Transnational Encounters and Popular Propaganda: Illuminating the penumbra of the French Resistance

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Abstract

Despite the wealth of scholarly research on the French Resistance, there are many aspects that remain in the shadows or 'penumbra' surrounding the more brightly-lit central organisations. Focusing on the resources and connections of French trade unionists in London exile — usually peripheral to accounts of wartime trade unionism — this critical reflection explores the potential of the MRC's collections to open up new research perspectives and possibilities. It foregrounds two key themes meriting further exploration: transnational encounters and popular propaganda. It first examines how French delegates of the Confédération Générale du Travail (CGT) worked not only with their counterparts in occupied France but equally with members of British trade unions and the Labour Party in a complex network of relationships between individuals and associations. Second, it uses a close analysis of some of the resistance flyers received — and sometimes translated and disseminated — by the CGT in London to highlight visual and rhetorical strategies of resistance in popular propaganda. Cumulatively, these case studies invite a wider reflection on how resistance should be defined, and on its spaces, strategies, and balances of power.

Keywords: France; resistance; trade unionism; Second World War; transnationalism; propaganda

It's 11 p.m. on 24 August 1942 in the small village of Lumbres in Nazi-occupied France, around 25 miles from the English Channel. Challenging the wartime curfew, a car speeds into the village and its occupants toss armfuls of printed communist flyers out of the windows before their vehicle disappears once again into the night. German authorities and French police immediately rush to the scene and gather up every text they can find, delivering them directly to the German military headquarters. By 2 a.m., not a single flyer remains. Who were these sudden intruders? No-one knows. Producing and disseminating communist materials is punishable by death in the German-occupied zone, and an elaborate search is instigated. But in the darkness, the car numberplate and the appearance and number of passengers are equally elusive. And Lumbres has never been a particular centre for communist activity. Finally, the French police admit their inability to track down the perpetrators, who must, they say, have been foreigners of some sort or another.[1]

In France, the history of the Resistance during the Second World War has long been associated with shadows and light. For those who participated, resistance was a light in the otherwise 'dark years' of German occupation, hunger, and deprivation: resisters such as Agnès Humbert described it as an *étincelle*, a spark or twinkle (**Humbert, 2010: 44**). At the same time, as in Lumbres, resisters were obliged to operate in the shadows, whether in the obscurity of clandestine environments or in the darkness of the night, cumulatively forming what novelist Joseph Kessel described in 1943 as an 'army of shadows' (**Cf. Dildea, 2015**). Resistance in the shadows could mean an isolated incident like a carful of communists speeding through a small village. Or it could mean a complex network of activists inside and outside France, opposing the German occupier and the French government through propaganda, strikes, attacks, and escapes. Key resistance organisations would contribute to the National Council of Resistance formed secretly in 1943, and to the military liberation of France from Nazi occupation from summer 1944 onwards.

The main figures and leaders of resistance are often well known and celebrated. But there are also outer circles or 'penumbra' in which resisters and resistance remain shadowy in the sense of being less clearly understood (**Douzou, 2019: 96**).[2] Women and men who listened into Free French radio broadcasts or who were arrested for shouting abuse of the Germans or the French Head of State in sudden outbursts of anger or frustration. Resisters who operated more at the peripheries than at the centre: distributing flyers, for example, without necessarily being privy to the identities of those who had created them. Resisters described by historian Claire Andrieu as the mere 'shadow of a shadow', casting only the faintest of traces onto written history (**Andrieu, 1997: 86**).

French resistance documents in the University of Warwick's Modern Records Centre offer a valuable insight into this penumbra or periphery of organised Resistance. They do so by inviting us to challenge some of our assumptions concerning the relationship between centre and periphery, not least by bringing into focus two themes that have often been tangential to the historiography of resistance: the work of the Confédération Générale du Travail (CGT; principal French trade union) during its London exile, and the artisanal flyers, posters, and newspapers produced by women and men in the wider resistance movement, and sent to French CGT delegates in London for information and dissemination. In dialogue with archival material from France, this critical reflection assesses the potential of MRC collections to open up new research perspectives and possibilities. It focuses on two key themes meriting further exploration: transnational encounters (both personal and textual), and popular propaganda within and beyond wartime France.

