THE EUROPEAN JOURNAL OF THE HISTORY OF ECONOMIC THOUGHT
https://doi.org/10.1080/09672567.2020.1739102

The "community of labour" in troubled times (1926–1944): François Perroux's irrational foundations of economic expertise

Nicolas Brisset and Raphaël Fèvre

ABSTRACT

The article analyses the works of François Perroux from the interwar years to the Vichy period (July 10th, 1940-August 20th, 1944). It shows in particular that through his conceptualisation of a "community of labour" as the fusion of both the activity and consciousness of a people, Perroux sought to bring together social mysticism (anti-rationalism) with economic and political organisation. Such a synthesis needs to be personified by a political *leader* as the main custodian of a national *myth* which should guide the community of labour from above. This interpretation helps to situate Perroux *vis-à-vis* some of the structuring elements of Vichy discourse.

KEYWORDS

François Perroux; Corporatism; community; myth; Vichy regime

JEL CODES

B20; B30

1. Introduction

This paper deals with the concept of "*Communauté de Travail*" (hereafter "community of labour"), a corporatist-like model developed by the French economist François Perroux (1903–1987) during the interwar period.[1] The sources and content as well as the purpose and significance of Perroux's concept are the central concern of the paper. But we also aim to shed light on the connection of Perroux's thought with some core elements of the rhetoric of Vichy France (July 10th, 1940-August 20th, 1944).

Studies dedicated to Perroux focussed mainly on the post-1945 period. Two reasons can explain this emphasis on the "second" Perroux. First, he delivered what today are considered his main contributions to the economic discipline after World War II, notably during his time as Chair of "Analysis of economic and social facts" at the *Collège de France* (1955–1976). The post-war period obviously attracted works on the history of economic thought (Beaud 2003, Caldari 2018, Chassagnon 2015, Meardon 2001).

CONTACT Nicolas Brisset nicolas.brisset@unice.fr GREDEG, CNRS, Université Côte d'Azur, 250 rue Albert Einstein, Sophia Antipolis, 06905 France; Raphaël Fèvre raphael.fevre@unil.ch Université de Lausanne, Quartier Mouline, CH-1015

[1] This paper is the first outcome of a wider project on the Economic Discipline and Expertise under Vichy. For numerous discussions on the shaping of this project, we are indebted to François Allisson, Cléo Chassonnery-Zaïgouche and Tom Juille. For valuable insights and supportive remarks on earlier drafts of the paper, we are grateful to our colleagues of the Centre Walras-Pareto (Université de Lausanne) and the GREDEG (Université Côte d'Azur) as well as to the participants to the *Journées d'Étude Charles Gide* (Nice, December 2017). Finally, we would like to thank the two referees for their both challenging and supportive comments. The usual disclaimers apply.

Second—and this is our main interest here—Perroux's intellectual and institutional trajectory during the inter-war years potentially posed a major difficulty for his commentators. This difficulty is related to pinning down the role Perroux played in the corporatist movement, in narratives of the "national revolution", and finally, in Vichy France.

Indeed, Perroux participated in many of the Vichy regime's institutional activities. For instance, he was a member of the commission that drafted the Vichy Constitution in June and October 1941. He had a major influence on the main training institutions for the regime's elites (*École des cadres d'Uriage*, *École nationale des cadres de Mayet de Montagne*, *Institut national de formation légionnaire*). Perroux was a member of the Economic Advisory Board under the presidency of Yves Bouthillier (Minister of Finance from 1940 to 1942), and participated actively in the *French Foundation for the Study of Human Problems* as an economic researcher and expert.[2]

Following a long period of neglect, François Perroux's place in the Vichy "French state" has become the subject of some recent academic work by Antonin Cohen (2006, 2012, 2018). The purpose of the present article is to take this re-examination further. To do so, we underline a central feature that was common to the work of the French economist and Vichy's rhetoric: the combination of anti-rationalism with the call for practical institutional reforms. Over and above the purely fascist *milieu*, several intellectual groups of the interwar period expressed a drastic rejection of both liberal parliamentary democracies (in this case the French Third Republic) and socialist-like dirigisme. In short, there was widespread questioning of a rational organisation of society that neglected the non-rational foundations and people's aspirations.

In this context, Perroux came up with his own solution, the community of labour, precisely documented in his 1938 book *Capitalisme et communauté de travail* (Perroux 1938a). The community of labour was designed to satisfy the spiritual aspirations of both groups and the need for a practical politico-economic reform. As such, the community of labour was "one of the possible overruns of capitalism", and the third way personally advocated by Perroux (1938a, 195).

This article shows in particular that with the community of labour, Perroux sought to bind together social mysticism on the one hand, and economic and political organisation on the other. In Perroux's effort to rationalise the irrational, concepts such as "community", "leader" and "myth" stand out as central components of his analysis. The community of labour was part of the intellectual movement of corporatism that had its finest hour in the 1930s.[3] Practically speaking, however, corporatism was experienced in France—although to a limited extent—during the Vichy regime since it was the societal ideal of Pétain's regime (Kaplan 2001; Le Crom 2013; Chatriot 2013). Thus, our analysis of Perroux's corporatist-like outlook will help to situate Perroux

[2] On the *École des cadres d'Uriage*, see Hellman (1993). On François Perroux's career under the Vichy government and his commitment to the regime's ideological endeavour, see Brisset and Fèvre (2020). On the *Fondation française pour l'étude des problèmes humains*, aka the *Fondation Carrel*, see Drouard (1992).

[3] Interwar corporatism was a vague concept marked by the extreme heterogeneity of its political and doctrinal orientations. Its proponents ranged from the far left to the far right: from the majoritarian workers' union (the *Confédération Générale du Travail*, hereafter CGT), passing through the reforming and decentralising positions of Émile Durkheim (Plouviez 2013), to the Catholic and Royalist conservatives (embodied by Charles Maurras' *Action française*).

intellectually within the framework of Vichy discourse. Our main conclusion will be that Perroux tried to bring together the mystical thought of the indefinable community, and the scientific objectivity claimed by intellectuals. Perroux's intellectual position was consistent with the institutional position he occupied within Vichy France as the General Secretary of the Carrel Foundation.

The paper is structured in four sections. Section 2 investigates the way Perroux positioned himself within the French anti-rationalist movement of the 1930s. We will see that the notion of anti-rationalism referred to a plurality of positions (related to the place of technological progress, mysticism and capitalism). Section 3 examines Perroux's key concept, that of "community of labour". His criticism of political rationalism (parliamentarism) and socialism (dirigisme) rested on a communitarian conception of social life, based on infra- and supra- rational elements which made any attempt to construct a purely rational organisation illusory. Perroux therefore saw the political leader as the key figure in capturing the community of labour's social mysticism, and as the vector of its concrete realisation, as explained in Section 4. Finally, Section 5 compares the elements of Perroux's thought described in the previous sections with the Vichy regime's rhetoric embodied in the *Charte du travail*, the Vichy labour legislation of October 4, 1941.

2. Perroux against rationalism

2.1. Anti-rationalism: a definition in context

In order to characterise Perroux's "anti-rationalism", we will first provide a contextual definition of this notion. According to Robert Aron and Dandieu (1931, 17) in their influential book, *Le Cancer américain* (The American Cancer), rationalism is "the hegemony of rational mechanisms over concrete and sentimental realities, the deep springs of the true progress of man". Aron and Dandieu were highly representative of the 1930s French "non-conformist movement". François Perroux was clearly part of this generation and subscribed to the same critique of rationalism (Loubet del Bayle 2001). Following Dandieu and Aron, anti-rationalism can be defined as opposition to "the hegemony of rational mechanisms" from both a political and an intellectual point of view. The former refers to the impossibility of establishing a constitutional architecture that reduces political representation to a mere mechanical process of amassing individual voices. Anti-rationalism is in that case the basis for an attack on the political regime in place in France since 1870: the Third Republic. Nevertheless, over and above the rejection of the Third Republic in the name of taking the non-rationalisable nature of the Nation into account, the "anti-rationalist" movement was made up of various tendencies.

