

E " I ' A " (E ' (Hd ' E ' & ICE " (E '

ED/- ! /@7/ &#E E*I"K

ORGANISIERTE INTRANSPARENZ: DAS KOHLENSYNDIKAT UND DER NIEDERLÄNDISCHE MARKT 1915 – 1932

(6PA3 23 2=1B=@/B 2b67AB=7@3, A=CA :/ 27@31B7=< 23 D73B3@ .735:3@, A=CB3<C3 K :/ &C6@-) <7D3@A7BMB B=16C ; 3< 2013

G:3716 D=@/0 ; V16B3 716 A/53<, 2/AA 716 23 ; H/C>B5CB/16B3@ <C@ HCA87 ; ; 3< 9/<<, E3<< 716 43AB6/;B3, 2/AA 716 A3:B3< 37<3 A= 7<B3@3AA/<B3 C<2 A>/<<<3<23 A@037B 53:3A3< 6/03 E73 273 D=@:7353<23 D7AA3@B/B7=< D=< F@/C &=3:3D7<9. D3CBA16:/<2 5/:B 8/ Y03@ D73:3 J/6@H36<B3 /:A 2/A 9:/AA7A163 /<2 23@ K/@B3::3, =0E=6: 2=@B HE/@ H/6:@37163 I<AB7BCB7=<3< 273A3@ A@B 53HM6:B E3@23< 9=<<B3<, 273A3 /03@ Y03@E7353<2, E3<< Y03- @6/C>B <C@ A16:316B 4C<9B7=<73@B3<. A:A 0323CB3<2AB3 ACA/<6 ; 3 D=< 273A3@ &353: 57:B 2/A &637<A16- +3AB4M:7A163 K=6:3<- 'G<279/B (&+ K'). D73A3 ; 53:/<5 3A </16 H/6:@37163< D=@/CA5363<23< D3@530:7163< B3 ; Y6C<53<7 ; &C6@9=6:3<03@50/C C ; 273 'B/07:7A73@C<5 D=< FV@23@ ; 3<53< C<2 AOA/BH>@37A3< 2C@16 23< AC40/C 37<3@ 3753- <3< AG<27H73@B3< AOA/BH=@5/<7A/B7=< B/BAM16- :716 37<3 'B/07:7A73@C<5 23A D=:/B7:3< K=6:3< ; /@9B3A. D73A3 G3A16716B3 7AB 6MC475 3@HM6:B C<2 03AB3<A C<B3@AC16B. D/037 H375B 3A A716 832=16, 2/AA 7< 23< H/6:@37163<)<B3@AC16C<53< HC ; &+ K' HC ; 37AB 37<3 '716B D=< /C[3< /C4 2/A 'G<279/B D=@63@A16B C<2 A37<3 +7@9C<5 /C4 273 !M@9B3 HC ; G353<AB/<2 23@ A</:GA3 53 ; /16B EC@23<. I< 23@ D=@:7353<23< A@037B E7@2 273A3 \$3@A>39B7D3 3<BA163723<2 3@E37B- 3@B C<2 /C16 2/A I<<<3:303< 23A K/@B3::A /< 37<3 ; 0323CBA/ ; 3< B37A>73: 3@63::B.

D/HC 7AB F@/C &=3:3D7<9 7< 23@ /53 E37: A73 23< B3AB/<2 23A 'G<279/BA 7 ; B3@50/C !CA3C ; B=16C ; 37<5363<2 9=<AC:B73@B 6/B C<2 2=@B E7<A716B 7< 273 G3A@M16A>@=B=9::3 23@ E716B75AB3< G@3 ; 73<<36 ; 3< 9=<<B3 ` 37< 03 ; 3@93<AE3@B3@ FC<2, E37: D=< *=@ABM<23< C<2 AC4A716BA@MB3< D=< A9B73<53A3::A16/4B3< HC ; 37AB <C@ E@530<7A>@=B=9::3 Y03@:7343@B A7<2. A:A %C3::3<0/A7A 76@3@ A@037B B@3B3< E37B3@3 C ; 4/<5@37163 /@167D/ :7A163 J03@- :7343@C<53< C<2 K=@@3A>=<23<H3< /CA 23 ; I<- C<2 ACA:/<2 67<HC.

D73 ACA4Y6@C<53< 23@ A@037B A7<2 9:/@ 535:7323@B C<2 273 3<BE7193:B3< A@5C ; 3<B3 A36@ 5CB </16D::H7360/0. '73 0357<<B ; 7B 37<3 ; 9C@H3< B:719 /C4 273 G3A16716B3 23A K/@B3::A C<2 9= ; ; B 2/<< A36@ 0/:2 /C4 273 3<BA163723<23 F@/53AB3::C<5 76@3@ A@037B </16 23@ B323CB<5 23@ cAOA/BH4C<9B7=<a 4Y@ 23< E@4=:5 23@ K/@B3::73@C<5A- 03 ; Y6C<53< HC A>@3163<. "716B 273 F3AB:35C<5 D=< FV@23@ ; 3<53< C<2 D=< \$@37A3<, A=<23@< 23@ AOA/BH 23@ \$@=2C9B3 / ; ! /@9B 3@A1637<B 76@ 23@ 3753<B:7163 '16:YAA3: HC ; E@4=:5 D=<)<B3@<36 ; 3< C<2 K/@B3::3<. D73A3 '716B 3<B6M:B HC5:3716 37<3 23CB:7163 K@7B79 /< 23< 07A63@753< A@037B3< HC ; &+ K' C<2 /< H/6:@37163< A@037B3< 23@)<B3@<36 ; 3<A53A16716BAA16@370C<5, 273 273A3< AA>39B AB@M4:716 D3@</16:MAA753<. D3@ AOA/BH C ; 4/AAB 2/037 A=E=6: 2/A

H/<23:A53A16M4B /:A /C16 23< (@/<A>=0B 23@ \$@=2C9B3, 37<3)<B3@A16372C<5, 273 7<A-03A=<23@3 4Y@ 273 E<B@E719:C<5 23A &+ K' E716B75 E3@23< A=:B3. /C16 23< (@/<A>=0B 23@ \$@=2C9B3, 37<3)<B3@A16372C<5, 273 7<A-03A=<23@3 4Y@ 273 E<B@E719:C<5 23A &+ K' E716B75 E3@23< A=:B3.

.C<M16AB 3@4=:5B3 23@ A0A/BH 23@ &C6@9=6:3 Y03@ AG<27H73@B3 K=6:3<6/<253A3::A16/4B3<C<2 7; 03A=<23@A E716B75AB3< H=:/<253A16M4B A>73:B3 2/037 273 <7323@M<27A163 'B37<9=6:3< H/<23:A *3@37<75C<5 ('H*') 37<3 5@=[3 &=:3. D73)<B3@<36; 3<A3<B@E719:C<5 23@ 'H* C<B3@ 23< E316A3:<23< &/6; 3<0327<5C<53< (E@AB3@ +3:B9@735, &3>/@/B7=<A@357; 3, &C6@03A3BHC<5, D3>@3AA7=<C<2 A16:73[:716 " '-+7@BA16/4B) E7@2 2/037 HC<M16AB C<B3@AC16BC<2 3A H375B A716, E73 273A3 G3A3::A16/4B A716 2C@16 37<3 53A16719B3 G3A16M4BA>=:7B79 /CA 23@ A0M<575937B D=; 'G<279/B :VA3< 9=<<B3 C<2 37< ; 7<23AB3<A 5:3716E3@B753@ G3A16M4BA>/@B<3@ E3@23< 9=<<B3. A03@ <716B <C@ 273 B3H736C<5 HE7A163< 23; &+ K' C<2 23@ 'H* D3@M<23@B3 A716 7< 273A3; .37B@/C; , A=<23@< /C16 273 B3H736C<53< C<B3@ 23< ! 7B5:7323@< 23A 'G<279/BA A3:0AB C<2 HC@ 'G<279/BA:37BC<5.

D73A3A +316A3:A>73: 23@ C<B3@-A16732:7163< A9B3C@3 E7@2 7< 0337<2@C19-3<23@ +37A3 </1653H3716<3B C<2 273 C<B3@A16732:7163< H/<2:C<5A=>B7=<3< 23@ 03B37:75B3<)<B3@<36; 3< /CA 76@3@ 83E37:7-53< !/@9BA7BC/B7=< 63@53:37B3B. D/037 C<B3@-A163723B 273 ACB=@7< C<B3@ 23< 23CBA163< \$/@B<3@< <303< 23@ 'G<279/BA4Y6@C<5 ; 7B 76@3< 3753<3< I<B3@3AA3< 2@37)<B3@<36; 3<A5@C>>3<, G@=[H3163< ; 7B 3753<3< A0A/BH=@5/<7A/B7=<3<, 9:37<3 .3163< =6<3

A=:163 C<2 23< 'B/6:B@CAB OHE. HYB3<H3163< ; 7B 3753<3; K=6:3D3@0@/C16. D/037 536B 273 ACB=@7< 3F3 ; >/@7A16 07A /C4 273 E03<3 23@ 37<H3:<3<)<B3@<36; 3< C<2 76@3 37B3@ C<2 23@3< 7<27D72C3::3A E<BA16372C<5A6/<23:< HC@Y19. '16:73[:716 B@3B3< /C16 273 <7323@-:M<27A163< 'B//BAH3163< 23A 7; 0C@53@ &3D73@A <=16 7< 273A3; 9=; >:3F3< H/<2:C<5AHCA/ ; ; 3<6/<5 /:A E37B3@3@ A9B3C@ 67<HC. D73 E<B@E719:C<5 23A !/@9B3A C<2 23@ *3@6M:B<7AA3 23@ 37<H3:<3< A9B3C@3 C<B3@37</<23@ E7@2 <C< /:A 37< 9=; >:3F3@ ! 316/<7A; CA 23A ACA6/<23:<A A716B0/@ C<2 273 !=B7D3 C<2 'B@/B3573< 23@ A9B3C@3, 273 /C16 D=@ (MCA16C<53<, @719A C<2 A3:0AB K=@@C>B7=< <716B HC@Y19A16@3193<, =443< A716B0/@, E3A6/:0 23@ (7B3: 23@ A@037B c#05/<7A73@B3 I<B@/<A>/@3<Ha MC[3@AB >/AA3<2 3@A1637<B.

I<A53A/ ; B 3@A1637<B ; 7@ 273 %C/:7BMB 23@ 'BC273 Y03@ 23< Y0:7163< 'B/<2/@2 37<3@ %C/:7479/B7=<A/@037B E37B 67</CA HC @37163<. '73 H3716<3B A716 2C@16 37<3 A=CD3@M<3 B36/<2:C<5 37<3@ A16E73@753< !/B3@73 /CA, D3@ ; 7B3:B 7<=<D/B7D3 A<AMBH3 HC 37<3@ E37B-3@4Y6@3<23< A</:GA3 23A H/<23:<A D=< K/@B3::3<C<2 0/A73@B /C4 37<3; 3<=<@ ; 3< F=@A163@4:37 [7< 23@ %C3::3</@037B. .C23 ; :73AB A716 273 A@037B. H7<A716B:716 23@ B323CB<5 23@ A@037B 4Y@ 273)<B3@<36; 3<A53A16716B3 :MAAB A716 43AB6/:B3<, 2/AA A73 E37B Y03@23< 036/<23:B3< 67A-B=@7A163< K=@<B3FB 67</CAE37AB C<2 /::53-; 37<3 F@/53< 23A AB@/B357A163< H/<23:<A D=<)<B3@<36; 3@<, 23@ B323CB<5 23@ A0A/BH4C<9B7=< 4Y@ 23< E@4=:5 D=<)<B3@<36; 3< A=E73 273 B36/<2:C<5 E316-A3:<23@ !/@9B9=<AB3::/B7=<3< (!/@9B23A75<) 7< 23< *=@23@5@C<2 @Y19B.

Toni PIERENKEMPER

*Professor emeritus für Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte
Universität Köln*

I ; 7:73 C# ((E(-D) ! #) I "

FRANCHIR POUR UNIR, ÉQUIPER POUR RATTACHER. LES PREMIERS CHEMINS DE FER EN SAVOIE : INTENTIONS, USAGES, REPRÉSENTATIONS (ANNÉES 1830-ANNÉES 1880)

(6PA3 23 2=1B=@/B 2b67AB=7@3, A=CA :/ 27@31B7=< 23 D3<7A */@/A167<, A=CB3<C3 :3 4 2013 ; 0@3 2013 K :b) <7D3@A7B0 23 ' /D=73, 697 >.

E4431BC03 2/<A :3 1/2@3 23 :bI1=:3 2=1- B=@/:3 '173<13A 23 :b6=; ; 3, 2C >=:7B7?C3 3B 2C B3@7B=7@3 3B A=CB3<C3 >/@ :bAAA=17/B7=< >=C@ :b67AB=7@3 23A 163 ; 7<A 23 43@ (AHICF), 13BB3 B6PA3 Ab/BB/163 K /<:GA3@ :b67AB=7@3 23A 1=; >/5<73A 43@=D7/7@3A 23 ' /D=73, 23 :/ C=; >/5<73 A/D=G/@23, 2=<B :bC< 23A /1B7=<- </7@3A OB/7B C/ ; 7::3 C/D=C@, K :/ C=; >/5<73 *71B=@ E ; ; /<C3: 8CA?Cb/C @/BB/163 ; 3<B /C @OA3/C 23 :/ C=; >/5<73 \$! >/@ @OB@=13A-A7=< 23 :/ *71B=@ E ; ; /<C3: 3< 1867. / B6PA3 >3@ ; 3B 23 AC7D@3 C< >@=83B >3<AO 2/<A :3 1/2@3 23 :bIB/B A/@23 AC113AA7D3 ; 3<B B@/<A4=@ ; 0 >/@ :3A ?C3AB7=<A >=:7B7?C3A 23 :bC<7B0 7B/:73<<3, 23 :b/ <<3F7=< 23 :/ ' /D=73 K :/ F@/<13 3B 23A @3:/B7=<A 4@/<1=-A/@23A >C7A 4@/<1=-7B/:73<<3A. E::3 D73<B 3< =CB@3 1=; >:OB3@ @3 ; /@?C/O:3 ; 3<B C<3 208K @7163 67AB=@7=5@/>673 1=<13@</<B :/ 1=<AB@C1B7=< 2C BC<<3: 2C ! =<B C3<7A 2=<B :3 >3@13 ; 3<B / 1=; ; 3<10 3< 1857 >=C@ A3 B3@ ; 7<3@ 3< 1871. C3BB3 @3163@163 OD=:C3 /7<A7 /C 1@=7A3- ; 3<B 23 :b67AB=7@3 01=<=; ?7C3, 23A 3<B@3->@7A3A 3B 23A B316<7?C3A, 23A B@/D/CF >C0:71A, 23 :b67AB=7@3 A=17/:3 3B >=:7B7?C3 3B 23 :b67A-B=7@3 23A @3:/B7=<A 7<B3@</B7=</:3A. / :75<3 2C ! =<B C3<7A, 1=<NC3 >/@ C/D=C@ 1=; ; 3 C< O/@@3/C 7<B0@73C@ AB@/B057?C3 2bC< @OA3/C </B7=</: K D3<7@, 23D7<B 2C 4/7B 23 :b/ <<3F7=< 23 1860 C<3 :75<3 7<B3@</B7=</:3 3<B@3 :/ F@/<13 3B :bIB/:73, <=< A/<A 1=<AO?C3<13A AC@ :3 @3AB3 23 :bEC@=>3.

3 B@/D/7:; 1=<A720@/O:3, @3>=A3 AC@ B@=7A 4=<2A >@7<17>/CF (/@167D3A 23 ' /D=73, /@167D3A 23 (C@7<, A@167D3A </B7=</:3A), /AA=170A K 23A 4=<2A A31=<2/7@3A B@PA D/@70A (A=C@13A 7 ; >@7 ; O3A 1=; >@3</<B :/ >@3AA3 :=1/:3 3B </B7=</:3, /@167D3A 20>/@B3 ; 3<-

B/:3A, /@167D3A 7<B3@</B7=</:3A, 7B/:73<<3A 3B 63:DOB7?C3A 3AA3<B73::3 ; 3<B). b/CB3C@ 1=<D=?C3 05/:3 ; 3<B C<3 71=<=5@/>673 B@PA @7163 7<B05@O3 B=B/:3 ; 3<B 2/<A :b/@5C ; 3<B/- B7=< 3B ?C7 @3>@OA3<B3 C< @O3: />=>@B 2=1C- ; 3<B/7@3.

