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**THE HAENNIG-NORDMANN PAPERS:
TWO LAWYERS IN OCCUPIED FRANCE**

Eric Freedman and Richard Weisberg

**Program in Holocaust, Genocide, and
Human Rights Studies**

Benjamin N. Cardozo School of Law, New York

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JOSEPH HAENNIG AND LÉON-MAURICE NORDMANN: TWO LAWYERS IN OCCUPIED FRANCE

INTRODUCTION

This monograph concerns the roles of two lawyers during the tragic drama of the German Occupation of France from 1940 to 1945. On the one hand, Joseph Haennig, a Parisian lawyer of Alsatian origin, was a legal commentator of the collaborationist Vichy regime's anti-Jewish legislation, a defender of wartime common law criminals and Resistance participants, and after the war, of collaborators. On the other hand, Léon-Maurice Nordmann, a Parisian lawyer of Jewish origin, became a member of the first French Resistance group, was defended during his trial by Haennig, but was executed in 1942.

For the first time, we publish *in extenso* translated transcripts from Haennig's own archives on Nordmann, who was tried with other members of the "Musée de l'Homme" (Museum of Mankind) Resistance group. These archives contain correspondence and detailed notes in French and German, which show that the German Occupation authorities closely followed all the activities of the group until their arrests, trials and executions. In all, there are 35 documents, dated between January 1941 and September 1944, including 2 written by Nordmann himself, 2 by his brother Roger Nordmann, 12 by Haennig, 3 by Jacques Charpentier, Head of the Bar Association¹, 3 by fellow lawyer Joseph Nolleau², and 9 by the German authorities.

Part 1 of this monograph analyses the respective roles of Nordmann and Haennig during the Occupation.

Part 2 reproduces the translated archival material in chronological order.

Part 3 consists of biographies, bibliographies and an inventory of the Haennig archive.

¹ Charpentier was inscribed at the Paris Bar in 1908, his address in 1944 was 28 avenue Marceau, Paris 8e.

² Nolleau was inscribed at the Paris Bar in 1901, his address in 1944 was 86 rue de Lille, Paris 7e. He was a member of the Bar Association Council.

PART ONE

LÉON-MAURICE NORDMANN

Léon-Maurice Nordmann was born on 18 February 1908 in Paris³ and became a lawyer at the Appeals Court of Paris.⁴ He became a member of the French section of the Workers' International Movement (SFIO) in the 1930s.⁵ He was domiciled at 7 Boulevard Arago in Paris 13e.⁶

In 1940, with fellow lawyers André Weil-Curiel⁷ and Albert Jubineau, he founded a clandestine group "Socialist lawyers". In a first act of rebellion, on 11 November 1940, commemorating the German defeat of 1918, Weil-Curiel and Nordmann deposited a gigantic visiting card and flowers in the name of De Gaulle at the Arc de Triomphe on the Champs-Élysées, followed by a large student demonstration, dispersed by the Germans. Nordmann's group was eventually contacted to become members of the "Musée de l'Homme" resistance group⁸

³ Paris is usually given as Nordmann's birthplace. However, according to Joseph Haennig's defense notes of 1942, he states Nordmann was born in the town of Lörrach (in Alsace) of French parents.

⁴ For biographical details on his childhood, adolescence, student and professional years, see the introduction by Jean Cahen Salvador to Léon-Maurice Nordmann, *Journal (1938-1941)*, Carcassonne, Imprimerie Gabelle, 1993, pp. 5-14. Nordmann was the oldest son of a family of Alsatian origin, who took care of his mother, his brother Roger and his two sisters Antoinette and Claudie. His father was a banker who committed suicide. According to Cahen Salvador, *op. cit.*, p. 9, Nordmann became a lawyer because of "a natural feeling for social justice and a lively taste for equity." Concerning Nordmann's Judaism, Cahen Salvador writes (*op. cit.*, p. 13): "Raised according to the practices of the Jewish religion, he had no faith in the beliefs taught by the Old or the New Testament." In 1939, although he wanted to serve as a combatant, he was myopic and was enrolled in the meteorological service of the army (incorporated into air company 6/138 in Lorraine, then Paris, and in June 1940, in Bordeaux. Demobilized, he returned to Paris. (The air company 6/138 archives from 24 August 1939 to 29 July 1940 are held by the History Services of the French Ministry of Defense: SHD/DAA. Sub-section 2D).

⁵ The SFIO became the French Socialist Party in 1969.

⁶ In 1944, a nearby street was renamed "Rue Léon-Maurice Nordmann" with a commemorative plaque. There is also a "Rue Léon-Maurice Nordmann" in the Paris suburb of La Garenne-Colombes.

⁷ See Part 3.1 below for biographical and other information concerning all persons connected to the Nordmann case. On lawyers in the Resistance, see Liora Israël, *Robes noires, années sombres. Avocats et magistrats en Résistance pendant la Seconde Guerre mondiale*, Paris, Fayard, 2005. Also see: Liora Israël, "From cause lawyering to Resistance : French Communist lawyers in the shadow of history (1929-1945)", in : Austin Sarat & Stuart Sheingold (eds.), *The Worlds Cause Lawyers Make*, Stanford University Press, 2005, section I, chapter 5.

⁸ There are several in-depth studies and memoirs of this first Resistance movement, including Martin Blumenson, *The Vildé Affair : beginnings of the French Resistance*, Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1977; Agnès Humbert, *Resistance, Memoirs of Occupied France* (1946), transl. Barbara Mellor, London, Bloomsbury Publishing, 2008; Anne Hogenhuis-Seliverstoff, *Des savants dans la Résistance : Boris Vildé et le réseau du Musée de l'Homme*, Paris, Editions du CNRS, 2009 ; Julien Blanc, *Au commencement de la Résistance*, Paris, Editions du Seuil, 2010.

which engaged in several clandestine activities, including an anti-Vichy tract in September 1940.⁹ It published the first clandestine journal entitled *Résistance* on 15 December 1940.¹⁰ After that date, a reprint was planned. In addition to this activity, Nordmann was also persuaded to give some money via Albert Gaveau to Weil-Curiel then in Quimper, Brittany, to help with passage to England.

It seems that Weil-Curiel delegated to Nordmann contacts with a group of workers who were also aviators, one of the objectives apparently being to help them go to England. The first issue of *Résistance*, however, given to them by Nordmann, was reprinted by this group of young workers, all members of the aero-club at Aubervilliers, a Paris suburb, where they had access to a Gestetner duplicating machine: Albert Comba, Gabriel Duplex, Roger Fortier and Roger Robbi. Unfortunately their work was discovered, they were arrested by the French police, and then handed over by French magistrates to the German Occupation authorities at the end of December 1940. A list of 22 members of their network was found, including the names of Nordmann and Weil-Curiel for whom arrest warrants were issued.

Nordmann learned of this, and, on Boris Vildé's advice¹¹, sought refuge with the Countess de la Bourdonnaye. He was, however, one of the first members of the Resistance group to be arrested. Attempting to leave Paris from the Montparnasse station, accompanied by Gaveau, for Douarnenez in Brittany, he was arrested on the train by German police at Versailles-Chantier railway station on 13 January 1941.¹² He tried to escape from the police car taking him to Paris, was shot in the thigh, recaptured and taken to the Prison de la Santé.¹³ (At the same time, his

⁹ According to former colleague René-Georges Etienne, in a homage to Nordmann in 1946 (cited by Israël, *op. cit.*, pp. 117-118, p. 467n119, from a citation by Lucienne Scheid in 1957): "(Nordmann) played an important role in the writing and distribution of numerous tracts; he wrote the expression "De Gaulle saves honor"... (Nordmann's) group united its efforts with those of another network ... of the Musée de l'Homme ..."

¹⁰ This is the date on the copy in the French National Library (cited, with Nordmann as one of its founders, in *Enrichissements de la Bibliothèque Nationale de 1945 à 1960: dons et acquisitions*, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, 1960, p. 143).

¹¹ According to Hogenhuis, *op. cit.*, p. 126, Vildé had learned on 9 January 1941 that Nordmann was threatened with being arrested, known to him as the lawyer who distributed the journal *Résistance*.

¹² According to Blanc, *op. cit.*, p. 390, Nordmann was arrested by the GFP (*Geheime Feldpolizei*, secret police), acting on instructions of the SD (*Sicherheitsdienst*, security service). His arrest was announced in the press, for example, in *Le Matin* (Paris), n° 20752, 21 January 1941. Humbert, *op. cit.*, p.30 cites this example, and states that Vildé "confirmed that Nordmann was indeed one of us." Cahen Salvador, *op. cit.*, p. 17, also cites *Le Matin*, as well as *L'Oeuvre* of 21 January 1941. Blanc, *op. cit.*, p. 239n25, cites the arrest from French police archival source: AN.BB.18.3233: "Arrest of three lawyers by the Occupation authorities".

¹³ Humbert, *op. cit.*, p. 33 at the date of 5 February 1941 writes that "Lewitsky has ominous news concerning Nordmann: he has not been freed" and mentions his bloodstained clothes.

eldest sister, Antoinette, was arrested by a German counterespionage force and imprisoned as a hostage at the Prison de la Santé but eventually freed, once Nordmann's capture was confirmed). As soon as his arrest was known, the Head of the Bar Association, Jacques Charpentier, inquired as to the prison and the charges against Nordmann by the German authorities, so as to appoint a lawyer.¹⁴ He was later imprisoned at the Prison du Cherche-Midi in Paris.¹⁵ When he was at the Prison de la Santé, he was taken from there to the rue Saint-Dominique (together with the Aubervilliers aero-club members) where a first military trial¹⁶ found him guilty of tract distribution and sentenced him to two years of imprisonment on 24 February 1941.¹⁷ He was then incarcerated in the prison of Romainville, and subsequently in Villeneuve St. Georges.¹⁸

¹⁴ Cited by Israel, *op. cit.*, p. 119, p. 468n135, citing French National Archives AN.BB.18.3233.

¹⁵ The Prison du Cherche-Midi was a Parisian military prison from 1847 until 1950, situated at 54 Boulevard Raspail. It was demolished in 1966.

¹⁶ The press mentioned the names of the defense lawyers: *Le Matin* (Paris), 22 January 1941, "Affair of Anglophile tracts": "The lawyers qualified to defend the accused are Me Stauber, former Head of the Colmar Bar, Baudoin-Bugnet, Mouquin, Hoening (sic: misspelling for Haennig), Wilhelm and Porée." (Cited by Jean Cahen Salvador in his introduction to Nordmann, *op. cit.*, p. 18). According to the Paris Appeals Court directory of 1944, the above were registered at the Bar as follows: Pierre Baudoin-Bugnet in 1913, (Fernand) Mouquin in 1911, (Joseph) Haennig in 1922, Wilhelm in 1934 and Jean Porée in 1902 (*Annuaire de la Cour d'Appel de Paris 1944*, Paris, Editions Techniques, 1944).

¹⁷ Humbert, *op. cit.*, p. 45 at the date of 8 April 1941, met Léo Hamon who "worked very closely with Nordmann, whose trial has just ended. (Nordmann) handled himself with great distinction, defending himself with a dignity that impressed even the judges. He was sentenced to just two years. After pleading guilty, he said that he hated Nazism for three reasons: because he is French, Jewish and a socialist. Nordmann has got off lightly." Nordmann's own diary, dated from 26 March to 16 October 1941, relates the conditions of his imprisonment, relieved by visits from his family, fellow lawyers and reading (Nordmann, 1993, *op. cit.*, pp. 165-239).

¹⁸ According to Blumenson, *op. cit.*, his brother Roger brought him books and food, and his sisters did his laundry. He tried to escape, but was too weak to do so.



However all the group was denounced by an infiltrated member and former aviator Albert Gaveau, working for the SS Captain Doehring since the end of October 1940¹⁹, and 19 members were arrested, imprisoned and tried by the German Occupation authorities on espionage charges. The accused were able to choose German-speaking defense lawyers from a list of members of the French Bar established by the Germans. Nordmann tried to direct his own defense by preparing a memorandum for his lawyer (Haennig) whom he criticized in mail to his brother.²⁰ The trial, before German Captain Ernst Roskothen, began on 8 January 1942, in the court barracks of the Fresnes prison. Apparently, according to two of the group who survived, Agnès Humbert²¹ and Jean-Paul Carrier²², Roskothen was respectful of the accused. His account of his pre-trial interviews at Fresnes in December 1941 indirectly mentions Nordmann: "... a Parisian lawyer ... Jewish with a German-sounding name. It goes without saying that Amels (Roskothen) treats him and the others with equal courtesy. The lawyer declares openly that he has worked against Hitler because he is "a Frenchman, a Jew and a socialist".²³

¹⁹ According to Blanc, *op. cit.*, p. 390, source: French National Archives AN.Z6.810.5677.1-13 on Gaveau.

²⁰ Israel, *op. cit.*, p. 122, p. 469n144 cites the letter, dated 27 January 1942, from Roger Nordmann's private archives: "... I have not yet seen him. I've never really been able to speak to him ... I've prepared a few notes for him that I absolutely insist on sending him." It is highly probable that these "notes" refer to the memorandum published as Document 34, below.

²¹ Agnès Humbert, *Résistance* (1946), translated by Barbara Mellor, New York, Bloomsbury, 2008, pp. 96, 102, 298. She writes (p. 99) that she spoke with Nordmann for the first time at the Fresnes Prison on 11 February 1942.

²² Jean-Paul Carrier, "Le procès du Musée de l'Homme", *Combat* (Alger), février 1944.

²³ Humbert, *op. cit.*, p. 315.

Nordmann was transferred to Fresnes and therefore retried²⁴ (Roskothen was not aware that Nordmann had already been judged and condemned to two years imprisonment, a fact that the Prosecutor Gottlob did not reveal and that the defense lawyers did not insist on). He was addressed scrupulously by Roskothen as "Herr Nordmann" without any of the antisemitic remarks made by the Nazi Prosecutor Dr. Gottlob, who addressed him as "the Jew Nordmann" or "the Jewish lawyer". According to Haennig's (almost undecipherable) scribbled German trial notes²⁵, it seems clear that he tried to use the mitigating circumstances of Nordmann's difficult family life, as well as the roles played by Gaveau and Weil-Curiel, to defend his client, although stating his patriotism as a Frenchman. According to Humbert, "the prosecutor directs his vitriol at Nordmann, stating that the 'Jewish lawyer' has been despicable enough to denounce the Countess de La Bourdonnaye, who gave him shelter. Nordmann's lawyer (Haennig) intervenes to protest vehemently that his client has never talked ... This interruption sends the prosecutor into paroxysms of rage, during which the judge (Roskothen), a decent and fair man, nods his head to the lawyer and replies 'Perfectly true.'²⁶ When the Prosecutor asked the Countess de la Bourdonnaye if she knew that Nordmann was Jewish when she agreed to shelter him, she replied that "in France, we pay no attention to such a detail".²⁷ Humbert writes that Nordmann said to her, "They may shoot me, but my honor is intact".²⁸ Although accused of aiding and abetting the enemy, punishable by death, in reality he was not guilty, but Gottlob wanted his execution, and Roskothen was finally not able to stand up to the Prosecutor. If anything, Nordmann was guilty of giving money to Weil-Curiel and of distributing some tracts, as did Etienne, one of the accused, who was to be acquitted. Nordmann is quoted as having said to one of his fellow accused: "We should not complain. We played the game. We knew the risks and we lost. So much the worse for us. Others will continue our work."²⁹

The Prosecutor Gottlob pronounced his accusation on 11 February 1942. Together with six of his fellow resistance members, Nordmann was sentenced to death on 17 February 1942. Defence pleas and petitions for clemency, and appeals against execution were dismissed.³⁰

²⁴ On 5 January 1942, he wrote to Cahen Salvador, *op. cit.*, p. 18: "This week, I must undergo the trial I underwent at the end of February (1941), for the second part; I hope I'll get out of it as well as for the first one. But I change administration ..."

²⁵ See document n° 24, below.

²⁶ Humbert, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

²⁷ Cited by Blumenson, *op. cit.*, chapter 9 on the trial. The Countess is quoted as saying she did not know Nordmann, according to Haennig's trial notes, in document n° 24, below.

²⁸ Humbert, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

²⁹ Cited by Blumenson, *op. cit.*

³⁰ According to Blumenson, *op. cit.*, even the Vichy Ambassador Fernand de Brinon asked for clemency, in that Nordmann had only lent money to Weil-Curiel, who did not in fact then go to

Death sentences were confirmed by Field Marshal Wilhelm Keitel in Berlin. Nordmann was executed by firing squad at Mont Valérien at 5pm on 23 February 1942³¹. The others executed were: Georges Ithier (arrested on 8 March 1941), Jules Andrieu (arrested on 20 June 1941), René Sénéchal (arrested on 19 March 1941), Pierre Walter (arrested on 18 April 1941), Anatole Lewitsky (arrested on 10 February 1941) and Boris Vildé (arrested on 26 March 1941). The death sentences for Yvonne Oddon (arrested on 10 February 1941), Sylvette Leleu (arrested on 16 April 1941) and Alice Simmonet (arrested on 10 February 1941) were commuted to sentences of deportation. Emile Muller (arrested on 19 April 1941) and Agnès Humbert (arrested on 15 April 1941) were condemned to five years hard labor in Germany. Jean-Paul Carrier (arrested on 28 February 1941) and Elisabeth de la Bourdonnaye (arrested on 23 March 1941) were condemned to three years and six months imprisonment respectively. Five were acquitted: Jacqueline Bordelet (arrested on 18 April 1941), Albert Jubineau (arrested on 8 February 1941), Daniel Héricault, René-Georges Etienne (arrested on 13 January 1941) and Henri Simmonet.³² (arrested on 10 February 1941).

In a last letter³³, Nordmann thanked Jacques Charpentier, the Head of the Bar Association,³⁴ for the efforts on his behalf, and hoped that his sacrifice would not be in vain. According to fellow lawyer and resistant Jean Victor-Meunier³⁵, as well as to surviving resistant Claude Aveline³⁶, Nordmann went to his death singing "Le Fiacre" by Xanrof.³⁷ Soon after

England, so Nordmann could not really be guilty of having aided and abetted the enemy

³¹ The previous day, 22 February 1942, 13 Jewish Communists or sympathizers, taken from Drancy internment camp to the Cherche-Midi prison, had been executed at Mont Valérien (cited by Serge Klarsfeld, *Le Calendrier de la persécution des Juifs en France, 1940-1944*, Paris, FFDJF, 1993, pp. 185-186).

³² Apart from the name of René-Georges Etienne, all these members are mentioned in the German flow-chart of the group's activities, from October 1940 to June 1941, see Document 12 below. See Part 3.1 for brief biographies of the group members.