The general positioning of the non-conformist thinkers such as Perroux corroborates Löwy and Sayre's broad definition of romanticism as a "critique of modernity, that is, of modern capitalist civilisation, in the name of past values and ideals (pre-capitalist, pre-modern)" (Löwy and Sayre 1992, 30). In this case, modernity is defined as the civilisation generated by the industrial revolution and the spread of the market economy. The criticism of capitalism as a combination of industrialism (especially of Fordism) and the free market was one of the central issues of the Catholic-oriented

journal *Esprit*. Perroux published no less than six articles in this journal (Perroux 1936, 1936, 1938c, 1938d, 1938b, 1939a), embracing the "personalist" philosophy of Emmanuel Mounier (Loubet del Bayle 2001, 235–253; Winock 1996, 79–84). This opposition to modernism is not, however, sufficient to fully delineate the anti-rationalist positions of Perroux. Indeed, the "non-conformist" movement emerged in relative opposition to older anti-modern movements, such as *Action Française*, which, through its leader Charles Maurras, called for the return to classical values whether in the field of aesthetics (neoclassicism), economy (corporatism) or politics (royalism). These values were considered by Maurras the foundation of the lost political order, without reference to any spiritual order. As such, the followers of Maurras were seen as supporters of an exclusively rational approach to the social world, expressed in their *motto*: "Politics first". It is therefore clear that the "romantic" label does not allow the position of Perroux to be fully comprehended.

Perroux's intellectual journey cannot be understood without considering his participation in the movement for the renewal of Catholicism born of Neo-Thomism (the re-reading of Thomas Aquinas's work). Perroux was the archetype of the emerging figure of the Catholic intellectual (Serry 2004a), opposed to the new social sciences tending to relativise the authority of the Catholic dogma, mainly Durkheimian sociology and Marxism. The growing importance of Durkheimian sociology in France gave rise to different types of contrasts. On the one hand, there was an anti-scientism reaction from literary circles, of which the figure of Agathon was the archetype. Under the pseudonym of Agathon (1911), Henri Massis and Alfred Tarde violently attacked the spirit of the *Nouvelle Sorbonne*, i.e., the application of scientific methods to the social sciences, imported from the German model. Here, Durkheim's sociology was clearly targeted (Sapiro 2004a, 2004b). At the same time, another reaction lay in developing a Catholic expertise on society: a Catholic sociology directed against both the Durkheimian stance (Serry 2004b) and Marxism.

It is the second reaction that gave rise to the Neo-Thomist movement in which Perroux participated, in particular through his collaboration with Jacques Maritain's journal, *La vie intellectuelle*, one of the main defender of the social doctrine of the church (e.g., Perroux 1937). The journal's main objective was to express anti-rationalism in politics, against the "positivist" approach of Charles Maurras, and a social science compatible with the conservative doctrine of the Church. Catholic intellectualism (Neo-Thomism) placed some spiritual transcendental principles at the heart of society, opposed to sociological relativism and socialist materialism. This was a middle ground between overly marked spiritualism and Maurasian positivism, in line with the precepts of Christianity.

Neo-Thomist doctrine distinguished two orders: that of ends and that of action. On the one hand, the ends are spontaneously imposed on institutions, according to the anti-sociological principle that the meaning of institutions derived from divine morality. On the other hand, the concrete organisation of these institutions requires adaptation to historical events. Thus, Thomism gave intellectuals a prominent place in social organisation. Nevertheless, this Catholic intellectualism was empirically oriented and opposed the speculative tendency of academic "professors" (Sapiro 2004a, 99), as such differentiating between technocrats and intellectuals. This contrast was often put

forward under the Vichy regime (Al-Matary 2019, 228) and was a foundation of the reactionary modernism movement to which, as we will see, it is possible to link Perroux. Indeed, Perroux believed in the possibility of an economic organisation benefiting from the advantages of the Industrial revolution and its technological progress. He believed that engineers and economists had an extremely important role to play in this process. He believed in science, but only to the extent that it accepted the non-rational spiritual principles of human communities. Science stops where the leader's role in imposing an intrinsic order on the community begins.

This tension between modernity and conservatism was reminiscent of Jeffrey Herf's work on Nazi's reactionary modernism (1984). Löwy and Sayre (1992, 45) rejected the likening of romanticism and reactionary modernism precisely in the name of the acceptance of the modern industrial world. Perroux's criticism of fascist regimes was never directed towards modernism. On the contrary, he felt that fascist regimes were healthy reactions serving to control economic forces through economic and social organisations (Brisset and Fèvre 2019). In other words, fascism allowed the link between political irrationalism and the rational organisation of the economy to be fostered. This link was precisely the object of Perroux's contribution in the second part of the 1930s.

Given these contextual elements, we can more accurately describe Perroux's anti-rationalism. From the intellectual perspective, Perroux differed from reductionist views of the social world that reduced it to a sum of individuals, or to the economic process alone. He stressed that human communities shared a collective mystique that could not be considered rational. Perroux therefore levelled his critical fire at political and economic liberalism as well as at socialism. Perroux's anti-rationalism should be addressed from various perspectives. On the one hand, his critiques of parliamentarism and democratic representation in general belonged to an important movement of contestation specifically against the French Third Republic, and more generally against the fact that the liberal democratic political system had its roots in the values of 1776 and 1789. On the other hand, Perroux was sceptical *vis-à-vis* a Marxist version of union representation (i.e., a view of society in terms of class conflict), and rejected the economic *planisme* suggested by the French CGT union in the 1930s (Amoyal 1974).

2.2. Political representation as a fiction

Perroux's anti-parliamentarianism is far from unique in the interwar period. The 1930s posed particularly strong challenges to the French political system. The crisis of February 6th, 1934 marked a climax: the anti-parliamentary demonstration in Paris, on the initiative of the far-right leagues, turned into a clash with the police forces, leading to the heaviest tollof a shooting under the Third Republic (about thirty deaths). This episode led to the fall of Daladier's government (Dobry 1989). However, Perroux's copious criticism of the parliamentary republic and (male) universal suffrage would appear years later, in a series of publications in the journal *Esprit* (Perroux 1938b, 1938c, 1939a). There, he diagnosed the collapse of parliamentary democracy by focussing specifically on the socialist experience of Blum's government (the Popular Front, from 1936 to 1937).

Perroux's analyses culminated in his 1939 article published in *Esprit*, "*La représentation comme fiction et comme nécessité*". Here, Perroux accused parliamentarianism of being ineffective in addressing the deep institutional transformations of interwar political and economic conditions:

> The organisation of production and exchange, the size, the multiplication and the structure of social groups, the proximity and the threat of totalitarian states impose a reworking of the values and techniques of parliamentary democracy. (Perroux 1939a, 789)

Perroux questioned majoritarian representation since for him it was impossible to reduce the principle of political representation to a vote. He preferred to define representation as the "correct selection of leaders capable of making political decisions consistent with the general goals or vocations of a social group" (Perroux 1939a, 804). In this view, representation must be representation of a group which cannot be reduced to the mere sum of some isolated individuals. There is a substantial gap between the "middle opinion" indicated by the vote and true representation (Perroux 1939a, 791). Here, Perroux intends to question the political individualism inherited from the precepts of the French Revolution, embodied in the *Déclaration des droits de l'homme et du citoyen*. He felt it important to defend "a modernised and enriched form" of this declaration that was able primarily to capture the rights of the various communities that composed society (Perroux 1938a, 267).[4]

Political individualism posed at least one major problem according to Perroux: the kind of representation it supports is artificial in that the leaders (*chefs*) selected do not represent the collective interest and spirituality. Indeed a member of the French parliament would not be a representative of the community. He follows his own—or party—interests within a political game which has its own dynamics, independent of the interests of the nation. All in all, a member of parliament was merely a "political party's servant" dominated by some non-representative personalities (Perroux 1939a, 797). Thus, a parliamentary system cannot be deemed democratic: "the gross balance resulting from a general balance of power, I do not call it democracy" (Perroux 1938a, 239).[5] A liberal democracy merely reflects the economic competition within the political arena. As a consequence, the political system cannot speak for a national economic community:

> No specific organism is provided for the representation and regulation of economic interests. Both are realised through the strictly political mechanism of parties, parliaments and administration. (Perroux 1938a, 241)

This critique was accompanied by a broader criticism of the contractualist philosophy, defined by Perroux as the representation of society resting on a set of rules (laws)

[4] Exclusion of the protective "individual" right in favour of a Communal law was an important element of the Vichy regime's discourse. The first principle of *Les principes de la Communauté* designed to replace the *Déclaration des droits de l'homme et du citoyen* "Man gets from nature fundamental rights, but they are guaranteed to him only by the communities which surround him: the family which raises him, the profession which nourishes him, the nation which protects him".

