkschaftlichen Funktionen (Oktober 1944). Maxime Foulet, französischer Gewerkschaftsfunktionär, während der Besetzung Frankreichs Befürworter der Vichy-Regierung und Mitarbeiter in zahlreichen Gremien, nach der Befreiung Ausschluss aus allen gewerkschaftlichen Funktionen. Geburts- und Todesjahr konnten nicht ermittelt werden. Joneau = (?) Roger Joneau (geb. 1901), kommunistischer Gewerkschaftsfunktionär im Département Charante, während der Besetzung Frankreichs Mitarbeit in verschiedenen Gremien der Vichy-Regierung und für „La France Socialiste“ publizistisch tätig. René Albert Mesnard (1902-1945), französischer Gewerkschaftsfunktionär, frühzeitige Annäherung an einen nationalen Sozialismus und während der Besetzung Frankreichs starke Unterstützung der Vichy-Regierung, vor allem durch seine publizistische Tätigkeit und die Herausgabe von „l'Atelier“ (zusammen mit Gabriel Lafaye), nach der Befreiung Ausschluss aus allen gewerkschaftlichen Funktionen (Oktober 1944) und Flucht nach Deutschland, dort verstorben. Louis Louis (1883-1963), französischer Gewerkschafts- und Parteifunktionär (SFIO bis 1933, danach Neo-Sozialist), während der Besetzung Frankreichs Mitarbeit in verschiedenen Gremien der Vichy-Regierung, Mitarbeit am Journal „l'Atelier“. Francisque Jean Marie (genannt Francis) Desphilippon (1894-

1965), französischer Politiker, Sozialist und Pazifist, während der deutschen Besatzung Frankreichs Chef der RNP (1942), Inhaftierung nach der Befreiung, zum Verlust der bürgerlichen Ehrenrechte verurteilt, nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg berufliche Tätigkeiten in der Privatwirtschaft, u.a. bei einer Reisegesellschaft. Albert Beugras (1903-1963), Mitglied der faschistischen PPF (Parti Populaire Français), während der Okkupation rechte Hand von Jacques Doriot, verließ Frankreich (1944), Rückkehr (1946), Verurteilung zu lebenslanger Haft (1948 und 1950), Entlassung (1954).]

8 - Hubert Lagardelle (1874-1958), französischer Politiker, wechselte ins rechte Lager und wurde Minister für Arbeit im Vichy-Regime unter Pierre Laval (1942-1943); trat für eine einheitliche Gewerkschaftsorganisation ein.

9 - „Voix Ouvriere“, frz. Zeitung, die nach „Europe speaks“ zur Zeit der Vichy-Regierung vorgab, die Interessen der Arbeiter zu vertreten. Weitere Daten konnten nicht ermittelt werden.

10 - Anmerkung im Original: The "Voix Ouvriere", the fourth issue of which has now appeared, has like "L'Atelier" a striking lay-out which compares favourably with the "Humanité" or the "Voix Ouvriere" of the old days. It pretends in a demagogic manner to champion working-class interests and thus thinks it can advocate the relève in a supplement. It insults those who belong to the resistance movement and attacks the ex-confederalists including those who belong to the official trade unions. The ideology of this paper is the same as that of the legion, but in most cases one has to read between the lines; it supports mixed associations, the traditional and pre-capitalist guild system, and attacks the trusts only on the basis of an anti-industrial prejudice and an advocacy of the artisan class as a bulwark against "bolshevism".

11 - Terray = (?) Jean Pierre Terray (geb. 1906), hoher französischer Beamter, während der deutschen Besatzung Frankreichs Mitarbeit in der Vichy-Regierung, u.a. als Generalsekretär für Arbeit unter René Belin (1941-1942), nach „Europe speaks“ Direktor für „Soziale Dienste“ („social services“) in Paris und möglicherweise Mitglied der Synarchiebewegung in Frankreich, ab 1943 Tätigkeit in der Privatwirtschaft (Generaldirektor beim Schneider-Trust).

12 - M. Nicolas, nach „Europe speaks“ Helfer von Terray. Weitere biographische Daten konnten nicht ermittelt werden.

13 - M. Dolfuss, nach „Europe speaks“ Repräsentant der „Sozialen Dienste“ („social services“) in Paris. Weitere biographische Daten konnten nicht ermittelt werden.