³³ Blumenson, *op. cit.*, cites a last letter to his sisters in which Nordmann wrote that he now had the duty to die after having done his best to assume his responsibilities: "... I still had a duty of a Frenchman and a free man to accomplish. I knew the risks of a soldier. It is as a soldier I wish to die, confident in a future which I hope my sacrifice will help in attaining..."

³⁴ Jacques Charpentier (1881-1974) was Head of the Bar Association, entering into the Resistance at the end of 1941, according to his necrology, "Eloge de M. le Bâtonnier Jacques Charpentier", *Revue internationale du droit comparé* (Paris), vol. 26, n° 4, oct-déc. 1974, pp. 869-877.

³⁵ In a letter to the French magazine *Le Nouvel Observateur* in 1986.

³⁶ In Claude Aveline, *Les mots de la fin*, Paris, Editions Hachette, 1957, p. 155, where he writes that Nordmann sang in the truck taking him to execution.

³⁷ Léon Xanroff (1867-1953), a former lawyer become songwriter, wrote "Le Fiacre" in 1888, it was famously recorded by Yvette Guilbert in 1930. According to Blumenson, *op. cit.*, Nordmann went to his death smiling.

the execution, according to Roskothen, the Prosecutor Gottlob said to him, "They all died bravely, even Nordmann."³⁸

In 1943, Nordmann was described as having been "a young and brilliant lawyer, slender, nervous, always on the move (...) (he) had in fact given his whole self to his party and his country."³⁹

More than fifty years later, Jean Cahen Salvador⁴⁰ published an edition of Nordmann's *Journal*, begun on 30 April 1938 and ending on 16 October 1941, three months before the second trial and execution.⁴¹ In his prison diary, Nordmann made only a passing reference to Haennig.⁴²

JOSEPH HAENNIG

Joseph Haennig⁴³ was Léon-Maurice Nordmann's defense lawyer. Little mentioned, if at all, in histories of the "Musée de l'Homme" affair or its brief and tragic judicial aftermath, and only very briefly mentioned in Nordmann's own prison diary, Haennig's participation strikes a chord that reverberates significantly in the story not only of the Resistance, but of law as it was understood in France during the Vichy period.

Haennig was born in Alsace and fluent in German. He was on a panel of lawyers listed by the French Bar Association for the German Occupation authorities. This in part explains his role before German

³⁸ Cited in Humbert, *op. cit.*, p. 321 from Roskothen's memoirs. Also cited by Blumenson, *op. cit.* Nordmann is buried in the "Carré des corps restitués" of the communal cemetery, 39e division, avenue de l'Est, Ivry-sur-Seine, Val de Marne. In addition to the commemorative plaque at 100 rue Léon-Maurice Nordmann, Paris 13e, his name is inscribed on the three following monuments to the dead: Monument at rue des Tilleuls/rue des Moulins, route départementale 15, Briou, Loir-et-Cher; Monument at the Paris Law Courts (Palais de Justice); Monument at the Mont-Valérien, Suresnes. Nordmann was awarded posthumously the "Médaille de la Résistance".

³⁹ Louis Lévy, *France is a democracy*, translated by W. Pickles, London, Victor Gollancz Ltd., 1943, p. 146.

⁴⁰ Jean Cahen Salvador (1908-1995), first met Nordmann when they were both children, in 1919. He became a lawyer, was a Conseiller d'Etat, interned at Drancy, but escaped deportation. He received a last letter from Nordmann, just before his execution, plus his journal, sent by Charles Pomaret, former minister and lawyer, via Vichy Ambassador Fernand de Brinon, and delivered in March 1942.

⁴¹ Léon-Maurice Nordmann, *Journal (1938-1941)*, préambule par Jean Cahen Salvador, Carcassonne, Imprimeries Gabelle, 1993.

⁴² Nordmann, 1993, *op. cit.*, p. 212, dated 4 June 1941.

⁴³ According to Eric Alary, *Un procès sous l'Occupation au Palais Bourbon, mars 1942*, Paris, Assemblée Nationale, 2000, Joseph Antoine Haennig was born on 28 March 1890 in Dannemarie (Haut Rhin), obtained his law degree in 1919 and was registered at the Paris Bar on 4 January 1921. (The Paris Appeals Court annual for 1944, lists him as being inscribed at the Paris Bar in 1922: *Annuaire de la Cour d'Appel de Paris, 1944*, Paris, Editions Techniques, 1944, p. 95). His address was 7 rue Dante, Paris 5e (The "Latin Quarter" of Paris). He received the *Légion d'Honneur* in 1962 (*Journal Officiel de la République Française* (Paris), *Lois et Décrets*, vol. 94, 1962, p. 6913) and he resigned on 30 June 1969.

military courts in wartime France, always on behalf of defendants and in front of German judges.⁴⁴ It is interesting to note that many of the defendants were either lawyers or linked in some way to the legal profession.

What makes him singularly fascinating, is that he took a broader and almost academic-level interest in problems connected not only to special German courts⁴⁵, but also to the French régime's legislative campaign against Jews on French soil during Vichy.⁴⁶ It is probably not mere coincidence that the man who defended Nordmann before German Captain Ernst Roskothen in early 1942 was contemporaneously considering on high levels of generality the topic of "laws of exception" of French – as well as German – origin. Nor would we be overly imaginative in suggesting that, for Joseph Haennig, his client's ultimate fate – death-by-law – evoked that of other Jews in other places who were already being arrested, not for resistance activities, but for the status alone of "Jewishness" under French law.⁴⁷

We publish below the scant documentary record of direct written communications between Haennig and Nordmann relative to the military trial, in addition to Haennig's own notes and the German authorities' documents. In fact, apart from correspondence between Haennig and Nordmann's brother Roger, there are only two notes from

⁴⁴ Cases he defended include those of the following: Marc Desserée, a pilot, member of Béthune air club, tried in April 1941 and executed at Mont Valérien on 5 November 1941; Emile Parmentier, an employee at the Préfecture de Police, accused of tract distribution, but freed on 29 September 1941; Paul Keller, a notary, accused of treason, but executed on 24 October 1941; Albert Transler, a notary clerk, accused of spying, but executed on 13 February 1942, in a case similar to Nordmann's, only ten days before the "Musée de l'Homme" executions; Jacques Persky, an international lawyer, arrested for being "of the Jewish race", interned on 12 May 1943 and deported to Auschwitz on 30 June 1944. However in the case of the veterinary surgeon and Resistant Dr Paul Julien Lafaye, Haennig, as his defense lawyer, was not allowed to plead, and a German lawyer was appointed instead: Lafaye was tried in April-May 1942, his death sentence was commuted to deportation to Germany where he died at Sonnenburg on 15 May 1944.

⁴⁵ He published legal articles on the powers of the Occupying army, as well as on German military courts: "Les pouvoirs de l'armée occupante et la justice militaire allemande", *Gazette du Palais* (Paris), 1er semestre 1941, pp. 4, 155-159 (copy in the archives of Ambassador de Brinon, French National Archives AN.F60.I.505); "La compétence des tribunaux militaires allemands et les effets de leurs décisions sur l'action publique devant les tribunaux français", *Gazette du Palais* (Paris), 1943-1, Doctrine, pp. 14-16.

⁴⁶ He also published legal articles on the mixed racial definition of the Jew: "L'incidence de la loi de séparation des Eglises et de l'Etat sur la définition du métis juif", *Gazette du Palais* (Paris), 1942-2, Doctrine, pp. 32-37; « Quels moyens de preuve peuvent être fournis par le métis juif pour établir sa non-appartenance à la race juive ? », *Gazette du Palais* (Paris), 1943-1, 27-30 mars, pp. 31-32. This latter essay was published in translation by Richard Weisberg, « The Hermeneutic of Acceptance and the Discourse of the Grotesque, with a classroom exercise on Vichy Law », *Cardozo Law Review* (New York), 17, 6, May 1996, pp. 1912-1913.

⁴⁷ The two Vichy French "Statuts des Juifs" (Jewish statutes) date from 3 October 1940 and 2 June 1941.

Haennig to Nordmann (of 25 January 1941 and 18 November 1941 respectively) and two notes from Nordmann to Haennig (of 15 November 1941 and early 1942 respectively).

Haennig must have known that, even though there was the possibility of acquittal or a lighter sentence, his client was almost definitely doomed. We do not know if, indeed, Nordmann had done anything more than help distribute leaflets, a crime for which he was already serving a two-year sentence, when he was re-arrested on the capital charge of aiding and abetting the enemy. But the trail of evidence connecting him to the Musée de l'Homme group and its contacts with the Free French, must have seemed to Haennig too clear to differentiate Nordmann from the central players (especially Vildé) in the group. Furthermore, Nordmann, like Haennig, was a lawyer; the respect he inspired at the Paris Bar⁴⁸ would have the mirror-image effect before the German court of elevating him to a mature leadership position that implicated him in the seditious plot.

It would be highly useful to have something in the record that indicates Haennig's strategic linkage of the unlikelihood of his client's victory or even survival to the fact that Nordmann was a Jew, who in effect defined himself as "a Frenchman, a Jew and a Socialist." Haennig's defense notes (see document n° 26 below) only refer minimally to Nordmann's Jewishness⁴⁹, although the initial German court documents do mention this, and two years after Nordmann's execution, in a self-justifying letter dated 19 September 1944 (see document n° 35 below), Haennig informed the Head of the Bar, Charpentier, that "the Court, following my request, retained that he (Nordmann) had acted not as a Jew but as a patriot". Indeed it was not the Judge Captain Roskothen that mentioned Nordmann's Jewishness at the trial but the vindictive and anti-Semitic Prosecutor Gottlob, according to the official proceedings.

The Jewishness of a far more prominent defendant before a Vichy court just prior to these proceedings – Léon Blum – did not become overt either during that trial in the town of Riom⁵⁰. There as here,

⁴⁸ See Jacques Charpentier's plea for clemency to the German authorities, dated 20 February 1942 (Document n° 30 below), following Nordmann's death sentence of 17 February 1942, executed on 23 February 1942.

⁴⁹ It is interesting to note that Nordmann's family appeared to be more interested in the anti-Semitic legislation than he was: in his prison diary (Nordmann, 1993, *op. cit.*, p. 215), at the date of 14 June 1941, he writes that he had a half hour of conversation with his brother Roger and sister Antoinette who "are preoccupied by the new law on the Jews, and they wonder how the exceptions based on old families (which is our case) and services rendered could play out." This refers to the new exclusionary law of 2 June 1941.

⁵⁰ See Richard H. Weisberg, *Vichy Law and the Holocaust in France*, New York, NYU Press, 1996, Chapter 1, pp. 6-36. Also, in Nordmann's prison diary (Nordmann, 1993, *op. cit.*, p. 178), at the date of 4 April 1941, he writes, "I think of Léon Blum. Where is he? Still a prisoner? Has he been judged? ..."

everyone in the courtroom knew what was never placed on the record or placed on the record only in an invective and negative fashion. Haennig was too careful an observer to have discounted the significance of Nordmann's religion before a German court.

Joseph Haennig could not save his client's life. What he continued to think and write about was the status of Jews on French soil who were all threatened as Jews by Vichy law. His legacy should include at least something of the Nordmann trial's history, and this is the effort of the present writers. But it is already established in the vast amount of post-war writing about Haennig as a specialist on the "mixed heritage individual" under Vichy law.⁵¹ We know the outcome of Haennig's efforts for Nordmann. We do not know how much good, if any, his analytical writings achieved during Vichy on the ambiguous question of the Jewishness of individuals with exactly two Jewish and two non-Jewish grandparents. We know he was trying to help ease such beleaguered individuals out of the "threat" of Jewishness before French judges and administrators. We do not know if such efforts only helped to strengthen the system of laws generally with which men such as Haennig decided they could work.⁵²

Léon-Maurice Nordmann was executed after trial before a German court. Had he been freed, he would have faced his own countrymen's punishment just for being a Jew. Haennig's analysis would not have helped him – as a proud Jew with four Jewish grandparents – to escape punishment of one form or another, up to and including deportation and annihilation.

To this extent, Joseph Haennig failed his client twice.

⁵¹ See detailed Haennig bibliography below.

⁵² According to the few surviving Haennig archives in our possession, in addition to Nordmann (January 1941-February 1942), it would appear that between October 1940 and September 1943, he defended at least a dozen Jews in France: Haimovici (October 1940); Simon Korn (December 1940); Jean A. Seligmann (born 15 June 1903, art dealer, Haennig was in contact with him in April 1941, but he was executed at Mont Valérien 15 December 1941); Igor Goldfarb (born 22 June 1918, Haennig was in contact in April-May 1941, but he was executed at Mont Valérien 15 December 1941); Charles Georges Hazan (May 1941); Fabius Finkielman (born 19 May 1908, furrier, Haennig was in contact in September 1941, but he was executed at Mont Valérien 15 December 1941); Daniel Chakaroff, Roger Leys (October-November 1941); Arthur Harsahaw (June 1942); Jacques Persky (born 18 January 1880, Haennig was in contact with him from December 1942 to May 1943, but he was deported to Auschwitz on 30 June 1944); Annette Koch (August-September 1943).

PART TWO

TRANSLATION OF THE
 JOSEPH HAENNIG — LÉON-MAURICE NORDMANN
 CORRESPONDENCE AND DOCUMENTS

1. Handwritten note from Jacques Charpentier⁵³ to Joseph Haennig. 1 p. not dated (but c. 16-20 January 1941, as Léon-Maurice Nordmann was arrested on 13 January).

Paris Court
 Bar Association
 Office of the Head of the Bar

Mr Haenig – commissioned for Mr Nordmann before the
 German military courts.

(Signed) Jacques Charpentier

2. Carbon copy, typewritten note (from Haennig) to Roger Nordmann⁵⁴, dated but not signed.

Paris, 22 January 1941

Mr NORDMANN Roger

Dear Sir,

I have been commissioned by the Head of the Bar to defend
 your brother. Could you come and see me as soon as possible?

Please be assured of my distinguished feelings.

3. Handwritten name and address of Roger Nordmann.

Mr Roger Nordmann
 7 B(oulevard) Arago
 Paris 13e

⁵³ Jacques Charpentier (1881-1974) was Head of the Paris Bar Association both during and after the Occupation. He contacted the French Prosecutor's office about the case on 16 January 1941 (French National Archives AN.BB.18.3233 cited by Israel, *op. cit.*, pp. 119, 468n135).

⁵⁴ Nordmann's brother Roger was arrested on 23 August 1941 and interned at Drancy, together with other Jewish lawyers, according to Nordmann's prison diary (Nordmann, 1993, *op. cit.*, p. 234).

4. Carbon copy, typewritten note (from Haennig) to Léon Nordmann, dated but not signed.

Paris, 25 January 1941

Mr Léon NORDMANN

I have been commissioned by the Head of the Bar to defend you.

5. Carbon copy, typewritten note (from Haennig) to (Roger) Nordmann, dated but not signed.

Paris, 19 February 1941

Mr Nordmann

Dear Sir,

Your brother's affair will be held on the 24th of this month at 9
 o'clock in the morning.⁵⁵

I have just obtained a communication permit and I will go and
 see your brother next Friday, as tomorrow I am absent all day.

Please be assured of my distinguished sentiments.

6. Folder cover with MS notes.

The folder is headed "H.L.V.L50dl63/w" and "J.N.A."⁵⁶

Monsieur Léon Nordmann
 hearing of 24/2/41
 2 years imprisonment
 hearing of 17 February 1942:
 Death Sentence⁵⁷⁵⁸

⁵⁵ This date refers to Nordmann's first trial for tract distribution, for which he was sentenced to imprisonment.

⁵⁶ "H.L.V.L." probably refers to the initials of the accused Héricault, Lewitsky, Vildé and Leleu. "J.N.A." probably refers to the initials of the accused Jubineau, Nordmann and Andrieu.

⁵⁷ Léon-Maurice Nordmann, aged 34, after a second trial in January 1942, was executed by a German firing squad on 23 February 1942.

⁵⁸ Monsieur Léon Nordmann / aud du 24/2/41 / 2 ans réclusion / audience du 17 février 1942: peine de mort

7. Folder cover inside, MS note.

C(om)tesse de la Bourdonnaye⁵⁹
Lit 51.15

8. Handwritten notes, by Haennig, in German. 2pp. Dated 26 February (1941). (These notes appear related to the first Nordmann trial).

These handwritten notes are sometimes illegible and decipherable with difficulty, hence the gaps in our translation. The word or words underlined appear so in the original manuscript.

(p.1):

26 April 1939 – 3 July 1940

Tracts

Robbi did not know Nordmann

Discussed matters with comrades

List of persons given by Nordmann

Provides Resistance

Go into battle, if the command comes. Observe those who betrayed the homeland

Described the situation to the enemy (...)

Nordmann (...)

(p.2): 26 February

Nordmann. Order of defense

He's the kind of Jew who, with courage and self-denial, has overlooked the consequences of his actions and has accepted the risks.

⁵⁹ The Countess Elisabeth de la Bourdonnaye, also accused in the same trial, was eventually sentenced to 6 months in prison. According to Nordmann's prison diary, he learned on 24 August 1941 of her release (see Nordmann, 1993, *op. cit.*, p. 234).

Has openly admitted everything.

In a certain sense, doesn't he deserve respect because of this ?

You proved that you appreciate people with character, even if they are outspoken enemies.

Being a Jew, Nordmann is naturally disposed to be an enemy of the Germans.

Couldn't you, for this reason, give him credit for his extremely hostile views ?

Leave it to the Court, which can find proofs of any grounds for mitigation *ex officio*.

Someone tried to aid him ...

Examination of (proofs)

Born in Lörrach⁶⁰ of French parents

Did not work actively, while his mother was alive.

Weill-Curiel linked to Comba.

Nordmann: copy of tracts – copying machine

Distributed tracts – 20 ...

Fassier. He knew it from one of my clients and I knew his ideology

3 people were solicited by

Fassier for distribution

9. Typescript document in German concerning the trial of a certain Salomon Marx in Melun, sentenced to 6 months for insulting Germany. 3 pp. Dated 10 October 1940. (This document is placed here as it was attached to the previous notes, and appears to have been used as a precedent in the preparation for the first Nordmann trial).

St.B.L. Nr 99 1940

JUDGMENT

⁶⁰ In Alsace. However other biographical information states he was born in Paris.

In the name of the German People

Criminal case against the horse trader Salomon Marx born on 8.5.1875 in Verdun, residing in Provins.