Transnational Encounters

French trade unionism was sharply fractured at the outbreak of the Second World War, even before the devastating Fall of France in May–June 1940. Despite having worked together in the reunified and anti-fascist CGT from 1936 onwards, communist and socialist members of the trade union movement were once more divided by the Nazi-Soviet pact of August 1939. Not only was the French Communist Party dissolved by the government the following month, but the wartime government of Marshal Philippe Pétain aspired to a corporatist state structured by the new Labour Charter of 1941. The CGT — as well as its employers' counterpart, the Confédération Générale du Patronat Français — were formally dissolved in November 1940, and while René Belin, former assistant Secretary General of the CGT, chose to work with the new government as Minister of Labour, other trade union leaders went underground or into exile.[3] Henri Hauck, appointed Labour Attaché to the French Embassy in May 1940 with the personal support of CGT leader Léon Jouhaux, remained in London, and by August 1940 had been appointed Labour adviser to the Free French.[4] Meanwhile, Jouhaux himself continued to cooperate covertly with other trade unionists in France, though was placed under house arrest in December 1941 and eventually interned in Germany and Austria from 1943–45 (**Dreyfys, 1995: 202-3**).[5]

Yet wartime repression also created new opportunities for potential solidarity across political and national boundaries. When Nazi Germany invaded the USSR in June 1941, communist and socialist members of the CGT found a new impetus for cooperation in shared anti-fascism, while the CGT also forged closer relationships with the Gaullist resistance, ensuring the adoption of its social and economic demands by the National Council

of Resistance in March 1944. In London, French trade unionists worked with exiled trade unionists from other European countries, including Belgium, Poland, Germany, Austria, Spain, and Czechoslovakia.[6]

Exactly how representatives of the CGT contributed to Free/Fighting France, or how French trade unionists in exile cooperated with their counterparts in France and Britain, has remained in many ways obscure. It is here that the records in the MRC provide precious and under-explored evidence. Previous histories of wartime trade-unionism have paid minimal attention to those geographically peripheral to the internal resistance. Even histories of the resistance that are explicitly 'comprehensive' —such as Olivier Wieviorka's *The French Resistance* — are sometimes equally explicit in their focus on resistance within France itself (**Wieviorka, 2016: 3-4**), while more specific studies of trade unionists tend to focus on top-level organisation, with only fleeting reference to London representatives such as Georges Buisson, Albert Guigui, or Albert Gazier (**Dreyfus, 2015; Aglan, 2000: 119-28**).[7] At the same time, the location of and networks around the CGT's foreign delegation or *delegation à l'étranger* — a name so proudly stamped over the MRC's resistance documents — are not discussed. Often, information on this foreign delegation focuses mainly on its funding: Buisson and Guigui's channelling of three million francs from Fighting France into the clandestine CGT within France, and the additional financial support from both British and American trade unions. Particularly important in the British case was the support from the British Miners' Federation and the Fédération Syndicale Internationale (FSI), the latter founded after the First World War with headquarters in Amsterdam, and later transferred to Berlin, Paris, and finally London (**Aglan, 2000: 124-6**).[8]

Reframing these exiled French trade unionists within their transnational networks of activity suggests new pathways for understanding the relationships that shaped resistance ideas, projects, and the movement of documentation and personnel to and from Nazi-occupied territory.[9] The most valuable MRC archives in this respect are those of the Trades Union Congress and the International Transport Workers' Federation, and the private papers of Belgian trade unionist Paul Tofahrn and British Trotskyist Jimmy Deane. These archives make it possible to situate CGT representatives abroad within their networks of intersecting relationships, which included Free/ Fighting France, the International Federation of Trade Unions and its general secretary Walter Schevenels, the FSI, the British Labour Party, and the TUC (personal connections with TUC General Secretary Sir Walter Citrine were especially important). Also influential was the support of associations that facilitated transnational exchange, such as the Anglo-French Trade Union Committee, the Alliance Française, and the Franco-British Society. Minutes and memoranda of meetings, personal correspondence, as well as collections of resistance newspapers,

flyers, and other publications, cumulatively build up a nuanced picture of international cooperation, with underlying goodwill offset by moments of mistrust or misunderstanding.

Together, these archival documents illuminate the extent to which French CGT representatives in London operated not only in a bilateral relationship with their colleagues in France, but also within a wider framework of Franco-British connections. Even the location of the CGT's foreign delegation in Transport House, the TUC headquarters, is here significant, grounding exchanges with British trade union leaders and members in the same physical space.[10] The changing addresses on headed notepaper reveal the movements of individuals, such as Albert Guigui's transfer from Transport House to the Free French headquarters at Carlton Gardens to join Charles de Gaulle's Ministry of Industrial Production.[11] Meanwhile, contributions by French delegates to meetings of the International Trade Union Council in London, chaired by Walter Schevenels, bring to light cooperation between exiled trade unionists from across Nazi-dominated Europe.[12] Schevenels himself, with his Belgian diplomatic passport, moved between countries as well as between opposing factions of the French trade union movement (René Belin on the one hand and Léon Jouhaux on the other).[13]