[5] Perroux (1938a, 248) goes on to explain his understanding of "democracy", defining it as "a human equilibrium and a reciprocal exchange between authority and freedom, between the state and society, between imposed constraints and conscious and desired communions, between personal vocation and the destiny of the group". The institutional strength of the democratic system could be guaranteed by the community of labour.

established by a contract among individuals following their own interests. In contrast to this vision, Perroux considered that any community rests on a mystique which transcends the community itself. This mystique is precisely what parliamentarism is unable to grasp:

> Parliamentarism claims to be a stranger to the science of good and evil. It reduces mystical demands to organisational problems and reduces the great antagonistic decisions on the meaning of man and life to a simple arithmetic operation. (Perroux 1938a, 325)

The foundation of the human community is not the law but a common aspiration that cannot be reduced to a pure organisational matter.

2.3. Class struggle and union representation

Perroux believed that democratic representation was an illusion, just like union representation based on the ideology of "class struggle." Perroux adopted a critique endorsed widely in the non-conformist *milieu* and also in much of 1930s' society (Le Crom 1995, Winock 1996, Loubet del Bayle 2001).[6] He opened his 1938 *Esprit* article, "*Limites et dépassement de la notion de classe*", by stating that the idea of antagonistic social classes is increasingly rejected within the European context of rising authoritarian regimes (see also Perroux 1936).[7] In the cases of both Italy and Germany, the "anti-class" movement led to the establishment of some corporatist systems whose main ambition was to replace the antagonism among various groups emerging from capitalist organisation with a complementarity among different corporations. In other words, for Perroux, the goal of these regimes was to replace the class society by an organic society – a society composed of groups with specific functions.

Perroux's critique of the concept of class rests on two arguments. First, he questioned the notion as it is understood in Marxist doctrine. Second, he attacked the limits to the political organisations (unions) that borrow this vision of society.

Perroux was clearly in line with both the German intellectuals' thinking about human communities (referring to Tönnies' famous distinction between *Gesellschaft*/society and *Gemeinschaft*/community), and with the Marxian revisionism of French neo-socialists (e.g., Barthélemy Matignon and Marcel Déat). For Perroux, a class-oriented analysis was by nature overly oriented towards socio-economic antagonisms. As a result, it overlooks the fact that the members of a community work in the same way, that is for the satisfaction of human needs. The social division of labour among the subgroups responsible for particular human needs is a natural feature of each of these communities. This is precisely what a class analysis is unable to

[6] Perroux refers to this *milieu* at the end of the 1930s: "The thought societies that suddenly 'grew' in France: *Troisième Force, Ordre nouveau, Homme réel, Nouveaux Cahiers, Combats, Groupes corporatistes, Esprit,* have, in a few years, put into discussion and in circulation more new original and realistic ideas than any great French party for half a century" (1938e, 316–317).

[7] Perroux studied extensively the authoritarian European regimes of Italy (Perroux 1929, 1932, 1936) and Germany (Perroux 1939a, 1940) but also Portugal (Perroux 1935) and Austria (Perroux 1934). He experienced first-hand these regimes thanks to a Rockefeller Fellowships from 1934 to 1935 and contrasted the totalitarian movements of Germany and Italy to the Christian corporatism of Austria and Portugal (see Brisset and Fèvre 2019a).

grasp: "Marvelously equipped to isolate and throw light on dissimilarities, class is not apt to ponder on 'what is common' to phenomena or events" (Perroux 1938d, 170).

Perroux drew the theoretical sources of this critique of Marxism from the social doctrine of the church. He devoted many written works and conferences to the criticism of Marxism, before and during the war (Perroux 1928b, 1937, 1939b, 1942c, 1942d). In this context, the main encyclicals (*Rerum novarum* by Leo XIII and *Quadragesimo anno* by Pius XI) were regularly commented upon. Let us recall that the first one denied the class struggle, while the second condemned the workers' demand to give up their social role once they received a fair wage. Accordingly, socialism was condemned in the name of a divine order in which everyone occupies a place that must be accepted. As such, the capitalist has a role to play. In line with this, every society, according to Perroux, is characterised by a common interest that transcends the various subgroups belonging to the same community. This common interest becomes particularly evident in times of geopolitical crises—military conflicts—since they provoke reactions of national unity among people, making visible the essence of community beyond antagonisms.[8]

In addition to rejecting the transnational character of so-called "class", Perroux rejected the Marxian analysis of the society *per se*. While Marx saw the proletariat as a homogeneous class, then on this basis it is hard to deduce the existence of another homogeneous class called the *"bourgeoisie"*. The middle class seems to be a very heterogeneous group (Perroux and Urvoy 1943c, 55, 61). For this reason, the "proletarian tragedy" is less one of being in sharp opposition to another class by virtue of socio-economic laws and more one of being isolated from the rest of the community (*ibid*, 68). Therefore, the "communitarian state's" main goal should be to "reintegrate the proletariat within the national community" (*ibid*, 72).[9]

We now come to the second point in Perroux's critique: the unions. In a dialectical way of thinking present in many of his texts, Perroux saw the emergence of the union struggle as an important element of compensation for the harmful effects of the capitalist regimes. He stated that he was "full of deep admiration for the authentic workingman's, humanist and Christian values of yesterday's and today's syndicalism" (Perroux 1938e, 8–9). However, these virtues evaporated as soon as the unions were transformed into a political apparatus, managed by the political parties, and carrying an erroneous representation of the class struggle (he was clearly attacking the CGT). Effective trade unionism was seen as representative unionism of a "community of labour", and therefore an independent trade unionism. Otherwise, trade unions are, like the liberal state or industrial trusts, artificial institutions unsuited to the development of human beings within their human communities.[10]

[8] This is why, according to Perroux, the kind of socialism that was established in inter-war Europe was tinged with nationalism (Perroux 1938b, 356).

[9] Throughout his life, Perroux maintained a critical reading of Marx. This complex and long-lasting relation has been addressed in detail in the secondary literature (see, among others, Chambre 1978; Savall 2005; Frobert 2018).

[10] Perroux also questions the syndicalist expectation of replacing the market in the organisation of economic relations. However, for Perroux, while the unions were ultimately a tool for regulating capitalism, they remained unable to organise the overthrow of a "non-capitalism system of production and exchange" (Perroux 1938e, 29).

Perroux's anti-rationalism was oriented mainly towards criticism of political representation which leads to the critique of the union apparatus dominated by the different political parties. The nation springs not from politics but from the common activity of producing the means of subsistence. It is this activity that gives birth to the national community, triply corrupted by economic liberalism, parliamentarism, and syndicalism adhering to the "class struggle". This threefold corruption stems from the common origin of materialism. The reduction of human life solely to material life with no consideration for spiritual life, is the foundation for the betrayal of community insofar as the organisations designated to frame human societies (the market, parliamentarism, socialism) consider only the material aspect in the form of a group of individuals with antagonistic interests. However, Perroux argued that beyond individuals, human communities are carriers of values which they must not forget. This leads him to reconsider the question of representation from a different angle: that of the community of labour.

3. Rationalising the irrational: towards a community of labour

Perroux criticised democratic representation by virtue of the artificiality of parliamentarism *vis-à-vis* what are fundamentally human communities. His analysis is based on a definition of the community as a social reality. The efficiency and legitimacy of an organisational system depend on its ability to respect and express this reality:

> An organisation is fully a community, an organisation expresses and values a community, when it appeals to the psychic springs of this community and coheres as much as possible to the spontaneous structures. (Perroux 1942b, 5)

Clearly, Perroux's corporatist framework did not include parliamentary democracy, as he pictured it as the source of "abstract and artificial constructions" that ignore communities (Perroux 1942a, ix). Perroux analyzes communities along two lines: the general concept of "community", and more specifically, the "community of labour".