For insulting

Has on 9 October 1940 in Melun participated in the court martial of Feldkommandantur 680

As Judge Advocate:

Judge Dame

Lieutenant Colonel Grimm, AOK 2⁶¹

Officer Henn, Feldkommandantur 680

For the accusation:

First Lieutenant Dr Braun

For the clerk's office:

Sergeant Fröning

judged:

The accused is sentenced to six months imprisonment for insulting the German Wehrmacht

II

Case

The accused, a Jew, is a horse trader in Provins and owns a house there where German troops were quartered until the end of September. Since the end of May 1940 there also lived in the house the Polish worker Clemens Mondrowski, who worked for the cousin of the accused in Reims and brought horses from Reims to Provins. Mondrowski and another Pole, Jordan Jurasz, worked for a slaughterhouse of the German Army, and left Provins at the end of September as well. The accused asked witness Mondrowski every so often, how many cattle were slaughtered every day for the German troops and dropped remarks that the Germans sucked the blood of the French. When German units left Provins at the end of September, the accused moved back to his property – he had previously lived somewhere else – and demanded that Mondrowski move out. He scornfully asked Mondrowski if he had liked the "Boches" "Dogs". He also called them "bandits" and "blood-suckers".

⁶¹ AOK : Armeoberkommando, Army High Command.

By these insults, the accused therefore comes under paragraph 134 of the Reich Penal Code (Insulting the German Army) for verbal abuse.

The accused denies the accusation, he had said nothing unjust about the German Army, and alleged that what Mondrowski specified was done as revenge because he had dared to indicate a theft by Mondrowski to the French police. That the witness Mondrowski is hostile to the accused may be correct, there is a lack of anything sustained, with forged expressions, especially since this is confirmed by the meaningful expressions of the witness Jurasz. Jurasz, also a Pole, who had already been living for 15 years in France, wanted to help Mondrowski move out and also heard, as the accused has said: Now he was master in the house again, the Germans were robbers and bandits, the house must be cleaned, it stinks of Germans.

The witnesses have sworn their testimony, so there is no doubt of their correctness. Accordingly the accused has abused the German Army heavily. Even if it benefits him that, as a Jew, his opinion on Nazi Germany might be particularly hostile, nevertheless the punishment must be 6 months imprisonment. An appeal against detention is not announced.

I confirm the verdict.

The verdict is to be enforced.

I do not reserve the right to modify, this is transferred to the respective State lawyers.

Melun, 10.10.1940

For the Court
signed Müller
Major-General

10. Carbon copy, typescript letter to Nordmann's brother, dated 31 May 1941.

Paris, 31 May 1941

Mr NORDMANN

NORDMANN Aff(air)

Dear Sir,

I have seen your brother who is well⁶². He asked me to see the Court for the restitution of sums which were seized from him and which had not been definitively confiscated.

Please be assured of my distinguished sentiments.

- 11. Black bordered, handwritten letter from Roger Nordmann, dated 4 June (1941).

4 June

Dear Sir.

I have received your letter and I thank you most vigorously for all the efforts that you can make.

Please be assured of my respectful and grateful sentiments.

(Signed) Roger Nordmann

- 12. Carbon copies, typescript chronology in German, dated from 1 October 1940 to 20 June 1941. 14 pp. (This spread-sheet document, which purports to show parallel information concerning three distinct groups – Vildé, Weil-Curiel and la Rochère – seems to have been finally established between June and October 1941, by which date the second Nordmann trial, within the larger trial of the Musée de l'Homme group, was announced).

⁶² Nordmann's prison diary (Nordmann, 1993, *op. cit.*, p. 212) at the date of 4 June 1941 briefly mentions a visit by Haennig.

October 1940

Vildé	W.-Curiel	de la Rochère
Group	group	group

During month: Vi(ldé) Lev(itzky) Wa(lter) Sé(néchal).etc.

- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- 6 (So.)
- 7
- 8Sé(néchal) in
- 9Paris
- 10 Vildé duplicates Roosevelt-Hull talks. RV Prof. Rivet
- 11
- 12
- 13Lev(itzky) produces about 100 tracts
- 14
- 15
- 16
- 17Weil-C(uriel) with Vildé at Rivet
- 18
- 19
- 20
- 21
- 22
- 23
- 24
- 25
- 26
- 27Sé(néchal) meets
- 28Leleu
- 29
- 30
- 31

November 1940

Vildé group

During month: Vi(ldé) Lev(itzky) Wa(lter) Sé(néchal)etc.

	1	
	2	
.....	3	Davidowitz ⁶³ 1st. Travels
	4	2 friends, Bordeaux
	5	2 airmen,
Vildé meets W.C.	6	St.Agnau (sic) Montpont(sic)
with Rivet.	7	Poirel to Oddon
Vildé gives	8	Marseilles meets
Germain &	9	via Col.
Dicerbo address	10	Périgueux de la
to Héricauld.	11	.....return Paris Rochère
Vildé in	12	in the Museum
Brittany.	13	
Vildé meets Mme	14	Café Mabillon: Sénéchal meets Vildé through Lel(eu)
Sim(onnet).	15	
Levitzky, later	16	..... Sé(néchal) first time with
Sé(néchal)	17	Vildé
presented.	18	
Héricauld.	19	
Nordmann meets	20	
Comba, Dupleix	21	
etc.	22	
Rés(istance) Nr1	23	
	24	
Duplication	25	
machine from	26	
Rivet	27	
	28	
	29	
	30	

Beginning Dec.

⁶³ Authors' note: we have been unable to identify clearly this Resistant.December 1940

Vildé group

During month: Vi(ldé) Lev(itsky) Wa(lter) Sé(néchal) etc.

	1	2nd.Travel
Rés. 1	2	Moulins
	3	Letters sent
	4	return to Paris
	5	<u>Franç(ois), Walter, Ithier, Sé(néchal), Vildé</u>
	6	
Walter inspects	7	
Muller	8	
	9	3rd.Travel
	10	Postal places
	11	established
	12	St.Laurent
	13	return to Paris
	14	
	15	
	16	
	17	
	18	
	19	
	20	
	22	4th.Travel
	23	Moulins,
	24	Macon
	25	Marseilles to
	26	Mme Silberthal
	27	on 28 th , there
	28	Jean Trainel ⁶⁴
Sé(néchal) gets	29	Dubois-Lev(itsky),
1st Vildé letter	30	Nordmann. Café
from Leleu	31	Montparnasse
(Trocadéro)	beginning Jan. 41	1.1 return to Paris

⁶⁴ Authors' note: We have been unable to trace the names of Silberthal or Jean Trainel as linked to the Musée de l'Homme group.

December 1940

W(eil)-Curiel group La Rochère group

During month: W(eil)-Curiel Nordmann Jubineau etc.

- 1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8 N's mother dies
9
10
11 W(eil)-C(uriel)
12 gives Nordmann order
13 500 copies of Nr1
14 Meets Dubois in Les
15 Deux Magots⁶⁵
16
17 Vi(ldé) gives Dix Meets Jubineau with Jub(ineau): W.C.,N.
18 Germain address to Fatieu (sic)
19 Gaveau
20 Travels to Brest N,visit of Comba Carrier maps
21 with Gaveau
22
23 N:Gaveau gets
24 9.000 frs. N:visit of
25 Comba+Forb(ier)
26 N:Comba,Forbier (sic)
27 + Robbi(sic) Oddon-de la
28 N:Aubervilliers Rochère
29 Aero Club⁶⁶ espionage conversation
30 Comba+Forbier arrested
31 Robbi arrested

⁶⁵ The café and restaurant Les Deux Magots, 6 Place St. Germain-des-Prés, Paris 6^e still exists today.

⁶⁶ The Aero Club was situated at 193 avenue Victor Hugo, Aubervilliers 93.

January 1941Vildé group
During month: Vi(ldé)Lev(itsky)Wa(lter)Sé(néchal)etc.

- 1 from 4th.Travel
2 back
3
4
5 Dér. Inquired
6 about next trip
7 Leleu reference
8
9 2 Americans 5.Travel
10 sister Sarah with Dér.
11 Migs+ 4 to
12 friends of Dér. Montpont,
13 Périgueux
14 Toulouse
15
16 return to Paris
17
18
19
20
21
22Commotion in the Museum
23 with Sén(échal) 6.Travel with Vildé
24 in Free Zone and J.Marquetti⁶⁷
25 Montpont
Res.3(Levitsky) 26 Périgueux
27 Toulouse
28 return with letter
29 for Lev(itsky)
30 4 persons come
31 from Leleu.
2.Leleu letter
exchange
(for Levitsky)

⁶⁷ Authors' note: we have been unable to identify J. Marquetti.

January 1941During month: W(eil)-Curiel Nordmann Jub(ineau) etc.

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	6:meets
7	Dubois (Weil-Curiel)
8	8: meets
9	Dubois
10	with Comtesse
11	de la B(ourdonnaye)
12	Vi(ldé)gives
13	1.000 frs to 13:meets Gaveau 13:I.D. cards
14	Gaveau Nantes 14:Nordmann Carrier
15	back to Paris arrested
16	then to Toulouse 16:meets Carier
17	Sète Vildé
18	("arab" Nat.)
19	
20	
21	
22	22:Vildé stays
23	out at meeting
24	with Carrier
25	
26	
27	
28	
29	
30	
31	

January 1941During month: D(e) L(a) Rochère Group

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	Er(ouchkine) visited by Oddon before. Gave spying
6	material disseminated by Er(ouchkine)through
7	Oddon
8	
9	
10	
11	Continued: de la R(ochère)-Oddon-Erouchk(ine)
12	also de la R(ochère)-Levitzky-Oddon-Erouchk(ine)
13	
14	
15	
16	Surrender of Oddon Ma 10 Celebration Odd(on)
17	Lev(itzky)Erouchk(ine)
18	
19	
20	
21	"2 Magots": Lev(insky)agrees with Mme
22	Si(monnet) on 28.1
23	Oddon is represented
24	
25	
26	
27	
28	Deux Magots: Lev(itzky) gets to know Oddon with
29	Mme Si(monnet)
30	Faber Alma 18h30 Odd(on)+Krouchk(ine)(sic)
	Si(monnet) then goes to
31	Triomphe: Si(monnet)-Unknown

February 1941

Vildé Group

During month: Vi(ldé) Lev(itzky) Wa(lter) Sén(échal)

1	
2	
3	..... 7. Travel
4	..... Ithier St.Laurent
5	..... 4 friends Toulouse
6	..... of Leleu (Marin ⁶⁸ +
7	..... Miss Hadamard ⁶⁹ Trainel)
8	..... Marseilles
9	..... Lev(itzky) Mme Silb.
10	Ithier brings arrested
11	Dr Rivet to
12	border gives
13	Lev(itzky)
14	letter
15	..... return to
16	Paris with
17	letter for
18	Levitzky
19	Meeting:
20	Sén(échal),3 Dér+3
21	English soldiers
22	Ithier 4friends
23	of Dér. soldiers
24	8th.Travel
25	Sé(néchal)
26	+ Ithier
27	9persons,3
28	English
	soldiers
	toToulouse
	Vi(ldé) gives
	Letter for Humbert+
	Allard Sé(néchal)
	returns:1 letter for
	Humbert,1 for
	Mme Sim(onnet)

⁶⁸ According to Blumenson, *op. cit.*, pp. 179,235, Marin was a French secret service agent who gave documents to Bordelet for Walter, betrayed by Gaveau, arrested by the Germans.

⁶⁹ Authors' note: Although we have not been able to identify with certainty "Miss Hadamard", she was doubtless related to the mathematician Jacques Hadamard (1865-1963), a colleague of Rivet.

February 1941

W(eil)-Curiel Group De La Rochère Group

During month: W(eil)-Curiel Nordm(ann)Jub(ineau)etc.

1	
2	2.3.Oddon again gives
3	material to Er.,
4	Lev(itzky)+
5	Si(monnet) Café
6	Balzac ⁷⁰
7	Simonnet+unknown
8	Dupont (Ternes)
9	
10	3.10. Si(monnet)
11	Triomphe
12	10: Arrested:
13	Lev(itzky),
14	Odd(on),
15	couple
16	Sim(onnet)
17	(?) meets Vildé
18	in Toulouse
19	
20	
21	
22	
23	
24	
25	
26	
27	
28	

⁷⁰ Today there are several « Café Balzac » in Paris. The nearest one to the Ternes subway station is at 29 avenue de Friedland, Paris 8e.

March 1941

Vildé Group

During month: Vi(ldé) Wa(lter) Sén(échal)

- 1 *Ré(sistance)* Nr 4 appears Meets Walter, Humbert
 2 (bring letter)
 3 2: Sé(néchal) with Mme Leleu
 4 Sé(néchal) with Walter, Josse⁷¹
 5 presented. Sé Cue 1426
 6 Gaveau Passy. Meunier⁷² (?)
 7 Angoulême
 8 Ithier fixed
 9
 10 meet Dér. (?)
 11
 12 meets Humbert
 13 rue M.le Prince 30
 14
 15
 16
 17 Humbert hands over letter
 18 to Friedmann⁷³
 19 Sé(néchal) arrested on 9th
 20 trip
 21 Rouen
 22
 23 Vi(ldé) back from
 24 Free Zone (Montpont) Wa(lter) will
 25 in Paris (Hotel) be notified
 26 Liberia⁷⁴. Arrested by Humbert
 27 Bar la Cannebière⁷⁵ Wa(lter) meets
 28 Marin or Maugin
 29
 30
 31

⁷¹ According to Blumenson, *op. cit.*, Josse was an English agent who gave documents to Bordelet for Walter, betrayed by Gaveau, arrested by the Germans.

⁷² Probably a reference to fellow lawyer Jean-Victor Meunier, a member of Nordmann's group in 1940, according to Blanc, *op. cit.*, p. 402.

⁷³ Refers to Georges Friedmann, Marxist and sociologist (1902-1977).

⁷⁴ According to the Paris phone book for April 1939, the Hôtel Libéria was at 9 rue de la Grande-Chaumière, Paris 6e. It still exists.

⁷⁵ According to the Paris phone book for April 1939, this bar was at 7 rue de Lyon, Paris 12e.

March 1941

W(eil)-Curiel Group

Rochère Group

During month: W(eil)-Curiel etc.

- 1
 2
 3
 4 W(eil)-C(uriel) arrested
 5
 6
 7
 8
 9
 10
 11
 12
 13
 14
 15
 16
 17
 18
 19
 20
 21
 22
 23
 24
 25 25: *Rés(istance)* Nr 5 appears
 26
 27
 28
 29
 30
 31

April 1941

Vildé Group

During month: Walter

- 1
- 2 Hotel Helvetia⁷⁶, Josse+Marin
- 3 come to Limoges to Mercier
- 4 Meeting Café Voltaire: Departs: instructions
- 5 Müller,Gaveau,Marin, from Bordelet with
- 6 Walter,Bouny,Bordelet Marin,Gaveau later
- 7 Meeting with Mercier
- 8 Continues to Toulouse
- 9 (Hadamard+Friedmann)
- 10
- 11
- 12
- 13 (Easter)
- 14
- 15 Hu(mbert) arrested,Wa(Iter) returns
- 16 Leleu arrested
- 17
- 18 Wa(Iter)+Bord(elet) arrested
- 19 Müller arrested
- 20
- 21
- 22
- 23
- 24
- 25
- 26
- 27
- 28
- 29
- 30

Just before 20.6.41: Doré⁷⁷ parcels found
20.6. Andrieu arrested

⁷⁶ According to the Paris phone book of April 1939, there were two Helvetia Hotels: at 28bis, boulevard Diderot, Paris 12e and at 23 rue de Tournon, Paris 6e. The former still exists.

⁷⁷ According to the Paris phone book of April 1939, there were two Doré Hotels: at 3 boulevard Montmartre, Paris 2e and at 4 rue de la Pépinière, Paris 8e. The latter still exists.

13. Typescript document in German, undated (c. June-Oct. 1941). 2 pp. (This document of brief notes is apparently part of the preparation for the forthcoming trial of the Musée de l'Homme group).

Prospective course of the main negotiation

(Article: the Resistance movement from the Musée de l'Homme, in connection with the activities of a socialist group).

The Musée de l'Homme. Prof. Dr. Rivet⁷⁸ as leader. His interesting co-workers here. Brief grouping of the accused lawyers. Their relations with the Museum circle (Weil-Curiel with Rivet, acquaintance with Vildé etc.).

Vildé's tract production: Roosevelt-Hull⁷⁹ talks (October). Action of Levitzky⁸⁰ in this area. Nr 1 of *Résistance* (End November/Beginning December).

Provision of 500 copies from Nr 1 through Nordmann, who finds Vi(ldé)(Dubois) through W.-C, The relations of Nordmann with Comba, Portier (sic) etc. Activities around W.-C. and Nordmann include their departure and/or arrest. Role of Jubineau, Etienne, Carrier. *Résistance* Nr 2. Hericault (sic) case.

Sénéchal as a co-worker of Vildé. Its prehistory, in particular 1. Travels. 2. Sé(néchal's) travels. The circle around Vildé continues to grow: Walter, Ithieu (sic), Muller. 3, 4 and 5. Sé(néchal's) journeys.

Provable spy(ing). Delivery and spy(ing). Facts on Vildé's trips in the Free Zone.

Vildé's trips, reasons and purposes. 6. Sé(néchal's) trips. *Résistance* Nr 3. 7 and 8. Sé(néchal's) trips. Sé(néchal's) arrest.

⁷⁸ Paul Rivet (1876-1958) was an ethnologist and founder of the Musée de l'Homme. He was not arrested.

⁷⁹ Cordell Hull (1871-1955) was US President Franklin Roosevelt's Secretary of State from 1933 to 1944.

⁸⁰ Anatole Lewitzky (1903-1942), Russian émigré and ethnologist, sentenced to death and executed.

Facts on Walter, Bordelet, Muller involved in Vildé's return trips. *Résistance* Nr 4 and 5 (if necessary at the same time also 7 and 8). More about Leleu and Andrieu.

Vildé's return journey. His arrest. Walter's journey to Limoges and Toulouse after meeting on 5 April. Arrests of Humbert, Walter, Bordelet, Leleu, Muller etc. Finding Doré packets. Andrieu's arrest.

De la Rochère spy ring. Prehistory. Engagement of Simonet (sic). The 3 meetings. Arrest.

1. Note: The letter and esp(ionage) material, which originated from Leleu, are called:
if they were found with Sé(néchal): Leleu packet,
if they were found in the Hotel Doré: Doré packet.
2. Note: To the above list one refers to the attached chronology.

14. Typescript document in German, undated (c. June-Oct. 1941). 2 pp. (This document is a chronology of events from 3 November (1940) to 20 June (1941)).

