

Labour exchanges: what are the issues at stake?

David Rappe¹

<https://doi.org/10.4000/chrhc.2360>

Labour exchanges, an expression of workers' autonomy

For almost 30 years, the Labour exchanges (Labour exchanges) were an essential component of French trade unionism. From the end of the 19th century through to the First World War, the Labour exchanges and their federation played a central role in the development, assertion and structure of trade unionism, shaping and profoundly influencing the nature of trade unionism and, in particular, of the Confédération générale du travail (CGT). They gave rise to a complete and autonomous model of trade unionism based on tactics, strategy and a social project. The dominant model of syndicalism that developed within the Labour exchanges proposed a tactic of struggle through direct action, a strategy of social transformation through the general strike, and immediate and future organisational structures – the Labour exchanges and the workers' unions – destined to replace the state and employers.

For most CGT leaders of the time, and first and foremost for those of the Bourses federation, such as Fernand Pelloutier and then Georges Yvetot², the

-
- 1 David Rappe is the author of *La Bourse du travail de Lyon, une structure ouvrière entre services sociaux et révolution sociale* (Histoire de la Bourse du travail de Lyon des origines à 1914), Éditions ACL, 2004, 224 p. All comments, reflections, sources and documentation used in the production of this book and the above article are taken from research carried out as part of the following academic work:: Rappe David, *La Bourse du travail de Lyon (des origines à 1914)*, Mémoire de maîtrise, Lyon, 1997, 151 p.; Rappe David, *Les Bourses du Travail, des structures ouvrières entre services sociaux et révolution sociale, une étude à travers les Bourses du travail de la Loire, du Rhône, de l'Isère et de la Drôme, des origines à 1939*, mémoire de DEA, Lyon, 1998, 134 p.
 - 2 Pelloutier Fernand, born in Paris on 1 October 1867, died in Sèvres (Seine-et-Oise) on 13 March 1901. Assistant secretary in 1894 and secretary general in

Labour exchanges appeared to be an instrument for organising the working class on an inter-professional basis, but they are also a tool of struggle and organisation for future society. Central to this dynamic is the notion of workers' autonomy³. This is defined primarily by its capacity to resist the republican integration of the working class, and by its ability to think of itself as an autonomous project, at odds with the delegation of power and political representation. It favours unionism that is independent of all political parties and representations.

The question, then, essentially lies in knowing in what way, and through what aspects, the Labour exchanges are, or can be depending on the circumstances, the political and social context of the time, the activist personnel who run them or local realities, an expression of this workers' autonomy.

However, it's important to qualify some of our findings and assertions, depending on local realities and the different periods in the evolution of French trade unionism and the CGT in particular. Nevertheless, the trends and dynamics presented below seem to us to be dominant within the Labour exchanges and their federations, from their origins in the early 1890s through to the First World War, and even up to the mid-1920s for certain towns⁴.

Organisational autonomy

Labour exchanges are first and foremost the expression of an inter-professional grouping on a geographical basis. They offer trade unionism a

1895 of the National Federation of Labour Exchanges, formed in Saint-Étienne in February 1892, he was an anarchist and trade union activist who, from 1895 until his death in 1901, was the driving force behind the Federation of Labour Exchanges. Yvetot Georges, born and died in Paris, 20 July 1868-11 May 1942. A typographer, anarchist activist and trade unionist, he was elected general secretary of the Federation of Labour Exchanges on 22 March 1901, succeeding Fernand Pelloutier. From the Montpellier congress in September 1902, the secretary of the Labour Exchanges section was, by virtue of his position, secretary of the CGT. Yvetot was therefore, until 1918, second in the union hierarchy as deputy general secretary of the CGT.

3 See on this issue, Jacques Julliard, *Autonomie ouvrière. Études sur le syndicalisme d'action directe*, Paris, Seuil, 1988.

4 This was the case, for example, with the Saint-Étienne Labour Exchange. See, in this regard, Daniel Colson, *Anarcho-syndicalisme et communisme, Saint Étienne 1920-1925*, CEF/ACL, St-Étienne, 1986, 222 p.

structure and a framework for action covering both vertical and horizontal dimensions.