3.1. Looking for communities

While liberalism was only able to explain competition correctly (Perroux 1941c, 9), and socialism could only explain contradictory interests, Perroux used the concept of community (*communauté*) to understand what transcends particular interests beyond the mere sum of the individuals:

> The community is an organic and spontaneous whole, a work of history. It hierarchises complementary functions which arouse and express the fusion of activities and consciences in the presence of common elements and for common goals. It may have an organisation that matches its content and structure. (…) The community is a *complex modality* of human groupings which are not equally likely to be at the basis of the community. (Perroux 1942a, 72)

Several elements must be highlighted here. First, Perroux describes the community as an organic and spontaneous whole, as opposed to a pragmatic institution that is seen as the fruit of a deliberate rational decision. In other words, we should not confuse the community itself with the actual organisation of the community. The community is affixed to a formal framework (the organisation) that "expresses or opposes, betrays or

translates community structures, which are spontaneous and historic" (Perroux 1942a, 68).

The second important element in Perroux's definition is the aspect of community structured in different activity communities each of which has a particular function in the context of its maintenance over time. Third, each community has a real existence only to the extent that the individuals who compose it have a common goal. This goal might be, first, the production of objects necessary for sustenance, second, serving a member of the community (the leader), or third the defence of certain values (justice, truth, etc.). Therefore, it is necessary to consider these three dimensions when trying to understand a community. The communists' error according to Perroux was that they only focussed on the first element. For this reason, Perroux (1940, 315) stressed that Marx's work "carries the seeds of a sterilising economic determinism and of a materialism that reduces the social problem to a gut issue."

The production of livelihoods, the growth of an elite, and the creation of individual standards of value are the three components of a community. The community organises both activities and human representations:

> The community is the category of fusion, beyond simple juxtaposition or coordination. Fusion of what? In the external order: activities. In the internal order: consciences, being specified, however, that this fusion cannot lead to vagueness. (Perroux 1942b, 2)

Therefore, there are several ways of failing in the organisation of a community: failing to implement one's livelihood, failing in the process of hierarchical representation of the whole community, and failing to constitute a unifying social mystique.

As we have seen, the driving principle of any community is its underlying activity. The community is born out of a set of activities not by law or by contract: "to create a community is not to decree it, it is to help it to be born" (Perroux 1942b, 79). This birth cannot take place in law or in deliberate agreement but only in the organisation of a common activity of production. This applies to the case of the national community which far from being an object of nature, is the product of material necessity engendering a common morality (Perroux 1938b, 375–376). It is in this light that we should understand Perroux's formula that "the community is born in the physical and culminates in the mystic" (1942b, 76). The "physical" as well as the "mystical" dimension belong to the realm of the irrational:

> There is no community that does not have its roots in the pre-rational, the instinctive, the subconscious and there is none who is denied the chance to flourish in the supra-rational, the union of souls and spirits. (Perroux 1942b, 10)

According to Perroux, the community of labour was the societal model embracing all the community ideals of a given nation at a given time.

3.2. The community of labour

As we have seen, Perroux used the concept of community to describe the necessary elements of every kind of social life. From this positive analysis, Perroux forged a normative concept: that of the community of labour. Like any other community, the community of labour referred to the spontaneous structuring tendencies of a nation's

activity and social life but at the same time explicitly specifies the institutional framework as a practical organisation. As its name suggests, the community of labour called for reshaping employment relations between labour and capital in the broadest sense. For Perroux, the community of labour was nothing less than a new project for reorganising the relations of production and exchange, as well as the types of political and social institutions in the nation. This theme in Perroux's view was not only unsatisfactorily explained in the literature but was also mishandled by the French political regime of the 1930s:

> The community of labour has been dislocated by associationist organisations (class unions) and by company and statist organisations. There are statutes applied to the distinct components of employment relationship (…); there is no statute of overall working activity. (Perroux 1942b, 6)

The community of labour was a model of a "third solution" alternative to both liberal capitalism and planned socialism. Therefore, studying its content is necessary for anyone desirous of grasping Perroux's politico-economic outlook in the inter-war years, and ultimately for those keen to clarify affinities and antagonisms between Perroux and the Vichy regime. Perroux had been working on the concept of community of labour since 1936, but he delivered the most complete formulation of the idea a couple of years later, in *Capitalisme et Communauté de Travail* (1938a). This book was completed by two shorter publications issued the same year: Perroux's response to the criticism raised against his community of labour (1938f), as well as his own perspective on unionism (1938e). During the Occupation, Perroux provided the last formulation of this concept in the book *La Communauté* (1942), though without notable changes.

The scope of the community of labour was twofold: Perroux (1938a, 308) saw it as a revolution of "structures and minds" associated with a transformation of practices and values. In terms of groups' practical structuring, Perroux insisted on the dual economic content of the community of labour (Perroux 1938a, 303). On the one hand, it was intended to reshape the relationship between capital and labour in order to meet "the functional and organic conjunction of labour and capital technically and legally separated within capitalism" (Perroux 1938a, 305). On the other hand, it aimed to redefine relations between the state and the economy. However, Perroux opposed the establishment of a radically interventionist state that would become a prominent economic actor.[11] Rather, Perroux's dual economic reform would be "carried out on the basis of free union representation of employers and employees, judged by a deeply reformed state, designed to discipline the market economy through the control of monopolies and the increase of real wages throughout the working class" (1938e, 57). Eventually, Perroux outlined four major characteristics of the economic organisation of the community of labour.

First, the community of labour must rely on a new professional institution—the "joint board" (*conseil paritaire*)—operating at the level of the group of firms in the same activity (Perroux 1938e, 44). This board would be composed of divergent

[11] According to Perroux, nationalisation and the growing size of the public sector were contrary to the logic of the market. It would favour the control of private interests over public ones, increase public debt and bureaucratisethe economy; all of this would accentuate the difficulties of a market economy rather than contain them (Perroux 1938e, 78).

economic interests, including an equal proportion of workers union on the one hand, and employers unions on the other. It would also incorporate public authorities (we will come back to this below). Accordingly, union membership would be compulsory in the community of labour, but workers and employers had to have the choice among a plurality of unions.[12] Perroux (1938a, 212) believed this reform would pacify labour relations, eventually making strikes and lockouts unnecessary.

Consequently, and this is the second point, the community of labour would govern the price mechanism "by the action of groups under the general control of the state" (Perroux 1938e, 25). Prices—of labour and of goods—would be fixed by this joint board but within the limits of "*actual market conditions*" (Perroux 1938a, 212). In other words, the community of labour should be built upon an economic calculation based on the objective conditions of the market. As such, the price-setting mechanism would be a market mechanism within a corporative framework, and as such distinct from both free market liberalism and arbitrary price fixing by a central state.

Perroux stressed that every corporative organisation "had the obligation to take a stand regarding price formation", that is, regarding economic theory (1938e, 82). Unfortunately, there was no economic theory of some of "the key institutions we are living with" in general, and "no economic theory of corporatism" in particular. According to Perroux, such a theory would result from integrating the latest economic theory with the whole body of knowledge (law, politics, sociology, psychology, philosophy etc.).[13] Accordingly, Perroux probably saw his contribution as a very preliminary approximation towards such a comprehensive theory, a theory of structure for instance (Perroux 1939b).

As a result of the first two points, the community of labour would enjoy both an internal and external control of trusts—the third characteristic. In the case of a bilateral monopoly, a situation that was becoming more frequent due to increased economic concentration in interwar Europe, Perroux pointed out that prices would remain uncertain unless the negotiating capacity between the supply side and the demand side were identical.[14] Against Perroux it has been argued—especially by Gaëtan Pirou—that the joint board system was erected upon the same defect: workers unions and employer unions being in the exact situation of a bilateral monopoly. According to Perroux, the institutional framework of the community of labour was designed precisely to reach a situation "*as close as possible* to an equal contractual force" (1938e, 92), and therefore to an economically defined price. Perroux saw the consultation between unions as a way to overcome the chronic indeterminacy of the prices of goods and labour (Perroux 1938a, 208). As a result, "the community of labour therefore has specific advantages beyond those involved in the practice of arbitration in a democracy" (Perroux 1938a, 212).

[12] Unlike union organisation in Fascist Italy for instance, Perroux stressed that unions should remain self-organised and as separated as possible from official authorities (Perroux 1938e, 44).