Notable Data

- | | |
|---------------|--|
| 3.11 – 11.11 | <u>Sé(néchal's) 1st trip</u> to Bord(eaux) and Mars(eilles). |
| 15.11 | Sé(néchal) becomes acquainted with Vi(ldé). |
| 1.12 – 3.12 | <u>Sé(néchal's) 2nd trip.</u> |
| 5.12 | Meeting of Wa(lter), Ith(ier), Sé(néchal) and Vildé. |
| 10.12 – 13.12 | <u>Sé(néchal's) 3rd trip.</u> |
| 14.12 | W(eil)-C(uriel) introduces Nordm(ann) to Dubois in the "2 Magots" (Example trip nr 1) (Handover of <i>Ré(sistance)</i> Nr 1) |
| 19.12 | Discussion with Jubineau: also with W(eil)-C(uriel) and Nordm(ann). |
| 21.12 | W(eil)-C(uriel) leaves for Brest. |
| 23.12 – 1.1 | <u>Sé(néchal's) 4th trip.</u> |
| 26.12 | Gaveau gets 9.000 frs in Paris from Nordmann. |
| 30.12 – 31.12 | <u>Comba-Portier(sic)/Robbi arrested.</u> |
| 10.1 – 16.1 | <u>Sé(néchal's) 5th trip.</u> |
| 14.1 | <u>Nordmann arrested.</u> |

- | | |
|-------------|---|
| 23.1 – 29.1 | <u>Sé(néchal's) 6th trip.</u> |
| 23.1 – 24.3 | Vildé in the Free Zone. ⁸¹ |
| 28.1 | "Deux Magots": Lev(itsky) introduces Odd(on) to Si(monnet). |
| 30.1 | "Faber Alma: meeting of Odd(on) and Er(ouchkine) with Si(monnet), connection."
"Triomphe": Sim(onnet) – Unknown |
| 3.2 | "Dupont : Sim(onnet) – Unknown |
| 10.2 | "Triomphe": Sim(onnet) – Unknown (following arrest of Sim(onnet), Odd(on), Lev(itsky).
<u>Sé(néchal's) 7th trip.</u> |
| 4.2 – 16.2 | <u>Sé(néchal's) 8th trip.</u> 3 Engl(ish) soldiers |
| 20.2 – 27.2 | Sé(néchal) introduces Wa(lter) to Josse. |
| 4.3 | <u>W(eil)-C(uriel) arrested on return.</u> |
| ?3 | <u>Ithier arrested at the Demarcation Line.</u> |
| 18.3 | <u>Sé(néchal) arrested on his 9th trip.</u> |
| 25.3 | Wa(lter) becomes acquainted with Marin through Josse. |
| 26.3 | <u>Vildé arrested.</u> |
| 3.4 | Conversation between Josse, Marin and Walter. |
| 5.4 | Discussion at Café "Voltaire"; Walter leaves for Limoges and Toulouse. |
| 15.4 | <u>Humbert arrested.</u> |
| 16.4 | <u>Walter arrested.</u> |
| 20.6 | After locating the Doré packets, <u>Andrieu arrested.</u> |

⁸¹ According to Francois Bédarida of the IHTP, who annotated Vildé's prison diary (*Cahiers de l'IHTP*, Feb. 1988), Vildé was in the Free Zone from 20 January to 13 March 1941.

17. Typescript document in German, undated (c. June-Oct. 1941). 1p. (This is a list of 12 members of the group, with their pseudonyms).

Pseudonyms

- | | | |
|--------------------------------------|-------------|----------------|
| 1. Vildé: (with Nordmann and others) | (Alexandre) | <u>Dubois</u> |
| (with Muller and Gauthier) | " | <u>Lukas</u> |
| (in the Free Zone) | " | <u>Maurice</u> |

Id(entity) cards as:

André Simon and André Martin;

2. Sénéchal: (until around January, suggested by V(ildé) without id(entity) card) Robert Saillard
- (later until around March, suggested by V(ildé) id(entity) card from Der.) Raymond Sauvet
- (1 day before arrest id(entity) card manufactured by Gaveau) Roger Sarcey
- (with Walter) Flunderbusch
3. Walter: (assigned by V(ildé)) Pierre Didier
X 33;
4. Muller: (occasionally) Le Prince;
5. Humbert: (at the same time alias) Delphine Girard;
6. Bordelet: (given by Walter) Lise;
7. Leleu: L 3;
8. Ithier: Robert Aubin;
(with Sénéchal) Albert (Georges)
9. Nordmann: Léon;
10. Levitzky: Léon? Chazalles;
11. Mme Simonet: Denise Allard;
12. Oddon: Irène.

18. Typescript document in German, dated Paris, 29 October 1941. 9pp. (This document is an incomplete typescript of the apparently secret preparation for the German Military Court accusation and consists of pages 94-97 and 105-109).

The following is a translation of pp 94-97:

Court	Paris, 29 October 1941
Commandant of Greater Paris	
Div(ision) B	
St. L. V 150 /41	
163	
<hr/>	
Riom - Florida	<u>Detention!</u> <u>Secret!</u>

Indictment C.

I indict:

- | | |
|-----------------|---|
| Particulars | 16 ⁸⁴ . <u>Nordmann</u> , Léon Maurice, born 18.2.1908 in Paris, single, Jew, French citizen, attorney-at-law, last residence in Paris, 7, Bv(d) Arago, arrested on 13.1.1941, currently in Wehrmacht prison in Fresnes; |
| Notebook Riom I | |
| p. 130, | |
| Detention | |
| Notebook Riom I | |
| p. 129 | |
| Particulars | 17. <u>Jubineau</u> , Albert Joseph, born 7.3.1894 in Nazaire, single, Cath(olic), French citizen, attorney-at-law last residence in Paris, 8, Place des Jana, arrested on 8.2.1941, currently in Wehrmacht prison in Fresnes; |
| Notebook Riom I | |
| p. 228 | |
| Detention | |
| Notebook Riom I | |
| p. 228 | |
| Particulars | 18. <u>Etienne</u> , René Georges born 22.11.1909 in Paris, single, Cath(olic), French citizen, attorney-at-law |
| Notebook Riom I | |

⁸⁴ As Nordmann is listed as number 16, we may presuppose that the immediate preceding (and missing) pages included the names of 15 other accused.

p. 220
Detention
Notebook Riom I
p. 125

last residence in Paris, 146 Bv(d). Magenta
arrested on 13.1.1941, currently in
Wehrmacht prison in Fresnes;

Particulars
Notebook Riom I
p. 216,
Detention
Notebook Riom I

19. Carrier, Jean Paul,
born on 23.6.1917 in Paris, single, protes-
tant, French citizen, law student,
last residence in Paris, 18, rue du Lunain,
arrested on 28.2.1941, currently in
Wehrmacht prison in La Santé.

There is probable cause that the accused are guilty
of aiding and abetting the enemy.

1. Nordmann paid 4.000 Francs to the Jewish lawyer
Weil-Curiel and arranged another payment of 5.000
Francs in order to help Weil-Curiel travel to England in
December 1940 where he was supposed to meet the
former French General de Gaulle. Weil-Curiel had the
intention to get materials and orders from de Gaulle, in
order to support existing groups of the Resistance and to
form new ones against the German Wehrmacht, and for
the unification of de Gaulle's supporters in France, and
to get orders how he could support and champion de
Gaulle's goals in the best manner.

2. The accused

Jubineau,
Etienne and
Carrier

supported along with the accused Nordmann the
activities of the former General de Gaulle and formed
together with the still-at-large Jew Weil-Curiel a
Resistance group in order to support the former General
de Gaulle, this happened from the Fall of 1940 until the
time when each of them was arrested.

Therefore, the accused were jointly and continuously
involved in activities – during a war against the Reich –
in order to support the enemy and to disadvantage the
military power of the Reich; the accused Nordmann was

also involved in an additional case: in or around November 1940 he asked the two Frenchmen Combat(sic) and Fortier to serve as pilots in the English Air Force, and he offered to support their trip to England.

Relevant articles of the penal code:

Paragraphs 91b, 93, 93a, 73, 47 Reich Penal Code,
Paragraph 4, alinea III N° 2 Reich Penal Code.

Evidence:

1. SS-Hauptsturmführer Döring can be reached by phone: PAS 52 36 at the Commander of S.D. Paris, Av. Foch;
 2. SS-Oberscharführer Richter;
 3. Detective Gagel, witnesses N° 2 and 3 to be summoned through with witness N° 1;
 4. Combat(sic) Albert Charles;
 5. Fortier Roger Marcel.
- Particulars of the witnesses N° 4 and 5 can be found in the investigation files of the former Court of the Commander of the Military Administration district Paris-St.L.II 192/41 case against Robby (sic), Roger Jean et al. page 112 and 110; the current residence of these two witnesses is unknown, but will be determined by the time of the trial.
6. File St. L. II 192/41;
 7. File Riom Volume II.

The members of the war tribunal are chosen according to the rules of paragraph 9 KStVO (Kriegsstrafverfahrensordnung): (wartime penal procedure).

President of the Court:

Investigating Magistrate:

Signed: Schaumberg
Lieutenant General

Signed: Dr. Gottlob,
Counsel to the war
tribunal

The following is a translation of pp. 105-109:

Appendix

Legal Provisions:

Regulation on the special criminal law in war and in particular application (Special war criminal law regulation):

of 11 August 1938 in the version of the complementary regulation.
1 November
39 (RGBl(German legal code) 1939 I 1455, 2131;extracts).

§ 2 Espionage

I. Punished by death because of espionage will be whoever, in secret or by false pretenses, gathers or tries to gather, news feeds in the German or its allied war zone with the aim to share them with the enemy or for their benefit. In addition, assets can be confiscated.

Complicity

§ 47 RstGB (Reichsstrafgesetzbuch: Reich Penal Code)

If a criminal action is executed by more than one person, all are to be punished as perpetrators.

Concurrence of Offences

§ 73 Reich Penal Code

If one and the same act violates several criminal laws, it is only the law with the heaviest punishment, and when it comes to different types of sanctions, it is the one with the heaviest sanction, which applies.

Abetting

§ 91b Reich Penal Code

I> Whoever, in the homeland or as a German abroad, during a war against the Reich or in relation to a prospective war, supports the enemy or disadvantages the Reich or one of its

citizens, is to be punished with death or a prison sentence for life.

II> If the act only leads to a minor disadvantage for the Reich and its citizens, and a minor advantage for the enemy, and more serious consequences, could, in addition, not be accomplished, a prison sentence of not less than two years may be applied.

Fines, punishment and following

§ 93 Reich Penal Code

I. In this section punishable actions can be found

along with the adjudged penalty for a crime to have an unlimited fine or confiscation of a high amount;

along with the penalty of imprisonment for the detection of any crime;

along with the prison sentence, the inability to hold public office for a period of time between one and five years and the loss of rights resulting from public elections;

along with each sentencing, permissibility of police supervision.

Confiscation. Dismantling.

§ 93a Reich Penal Code

I. Objects that were used to commit a penalty in this section with threatened or intended action may be confiscated or destroyed, even if they belong neither to the perpetrator or an accomplice.

II. If the perpetrator has received a fee for the commission of a crime or misdemeanor designated in this section, then the received payment or an equivalent amount of money is to be confiscated.

Crime by a foreigner.

§ 4 Reich Penal Code

.....

III. Regardless of the law of the site of the crime, German criminal law applies to crimes committed by a foreigner abroad:

.....
 2. High and treasonable acts against the German Reich;
 -.....

.....
Regulation to protect against sabotage. Of 10 October 1940.

§ 2. Those who hide refugees or not with a pass provided by prisoners of war or who hide members of an enemy army are to be punished with death.

§ 3. In less serious cases of Sections 1 and 2 of this regulation and if negligence is detected, a prison or jail sentence may be applied.

.....

Regulation on the introduction of German criminal law and criminal regulations in the Occupied French territory from May 10, 1940.

§ 3. Street gatherings, the production and distribution of airborne tracts, the arrangement of public meetings and processions, as well as participation in them and in anti-German demonstrations of all kinds will be punished.

.....

Breach of the regulations adopted by the Commanders in Occupied foreign territory.

§ 4. I. Whoever breaches the regulations adopted by Commanders in Occupied foreign territory to secure the German Army for the purpose of war regulations is liable to reclusion or prison of up to fifteen years, where there are no other penalties in these regulations.

II. In very mild cases, sentence can be up to six weeks imprisonment or a fine.

Regulation on gun ownership in the Occupied territory from 10 May 1940.

2. Those who breach the above regulations by possession of firearms, ammunition, hand grenades, explosives or other military equipment shall be punished by death, or in less severe cases by imprisonment.

Abetting.

§ 257 Reich Penal Code.

I. Whoever is complicit after the commission of a crime or offense, and provides assistance to the perpetrator or accomplice to avoid facing punishment or to secure the benefit of the crime or offense is liable for abetting and to be punished with a fine or imprisonment of up to one year, and, if he assisted the perpetrator for his own benefit, is liable to imprisonment. The nature and extent of the penalty, however, shall not be more serious than the threat to the act itself.

II. Whoever is complicit is exempt from punishment if a relative permitted the respective actions by the offender or accomplice, to save them from punishment.

III. Complicity is punishable as an aid when it has been announced before committing the act. This provision applies also to relatives.

The Court:
signed Schaumburg,
Lieutenant General.

The Investigating Magistrate:
signed Dr. Gottlob,
Judge Advocate.

19. Manuscript letter, from Léon Maurice Nordmann in prison to his lawyer, dated 15 November 1941.

Fort de Villeneuve St Georges⁸⁵
N° 1207 –Dormitory 13
15 November 1941

My dear colleague,

I think that you must have received or are going to receive a visit from my brother, a visit that this letter aims at confirming.

⁸⁵ The Fort of Villeneuve St Georges was built from 1876 to 1880 and used as a military prison during the Occupation. Since 1966, it is a training center for Firefighters.

I have been advised, by a brief interrogation of the situation by Dr. Gottlob, rue Boissy d'Anglas, that my affair of a Gaullist organization will soon come before the Court.

I would therefore be extremely happy to receive your visit, because we have not, so to speak, spoken of this part of the affair, and it seems indispensable to me to be counseled by you before the hearing.

I do not know if you must obtain permission from the German authorities or if, simply, as this has already been done, the Director of the Penitentiary of Fort de Villeneuve can give you the authorization to see me.

In the first case, I would be much obliged if you would try not to attract too much attention of the German authorities to the fact that I am at Villeneuve in the French prison. Indeed, I have had the impression that the Germans thought I was in the German section of Fresnes, whereas I was in the French section. You understand that I especially wish to stay here and not fall back to the prevention régime. Do I care what German authorization would not suffice to open the doors of the Fort for you? And even so, is not your original authorization sufficient? In any case, I would be grateful for whatever you could do in this direction.

I am counting on your next visit, and assure you of my grateful and devoted feelings,

Léon Maurice Nordmann

20. Carbon copy, typescript note from (Mr Haennig) to Léon Maurice Nordmann dated 18 November 1941.

Paris, 18 November 1941

Mr Léon Maurice NORDMANN

My Dear Colleague,

I will request, all the same, a permit which is valid for all the prisons.

Your affair, which should originally have been heard in December is delayed until January.

I have not yet received a visit from your brother.

With my best feelings, my dear colleague.

21. Printed visiting card with MS. additions, dated 20 November 1941.

Name of Visitor:

Mr Nordmann

Reason for Visit:

Date: 20.11.41.

22. Carbon copy, typescript letter (from Mr Haennig) to Mr (Roger) Nordmann, dated 23 December 1941.

Paris, 23 December 1941

Mr NORDMANN

Dear Sir,

We have been officially informed that the trial of your brother and others will begin on January 8th next and will last about 4 weeks.

The group which includes your brother will probably take only a few days. The hearings will take place at the prison of Fresnes.

I have obtained the permission for my partner to visit him. Is he still at Villeneuve ? Please keep me informed, as I intend sending my partner to the prison during the coming week.

Please accept, Dear Sir, the assurance of my distinguished sentiments.

23. Carbon copy, typescript letter from (Mr Haennig) to the President of the Bar Association, dated 23 December 1941.

Paris 23 December 1941

President of the Bar
Association

Re: NORDMANN and others

Mr President of the Bar,

I have the honor of informing you that the case concerning NORDMANN, JUBINEAU, ETIENNE and others will begin on 8th January next.

It includes several groups of accused. The hearings will take place at the prison of Fresnes and will last about 4 weeks.

Please accept, Mr President of the Bar, the assurance of my respectful and devoted sentiments.

24. Manuscript notes in German, dated 8 January (1p), 15 January (5pp), 17 January (2pp), (undated) (2pp), 11 February (1p), 17 February (4pp) (1942) taken during the trial, plus 2pp undated defense plea notes (probably for 11-12 February 1942).

These notes are written in a largely illegible scrawl, decipherable with difficulty, hence the gaps in our translation. Some words or phrases are underlined in the manuscript.

MS note dated 8 January ⁸⁶

President: Dr Roskothen. Assessors: Captains Schirsand, Klein, Göhrig.

Intepreter: Sonderführer Scharfler

Present

Resistance Group: "Musée de l'Homme", with another group (...)

Lawyers objective

Judicial : Abetting the enemy with a project for espionage

⁸⁶ This was the first day of the trial. The Court met every morning at 9h30.

Calendar: October 1940 – February 1941

Localities: Paris, accused lived in Paris

Legal procedures: Have the offenses occurred in Occupied or non Occupied territory

Estimated result of actions

Vildé: Alexandre Dubois

Nordmann: Léon

MS notes: Undated⁸⁷

Plea Notes⁸⁸

Nordmann Although A. put (Nordmann) on the same plan as W.C., he had a completely different personality.

No big words, no phrases like W.C.

Nordmann has always worked, and worked hard !

Why? 1933 his father's tragic death: he drowned himself because he could not honor his signature anymore.

His mother: very afflicted, became ill. 3 years: 3 children, including a young girl aged 6.

So Léon Maurice had to provide for the family as the oldest.

1939: he got engaged.

1940: his fiancée (dies) in an accident.

1941: his mother dies. Nordmann lets his feelings go.

Not as a Jew, but because of his patriotic feelings.

He had fought in Lorraine at the Front.

MS note: II

The war was not over for him. Nordmann wanted to continue the fight.

How? Resistance: Resistance, but not generally opposing. He was thinking sociologically like W.C. but supported the international consequences of being against the régime.

1940: feeling of upset patriotism. Accumulation of national honor. N(ordmann) is French.

Task of the French to participate.

⁸⁷ Authors' note: There are 4pp of undated MS trial notes, scribbled in German, which include 2pp of Haennig's plea notes, also in German. We have placed Haennig's plea notes here.

⁸⁸ "Notes de plaidoirie" added in pencil in French at the bottom of the original manuscript page.

Therefore: Sympathy for De Gaulle.

Support for W.C.: he was my friend.

Secret agent. Gaveau⁸⁹

Cap(tain) Döring: arrest: where, when, tel(ephone) Lit.51.15

Arrest Countess de Chambrun⁹⁰

Döring: We knew it already but not through her.

Vildé: Kept silent about the name of Dubois.

Etienne was arrested before him.

Act of conspiracy.

Will aid: G and F for W.C.

3 Deeds: Fishermen

Distribution

W.C.