3 1=<B3<C 23 :/ B6PA3 3AB 7<B0@3AA/<B K >:CA 2bC< B7B@3. Cb3AB 2b/O=@2 C<3 67AB=7@3 23A 3<B@3>@7A3A ?C7 3AB ; 3<O3 23 ; /<7P@3 1=<D/7<1/<B3, ; Q ; 3 A7 :3A A=C@13A <3 >3@- ; 3BB3/A 23 ; 3BB@3 B=B/:3 ; 3<B 3< _CD@3 C<3 67AB=7@3 01=<=; ?7C3 1:/AA7?C3 23A 47@ ; 3A. E< 3443B, :3 B@/D/7: @O/:7AO >=C@ :3 200CB 23 :/ >O@7=23 @3>=A3 AC@ 23A /@167D3A >C0:7?C3A 3B 13@B/7<A 4=<2A >@7DOA (>/@ 3F3 ; >:3 :/ 1=@@3A>=<2/<13 23 C/D=C@, :3 4=<2A 2bA:3F/<2@G 2b#@3<57/<7 ` A=CA-AO@73 29 F 23A /@167D3A 20>/@B3 ; 3<B/:3A 23 ' /D=73 ` , 1=; >@3</<B 23A 2=1C ; 3<BA AC@ :/ C=; >/5<73 23 ' /D=73 3<B@3 1838 3B 1844) =C 23A A=C@13A 7 ; >@7 ; O3A 3B <=< AC@ :3A /@167D3A >@=>@3 ; 3<B 01=<=; ?7C3A 23A 3<B@3->@7A3A 3::3A- ; Q ; 3A. ! ; 3 C=BB3B-DC ; =C:7< @OCAA7B K ; 3BB@3 3< /D/<B 23A >3@A=<</:7B0A 4=@B3A, /1B@713A K 23A B7B@3A 27D3@A, <=B/O:3A, >@=>@70B/7@3A, O/<?C73@A, >=:7B7?C3A. E::3 ; 3B 073< 3< A1P<3 :3A 27440@3<13A A=17/:3A =C :3A 27D3@53<13A >=:7B7?C3A 23A /1B3C@A 3< >@O-A3<13 (C/ ; 7::3 C/D=C@, \$/<B/:O=< C=AB/ 23 B3/C@35/@2, 3B1.). \$=C@ :/ >O@7=23 >:CA @O13<B3, :3A A=C@13A A=:CA >@O17A3A (A=CA-AO@73 77 A% C=; >/5<73 23A 163 ; 7<A 23 43@ 23 \$/@7A K G=< 3B K :/ ! 027B3@@/<O3 3B 3<B@3->@7A3A /OA=@O3A, /@167D3A ' " CF).

3 B@/D/7: 2bI ; 7:73 C=BB3B-DC ; =C:7< 3AB @7163 05/:3 ; 3<B 2bC<3 />@=163 A>/B7/:3 A=7- 5<O3 23 :b67AB=7@3 2C B3@7B=7@3 3B 23 A/

1=<AB@C1B7=<. / B6PA3 CB7:7A3 /D31 C< D@/7
 A/D=7-4/7@3 :b/</:GA3 ;C:B7A1:/7@3. 3A
 <=B7=<A 23 50=5@/>673 23 @OA3/CF, 2b7<B3@-
 =2/:7B0, 23 50=>=:7B7?C3, 23 13<B@3 3B >0@7-
 >60@73 A=<B 073< ;/SB@7A03A 3B A=/@
 /7::3C@A ;7A3A 3< D/:3C@ >/@ C< 83C 23 1/@B3A
 =@757</:3A B=CB K 4/7B 073<D3<C3A. E< ; /B7P@3
 23 2G</ ;?7C3 23 @OA3/CF, :3 B@/D/7: 3AB C<3
 03::3 @31=<AB7BCB7=< 23A =@757<3A 3B 23 :bOD=-
 :CB7=< 23 13 <=CD3/C @OA3/C A/D=G/@2, ; Q ; 3
 A7 :3A :75<3A A31=<2/7@3A A=<B :/7AA03A B@=>
 A=CD3<B 2/<A :b= ; 0@3. D3 <= ; 0@3CF /A>31BA
 23 :/ ?C3AB7=< A=<B B@/7BOA 2/<A :/ B6PA3 :
 2G</ ;?7C3 23A <_C2A, 7<B@=2C1B7=< 23 :/
 1=<1C@@3<13, OD=:CB7=<A C@0/7<3A 3B 83CF
 2b/1B3C@A. 3A 0:0 ; 3<BA @3:3D/<B 23 :b7<A1@7>-
 B7=< 23 :b7<4@/AB@C1BC@3 2/<A :3 >/GA/53
 (B@/10, 5/@3A, 16/<B73@A, 6= ; 3A) A=<B B@PA
 CB7:3A. 3A B3@@7B=7@3A 3B 2G</ ;?7C3A B3@@7B=-
 @7/:3A A=:/10A /C 1_C@ 23 :/ B6PA3, ;=07-
 :7A/<B <=B/ ; ; 3<B :/ ?C3AB7=< 23A \ 3443BA
 AB@C1BC@/<BA J 2b7<4@/AB@C1BC@3A 23 B@/<A>=@B.
 C3@B3A, :b/CB3C@ /C@/7B 5/5<0 K ?C3AB7=<@<3@
 \ :b3443B AB@C1BC@/<B J 23 ; /<7P@3 :<CA />>@=-
 4=<273. 3 1=<13>B 3AB 3< 3443B ; /7<B3</<B
 27A1CBO >/@ :3A 50=5@/>63A ?C7>@Q4P@3<B <3B-
 B3 ; 3<B :b/>>@=163 >:CA @013<B3 23A 7<B3@/1-
 B7=<A @OA3/CF-B3@@7B=7@3A, ?C7>3@ ; 3B 2b/>>=@B3@
 23A >=7<BA 23 DC3 >:CA <C/<10A. C3>3<2/<B,
 >/@ A=<B 3B@@7B=7@3 /CF 4@=<B7P@3A ; =07:3A, :b=0-
 83B 23 @3163@163 />>=@B3 C< @03: 7<BO@QB 3B C<3
 D@/73 ACOAB/<13 /CF @3163@163A B@/<A4@=<B/-
 :7P@3A, 1b3AB /AA3H @/@3 >=C@ :3 A75</:3@. DbC<
 =CB7: 23 :7/7A=< 3<B@3 C< 13<B@3 3B A/ >0@7>60@73
 \ 2b=CB@3 ; =<BA J (0)=?C3 A/@23), 13 163 ; 7< 23
 43@ 23D73<B C< =CB7: 23 >@=831B7=< 7<B3@</B7=-
 </:3 2b0163::3 3C@=>03<<3 /D31 :3 BC<<3:,
 /D/<B 23 23D3<7@ C< 3<83C 2b7<B05@/B7=< 2bC<3
 >0@7>60@73 2/<A :3 B3@@7B=7@3 4@/<N/7A.

/ ?C3AB7=< 23 :/ 27 ; 3<A7=< 7<B3@</B7=-
 </:3 3AB 3< 3443B :/@53 ; 3<B 200/BBC3 2/<A :/
 B6PA3. '/<A <05:753@ :b7 ; >=@B/<13 23A @3:-
 B7=<A 4@/<1=-A/@23A, >C7A 4@/<1=-7B/:73<<3A,
 I ; 7:73 C=BB3B-DC ; =C:7< 20D3:=>>3 :b7203
 ?C3 :3A 163 ; 7<A 23 43@ 7<D3AB7AA3:37<3-
 ; 3<B :/ A>6P@3 >=:7B7?C3 7<B3@</B7=</:3 3B
 23D73<<3<B C< AC83B 23 27A1=@23 3B 23 1=<B3<-
 B73CF 2/<A C<3 27 ; 3<A7=< 03/C1=C> >:CA

:/@53 ?C3 :/ A7 ; >:3 :=<5C3C@ 23A :75<3A 3B :3A
 A7 ; >:3A >/GA :7 ; 7B@=>63A. \$/@ :3C@ 1/@/1BP@3
 AB@C1BC@/<B /C 1_C@ 23 :bEC@=>3 /:7<3, :3A
 :75<3A 23 '/D=73 A=<B C< 3<83C 0D723=C@
 :3A B@7B/<<?7?C3A, >/@ 3F3 ; >:3, ?C7 G D=73<B K
 8CAB3 B7B@3 C< /F3 23 B@/<A7B K >=@B03 7<B3@<-
 B7=</:3 D3@A :/ ! 027B3@@/<03. D3 13 >=7<B 23
 DC3, :/ :75<3 Ab3AB /DO@03 /AA3H 2013D/<B3.
 Cb3AB ?C3 :3A 1=<A720@/B7=<A 7<B0@73C@3A 4@/<-
 N/7A3A 1=<2C7A7@3<B K >@0A3@D3@ ! /@A37::3
 1=<B@3 GQ<3A 3B 2=<1 K >@7D7:0573@ :/ D=73 23
 :/ D/:@03 2C &6U<3, 7B7<0@/7@3 67AB=@7?C3 2C
 \$!. / 1=<AB7BCB7=< 23 :/ (@7>:713 3< 1882
 3B :b7A=>:3 ; 3<B 23 :/ F@/<13, ?C7 3< 201=C:/,
 4/D=@7AP@3/@ /7::3C@A :3A :7/7A=<A >/@ :3
 B@3<<3@ 3B :3 '/7<B-G=B6/@2.

/ B6PA3 />>=@B3 3<47< 23A 0:0 ; 3<BA
 <3C4A >=C@ B=CB 13 ?C7 1=<13@<3 :/ 1=<AB@C1-
 B7=< 2C BC<<3: 2C ! =<B C3<7A, 3< >@7D7:057/<B
 :bOB@C23 23 :b=@5/<7A/B7=< 23A 16/<B73@A 23
 1=<AB@C1B7=< 2C BC<<3: 23 >/@B 3B 2b/CB@3 23
 :/ 4@=<B7P@3, /7<A7 ?C3 13::3 23A 3F1C@A7=<A
 =@5/<7A03A >=C@ :/ D7A7B3 23 13A 16/<B73@A. C3
 16/<B73@, :3 >:CA 7 ; >=@B/<B 3B :3 >:CA 7<=<D/<B
 3< EC@=>3 3< A=<B B3 ; >A, 3AB /</:GAO K B@/D3@A
 23A A=C@13A 7B/:73<<3A 3B 4@/<N/7A3A 1@=7A03A,
 3B /D31 C< :CF3 23 >6=B=5@/>673A 3B 5@/DC@3A.

3A 16=7F 34431BC0A A=<B 073< 1=<B3FB/<7A0A.
 3A 201723C@A 3AB7 ; P@3<B B@=> 5@/<23A :3A
 274471C:BOA 23 1@3CA3 ; 3<B 2bC< BC<<3: B@=>
 :=<5, /C 20B@7 ; 3<B 2bC< ; /BO@73: @=C:/<B
 7<AC447A/ ; ; 3C7AA/<B 3B A=C ; 7A K @C23
 0>@3CD3 2/<A 2b0>@=CD/<B3 @/ ; >3A 2b/11PA.

/ B6PA3 >@=>=A3 05/:3 ; 3<B 23 <= ; 0@3CF
 0:0 ; 3<BA AC@ :/ >3@13>B7=< 3B :/ @013>B7=< K
 27440@3<B3A 0163::3A 23A B@/<A4=@ ; /B7=<A 43@-
 @=D7/7@3A, >/@ :b7<B3@ ; 027/7@3 23 :/ >@3AA3, 2-
 :/ 1=@@3A>=<2/<13 =C 3<1=@3 23 :/ AG ; 0=-
 :7?C3 ; =C ; 3<B :3 /BB/1603 /CF BC<<3:A 3B
 /CF 27440@3<BA =CD@/53A 2b/@B.

I ; 7:73 C=BB3B-DC ; =C:7< /0=@23 23A
 >=7<BA 23 DC3 B@PA 27440@3<BA 2=<B =< /C@/7B
 A/<A 2=CB3 />>@0170 C<3 >:CA 5@/<23 >@=4=<=<
 23C@ 2b/</:GA3. E::3 1=<AB@C7B A/ @04:3F7=<
 /CB=C@ 2bC< \ >7 ; /B 2C :=:7B7?C3 J. ! /7A
 />@PA :3A B@/D/CF 4@ 2<2/<B3C@A 23 F@/<N=7A
 C/@=<, :3A >@=>:=<53 ; 3<BA 23 !716P:3
 ! 3@53@ AC@ :3A @OA3/CF B@/<A<B7=</CF, 23

C6@7AB=>63 B=C<3/C AC@ C< ; =2P:3 23 20D3-
:=>>3 ; 3<B @057=</: 3B 23 /C@3<B (7AA=B AC@
:3A B@/<A4=@ ; /B7=<A 23 :b/@1 /:>7<, 3::3
>@=CD3 >/@ 13 B@/D/7: ?Cb7: 3AB 3<1=@3 >=A-

A70:3 23 B@/D/7::3@ AC@ :b67AB=7@3 23A 163 ; 7<A
23 43@ 3B 2b3< B7@3@ 23A ?C3AB7=<<<3 ; 3<BA
CB7:3A K >:CA73C@A 2= ; /7<3A 23 :/ @3163@163
67AB=@7?C3.

Nicolas MARTY

Professeur d'histoire contemporaine
Université de Perpignan

*7<13<B B#) -

**ENTRE LIBERTÉ D'ENTREPRENDRE ET SURVEILLANCE PAR L'ÉTAT : LES SALINES
DE FRANCHE-COMTÉ DANS LA SECONDE MOITIÉ DU XIX^e SIÈCLE (1840-1907)**

(6PA3 2b/@167D7AB3->/:0=5@/>63, A=CA :/ 27@31B7=< 23 D= ; 7<?C3 B/@@=B,
A=CB3<C3 K :bI1=:3 " /B7=</:3 23A C6/@B3A :3 ; 3@1@327 27 40D@73@ 2013,
2 D=:A., 377 3B 430 >.

V7<13<B B=C::G / A=CB3<C C<3 B6PA3
7 ; >=@B/<B3 1=CD@/<B B=CA :3A /A>31BA 23 :b67A-
B=7@3 23A 3<B@3>@7A3A : /</:GA3 7<AB7BCB7=<=
<3::3, 20 ; =5@/>673 23A 3<B@3>@7A3A, 67AB=7@3
7<2CAB@73::3 (A3:=< :3 B@G>B7?C3 >3@4=@ ; /<13-
AB@/BO573-AB@C1BC@3), 67AB=7@3 23 :b7<<=D/B7=<
B316<=:57?C3, /</:GA3 23A @OA3/CF A=17/CF.
E::3 1=<AB7BC3 C< />=>=@B 2017A74 K :b67AB=7@3
23 :b7<<=D/B7=< A/:71=:3 3B K 13::3 2C >/B@7-
; =7<3 7<2CAB@73:, /0=@20 K :/ 4=7A >/@ :3A
/@167D3A 2b3<B@3>@7A3A 3B :bOBC23 /@160=:--
57?C3 23A A7B3A 7<2CAB@73:A. b/>>@=163 >/@B
23 ?C/B@3 0:0 ; 3<BA ; /83C@A. 3 >@3 ; 73@
@OA723 2/<A :b3F7AB3<13 23A A/:7<3A, 1b3AB-K-
27@3 2C :73C =W :3 A3: 3AB 4/0@7?CO, A3:=< 23A
; OB6=23A 7<2CAB@73::3A. 3 A31=<2 B73<B K
:b=@757/<:7B0 23 :/ F@/<163-C=; BO. 3 B@=7-
A7P ; 3 @OA723 2/<A :3 16=7F 23 :/ >O@7=23. E::3
200CB3 /D31 :/ :=7 2C 17 8C7< 1840, /?C3::3
7<B@=2C7B 3< F@/<163-C=; BO, 3< =@@/7<3 3B
3< A:A/13 C<A :700@/:7A/B7=< 23 />@=2C1B7=<
23 A3: 2/<A :b3AB 23 :/ F@/<13, /?C3::3
200=C163 AC@ :3A >@7D/B7A/B7=<A 23 1843. E::3
Ab/16PD3 3< 1907, K :/ 4=7A >=C@ 23A @/7A=<A
/@167D7AB7?C3A (27A>/@7B7=< 23A >@=1PA-D3@-

O/CF 2b/AA3 ; 0:03 50<0@/:3 23 :/ '=170B0 23A
A<173<<3A '/:7<3A 23 :bEAB) 3B 01=<= ; 7?C3A
(43@ ; 3B@3 23 :/ A/:7<3 2bA@1-3B-'3</<A 2PA
1895, @383B 23 23CF 23 ; /<23A 23 1=<13AA7=<
2/<A :3 D=COA, :7?C72/B7=< 23 :/ '=170B0 23A
'/:7<3A, H=C7::P@3A 3B F/0@7?C3A 23 \$@=2C7BA
C67 ; 7?C3A 23 G=C63</<A). E<47< :/ B6PA3
/0=@23 :/ ?C3AB7=< 2C @EU:3 23 :bIB/B 2/<A
:b67AB=7@3 23A A/:7<3A. ! Q ; 3 A7 :/ :703@B0
2b3<B@3>@3<2@3 />@/@/SB 1= ; ; 3 :bC< 23A
>@7<17>/CF /1?C7A 23 :/ :=7 2C 17 8C7< 1840,
3::3 <b3AB >/A B=B/:3, 1/@ :3A >=CD=7@A >CO:71A
27A>=A3<B 23 ; =G3<A 2b/1B7=<A : :/ 1=<13A-
A7=<, ?Cb7:A /113>B3<B =C @34CA3<B, :b 3 1=<B@EU:3
3F3@10 >/@ :3A ; 7<7AB@3A 23A (@/D/CF \$CO:71A
3B :3A 7<50<73C@A 23A ! 7<3A 2bC<3 >/@B, :3
; 7<7ABP@3 2C C= ; ; 3@13 3B :3A >@O43BA 23
:b/CB@3.

b67AB=@7=5@/>673 23A A/:7<3A <b3AB >/A
<05:753/0:3, /7A 3::3 1=<13@<3 AC@B=CB :/
27 ; 3<A7=< >/B@7 ; =<7/:3, 3AA3<B73::3 ; 3<B
4=1/:7A03 AC@ :3A A/:7<3A 2bA@1-3B-'3</<A 3B
23 '/:7<A. C3BB3 >@7=@7B0 3AB K :b=@757<3 23
1=<4CA7=<A 2/<A :3A 20<= ; 7</B7=<A. E::3 3AB
/CAA7 2= ; 7<03 >/@ :3A OBC23A ; 0270D/:3A 3B

; =23@<3A, ; Q; 3 Ab7: 4/CB A75</:3@, >=C@ :b0>=?C3 1=<=B3 ; >=@/7<3, :3A B@/D/CF 23 C:/C23-1A/03::3 B@3=:B 3B C<3 B6PA3 @013 ; - ; 3<B A=C3B<3 (; /7A />@PA 13::3 23 *7<13<B B=C::G) >/@ C<3 0:PD3 23 J3/<-C:/C23 D/C ; /A, E ; ; 3:7<3 '1/163BB7¹. C3A B@/D/CF A3 A=<B 13>3<2/<B 4=1/:7AOA AC@ :3A A=170BOA >@017B03A =C AC@ 13::3 23A A/:7<3A 23 :bEAB. I: 3AB 2=<1 7 ; >=@B/<B 23 @3>@3<2@3 :3 AC83B 2/<A C<3 >3@A>31B7D3 23 *business history*, :b3<B@3->@7A3 OB/<B 2047<73 1= ; ; 3 C<3 =@5/<7A/B7=< /2 ; 7<7AB@/B7D3 >@7D03 2=<B :/ 47</:7B0 3AB :/ @0/:7A/B7=< 23 >@=47BA >/@ :3 ; =G3< 23 :/ >@= 2C1B7=< 23 @7163AA3.