With the establishment of professional federations, vertical organisations enabled action to be taken at the professional level across the country, leading to worker solidarity within the same industry. Horizontal territorial organisations – Labour exchanges, then departmental⁵ and local unions⁶ – embody a different kind of solidarity, transcending the diversity of professions to build relationships of proximity and inter-professional solidarity on a geographical basis. Each union belonged to its professional federation and to the local Labour exchange. The originality, strength and autonomy of our trade unionism stem from this coordinated action between a national structure and local roots through the Labour exchanges.

It should also be noted that the composition of the Labour exchanges is often a strict reflection of the dominant industrial activity(ies) in the localities where they are located. This is a far cry from the idea that the Labour exchanges should be the place where small guilds, too weak to gain a foothold in industrial action, could come together and find a framework for expression and existence. The first Bourses to appear at the end of the 19th century were based on the dominant industrial branches in each locality. Around 1896, for example, the existing Bourses in the Loire region reflected the local industrial fabric. In Saint-Étienne, until 1914, the industrial activity of the city and its catchment area, the Gier and Ondaine valleys, was marked by the predominance of three sectors – trimmings, mining and metallurgy – and these were predominant within the Labour exchange from its earliest years. Indeed, in 1896, the largest union to join the Bourse was that of the miners, with around 1,000 members, representing 34% of the total membership. Next came the textile workers, who accounted for 18% of the Bourse's membership, followed by the metal workers, who represented 13% ⁷. In Roanne, where textile companies were dominant, employing by 1894 nearly 7,000 workers in 21 companies ranging in size from 170 to 600 workers, weavers, numbering 2,000, and dyers, numbering 220, were in the majority at the Labour exchange. In 1896, textile workers accounted for 88%

5 **TRANSLATOR'S NOTE:** A "département" is a territorial unit which could more or less correspond to a county. There are 96 "départements" in metropolitan France.

6 **TRANSLATOR'S NOTE:** In the CGT trade union movement, the "union locale" (local union) is not a local trade union but a union of all trade unions on a grassroots geographical area at the lowest level of the organisational chart.

7 ADL.93M57 Rapport de synthèse du commissaire spécial pour l'année 1896

of union members at the Labour exchange⁸. Similarly, during the Belle Époque, from 1906 to 1911, the Labour exchanges clearly reflected local and regional industry. In the Rhône-Alpes region, two groups of industries dominated the trade union forces making up the Labour exchanges: textiles and metalwork⁹

The inter-professional nature of the Labour exchanges is therefore a major factor in the nature of these structures. While they are inter-union groupings, bringing together various trade and industry unions, their identity is of a higher order, being inter-professional. Indeed, the Bourses' aim is not simply to bring together the workers' unions of a locality, but to transcend their corporate identity in a collective structure on a geographical basis which, beyond professional identities, is interested in the concerns of the working population in general, and strives to create an inter-professional trade union and workers' culture. Their aim is to be a place where workers from different trades can meet and work out their analyses and demands beyond the specificities of each trade or profession.

This dimension is clearly evident in every one of their initiatives and dynamics. Their services are supported and managed by all member unions, and above all they are aimed at the entire working population of a locality, whatever their professional activities, as the internal regulations of the various Labour exchanges¹⁰ show. The principles, organisations and practices that emerge from them also enable the emergence of concrete inter-professional solidarities. This solidarity can be explicit, as in the case of strike action, through the provision of financial support via the Labour exchange's strike fund, the dispatch of activists and propagandists to the site of conflict, or the placement of strikers' children in foster families for the duration of the strike, as in 1906 during the Fougères shoe workers' strike¹¹.

They can also be implicit, as in blocking job offers from the Bourse's employment office for a professional sector where workers are on strike. For example, at the request of a union representing a corporation on strike in the Lyon area, the Bourse's executive committee could decide to block any

8 AN. F7/13605 Enquête ministérielle de 1896.

9 AN. F7/13601, 13604, 13605 et 13612 Enquête ministérielle de 1907 et 1911.

10 Voir, par exemple, les règlements intérieurs de la Bourse du travail de Lyon, ADR.10MPsilo2/travée360, Bourse du travail, rapport du commissariat spécial de 1892 à 1902.

11 Rolande Trempé, *Solidaire : les Bourses du travail*, Paris, Scandéditions, 1993, 119 p., p. 74 et 75.

movement by the employment office concerning this corporation, thereby reducing the risk of employers finding replacement staff during the strike. This is what happened in 1895 during the strike by tinplate workers, when the employment office, the “man” of the Bourse, was instructed to refuse to give job addresses “to workers from outside and to renegades¹²”.