Dubois: pseudonym

Knowingly aiding and abetting is the main crime.

MS note: Hearing of 15 January 1942

Kraehling⁹¹: copies

Present: Vildé, Levitzky, Nordmann

Lawyers: Stoeber⁹², Burguburu⁹³, Mouquin⁹⁴, Haennig

Résistance N° 1 was to appear on 15 December 1940.

Incidents in the month of December. Lawyers intervene.

How did Vildé and the lawyers get in contact ?

Vildé testifies: Weil-Curiel wanted to go back to England, to report as a delegate of de Gaulle.

Gaveau gains my trust. Airman ("agent provocateur")

Autonomous movement: Dicerbo (sic) said it was hopeless to support Germany.

I met Nordmann on 31 December, and not in the "Deux Magots" Café.⁹⁵

Levitzky: I saw Nordmann one single time in a café.

Nordmann: According to the testimony of Weil-Curiel: Criticism of the state of mind of the Free Zone.

⁸⁹ "Agent provocateur", in French in the original MS, "Gaveau" added in pencil.

⁹⁰ Cited in Nordmann's letter, document n° 34, 1942, below.

⁹¹ Julien Kraehling, lawyer of Alsatian origin, registered at the Paris Bar in 1941, (address in 1944: 25 rue de Constantine, Paris 7e. He was Vildé's defense lawyer.

⁹² Stoeber, registered at the Paris Bar in 1940, (address in 1944: 22 place Vendôme, Paris 1e)

⁹³ Burguburu, registered at the Paris Bar in 1941, (address in 1944: 68 boulevard de Courcelles, Paris 17e).

⁹⁴ (Fernand) Mouquin, registered at the Paris Bar in 1911, (address in 1944: 32 rue de Penthièvre, Paris 8e)

⁹⁵ This café still exists at 6 place St Germain, Paris 6e.

Not so in the Occupied Territory, despite Dr Roskothen
Attitude of the German troops.

W.C.⁹⁶ continues; I decided to go back to England, also to share my beliefs with somebody, I contacted Nordmann. He was going to Brittany to see a fisherman.

Nordmann: I saw W.C. at the Law Courts and got the impression he belonged to Paulhan⁹⁷ (and de Gaulle). I got the impression that the cease fire was a mistake.

Nordmann: Weil-C. wanted to go back to England. He expressed this very vaguely. He never spoke about St. André. He told me he thought he had seen De Gaulle once or twice.

He told me: 1st Period: he wanted to tell England about the French exchange of views. I went to the fishermen, but I did not find them.

2nd Period. From then on I was skeptical. At least I didn't find anyone, because the people didn't(...)

I knew that supporting W.C. would bring dangers with it, because it was supporting de Gaulle

W.C. said "I got to know Nordmann through "Action universitaire Républicaine socialiste".⁹⁸

I got to know Etienne in 1927 (...)

Question to Vildé: I was not part of the construction of *Résistance*.

Nordmann: W.C. gave me pure propaganda advice.

He told me he wanted to form groups, but only as a project.

W.C. could not get me into the group building, because I didn't want to know anything about that.

He never assigned me to make inscriptions.

My mother died on 10 December.

Initially I did not want to incriminate Vildé.

W.C. gave me Journal n° 1 and also Vildé's address between 18 and 21 December.

Alex Dubois; the name came from Vildé, a real Marin or perhaps a name of one of the young people.

Pamphlet: W.C. introduced me to (...) whom I already knew.

How did it go with the 500 tracts: who had the initiative? W.C. was looking for a printer. The young people said you could have a duplicating machine.

⁹⁶ Abbreviation for Weil-Curiel.

⁹⁷ Jean Paulhan (1884-1968), founder of the journal *Résistance*, writer, critic and publisher.

⁹⁸ In French in the original: "Socialist Republican University Action"

Nordmann: Later they told me they had the apparatus. I gave the order to provide 500 copies. I went to Aubervilliers, gave them orders about the distribution with the presentation of a list, of which more copies were to be distributed.

In addition to the list I mentioned, I cannot agree that I spoke with Etienne beforehand.

(Court) Who then did you speak with ? A(nswer): Perhaps with Jubineau, but not precisely. I saw Jubineau at his home on 19 December.

(Court) What relationship did you have with Etienne ? (Answer): I knew Etienne through W.C. I was never at his place and I did not know his father.

(Court) Why Etienne ? A(nswer): I knew he was a friend of W.C. I sent to him, because I could suppose he would be interested

Etienne: W.C. didn't ask me to collaborate and I never promised him any kind of collaboration.

(Court): Relationship with Nordmann. A(nswer): A warm collegial relationship. (office brotherhood), no familiarity.

(Court): Did you give Etienne money for W.C.? No, I never gave a centime.

Nordmann: I confirm my testimony: it was not Etienne.

(Court): Why did you say so ? I did not want to specify the person, and since I was (...) psychologically, so I gave Etienne's name, which was given to me. It was not Etienne.

So the chapter about W.C.'s influence on his friends is clarified.

Nordmann: I only learned of the distribution of tracts on 24 February 1941 at the meeting.

(Court): What did Nordmann do after the arrest ? I went to court, informed the colleagues, who were supposed to receive tracts and told them the distributors had been arrested.

(Nordmann): I saw Vildé on 29 December because he requested I meet him. In the evening I went to Aubervilliers.

Vildé: W.C. told me he was a messenger sent by De Gaulle and that he had to submit a report to him.

Nordmann: W.C. was very uncomfortable to have no contact with England and wanted to get back in touch without specifying precisely what was on his mind.

I was not an intimate, and not an adjunct, and knew nothing. W.C. was very intelligent, but very disorganized⁹⁹.

Vildé: I gave René the espionage material; if I had had that, it was possible for W.C. and Gaveau to take it with them on their journey to Brittany. The so-called Germain was a coffee house conspirator. W.C. didn't find any fishermen, then we tried ourselves, but the fisherman demanded (...) Then W.C. sent Gaveau back to get me the money.

(Court): The question concerning the money is interesting and legally relevant.

(Court to Nordmann): (What happened ?)

Nordmann: Gaveau called me, asked for money to rent a boat or to organize a seat (...) I owned 4 (...) and made the rest available to me, but not from Etienne. I handed it over in a café of the Place Pereire.¹⁰⁰

(Court to Nordmann): What did you think about that ?

Nordmann: I thought that the money could help Rémi to travel to England.

I had offered my services to W.C. and knew that it was a dangerous thing. I was of the opinion that the war continued, and that we were a mechanism on the battlefield. I knew that I was risking my life.

⁹⁹ "Désordonné" in French in the original MS

¹⁰⁰ La Place Pereire, Paris 17^e was renamed Place du Maréchal-Juin in 1973 in hommage to Marshal Alphonse Juin (1888-1967). There are currently five cafés there.

Note MS: 17 January 1942

Introductory remarks: Departure of W.C. for Brittany with an erroneous map.

Next focus: meeting of 19 December 1941.

(Court to) Carrier: Did Nordmann come to you before 21 December to get a false map for W.C. ?

A(nswer): I went to W.C. and was asked for a map, he said he believed he could find a way to transport his friend to England.

Nordmann: W.C. told me on the day of his departure, because he didn't have any time to do that himself, to go to Carrier and to ask him to make his way to W.C.

Prehistory *Résistance* Campos (sic)¹⁰¹, Roby (sic)¹⁰², Fortier, Dupleix

(Meeting) 15 December through Weil-Curiel.

Nordmann is being accused of aiding and abetting the enemy and of having incited them to travel to England.

Nordmann: I deny completely; I had no means to do that. There is a misconception. W.C. led me one day into the Café de Vaudeville¹⁰³ where he met the people he already knew.

I did nothing, because I did not take part; W.C. did not even promise anything, because he himself couldn't get away.

17 January

Nordmann: W.C. was full of wind. Perhaps there was also Fortier.

Conversation in café Denain : Nordmann is in charge of this meeting. He didn't incite the young people to go to England and he also didn't want to recruit them for the R.A.F.¹⁰⁴

Jubineau: W.C. says that one day Jubineau appears. I spoke to him secretly, he understood, I believed he was the man that Vildé had described to me.

¹⁰¹ Comba

¹⁰² Robbi

¹⁰³ Le Vaudeville exists today at 29 rue Vivienne, Paris 2e.

¹⁰⁴ Royal Air Force

Nordmann was passive at his arrest.

Nordmann: At Jubineau's general examination, Jubineau was offered nothing, he didn't take a share. W.C. said that he could establish a fake sports group in the future, but Jubineau did not promise anything.

W.C. left 50 tracts with me one day. They were at my place; I took them with me, because I would meet W.C. with Jubineau. I gave 1 to the young people to be copied, I kept another for myself.

Note MS: 11 February (1942)

Proclamation of a judgment (...) 17 February 9h15.

Michel¹⁰⁵

Negotiation ? Preliminary legalities: contributing to *Résistance* – aid to inspire peace

Héricault

Etienne Free

Dr Gottlob Jubineau always (...) against W.¹⁰⁶

Countess de la Bourdonnaye: 4 months¹⁰⁷ through (...)

Carrier: 5 years imprisonment (...) ¹⁰⁸

Humbert Agnes: Involved in the distribution of *Résistance*

Not involved in production (...)

5 years imprisonment: (...) ¹⁰⁹

Müller: secret propaganda: death sentences to be requested apart from that. Not yet. It's about the result, the danger.

Imprisonment: Aiding the enemy, possession of weapons

3 years

3 years

5 years

imprisonment¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁵ Authors' note: We have been unable to determine to whom "Michel" refers.

¹⁰⁶ Héricault, Etienne and Jubineau were finally acquitted.

¹⁰⁷ The Countess de la Bourdonnaye received a 6 months prison sentence.

¹⁰⁸ Carrier was eventually sentenced to 3 years imprisonment.

¹⁰⁹ Humbert was condemned to 5 years hard labor in Germany.

¹¹⁰ Müller was also condemned to 5 years hard labor in Germany.

Sénéchal: Vildé put Sénéchal at risk, he lost. We acknowledge his patriotism.

Ithier: travelled many times to Unoccupied Zone (...). Brought 3 Englishmen to Unoccupied Zone. (...) Death sentence.

Andrieu: Death sentence: 100% because of espionage. Schoolbooks, which were found with him. A country deserves, what it takes.

Levitzky: Résistance n° 1. Motion (...) Also responsible for assembling the others. Builds the groups (...)

Nordmann n° 1. Aiding and abetting the enemy: no objective harm.¹¹¹

Note MS: Judgment 17 February (1942)

Judgment

Declaration of the Court

They believed they could continue fighting the war, which is a chivalrous attitude. Resistance is better than to hold back. This judgment is an act of defense of the German people.

(Design – Rough copy¹¹²)

The Court considers everything in several hearings, both what the accused say, as well as the speeches for the defense.

The Court again acknowledges that the judgment is harsh, but the Court bears the responsibility of the German people. A lighter penalty was not possible in every case.

Summoned Acquitted Jubineau: He owes to his imprisonment the condition of (...)

Acquitted Etienne: He owes to Nordmann the fact that he was imprisoned for a long time. Nordmann's first statement to the Court was not correct; it was only because of Nordmann, that he remained imprisoned for such a long time.

¹¹¹ Sénéchal, Vildé, Ithier, Andrieu, Levitzky and Nordmann were all sentenced to death and executed. Haennig's conjecture "no objective harm" proved not to be the courts'.

¹¹² "Brouillon" in French in the original MS.

Acquitted Héricault: Just had (...) no desire to go to Canada.

Acquitted Bordelet: No espionage, no involvement, only known with reference to Walter.

Acquitted: H. Sim(m)onet: The Court tends to view that he did not know his wife's actions, typically for people working in science, he barely or never had time to meet people.

Countess de la Bourdonnaye: Aiding to a temporarily very limited extent. Only found out on 11 January, why Nordmann was sought/Airfield

Note MS: II

Countess de la Bourdonnaye: The Court has taken into account that she has borne 8 children.

4 (...) - 4

Carrier: Carrier didn't know about Mr Vildé and not about Mr W.C. and not about Mr Nordmann. He was open with everybody, he believed it was just about the matter with the tracts.
3 in prison

- 10 M.

Humbert: In the view of the Court, she has worked in the inner circle of the Resistance. The Court understands that F. aimed for a spiritual and political collection.

5 years reclusion for aiding the enemy.

Vildé founder of the tract, from a military point of view. Founder of the newspaper. No (...) Paper: "It was a flawless journal of the Resistance".

Resistance makes the writers honorable; pure lying and agitation, positive facts, which have to sweep away every patriot. That is precisely why we must defend ourselves. That is and remains aiding the enemy. Therefore everybody will be adjudged with aiding and abetting the enemy, who came into action through this, and was involved with the circle.

Müller Léon¹¹³ The Court had to establish what was true in connection with Walter, but does not have the conviction that M. knew what was in Walter's envelope.

Résistance, proven that he didn't have anything to do with Résistance. Not a dangerous man, but we found 4 guns and spying material with him.

3 violations of handing over weapons.

Tracts: 2 y(ears) I(mprisonment)

Weapons: 2+2

Total penalty 5 y(ears) Imprisonment

Note MS: III

Judgment 17 February 1942

Vildé: It was hard for the Court to pronounce so many death sentences. It is the view that a whole news circuit was built. Purpose; to get news into the Free Zone and material for the Resistance.

That a contact was made between France and De Gaulle; that is aiding the enemy.

Moral centralization of all powers, that is a very important point of propaganda.

Continued activity: Battle against the Germans through propaganda.

Death The Court acknowledges an honest, respectable man. He paid attention to France, if through freedom of choice such a man as Vildé found a home.

Vildé: Order all accused: that we were overridden with immaculate objectivity and human understanding, also by the prosecuting counsel.

Sénéchal: Comes from a poor area in Béthune, he is a poor guy, he found accomodation with Vildé.

Death He passed news about (...) activity. He brought 3 British soldiers over the Demarcation Line; he was also ready to bring more soldiers across.

¹¹³ His name in fact was Emile Müller

Andrieu: Collected and distributed spying material, death must be recognized, he has admitted, continued.
Death.

Note MS: IV

Mme Leleu: Continued espionage, for she has collected and distributed spying material. Death penalty adequate. The Court noticed that Mme Leleu is a woman of substance who only acted out of the belief that what she was doing was for her homeland.
Death

Ithier: It's simply about hiding 3 soldiers of the Engl(ish) Army. Provided (...) for the distribution of *Résistance* (...) Ithier made a very good impression.
Death

Nordmann¹¹⁴: The Comba case – Fortier –*Résistance* case separated. This is just about the W.C. case. He explained to them he wanted to report. He has made a good impression on the Court, when they said the ceasefire was a mistake, they knew about the activities of W.C. The Court has spent a long time thinking about if it was aiding and abetting the enemy. W.C. also traveled. He had no money anymore. The entire fate of W.C. depended on whether he obtained money. N(ordmann) got hold of money, he has created the sine qua non. He has committed (the act of) aiding the enemy. (Added note): Has the courage to express himself freely without rhetorical phrasing (...)

Levitzky: Continued aiding the enemy through *Résistance*.
Death

Simm(on)et: Map of St. Nazaire: (...) possessed real, grave, serious spying material for disposal.
Death

Mme Oddon: Passed on spying material.
Death.

¹¹⁴ Although he was sentenced to death, the word "Tod" (Death) is not written on this manuscript, as it was for the other accused.

Note MS (Undated)¹¹⁵

Nordmann: sterile action: begins with search for fishermen.

3 people remain (...)

I. Tracts (distribution): arrested.

II. 3 people arrested.

III. G and F to W.C. to travel to England
which is something else

Indictment Levitzky: twice death: Incitation for spying and aiding the enemy.

Walter: Death sentence for espionage. Who acts out of curiosity (...) and aiding the enemy.

Vildé: vouches, he doesn't have any bad judgment for him. He was not responsible for the others' dilemma.

Death sentence: for continuing to aid the enemy:

Resistance group.

Nordmann: Unpleasant appearance – his actions were Jewish because he was responsible for putting others in the same situation. He supported W.C. No application about airmen.

The history of tracts: adjudged.

W.C. (told) things in a pretentious way.

W.C. the man who in the legal community was recognized as a big patriot.

Resistance group N° 1.

Nordmann is worth nothing. The statement of the Countess de la Bourdonnaye: she said "I do not know Nordmann." He mentioned her. The matter of honorable men, who in the national (...) try to reach the top. Death sentence for aiding the enemy.

Odon: Espionage – Sim(m)onet – Leleu: death sentence for espionage:

brought over Englishmen.

Note MS (undated)

Means active resistance

¹¹⁵ As this manuscript refers to the death sentences, we presume it was written on or just after 17 February 1942. Nordmann's death sentence is recorded here.

25. *Printed* and typewritten formal cover sheet request in German for Haennig to attend trial, dated 7 February 1942.

Court

Commander of Greater Paris
- Division B -

Paris, 7 February 1942
Rue Boissy d'Anglas 11bis
Tel: ANJ 7671-74

St.B.L.V Nr 150/165/1941

To

Mr Haennig, Lawyer

Paris

In the criminal case

against Vildé and Others

for Espionage et al.

you will be notified as a defender of the accused that the trial date for the continuation of the plea is scheduled on

Wednesday the 11th February 1942 9h15

is scheduled in the Court barracks of Fresnes prison.

It is necessary on the part of the defense counsel to ensure that the accused are present on time.

(Illegible signature)
Inspector for the
Ministerial branch Office

*B 32 Notification of the trial
to the defense (§ 190 Reich Penal Code)
Verlag Franz Vahlen Berlin W 9*

C/1440

26. Carbon copy, typewritten note in French for the defense of Nordmann, undated (c. Jan.-Feb. 1942).

The fate that seems to be charged against Léon-Maurice NORDMANN has spared him no misfortune and a host of catastrophes has for several years fallen on the man who appears before the Court.

In 1933, the father of the accused preferred to drown himself rather than dishonor his signature; this death, already so painful in itself, because of the affection that Léon-Maurice held for the deceased, led to a series of misfortunes: the health of Léon-Maurice's poor mother, already very fragile, declined following this mourning; there then began an agony that lasted eight years. The unhappy woman could no longer be counted upon to raise her three minor children including a six-year old girl. Moreover, an old helpless grandmother, who subsisted only thanks to the father of the accused, found herself dependent upon Léon-Maurice who, despite himself, found himself at the head of a very large family. Despite the ruin which resulted from his father's death, he had to sustain the whole family. A heavy responsibility.

However, Léon-Maurice was not discouraged; he wanted to struggle, react. Courageously, he put himself to the task. The sympathies he attracted by his kind and right character, his work ethic, his optimism, his unshakeable faith in a better future, allowed him to ride the current and ensure the livelihood of his family, provide for the education of his brothers and sisters, and especially his younger sister by eighteen years, for whom he felt a tender affection and to whom he was a true father. He even thought of founding a family himself, and in 1939, an exquisite young woman seduced by his qualities of heart and mind, became his companion, to share his sorrows and joys.