D/<A 13BB3 >3@A>31B7D3, :b0BC23 23 *. B=C::G A3 4=1/:7A3 AC@ :3A 1=<27B7=<A :05/:3A 3B 01=<= ; 7?C3A 2/<A :3A?C3::3A :3A 3<B@3->@7A3A A3 1@03<B 3B A3 20D3:=>>3<B, :3A @3:/-B7=<A ?Cb3::3A 3<B@3B73<<3<B :3A C<3A /D31 :3A /CB@3A, :3C@A 27@753/<BA 3B :3C@A /1B7=<</7@3A, :3C@A @/>>=@BA /D31 :bIB/B 3< /11=@2/<B C<3 >/13 7 ; >=@B/<B3 K :/ 20 ; =5@/>673 23A 3<B@3->@7A3A. / 20 ; /@163 Ab/>>C73 AC@ :3 1@=7A3- ; 3<B 23A /@167D3A >@7D03A 3B >C0:7?C3A, /D31 :b=0831B74 2b/AA=173@ :b0BC23 50<0@/:3 23 >@= 2C1B7=<A 3B :/ ; =<=5@/>673 2bC<3 3<B@3>@7A3 A/:7<3. DC >=7<B 23 DC3 23A /@167D3A 2b3<B@3->@7A3A, :3 4=<2A 3F>:=7B0 3AB, /CF /@167D3A 20>/@B3 ; 3<B/:3A 2C JC@/, 13:C7 23 :/ '=170B0 23A A<173<<3A ' /:7<3A D= ; /</:3A 23 :bEAB, 23D3<C3 3<AC7B3 ' /:7<3 23 ! =<B ; =@=B, 3B 1= ; >:0B0 >/@ B@=7A 4=<2A >@7D0A. %C/<B /CF /@167D3A >C0:7?C3A, 3::3A A3 1= ; >=A3=C@ :b3AA3<B73: 23 13::3A 23 :b/2 ; 7<7AB@/B7=< 23A ! 7<3A (AO@73A F¹⁴ 23A A@167D3A </B7=</:3A, 8 ' 23A A@167D3A 20>/@B3 ; 3<B/:3A), K ?C=7 A3 A=<B /8=CBOA 23A A=<2/53A 2/<A :3A AO@73A F¹² (A"), 6 ' (AD 2C JC@/), K :/ B " F /7<A7 ?C3 23 :b/44/7@3 D3A>/<A-CC07P@3A, >/7@ 23 F@/<13, C<A1/<2/:3 23 1=@C>B7=< ; 3BB/<B 3< 1/CA3 :3 ; 7<7AB@3 23A (@/D/CF \$C0:71A 23 :b0>=?C3.

/ B6PA3 Ab344=@13 23 1=<17:73@ B@=7A 0163::3A :</B7=</:3, @057=</:3 3B :/=1/:3. AC

>@3 ; 73@ <7D3/C, :b7<B3@D3<B7=< 23A >=CD=7@A >C0:71A >/AA3 >/@ :/ :057A:/B7=< 3B :b/2=>B7=< 23 <=@ ; 3A />>:71/0:3A K B=C=A :3A >@=2C1B3C@A 23 A3:, <=< A3C:3 ; 3<B :3A A/:7<3A 23 F@/<163-C= ; B0, ; /7A /CAA7 13::3A 23 =@@/7<3, :3A ; /@/7A A/:<BA 23 :b#C3AB =C 3<1=@@3 :3A A/:7<3A 2C ! 727. AC <7D3/C @057=</: ; :/ >=:7-B7?C3 23 :bIB/B A3 ; /<743AB3 >/@ :b/B@70CB7=< 23 1=<13AA7=<A 23 ; 7<3A 23 A3: K 23A 3<B@3->@3<3C@A >@7D0A, /47< 23 1@03@ 23A :73CF 23 >@=2C1B7=< 1/>/0:3A 2b/:7 ; 3<B3@ 23A ; /@-160A @057=</CF 3< >6/A3 23 20A3<1:/D3 ; 3<B 3B 23 >@= ; =CD=7@ C<3 1=<1C@@3<13 3<B@3 :3A 27440@3<BA >@=2C1B3C@A. E< 4/7B, @34CA3@ C<3 1=<13AA7=< =C /CB=@7A3@ :b3F>:=7B/B7=< 23 23CF 2b3<B@3 3::3A, 1b3AB 16=7A7@ 23 <3 >/A 3F/13@03@ :/ 1=<1C@@3<13. =1/:3 ; 3<B 3<47<, :/ >@0A3<13 @01C@@3<B3, 23A 7<50<73C@A 23A ! 7<3A /C>@PA 23A A/:7<3A 3B 13::3, 1=<B7<C3, 23A /53<BA 23A 1=<B@70CB7=<A 27@31B3A B@/2C7B :b7<50@3<13 23 :bIB/B.

b=CD@/53 Ab/@B71C:3 3< 23CF >/@B73A.)<3 >@3 ; 7P@3, 16@=<=:=57?C3, B@/7B3 2bC<3 20 ; =5@/>673 23A 3<B@3>@7A3A A/:71=:3A. E::3 D7A3 K 23CF =0831B74A : 2/<A ?C3::3 ; 3AC@3 :/ :=7 2C 17 8C7< 1840 7<B@=2C7B C< <=CD3/C @057 ; 3 A/:71=:3 2/<A :bEAB 23 :/ F@/<13 ? b=@5/-<7A/B7=< 2C ; /@160 2C A3: 2/<A :/ A31=<23 ; =7B70 2C , 1, ³ A7P1:3 3AB-3::3 1=<4=@ ; 3 /C A=C6/7B 23A :057A:/B3C@A 23 1840 23 >@= ; =C-D=7@ C<3 1=<1C@@3<13 3<B@3 :3A 3<B@3>@7A3A A/:71=:3A ? / >@3 ; 7P@3 A31B7=< Ab7<B7B:C3 \ DC@/ :3F, A32 :3F, :3 A3:, =083B 23 16=7F >=:7B7?C3A (1789-1848). E::3 Ab=@5/<7A3 3< 23CF 16/>7B@3A, :3 >@3 ; 73@ 201@7D/<B :3A 23CF :700@/:7A/B7=<A 2C ; /@160 2C A3:, >/@ :/ &@D=:CB7=<, >C7A :/ :=7 2C 17 8C7< 1840, /D31 :/ ?C3AB7=< 23 :b7 ; >UB AC@ :3 A3:, AC>>@7 ; 0 >C7A @OB/0:7 3< 1848. / >@7D/B7A/B7=< 23 :/ >@=2C1B7=< 23 A3: 3< F@/<163-C= ; B0 (16/>7B@3 2) 7<B@=2C7B C<3 27440@3<13 2C@/0:3 3<B@3 A/:7<3A 67AB=@7?C3A, D3<2C3A >/@ :bIB/B 3< 1843, 3B <=CD3::3A A/:7<3A, </B7D3 ; 3@7D03A. D3 13BB3 0>=?C3 2/B3 C< >@3 ; 73@

¹ C = ; >B3 @3<2C 2/<A *Entreprises et Histoire*, <Z 74, /D@7: 2014, >. 123-124.

@313<A3 ; 3<B 23A 3<B@3>@7A3A A/:71=:3A 23 F@/<163-C= ; BO.

/ A31=<23 A31B7=< (\ 1=<13<B@/B7=< 3B 1/@B3::7A/B7=< 23A 3<B@3>@7A3A A/:71=:3A : C<3 3<B@/D3 K :/ 1=<1C@@3<13 =C C< @3 ; P23 <013AA/7@3 ? J) B=C@<3 /CB=C@ 23 :b7203 ?C3 :b=@5/<7A/B7=< 2C ; /@160 2C A3: >/@ :3A 3<B@3->@7A3A 3AB D3<C3 1=<B@/@73@ :/ >=:7B7?C3 2bIB/B D7A/<B K 1@03@ C< A31B3C@ 7<2CAB@73: 1=<1C@-@3<B73:. C= ; ; 3 :3 ; =<B@3 :3 16/>7@3 3 , :/ ; =23<7A/B7=< 7<AB7BCB7=<<3::3 23A A/:7<3A A3 B@/2C7B >/@ :/ 1=<AB7BCB7=< 23 A=170B0A 1= ; - ; 3@17/:3A K 1/>7B/CF >@7DOA. E< 47< 23 1= ; >B3, 3< 1862, :/ ' =170B0 A<=<G ; 3 23A A<173<<3A '/:7<3A D= ; /<7/:3A 23 :bEAB >/@-D73<B K 7 ; >=A3@ A=< 6050 ; =<73 AC@ :b3<-A3 ; 0:3 23 :/ >@=2C1B7=< 23 A3: 3< F@/<163-C= ; BO. (@=7A 4/1B3C@A ; /83C@A G 1=<1=C@3<B : :3 A1/<2/:3 >=:7B71=-47/<173@ :70 K :/ 1=<13AA7=< 23 G=C63</<A, 3< 1847 ; :b7 ; >=AA707:7B0 >=C@ J3/<- ! /@73 23 G@7 ; /:27 23 4=<23@ C<3 ' A ; :b/44@=<B3 ; 3<B, 23 1860 K 1862, 3<B@3 13:C7-17 3B A2@73<-C6/@:3A C/:3G 23 '/<7<B-\$/C:. 3 16/>7@3 4 ; =<B@3 1= ; - ; 3<B Ab=@5/<7A3<B :3 5@=C>3 23A 3<B@3>@7A3A A/:71=:3A 3< F@/<163-C= ; BO 2C@/<B :3 23@<73@ B73@A 2C , 1, 3 A7P1:3. AC 1=C@A 23 13BB3 >0@7=23, :/ 'A 23A A<173<<3A '/:7<3A 23 :bEAB >/@D73<B K 3 ; >Q163@ B=C@3 1=<1C@@3<13 :=1/:3, 5@L13 K C<3 AB@/B0573 2b3<B3<B3A. I: Ab/57B 2bC<3 1/@B3::7A/B7=< ; 01=<<C3, 7::05/:3 3< 2@=7B, ; /7A B=:0@03 >/@ :bIB/B 3B 1=<AB7BC/<B C< ; =G3< 2b3<275C3@ :/ 1=<1C@@3<13 /7<A7 ?C3 23 A3 >@0 ; C<7@ 1=<B@3 C<3 1@7A3 23 AC@->@=2C1B7=<. E< ; Q ; 3 B3 ; >A, K B@/D3@A :3 @0A3/C 1=<AB7BC/<B 13A 3<B3<B3A, 7: 3AB >=A-A70:3 2b0BC273@ :/ 20 ; =5@/>673 23A 3<B@3->@7A3A A/:71=:3A 23 F@/<163-C= ; BO /C 200CB 2C , , 3 A7P1:3, 4=<203 AC@ :3A A/:7<3A @03::3- ; 3<B 3< /1B7D7B0 3B <=< AC@ :3A 1=<13AA7=<A 23 ; 7<3A 23 A3: 1=<10203A.

/ A31=<23 >/@B73 A3 1=<13<B@3 AC@ C<3 ; =<=5@/>673 2b3<B@3>@7A3A, K A/D=7@ :/ ' =170B0 23A A<173<<3A '/:7<3A D= ; /<7/:3A 23 :bEAB, 5@/<23 3<B@3>@7A3 A/:71=:3. ! 3<03 23 1862 K 1907, 13BB3 OB C23 AB7 ; >=A3 2b0=@2 >=C@ 23A @/7A=<A 23 2=1C ; 3<B/B7=<. E< 3443B, 3::3 <b3AB >/A <013AA/7@3 ; 3<B @3>@0-

A3<B/B7D3 23A 3<B@3>@7A3A A/:71=:3A 4@/<1-1= ; B=7A3A. Db=@757<3 >/@7A73<<3 >/@ A3A 1/>7-B/CF, 1=B03 3< B=C@A3, 3::3 3F>=:7B3 ?C/B@3 A/:7<3A 3< F@/<163-C= ; BO /7<A7 ?CbC< 7 ; ; 3<A3 1= ; >:3F3 167 ; ?C3 K D73CH3, 3< =@@/7<3. ^ B=CA 05/@2A, 3::3 Ab=>=:A3 K :/ ' =170B0 23A '/:7<3A, H=C7::P@3A 3B F/O@7?C3 23 \$@=2C7BA C67 ; ?C3A 23 G=C63</<A. 3A /@167D3A >3@ ; 3BB3<B 3< 3443B 23 ; 3<3@ :b0BC23, 2bC<3 47@ ; 3 7<2CAB@73::3, 23 A3A 7<AB7-BCB7=<A 3B 23 A3A >3@4=@ ; /<13A, K :/ 1@=7A03 2C 2@=7B 3B 23 :b01=<= ; 73. (3: 3AB :b=083B 23 :/ B@=7A7P ; 3 A31B7=<. 3 16/>7@3 5 A3 1=<13<B@3 AC@ :b/</:GA3 23A AB/BCBA 23A A<173<<3A '/:7<3A D= ; /<7/:3A 23 :bEAB. E< Ab/>>CG/<B :3A B@/D/CF 2bA<<3 3430D@3- /7::/@2, *. B=C::G 3< @31=<AB7BC3 :/ 53<PA3, >/@ 1= ; >/@/7A=< /D31 2b/CB@3A 'A /CB=@7A03A >/@ :3 5=<CD3@<3 ; 3<B 3< F@/<13 3<B@3 1807 3B 1867. 3 @OAC:B/B 3< 3AB C<3 027B7=< 1@7B7?C3 23A AB/BCBA 23 :/ A=170B0 3< 1862 3B 1906. %C/<B /C 16/>7@3, 7: A3 1=<13<B@3 AC@ :b0BC23 23 :/ AB@/B0573 23 13BB3 ; Q ; 3 3<B@3>@7A3, K >/@B7@ 23 A3A 1= ; >B3A : 1= ; >B3 23 @0>/@B7B7=< 23A 00<04713A, ; /7A /CAA7 07:/<A 3B 1= ; >B3A 23 >@=47BA 3B >3@B3A.

D3 ; /<7P@3 /AA3H :=57?C3, :/ ?C/B@7P ; 3 A31B7=< ; P<3 C<3 OB C23 A=17=:57?C3 23A /1B7=<</@3A 3B /2 ; 7<7AB@/B3C@A. 3 16/>7@3 7 OB/O:7B C<3 27AB7<1B7=< ; /83C@3 3<B@3 /1B7=<< /@7/B ; /8=@7B/7@3 >/AA74 3B /1B7=<</@7/B /1B74, >=C@ ?C7, A3C:, >3CD3<B Q@3 1=<<<C3A :/ @0>/@-B7B7=< 2C 1/>7B/: A173<B747?C3 /7<A7 ?C3 A=< =@757<3 50=5@/>67?C3 3B A=17/:3. 3 16/>7@3 8 B3<B3 C<3 >@=A=>=5@/>673 23A 27@753/<BA 23 :b3<B@3>@7A3. AC B3@ ; 3 2bC< :=<5 B@/D/7: 2b723<B7471/B7=<, =<B OBO OB/O:73A D7<5B-<3C4 <=B713A : 7: / 4/:C ; =07:7A3@ :3A 271B7=<</@3A 07=5@/>67?C3A, :3A /@167D3A 23A '/:7<3A 23 ! =<B ; @=B, 23 ; C:B7>:3A A=C@13A 7 ; >@7 ; 03A, :/ 0/A3 23 2=<<03 3=<=@3 (<C ; 0@7A/B7=< 23A 2=AA73@A 23 057=< 2bH=<<3C@) /7<A7 ?C3 :3A A7B3A 23 50<0/:57AB3A. %C/<B K :/ 17<?C7P ; 3 A31B7=<, 3::3 B@/7B3 23 23A C<7B0A >6GA7?C3A 23 >@=2C1B7=<, K >/@B7@ 23 :b3F>=:7B/B7=< 23A A/:7<3A 8C@/AA73<<3A, K A/D=7@ B@=7A A7B3A ('/:7<3A, ! =<B ; @=B 3B G@=H=<) 3F>=:7B0A >/@ :/ ' =170B0 23A A<173<<3A '/:7<3A

D= ; /<7/:3A 23 :bEAB. C3CF-17 =<B OBO 1= ; >/-
 @OA K B@=7A /CB@3A 7<20>3<2/<BA (\$3@75<G-
 !=<B/75C, \$=:75<G, A@1-3B- '3</<A). I: 3<
 @3AA=@B :/ 1=<AB/B/B7=< 2bC<3 @3:/B7D3 1=<B7-
 <C7B0 2C /, 1, 3 A7P1:3, :/@53 ; 3<B 00<04717/7@3
 23A 7<D3AB7AA3 ; 3<BA /<BO@73C@A, @O/:7AOA A=CA
 :b7 ; >C:A7=< 23 J3/<- ! /@73 23 G@7 ; /:27 2/<A
 :3A /<<O3A 1840.