[13] Perroux gave an important formulation of the theoretical foundations of economics in his book *La valeur* (1943b). Even though it was issued during the Occupation, this monograph illustrates what was already Perroux's outlook during the 1930s, mainly based on what he called neo-marginalism (Austrian economics).

[14] Perroux relied on the pioneering work of Marshall and Edgeworth, and of Jannacone and Maxi, more closely aligned to him but less well-known (1938a, 208).

Nevertheless, union negotiations between workers and employers within the board could fail to find agreement. Indeed, vested interests do not disappear in the community of labour, but are instead framed by an institutionalised rule, based on cooperation (and not contrast). In such cases of disagreement, civil servants of the sovereign state—as well as other "neutral" actors, like intellectuals, associations, former workers etc.—would act as a "third part" to "arbitrate" group interests (Perroux 1938e, 45) in order to compensate the unequal distribution of power bargaining within the board. Accordingly, Perroux's system was guided by the subsidiarity principle in decision making: giving primacy to the *internal* arbitration of unions, as they enjoyed first-hand knowledge of the sector's economic realities, but secured by *external* arbitration and supervision by the state. Thus, Perroux saw the State as a "superintendent" (1938a, 47) working as arbitrator of last resort. However, Perroux recognised himself that every corporative system was erected upon the strong hypothesis that "the State could be relatively independent from the economic forces it had to arbitrate" (1938e, 81).

Fourth, the community of labour impacts the distribution of income through the socialisation of the product. For Perroux, income distribution was independent of the question of economic equilibrium. The price of labour services (wages) can be improved notably through a drastic restriction in rents and surplus profits (1938a, 197). Firms would become the place of "organisation in the service of a community of people" (Perroux 1938a, 215). Yet Perroux did not rule out the necessity of private property and of the income (profit) that came with it. So how to explain this choice?

Perroux's interest in the issue of distribution did not begin in the late 1930s, as it was a main concern from the beginning of his career as an economist. Indeed, he devoted his PhD dissertation to *The Problem of Profit* (Perroux 1926). In this monograph, Perroux raised theoretical concerns about the conceptual definition and justification of profit. But he also stressed that the theory of profit was "the crux of the social question" (1926, 10), demonstrating that for him economic issues were always theoretical *and* political at the same time.[15] Perroux's conclusion to this inquiry sheds light on his latter conceptualisation of the community of labour:

> This income [profit] is the result of *multiple imbalances between the value produced and the value appropriated* [by the entrepreneur]. It fulfils essential functions in today's capitalist society: by stimulating entrepreneurship and forming the main source of savings. But profit most often contains a quantum of exploitation to the detriment of both the agents of production and consumers. (Perroux 1926, 544)

The profit had valid social utility according to him, yet its observed amount was not entirely justified economically. Indeed, the profit was often higher than the marginal retribution of the entrepreneur's work and capital assets, due to a series of both voluntary and involuntary causes.[16] If theoretical analysis was mandatory to understand the

[15] To be more specific, Dufour (2009, 421) argued that Perroux's epistemological approach could be seen as a third step continuum: from abstract elaboration of economic concepts, to the search for a law of uniformities to guide action ending with the prescription of ethically or philosophically oriented rules.

[16] On the one hand, high profit was rooted in the exploitation of consumers caused by their ignorance, by monopoly prices and commercial techniques. On the other hand, it could also come from the exploitation of other production factors, in particular workers: Perroux stressed that workers' wages always tended to be lower than their marginal productivity. This may be due to the time-lag between remuneration and the sale of goods, or to the company's excessive prudence for instance (Perroux 1926, 537–538).

basic rules behind the profit formation, Perroux concluded it is of no use in fixing the exact amount of exploitation (1926, 542). Consequently, Perroux (1926, 539–540) stressed the necessity of unions (to prevent labour exploitation) as well as the control of production by taxation and anti-monopoly measures to supersede the chronic problem of too high a level of profit in capitalist societies. So as early as 1926, Perroux outlined corporatist elements that he would fully develop about ten years later: the community of labour was designed to overcome the issue of distribution he indicated in his dissertation.

With the four economic aspects described above, Perroux (1938a, 197) saw his community of labour as a force of discipline and control of the market economy, but exercised "without being oppressive to the working class". Perroux was adamant on this point because his aim was to abandon the centralising and authoritarian drifts of totalitarian regimes (fascist and national socialist), characterised by the absorption, and consequent dilution of union bodies to the advantage of the holders of capital and state officials. What Perroux (1938a, 272) called the "personalisation" or "socialisation" of the state structure was also, in his view, a way to overcome the main defects of parliamentary democracy. Indeed, the necessary transformations for establishing Perroux's ideal concerned not only economic but also political reforms: "the community of labour is subordinated to an effective reform of the state", to the foundation of "a new state" (Perroux 1938a, 198, 319). This reform of the state depended largely on reflection on the political function of the leader and in particular his capacity to bring to life the mystique of the community of labour.

4. Myth and leader in the community of labour

The concepts of "myth" (*mythe*) and "leader" (*chef*) were central aspects of Perroux's intellectual architecture. They were also vital parts of the Vichy rhetoric. Vichy propaganda elevated them to a technique of governance, setting itself the goal of reshaping national myths. One of these myths—and perhaps the most vigorous—was that of the great "leader" of the national community. Thus, Philippe Petain was painted as both a figure who incarnates and serves the nation, and as the descendant of a line of national heroes.[17]

4.1. Myth as the Central political fiction

Perroux (1938a, 288) defined a myth as a "set of images (…) and value judgements around a theme of thought and action". As such, myth has the virtue of being the "motor representation of life", and one of the "engines of government" (Perroux 1940, 33, 136). Perroux based his anti-rationalism on his reading of Georges Sorel (Villanueva 1994). In the year of his *agrégation*, Perroux published a lengthy article "*Sorel et la grève Générale*" (1928a) which offered a critical assessment of Sorel's

[17] Including Clovis, Vercingetorix, Charles Martel, Joan of Arc and Napoleon who are some of the great figures who fed the national myth (Rossignol 1991).

arguments. It was mainly the notion of myth which, as for many 1930s thinkers, was the magnet attracting Perroux's attention (see Landsberg 1938).[18]

Perroux adopted this conception of myth as the epistemic and normative foundation of action-oriented human communities: the myth is a "driving image" of the world for disciplined implementation of common action. Unlike utopia, myth cannot be captured according to reason; it is the inexpressible foundation of action. In his book on National Socialism and the "Hitlerian myths", Perroux made the myth the foundation of the people's power:

> A man or a people is very strong when he enters the fray armed with a myth. Myth is a motor representation of life. It expresses the world, but in a language that allows it to bemodified. (Perroux 1940, 33)

Sorel's analysis considers myth the driving force of history, in contrast to Marxist materialism (Sorel 1908, 90–91). The essential aspect here is that not only is the myth essentially non-rational but the tentativeness of its rationalisation mechanically entails both its destruction and its betrayal. In this perspective, we can better understand Perroux's (1938a, 215) statement that "the philosophy of the community of labour implies that there is an order of life from which human reason alone will never succeed in grasping the entire meaning". And it is precisely in this beyond-rational context that the community of labour as a myth, for Perroux (1938a, 308) is "full of meaning, rich with indefinitely exciting and transforming virtues". To bring this myth to life in the nation is all the more difficult since each person is unconsciously led to ignore the myth: "we are all lazy and inert, always attracted to stagnation and platitude, always likely to be tempted to be away from ourselves and from the world" (Perroux 1942a, 91) Consequently, maintenance of the community through time requires an authority, a leader who seises the spirit of the community, grasps its objective, and directs it in accordance with these historical and natural objectives. The role of the leader is to extinguish deviance but also to prevent emergence of the interests of subgroups and individuals.

Being based on immediate material interests, not transcendent community forces, rejection of an authority perceived as a liberator would be the common limit to communism and liberalism. The "spirit of 1789" lost sight of the community of labour in the sense that society was reorganised around individual interests or class interests regardless of actual activities. By ignoring the social roles of workers (as did the Le Chapelier law), and by organising society upon liberal principles (e.g., as if the people were a mass of interchangeable individuals), Perroux stressed that the French Revolution began a process of destruction of society that culminated in the later period: "During the nineteenth century, we witnessed a disintegration and disorganisation of communities of which we better understand the nature and the meaning in the light of our theory" (Perroux 1942a, 70).