But the war erupted and the building he had taken several years to construct collapsed little by little.

Mobilized on the Lorraine front, Léon-Maurice fulfilled his duty bravely: his superiors, his comrades were full of praises for him. However serious worries accumulated. His family was dispersed, his mother's health mortally deteriorated, and necessitated constant care.

Léon-Maurice suffered an atrocious tragedy in 1940: his fiancée died in an accident.

To summarize, Léon-Maurice Nordmann at 33 years old is head of a family. He must provide for the needs of his brother and his sisters, especially the youngest who is only 15 years old. What will become of her if a severe condemnation is pronounced ?

27. Typescript note, undated but probably c. January-February 1942.¹¹⁶

“Nolleau” written in pencil in margin.

During the Vildé trial, in which our colleagues Nordmann, Jubineau, and Etienne were indicted and where our colleague Weil-Curiel should also appear, the President, Monsieur Roskothen, making known the latter's written declaration, which he appreciated very unfavorably, publicly declared that the accused had moreover offered his services to the German army.

In mentioning this declaration, I can only repeat the very words of the President without being able to appreciate in what measure they were founded.

However the President declared to all the lawyers present that if they so wished Mr Weil-Curiel's declaration would be at their disposal.

28. *Printed* note with handwritten additions, from Jacques Charpentier, dated 18 February 1942.

Bar Association
At the Paris Court
Office of the Head of the Bar
(MS): Nordmann

Paris, 18 February 1942

¹¹⁶ Nordmann's second trial, together with 18 other accused, including Boris Vildé (sentenced to death and executed), Albert Jubineau and René-Georges Etienne (who were eventually acquitted) began on 8 January 1942, before a German military court presided by captain Ernst Roskothen. Weil-Curiel was not one of the accused.

My dear Colleague,

*I would like you to come to my Office, at the Law Courts,
(MS): Thursday 19 February at 3 o'clock*

Please be assured of my best confraternal sentiments.

*Head of the Bar
(Signed) Jacques Charpentier*

29. Carbon copy, typescript document from Joseph Haennig to the German Military Court in Paris, dated 20 February 1942. The text is in German.

Joseph Haennig
Advocate at the Court
7 rue Dante
Danton 43-06
By appointment

Paris, 20 February 1942
To the Greater Paris Court Commander
Division B

Motion to suspend the death penalty and commute it to a prison sentence

By order of the Court of 17 February 1942 Léon NORDMANN was sentenced to death for aiding and abetting the enemy.

I move to suspend the execution and to commute the death penalty to a prison sentence.

Nordmann allegedly aided and abetted the enemy, a crime proven according to the Court by the fact that Nordmann gave money to Weil-Curiel, in order to help him to travel to England. The Court did not follow the argument of the defense, that Nordmann acted only as a potential accessory, but convicted him for an independent act of aiding and abetting the enemy. In its opinion, the Court stated that Weil-Curiel needed the money, to realize his plan. This was a "condition sine qua non", according to the Court. But the Court should have taken into account that Weil-Curiel did not travel to England and that this journey was never more than an idea. It was essentially dealt with as if it was intended.

According to the opinion, Nordmann stated his belief that, for patriotic reasons, the truce was a mistake. It has to be mentioned again, that Nordmann's affiliation to the Jewish race did not

influence his conduct whatsoever. He emphasizes that only patriotic reasons influenced him; Nordmann fought in the last war at the front in the Lorraine.

Shortly before he was arrested, he lost his mother. His father lost his life in 1933 in a tragic incident. As the oldest of the family, Nordmann has to support two younger sisters and a younger brother. That was why he was always working hard in his profession. If the indictment is enforced, this would cause a very sad situation for Nordmann's siblings, who are not to blame.

Reviewing this plea for clemency, it should be taken into account, besides the situation of the family, that Weil-Curiel did not travel to England, therefore no harm was caused to the German Army and the enemy was not supported.

That is why I ask the Court to grant the plea for clemency.

Attorney-at-law

30. Carbon copy, typescript document from Jacques Charpentier, President of the Bar Association, Court of Appeals, dated 20 February 1942. The text is in German.

Bar Association
Paris Court of Appeals
Chancellery of the President

I, the undersigned, President of the Bar Association at the Paris Court of Appeals, have the honor to draw your attention to the case of Léon Maurice NORDMANN, lawyer, who was convicted and sentenced to death by a judgment of the war tribunal on 17 February.

A plea for clemency will be filed on behalf of Mr Nordmann.

He is a distinguished and honorable lawyer who cannot be blamed for anything with respect to his professional conduct. He enjoys the respect of his colleagues. Also he supports his family, and if he were to disappear, this may be a big hardship for his younger sister, whose main support he is.

Therefore, I take the opportunity to bring this plea for clemency to the favorable attention of the occupying authority. An act of clemency would make a favorable impression among the members of the legal profession and would contribute to calm the situation.

Paris, February 20th 1942
 President of the Bar Association
 Signed: JACQUES CHARPENTIER

31. Typescript letter from Joseph Nolleau to Haennig.

Joseph Nolleau
 Doctor of Law
 Advocate at the Court of Appeals
 86, rue de Lille
 Paris 7e
 Inval. 06-25

9 March 1942

My dear Colleague,

Excuse me for reminding you of your promise. The Head of the Bar is asking whether my inquiry is making progress.

Your devoted colleague
 (signed) J Nolleau

M Haennig, Court advocate

32. Typescript letter from Joseph Nolleau to Haennig.

Joseph Nolleau
 Doctor of Law
 Advocate at the Court of Appeals
 86, rue de Lille
 Paris 7e
 Inval. 06-25
 (MS inscription: Nordmann)

23 March 1942

My dear friend,

I would like to remind you that you should arrange an appointment for me with the President and obtain a copy of our colleague's declarations.

Is this week possible ? I will be away for two weeks. I really would like to complete my enquiry before my departure.

Your devoted colleague
(signed) J. Nolleau

M. Haennig, Court advocate.

33. Typescript letter from Joseph Nolleau to Haennig.

(Address as above)
(MS inscription: Nordmann)

20 April 1942

My dear colleague,

I hope you have not forgotten me. The Head of the Bar¹¹⁷ is still waiting for my report.

Your devoted colleague
(signed) J. Nolleau

M. Haenig (sic), Court advocate.

34. Manuscript note from L(éon) M(aurice) Nordmann to Me. Haennig. 20 pages, undated (but can only be between 8 January 1942 (date of trial opening) and prior to 23 February 1942 (date of execution)¹¹⁸. There is also a 6 page typescript version of this note, doubtless the copy referred to in Mr Haennig's letter to the Head of the Bar, dated 19 September 1944.¹¹⁹

Note for Mr. Haennig.

I. What appears to me as striking, in all the activity that brings me before the Court, is its futility. I am accused of

¹¹⁷ M. le Bâtonnier, Charpentier.

¹¹⁸ It is possible that this memorandum dates in fact at least from 27 January 1942, as mentioned in a letter to his brother Roger, according to Israel, *op. cit.*, p. 469n144.

¹¹⁹ The 6 page typescript document is cited by Israel, *op. cit.*, pp. 122-123, p. 469n145, from the private archives of Joë Nordmann (IHTP Library, ARC 3015), and is a copy of the document in the Paris Bar Association.

helping the enemy. The enemy has been really little helped by me, if at all Nothing I did was a success. For example:

On September 1st, I went to the Morlaix area, to find two fishermen, whose address was given to me by Weil-Curiel, to see if they could pass him. I didn't find anything: the two fishermen did not exist.

I was present at a meeting where 3 young people asked W.-C. to obtain passage for them. (I did not take any part, anyway.) The 3 young people are still in France.

I gave these young people the responsibility of producing and distributing a tract. They were arrested before they could make any distribution. If a few copies reached their correspondents, they never would have put them to use, forewarned of arrests and seizures

I was present with Jubineau, at a short-lived academic conversation which our host himself ended hurriedly.

I sent 9,000 francs to W.-C., which were never used to pay for a passage to England.

I sent Carrier to W.-C., on the evening of his departure. What should he do? I don't know anything specifically. In any case, he gave him an identity card which was so useless that W.-C. asked for another one after the Douarnenez roundup. I went back to Carrier, to ask him for the address of Miss Motet, the young girl from Rennes, but I don't know if W.-C. made any use of that at all. On the same occasion, without asking for it and without any prior warning, Carrier gave me the identity card for W.-C.'s Jewish friend, who wanted a card without the inscription "Jew". As I ran away at that moment, I rushed to destroy the card, which had no link to our planned action. That card therefore did not reach its destination.

My escape itself was not any happier. As I had fallen into the hands of an "agent provocateur" who, whereas I would have preferred to go to the Free Zone, wanted to take me to see W.-C. in Brittany (and not to go to England), I hardly went beyond the limits of the Seine Department! The identity card intended for me was not even filled in.

All the rest was only idle chatter, as was common in those days, between so many Frenchmen, and was not mentioned during the trial.

II. Everything can be partly explained by the nature of W.-C.'s activity, he seems to have ridden a dream.

According to what I think I understand of fragments of his interrogation at the hearing and checking on what I had seen

of him, he must have left London, more or less dismissed by General de Gaulle¹²⁰ and his entourage. The so-called press mission, which is supposed to have been given to him (Note 1: newspaper correspondents having returned to France could suffice), seems to me to have been a polite way of getting rid of him. If London depended on him, they wouldn't have let him drop, not replying to any of his messages, and giving him addresses (like the Morlaix ones) which were so unsure, if not knowingly inexact.

W.-C., therefore, without any London liaison, without instructions, without orders, could not do anything useful in France. In particular, he could not organize any recruitment: nor recruit men to send them to England, since he had no means of getting them over, not even for himself. Nor recruit conspirators to do any anti-German activity in France, since he had no practical job for them to do, given that he had no London liaison. If he had really had the idea of the form of such an organization (groups of 10 people developing according to a snowball effect), he only talked about it. He organized none of these groups. And I, it stands to reason, even less.

On December 21st, the day when he tried to leave, W.-C. was really not much more advanced than the previous August, when he returned to France.¹²¹

It is therefore inexact to consider me to be his "adjutant".

I would have only been the lieutenant of a general without troops, in the South American style ! I could not be the leader or the deputy leader of an organization without form or content.

III. The reality is the following.

As I have said, I did not bear any hostility in principle to Germany. On the contrary, the sympathies I had for her during my travels after the 1914 War, the view of her misfortunes and possibilities, my hope of a peace founded on the reciprocal understanding of peoples, had been the main motive of my joining the Left (a purely intellectual and formal membership, without me having ever done any active politics, so to speak).

¹²⁰ In the margin of this page of the note, there is a MS note in German: "W.C Kein Verbindung mit De Gaulle" (W.C. No connection with De Gaulle).

¹²¹ In the margin of this page of the note, there is a MS note in German: "Kein adjutant au W.C" ("No adjutant to W.C.").

The arrival of a regime, which, if it seemed to have social aspirations to which we could adhere in part, seemed to me to be founded on a Germanic "chauvinism", not to be recommended more than another, and on a more than brutal opposition to democratic ideas, which are mine. All this perhaps dampened my consideration, but however did not make me lose the hope of seeing peace maintained. Neither the remilitarization of the Rhineland, nor the Anschluss, had made me lose my illusions. I fully shared the opinion of Léon Blum, Council President, who offered, in 1936, in a speech in Lyons, to establish peaceful relations between France and the Third Reich.¹²²

What determined me to adopt my principled position in 1940, was therefore neither a preconceived hostility in regard to Germany, nor my sympathies in regard to political parties that were opposed by National Socialism. It was the painful reaction of my national feeling, a feeling that I had never before separated from my political and social ideas. In June 1940, the view of my country invaded and enslaved, made me wish that this state of affairs should cease, as all good French people.

Freedom, for France, could only be conceived by the eviction of the occupying foreign army, giving its orders, even in internal politics. National independence cannot be regained without the help of the nation itself. It can be given neither by a magnanimous conqueror, nor by a foreign army, even an allied one, which, acting alone, would perhaps be tempted, not having been helped by the country, to deal with it, in turn, as a protectorate.

Therefore I thought the necessary task of national liberation should be undertaken in France and by French people. That is why I listened with sympathy and emotion to General de Gaulle's appeals. While I was seeing the German army reach Paris, Bordeaux and Bayonne, he raised up the honor of the French army, whose leaders had capitulated when the fight still continued on the side of France's allies. He took place in that fight, and by doing so, through him, France was present, and he held all the rights of our country.

IV. Therefore I was pleased to see my friend W.-C. in the same state of mind. And he himself found me prepared for the services he proposed asking me out of my friendship.

¹²² This speech was given in Lyons on 24 January 1936.

Despite his capricious and boastful character, he is gifted with very great charm. My sympathy was granted to him a long time ago. Without being intimate, we were bound to each other.

My friendship did not go as far as subordinating my filial duty. Indeed I believed it was my duty not to risk further darkening my mother's last days by dangers which I could run by an illegal act. In addition, apart from the brief incident of my Morlaix detour, during a private trip to Angers, I did nothing effective before the middle of December.

Then, I believed, according to ideas I held, that I could give W.-C. the friendly service of giving him a helping hand on the occasion of his departure. In a way, I served him as correspondent. I would not have done it for just anybody. I did it because he was my friend.

V. Finally, I didn't have more luck in this story, than in the other episodes of my life over 8 years. Indeed, since the brutal death of my largely ruined father, my life has been very darkened: repeated difficulties in the employment situation, moreover related to the war, a narrowed family life, saddened by my mother's long and terribly depressing illness of a 3 year agony, head of the family at 25 years old, surrounded by children, sick people and old women, including my grandmother who has just died, during these very hearings. Heavy responsibilities amidst a great moral isolation.

All that to end as the victim of a provocateur !

VI. Indeed, you must not forget that we have all been betrayed by a provocateur. A necessary statement from a double point of view.

1st We were lured into a trap: personally, without a doubt, I would never have been brought to realize the payment of the 9000 frs to W.-C. without the activities of the provocateur, who came to ask me for them. Will the Court not have to take this into consideration ?

2nd It's a provocateur, in the pay of the Gestapo, who has betrayed and denounced us all. The denunciations do not come from the accused, in particular not from myself.

All this to reply to the absurd, unbelievable and revolting aggression of which I have been the object on the part of the prosecutor. He has announced his intention of dwelling at length, in his prosecution, on my "treason" with regards to Mme

de La Bourdonnaye. I have immediately, in part, clarified the situation.

On the 4th day of interrogation by the Gestapo, whereas, for a long time, I had explained that I hid in an attic until my departure from Paris, Commissioner Dozing¹²³ brusquely asked me: "Do you know the telephone number Littré 51-15? Do you know Mme de la Bourdelais (sic)? Were you not hidden in her home?" I then again tried to deny. But he added: "Then where were you, when you saw two cars of German soldiers come to arrest the Countess of Chambrun (who lives in the same building as M. de la B.)?" Faced with so many details, I then had to confess this truth, that I had spent a few days of my flight at Mme de la B's home. If I had persisted denying, the rest of my declarations could have been considered with suspicion and I wanted to avoid that. And then the Commissioner asked me (I omitted saying this to the Court): "Why then did you hide that from us." I replied "You would not have wanted me, all the same, to denounce a woman who has been charitable to me." "You see, was the Commissioner's conclusion (so different from the prosecutor's!) that you did not denounce her, since we knew it already and not from you."

I well understand that perhaps the prosecutor wants to prepare a surprise for the Court by denouncing, on my part, the treason of a miserable Jew. He really should align his story with the Gestapo, and especially with the reality of the facts.

I say that such an accusation is absurd, because the trouble I gave myself to mask Vildé under the name of Dubois, by placing him even in imaginary cafes to deflect the search, the fact that I did not give a single name to the police, that our declarations were not the source of any arrest (Georges-Etienne was himself arrested a few hours before me)[Note: because he had been denounced by the provocateur and that his name was on a handwritten list of W.-C. given to remind him of people to see in Paris], evidently proving that I am not among those who denounce their hosts!

I also believe that I showed at the hearing that I was not afraid.

It's gross maliciousness, blatantly fabricated, to set us up one against another. To succeed, the pretext would not have to be completely contrary to the truth. As for me, I don't intend to allow anyone to try to defile me in such a way, as childish as the

¹²³ Doubtless a misspelling for SS Captain Doehring.

attempt may be. My honor is for me even more important than my freedom or my life.

There is no doubt there was a denouncer. But the accusation should not forget that he is one of their agents, and that he is not sitting with us. The Gestapo did not need anybody else to put everybody "in the same bath".

VII. Two points still remain either completely or almost completely in the dark.

1 The funds (shares and about 6.000 frs in cash) seized from me, were listed by the police. I explained to the Court that, going away for a long time, I had taken my personal fortune with me. That raised no objection, all the less since it was what the Court had itself supposed. But what will become of these considerable funds? Whether I am executed or not, after the judgment, will there be a means so that they are handed over to my family, or, if it is impossible for the foreign shares, that they are put in escrow in my name, or in my family's name? If the judgment says nothing about this, can we not avoid confiscation purely and simply?

2 The Gestapo read to me the text of a letter that W.-C. had sent me, by the obvious intermediary of Gaveau, on his 2nd trip and that he handed over to the Germans, instead of to me. This letter, whose authenticity did not appear questionable, speaks of a lot of things, in such a mysterious way, that they were, for the most part, incomprehensible. In any case, there is mention of sending money which I had done previously, of different interesting people to see, of the boat that W.-C. hoped to rent, of people he could take, and of the way he hoped he could tell me of his happy arrival. I gave the very few explanations that I could about this letter, to the examining magistrate, who in fact put a brusque end to it. Nobody spoke to me about it again at the hearing.

VIII. What I am reproached with today is, without a doubt, without any important relationship with the small affair of tracts already judged, and which however brought me a 2 year sentence. All the same, this is still a bizarre legal affair.

The judges of the first affair knew the second, since its examination had been terminated, and they had the account in front of them (they even read out the part concerning the meeting at the Café du Vaudeville). They therefore judged by

this itself, taking into account my global activity, which was moreover quite natural, that I had not made tracts for the sake of tracts, but because it was part of my general line of help to W.-C. and that there is in reality only one single affair.

Shouldn't they take into account this anomaly because, by judging me again, even on the rest, which has already weighed in on the Court's deliberations, they are twisting in some way the principle: non bis in idem. In any case, does this not lead to confusion? However, it would be very agreeable to me, were I to be condemned to death, or even sent to Germany, to complete first my 2 years here.