/ B6PA3 /O=CB7B K 23A 1=<1:CA7=<A 7 ; >=@-
 B/<B3A. ! Q ; 3 A7 :bIB/B 3B :b3<B@3>@7A3 />@/-
 @/7AA3<B 1= ; ; 3 23A @O/:7BOA K >@7=@7
 =>=@O3A, >/@ :/ :7 2C 17 8C7< 1840, :3 >@3-
 ; 7@ / 1=<470 /C A31B3C@ >@7DO :/ ; 7A3 3<
 D/:3C@ 23A 57A3 ; 3<BA A=CB3@@/7<A 23 A3:
 53 ; ; 3. ^ >/@B7@ 23 13BB3 2/B3 A3 205/53<B
 B@=7A B3<2/<13A ; /83C@3A :

1. :3 @3B@/7B 23 :bIB/B 2bC<3 /1B7D7B0 7<2CA-
 B@73::3 23 ; =7<A 3< ; =7<A AB@/BO57?C3, :/ :=7
 23 1840 ; 3B 47< 3< 3443B K :/ 1=<13AA7=< 4/7B3
 /C 2= ; /7<3 23 :bIB/B >/@ :/ :=7 2C 6 /D@7:
 1825. !=B7D03 >/@ :3A \ 7<BO@QBA AC>O@73C@A
 23 :bIB/B], 3::3 1=<AB7BC3 C< >@=-:=<53 ; 3<B
 23 :bA<173< @O57 ; 3 A/:71=:3], /7A 4/7B /AAC-
 ; 3@ >/@ :bIB/B :3 @7A?C3 2bC< 201:7< 23A
 A/:7<3A </B7=</:3A (A@1-3B- '3</<A, !=<B-
 ;=@=B, '/:7<) 4/13 K 23A 3<B@3>@7A3A
 ; =23<3A CB7:7A/<B 23A B316<7?C3A ; 7<7P@3A,
 >=C@ :b3FB@/1B7=< 2C A3: 53 ; ; 3. ^ :b7<D3@A3,
 :/ :=7 2C 17 8C7< 1820 7<B@=2C7B C< / <=CD3/C
 @O57 ; 3 A/:71=:3], 4=<20 AC@ :3 >@7<17>3 23 :/
 1=<13AA7=< ; 7<7P@3 B3: ?C3 2047<7 >/@ :/ :=7
 23 1810 AC@ :3A ; 7<3A. &3>@OA3<B/<B C<3
 @O3::3 /D/<103 01=<= ; ?7C3, 3::3 A3 4=<23 AC@
 :b7203 ?C3 :/ 1=<1C@@3<13 3<B@3 3<B@3>@3<3C@A
 >@7DOA >3@ ; 3BB@/ C<3 O/7AA3 2C >@7F 2C A3:
 >=C@ :3 1=<A= ; ; /B3C@ 3B C<3 ; /AA7471/B7=<
 23 :/ >@=2C1B7=< >=C@ @O=>=2@3 K :b/C5 ; 3<-
 B/B7=< 23 :/ 23 ; /<23. I: Ab3<ACTB C<3 /:7O</-
 B7=< 23 A/:7<3A 67AB=@7?C3A (! =<B ;=@=B,
 '/:7<A, A@1-3B- '3</<A). A>@PA C<3 >O@7=23 23
 B@/<A7B7=<, A=CA 4=@ ; 3 23 @O573 7<BO@3AAO3, 3<
 A3>B3 ; O@3 1843, :/ A/:7<3 23 ! =<B ;=@=B 3AB
 /28C5O3 K J3/<- ! /@73 23 G@7 ; /:27, 3<B@3>@3-
 <3C@ >@=163 23 :/ @37<3 ! /@73-C6@7AB7<3
 2bEA>/5<3 ; 7: 3< D/ 23 ; Q ; 3, C< ; =7A 3B
 23 ; 7 >:CA B/@2, 23A 23CF /CB@3A A/:7<3A. 3

@3B@/7B 23 :bIB/B <b3AB >=C@B//A B=B/:. 3
 A3: @3AB3 4@/>>O 2bC<3 B/F3 3FB@/=@27</7@3,
 B/<27A ?C3 :bIB/B 7<B3@D73<B 23 4/N=< 7<27-
 @31B3, 3<B@3 1848 3B 1869, AC@ :3 ; /@160 2C
 A3: ; 3F3@N/<B C< 2=CO:3 1=<B@U:3 47A1/: , >/@
 :3A /53<A 23 1=<B@7OCB7=<A 27@31B3A, 3B B316-
 <7?C3, >/@ :/ AC@D37::/<13 23A ; OB@=23A 23
 20</BC@/B7=< 23A A3:A 23AB7<OA K :b/5@71C:BC@3
 3B K :b7<2CAB@73.

2. 3 ; /7<B73< 23 :/ >C7AA/<13 >CO:7?C3
 2/<A A=< @U:3 23 @O5C:/B3C@ 01=<= ; ?7C3. C3
 @U:3 Ab=OA3@D3 K B@=7A <D3/CF : </B7=</: , K
 B@/D3@A :3 1=<B@U:3 23 :/ 4=@ ; /B7=< 23A =170-
 BOA /<=<G ; 3A ; @O57=</: , /D31 :3 >=CD=7@ 23
 1=<1023@ 20D=:C K :bIB/B ; =1/: , >/@ :/ AC@-
 D37::/<13 B316<7?C3 23A 7<AB//: /B7=<A 7<2CA-
 B@73::3A. / :O57A:/B7=< 1= ; ; 3@17/:3 1=<AB7BC3
 3< 3443B :bC< 23A ; =G3<A 2=<B 27A>=A3 :bIB/B
 >=C@ 7<B3@D3<7@ AC@ :3A ?C3AB7=<A 01=<==
 ; ?7C3A. 3 1=23 23 1= ; ; 3@13 23 1807
 1=<4P@3 K :bIB/B C< >=CD=7@ 2b7<50@3<13 2/<A
 :/ D73 23A 3<B@3>@7A3A K 1/>7B/CF >@7DOA : J. ! .
 23 G@7 ; /:27 2=7B 2b/0=@2 >/AA3@, 23 1844 K
 1847, >/@ C<3 >@=102C@3 :3<B3 3B 1= ; >:3F3
 >=C@ 1@O3@ :/ 'A 23A A<173<<3A '/:7<3A
 &=G/:3A 23 :bEAB, ; /7A, 3< 1849, 7: A3 63C@B3
 K :b=>=>=A7B7=< 2C C=<A37: 2bIB/B, ?C7 ACA-
 >31B3 :/ @31=<AB7BCB7=< 2bC< ; =<=>=:3.
 ! Q ; 3 A7 C:BO@73C@3 ; 3<B :3A =O83BA 4=7A=<-
 <3<B, 13 <b3AB ?Cb3< 1862 ?C7 :3 D3@=@C
 A/CB3 :/D31 :/ ; C:B7:/71/B7=< 23A 3<B@3>@7A3A
 A/:71=:3A 3< =@/7<3, :3 @7A?C3 23 ; =<=>=:3
 / 27A>/@C. (3::3 3AB :b=@757<3 23 :/ </7AA/<13
 23 :/ 'A 23A A<173<<3A '/:7<3A D= ; /<7/:3A
 23 :bEAB, :3 8 8/<D73@ 1862 3B K :b7<7B7/B7D3
 2bA.-C. C/::3G 23 '/7<B-\$/C:, A=170B0
 23 ; 3C@O3 13>3<2/<B, 8CA?Cb3< 1906, 8C@727-
 ?C3 ; 3<B 20>3<2/<B3 23A >=CD=7@A >CO:71A.

3 A31=<2 ; =G3< 2=<B 27A>=A3 :bIB/B
 >=C@ @O5C:3@ :3 ; /@160 2C A3: @OA723 2/<A A3A
 2@=7BA 3<B/<B ?C3 1=<102/<B 23A CA7<3A 23 A3:
 53 ; ; 3. '7 16/1C< >3CB A3 D=7@ /BB@7OC3@ C<3
 1=<13AA7=< ; 7<7P@3, :bIB/B >3CB @34CA3@ :/
 23 ; /<23 =W <3 :b/11=@23@ ?C3 >/@B73::3 ; 3<B.
 I: 3< @OAC:B3 ?C3 :3A 1=<13AA7=<A /11=@203A
 A=<B A=CD3<B 7<40@73C@3A K 13::3A 23 ; /<203A,
 >=C@ :/7AA3@ :/ >=AA707:7B0 K 2b/CB@3A 3<B@3>@3-
 <3C@A 23 Ab7<AB//:3@, ?C/<2 3::3A <3 A=/A

③34CA03A, :/ 1=<13AA7=< 1=<AB7BC/<B /C ; =G3< 23 ①05C:3① :3 ; /①160 2C A3:. \$/① /7::3C①A, K :b①163::3 : =1/:3, :3A >=CD=7①A >C0:71A 7<B3①-D73<<3<B 2/<A C< 1/2③ ①05:3 ; 3<B/B7=<, 13:C7 <=B/ ; ; 3<B 23A 1/673①A 23A 16/①53A, /47< 23 Ab/AAC③① 23 :/ 0=<<3 3F>:=7B/B7=< 23A 57A3- ; 3<BA A/:74P③A. / >①0A3<13 2b3 ; >:=GOA 23A 1=<B①70CB7=<A 7<27③1B3A /C A37< ; Q ; 3 23A 27440③<B3A A/:7<3A D7A3 K >①0D3<7① B=CB3 4①/C23 47A1/:3. D3 :3C① 1UBO, :3A 7<50<73C①A 23A ; 7<3A 3< 16/①53 23 :/ AC①D37::/<13 B316- <7?C3 23A 7<AB/::/B7=<A, A=<B 1=<AC:BOA >/① :3 \$①043B >=C① B=CB3 /CB=①7A/B7=< A:::717B03 >/① :3A 3<B③3>①7A3A A/:71=:3A (<= ; 0③3 23 >=Q:3A 2b0D/1C/B7=< 23 :/ A/C ; C③, 4=①/53A, ; 7A3 3< 3F>:=7B/B7=< 23A B①=CA 23 A=17/:3), <=B/ ; - ; 3<B /47< 23 >①0A3①D3① :3 A=CA-A=:

3. A447① ; /B7=< 23 :/ :703①B0 2b3<B③3- >③3<2③3. 3A 3<B③3>①7A3A />①/7AA3<B <O/<- ; =7<A :70③A 2b7<D3AB7①. D3 1840 K 1907, :bIB/B 3AB /OA3<B 23 B=CB3 >/①B717>/B7=< /C 1/>7B/ : /1B7=<A 23A A=170B0A >/①4=7A 1=B03A 3< 0=C①A3, K :b7<AB/① 23 :/ ' =170B0 23A A<173<<3A ' /:7<3A D= ; /<7/:3A 23 :bEAB. 3C①A /1B7=<A A=<B A=CA1①7B3A >/① 23A :=1/CF (J=AP>63 #CB63<7<-C6/:3<2③3 /CF ' /:7<3A 23 :bEAB), >/①7A73<A, K :b7<AB/① 2bA.-C. C/::3G 23 ' /7<B- \$/C: (K :/ ; Q ; 3 1= ; >/5<73), 23A ③3AA=①B7A- A/<BA 2b/CB③3A 20>/①B3 ; 3<BA, D=7③3 ; Q ; 3 23A 0B①/<53①A (:b/ ; 0①71/7< GCAB/D3-A2=:>63 H=:7<5C3① (B=C8=C①A /CF ' /:7<3A 23 :bEAB). C3BB3 /447① ; /B7=< A3 4/7B >:CA 4=①B3 K >/①B7① 23A /<<O3A 1870, AC7B3 K :b/AA=C>:7AA3 ; 3<B, 3< 1869, 2C 1=<B①U:3 23A 7<D3AB7AA3 ; 3<BA >①=2C1B74A. E< ①OAC:B3 C<3 >:CA 5①/<23 4/1C:BO 2b/2/>B/B7=< K :bOB/B 2C ; /①160 (20D3:=>>3 ; 3<B 2b/1B7D7BOA 167 ; 7?C3A /<<3F3A), 2b/CB/<B ?C3 :3A 3<B①/D3A B316-

<7?C3A K :/ :703①B0 2b3<B③3>③3<2③3 23D73<<3<B :05P③3A.

C3BB3 >:CA 5①/<23 :703①B0 23A 3<B③3>①7A3A A/:71=:3A 23 F①/<163-C= ; BO ①0A723 2/<A :3C① ①0C<7=< /C A37< 2bC< 1/①B3: ①057=</:/. E< B60=- ①73, :3 201③3B 2C 23 =1B=0③3 1852 7<B3①27B B=CB3 1=/:7B7=<, 3<B3<B3 =C ①0C<7=< 23 1=<13AA7=< A/<A /CB=①7A/B7=< 3F>:717B3 23 :bI- B/B. C3>3<2/<B, 8/ ; /7A :3 ; /①160 2C A3: <b/ 0B0 DO①7B/O:3 ; 3<B 1=<1C①③3<B73: 3< F①/<163- C= ; BO 3<B③3 1840 3B 1907, 2C 4/7B 23A :73<A >3①A=<<3:A 3<B③3 27①753/<BA (:3A G①7 ; /:27 >P③3 3B 47:A 3B :3C①A ①0A3/CF), 23A >①7A3A 23 >/①B717>/B7=< (4CA7=<- /1?C7A7B7=< 23 :b3<B③3- >①7A3 23 G①=H=< >/① :3A A/:7<3A 23 :bEAB) 3B 23 :b=①5/<7A/B7=< 1= ; ; 3①17/:3 1= ; ; C<3. b3<B3<B3 >3① ; 3B 3< 3443B 23 ①02C7③3 23A 3443BA <O5/B74A 2bC<3 ①03::3 1=<1C①③3<13, K A/D=7① :/ O/7AA3 23A >①7F, 23A >①=47BA 3B 23A ; /①53A. 3 1/①B3: 2C A3: 3< F①/<163-C= ; BO, 23 1877 K 1897, 3B, K <=CD3/C, K >/①B7① 23 1898 00<047173 23 :/ 5①/<23 >3① ; 7AA7D7B0 23 :bIB/B D7A-K-D7A 23A 3<B3<B3A K :/ 47< 2C , 1, ³ A7P1:3. 3A >=CD=7①A >C0:71A 1=<B①7- 0C3<B ; Q ; 3 K :/ >O③3<<7A/B7=< 23 13BB3 =①5/- <7A/B7=< /<B7-1=<1C①③3<B73::3 >/① :3C① ①34CA, 3< 1907, 23 :b/①①7D03 23 <=CD3/CF >①=2C1- B3C①A 23 A3:. 3 ①3D7③3 ; 3<B 23 >:=:7B7?C3 >C0:7?C3, /C 200CB 2C , , ³ A7P1:3, Ab3F>:7?C3 >/① :/ AC①>①=2C1B7=<, ?C7 ①3<2 :b3<B3<B3 <O13AA/7③3 K :/ AC①D73 23A 3<B③3>①7A3A. I: ①3A- B3①/7B 13>3<2/<B K A3 >=A3① :3A ?C3AB7=<A 23 :bIB/B A=17/: (B①/D/7: 23A 3<4/<BA 3B 23A =CD①73①A 23A ; 7<3A, >①/B7?C3 2C >/B3①</ :7A ; 3). E< 2047<7B7D3, ; Q ; 3 A7 13BB3 23①<7P①3 27 ; 3<A7=< <b3AB ?C3 ①/>723 ; 3<B OD=?C03, :/ B6PA3 23 *7<13<B B=C::G />=①B3 23A 1=<</7A- A/<13A 7<O27B3A AC① C< A31B3C① /AA3H ; /: OBC- 270 8CA?C7B717 : 13:C7 23A 3<B③3>①7A3A A/:71=:3A.

Dominique BARJOT

*Professeur d'histoire économique contemporaine
Université Paris-Sorbonne (Paris IV)*

-D3A (E' '# "

**HISTOIRE DES POLITIQUES SOCIALES D'UNE GRANDE MAISON DE CHAMPAGNE,
LA MAISON VEUVE CLICQUOT PONSARDIN (1908-1964)**

(6PA3 23 2=1B=@/B 2b67AB=7@3, A=CA :/ 27@31B7=< 23 D=; ; 7<?C3 B/@@=B,
A=C@3<C3 K :b) <7D3@A7B0 \$/@7A-'=@0=<<3 (\$/@7A I*) :3 83C27 10 8/<D73@ 2013, 981 >.