Within these intersecting networks, French trade unionists worked both to solicit British interest and equally to facilitate the movement of personnel and documentation. Letters, speeches, shared (sometimes translated) publications testify to the French concern to explain the intricacies of their own trade unionism — not least the complex relations and tensions between socialists, communists, and Christian trade unionists — and to justify choices that might otherwise, as Raymond Bouyer explained, seem 'incomprehensible to the trade union movement abroad'.[14] (Albert Guigui described this diplomatically as 'a friendly duty to set your minds at rest'.)[15] Particular emphasis was given to the allegedly 'pro-British and sincerely de-Gaulliste' [sic] sympathies of the communist rank and file, offsetting the less easily justifiable decisions of their leaders at the time of the Nazi-Soviet pact,[16] and to the CGT's potential for mobilising industrial and human resources in post-liberation France, with a view to attracting and strengthening British and Allied interest and support.[17] Not only did this activity build on personal and associational connections established before the war, but it also reaffirmed patterns of exchange that would continue from 1944–45 onwards. Within these transitional years, requests were made for French resistance members to speak to British workers from the same profession, and placements arranged for British workers in French enterprises.[18] Furthermore, official visits were organised to celebrate the CGT's return to its prewar Parisian headquarters — even if the renewed tensions between socialists and

communists within French trade unionism made for some unexpectedly lively discussions.[19]

Private letters in the MRC collections also shed valuable light on some of the personal connections that facilitated and were in turn strengthened by cooperation on social, economic, and cultural matters. During the war itself, Henri Hauck of the Free/Fighting French endeavoured to introduce visiting trade unionists from the clandestine movement in France to their British counterparts. Similar meetings in 1944–45 allowed visiting CGT members such as Ambroise Croizat and Raymond Bouyer to discuss a range of social and economic questions — from international trade-union conferences to projects for postwar reconstruction and the welfare state — with key British contacts including Ernest Bevin, for whom René Rous acted as interpreter. Letters of introduction from underground CGT leaders in France were crucial in sustaining these transnational working relationships,[20] while letters of farewell — for example from Georges Buisson to Walter Citrine, when the former departed for Algiers in August 1943 to preside at the consultative assembly of resisters — reinforced transnational connections through fulsome gratitude for the 'cordial friendliness shown by all members of the Trades Union Congress.'[21]

Nor were such encounters restricted to socio-economic discussions. Particular efforts were made to honour the revolutionary heritage of 1789 and to reclaim the traditionally left-wing celebration of 1 May — a focus for strikes and demonstrations in the 1930s, but now styled by the Vichy regime as a 'Festival of Labour and Social Concord' — by holding large-scale cultural events in the sizeable Stoll Picture Theatre in London. In 1942, French CGT militants invited members of the British Labour Party to a commemoration of the 150th anniversary of the French national anthem, *La Marseillaise*, which included the projection of Jean Renoir's eponymous 1938 film as well as speeches by representatives of Allied nations.[22] In 1943, a celebration of the working-class festival of 1 May was jointly organised in the same location by the CGT and their Christian counterpart, the Confédération Française des Travailleurs Chrétiens (CFTC): a symbolic cooperation in the light of the recently reunified CGT and the participation of both confederations in the National Council of Resistance. Coinciding with the arrival from France of CGT leader Georges Buisson and CFTC secretary Marcel Poimboeuf and with their associated press conferences, this 1 May celebration represented, in the words of Albert Guigui, 'the first opportunity since the outbreak of war for the French workers' movement to demonstrate publicly on free territory.'[23] There is rich potential here for further study of these intricate transnational connections, and of the degree to which these were disrupted but also reinforced by the challenges of war and resistance.