IX. Conclusion. All the same, apart from this affair of tracts already judged, my only positive but sterile anti-German activity, during the fortnight when I was at the disposal of W.-C., was sending to a friend, who liked playing the role of conspirator, the 9.000 francs which in fact were to no purpose, and which covered neither an arms affair, nor a spying affair. That does not seem to me to justify the announced seriousness of the public minister's pleas.

P.S. The act of accusation also mentions 1000 frs that Vildé is said to have given me for my escape. That is absolutely false. I have never received a cent from Vildé. I had no need, the size of the sums found on me prove it. Besides, the hearing made no allusion to this invention.

About this, it's important for me to stress the little relationship there is between the affair of the Group A and mine. No common organization. The only links that existed were the tract, that I decided to have copied, as I would have done for anyone else, and the departure of W.-C., whose linkage with Vildé I still do not know. Really, I only made the latter's acquaintance to protect me in my escape. Therefore there are two very distinct groups of people evolving (as far as we are concerned, you have seen with what lack of efficiency), in two circles quite unfamiliar one to another. Therefore there is not one but two affairs, that the Court should judge separately.

Léon Nordmann (signature)

35. Typescript letter from Joseph Haennig to the Head of the Bar. (This letter, with some handwritten corrections, has an X drawn across its entire text).

Joseph Haennig
Advocate at the Court
7, rue Dante
Danton 43-06
From 9h to 11h

Paris, 19 September 1944

Leon Nordmann Aff(air)

Head of the Bar
Palais de Justice

Head of the Bar,

I am sending you, enclosed, a copy of the note¹²⁴ which our colleague Nordmann gave to me for his defense. You will see all his thoughts expressed in it.

The prosecution reproached Nordmann for having acted as a Jew and having given free reign to his racial hatred. In my plea, I legally discussed the indictment and I almost prevailed. It was the payment of a sum of 9.000 Fr. given by Nordmann to our colleague Weil-Curiel which led the Court to declare that, through this act, Nordmann had favoredised the enemy. Weil-Curiel needed this money to pay the fisherman who was to bring him to England.

Concerning the motives which were at the base of Nordmann's actions, the Court, following my request, retained that he had acted, not as a Jew, but as a patriot wishing to defend his country. Moreover Nordmann declared, on several occasions, that for him, the armistice did not put an end to the state of war between Germany and France, but, on the contrary, that it continued and that he had to serve his country as best he could.

Previously, Nordmann had already been sentenced, for the distribution of clandestine tracts, to two years imprisonment. He had been locked up in the fort of Villeneuve-Saint-Georges where he had organized an escape with several fellow prisoners. Unfortunately, whereas others escaped, his weak constitution did not enable him to climb over the ditch and so he was obliged to return to prison.

¹²⁴ A 6 page typescript version of Nordmann's undated manuscript note to Haennig.

I am at your entire disposal should you need any other information concerning our unfortunate colleague.

Please be assured of my devoted feelings.

PART THREE

3.1: BRIEF BIOGRAPHIES OF THE MEMBERS OF THE "MUSÉE DE L'HOMME"
GROUP AND OTHERS:

Jules Andrieu (1896-1942), head teacher, defended by a lawyer of Russian origin, Strelnikoff, accused of serious crimes, including espionage, found guilty, executed 23 February 1942. Cited in German documents n° 12-16, 1941 (see above).

Claude Aveline (pseud. Evgen Avtsine, 1901-1992), writer.

Jacqueline Bordelet (1912-?), secretary, acquitted in 1942¹²⁵ Cited in German documents n° 12-17, 1941 (see above).

Jean-Paul Carrier (1917-2000), accused of having been a liaison agent, sentenced to 3 years imprisonment in 1942. Cited in German documents n° 13, 18, 1941 and in Nordmann's letter, n° 34, 1942 (see above). He escaped from Clairvaux prison and spent 7 months in Spanish prisons before reaching North Africa (according to Humbert, *op. cit.*, 2008, p. 102n12). He then joined the Free French forces.

Jean Cassou (1897-1986), writer and art critic.

Albert Charles Comba, born in February 1921 in Turin, naturalized French, typographer, domiciled at La Courneuve, member of aero-club at Aubervilliers, arrested 30 December 1940, imprisoned at the Prison du Cherche-Midi, Paris. Cited in German documents n° 12-14, 18, 1941 (see above).

René Creston (1898-1964), sociologist, distributed tracts.

Countess Elisabeth de la Panouse de la Bourdonnaye (1911-?), aka Dexia, was in regular contact with Vildé, helped him financially, reproduced and distributed tracts, helped her son Geoffroy and 17 other persons reach England via Spain. Before his arrest, she had sheltered Nordmann. She was arrested on 23 March 1941, interrogated (she denied knowing Nordmann), accused of having harbored an anti-German conspirator but however eventually freed on probation before her trial. She was subsequently tried and sentenced to 6 months imprisonment from February through July 1942 in Paris Cherche-Midi prison. Cited in document n° 7, and in Nordmann's letter, n° 34, 1942 (see above). In 1943, she went into hiding, became secretary of medical Resistance and in 1944 responsible for medical supplies to the Free French. She also rescued Jewish children with the help of pediatrician

¹²⁵ The University of Michigan Special Collections Library, Margaret L. Rossiter papers on "Women in the Resistance", has documents on Jacqueline Bordelet (including taped recordings of 27-29 Feb. 1980), Agnès Humbert and Yvette Oddon (Boxes 3 and 7).

Professor Robert Debré, her wartime companion, whom she married after the war.

Countess de Chambrun (1911-1992), born Josée Laval (daughter of the leading Vichy collaborator Pierre Laval, 1883-1945), married Count René de Chambrun (1906-2002), a lawyer, in 1935, cited in Haennig's notes, n° 24 and in Nordmann's letter, n° 34, 1942. (She is also cited in the self-serving memoirs of Vichy Minister of Justice, Joseph Barthélemy, *Ministre de la Justice, Vichy 1941-1943, Mémoires*, Paris, Pygmalion, 1989, p. 56).

Auguste Dizerbo (1913-2011), pharmacist at Quimper, joined the Free French in September 1940. (Transcribed as Dicerbo in document n° 12, 1941 (see above)). He was in contact with Vildé and Weil-Curiel to find boats to join England. Betrayed by Gaveau, he was arrested by the Germans on 21 January 1941, interrogated and judged in July 1941. He was condemned to hard labor for life, but eventually freed on orders of Roskothen before the end of the war. He became a renowned botanist, specialist in seaweeds.

Gabriel Marc Dupleix (1921-1986), domiciled in Paris 20e, commercial secretary, member of aero-club at Aubervilliers, arrested December 1940, imprisoned at the Prison du Cherche-Midi, Paris, sentenced to 7 months imprisonment at Fresnes, liberated 5 August 1941. He is recorded as having joined the Free French movement in November 1941.

Colonel Charles Marie Maurice Dutheil de la Rochere (1870-1943). Cited in German documents n° 12-15, 1941 (see above). According to Blumenson, *op. cit.*, he managed to copy German military plans, list aerodromes in construction, and note troop movements, which he forwarded to Pierre Walter. Germaine Tillion also worked with him, and he was in contact with Colonel Hauet to found an anti-Nazi group. He was deported on 8 June 1942 to Karlsruhe, Rheinbach and Sonnenburg where he died on 13 Dec 1943.

Mme Erouchowski, aka "Ski", employee of Russian origin at the Musée de l'Homme, mistress of Adrien Fedorowsky, in contact with a Gestapo agent, apparently denounced Yvonne Oddon (who lived in the same building) and Anatole Lewitzky. Cited in German documents n° 12-15, 1941 (see above). After their arrest, she obtained money from SS Captain Doehring and went to Berlin.

René-Georges Etienne (1902-1992), acquitted in 1942. Cited in German documents n° 13, 18, 1941, in letter by Haennig, n° 23, December 1941 in note n° 27, 1942 and in Nordmann's letter, n° 34, 1942 (see above).

Adrien Fédorowsky, aka "Fédo", of Russian origin, appointed assistant laboratory technician at the Musée de l'Homme in 1931. In 1933, he published *La conservation et la restauration des objets*

ethnographiques, Paris, Vernière éditeur. He was subsequently involved in a "pornographic" photo scandal discovered by Lewitzky. He apparently denounced Oddon and Lewitzky. Obtained a year's personal leave from 1 January to 31 December 1943 (according to a French ministerial circular dated 19 January 1943).

Roger Marcel Fortier, born in 1922, mechanic, domiciled in La Courneuve, member of aero-club at Aubervilliers, arrested 30 December 1940. (Cited in German documents n° 12-14, 18, 1941, see above). He was deported from Paris on 9 October 1942 to KL Sachsenhausen, where he was released on 22 April 1945.

Georges Friedmann (1902-1977), Marxist and sociologist, removed from his teaching post in Toulouse by Vichy, introduced in Paris by Humbert to Vildé, responsible for the *Résistance* journal in the Free Zone, and after the group is arrested, he went into hiding. Cited in German document n° 12 (see above) and in Humbert's memoirs, *op. cit.* After the promulgation of the Jewish Statute in October 1940, Humbert protected his apartment and his library. This protection and her correspondence with Friedmann are cited by Blanc, *op. cit.*

Albert Gaveau, born in Angers in 1901. He was a former aviation instructor, alias "Ameline", infiltrated into the Resistance group by SS Captain Doehring who paid him 2.000 Francs per month. Gaveau's German born mother was related to Doehring's secretary, Miss Hubner. Cited in German documents n° 12-14, 1941 and in Nordmann's letter, n° 34, 1942 (see above). Arrested in November 1945, he was tried for betraying the Resistance group, defended by Jean-Louis Tixier-Vignancourt who managed to avoid the death penalty for him. Gaveau was sentenced on 5 November 1949 to hard labor for life and incarcerated in the prison of Clairvaux. On 23 November 1953 his sentence was reduced to 20 years hard labor. He was freed in 1965. (French National Archives AN.Z6/810.5677).

Colonel Paul Hauet (1866-1945) was deported from Compiègne on 28 July 1944 to Kl Neuengamme, n° 402224, where he died on 31 January 1945.

Daniel Héricault (1910-?), former pilot. He introduced Gaveau to Vildé, and brought stencils for the tracts to Aubervilliers. He was arrested by the Germans on 17 January 1941 and accused of anti-German propaganda. He was acquitted in 1942. (Transcribed as Héricault in German documents n° 12, n° 13, 1941, see above).

Agnès Humbert (1894-1963), art historian and ethnographer, imprisoned at the Prison du Cherche-Midi, found guilty of diverse crimes against Germany, sentenced to 5 years forced labor in 1942. Her defense lawyer was a woman lawyer Maître Christo, chosen by her

mother. Cited in German documents n° 12-17, 1941 (see above). She was deported on 16 February 1942 to the prisons of Karlsruhe, Anrath, Krefeld and Gütersloh, and the camps of Schwelm and Wanfried where she was liberated on 3 April 1945.

Georges Ithier (1897-1942), freight officer, accused of serious crimes, including espionage, found guilty, executed 23 February 1942. Cited in German documents n° 12-17, 1941 (see above).

Josse, an English agent who gave documents to Bordelet for Walter, betrayed by Gaveau, arrested by the Germans (according to Blumenson, *op. cit.*). Cited in German documents n° 12-16, 1941 (see above).

Albert Jubineau, born in St. Nazaire, Brittany in 1894, was a lawyer recruited by René-Yves Creston (1898-1964), a sociologist at the Musée de l'Homme. He was arrested in January 1941, interrogated by the Germans, tried in 1942 but acquitted for lack of proof. He is briefly mentioned in Nordmann's prison diary (Nordmann, 1993, *op. cit.*). Cited in German documents n° 12-18, 1941, in letter by Haennig, n° 23, December 1941, in note n° 27, 1942 and in Nordmann's letter n° 34, 1942 (see above). He was in fact not accused of Resistance activities, but of being in charge of a paramilitary group. In 1949, he published "Spoliations et mesures de guerre", *Gazette du Palais* (Paris), 1949, I.D.62.

Sylvette Leleu (1908-1989), garage owner, distributed tracts, imprisoned at the Prison du Cherche-Midi, Paris, accused of serious crimes including espionage, found guilty, sentenced to death, commuted to deportation in 1942. Cited in German documents n° 12-17, 1941 (see above). She was deported on 9 March 1942 to the prisons of Karlsruhe, Anrath, Lübeck, Cottbus, and to KL Ravensbrück and KL Mauthausen, where she was liberated on 22 April 1945 by the Red Cross.

Anatole Lewitsky (1903-1942), anthropologist, apparently denounced not by Gaveau but by two employees at the Museum, Mr Fedorowsky and his mistress Mme Erouchowski, imprisoned at the Prison du Cherche-Midi, Paris, defended by Maître Jean Burguburu, accused of serious crimes, including espionage, found guilty, executed 23 February 1942. Cited in German documents n° 12-17, 1941 (see above).

Marin, a French secret service agent, who gave documents to Bordelet for Walter, betrayed by Gaveau, and arrested by the Germans (according to Blumenson, *op. cit.*). Cited in German documents n° 12-16, 1941 (see above).

Jean-Victor Meunier, lawyer, inscribed at the Bar in 1930, a member of Nordmann's group in 1940 (according to Blanc, *op. cit.*, p. 402).

Emile Muller (1915-1988), printer, sentenced to 5 years forced labor in 1942. Cited in German document n° 12-17, 1941 (see above). He escaped from his deportation train between Bruchsal and Ludwigsburg on 26 March 1945.

Léon Maurice Nordmann (1908-1942), lawyer, accused of serious crimes against Germany, found guilty, executed 23 February 1942.

Yvonne Oddon (1902-1982), Museum librarian, distributed tracts, apparently denounced not by Gaveau but by two employees at the Museum, Adrien Fédorowsky and his mistress Mme Erouchkowski, imprisoned at the Prison du Cherche-Midi, Paris, accused of serious crimes, including espionage, found guilty, sentenced to death, commuted to deportation in 1942. Cited in German documents n° 12-17, 1941 (see above). According to Blanc, *op. cit.*, p. 118, she stated she only knew Nordmann after his arrest. She was deported on 16 February 1942 to the prisons of Karlsruhe, Anrath, Lübeck, Cottbus, and to KL Ravensbrück and KL Mauthausen, where she was liberated by the Red Cross on 22 April 1945. After the war, she co-authored with Charles Henri Bach, *Petit guide du bibliothécaire*, Paris, A. Colin, continuously republished at least nine times until 1974.

Paul Rivet (1876-1958), ethnologist and founder of the "Musée de l'Homme" in 1937. Cited in German document n° 12, n° 13, 1941 (see above).

Roger Robbi, born in 1922, apprentice mechanic, domiciled in Aubervilliers, member of aero-club at Aubervilliers, arrested 31 December 1940. This appears to have been his second arrest: he had previously appeared before a (French) military court on 27 February 1940, for having attempted to steal a French Army plane, saying he intended to fly to Germany to steal a Messerschmitt to bring it back to France. On that occasion he received a six month suspended sentence and was even congratulated for his meritorious intention (according to the Australian *Argus* dated 28 February 1940). Cited in German documents n° 12-14, 18, 1941 (see above).

René Sénéchal (1922-1942), accountant, distributed tracts, imprisoned at the Prison du Cherche-Midi, Paris, accused of serious crimes, including espionage, found guilty, executed 23 February 1942. Cited in German documents n° 12-17, 1941 (see above). His defense lawyer was Maître Christo.

Alice Simmonet, graduate student at the Sorbonne, a German speaker, recruited by Vildé, prepared stencils, typed and distributed tracts, obtained plans of German military installations, imprisoned at the Cherche-Midi prison, accused of espionage, found guilty, sentenced

to death, commuted to deportation in 1942. She survived. Cited in German documents n° 12-17, 1941 (see above).

Henri Simmonet, director of the Maisons-Alfort Veterinary School, imprisoned at the Cherche-Midi prison, released in 1942

Germaine Tillion (1907-2008), ethnologist, arrested in 1942, deported in October 1943 from Paris via Aix-la-Chapelle to KL Ravensbrück, n° 24588, where she was liberated by the Allies and the Red Cross on 23 April 1945.

Boris Vildé (1908-1942), linguist and ethnographer, imprisoned at the Prison du Cherche-Midi, and at the Prison de la Santé, transferred to Fresnes on 16 June 1941. He received a visit from the Prosecutor on 21 October 1941. He was defended by Maître Kraehling, accused of serious crimes, including espionage, found guilty, executed on 23 February 1942. Cited in German documents n° 12-17, 1941 n° 25, February 1942 and in Nordmann's letter, n° 34, 1942 (see above). His prison diary and correspondence were published by François Bédarida and Dominique Veillon in 1988: Boris Vildé, *Journal et lettres de prison 1941-1942*, *Cahiers de l'Institut d'Histoire du Temps Présent* (Paris), 7, février 1988. He makes no reference to Nordmann.

Pierre Walter (1906-1942), photographer, imprisoned at the Prison du Cherche-Midi, Paris, accused of serious crimes, including espionage, found guilty, executed 23 February 1942. Cited in German documents n° 12-17, 1941 (see above). He was defended by Maître Wilhelm of Alsatian origin.

Andre Weil-Curiel (1910-1988), lawyer, is cited in the German documents n° 12-18 above, dated from October 1940 through October 1941. Weil-Curiel is also cited in documents by Haennig, n° 27, n° 29 (1942), n° 35 (1944) and by Nordmann, n° 34 (1942) above. As a liaison agent to the British expeditionary force, he was among the 140.000 French soldiers evacuated from Dunkirk to England in June 1940, he then met De Gaulle on June 19th, joined his Free French movement, and was sent back to France on 18 July 1940, using the alias "Dubois", to recruit and organize, arriving in Paris on August 25th. He contacted Nordmann, as well as Boris Vildé, in the Fall of 1940. Although he was arrested on the demarcation line dividing France between the Occupied North and the "Free" Southern Zone on 5 March 1941, he was not tried with the other group members, and in effect freed on 26 April 1941 on orders of his Francophile friend, the German Ambassador Otto Abetz (his friend since 1930 and who, for example, had invited him to the Olympic Games in 1936, and whom he even met, apparently accidentally, in a Paris tea-room in November 1940). He managed to return to London via Spain in March 1942, but was considered suspect, was sent as a lieutenant to French Polynesia and survived the war. At the Liberation, he faced several enquiries, a legal case against him was

eventually dismissed in October 1946 and he was reinstated by the Paris Bar in 1948. In 1945, with Raymond Castro, he had published one of the first works on spoliation and restitution: *Spoliations et restitutions: commentaire théorique et pratique de la législation relative aux spoliations*, Paris, Editions R.G., and in 1945 and 1946, self-justifying works on the Resistance and on the Occupation in France: *Le Jour se lève à Londres*, Paris, Editions du Myrte, and *Le temps de la honte: Eclipse en France*, Paris, Editions du Myrte.