L/ B6PA3 2b -D3A (3AA=< @OAC:B3 23 :/ @3<-
1=<B@3 23 ?C/B@3 16/ ;>A 23 @3163@163 : :b67A-
B=7@3 2C 16/ ;>/5<3, 7::CAB@O3 208K >/@
?C3?:C3A B6PA3A @3 ;/@?C/O:3A (K-::33< !.
GCG, ! 7163: E@73<<3, C:/7@3 D3A0=7A-
(670/C:B, B3<=SB !CAA3B) ; :b67AB=7@3 23A
3<B@3>@7A3A (; /7A=<A 23 <O5=13, D75<3@=<A-
@O1= :B/<BA) ; :b67AB=7@3 2C B@/D/7: 3B 23A >=:7-
B7?C3A A=17/:3A ; :b67AB=7@3 23A =@5/<7A/B7=<A
>@=43AA7=<<3::3A. I: Ab/57B 2bC< B@/D/7: =@757-
</: ?C/<B K :b/</:GA3 23A AB@C1BC@3A A=17/:3A
(<O5=17/<BA, ;=<23 23A D75<3A, ;=<23 23A
1/D3A), K :/ 4=@; /B7=< 2bC< >/B3@</:7A ; 3
/@160BG>/: 3B K A/ ; CB/B7=< 3< C< AGABP ; 3
>/@7B/7@3 /AA=17/<B B=CA :3A /1B3C@A 23 :/ >@=-
43AA7=<. 3 AC11PA 2C 16/ ;>/5<3 <3 @OAC:B3
>/A A3C:3 ; 3<B 2bC<3 AB@/B0573 ; /@93B7<5
/C2/173CA3 =C 2bC<3 7<<=D/B7=< B316<?C3,
; /7A 3AB /CAA7 :3 >@=2C7B 2bC<3 =@5/<7A/B7=<
A=17/:3 =@757</:3 (; CBC/:7A ; 3, 1/B6=:717A ; 3
A=17/; ,=@757<3 /:3 ; /<23 2bC<3 5@/<23 >/@-
B73 23A 4/ ; 7::3A 23 <O5=17/<BA), <O3 2/<A C<
C<7D3@A ; 7FB3 (5@/<2A <O5=13, =CD@73@A /5@7-
1=:3A 3B 2b7<2CAB@73, D75<3@=<A :7D@3C@A
; 71@=->@=>@70B/7@3A). (:3:3 3AB :b6G=>B6PA3
AC@ :/?C3::3 A3 4=<23 :/ @3163@163. / 27447-
1C:BO 1=<A7AB/7B K AC@ ;=<B3@ :b/11C37: 2bC<3
67AB=@7=5@/>673 :/@53 ; 3<B 7<AB@C ; 3<B/:7A03.
&3>@3</<B :/ D7A7=< 23 J3/< F=; 0=<<3, >=C@
?C7 :3 >/B3@</:7A ; 3 1=<AB7BC3 :/ ; /B@713 23 :/
53AB7=< ; =23@<3 23A @3AA=C@13A 6C ; /7<3A,
-D3A (3AA=< /2=>B3 C<3 1=<13>B7=< :/@53 23
:/ >=:7B7?C3 A=17/:3. b67AB=7@3 A=17/:3 2C
16/ ;>/5<3 23 ; 3C@3 3< 3443B 2/<A :3A
:7 ; 03A, 01/@B3:03 3<B@3 :b67AB=7@3 23A 1/D3A 3B
13::3 23A D75<3@=<A.

D/<A :b67AB=7@3 2C 16/ ;>/5<3, :b7<AB@C-
; 3<B/:7A/B7=< />@/SB C<3 OD723<13, 3<B@3B3B-
<C3 >/@ :/ AB@/B0573 23 1=; ; C<71/B7=< 23A
5@/<23A ; /7A=<A (D=; ; \$O@75=<=<, =>=A7B7=<
! /@<3-AC03). E< 3443B, :/ ?C3AB7=< 23 :/
20:7 ; 7B/B7=< 23 ; 3C@3 /C8=C@2b6C7 3<1=@3 3<
200/B : :3 1=<13>B 23 \ B3@@=7@] (J=A3>6
K:/BH ; /<<) Ab=>=>A3 3< 3443B K 13:C7, >:CA
; =23@<3, 23 \ 1:CAB3@] (! 716/3: \$=@B3@),
2047<7 1=; ; 3 C< B3@@7B=7@3 7<2CAB@73; , A>017/-
:7A0, @3=>A/<B AC@ C<3 1=; ; C</CBO 6C ; /7<3
A=:72/7@3, 1=<13@B03 3B >/@B/53/<B C<3 1C:BC@3
1=; ; C<3. AC A37< 23 13 \ 1:CAB3@], AB0B/-
0:7AA3<B 23A @3:/B7=<A 23 1=<1C@@3<13 3B 23
1==>O@/B7=< 3<B@3 1/B05=@73A @=43AA7=<=<-
<3::3A 3B B3@@7B=7@3A². 3 \ B3@@=7@] 23D73<B
2PA :=@A :b:CB7: 23 1=; ; C<71/B7=< 2C \ 1:CA-
B3@], A=CA :/ >@3AA7=< 23A D75<3@=<A, ?C7
D3C:3<B 4/7@3 2C 16/ ;>/5<3 C< D7< 23 1@C.
b=O831B74 3AB 2=<1 2b723<B7473@ \ :b3A>@7B]
4/7A/<B :/ 4=@13 23 :/ C6/ ;>/5<3 D7B71=:3. I:
@OAC:B3, 2/<A C<3 :/@53 ; 3AC@3, 23 :/ 1=<17-
:/B7=< 3<B@3 23CF >=:7B7?C3A 1=; ; 3@17/:3A,
13::3 23 :bA#C, ?C7 4@37<3 :3 >@=2C1B7D7A ; 3,
3B 13::3 23A ; /@?C3A, ?C7 / >3@ ; 7A :/
1=<?CQB3 2C ; /@160 ;=<27/; , /7A /CAA7 23A
3443BA >=A7B74A 23 :b/@7D03 23 * ! H (\ 3A>@7B
; /7A=<] >@OA3@DO, =@5/<7A/B7=< 23A 4=<2A
/@167D7AB7?C3A). b/<173<<3B0 23A ; /7A=<A /
>3@ ; 7A C< >=A7B7=<<3 ; 3<B AC@ :3 ; /@160 2C
:CF3 : :3 16/ ;>/5<3 3AB C< >@=2C7B 23AB7<O K
C<3 0:7B3 1C:B7D03 3B 1=<AB7B/C<B C< =O83B 23
1C@7=A7B0. C3BB3 /BB7BC23 A3 @3B@=CD3 /CAA7 /C
<7D3/C >@=43AA7=<<3: : K >/@B7@ 2C >/AAO, 7:
Ab/57B 2b=@73<B3@ 23 4/N=< 1=60@3<B3 23 <=C-

² C4. J.-C. D/C ; /A 3B ! . 3A1C@3 (27@), E<B@3>@7A3A 3B B3@@7B=7@3A, *Entreprises et Histoire*, <L 74, /D@7: 2014.

D3::3A AB@/BO573A, K B@/D3@A :/ >@=>/5/<23 1=-:
:31B7D3 3b :b/1B7=< 23A A31@0B/7@3A 50<0@/CF.

/ B6PA3 Ab/>>C73 AC@ 23A A=C@13A @7163A,
; /7A 7<05/:3A. / 16/<13 / OBO 23 27A>=A3@
23A /@167D3A C:71?C=B, :3 4=<2A :3 >:CA 1=; -
>:3B, >@OA3@DO >3<2/<B :/ '31=<23 GC3@@3
;=<27/:3. I: BO ;=75<3 2bC<3 /CB63<B7?C3
>=:7B7?C3 A=17/:3, <=B/; ; 3<B K B@/D3@A :3A
;=<=5@/>673A :3>:/GA73<<3A, 1=; ; 3 13::3
>@=2C7B3 3< 1928 >/@ B3@B@/<2 23 *=5Y0.
'C@B=C@B, C<3 720=:=573 >/B3@/<:7AB3 A3 20D=7:3
K :/ :31BC@3 23 :/ 1=@@3A>=<2/<13 3<B@3
B3@B@/<2 23 !C<, :=<5B3 ;>A >@OA723<B 3B
20>CBO, 3B A=< 53<2@3 B3@B@/<2 23 *=5Y0. 3
4=<2A 1=<B73<B :/ 1=@@3A>=<2/<13 /2@3AAO3
>/@ :3A =CD@73@A K :/ 27@31B7=<, ; /7A /CAA7 23
<=; 0@3CF 2=1C ; 3<BA 1=<13@/</<B :3A >@=43A-
A7=<A, 2b=W 7: @3AA=@B ?C3 :3 >/B3@/<:7A ; 3 3AB
>:CA C<3 7<7B7/B7D3 1=::31B7D3 3B 1=<13@B03
?CbC<3 AB@/BO573 7<27D72C3::3 23A >/B@=<A. 3
4=<2A / >C QB@3 1=; >:OBO >/@ 23A 7<B3@D73EA
23 27@753/<BA 3B 2b=CD@73@A.

3A /@167D3A 2b3<B@3>@7A3A =C QB@3 CB7-
:3 ; 3<B 1@=7A03A /D31 :3A A=C@13A >@=43AA7=<-
<3::3A. C3::3A 23 :bC<7=< 23A !/7A=<A 23
C6/ ;>/5<3 /CB=@7A3<B :b@BC23 23A @3:/B7=<A
<05=17/<BA D75<3@=<A:7D@3C@A. 'bG /@=CB3<B
13::3A 2C C=; 7B0 1<B3@>@=43AA7=<<3: 23A *7<A
23 C6/ ;>/5<3, CB7:3A <=B/; ; 3=C@ :/
'31=<23 GC3@@3 ;=<27/:3, 23 :bAAA=17/B7=<
*7B71=:3 C6/ ;>3<=7A3, 2C 'G<271/B G0<0@/:
23A *75<3@=<A 3B 23 :/ C6/ ; 0@3 23 C=; ; 3@13
23 &37 ; A. 3A /@167D3A =C QB@3 3< >/@B73
@31=<AB@C7B3A (/<A7 :/ 1=@@3A>=<2/<13 3<B@3
C6@7AB7/< H372A7319, >@OA723<B 2C 'G<271/B 2C
C=; ; 3@13 23A *7<A 23 C6/ ;>/5<3, 3B
&=03@B-J3/< 23 *=5Y0, >/B@=< 23 !=RB 3B
C6/<2=<), 5@L13 K :b/;>=@B 23A A@167D3A
20>/@B3 ; 3<B/:3A (@/;>=@BA 23 >=:713, >@=47BA
7::717B3A) 3B 2C 4=<2A 2b7 ;>@7 ; OA 23 :/
B7@:7=b6P?C3 C/@<3573.

'3 B@=CD3 /7<A7 =CD3@B3 :/ ?C3AB7=< 2C
>/B3@/<:7A ; 3. &3>@7A >/@ :/ >@=B=-7<2CAB@73,
:3 ; =2P:3 >/B@7/@1/: B@/2C7B :/ >@=F7 ; 7B0 /D31
:3 ; =<23 C@C/: (G0@/@2 "=7@73): :3 >/B@=<
</53 </SB 23 :/ <013AA7B0 23 4/7@3 /113>B3@
:b7<2CAB@73 >=C@ /AAC@3@ C<3 B@/<A7B7=< 2=C13

D3@A 23A ; =23A 23 D73 >:CA ; =23@<3A 3B
; =7<A AB/O:3A. ACF =@757<3A 2C @3<=CD3/C A3
B@=CD3<B :3 A/7<B-A7 ; =<7A ; 3 3B AC@B=C@B :/ @3:7-
57=<. ^ B@/D3@A :bI5:7A3 3B A/ 4=<1B7=< 2b/A-
A7AB/<13 2bC<3 >/@B, :3 1/B6=:717A ; 3 A=17/: 23
:b/CB@3, :3 >/B@=</53 Ab7<A1@7B 2/<A :/ 2@=7B3
:75<3 23 :bA<173< &057 ; 3 K B@/D3@A 23A @/>-
>=@BA A=17/CF 7<A1@7BA 2/<A :/ B@/27B7=<
(+7::7/ ; '3E3::) :/CB=@7B0 2C ; /SB@3 AC@
:b/;>@3<B7, @3B=C@ K :/ 1=@=>@/B7=<. !/7A 7:
@3>=A3 /CAA7 AC@ :/ :7@B3 /260A7=<, ?C7 >3CB
5/5<3@ :3A 1/B6=:7?C3A :700@/CF 3B :3A @O<C-
0:71/7<A 3B B7@3 >@=47B 23 :b/;>>C7 23 &=; 3
(Rerum Novarum, 0=< H/@ ; 3:, /260A7=<
2bEC5P<3 I^{3@} '16<3723@).

C3BB3 <=B7=< 23 >/B3@/<:7A ; 3 23 ; 3C@3 /C
13<B@3 23 5@/<2A 200/BA. D3A /CB3C@A 1=; ; 3
\$67:7>>3 3430D@3 3B 'G:D73 '16E37BH3@ =<B
@3 ; 7A 3< 1/CA3 :b7203 ?C3 :3 >/B3@/<:7A ; 3
1=<AB7BC/7B C<3 A7 ; >3 >@=:=<5/B7=< 23A 7<AB7-
BCB7=<A 2bA<173< &057 ; 3. AC 1=<=B@/7@3, 7:
>@=>=A3 C<3 DO@7B/O:3 AB@/BO573 23 53AB7=< 23A
>3@A=<<3:A B3</<B 1=; >B3 23A 1=<27B7=<A 23
;/@160 >=C@ CB7:7A3@ :/ ; /7<-2b_CD@3 23
4/N=< =>B7 ; /:3 3B >/@B71C:7P@3 ; 3<B /2/>B03 K
:/ A7BC/B7=< 23 >O<C@73 23 ; /7<-2b_CD@3. I:
=44@3 /7<A7 C< ; =G3< 23 20A/ ; =@13@ :3A :CBB3A
A=17/:3A 3B 23 >@OD3<7@ C< AC@1@=SB 2b7<B3@D3<-
B7=< OB/B7?C3. 'COA7AB3 <O/< ; =7<A C<3 D7A7=<
A=; 0@3 2C >/B3@/<:7A ; 3, ; =G3< 23 1=<B@U:3
23 :/ >3<A03 =CD@7P@3 3B /@ ; 3 2bC< >/B@=<
;/<7>C:/B3C@. &3AB3 K A/D=7@ >=C@?C=7 :3
>/B3@/<:7A ; 3 / 27A>/@C : A/<A 2=C@3 /-B-7: OBO
D71B7 ; 3 2C >/AA/53 23 :/ \$! E 4/ ; 7:7:3 K :/
'A. D/<A 13 1=<B3FB3, :3 >/B3@/<:7A ; 3 23
*3CD3 C:71?C=B A3 ; 0:3 A3 @/;>@=163@ 2C 1=C-
@/67:/<B6@=>7?C3. "O/< ; =7<A 7: 3F7AB3 C<
200/B /CB=C@ 23 :/ 1=<B7<C7B0 3<=B@3 >=:7B7?C3A
A=17/:3A 3B ; 7A3 3< >:/13 23A 7<AB7BCB7=<A 1=@-
>=@/7D3A 23 :/ C6/ ;>/5<3 D7B71=:3 : J3/<-
\$73@@3 HCAA=<7<D=?C3 :b7<4:C3<13 2= ; 7/</<B3
23 *716G, B/<27A ?C3 J3/<- C1 B/@073@ >:/123
>=C@ :/ 1=<B7<C7B0 /D31 :b_CD@3 AG<271/:3
3<B@3>@7A3 23>C7A :/ 47< 2C , I, ³ A7P1:3. C3A
7<AB7BCB7=<A =<B OBO 1@003A >/@ :3A
C6/ ;>3<=7A, >=C@ CB7:7A3@ :3C@ 7<4:C3<13
<C>@PA 23A >=CD=7@A >C0:71A 3B 3F>=:7B3@ :3
1=<B3FB3.

b=CD@/53 /2=>B3 C<3 20 ; /@163 >3@B7-
 <3<B3. E< >@3 ; 73@ :b/CB3C@ / 4/7B :3 16=7F
 2bC< >:/< K :/ 4=7A B60 ; /B7?C3 3B 16@=<=:=-
 57?C3. I: 1=CD@3 :/ >O@7=23 1908-1963, 1/@/1-
 B0@7A03 >/@ C<3 ; CB/B7=< 3AA3<B73:::3 23A
 >=:7B7?C3A A=17/:3A. 1908 1=@@3A>=<2 K :/
 ; =@B 2bA:4@32 +3@:0 3B K :b/@@7D03 K :/ BQ@3 23
 :b3<B@3>@7A3 23 A=< 53<2@3 B3@B@/<2 23 !C<.
 DOA=@ ; /7A :/ AB@/B0573 Ab=@73<B3 D3@A :/
 @31=<?CQB3 23A >/@BA 23 ; /@160, ; /7A /CAA7
 Ab/447@ ; 3 AC@ :3 >:/< A=17/: , /4< 23 AB/O7:7A3@
 3B ; =@/7A3@ :/ ; /7<-2b_CD@3. 1963 1=@@3A-
 >=<2 K :b7<B@=2C1B7=< 23 :b7<B@03AA3 ; 3<B.
 C3:C7-17 ; /@?C3 C< /O=CB7AA3 ; 3<B : :3 >/A-
 A/53 23 :b0B/B 2b=CD@73@-3<4/<B K 13:C7 23
 ; 3 ; 0@3 @3A>=<A/O:3 23 :/ 1= ; ; C</CBO.
 E<B@3 :3A 23CF 2/B3A A3 >@=2C7A3<B C<3 AO@73
 23 @C>B@C@3A ::/ 1@7A3 A=17/:3 23 1911 /C A37<
 2C D75<=0:3, :/ \$@3 ; 7P@3 GC3@@3 ; =<27/:3,
 :b7<4:/B7=< 23A /<<O3A 1920, :/ 1@7A3 23A
 /<<O3A 1930, :3A 5@PD3A 23 1936, :/ '31=<23
 GC3@@3 ; =<27/:3, :/ 700@/B7=< 3B :3 200CB
 23A \ (@3<B3 G=@73CA3A].