It was undoubtedly this identity and inter-professional organisation that fostered the development of a revolutionary consciousness, which in turn led to the formulation of a social project based on a class identity that transcended professional differences.

Autonomy of action

The autonomy of action advocated and practised within the Labour exchanges is mainly expressed through the principles of democracy and direct action considered as union practice.

Within the Labour exchanges, each member union is represented in the executive committee by delegates, who hold the same number of votes¹³. It is therefore all the workers' unions members of a Labour exchange that keep it going, set its direction, make decisions, form and compose committees, and manage it. It is then up to each union to define mandates, control and ensure the rotation of its delegates on the executive committee. In this way, the Bourses provide a genuine form of direct democracy, with decisions taken from the bottom up and without delegation. The practice of direct action as a mode of action is simply an extension of these concepts of direct democracy and refusal to delegate power. Far from any contemporary radicalism seeking to turn direct action into a violent mode of action, Labour exchanges militants, and more specifically revolutionary syndicalists and anarchist militants, saw direct action as a union practice in which the workers themselves intervene directly in their struggle, at all levels and at all stages, without recourse to specialists in representation and negotiation. Violence can only be the result of the conflict at hand, and by no means a tactic of struggle, and can only be a defensive response to employer and state violence¹⁴

12 ADR.10MP. BT Commissariat spécial. Rapport du 22.02.1895

13 Here too, please refer to the internal regulations of the various Labour exchanges, AN F7/13567.

14 See Émile Pouget, *La Confédération générale du travail* and *Le parti du travail*, éditions Marcel Rivière, 1905 et 1908.

The autonomy of action of the trade unionism embodied by the Labour exchanges is also marked by the ability to articulate immediate demands with demands for a rupture. The Labour exchanges are both structures that aim to respond to the urgent needs of the working population in today's society, but by providing a meeting place for workers' unions, they are also a centre for demands, workers' agitation and challenges to the established social order. Neither principled reformism nor revolutionary incantation, but a capacity to start from reality, from concrete demands and needs, and to satisfy them through organisation and struggle in the society of the moment, while making the causes of these demands clear and developing alternative responses. In this dynamic, the practice of striking is conceived as revolutionary gymnastics, making it possible to improve everyday life while preparing for revolution, and the general strike as a revolutionary tactic. The strike thus becomes a privileged means of expression, as it represents workers' autonomy in action, and the general strike is the culmination of this workers' autonomy. Militant syndicalists of the time understood that it was only through cross-industry action that the general strike could be built, and the old world toppled. They refused to forget that, while the primary aim of trade unionism is the immediate improvement of working and living conditions, it must also be the long-term bearer of a project for social transformation. It was this whole approach to trade unionism that was written down in black and white, debated and adopted at the CGT Confederal Congress in 1906, and which became known as the "Amiens Charter". As part of this dynamic, the Labour exchanges had to respond to these two objectives¹⁵.

Social and cultural autonomy

The Labour exchanges's ability to respond to the concrete needs of the working class at the time was an expression of its social autonomy. It is fully reflected in the multitude of social services set up. This is what we might call the social function of the Labour exchanges, foreshadowing in some ways the state social policy that would emerge much later, and which this time would be taken over by the ruling classes rather than by the workers themselves. The Labour exchanges services provided concrete answers to the needs of the working-class population on key issues such as

15 Report on the proceedings of the 15th National Trade Union Congress (9th of the General Confederation of Labour) and the Labour Exchanges Conference held in Amiens from 8 to 16 October 1906, Imprimerie du progrès de la Somme, Amiens, 1906.

unemployment, labour legislation, vocational training and health, as well as in the fields of education and culture, at a time when there was no state job placement system, regulated vocational training or social insurance system¹⁶.

Their role in terms of workers' services is expressed primarily in the placement of the unemployed. This is one of the main reasons why municipal and state institutions justify their existence and the allocation of subsidies. Placement offices have been set up in each labour exchange to collect job offers, list places of employment, compile statistics on industrial activity and make them available to men and women looking for work. In the same field, a service known as *viaticum* was set up to provide financial assistance to union activists who were victims of employer repression and blacklisted. The purpose of this aid was to enable them to move from one Labour exchange to another in order to find work and settle in another locality.