While sharing Sorel's anti-rationalism, Perroux nevertheless refuted the idea, peculiar to revolutionary syndicalism, that the human community can pass directly from myth to (direct) action. Indeed, and in line with the explanations above, Perroux

[18] In "*Lettre à Daniel Halévy*" which opened his *Réflexions sur la violence*, Sorel (1908, 19–20). argued that the notion of "myth" constituted the basis of his work.

believed that human beings need hierarchy, needing a leader to be a regular reminder of the myth and the individual's role in the context of the human community:

> Representation, in our view, is correct only if it produces an effective selection of leaders capable of making decisions consistent with the vocations or, if one is afraid of that word, the general goals of a social group […]. The only effective *representative* is a suitably chosen and appropriately controlled *leader*. […] The leader expresses the tension that exists between the destinies of each person and the collective goals of the group. (Perroux 1939a, 795–796)

Perroux's work offers reflection on the appointment and role of the chief as a condition sine qua non for the advent of a community of labour.

4.2. The leader: mystic incarnation and political pragmatism

The leader must not only embody but also conceive the national myth. He must be the genuine "creator of images and myths," who "through them provokes and orients action" (Perroux 1939a, 799–800). This definition of the leader's function invites Perroux to specify what he sees as negative in the deviation from the leader function induced by the Third Republic. Perroux's political leader is the peak of the communitarian aspirations of a people. The leader is the vector and the interpreter—the translator—of the spontaneous tendencies conveyed by the group's activity:

> If he is authentically the leader, he represents the group, in the sense that he embodies some of its deepest aspirations, but at the same time he transforms it by making it be what it confusedly wants to be by facilitating its definition, by forcing it to become aware of what it is sincerely oriented towards, by making it feel the real tensions it holds, by "giving the start" to movements that are ready to be triggered. (Perroux 1938a, 320)

During the Occupation period, Perroux wrote (together with Yves Urvoy) a series of booklets entitled *Renaître* (1943a, 1943b, 1943c).[19] In the fourth pamphlet dedicated to *Politics* they described the leader as "the man in whom the life of a group, its mission, its values are embodied in a particular way" (Perroux and Urvoy 1943c, 126). The leader was not a representative figure in the sense of gaining his legitimacy from an election by universal suffrage, as in the Third Republic.[20] In this case, Perroux (1938a, 275) believed that the person elected, actually a prisoner of party logic and bureaucratic immobilism, tended to be merely "the one who knows how to make his mistakes loveable or tolerable in the time required for the electors to forget about them". In addition, Perroux was convinced that to be fully representative, an election should recognise all kinds of groups: including economic groups, and should also encourage family suffrage; without offering a precise formula (Perroux 1939a, 807).

According to Perroux (1939a, 801), in the last resort, the leader is the repository of public force (the person who gives the "order to kill" in his vocabulary), in line with

[19] See Brisset and Fèvre (2020).

[20] The Third Republic was characterised by high governmental instability. The regime was bicameral (Chamber of Deputies and Senate). Both chambers were elected by universal male suffrage (indirect suffrage for the Senate). The President of the Republic was elected for seven years by the National Assembly (meeting of both chambers), while the President of the Council (non-official head of government, controlled by the National Assembly) was appointed by the President of the Republic.

Weber's definition of the State's monopoly on legitimate physical violence. In the same vein, the leader must ultimately have "a good sense and an unassailable realism". This statement refers to a "personalising" meaning of the office of chief, in order to reject nothing less than the "dangerous formula of the government of the law" (Perroux and Urvoy 1943c, 127). In this perspective, "politics is prior to the juridical, in fact and in law" (Perroux and Urvoy 1943c, 78). Perroux promoted a return to a strong executive much as did the German lawyer Carl Schmitt (whom Perroux quoted on this issue).

Perroux and Urvoy redefined the political function as the "conscious activity that tends to promote community features in a human group, (…) *to promote community structure and values*" (Perroux and Urvoy 1943c, 80). Therefore, the leader was not a technician specialised in a field of competence but the holder of political power. Concentrating and strengthening the executive in the hands of a single person, however, should be accompanied by a "deconcentration of functions" (Perroux and Urvoy 1943a, 321). To achieve this, the work of advisers which "never merges with the [leader's] power" but is exercised alongside it, must give pride of place to experts and representatives of civil society (Perroux and Urvoy 1943c 131–132). For example, at the end of the 1930s, Perroux (1939a, 808) imagined a new political body to perform this advisory function. This House of Groups, as he termed it, was designed to replace the Senate and would be composed equally of representatives of economic groups (unions), scientists and impartial groups (religions or associations).

5. Perroux, the community of labour and vichy France

Perroux was considered an intellectual figurehead of corporatism under the Vichy regime (Linbenberg 1990, Sternhell 2012, Cohen 2012). Institutionally he was very active, and yet the question of his concrete influence remains open. While refraining from claiming any form of causality, this section tries to put Perroux's thought in the context of the Vichy regime.

5.1. Marshall pétain: Perroux's expected political leader

Discursive similarities between Perroux's academic work and Vichy official statements attest to the relevance of the question of our author's involvement in the regime. Take for instance an excerpt from the famous speech delivered by Philippe Petain on March 1st, 1941, in Saint-Etienne:

> The causes of the class struggle can be suppressed only if the proletarian who lives today, overwhelmed by his isolation, finds in a *community of labour* the conditions for a dignified and free life, together with reasons to live and to hope (…) Engineers, you have thought too often that it was enough for you to fulfill your function conscientiously. You have more to do because you are not only technicians, *you are leaders*. (Pétain 1941/1989, 111–113).

Such affinities between Perroux's concepts and analyses and Pétain's discourse do not constitute proof of the influence of the first on the second. There is a third source which perhaps was common to both which would be unsurprising considering the diffusion of some of Perroux's analyses. Even if this influence were demonstrated this

does not mean that Perroux is its agent, or supports it. However, we know that Perroux congratulated himself on the political influence of his concept. In a conference speech delivered in 1942 at Uriage, he emphasised the precise "place of honour" of the "community of labour" within the Saint-Étienne discourse:

> The community of labour is nowadays everywhere; it is taken up by the most contrasting parties. […] It figures in the official circulars. It is given a place of honour in the Saint-Etienne speeches. It is translated into institutions. (Perroux 1943c; see also 1942a, v)

The meaning and intensity of Perroux's influence on the Vichy regime are a complex issue which invites a careful examination that is beyond the scope of the present article. Here, we have chosen to devote the final section to highlighting how Perroux, in his writings and public activities (mainly conferences), directly supported the French state.

During a conference held at the *École Nationale des Cadres Civiques* in October 1941, in a speech that was published that same year in *Idée* under the title "*Le problème français du proletariat*", Perroux (1942c) argued that: "Marshal Pétain, head of the French state is not an elected representative of the people; he is very highly representative"—a representative character that precisely was not "made by the election" (Perroux 1942c, 16). Perroux's commitment to Petain is explicit in his early 1940s writings. Thus, one can read in the introduction to the first issue of *Cahiers d'études communautaires*, published under the editorship of François Perroux and Jacques Madaule:

> What does France want? … To live. In the collapse of its old frame and in the construction of the new European world, how can it live? … By making its own revolution. National Revolution, said the Marshal. Our community will help. National Revolution. (…) It is ill-advised to refuse the Marshal the assistance he demands from every Frenchman. It's ill-advised to leave the leader to cope. (…) This new collection founded by François Perroux will contribute to the National Revolution by performing a community action. (…) This is a research, a direct experience of everyday life, and it is François Perroux who will guide it. (Cahiers d'études communautaires 1941, Liminaire, 1)

As we have pointed out, the notion of leader occupied a central place in Perroux's model of community of labour. It is important here to ask to what extent this notion was elaborated within the framework of the Vichy regime as legitimising the process of Pétain assuming power. In fact, Perroux's reflections move gradually from the problem of representation (at the end of the 1930s) to focus on the figure and the authority of the leader (in the early 1940s). The series of works published with Yves Urvoy between 1943 and 1944 (mentioned above) represent the quintessence of the idea of the chief's authority personifying the community:

> A political and social conservatism has taken over the French social body (…). *What the French call freedom is not participation, but the resistance to power* which for these fools is always: oppression. Against this mediocrity, this grievance, we have to remember that before being limited power must be established. (Perroux and Urvoy 1943c, 115)

Here, resistance to a power based on the leader's legitimacy is questioned. Beyond the defence of a strong personalised power, Perroux and Urvoy return to the notion of "revolution" as the "spontaneous emotional movement of the community, born out of

the collective feeling of the ancient world" in volume I of *Renaître*, entitled "*La révolution en marche*" (Perroux and Urvoy 1943a, 9). Again, we can identify the anti-rationalist foundations of Perroux's thinking: the revolution was a community convulsion intended to reconnect to the meaning of a human community. His work, as an intellectual, is not to create new ideas but to facilitate their expression. Even before WWII begun, Perroux noted that:

> A revolution is the jolt of a society that does not proceed to conversion, or is so tied up by faulty institutions or mores that the aspiration to personal conversion is itself stifled by the distraction from the essential, the absence of true values, the exile from the highest realities that social life produces. (Perroux 1938a, 281).