/ B6PA3 /O=CB7B K 2b7 ; >=@B/<B3A 1=<1:C-
 A7=<A. E< >@3 ; 73@ :73C, 7: G / O73< C<3 =@757-
 </:7B0 2C ; =2P:3 23 >=:7B7?C3 A=17/:3 /2=>B0
 >/@ *3CD3 C:71?C=B. C3::3-17 >C7A3 A=< =@7-
 57<3 >@7<17>/:3 2/<A :3A >@7<17>3A 2C 16@7A-
 B7/<7A ; 3 A=17/:. b=@831B74 1=<A7AB3 K
 @01=<17:73@ 1/>7B/: 3B B@/D/7: /CB=C@ 23 :/ >@O-
 A3@D/B7=< 23 :/ 4/ ; 7::3, 2C ; /7<B73< 23 :/
 @3:757=<, 23 :/ <O13AA7B0 2bC<3 AB/O7:7B0 ; /B0-
 @73::3 >=C@ :b=CD@73@. b7<4:C3<13 :3>:/G-
 A73<<3 />>/@/SB OD723<B3. I: <b3F7AB3 >/A
 2b/<B/5=<7A ; 3 <O13AA/7@3 /D31 :b/1B7=< 23
 :bIB/B : :3A 7<7B7/B7D3A 23 *3CD3 C:71?C=B
 =CD@3<B :/ D=73 K 23A >@7<17>3A ?C3 13:C7-17
 A3@/ 3<AC7B3 3< ; 3AC@3 23 50<O@/:7A3@. 3
 >/B3@</:7A ; 3 <3 A3 A7BC3 2=<1 >/A 3<B7P@3-
 ; 3<B 2/<A :/ :75<O3 2C :700@/:7A ; 3. 3A 27@7-
 53/<BA 23 *3CD3 C:71?C=B />>/@B73<<3:CBUB K :/ <=CD3::3 50<O@/B7=< 23 >/B@=/@ :3 ; =2P:3 /::3 ; /<2. C3BB3
 >=:7B7?C3 ; /<743AB3 C<3 D:=<B0 23 1=<17:73@
 23CF 20 ; /@163A 27AB7<1B3A : :/ <O13AA7B0
 2bC<3 /1B7=< 23 B3@@/7< 3B :/ >@OA3@D/B7=<
 2bC<3 13@B/7<3 7<20>3<2/<13 23A 7<AB7BCB7=<A
 A=17/:3A AC@ :b3<B@3>@7A3. 3 ; CB@/:7A ; 3

@3DQB /7<A7 B@=7A 4=@ ; 3A AC113AA7D3A : :/
 C=@=>@/B7=< 23A (= <<3:73@A, :3A C= ; ; 7A-
 A7=<A B@7>/@B7B3A 3B :3 C= ; 7B0 \$/@7B/7@3 >=C@ :3
 =53 ; 3<B 23 &37 ; A 3B 23 A/ &O57=< >=C@ :3
 :=53 ; 3<B A=17/: (C# \$ #&&). AD31 :b7<B@=-
 2C1B7=< 23A =CD@73@A 2/<A :/ 53AB7=< 23A
 _CD@3A A=17/:3A, </SB :3 >/@7B/@7A ; 3. D3 >:CA,
 >=C@ 1=<B=C@<3@ :/ ; 047/<13 23A =CD@73@A, :3
 <=CD3/C >/B@=</53 /57B 23 4/N=< 7<27@31B3
 >/@ :3 O7/7A 2b7<AB7BCB7=<A 1=::31B7D3A /D31
 2b/CB@3A 3<B@3>@7A3A =C ; Q ; 3 3< 1=::/O=@/<B
 /D31 :bIB/B, 2b=W :b:/:7/<13 23A 1/B@=7?C3A
 A=17/CF, 23A @/271/CF 3B, >:CA B/@2, 23A 1= ; -
 ; C<7AB3A.

JCA?Cb3< 1936 >@OD/:3<B 23A >=:7B7?C3A
 >/B3@</:7AB3A. 3 >/B@=< 2=7B 1=<AB7BC@3 C<3
 <=CD3::3 4=@ ; 3 23 1= ; ; C</CBO 4/ ; 7:7/:3
 /47< 23 AB/O7:7A3@ C<3 ; /7<-2b_CD@3 2b/CB/<B
 :>CA @/@3 ?C3 :3 ; OB73@ 23 1/D7AB3 23 ; /<23
 C< :=<5 />>@3<B7AA/53. E< @OAC:B3<B :/ >@7A3
 3< 16/@53 B=B/:3 23A O3A=7<A 23 :b=CD@73@ 3B
 23 A/ 4/ ; 7::3 /7<A7 ?C3 :/ ; 7A3 3< >:/13 2bC<
 AGABP ; 3 23 >@7 ; 3A. (=CB3 >=:7B7?C3 A=17/:3
 13<B@03 C<?C3 ; 3<B AC@ :b/A>31B ; /B0@73: 3<
 <O5:753/<B :/ 27 ; 3<A7=< ; =@/:3 3B A>7@7BC3::3
 23 :b6= ; ; 3 3AB D=C03 K :b01631. E< /11=@2
 /D31 :3A 5@/<2A >@7<17>3A 23 *Rerum
 Novarum*, 7: Ab3<AC7B C<3 7 ; >=@B/<13 />>=@-
 B03 K :b02C1/B7=<, 2PA :b3<4/<13, 2/<A :3A
 1=:=<73A 23 D/1/<13A, >C7A 5@L13 K :b3<1/2@3-
 ; 3<B 23A :=7A7@A. C3BB3 >=:7B7?C3 A=17/:3
 <O13AA7B3 /CAA7 :/ 1=<AB7BCB7=< 2bC< 3A>@7B 23
 5@=C>3, D7A/<B K 23CF =O831B74A : /<<7@7:3@ :3
 >@7<17>3 23 :/ :CBB3 23A 1:/AA3A ; AB7 ; C:3@ :b/@-
 23C@ /C B@/D/7:, 5@L13 K C< \ >/B@7=B7A ; 3
 2b3<B@3>@7A3] 4=<20 AC@ :b/C5 ; 3<B/B7=< 23A
 @3<23 ; 3<BA. \$=C@ 3<53<2@3@ C<3 1=60A7=<, 7:
 3F7AB3 B@=7A ; =G3<A :/ 1C:BC@3 23 ; OB73@,
 2b=W C< 2OB=C@<3 ; 3/B@=</: >=AA70:3 23 :/
 1C:BC@3 =CD@7P@3 3B 23 A3A 4QB3A ; / AB75 ; /B7-
 A/B7=< 2b3<<3 ; 7A 1= ; ; C<A ; :b3A>@7B 23 1= ; -
 >OB7B7=<, 2b=W :3A B7B@3A 6=<=<@747?C3A, :/ 4=@B3
 670@/@167A/B7=< 23A BL163A 3B :/ 1=<1C@@3<13
 3<B@3 ; /7A=<A. E< @3D/<163, 7: <b3F7AB3 >/A
 23 B=B/:7B/@7A ; 3 2b3<B@3>@7A3, 1/@ :b=CD@73@
 00<O47173 2bC<3 5@/<23 :703@B0 23 1=<A-
 173<13, <=B/ ; ; 3<B 3< ; /B7P@3 @3:7573CA3. D3
 13 >=7<B 23 DC3, 7: 3F7AB3 C<3 <3BB3 27440@3<13

3<B@3 *3CD3 C:71?C=B 3B :b3<B@3>@7A3 2C */:-
23A-B=7A 23 0=< H/@ ; 3:.

C3 ; =2P:3 A=17/: 1=<</SB C<3 OD=:CB7=<
>@=5@3AA7D3. I: 00<047173 2b/0=@2 2bC<3 3447-
1/17B0 @3:/B7D3 : AB/07:7B0 0:3D03 23A =CD@73@A ;
0 ; 3@53<13 B/@27D3 2C AG<271/:7A ; 3, \ 3A>@7B
; /7A=<] />>@0170, 1=<AB7BCB7=< 2bC<3 /@7AB=-
1@/B73 =CD@7P@3, ; /7A 27A>CB03 3<B@3 :3A
>/B@=<A 2C 16/ ; >/5<3. \$C7A AC@D73<B C<3
AC113AA7=< 2b00@/<:3 ; 3<BA. / \$@3 ; 7P@3
GC3@@3 ; =<27/:3 Ab/11= ; >/5<3 2bC< @3<=C-
D3::3 ; 3<B 1= ; >3B 23 :/ ; /7<-2b_CD@3.
D/<A :3A /<<03A 1920, C<3 4=@B3 7<4:/B7=<
<013AA7B3 :3A >@7 ; 3A 23 D73 16P@3 3B :3A
1= ; >B3A A>017/CF, ; /7A /CAA7 C<3 >@=43A-
A7=<</:7A/B7=< 23 :/ >@=B31B7=< A=17/:3, 2b=W
:/ 1@0/B7=< 2bC< AGABP ; 3 A=17/: 1=<470 K C<3
AC@7<B3<2/<B3 2bCA7<3. 3 A=17/: 23D73<B C<3
4=<1B7=< K >/@B 3<B7P@3 /C A37< 23 :b3<B@3>@7A3
3B A3 @/>>@=163 23 :/ 4=<1B7=< @3AA=C@13A
6C ; /7<3A. / AC@7<B3<2/<B3 A3 1= ; >=@B3
A=CD3<B 3< @04=@ ; /B@713 @3:/G/<B /C>@PA 23 :/
27@31B7=< :3A @3D3<271/B7=<A =CD@7P@3A.

DC@/<B :3A /<<03A 1930, :3 A3@D713 A=17/:
4/7B >@3CD3 2bC<3 7<D3<B7D7B0 @3 ; /@?C/O:3
>=C@ >@0A3@D3@ :3 AGABP ; 3 23 >@=B31B7=<
A=17/:3 3< @02C7A/<B :3A 20>3<A3A. G@L13 K
C<3 /723 170:03, ; 7A/<B 2/D/<B/53 AC@ :b=@5/-
<7A/B7=< ?C3 AC@ :b/AA7AB/<13 ; /B@073::3, 7: <bG
/ >/A 23 >@01/@7B0 23A _CD@3A A=17/:3A 3<
>@07=23 23 1@7A3, ?C/<2 3::3A A=<B 1=<4703A K
23A 3<B@3>@7A3A. 3A ; Q ; 3A ; 0B6=23A 23
53AB7=< A=<B /2=>B03A 2/<A :b3<B@3>@7A3 3B :3A
7<AB7BCB7=<A A=17/:3A. " 0/< ; =7<A A3 ; /<743A-
B3<B C< 13@B/7< =< ; 0@3 23 @3 ; 7A3A 3< 1/CA3.

3A =CD@73@A >3@N=7D3<B 073< :3A 47</:7B0A 23
13A >=:7B7?C3A A=17/:3A. / 20<=<17/B7=<
Ab=>P@3 AC@B=CB AC@ :3 >:/< AG<271/: : :3
'G<271/B 23A #CD@73@A C/D7AB3A 20<=<13 :/
27D7A7=< 23 :/ 1:/AA3 =CD@7P@3, :/ ; C:B7>:71/-
B7=< 23A >@7 ; 3A >:CBUB ?C3 :b/C5 ; 3<B/B7=<
23A A/ :7@3A 3B 3F753 :/ 1=<B@/1B/<:7A/B7=< 23A
/D/<B/53A =1@B=GOA 2/<A C<3 1=<D3<B7=< 1=-:
:31B7D3. 1936 @3>@0A3<B3 C< 16=1 ; =@/ :>=C@
:3 >/B@=</B 2C 16/ ; >/5<3. \$=C@ B3@B@/<2 23
! C<, :3A 40 63C@3A @3>@0A3<B3<B C<3 B@/67-
A=<. E<B/<B ?C3 ; 0B6=23 23 ; /</53 ; 3<B, :3
>/B3@</:7A ; 3 />>/@/SB =OA=:PB3. &=03@B-J3/<

23 *=5Y0, >/B@=< 23 ! =RB 3B C6/<2=<, @0B/-
0:7B :/ 1=<47/<13 5@L13 K C< /11=@2 <05=17/<B
:/ @02C1B7=< 2C B3 ; >A 23 B@/D/7: 1=<B@3 A/
4:3F707:7B0 /C 1=C@A 23 :b/<<03. 3 27/: =5C3
/D31 :/ 1:/AA3 =CD@7P@3 A3 @31=<AB7BC3 5@L13 K
:/ 1=<D3<B7=< 1=:31B7D3. E< 3443B, :3 >/B3@</-
:7A ; 3 163@163 :/ @3A>=<A/07:7A/B7=< >@=5@3A-
A7D3 23 :b=CD@73@, /47< 2b/11= ; >/5<3@ C<3
B@/<A7B7=< A=17/:3 2=C:=C@3CA3 >=C@ :3A B@/-
D/7:3C@A.

'31=<23 1=<1:CA7=< ; /83C@3, :b0=?C3
D=7B :/ 53<PA3 23 :b7<B3@>@=43AA7=<. E::3 2=7B
03/C1=C> K :bOD=:CB7=< 2C D75<=0:3. E<
3443B, :3 @0D37: AG<271/: / 0B0 03/C1=C> >:CA
>@01=13 >=C@ :3A =CD@73@A D75<3@=<A ?C3 >=C@
:3A 1/D7AB3A. I: @0AC:B3 2C ; =CD3 ; 3<B 23A
AG<271/BA 23A D75<3@=<A->@=>@70B/7@3A, 6=A-
B7:3A K :b0:/@57AA3 ; 3<B 23 :b/>>3::/B7=< 3B
; =B7DOA >/@ :3 201/:/53 23A <7D3/CF 23 D73
3<B@3 :3 D75<=0:3 3B :3A 1/D3A. ! Q ; 3 A7 :3C@
<7D3/C D73 20>/AA3 13:C7 23A /CB@3A =CD@73@A
@C@/CF, 7: <bG / >/A 23 1= ; >/@7A=< 3<B@3 :/
>=:7B7?C3 A=17/:3 23A 1/D3A 3B 13::3 23A
=CD@73@A D75<3@=<A : A7 :3A >@3 ; 73@A />>/@7A-
A3:CA AB/O:3A, :3A A31=<2A A=<B 3< ; Q ; 3
B3 ; >A 23A >@=>@70B/7@3A :7D@3C@A. / >=:7B7?C3
A=17/:3 A3 ; 0:3 2=<1 >:CA =@73<B03 D3@A :3A
D75<3@=<A >@=>@70B/7@3A ?C3 D3@A :3A =CD@73@A
D75<3@=<A. E<5/50A 2/<A C<3 :CBB3 :=<5-
B3 ; >A 7<05/:3 /D31 :3 <05=13 3< ; /B7P@3 23
47F/B7=< 23 >@7F, 13A 23@<73@A 00<047173<B,
/D31 :/ 1@7A3 2C >6G::=F0@/, 2bC< 16/<53-
; 3<B 23 :/ >=:7B7?C3 2C 5@/<2 <05=13. C3:C7-
17 /2=>B3, A=CA :b7 ; >C:A7=< 23 B3@B@/<2 23
! C<, C<3 >=:7B7?C3 23 A=:72/@7B0. E::3 A3 B@/-
2C7B >/@ C<3 1=:/0=@/B7=<, 2b/0=@2 B316-
<7?C3, >C7A 01=<= ; ?C3, A=17/:3 3B >=:7B7?C3
/D31 :bAAA=17/B7=< *7B71=:3 C6/ ; >3<=7A3
(A*C), ; /B@713 23 :/ AB@C1BC@3 7<B3@>@=43A-
A7=<<<:3 16/ ; >3<=7A3. \$=C@ B3@B@/<2 23
! C<, :3 D75<3@=< 2=7B @313D=7@ A/ 8CAB3 @0B@7-
OCB7=< 3B A/ 8CAB3 @31=<</7AA/<13 3< B/<B
?Cb/1B3C@ K >/@B 3<B7P@3 23 :/ >@=A>0@7B0.