Popular Propaganda

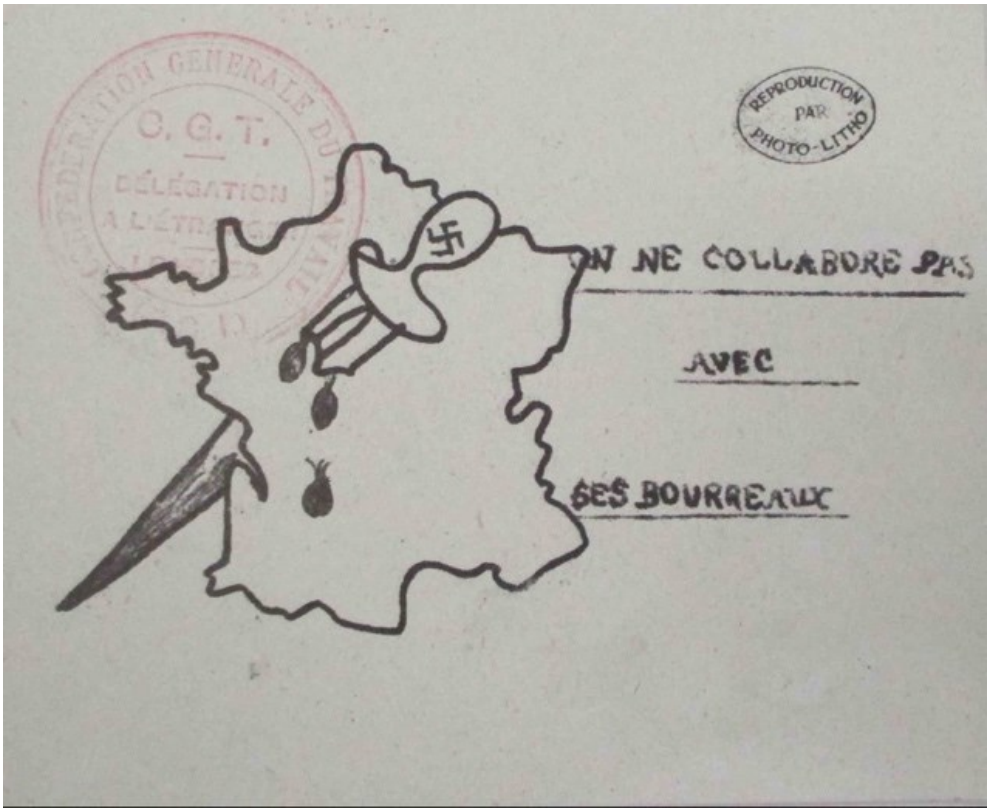
The CGT's foreign delegation in London also received, stamped, filed, translated, and circulated a wide range of written resistance materials that included newspapers, pamphlets, posters, and flyers. Many are stamped not only with the words 'CGT – délégation à l'étranger — FSI', but equally with the mention that they have been reproduced by means of photolithography. Among the newspapers are a number of national titles associated with the clandestine CGT and Communist Party and also available in other collections, such as *La Vie ouvrière*, *L'Humanité*, and *La Terre*.[24] But there are, in addition, rarer examples specific to particular groups defined by profession, region, or gender. These include *Le Combat du Languedoc et du Roussillon*, targeted at the area around Montpellier, and *La Femme comtoise*, which sought to mobilise women from Franche-Comté in eastern France to demonstrate for increased rations of bread, butter, sugar, and milk — especially for mothers and babies.

Within this collection, the small-format flyers known in French as *papillons* offer a particularly precious insight into some of the visual, linguistic, and political strategies of the resistance movement. Resistance propaganda is better known in the case of newspapers and the clandestine publications of the now-famous Éditions de Minuit, while more ephemeral material, such as that produced by individuals or popular committees (some close to the Communist Party) remains less closely examined.[25] Partly this is due to the continuing scholarly interest in the central organised Resistance, which can, as Laurent Douzou argues, entail a neglect of 'the ways in which resistance was also a subtle framework more broadly rooted in society' (**Douzou, 2019: 96-7; Virieux, 2019**).[26] Yet the tendency of such material to remain in the shadows derives equally from its intrinsically ephemeral quality, and the attendant difficulty of tracing its creators and disseminators. Produced for provocation and public consumption, subversive posters and flyers were often rapidly ripped down by authorities and not necessarily filed with the associated reports. In archival holdings, some of the most extensive collections of such material are those removed not from public but from private spaces. The Archives nationales, for example, hold significant collections of drafts and additional copies of propaganda confiscated from the homes of individual resisters, either preceding or following their arrest.[27] Such items are in many cases close in theme and production technique to those in the MRC's collections.