At a time when vocational training was left to private and employer initiative, the various labour exchange unions set up vocational courses specific to their sector of activity. These took place at the Labour exchange and were organised and run by union activists. The aim of these courses is to give workers greater professional autonomy, so that they are better equipped to deal with employers on issues of hiring, pay and dismissal. This apprenticeship through the union also aims to foster class consciousness.¹⁷ In

16 For more information on the range of services and cultural initiatives offered by Labour exchanges, see Rappe David, *Les Bourses du travail, des structures ouvrières entre services sociaux et révolution sociale, une étude à travers les Bourses du travail de la Loire, du Rhône, de l'Isère et de la Drôme, des origines à 1939*, mémoire de DEA, Lyon, 1998, 133 p.

17 **TRANSLATOR'S NOTE:** In 1913, Emma Goldman wrote an article in which she outlined all the services provided by the CGT and its mutual support organisation: "Chief among these activities are the *mutualités*, or mutual aid societies, established by the French Syndicalists. Their object is, foremost, to secure work for unemployed members, and to further that spirit of mutual assistance which rests upon the consciousness of labour's identity of interests throughout the world." ... "The French Syndicalists have established other activities tending to weld labour in closer bonds of solidarity and mutual aid. Among these are the efforts to assist working men journeying from place to place. The practical as well as ethical value of such assistance is inestimable. It serves to instil the spirit of fellowship and gives a sense of security in the feeling of oneness with the large family of labour. This is one of the vital effects of the Syndicalist spirit in France and other Latin countries." "I have repeatedly witnessed, while at the headquarters of the *Confédération*, the cases of working men who came with their union cards from various parts of France, and even from other countries of Europe, and were supplied with meals and lodging, and

Lyon, for example, the first motivation put forward when the press announced the opening of vocational courses at the Labour exchange was a revolutionary one, aimed at giving workers, and first and foremost trade unionists, the ability to manage production within the framework of the future society. Indeed, the Bourse's militants assert that “with modern industrialisation tending more and more to specialise labour, it is important for the militant working class to fortify itself from a technical point of view, so that the day it is called upon to direct production, it will not be obliged to have recourse to adversaries who will have an interest in making it appear inferior”¹⁸. A few months later, in their report on the first financial year of the vocational courses, the Bourse's militants also placed the introduction of this service in the context of the society of the time, emphasising how important it was for all workers to gain a deeper understanding of the technical aspects of their profession.¹⁹ This second argument is rooted in the day-to-day concerns of workers, and we can see the sensitivity of union discourse to the first consequences of the massive appearance of machines in the organisation of work. This discourse is also marked by the consequences of the recent Great Depression on the labour market. In another area, in response to the efforts of corporate insurance companies under the Workmen's Compensation Act, the Bourses set up their own medical dispensaries to offer better-quality diagnosis and care to affected workers, often coupled with free medical consultations for union members and their families.

Labour exchanges also play a part in the emergence of genuine cultural autonomy, by taking on many social issues not directly linked to trade unionism. They play a role in popular education by organising conferences, theatrical performances of a social nature, artistic matinees and popular balls, generally accompanied by union involvement. These initiatives cover a wide range of themes, from anti-militarism to workers' health and hygiene, women's emancipation and birth control. They bear witness to the multitude of societal issues taken up by the Labour exchanges. Once again, this

encouraged by every evidence of brotherly spirit, and made to feel at home by their fellow workers of the *Confédération*.” Emma Goldman « Syndicalism, The Modern Menace to capitalism », Mother Earth Publishing Association. [Syndicalism | The Anarchist Library](#)

18 Journal *Le Peuple* du 15 au 24 novembre 1895.

19 ADR. PER.128 Bulletin officiel de la Bourse du travail de Lyon (BO/BT) n° de juillet/août 1897.

movement played a part in the emergence of a genuine class culture that would encourage the spread of revolutionary ideas.

Corporate autonomy

Taken together, these concepts, practices and forms of organisation led the Labour exchanges to develop a trade unionism with a “ruptureist” vision of the society in which it was evolving, giving it a revolutionary dimension.