D3A 3<<3 ; 7A 1= ; ; C<A 4/D=@7A3<B :/
1=60A7=< 7<B@/->@=43AA7=<<<3::3, K A/D=7@
:bAC03, 2b=W :3 A=CB73< 2C 'G<271/B 50<0@/:
23A *75<3@=<A K C<3 />>3::/B7=< AB@71B3 ; 3<B
:7 ; 7B03 K :/ ! /@<3, 3B :bIB/B, 2=<B :b7<B@CA7=<

3AB @32=CB03. &OD37::03 >/@ / 16CB3 23A 3F>0-27B7=<A 2/<A :3A /<<03A 1930, 13BB3 2G</- ;?7C3 3<B@/S<3 13>3<2/<B 23A B3<A7=<A /C A37< 23 :/ >@=43AA7=< 3<B@3 23CF 1/ ;>A : 2bC<3 >/@B :3 1= ; 3@13 23 :/ >3B7B3 0=CB37::3 3B 23A >3B7BA 1@CA, /FO AC@ :3 ; /@160 7<BO@73C@ 3B C<3 13@B/7<3 20 ; =1@/B7A/B7=< 2C 16/ ; - >/5<3 ; 23 :b/CB@3, :3 1= ; ; 3@13 23 :/ 5@/<23 0=CB37::3 3B 23A 5@/<2A 1@CA, /BB/160 K :b7 ; /53 23 :CF3 2C 16/ ; >/5<3 3B /C ; /7<B73< 23 @3<- 23 ; 3<BA 4/70:3A 3< DC3 23 @3D/::=7A3@ :3 >@7F 2C @/7A7<. D/<A 13A 1=<27B7=<A, :b=0831B74 23 :/ 1=<AB@C1B7=< 1=@>=@/B7D3 3AB 23 @OB/O:7@ C< 1=<A3<ACA, 13 ?C3 <3 >/@D73/A K =0B3<7@ :/ C= ; ; 7AA7=< 23 C6L::<A (1935), ?C7 ; /<?C3 2b7<AB@C ; 3<BA 23 1=3@17B7=<.

^ 13B 05/@2, :/ '31=<23 GC3@@3 ; =<27//:3 ; /@?C3 C< B=C@/<B. E::3 D=7B C< 200:=1/53 23 :/ A7BC/B7=<, 5@L13 /C CI *C. A B@/D3@A :C7, :3A AB@C1BC@3A 1=@>=@/B7D3A 3B >/@7B/7@3A 200=@23<B AC@ :3 ; =<23 23A 1/D3A 3B 23A =CD@73@A 1/D7AB3A. ' =CA :b05723 23 &=03@B-J3/< 23 *=5Y0, :3 CI *C 1=<17:73 :703@BO AG<- 271//:3 3B 1=@>=@/B7A ; 3. C=<B@/AB/<B /D31 :3A =@5/<7A ; 3A D716GAB3A 1=<B3 ; >=@/7<A, 7: />:7?C3 :3A /11=@2A AC@ :3 >@7F 2C @/7A7<, 3B @O>/@B7B 23 4/N=< 0?C7B/O:3 :/ ; /B7P@3 >@3- ; 7P@3 3<B@3 :3A ; /7A=<A. I: 1=<AB7BC3 C<3 4=@ ; 3 23 @OA7AB/<13 01=<= ; ?7C3 4/13 K :b# 11C/<B, 3< <05=17/132 K >132 :3A >@7F 3B :3A ?C/<B7BOA K :7D@3@, 2b=W :/ >@OA3@D/B7=< 23A AB=19A 23 16/ ; >/5<3. S=C@ :3A =CD@73@A, :3A 1= ; ; 7AA7=<A B@7>/@B7B3A, >/@13 ?Cb3::3A A=3@ ; /<3<B3A 3B 4=<203A AC@ :/ >/@7B0 >/B@=<A=CD@73@A, >@= ; 3CD3<B 2b7 ; >=@B/<B3A /D/<103A A=17//:3A : 1/7AA3 1= ; >:0 ; 3<B/7@3 23 @3B@/7B3, @2317<3 2C B@/D/7:, 13<B@3A 2b/>>@3<B7AA/53, A=CB73< /CF 20>=@BOA, /723 /C :=53 ; 3<B, @/BB@/>/53 23A =CD@73@A D75<3- @=<A AC@ 13CF 23A 1/D7AB3A, @OO?C7:70@/53 23A A:/7@3A ; /A1C:7<A 3B 40 ; 7<7<A. ' G ; 0=:3 23 13BB3 1==>@/B7=<, :b/>>3: K :/ 5@PD3 50<0@/:3 AC7B 7 ; ; 027/B3 ; 3<B :b/@@3AB/B7=< 23 &=03@B-J3/< 23 *=5Y0.

^ :/ 700@/B7=< Ab=CD@3 C<3 >O@7=23 27447-17:3, 2/<A C<3 :/@53 ; 3AC@3 >=C@ 23A @/7A=<A 23 B@OA=@3@73. 3A D3<B3A @3>@3<<3<B, ; /7A 3< @/7A=< 23 :/ B/F/B7=< 23A >@=47BA @O/:7AOA AC@ :3A

D3<B3A K :/ +36@ ; /16B, 7: <b3AB >/A >=AA70:3 23 @31=<AB7BC3@ :3A AB=19A. *3CD3 C:71?C=B 27A->=A3 /:=@A 23 ; =7<A 23 ; /@53A 23 ; /<_CD@3 ?C3 2b/CB@3A A=170BOA >/@ @/>=@B /CF @3D3<27-1/B7=<A AG<271//:3A. (/<27A ?C3 ?/ <=CD3::3)<7=< 23A 'G<271/BA 2C C= ; ; 3@13 23A *7<A 23 C6/ ; >/5<3 016=C3 K ; /7<B3<7@ :/ 27A17->:7<3 AG<271//:3, !=RB 3B C6/<2=< /2=>B3 /C 1=<@B/7@3 C<3 AB@/BO573 1=<?CO@/<B3. *3CD3 C:71?C=B <b/O/<2=<<3 13>3<2//A A=<_CD@3 2b/ ; 0:7=@/B7=< 23 :/ 1=<27B7=< A=17//:3 23A B@/D/7::3C@A. b3<B@3>@7A3 =>B3 >=C@ 23A >@=83BA 1=:3:31B74A B3:A ?C3 :3 C#\$ #&&, 1=<NC AC@ :3 ; =2P:3 2C C= ; 7B0 1<B3@->@=43AA7=<<3: 2C =53 ; 3<B (CI) 23 &=CO/7F-(=C@1=7<5. C=50@O >/@ :3 AG<271/-:7A ; 3 >/B@=</: 3B :/ CG (, 7: 00<047173 23A A=:7-2/@7BOA >/B@=<A=CD@73@A 7AA3A 23 :/ &@OA7AB/<13 3B 23A 7203A 2013<B@/>7A/B@713A 23 :b/>@PA-5C3@@3. I: />>=@B3, K &37 ; A, C<3 A=:CB7=< 23 5@/<23 / ; >:3C@ K :/ 1@7A3 2C :=53 ; 3<B.

AD31 :/ ; 01/<7A/B7=<, AC@D73<B C<3 <=C-D3::3 1@7A3 A=17//:3 /C A37< 2C >3@A=<<3: =CD@73@ 23A 1/D3A. E::3 @3DQB 27440@3<B3A ; /<743AB/B7=<A : 27A>/@7B7=< 23 :b=CD@73@ 23 ; OB73@, 5/7<A 23 >@=2C1B7D7B0, >O=C@73 23 @/7-A7<, 2b=W 23A B3<A7=<A 3<B@3 D75<3@=<A K :b7<-B3@>@=43AA7=< >=C@ >/@B717>3@ K :/ @O>/@B7B7=< 2C AC@>:CA. !=RB 3B C6/<2=< @O/57B 23 4/N=< @/>723 : &.-J. 23 *=5Y0 7<B@=2C7B 2PA 1947 :b7<B0@3AA3 ; 3<B /CF 5/7<A 23 >@=2C1B7D7B0 /47< 23 A3<A707:7A3@ :3A =CD@73@A K :/ 53AB7=< 23 :b3<B@3>@7A3. *3CD3 C:71?C=B A3 ; 01/<7A3 23 ; /<7P@3 >:CA B/@27D3. b3<B@3>@7A3 A=C44@3 23 :/ 1=<13<B@/B7=< 2C >=CD=7@ 3<B@3 :3A ; /7<A 2C 1634 23 1/D3, ?C7>=CAA3 /C 1=<A3@-D/B7A ; 3.) <16/<53 ; 3<B A3 >@=2C7B B=CB34=7A /D31 :b/@@7D03 2bA/@:7< 23 *=5Y0. I: 7<B@=2C7B *3CD3 C:71?C=B 3< B=C@A3, 13 ?C7 2=<<3 K :b3<B@3>@7A3 :3A ; =G3<A 23 ; 3BB@3 3< >:/13 23 <=CD3::3A 16/S<3A 23 >@=2C1B7=<, 3B :b7<B0@3A-A3 ; 3<B /CF 5/7<A 23 >@=2C1B7D7B0 3< 1=<@B@3->/@B73 2bC< B@/D/7: 23D3<C >:CA @O>OB7B74 3B ; =@13:0.

E< 2047<7B7D3, :/ B6PA3 2b-D3A (3AA=< 1=<AB7BC3 C< B@/D/7: AB7 ; C:/<B, ?C7 A=C:75<3 :3 @U:3 ; /83C@ =8CO >/@ :3 AGABP ; 3 A=17/: 2/<A :/ @OCA7B3 2C ; =2P:3 16/ ; >3<=7A, <=B/ ; -

; 3<B K B@/D3@A :/ ; CB/B7=< 2C >/B3@</:7A ; 3
3< >/@7B/@7A ; 3. E::3 4=C@<7B C<3 OBC23 23
4=<2 2bC< >/B3@</:7A ; 3 16/ ; >3<=7A >C7A/<B
:/@53 ; 3<B A/ A=C@13 2/<A :3 1/>7B/:7A ; 3
A=17/ ; /7A 7<4:0167 3< 4=<1B7=< 2C ABG:3
>@=>@3 23A 27@753/<BA (B. 23 ! C<). / B6PA3

; =<B@3 /CAA7 :b=@757</:7B0 23 *3CD3
C:71?C=B : C<3 A=170B0 @3:/<103 3<B@3 :3 200CB
2C , ,³ A7P1:3 3B /< 47< 23A /<<03A 1930 3B
8=C/<B C< @U:3 20B3@ ; 7/<B 2/<A :/ 1=<AB7BC-
B7=< 23 :b7<B3@>@=43AA7=<, /D/<B ?C3 !=RB 3B
C6/<2=< <3 >@3<<3 :3 @3:/7A.

Dominique BARJOT

*Professeur d'histoire économique contemporaine
Université Paris-Sorbonne (Paris IV)*

JC:73< B&A) (

**LES TRANSACTIONS INTERNATIONALES DE LA FRANCE
DES ANNÉES 1920 AUX ANNÉES 1970**

(6PA3 23 2=1B=@/B 2b0BC23A 7<B3@</B7=</:3A, A=CA :/ 27@31B7=< 23 ! /@1 F:/<2@3/C,
A=CB3<C3 K :b1<AB7BCB 23A H/CB3A IBC23A 1<B3@</B7=</:3A 3B 2C DOD3:=>>3 ; 3<B 23 G3<PD3,
=1B=@@3 2013, 3 D=:., 618 >.

L/ B6PA3 23 JC:73< B@/C:B >@0A3<B3 C<
7<1=<B3AB/O:3 7<B0@QB, 3< 20>7B 2bC<3 />>@=163
>/@4=7A C< >3C B@=> /</:GB7?C3. 3 AC83B 3AB
2b7 ; >=@B/<13, >C7A?Cb7: 1=<13@<:3 1=<B@U:3
?C/<B7B/B74 23A B@/<A/1B7=<A 7<B3@</B7=</:3A,
B6P ; 3 @323D3<C 2b/1B7/:7B0 /D31 :/ 1@7A3
; =<27/:3 AC@D3<C3 K :/ 47< 23A /<<03A 2000 :
:b1A:/<23, >C7A C6G>@3 =<B 2X @3D3<7@ /C
1=<B@U:3 23A 16/<53A, B/<27A ?C3 :3A >/GA
0 ; 3@53<BA =<B A=CD3<B @31=C@C 3B @31=C@3<B
3<1=@3 K :/ >@/B7?C3 23A ?C=B/A 1= ; ; 3@17/CF.
JC:73< B@/C:B / 16=7A7 23 ; 3<3@ A=< OBC23 AC@
:/ F@/<13 23A /<<03A 1920 /CF /<<03A 1970,
1b3AB-K-27@3 3< 5@=A 23 :/ 47< 23 :/ \$@3 ; 7P@3
GC3@@3 ; =<27/:3 K :/ ; 7A3 3< @=CB3 23
:bEC@=>3 ; =<@B/7@3. b=< /C@/7B 13@B3A
/BB3<2C C<3 27A1CAA7=< 3B C<3 8CAB7471/B7=<
/>>@=4=<273 2C terminus a quo (>=C@?C=7
3F1:C@3 :3 >@3 ; 7@1 1=<4:7B ; =<27/ ; , 2=<B :b67A-
B=@7=5@/>673 @013<B3 / 073< ; =<B@0 :3 1/@/1-
BP@3 4=<2/B3C@ ?) 3B 2C terminus ad quem

(:b0BC23 Ab/@@QB3-B-3::3 /D31 :3 >@3 ; 7@0 16=1
>@B@=:73@, /D31 :3 A31=<2 =C A3 >@=:=<53-B-3::3
8CA?Cb/C 200CB 23A /<<03A 1980 ?).
" 0/< ; =7<A :b=< @B73<B 23 :/ @7163 7<B@=2C1-
B7=< 50<0@/:3 ?C3 :3 A=C6/7B 23 :b/CB3C@ 3AB 23
1=<4@=<B3@ :3A />>@=163A 67AB=@7?C3A /CF
/>>@=163A 01=<= ; ??C3A, 13 ?C7 3AB B@PA 073<
4/7B, 3B 2b3< =>@03@ :/ AG<B6PA3, 13 ?C7 :b3AB C<
>3C ; =7<A. b=< /26P@3 /7A0 ; 3<B /CF 1@7-
B7?C3A /2@3AA03A K :b67AB=7@3 7<AB7BCB7=<<<3::3
(:b7<AB7BCB7=<<</:7A ; 3 7 ; >:717B3 /<9G:=A3 A=C-
D3<B :b67AB=7@3 47/<17P@3 4@/<N/7A3) 3B /CF
/>>@=163A ; 0 ; @73::3A. ! /7A :b=< Ab0B=<<<3
C< >3C ?C3 J. B@/C:B Ab/>>C73 47/</:3 ; 3<B AC@
13CF=:K ; Q ; 3A 2=<B 7: >=>B<B3, K 8CAB3 B7B@3, :3A
204/CBA. JC:73< B@/C:B =<B3 /CAA7 :b7 ; >=@-
B/<13, >=C@ A=< AC83B, 23A B@/D/CF 67AB=@7?C3A
1=<A/1@0A K :/ A=17=:573 23A 0:7B3A (C< />>3:
K :/ B6PA3 23 " /B6/:73 C/@@0 23 ! /:03@5 AC@
:b1<A>31B7=< 23A F7/</<13A /C@/7B >C 1=<4=@B3@
:3A =0A3@D/B7=<A 23 :b/CB3C@³), B=CB 3< 3<

³ ". C/@@0 23 ! /:03@5, *Le grand état-major financier. Les inspecteurs des Finances 1918-1946 : les hommes, le métier, les carrières*, \$/@7A, C= ; 7B0 >=C@ :b67AB=7@3 01=<= ; ??C3 3B 47/<17P@3 23 :/ F@/<13, 2011.

; 3AC@/<B :3 1/@/1BP@3 @02C1B3C@, 2b=W :b7<B0@QB
 >=@0 K :b_CD@3 23 &716/@2 F. KC7A3:. J. B@/C:B BO ;=75<3 23 A/ 23BB3 3<D3@A :b67AB=7@3
 23A 3<B@3>@7A3A, <=B/ ; ; 3<B K 13::3 23 :b7<-
 2CAB@73 >O@=:7P@3, 073< 1=<<C3 23 :b/CB3C@, 3B
 K 13::3 23A O/<?C3A, K :/?C3::3 7: 3AB 4/7B C<
 />>3: @05C:73@. 'C@ :3 >@3 ; 73@ 16/ ; >, :b=<
 A=C:75<3@/ :b7<B0@QB ?Cb7: G /C@/7B K 3F>:=7B3@
 23 4/N=< >:CA AGABO ;/B7?C3 :/ B6PA3 23
 !=6/ ; 32 'AA7, ?C7, 3::3 /CAA7, /O=@23 :/
 ?C3AB7=< 23A ?C=B/A 2b7 ; >=@B/B7=<, ; /7A 2/<A
 C<3 >3@A>31B7D3 OD723 ; ; 3<B 27440@3<B3. /
 070:7=5@/>673 CB7:7A03 3AB >3@B7<3<B3, ; /7A
 1=<2C7B >/@4=7A K O>=CA3@ C< >3C B@=> :/
 D7A7=< 23A A>017/:7AB3A =447173:A 23 :b67AB=7@3
 23 (=B/ : 3B, >3CB-QB@3, K AC@OD/:C3@ :3 @U:3 23A
 O/<?C3A. I: Ab3<AC7B C<3 D7A7=< C< >3C @02C1-
 B@713 23 :b67AB=7@3 23A 3<B@3>@7A3A, <=B/ ; ; 3<B
 K >@=>=A 23A 1/@B3A, 2=<=B :b67AB=7@3=5@/>673
 3AB /AA3H ; /: 1=<<C3.