A close focus on two of these MRC flyers offers an illuminating insight into the types of strategies common within popular resistance, especially among working-class and women's groups. These groups included men and women inspired or encouraged by more organised (often communist) resistance networks to disseminate propaganda and take the high-risk

step towards resistance themselves, whether by refusing to accept the compulsory labour draft (*Service du Travail Obligatoire*) in Germany from 1943 onwards, or by demonstrating for higher rations for individuals and families. Focusing on material in the MRC collections also raises questions about what might have happened to the other copies of particular flyers in private and public, French and foreign contexts: the types and trajectories and associations explored within the 'cultural biography of things.' (**Kopytoff, 2013**)

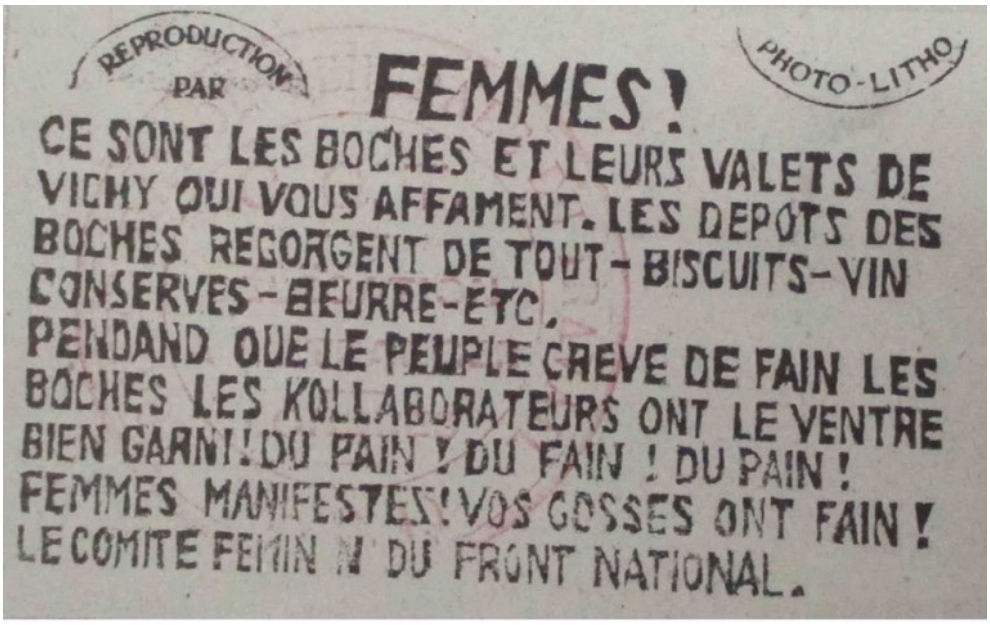
*Figure 1: On ne collabore pas avec ses bourreaux (flyer, 1943). Archives of the International Transport Workers' Federation, Modern Records Centre (**MSS. 159/3/C/a/143/78**; included with permission)*



This first flyer is a postcard-sized image of France, stabbed to the heart by a dagger bearing a Nazi swastika, and inscribed with a single, punchy slogan: 'On ne collabore pas avec ses bourreaux' [we don't collaborate with our executioners], choosing a word for 'executioner' common to other resistance materials.[28] With its upper-case letters and monochrome imagery, this is a high-impact and yet deceptively simple piece of propaganda. In fact, there is more than immediately meets the eye. First, the dagger stabs not Paris, which could be seen as the symbolic heart of France, but the location of the demarcation line, which, following the Fall of France in 1940, slashed the country into occupied and unoccupied zones. By 1943, when this flyer was produced, the Germans were in fact occupying the whole of France, but this flyer recalls that original flesh wound in the body of the nation. Second, the very depiction of the shape and boundaries of France — though to modern eyes unremarkable — is

also an act of radical expectation. The Armistice agreement of 1940 enabled Germany to occupy (though not formally annexe) Alsace-Lorraine in the east of France, meaning that the image on this flyer corresponds not to France during the Second World War but to France as it had been between 1919 and 1940, and as it would be following an eventual victory.[29] (Similar tactics were used on other resistance flyers that made more explicit demands for the restoration of national integrity).[30] Behind the deliberate simplicity of the line drawing and neatly underlined statement, there is thus a deeper reflection on the wounding and also potential restoration of the nation. There is also a thinly veiled threat. What will happen to those who collaborate with their 'executioners'? And would accepting the compulsory labour draft count as collaboration?[31]

*Figure 2: Flyer by the Comité Féminin du Front National. Archives of the International Transport Workers' Federation, Modern Records Centre (**MSS. 159/3/C/a/143/72**; included with permission)*



On ne collabore pas does not indicate its creators, although it may have reached the London representatives of the CGT with correspondence and flyers from the Comité d'Action contre la Déportation, which mobilised the French against 'deportation' to Germany through compulsory labour.[32] In contrast, this second flyer explicitly identifies its production by the Comité Féminin du Front National, a women's group close to the French Communist Party and unrelated to the later far-right movement of the same name. Small enough to conceal in the hand, *Femmes!* similarly depicts collaboration and resistance in straightforward black and white. In slangy language, and with a characteristic rhetorical populism, it condemns the Nazis and their Vichy collaborators for stockpiling produce while the French people are dying of hunger, and features a mouth-watering list of biscuits, wine, jam, and butter. While the Germans are described as 'boches', recalling their popular depiction during the First