As a whole, as a complete model of society in action, the Labour exchanges prefigure the future post-revolutionary society. They represent a veritable parallel world, a counter-society that reflects the ability of the working class to take society into its own hands. They are the expression of a trade unionism based on the practice of direct action, and recognising the right of workers to collectively govern themselves by managing their own affairs. And the Labour exchanges don't just proclaim this, they put it into practice in their day-to-day operations and objectives. Autonomy thus appears as a genuine school of emancipation through the practice of internal self-organization. Starting from the premise that direct management, to use the term of the time, would be the driving force of future society, and that it was not innate but had to be learned, practised and confronted with reality, the Bourses militants were determined to make it the focus of their dynamics and initiatives. This was also to be the driving force behind their trade unionism, fostering the necessary experimentation before the revolutionary breakthrough, and the means to equip themselves with the necessary conditions to be able to relaunch society afterwards. By taking part in the life of the Bourse du travail, by seeking to make concrete improvements to everyday needs, every worker was confronted with this experimentation and this form of social organisation that could open up other perspectives.

The Labour exchanges thus had the capacity to give concrete form to the revolution by already being a prefiguration of it, an outline of it, at the same time as being tools for immediate struggles and demands. The societal model they embodied was also an essential component of the trade unionism they fostered.

Political autonomy

This complete model of trade unionism, based on a form of organisation, a practice and a project for society that are all three intimately linked, ensures independence from all political representation. Indeed, the

organisation proposed by the Labour exchanges, based on a geographical and professional foundation, offers an alternative to parliamentary forms of representation. The Labour Exchanges encouraged the labour movement of the time to assert its autonomy as much as possible, through a comprehensive model of trade unionism and social project organised around them, even going so far as to seek separation from the rest of society.

This autonomy of the labour movement was achieved not only in relation to attempts at republican integration, but also in relation to any form of political representation by the various socialist parties of the day. This autonomy of the labour movement was not only in relation to attempts at republican integration, but also to any form of political representation by the various socialist parties of the time. The aim of socialist, and later communist, parties, through the concepts of *social republic* and the *conquest of state power*, was to encourage workers to see themselves as an integral part of the management of society through their representation, and of any progress and benefits that might result.

Delegation of power and elections become indispensable in such a process. In order to achieve political leadership of a society, you need to be able to integrate yourself into its game of political representation. The conquest of political power requires a division of tasks between trade unionism, whose role is limited to corporate demands and social agitation, and the party, bringing together the most conscientious faction, which is responsible for providing answers in societal terms. Societal change is then achieved through the seizure of power, in this case municipal or state power. These are very different conceptions, and irreconcilable with the autonomist dynamics promoted by the Labour exchanges

Whereas, until 1914, the labour movement was politically “separatist”, understanding that parliamentarianism was the monopoly of the ruling classes, socialist political parties began to take an interest in it and even integrate it into the political system through their representation. Taking all this into account, we can see that the development of the communist phenomenon in the 1920s favoured this integration, and was also a factor in the decline of revolutionary syndicalism, even momentarily capturing part of its heritage. What's more, the rise of the suburbs and the Communist Party's electoral success in many of these new municipalities encouraged the

transition from a working-class culture formed in the Labour exchanges to a working-class culture more focused on the suburbs, the neighbourhood and the urban space. This is what is happening in towns such as Bobigny, Saint-Denis and Vénissieux²⁰. In these municipalities, which they control, the Communists strive to set up numerous services for the working-class population, replacing those offered by the Labour exchanges²¹

In conclusion, these last remarks lead us to consider the limits of the Labour exchanges. First and foremost, there is the question of their disappearance, their loss of centrality within the trade union movement between the wars. The emergence of the Communist phenomenon, draped in the prestige of the Russian Revolution, and the contribution of Marxist-Leninist theories aimed at making trade unionism a simple transmission belt for the party, profoundly weakened the role of the Labour exchanges and imposed a new mode of development and action on the labour movement. With the ensuing union division, the Labour exchanges ceased to be the expression of a vast cultural and political ensemble of profound agreement between the labour movement and the working class. Built around the idea of workers' unity, both in their composition and in the expression of their services, the Labour exchanges found themselves transformed into islets amid the general collapse²². Depending on the situation, insurmountable questions arise as to how to exclude this or that type of union member from the services of these institutions. How can we deny access to the library, to legal information, to Esperanto courses – even though Esperanto is an international proletarian language – to those who don't have the right union card?

These changes can also be explained by the fact that, as a result of the First World War, the working class underwent a profound transformation, becoming younger and more feminine, forming a significant part of the working class that had not experienced the glory days of the pre-1914 Labour exchanges. What's more, the First World War also led to a real generational divide within the labour movement, due to the devastation it wrought on the working and peasant classes. Many of the militant trade

20 See the following works on this issue: Annie Fourcaut, *Bobigny, banlieue rouge*, Paris, Éd. Ouvrières-Presses de la FNSP, 1986, 216 p. et Jean-Paul Brunet, *Saint-Denis, la ville rouge, 1890-1930*, Hachette, Paris, 1981.