Here, we can see a sort of naturalisation of the National Revolution, presenting the latter as the fruit of a dialectical process covering the entire western history. Indeed, Perroux and Urvoy placed the National Revolution on a par with the great historical revolutions: the collapse of the Roman empire, the birth of the feudal world, the end of feudalism, the Renaissance, the Liberal Revolutions (1776 and 1789). Common to each of these revolutions is the expression of the emergence of a new myth, a new "scale of values" and a new "conception of Man" (Perroux and Urvoy 1943a, 32). In this sense, the 20th century "European revolution" as Perroux called it, marked the end of "liberal civilisation".[21] In France, this collapse was signalled by important symptoms. From an economic point of view, it was marked by the emergence of large economic structures such as trusts and cartels; from the political point of view, it was marked by the governance *via* full powers established by Daladier's practice of decree-laws.

According to Perroux and Urvoy, political and economic liberalism would come to an end, so at the time of writing, the authors considered that "no one would be killed for the liberal ideals of 1789" (Perroux and Urvoy 1943a, 45). Thus, the National Revolution would accompany only an underlying movement of the national community. It is also significant that Perroux refuses to explain the French state's economic policy through the prism of defeat: "the adaptation of the state to the new economy is not one of those issues that arose from the defeat" (Perroux 1941a, 193).

Again, for Perroux the rhetorical process allows him to avoid too closely linking the National Revolution and the conditions for the Vichy regime's access to power. The National Revolution is less considered as having given birth to a war economy than as an important step in the 20th century revolution which Perroux had called for.

5.2. Perroux and the charte du travail

The *Charte du Travail*, promulgated on October 4, 1941 is often considered the centrepiece of the Vichy regime's economic and social ideology (although this Labour Charter had never been fully implemented). The text resulted from heated debates among various political tendencies of the French state.[22] Yet debates on workers'

[21] On the idea of a "European revolution", see Bruneteau (2003).

[22] Works on the economic history of Vichy by Robert Paxton (1973) and Richard Kuisel (1977, 1984) highlighted the strong tension between the modernist and reactionary elites, among the technocratic "young cyclists" on the one hand, and the conservative traditionalist "old Romans" on the other (Azéma 1996). This tension is symbolised by the debates surrounding the *Charte du Travail*, centrepiece of Vichy's economic ideology (Julliard 1972; Le Crom 1995; Grenard, Le Bot, and Perrin 2017, 147–158).

representation and the organisation of industrial relations do not date from the occupation. These questions had been prominent since the end of the 1914–1918 war, and the "sacred union" of the C.G.T. under the aegis of Jouhaux.

The question of the real influence of corporatist ideas on the economic organisation of the Vichy regime, and the drafting of the Charter in particular opens up several issues: what corporatism are we talking about? What were the real effects of this doctrine? Jean-Pierre Le Crom's work (1995, 2008, 2013) has become the reference point on these different themes which consider Perroux to be the figurehead of corporatism under Vichy, together with Maurice Bouvier-Ajam and his *Institut d'études corporatives et sociales* in which Perroux participated (Kaplan 2001).

The economic organisation of the Vichy regime was conceived according to a separation between the organisation of production and the social organisation. On the production side, the law of August 16, 1940 established the *Comités d'organisations* (CO), responsible for managing and determining production programmes within branches in a context of severe shortages. The Central Office for the distribution of industrial production (*Office central de répartition des produits industriels*, OCRPI) was responsible for distributing raw materials while the Centre for interprofessional information (CII) was in theory responsible for providing general documentation to the COs and the OCRPI (Rousso 1979).

In relation to the social organisation of labour, the Charter aimed to set up an economic organisation of "occupational families" (corporations). Discussions on working conditions were supposed to take place in social committees (*Comités Sociaux*, CS) at either the firm or occupational corporation (local, regional, national) level. The Charter considered representation within the various bodies as the result of single and compulsory unions based on member categories (worker, employee, employer, supervisor, engineer, manager). De facto, the "meeting between the economic and the social" (a recurring issue during the Vichy regime) would never happen, and the Vichy regime was clearly synonymous with the unions' disappearance.

On several occasions, Perroux assessed the Charter, notably in his article "*La charte du travail: son contenu et son esprit*" (Perroux 1941a), and in a course delivered to the Paris law faculty in 1943, entitled "*Le sens du nouveau droit du travail*" (Perroux 1943a). In his 1941 article, Perroux began by putting the *Révolution Nationale* of Vichy France into perspective with the European corporatist movements he had observed during his studies of the German, Austrian and Italian systems (cf. supra). According to Perroux, the benefits of corporatism having been hidden during the Third Republic, were finally beginning to be discussed seriously in France. In addition to classic figureheads of corporatism (including La Tour du Pin and Albert de Mun), Perroux cited *the Parti Social Français* (PSF) of Colonel La Rocque, Jacques Doriot's *Parti Populaire Français* (PPF), and Xavier Vallat, a former member of the *Croix-de-Feu* and a prominent figure in the reactionary and anti-Semitic right which in March 1941 included the head of the *Commissariat général aux questions juives* (See Joly 2001):

> After the Italian and German achievements, the idea of occupational and corporate organisation was renewed, at least among those who refused to lock themselves into political prejudices. It developed in a branch of French socialism, within the PSF and

> PPF. It continued to animate the work of social Catholicism. It inspired interesting proposals of laws, such as those of Xavier Vallat, and Le Cour Grandmaison, designed to organise the occupational and economic life of the country. (Perroux 1941a, 153–154)

Perroux evaluated the Charter of Labour fairly positively, considering it an important step towards a corporatist regime. Nevertheless, he spoke of a "pre-corporatist" regime insofar as the technical conditions for strong coexistence between the economic (the CO) and the social (the CS) had not yet been met. In the meantime, the Charter, by establishing single compulsory unions by corporation and by occupational status, was creating bodies that were adapted to the reality of the depoliticised communities of labour, i.e., those where the tools of class struggle had been abolished (end of the right to strike advocated by Perroux). For Perroux, the merit in all of this was to eliminate the bureaucratic and over-politicised unions of the Third Republic.[23] Perroux stressed the virtue of moving from an approach to the social that emphasised the protection of individual rights (human rights, labour law) towards an approach in terms of organisation (of group rights):

> An organisation of production has been restored. The freedom of work in the old sense is declining. From now on, freedom of work means: exercise of power within a hierarchy (…). The occupational group is no longer conceived as the means of correcting the inequality of the contractual forces involved; it is an element of coordination and integration. Within a framework where conflicts must be arbitrated and judged, the organising law is also a law of integration: it does not admit any one class being set aside in the whole of the nation. It subjects all classes to a discipline such that their integration is assured in view of the efficiency of the whole. (Perroux 1943a, 32)

In this passage, we find the illustration of Perroux's thought described in the previous sections. First, the Charter was an expression of the refusal to consider labour through the prism of the struggle among divergent interests. Perroux called for an emancipating movement but not one based on a social struggle, rather an integration of the working class into the national community. This integration would emerge through the exercise of a strong hierarchical power, i.e., through the establishment of leaders capable of understanding the community spirit.