OTHER FRENCH AUTHORITIES AND LAWYERS:

Jacques Charpentier (1881-1974), registered at the Paris Bar in 1908, President of the Bar Association from 1938, then during and after the Occupation. See documents n° 1, 1941, n° 28, n° 30, 1942, above. His self-serving memoir, *Au service de la liberté*, was published in 1949 (Paris, Editions Fayard).

Joseph Nolleau, Appeals Court lawyer, registered at the Paris Bar in 1901, member of the Bar Association, see documents n° 27, 31-33, 1942. His thesis for the Law Faculty of the University of Paris was published in 1906: *De la réhabilitation des faillis*, Editions Bonvalot-Jouve.

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Detective Gagel, cited in German document n° 18, 1941.

Captain Dr. Gottlob, Prosecutor at the "Musée de l'Homme" trial in 1942, according to all accounts, a rigorous, brutal anti-Semitic, alcoholic philandering Nazi. Co-signatory of German document n° 18 of 1941; cited in letter by Nordmann, 1941, document n° 19 (see above).

Major General Eugen Müller (1891-1951), responsible for legal questions related to the Occupied Zone. Signatory of document n° 9 (see above).

SS Oberscharführer (Staff Sergeant) Richter. Cited in German document n° 18, 1941.

Captain Ernst Roskothen was a former judge at the Essen Appeals Court who had refused to join the Nazi party. He was nevertheless appointed as a judge to the German military court in France from 1941

to 1944. He was the presiding judge at the trial of the "Musée de l'Homme" group in 1942 and according to the surviving accused, conducted it with courtesy. (Cited in defense document n° 27, 1942, see above). He was arrested and interned in Paris in August 1944, transferred to England in 1945, but eventually taken to France and freed, as 26 members of the Resistance petitioned for his release, including Agnès Hubert (French National Archives AN.72 AJ260). The International Red Cross stated that he had upheld international law. Roskothen even returned to Paris to reply to Examining Magistrate Gojon on 30 June 1948 prior to Gaveau's trial for treason. (French National Archives AN.Z6.810.5677.630-633). In correspondence concerning the extradition of the Lyons Gestapo head Klaus Barbie (1913-1991), Georges Bidault requested the re-arrest of Ernst Roskothen in 1950 to no avail (Papers of Georges Bidault (1899-1983), former Resistance member and government minister, French National Archives AN.457AP/150). In 1951 Roskothen published a work on French criminal procedural law: *Französisches Strafverfahrensrecht*, Bonn, L. Röhrscheid. Roskothen's self-serving memoirs do not specifically mention Nordmann by name, although he praises the courageous attitude of those executed by firing squad, and briefly refers to the case: *Gross-Paris, Place de la Concorde, 1941-1944, Ein Wehrmachtsrichter erinnert sich*, Bad Dürkheim, 1979, pp. 316-321 (republished, Tübingen, Hoherain Verlag, 1989).

General Ernst Schaumburg (1880-1947), Commander of 225th Infantry Division in Summer 1939, Military Commander of Paris (from 1 August 1940 to 1 May 1943), President of the Military Court in 1941. He retired from active service on 31 October 1943. Co-signatory of German document n° 18 (see above).

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3.4 THE JOSEPH HAENNIG PAPERS 1940-1949

A chronological and nominative listing summary of the acquired correspondence and papers. These concern 136 cases which have as yet not all been fully researched. The documents include letters, forms, transcripts, envelopes and other case material. This material was acquired in Paris between February 2000 and November 2001.

1. Oct 1940-Jan 1941 Alfred Lhomme (4 documents)
2. Oct 1940 Haimovici (2 documents)
3. **Oct 1940-Sept 1944 File on case of Léon Nordmann (one of the first Resistance groups, 35 documents of 101pp). This is the topic of the current monograph.**
4. Nov 1940 Marie Klein (2 documents), born on 22 Nov 1907, (deported on 12 May 1944 to SL Schirmeck where she was released on 23 Nov 1944)
5. Dec 1940 Simon Korn (1 document)
6. Dec 1940-Jan 1941 Auguste Gilais (4 documents)
7. Dec 1940 Paul Klein (2 documents)
8. Dec 1940 Arnim Schmidt (1 document)
9. Dec 1940 Schmidt (2 documents), prisoner at Cherche Midi prison, Paris
10. Dec 1940 Beaugouin (1 document)
11. Dec 1940-Mar 1941 Raymond Relecom (6 documents). His address is listed as 33 avenue Montaigne, Paris 8^e in the Paris phone book for April 1939.
12. 1941 File on case of Hôtel d'Iéna (19 documents), concerning German requisition orders, including wine cellar inventories. Its address was 24-32 avenue d'Iéna, Paris 16e according to the Paris phone book for April 1939. Documents include correspondence from Von Bose, legal counsel to the German Ambassador in Paris
13. Jan-Feb 1941 Roger Marcel (2 documents), born 10 May 1917, (deported from Paris on 15 Apr 1943 to prisons at Wittlich, Breslau and Brieg, then to KL Flossenbug, where he was released on 23 Apr 1945)
14. Feb 1941 Henri Durantou (2 documents)

15. Feb-Mar 1941 Georges Gérard (4 documents)
16. Feb 1941 Jonniaux et al (2 documents)
17. Feb 1941 Henri Michaud (1 document)
18. Feb-Mar 1941 German military command (2 documents)
19. Mar 1941 C. John Sutton (2 documents)
20. Mar 1941 German financial authorities DSK (Devisenschutzkommando). Case of August Schaal (2 documents)
21. Mar-Apr 1941 René Bréhier (2 documents), prisoner at Cherche Midi prison, Paris
22. Mar-Apr 1941 Henri Thiébaud (1 document)
23. Apr 1941 Hélène Richard (1 document)
24. Apr 1941 German military legal office, St Cloud. Case of Antonin Remontet (2 documents), prisoner
25. Apr 1941 German military legal office (2 documents)
26. Apr 1941 Jean A(lbert) Seligmann (2 documents), born 15 June 1903, art dealer, executed as a Jewish hostage on 15 Dec 1941 at Mont-Valérien.
27. Apr-May 1941 Igor Goldfarb (2 documents), born 22 June 1918, executed as a Jewish hostage on 15 Dec 1941 at Mont-Valérien.
28. May 1941 Charles Georges Hazan (2 documents)
29. May-Sept 1941 File on case of Emile Parmentier et al (69 documents), case before German military court, Parmentier, employee at the Préfecture de Police, accused of distributing anti-German tracts on 20 May 1941, freed for health reasons on 29 Sept 1941
30. Jun 1941 Comtesse de Milleville (2 documents). Mary Ghita Lindell, born in Surrey, UK on 11 Sept 1895, married the Comte de Milleville in 1922. Active in the Resistance, she was arrested in 1941, imprisoned at Cherche-Midi prison, then in February 1941 in Fresnes prison. (Because of ill health, she was eventually released in November 1941, but continued in the Resistance, was re-arrested on 24 Nov 1943, deported from Belfort on 1 Sept 1944 to Neue Bremm and then to Ravensbrück, where she was finally freed by the Swedish Red Cross on 23-24 April 1945).
31. Jun 1941 Jean Esman (2 documents)
32. Jun 1941 Diveau (2 documents)
33. Jun 1941 (unknown sender) (1 document)
34. Jun-Jul 1941 German military legal office. Case of Suzanne Marquereau (3 documents)
35. Jun-Jul 1941 Jean Hectaridis (2 documents)
36. Jun 1941 German airforce (1 document)

37. Jul 1941 (Anna-Lina) Niederl Eppler (2 documents), born 18 Feb 1911, (deported on 20 Apr 1942 to Karlsruhe prison and then released)
38. Jul-Sept 1941 Georges Souille (4 documents)
39. Jul 1941 Jean Grouffal (2 documents)
40. Jul 1941 Jean Marcandier (4 documents)
41. Jul 1941 Jean Poisson (2 documents), born 27 Aug 1921, (deported to Munich prison, then to Dachau Concentration camp, n° KL Dachau 64404, listed as having survived)
42. Jul 1941 André Goissand (2 documents)
43. Aug 1941 Robert Mentré (2 documents)
44. Aug-Sept 1941 Xavier Zinck (4 documents)
45. Aug 1941 Robert Denizot (2 documents), born 1917, Communist, escaped prisoner of war, deported, mayor of Bleurville (Vosges) 1977-1989, deceased 1992
46. Aug 1941 Bruno Moressa (2 documents)
47. Aug 1941 Henri Ours (2 documents)
48. Aug 1941 Baugerdy (2 documents)
49. Sept 1941 Palais Bourbon (1 document)
50. Sept 1941 File on case of (Henri Dorian) Hermann Hartung (16 documents), born 7 Apr 1886, journalist, joined the Free French in January 1941, case before German military court, sentenced to death on 5 Sept 1941, executed at Mont-Valérien
51. Sept 1941 Antoine Besse (2 documents)
52. Sept 1941 Justin Arlabosse (2 documents)
53. Sept 1941 Gabriel Rivon (2 documents)
54. Sept 1941 Fabius (Faiwel) Finkielman (2 documents), born 19 May 1908, furrier, executed as a Jewish hostage on 15 Dec 1941 at Mont-Valérien.
55. Sept-Oct 1941 Joseph Boschi (4 documents)
56. Sept 1941 Lancelot Beauche (1 document)
57. Sept 1941 (Désiré) Stefani (2 documents), born 23 May 1901, (deported 21 Sept 1942 to Karlsruhe prison, released on 8 Apr 1945 at Prenzlau)
58. Sept-Oct 1941 File on case of Doctor Quadri (24 documents), technical director of Sandoz pharmaceutical factory in Orléans, case before German military court in Orléans following an incident with two Alsatian workers. Quadri sentenced to 5 months' imprisonment, but freed on 30 Sept 1941 after 2 months and a fine of 6000 francs. Haennig's fees were 2500 francs paid by Sandoz on 20 Oct 1941
59. Oct 1941 Aimé Sambain (1 document)

60. Oct 1941 Jacques Albert Giroux (1 document)
61. Oct-Nov 1941 André Doyonnax (4 documents)
62. Oct-Nov 1941 Lieutenant (Léon) Pédebidou (2 documents), born 6 Sept 1894, (deported on 28 July 1942 to Karlsruhe prison, liberated Apr 1945 at Diez/Lahn)
63. Oct 1941 File on case of Paul Keller, born 29 June 1887, notary in Toul (Meurthe et Moselle) since 1927, accused of treason, trial began on 6 Oct 1941, executed 24 Oct 1941 at Mont-Valérien. (34 documents)
64. Oct-Nov 1941 File on case of Daniel Shakaroff and Roger Leys, bank employee, imprisoned at Prison de la Santé for gold trafficking. (34 documents)
65. Nov 1941 Jean Villey (1 document)
66. Dec 1941 File on case of Théophile Le Bras (5 documents), born 19 Aug 1908, sentenced to four months' imprisonment at Cherche Midi prison, Paris, on 20 Dec 1941 for having stolen lead and copper on 3 Dec 1941 from German occupied Viorex factory in Clichy. Judgment signed by German judge Hochbaum
67. Dec 1941 Feldkircher (1 document)
68. Dec 1941-Jan 1942 Jules Dechamps (3 documents)
69. Jan 1942 Paris military court. Case of Louise Nanquette (2 documents), confirmation of prison sentence at Prison de la Santé, Paris
70. Feb 1942 File on case of Albert-Jean Transler, born 29 Nov 1903, notary clerk to Me (Robert) Aubron, imprisoned at Cherche Midi prison, Paris, accused of espionage, executed 13 Feb 1942 at Mont-Valérien. (29 documents)
71. Feb 1942 German military court (2 documents)
72. Feb-Mar 1942 Jeanne Thomine (2 documents)
73. Feb-Apr 1942 Hélène Lemaître (2 documents)
74. Apr 1942 Visentin Romano (2 documents)
75. May 1942 Hugues Jean Pierre de Bazelaire de Rupierre (1 document)
76. May-Jun 1942 Arthur Harsahaw (2 documents)
77. Jun 1942 Henri Mayran (1 document)
78. Jun 1942 Prosper Gourt (2 documents)
79. Jun 1942 J(oseph).L.C. Kool (2 documents), born 14 April 1915, (deported Oct 1943 to Ravensbrück, entered Natzweiler Concentration camp on 29 Oct 1943)
80. Jun-Jul 1942 Roger Becquet (2 documents)
81. Jul 1942 German military court. Case of Blanche Tamissier (1 document)
82. Jul 1942 Maurice Isquin (1 document)

83. Jul 1942 Georges Ralli (2 documents). His address was 21 avenue Mozart, Paris 16^e, according to the Paris phone book of April 1939.
84. Jul 1942 Anne-Marie Stehlein (1 document)
85. Aug 1942 Ben Sassi (1 document)
86. Aug 1942 Alfred Boudah (4 documents), born 24 Jan 1909, was deported on 24 Sept 1942 to Germany (Karlsruhe prison), freed on 14 Feb 1944
87. Sept 1942 Auguste Huber (2 documents), born 12 Dec 1912, mechanic, executed on 18 Feb 1943 at Mont Valérien
88. Sept-Oct 1942 Cherif Hammouch (4 documents)
89. Oct 1942 René Lefiot (1 document), born 11 Sept 1896, (member of the Louis Renard Resistance network, deported on 18 Feb 1943 to Wolfenbüttel prison camp, and then to Breslau prison, where he died on 8 Feb 1944)
90. Dec 1942 Gaston Louis Marie Gauffriard (1 document)
91. Dec 1942 German legal authorities. Case of Pierre Touellou (2 documents)
92. Dec 1942-May 1943 File on case of Jacques Persky (56 documents), born 18 Jan 1880, international lawyer for 17 years in Paris, accused of being "of the Jewish race", case before German military court, returned to Le Vernet internment camp on 12 May 1943, (subsequently arrested at Espalion (Aveyron) and deported from Drancy to Auschwitz on 30 June 1944). The file includes correspondence with his daughter Dominique Desanti (1919-2011), resistant, member of French Communist party from March 1943 to 1956, writer and historian. (The CDJC archives contain correspondence between the German and Vichy authorities between 9 April 1942 and 16 March 1943 concerning a certain Persky accused of collaborating with the US Embassy in Vichy).
93. 1943 File on case of Carlo Lorenzini (37 documents), company driver, concerning transport company accident, case before German marine military court
94. Feb 1943 Robert Doleans (2 documents)
95. Feb 1943 Stanislas Kopuski (2 documents)
96. Feb 1943 Henri Aubert (1 document)
97. Apr 1943 Raymond Danez (2 documents)
98. Jun 1943 Lefety (1 document)
99. Jul 1943 Belon (2 documents)
100. Jul 1943 Maurice Léveilée (2 documents)
101. Jul 1943 Pierre Plin (2 documents)

102. Jul-Aug 1943 Fernand Wargnies (6 documents), resistant in 1942, (received the Légion d'Honneur on 20 May 1950)
103. Aug 1943 Pawel (Paul Marcel) Perol (1 document), born 31 Oct 1898, waiter, executed on 23 Aug 1943 at Mont-Valérien.
104. Aug 1943 Roger Saunier (1 document)
105. Aug-Sept 1943 Annette Koch (2 documents)
106. Aug 1943 Wilhelm Haucke (2 documents)
107. Aug 1943 Roland Neef (2 documents)
108. Sept 1943 Roger Hemmerling (1 document)
109. Oct 1943 Georges Gaston Ricard (2 documents)
110. Nov 1943 Michel Orgovanyi (2 documents), prisoner at Cherche Midi prison, Paris, requesting Jane Merritt, Paris 15e to contact Haennig
111. Nov 1943 André Balestat (1 document), born 13 Feb 1907, (deported on 7 Jan 1944 to Freiburg-im-Breisgau prison, liberated on 20 Apr 1945 at Geiselbach)
112. Nov 1943-Jan 1944 File on case of Arthur Neibecker, born 27 July 1894, Air France mechanic, case before German air force military court, accused of trying to steal a plane at Villacoublay to go to England, German judges Fösch and Rauff, sentenced to death on 2 Nov 1943, executed 8 Jan 1944 at Mont-Valérien. (36 documents)
113. Dec 1943 Roger Tagliaferro (1 document)
114. Dec 1943 Georges Guibout (1 document)
115. Dec 1943 Docteur Pierre Lignac (2 documents)
116. Feb 1944 René Martel (2 documents)
117. Feb 1944 Albert Painchault (2 documents), born on 26 Nov 1893, (deported on 3 Apr 1944 to Karlsruhe, Bochum (KL Buchenwald) and Hameln. He was released in April 1945 at Wesendorf)
118. Mar 1944 André Coffinet (1 document)
119. Apr 1944 Charles Guillard (2 documents), born 25 May 1920, (deported to Munich, then to KL Dachau, n° 93027, fate unknown)
120. Apr 1944 Mahmoud Borsali (2 documents)
121. May 1944 Robert André Mercier (2 documents)
122. May-Jun 1944 Domenico Musolino (2 documents), born 1 July 1906, (deported from Compiègne on 17 Aug 1944 to KL Dachau, n° 78487, released on 29 Apr 1945)
123. Jun 1944 René Risch (6 documents)
124. Jun 1944 Odette Garcia Marchand (6 documents)
125. Jul 1944 Paul Grosset (2 documents)
126. Nov 1944-Jan 1947 File on case of Paul Joseph Simonnet (123 documents), born 27 Nov 1901, mechanic, accused of

- denouncing colleagues and Jewish shopkeeper Moïse Pikstein to the Germans (Pikstein, born 3 Nov 1885, subsequently deported from Drancy to Auschwitz on 18 Sept 1942). Simonnet trial on 27 May 1946
127. Feb 1945 Henri Robert (1 document), prisoner at Fresnes prison, concerning his examining magistrate Huret
 128. Feb 1945 Robert Henne (1 document), prisoner at Fresnes prison
 129. Mar 1945 Henry Richard (1 document)
 130. May 1945 Joseph Hegohini (1 document)
 131. Nov 1945 Abel Perret (2 documents)
 132. Jun 1946 Aubard (2 documents)
 133. Apr 1947 V. Dugoua (3 documents), prisoner at Fresnes prison, prior to transfer to Bordeaux for his trial for industrial collaboration, defended by Me Touzet
 134. Jan 1948 Kurt Böhnke (1 document)
 135. Dec 1948 Pachi Bourga (1 document)
 136. 1949 File on case of Nadia (Nadeshda) Narowna Ferber (9 documents), concerning copyright problems. It is interesting to note that in 1949 she translated into German a work on the history of French art by Agnès Humbert, surviving deportee from the "Musée de l'Homme" resistance group (*Die französische Malerei: von den Anfängen zum Impressionismus*, Berlin, Minerva-Verlag, 1949).

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