21 Madeleine Rebérioux, « Conscience ouvrière et culture ouvrière en France entre les deux guerres mondiales », *Historiens et géographes*, n° 350, octobre 1995, p. 219-229.

22 Daniel Colson, *op. cit.*, p. 192 et 193

unionists who had played an active role in the Labour exchanges and carried forward their spirit and practice, would no longer be there in the aftermath of the war to pass on the baton, to pass on an experience and a certain conception of the workers' movement. Those who "remained", who were still around, were very often, on the contrary, those who, like Léon Jouhaux, had accepted the sacred union in the war and even collaborated within the state apparatus, an experience that certainly modified their vision of things by drawing them into a social-democratic state conception. These were the militants who, for the most part, counterbalanced the emergence of the communist movement, while also turning the page on workers' autonomy.

Moreover, the dynamics defined above within the Labour exchanges were not always so clear-cut, depending on local situations or the different union tendencies influential at any given time. In the immediate aftermath of the failure of the May 1st general strike in 1906, reformist currents gained a foothold in some Bourses thanks to socialist unity within the SFIO and the support of municipal authorities won by radical or socialist politicians.²³ In such cases, the Labour exchanges lose their independence and autonomy, and became mere relays for political parties and municipal social policy, while continuing to provide a framework for the unions' corporate struggles. Nevertheless, this phenomenon remained limited, and the mindset and dynamics we have described remained dominant and prevalent within the Bourses and their federation. With the decline of revolutionary syndicalist dynamics within the CGT, from 1909-1910 onwards, they even appeared to be a refuge for such ideas.

Finally, the experience and history of the Labour exchanges were also marked by questions surrounding their independence and relationship with institutions, particularly in view of the subsidies they received. Far from

23 **TRANSLATOR'S NOTE:** *SFIO: Section française de l'Internationale socialiste, French section of the Socialist International, official name of the Socialist Party founded in 1905.*

One of the factors that had enabled the power of revolutionary syndicalism was the extreme division of the socialist movement, which had as many as five parties, themselves fractured into countless factions. During this period, the CGT was therefore the only pole of identification for the working class. When the socialist movement unified in 1905, a second pole of identification was created, which attracted many workers hoping to obtain through mediation what the revolutionary syndicalists promoted through constant confrontation with employers and the state.

becoming an “ideological state apparatus”, as some historians have argued²⁴, the Labour exchanges were able to maintain their independence and autonomy from municipal and state institutions, at least when revolutionary syndicalists were dominant. A closer relationship with institutions could only be a political choice, as was the case in some cities, and not an institutional necessity. The question of subsidies was never a determining factor in the life or even the survival of these working-class structures, even if the phenomenon of “subsidising” is very real. Between 1906 and 1911, for example, all the Labour exchanges had a high proportion of subsidies in their budgets, ranging from 60% to 90% of the total, with an average of around two-thirds²⁵. Nevertheless, the loss of these subsidies has never led to the closure of a Labour exchange, which continued to exist with its own resources. The only real problem was that of ownership of the buildings in which the Labour exchanges were located. As the buildings were made available to the workers' unions by the municipalities, it was through this means that the authorities exercised control and repression over the trade union movement, which could lead to the closure of Labour exchanges, as in 1905 in Lyon, in 1906 in Paris and Grenoble, and in 1911 in Saint-Étienne. Neither in Lyon in 1905, nor in Grenoble in 1906, could the withdrawal of subsidies lead to the closure of these two Bourses. It was only the withdrawal of the municipal building they enjoyed, and the expulsion of the unions by force, that enabled them to be closed down.

24 Peter Schöttler, *Naissance des Labour exchanges. Un appareil idéologique d'État à la fin du XIX^e siècle*, Paris, PUF, 1985.

25 AN. F7/13567. Enquête du ministre de l'Intérieur de 1907 et de 1911.

Labour exchanges: what are the issues at stake?.....	1
Labour exchanges, an expression of workers'	
autonomy.....	1
Organisational autonomy.....	2
Autonomy of action.....	5
Social and cultural autonomy.....	6
Corporate autonomy.....	9
Political autonomy.....	9