World War, their collaborators are also symbolically foreignised by use of a Germanic 'K' at the beginning of the word. Other misspellings such as 'fain' (for *faim*) and 'pendand' (for *pendant*) are not deliberate, and instead suggest that the authors spoke a phonetically correct French without having perfect written mastery of the language — unlike the intellectuals and professional typographers responsible for other resistance propaganda.[33] Nevertheless, the targets and message of this tiny flyer are abundantly clear. This is an urgent appeal to action, specifically to action by women and mothers. Demonstrate to demand bread for your famished children, it urges, mobilising women and mothers to take to the streets at a time when demonstrations were not only illegal but could also, in some cases, result in the arrest and even deportation of those who took part. In August 1942, for example, two women from Lyon were taken to court for 'inciting housewives to demonstrate, moving from one group to another to heighten the sense of discontent.'[34]

Valuable for its very survival, *Femmes!* is equally significant for its representative character, offering further evidence of a close and politically strategic cooperation between the clandestine Communist Party and women at different levels of politicisation. Keen to burnish its resistance credentials after the USSR's entry into the war, the party was anxious to work with a wider network of supporters on questions that might, at least at first, seem politically neutral. Thus Communist Party members and popular committees — especially in the Parisian suburbs, where the party had been particularly strong before the War — played pioneering roles in encouraging and organising demonstrations for food and fuel from the winter of 1940–41 onwards (**Wieviorka, 2016: 37**).[35] It is even estimated that 239 demonstrations, approximately one third of all that took place between 1940 and 1944, were *manifestations ménagères* or 'housewives' demos'.[36]

Sometimes the focus of these demonstrations was purely material — as in those encouraged by *La Femme comtoise* (also in the MRC collections) in August 1943, which specified the exact quantities of butter and full-fat milk that local women should demand for their children. Nevertheless, as in the flyer *Femmes!*, such domestic-based opposition could be inseparable from bitter and sometimes political targeting of those in power at Vichy or in the occupied zone, especially when these authorities managed to acquire additional ration cards or luxury goods on the black market. One confiscated tract produced by 'Les Femmes communistes' and now in the Archives nationales, very similar in tone to *Femmes!*, features a hand-drawn image of women and children demonstrating under the title 'there will be no more bread' (*le pain va manquer*), but proposes the specific solution of a commercial treaty with the USSR.[37] There are, moreover, many examples of women demonstrating with much

more political intentions, as in the unsuccessful march on the German Embassy in Paris to petition for the release of arrested communists and trade unionists (**Gildea, 2015: 38**), and the 11 November demonstrations through which men and women remembered the First World War while anticipating future victory.[38]

These MRC flyers exist in single copies: individual examples of propaganda reproduced in much larger quantities. It is clear from accompanying translations that the CGT representatives sometimes used this material to engage British attention and support; police reports in the Archives nationales also note occasions on which resistance propaganda was dropped by the RAF as well as circulated within France. But what happened to the other copies of these flyers? Where exactly were they produced and reproduced, how were they disseminated in France itself, and with what results? Although the MRC collections allow an occasional and transitory glimpse into the 'biography' of a particular document, there is much that necessarily remains in the shadows. Much, indeed, is still waiting to be explored about the relationship between the French people and the resistance propaganda that moved across national and political boundaries, sometimes meticulously filed and preserved, and sometimes just tossed out of a car window into the darkness.

Conclusions

The constraints of a short critical reflection must leave many questions unanswered. Nevertheless, the aim here has been to highlight the potential of the MRC collections to shed new light on lesser-known aspects of the French resistance, and particularly to suggest a fruitful questioning of some of the relationships between centre and periphery. For many decades, historians have been reinterpreting the strategic postwar myth that resistance was primarily 'military, national, and male' (**Gildea, 2015: 10**). By illuminating some of the penumbra around the more brightly-lit organised resistance, the archives at the MRC reveal that the impetus for resistance activities did not come merely from the central Resistance before moving outwards to the supportive, concentric circles of the 'resistance movement.' Lateral connections between the CGT's foreign delegates and their British counterparts; initiatives by working-class women and men to create and disseminate propaganda; and demonstrations organised both within and around communist initiatives, all invite wider reflection on how resistance should be defined, and on its spaces, strategies, and balances of power. Amid the liberation of France in July 1944, the resistance newspaper *L'Écho des Femmes* called on its readers to 'forge the weapons — however basic — that will enable us to conquer more!'[39] One of the most important reminders of these

highlighted sources is that so much could sometimes be achieved with so little.