14 - Anmerkung im Original: The ministry of information has several dozen regional and departmental propagandists who are paid 3,000 to 5,000 frs per month plus travelling expenses and it is proposed to increase the number. Almost all these representatives are unknown to the workers so far and have no influence on them; often they act as spies, as police officers who supported the Mouvement Social did in the past. Many of them are corrupted by the P.P.F. which offers them nearly double the salary Marion pays them. Chasseigne, deputy for l'Indre, who is in charge of this service, has great plans in mind and it is his ambition to achieve the coordination of the whole of the working-class propaganda service.

15 - Francois Chasseigne (1902-1977), französischer Politiker, nach „Europe speaks“ Beschäftigter des Vichy-Informationsministeriums, Minister für Versorgung (1944).

16 - Georges Dumoulin (1877-1963), Bergarbeiter, Sekretär des französischen Gewerkschaftskartells im Département du Nord, Sekretär der CGT, Funktionär im Büro der Internationalen Arbeitsorganisation (ILO, 1924-1932), während der Okkupation Arrangement mit dem Vichy-Regime, Übernahme von Funktionen in der



Vichy-Regierung sowie in der RNP, Ernennung durch Pétain zum Mitglied des Nationalrats, häufige Artikel in der Zeitung „L'Atelier“, nach der Befreiung Verurteilung in Abwesenheit zum Tode, später Rehabilitation (1951).

- 17 - "L'Atelier", französische gewerkschaftliche Wochenzeitung für die Nordzone, die nach "Renaissance" (Heft 2, S. 29) von der deutschen Besatzungsmacht ausgehalten wurde, Herausgeber: Gabriel Lafaye und René Albert Mesnard.
- 18 - Michaux = (?) Michaut (s.u.), nach „Europe speaks“ Redakteur bei „Travailleurs de l'Etat“. Weitere biographische Daten konnten nicht ermittelt werden.
- 19 - "Travailleurs de l'Etat", französische. Gewerkschaftszeitung für den öffentlichen Dienst, offenbar pro Vichy. Weiter Daten konnten nicht ermittelt werden.
- 20 - Anmerkung im Original: Michaut [s.o.: Michaux] receives every month 3,000 frs salary plus 1,500 frs from Clermont as secretary of the civil service federation and for his position in the Comité sociaux, 6,000 frs. In addition he receives his civil service pension; his daughter is employed as his typist at 2,500 frs per month and his son is employed in the ministry of information. [Clermont. Biographische Daten konnten nicht ermittelt werden.]
- 21 - Ivan Martin (geb. 1899), französischer Politiker, Mitarbeiter im Kabinett von Ministerpräsident André Tardieu, danach Chef des Kabinetts von General Noguès in Marokko (1937-1942), Rückkehr nach Frankreich und Generaldirektor der Sozialversicherung (1943), Kündigung und Tätigkeiten in der Privatwirtschaft (1944). Eine Mitarbeit für Lagardelle konnte bei diesem Ivan Martin nicht ermittelt werden.
- 22 - Anmerkung im Original: M. Terray, a young employer, related to de Vogue is a member of the association of catholic employers, and is probably a synarchiste. [De Vogue, französische Zeitung. Daten konnten nicht ermittelt werden.]
- 23 - Emilie Lefrance = Émilie Lefranc (1903-1970), französische Lehrerin, Gewerkschafterin und Sozialistin, verheiratet mit dem Historiker der frz. Arbeiterbewegung Georges Lefranc (1904-1985), während der deutschen Besatzung Frankreichs Mitarbeiterin der Vichy-Regierung unter Belin und seinem Nachfolger Largadelle (bis 1943), Mitarbeit an der Zeitschrift „Bulletin de la Charte du Travail“, nach der Befreiung wegen ihrer Mitarbeit in zwei Kabinetten der Vichy-Regierung Suspension ihrer pädagogischen Tätigkeit (1947) und Inhaftierung für fünf Monate, Rehabilitierung (1952).
- 24 - Henri Louis Tolain (1828-1897), Gravierarbeiter und berühmter französischer Sozialist, Mitarbeiter des „Manifests der Sechzig“, das in der frz. Arbeiterbewegung als ein „Hauptdokument in der sozialistischen Geschichte“ gilt (1863), Mitbegründer und Mitarbeiter der Ersten Internationale (Gründung der „Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation“, IAA: 1864). Befürworter der „Vereinigten Staaten von Europa“ (1870), Abgeordneter (1871), später Senator des Départements Seine (1876).
- 25 - Eduard Dolleans (1877-1954), Herausgeber der "histoire de mouvement ouvrier".
- 26 - A. Die Initiale konnte nicht ermittelt werden.
- 27 - B. Die Initiale konnte nicht ermittelt werden.