/ >@0A3<B/B7=< 23A B@=7A BG>3A 2b/>-
 >@=163A 01=<= ; ??C3A 2C AC8B3 3AB 073<2= ; 7-
 <03, ; Q ; 3 A7 :3A /</:GA3A 93G<0A73<<3A 3B
 >=AB-93G<0A73<<3A ; 0@7B3@/73<B 2bQB@3 ; 73CF
 27440@3<1703A : 3<B@3 <O=-93G<0A73<A 3B 93G-
 <0A=- ; /@F7AB3A, 7: 3F7AB3 B=C@3 C<3 5/ ; ; 3
 2b/>>@=163A K :/?C3::3 :/ B6PA3 <3 4/7B >/A
 AC447A/ ; ; 3<B 016=. / >@0A3<B/B7=< 23 :b/>-
 >@=163 A16C ; >O@0@73<<3, 073< ?C3 @/>723, 3AB
 073<D3<C3 (<=B/ ; ; 3<B K >@=>=A 23A 200/BA
 3<B@3 <O=-A16C ; >O@0@73<A). E< 2047<7B7D3, :3
 >:CA 1=<D/7<1/<B 23 :/ B6PA3 @0A723 2/<A :/
 27A1CAA7=< 3<5/503 /CB=C@ 23A >=:7B7?C3A 23
 ACOAB7BCB7=< /CF 7 ; >=@B/B7=<A 3B, K :b=>=>=AO,
 23 13::3A 4=<203A AC@ :/ >@= ; =B7=< 23A
 3F>=@B/B7=<A. D3 13 >=7<B 23 DC3, :b@BC23 23
 :/ 1/>BC@3 23 :/ @3<B3, 1=<A7AB/<B K /</:GA3@ :3
 1=XB 3B :b34471/17B0 23 :/ >@3AA7=< 23A 5@=C>3A
 2b7<B0@QB, />>/@/SB 1= ; ; 3 B@PA 4@C1B3CA3. E<
 @3D/<163, :/ @3 ; 7A3 3< 1/CA3 23 :b7203 A3:=<
 :/?C3::3 :3 >/AA/53 K C<3 >@= ; =B7=< 23A
 3F>=@B/B7=<A /C@/7B OBO @03::3 ; 3<B 00<047?C3
 23 ; /<23 K QB@3 >:CA /@5C ; 3<B03, ; Q ; 3 A7
 3::3 3AB 2bC< @03: 7<B0@QB. 'C@ 13 >=7<B, :/ A=C-
 B3</<13 / 4=C@<7 C< 13@B/7< <= ; 0@3 23
 @0=>=A3A 7<B0@3AA/<B3A.

3 16=7F 2C >:/<, B=C@ K 4/7B 2043<2/0:3,
 >3CB 4/7@3 200/B. E< >@3 ; 73@ :73C, :b=< >3CB A3

23 ; /<23@ >=C@?C=7 :3A >=:7B7?C3A 23
 1=<B@U:3 23A 16/<53A 2bC<3 >/@B, :3A >=:7-
 B7?C3A 23 ?C=B/A 2b/CB@3 >/@B (7: <bG / >/A ?C3
 :3 >O@=:3) <b=/A 4/7B :b=083B 23 16/>7B@3A
 <3BB3 ; 3<B AO>/@0A. 3 >:/< 16=7A7 <3 27A-
 B7<5C3 >/A AC447A/ ; ; 3<B 3<B@3 @3AB@71B7=<A /C
 1= ; ; 3@13 (; /@16/<27A3A, ; /7A /CAA7 A3@-
 D713A) 3B /CF 4:CF ; =<OB/7@3A 3B 47</<173@A. I:
 G /C@/7B /CAA7 03/C1=C> K 27@3 K >@=>=A 23
 :b7203 23 :/ 1=<B7<C7B0 3<B@3 :3A /<<03A 1920
 3B :3A /<<03A 1930. ^ 073< 23A 05/@2A, 13
 <b3AB >/A :/ 204/7B3 23 1940, ; /7A :/ 1@7A3 23
 1929 (3B :3 16/<53 ; 3<B 23 50<0@/B7=< >=:7-
 B7?C3) ?C7 1=<AB7BC3 :3 1:7D/53 4=<2/ ; 3<B/.,
 <=B/ ; ; 3/@13 ?C3 :/ ; =<B03 2C 1=@=>=@/
 B7A ; 3 ; =27473 3< >@=4=<23C@ :3A @3:/B7=<A
 3<B@3 :bIB/B 3B :3A 1/@B3:A 3B, >/@ AC7B3, :/ 4=<1-
 B7=< 3B :/ 1=<13>B7=< 23 13A 23@<73@A. /
 B6PA3 23 J. B@/C:B 4=C@ ; 7::3 2b/@5C ; 3<BA
 /::/<B 3< 13 A3<A.

3A B@=7A 16/>7B@3A 23 :/ B6PA3 A=<B @7163A
 2b7<4=@ ; /B7=< 3B :b=< />>@3<2 03/C1=C> 23
 16=A3A. ! /7A 7:A A=<B 23 D/:3C@ 7<05/:3. 3
 ; =7<A /O=C@7 3AB A/<A 2=C@3 :3 >@3 ; 73@ :
 \ 3A B@/<A/B7=<A 7<B3@</B7=</:3A K :/ 1@=7-
 A03 23 :b01=<= ; 73 3B 23 :b67AB=7@3 J. E< 3443B,
 ?C3AB7=<<3 ; 3<BA 3B A=C@13A /C@/73:CBUB
 B@=CD0 >:/13 2/<A C<3 7<B@=2C1B7=< 50<0@/:3
 OB=4403. \$/@ /7::3C@A, :b/@B71C:/B7=< 3<B@3
 A=C@13A 3B B60=@73 />>/@/SB 4/70:3, 13 ?C7 3AB
 2= ; /53. 3 16/>7B@3 2, 03/C1=C> ; 73CF
 1=<AB@C7B, 1=<13@<3 \ 3A B@/<A/B7=<A 7<B3@-
 </B7=</:3A 23 :/ F@/<13 23A /<<03A 1920 /CF
 /<<03A 1970 : C< <=CD3/C @017B J. I: Ab/@B7-
 1C:3 3< ?C/B@3 OB/>3A : 23A 1/@B3:A K :bIB/B
 (/<<03A 1920-1939), :/ 13<B@/:7A/B7=< 23A
 1=<B@U:3A 3B :/ 27AA=:CB7=< 23A B@/<A/B7=<A
 7<B3@</B7=</:3A (1939-1950), :b7<AB@C ; 3<B
 2bC<3 >=:7B7?C3 23 20D3:=>>3 ; 3<B 3B 23 53A-
 B7=< 23 @3<B3A >3<2/<B :3A /<<03A 1950, :3A
 4/CAA3A 47<A 2bC<3 >=:7B7?C3 2bIB/B (1960-
 /<<03A 1970). 'b7: />>/@/SB >3C <=D/B3C@ AC@
 :3A 1/@B3:A 3B AC@ :3 \$:/< ! /@A@/: (<013AA7B0
 23 ; 73CF 27AB7<5C3@ 3<B@3 :3A >@07=23A 23
 :b/723 2bC@53<13, 2C \$:/< 3B 23 :/ production
 drive, /D31 :3A 5@/<2A >@=83BA 2b7<4@/AB@C1-
 BC@3A >O@=:7P@3A 23 :b# (A"), :b=< <=B3@/
 2b3F13::3<BA >/AA/53A AC@ :b#CDE 3B :b) E\$,

<=B/ ; ; 3<B K >@=>A 23A :700@/:7A/B7=<A /D=@-B03A 23 1950, 1954 3B 1956. I: 3AB 1:/7@ ?C3 J. B@/C:B ; /SB@7A3 073< :3A /<<03A >=AB0@73C@3A K 1945.

Cb3AB :3 16/>7B@3 3 : \ 3A B@/<A/1B7=<A >0B@=:7P@3A 7<B3@</B7=</:3A 23 :/ F@/<13 23 1928 K 1977 : C<3 /<:GA3 01=<=:; ??C3 3 ; >7@?C3] ?C7>@0A3<B3, 23 :=<7<, :b7<B0@QB :3 >:CA 5@/<2. E< 3443B 7: 4=C@<7B C<3 >@0A3<B/-B7=< 1:/7@3 2C 27A>=A7B74 23A ?C=B/A >0B@=:73@A. 3A ; 37::3C@A >/AA/53A 1=<13@<3<B :/ 20B3@-7</B7=< 23 :/ @3<B3 2b7<2CAB@7/:7A/B7=< (>. 291-316) 3B :/ 1/>BC@3 23 :/ @3<B3 (>. 316-341). 1<B0@3AA/<B3 3AB :b0B3 23 23 :/ 1=<13<B@/B7=< 23A ?C=B/A (CB7:7A/B7=< 23 :b7<2713 23 H3@47<26/:-H7@A16 ; /<) 3B 13::3 23A 8C@GA 2b/BB@70CB7=< 23A ?C=B/A A3 (/CB=@7A/B7=<A A>017/:3A 2b7 ; >=@B/B7=< 23 >@=2C7BA >0B@=:73@A) 3B A20 (/CB=@7A/B7=<A A>017/:3A 23 @/4-47</53). 'C@ 13 23@<73@ AC83B, 7: /C@/7B >C QB@3 CB7:3 23 @31=C@7@ K :b/</:GA3 4/1B=@73::3 >=C@ /:3@ >:CA :=<7< 2/<A :3A 1=<1:CA7=<A. E<47<, :b=< A=C:75<3@/ :/ >3@B7<3<13 23A >/AA/53A 1=<A/1@0A K :/ ; 3AC@3 23 :b7 ; >/1B 23 :/ @3<B3 (>. 341-348), 23 :b34471/17B0 5:=0/:3 3B 23A 20A0?C7:70@3A 7<B3@<3A (>. 348-351). C3 16/->7B@3 1= ; >=@B3 03/C1=C> 23 5@/67?C3A CB7:3A 3B 01:/7@/<BA.

/ 1=<1:CA7=<, 7<B0@3AA/<B3, 200=C163 2b/0=@2 AC@ :b=0A3@D/B7=< ?C3 A3 A=<B AC1-1020 ?C/B@3 >0@7=23A :

1. 3A /<<03A 23 :b3<B@3-23CF-5C3@@3A. \$=C@ J. B@/C:B, :/ >=:7B7?C3 23 @3AB@71B7=<A ?C/<B7B/B7D3A, K >/@B7@ 23 :/ \$@3 ; 7P@3 GC3@@3 ; =<27/:3 ; /7A AC@B=CB 2C@/<B :b3<B@3-23CF-5C3@@3A, A3 0LB7B /CB=C@ 23A 7<B0@QBA 2C ; =<23 23A /44/7@3A. D/<A :b7<2CAB@73 >0B@=:7P@3, 7: 1=<D73<B 2b/8=C3@ ?C3, 2/<A :3A /<<03A 1920, 13B 7<B0@QB 1=T<1723 /D31 13CF 23 :b IB/B 3B 23 :b01=<=:; 73 </B7=</:3.

2. 3A /<<03A 1940 D=73<B :/ ACA>3<A7=< 2C AGABP ; 3 23A ?C=B/A >0B@=:73@A, B/<27A ?Cb/CB=C@ 23 :b#44713 23A 16/>53A *716G A3 1=<AB@C7B :b7::CA7=< 2bC<3 A=CD3@/7<3B0 ; /7<-B3<C3. AD31 8CAB3AA3, J. B@/C:B A=C:75<3 ?C3 13BB3 0>=?C3 D=7B :/ 27AA=:CB7=< 23 :b7<B0@QB 50<0@/: /C A37< 23A 7<B0@QBA >/@B71C:73@A,

A7BC/B7=< ?C7 >3@A7AB3 8CA?Cb3< 1958 (:/ @C>-BC@3 <b3AB 2=<1 >/A A7 0D723<B3 /D31 :3A /<<03A 1950).

3. E< ; /B7P@3 23 ?C=B/A >0B@=:73@A, :3A /<<03A 1950 <3 A=/A 2b/0=@2 :b3<83C 23 :/ @7D/:7B0 3<B@3 :3 1=@>A 23A !7<3A 3B :b1<A->31B7=< 23A F7/</13A, 1=<B@/7@3 ; 3<B K 13 ?C3 A=CB73<B :b67AB=@7=5@/>673 2= ; 7/</B3. !/7A :b3<83C 3AB 073< :/ 1/>BC@3 23 :/ @3<B3 : :3 1=<4:7B =>=A3 3<B@3>@7A3A 4@/<N/7A3A 3B 3<B@3->@7A3A /<5:=-A/F=<<3A, 3B /CAA7 3<B@3>@7A3A 3B IB/B. Cb3AB 717 ?CbC<3 >@7A3 3< 1= ; >B3 >:CA 47<3 /C@/7B 2X >3@ ; 3BB@3 23 A=C:75<3@ :/ @7D/-:7B0 CFS-) G\$ (>C7A E:4-E&A\$) =C 13::3 =>=>=A/<B 'B/<2/@2 #7: 3B '63:: F@/<13.

4. 3 AGABP ; 3 23A ?C=B/A >0B@=:73@A Ab3AB 3< 4/7B ; /7<B3<C 23 1958 8CA?CbK :/ 47< 23A /<<03A 1980. C3:/ <3 A75<7473 >/A <013AA/7@3- ; 3<B ?C3 \ :/ >=:7B7?C3 23A B@/<A/1B7=<A 7<B3@</B7=</:3A 23 :/ F@/<13 <b3AB >/A <03 1= ; ; 3 >=:7B7?C3 2b IB/B, ; /7A :3 23D73@=-5@3AA7D3 ; 3<B J. C3BB3 /447@ ; /B7=< >/@/SB C@ >3C 27A1CB/0:3 A7 :b=< >3<2 3< 1= ; >B3 :/ \$@3 ; 7P@3 GC3@@3 ; =<27/:3 B :3A /<<03A 1920 : ; Q ; 3 A7 :3C@ 7203 <b/ 8/ ; /7A 0B0 23 1@03@ C<3 1= ; >/5<73 2b IB/B, A/<A =C7A =C163C@, &/G ; =<2 \$=7<1/@0 3B E@<3AB ! 3@173@ 7: <bG /C@/7B 3C <7 CFS< 7: =7 23 1928 AC@ :3 @/447</53. 3 16/<53 ; 3<B 3AB 7<B3@D3<C 2/<A :3A /<<03A 1930.

)<3 A31=<23 1=<1:CA7=< @0A723 2/<A :b/0/<2=< (?C3 :b=< />@=CD3 3< 5@=A) 23 :/ B6PA3 B@/27B7=<<3::3 23 :b67AB=@7=5@/>673 : 1/ >@02= ; 7/</13 23A 1/@B3:A ; 2/ >=:7B7?C3 ; =<OB/7@3 7<AB7BCB7=<<3::3 ; 3/ :CBB3 1=@>A 23A ! 7<3A-E " A ; 4/ 3<83C 23 20D3:=>>3 ; 3<B 01=<=:; ??C3 3B 2b/@07B@/53 3<B@3 @3<B3A. J. B@/C:B G ACOAB7BC3 C<3 /CB@3 >0@7=27A/B7=< : 1/ :CBB3 3<B@3 7<B0@QBA ; 2/ 27AA=:CB7=< 23 :b IB/B ; 3/ /@07B@/53 3<B@3 @3<B3A ; 4/ 0 ; 3@53<13 2bC<3 >=:7B7?C3 7<AB7BCB7=<<3::3. b=< >=C@@/ 27A1C-B3@ 23 :/ 27AA=:CB7=< 23 :b IB/B 2/<A :3A /<<03A 1930-1940 : :/ =7 AC@ :/ ; =07:7A/B7=< 23 :/ </B7=< < 3< OB/B 23 5C3@@3 23 1938 >=@B3 :b3 ; ->@37<B3 23 &/C: D/CB@G 3B 2bC<3 6/CB3 1=<13>B7=< 23 :b IB/B. ^ :b7<D3@A3, 7: 3AB 073< D@/7 ?C3 \ :3A @3AB@71B7=<A ?C/<B7B/B7D3A =<B

8=CO C< @U:3 23 >@3 ; 73@ >:/< 2/<A :/ >=:7-
 B7?C3 01=<= ; 7?C3 3FB0@73C@3 23 :/ F@/<13 /C
 , ,³ A7P1:3 J. AC B=B/; , :/ 1=<1:CA7=< />>=@B3
 03/C1=C> K :/ @04:3F7=< AC@ :/ >=:7B7?C3 23A
 ?C=B/A 2b7 ; >=@B/B7=< >OB@=:73@A.

b=CD@/53 Ab/16PD3 >/@ 2b7 ; >=@B/<B3A
 /<<3F3A. ! /:5@0 ?C3:?C3A 7<AC447A/<13A, :/

B6PA3 23 JC:73< B@/C:B />>=@B3 03/C1=C>
 2b7<4=@ ; /B7=<A <=CD3::3A 3B, 2/<A A=< 16/-
 >7B@3 3, >@=>=A3 C< B@PA 7<BO@3AA/<B 3AA/7 2b7<-
 B3@>@OB/B7=< ?C7 0=CA1C:3 C<3 67AB=@7=5@/>673
 47503 23>C7A :=<5B3 ; >A. I: G / :K ; /B7P@3 K C<
 :7D@3 2bC< 7<BO@QB 13@B/7<, 2=<B :/ >CO:71/B7=<
 A3@/7B B=C@B K 4/7B 073<D3<C3.

Dominique BARJOT

*Professeur d'histoire économique contemporaine
 Université Paris-Sorbonne (Paris IV)*