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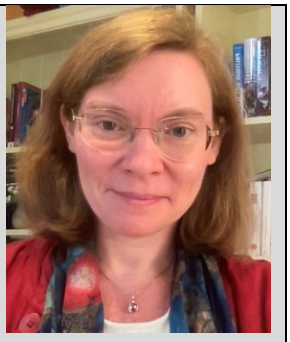

List of Images

Figure 2: *On ne collabore pas avec ses bourreaux* (flyer, 1943). Archives of the International Transport Workers' Federation, Modern Records Centre (**MSS. 159/3/C/a/143/78**; included with permission).

Figure 2: *Flyer by the Comité Féminin du Front National*. Archives of the International Transport Workers' Federation, Modern Records Centre (**MSS. 159/3/C/a/143/72**; included with permission).

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Endnotes

[1] 'Douai, le 29 août 1942', Archives nationales de France (hereafter AN), BB/18/7070. In other cases, flyers were dropped by the RAF.

[2] On the concept of a resistance 'penumbra', see also Gildea (2015), Chapter 2.

[3] See Dreyfus (1995), especially pp. 193–5, and Wieviorka (2016), Chapter 2.

[4] See Modern Records Centre, University of Warwick (hereafter MRC), MSS. 292/944/1/80, MSS. 292/944/1/83, and MSS. 292/944/1/85. On Henri Hauck, see also Julian Jackson, *France: The Dark Years, 1940–44* (Oxford: OUP, 2001), p. 396.

[5] See also 'Statement made by Mr W. Schevenels on the French trade union movement and the Fall of France to a meeting of International Committee (draft), 5 December 1940', MRC MSS. 292/944/19/41.

[6] 'Summarised minutes of the Emergency International Trade Union Council, London, 1st September 1942', MRC MSS. 238/IF/3/2.

[7] Denis Peschanski examines foreigners working within the internal Resistance but without focusing on cooperation with foreigners abroad, for example within CGT networks. *Des Étrangers dans la Résistance* (Paris: Éditions de l'Atelier, 2002).

[8] See also Robert Bothereau, *Le Syndicalisme dans la tourmente, 1940-45* (Toulouse, 2011), p. 30.

[9] On frameworks for 'transnational lives', see Steffen Mau, *Social Transnationalism: Lifeworlds beyond the Nation State* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2010), especially Chapter 14; and Desley Deacon, Penny Russell, and Angela Woollacott (eds), *Transnational Lives: Biographies of Global Modernity, 1700–present* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2010).

[10] See, for example, the letter from Buisson and Guigui to the Assistant General Secretary of the TUC in MRC MSS. 292/944/1.

[11] 'République Française, Ministère de la Production Industrielle, Mission à Londres, 1 Carlton Gardens, SW1, 25 April 1945', MRC MSS. 292/944/1.

[12] 'Summarised minutes of the Emergency International Trade Union Council, London, 1st September, 1942' in 'Fédération Syndicale Internationale: études, buts de paix, 1942–44', MRC MSS. 238/IF/3/2.

[13] 'Statement made by Mr W. Schevenels on the French trade union movement', MRC MSS. 292/944/19/41.

[14] 'Memorandum of Interview, 20 and 25 April 1945, present: Mr Raymond Bouyer and Mr A. E. Carthy', MRC MSS. 292/944/1/9. Bouyer had edited the CGT newspaper *Le Peuple* and been a close associate of Léon Jouhaux.

[15] 'Speech made by Albert Guigui, representative abroad of the French CGT, at Warrington (translation), 14 July 1944', MRC MSS. 292/946/1/25.

[16] 'Private and confidential: extract from report of a trade union leader active in the resistance movement, made July 1941' (dated November 1944), MRC MSS. 292C/944/3/11.

[17] 'The situation in France and proposals of the delegation of the Confédération Générale du Travail (France) to increase the war effort of their country', MRC MSS. 292/944/1/22.

[18] See 'Miss Rink of the Clerks', MRC MSS. 292/944/1/33, and letters concerning the visits of British workers to France, overseen by the Anglo-French Trade Union Council, e.g., MRC MSS. 292/944/1/19 and MSS. 292/944/1/20.

[19] 'International Federation of Trade Unions (Transport House, Smith Square, London SW1). Report on IFTU delegation to the French Confederation of Labour, 29th September – 2nd October 1944', MRC MSS. 292C/944/3/1.

[20] See 'International department, 23 November 1942, E.A. Bell, Sir Walter Citrine, Trades Union Congress', 'Inter-departmental correspondence from Ernest A. Bell to Sir Walter Citrine, dept: international, 25 August 1944', and 'Memorandum of Interview, 20 and 25 April 1945, present: Mr Raymond Bouyer and Mr A. E. Carthy', MRC MSS. 292/944/1.

[21] Letter from Georges Buisson to Walter Citrine, 6 August 1943, MRC MSS. 292/944/6.

[22] Letter from Henri Guérin and René Rous to Mr Bolton on 20 July 1942, MRC MSS. 292/944.

[23] Letter from Albert Guigui to Mr Tracy, 21 April 1943, MRC MSS. 292/944. On the press conference, see *The Daily News*, 1 May 1943 and *The Daily Herald*, 1 May 1943 (British Newspaper Archive).

[24] These titles form part of the extensive collection of the Musée National de la Résistance in Champigny, digitised by the Bibliothèque nationale de France: https://gallica.bnf.fr/html/und/presse-et-revues/journaux-clandestins-de-la-resistance (Accessed: 19 January 2024).

[25] E.g., Dominique Veillon, *Le Franc-Tireur, un journal clandestin, un mouvement de résistance* (Paris: Flammarion, 1977); Anne Simonin, *Les Éditions de Minuit, 1942–1955: le devoir d'insoumission* (Paris: IMEC, 1994). The MRC also includes an anonymous account by a female resister involved in disseminating popular propaganda. See 'With the French Resistance' (October 1945), MRC MSS. 243/1/11/9/1.

[26] Notably, Daniel Virieux's article on resistance and professions includes illustrations of such flyers but does not discuss them in the text.

[27] See, for example, AN Z/4/112, AN Z/4/150, and AN Z/4/153, which include a wide range of resistance flyers and newspapers.

[28] See 'Français, l'insigne du Maréchal c'est la hache du bourreau', and 'Ouvriers, ouvrières, ne partez pas en Allemagne,' AN Z/4/161/B, dossier 519.

[29] Alsace and parts of Lorraine had been previously annexed by Germany following the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–71 and were restored after the First World War.

[30] 'Nous voulons' (1942) in *Tracts de la Résistance française extérieure: France libre, puis France combattante* (Bibliothèque nationale de France, Rés. G. 1475).

[31] Other MRC flyers formulate more explicit threats of postwar retribution. See, for example, 'La Résistance vous communique', MRC MSS. 159/3/C/a/143/76.

[32] See 'Comité d'Action contre la Déportation' (letter and flyer received by the CGT's foreign delegation), MSS. 292/944/1 (59a and 59b). Although 'deportation' now has more specific connotations of Nazi prisons and concentration camps, the term was also used in wartime France to signify the compulsory labour draft.

[33] See, for example, Dominique Veillon, Jacqueline Sainclivier, 'Quelles Différences sociales entre réseaux, mouvements et maquis?', *Mouvement Social*, 180 (1997), p. 50.

[34] 'Condamnation, par le tribunal de Lyon, de Claudia et Germaine Million […] car elles avaient "incité les ménagères à manifester, allant de groupe en groupe pour attiser le mécontentement."' AN BB/18/7069, BL 4515.

[35] For a wider discussion, see also Hanna Diamond, *Women and the Second World War in Europe. Choices and Constraints* (London: Longman, 1999).

[36] See Andrieu, 'Les Résistantes', p. 85; cf. also Jean-François Condette, 'Les Manifestations de ménagères dans le département du Nord de 1940 à 1944: révolte frumentaire ou résistance?' in Robert Vandenbussche (ed.), *Femmes et Résistance en Belgique et en zone interdite* (Lille: Publications de l'Institut de recherches historiques du Septentrion, 2007), pp. 125–64.

[37] 'Tract clandestine, *Le pain va manquer*', AN Z/4/112. Explicitly revolutionary rhetoric was also used in speeches, for example by communist resister Lise London in Paris in 1942.

[38] See, for example, '11 Novembre. Parisiens, Parisiennes!' and 'Français, Françaises' (an appeal to the people of Marseille in 1943), MRC MSS. 59/c/a/143, 39, and 60. The MRC also includes the transcript of a 1944 speech by Lucie Aubrac, who played a key role in the Libération-Sud network, describing some of the Nazi atrocities that provoked female resistance. See 'A Woman member of the Resistance', MRC MSS. 212/L/1/84.

[39] 'Forgez les armes, même rudimentaires, qui nous permettront d'en conquérir d'autres!', *L'Echo des Femmes*, 1 July 1944 (Bibliothèque nationale de France).