Perroux laid the foundations for an evolution of Vichy's economic organisation towards full corporatism rather than expressing direct criticism. These recommendations are important in understanding Perroux's position within the Vichy regime. Indeed, on several occasions, Perroux expressed the need for a rational organisation of the economy, requiring the political power to rely on a powerful technocratic apparatus. For example:

> We are now bearing the weight of a long history of culpable indifference to information and economic statistics, industrial organisation, study and dissemination of the best methods of rationalisation. (Perroux 1941a, 179)

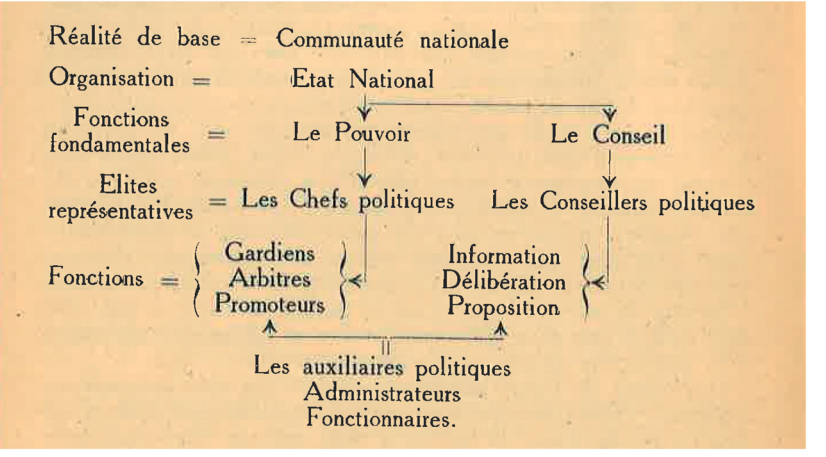
Counter-intuitively, Perroux developed an irrational thinking that left room for a well-defined expert function.

[23] Perroux was not opposed to unionism as a whole. On the contrary, Perroux was "full of deep admiration for the authentic workers' values, human and Christian, of unionism of yesterday and today" (1938e, 8). At the same time, however, he regretted that the main unions of the interwar period were politicised (socialist, communist or revolutionary), leading them to participate in the partisan struggle while they should have focused on corporate relations.

5.3. The social role of the expert

The creation of places for economic information or joint reflection within academia and beyond did not start with the Vichy regime, as evidenced by the canonical examples of *X-Crise* (Dard 1995) and of Charles Rist's *Institut scientifique de recherches économiques et sociales* (Tournès 2006) founded in the interwar period. These hubs of expertise benefitted from the fall of liberalism and the rise of planification epitomised by the victory of the Front Populaire in the May 1936 election (Brun 1985). However, Vichy created no less than a dozen technocratic think tanks: the *Fondation française pour l'étude des problèmes humains,* or *Fondation Carrel,* was by far the most financed and the largest in terms of researchers (Denord and Rosental 2013). Perroux was its general secretary from September 1942 to December 1943[24].

The desire to base political decisions on scientific knowledge appears several times in Perroux's pre-1945 work. One of the misfortunes of the parliamentary system was that too often it confused the functions of leader and advisor. Their separation is well described in Perroux's series of works co-authored with Yves Urvoy (1943c, 135), and can be depicted as a two-headed state (see the following image):



It is at this stage that we get a glimpse of the full unifying force of Perroux's thought in the intellectual and political fields during the years 1939–1945. Perroux tried to bring together the mystical thought of the unfathomable community, and the scientific objectivity claimed by intellectuals and experts. His efforts appeared clearly in two articles: one entitled "*Pour une politique naturelle*" and published in the journal *Demain* (Perroux 1943b); the other entitled "*Le rôle professionnel et politique de l'ingénieur*" and issued in the *Cahiers de l'Institut d'études corporatives et sociales* (Perroux and Mainguy 1944). In the first of these two texts, Perroux invited the leaders (the heads of the national community) to rethink their policies in the light of advances in the biological sciences. He believed that too often, the central role of the human body and good physical health were overlooked. This demand for a science-based policy is explained in the second article. Perroux and his co-author Yves Mainguy, invited

[24] On the role of Perroux at the head of the Carrel Foundation, see Brisset, Fèvre and Juille (2019).

engineers to become aware of their "political role" which was more than just a consulting function. The engineer is seen as the individual who will restore "the unity of the nation", connecting the elites to the middle classes and workers. The engineer is not only the individual who proposes but also the one who informs, who offers a perspective on the national community.[25]

Thus, Perroux's criticism of rationalism is not a critique of technocrats but rather a critique of the confusion of the genres of politics and technology. In Perroux's political writings during the 1930s–1940s, parliamentarism and suffrage gave way to the government of chiefs advised by technicians and scientists.

6. Conclusion

Interest in the problem of the positioning of the French economists *vis-à-vis* the Vichy regime has so far been scarce in the history of economic ideas. We tackle this issue through the lens of a major economist of the period, François Perroux. Nevertheless, we also choose deliberately not to directly address the question of the links that unite him to the Vichy regime. To understand the nature and intensity of these links would require investigation of the institutional role Perroux may have occupied between 1939 and 1945, from an academic, technocratic and political point of view along the lines of the pioneering work of Antonin Cohen (2012).

Instead, in this article we analysed the work of the "first" François Perroux through the lens of his anti-rationalism. From the perspective of intellectual history, this article restores some coherence between the positions of Perroux *vis-à-vis* various matters such as parliamentarianism, the economic organisation of France, the social theory of human communities, and the Vichy regime. To understand the societal project embodied precisely in Perroux's community of labour, and in particular this conjunction of organisational politico-economic objectives and renewal of ideals (the myth) and the leadership (the leader) of the nation, seems a necessary passage for a more complex appreciation of Perroux's part in Vichy's proclamations and practical achievements.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

ORCID

Raphaël Fèvre http://orcid.org/0000-0001-7628-4888

[25] Against both the so-called unity of the bourgeois class and the egalitarian ideal, Perroux defended a plurality of social functions. These functions were seen as being rooted in a social hierarchy according to individual capacities. From this viewpoint, Perroux was in line with the Italian school of elitism, with explicit references to Gaetano Mosca and Robert Michels (he met the latter during his stay in Italy). In discussing Mosca, Perroux also referred to the Pareto of the *Treatise on General Sociology*, although this time implicitly (Baldin and Ragni 2018, 6). Nevertheless, Perroux's approach to the relationship between leader and mass was clearly anchored in this Italian school in general, and similar to Pareto's approach in particular (see Baldin and Ragni 2016).

References

Agathon. 1911. *L'esprit de la nouvelle Sorbonne: La crise de la culture classique: La crise du français*. Paris: Mercure de France.

Al-Matary, S. 2019. *La haine des clercs. L'anti-intellectualisme en France*. Paris: Seuil.

Amoyal, J. 1974. "Les origins socialistes de la planification en France." *Le Mouvement Social* 87: 137–169.

Aron, R., and A. Dandieu. 1931. *Le Cancer Américain*. Paris: Riéder.

Azéma, J.-P. 1996. "La stratégie en matière de propaganda déployée par l'État vichyssois." *Mélanges de L'école Française de Rome. Italie et Méditerranée* 108 (1): 55–63. doi:10.3406/mefr.1996.4422.

Baldin, C., and L. Ragni. 2016. "Théorie parétienne des élites et moment machiavélien." *Revue Européenne des Sciences Sociales* 54–2 (2): 219–249. doi:10.4000/ress.3597.

Baldin, C., and L. Ragni. 2018. "François Perroux: Echange pur contre échange composite-Controverses et enjeux de justice." Université Côte d'Azur: GREDEG Working Paper.

Beaud, M. 2003. "Effet de domination, capitalisme et économie mondiale chez François Perroux." *L'Economie Politique* 20 (4): 64–77. doi:10.3917/leco.020.0064.

Bernstein, S., & M. Winock (Eds.). 2014. *Fascisme Français?*. Paris: CNRS Editions.

Brisset, N., and R. Fèvre. 2020. "The Vichy Opportunity: Perroux's Institutional and Intellectual Entrepreneurship." *Research in the History of Economic Thought and Methodology: Including a Symposium on Economists and Authoritarian Regimes in the 20th Century* 38 (B): 131–51. doi:10.1108/S0743-41542020000038B008

Brisset, N., and R. Fèvre. 2019a. *François Perroux's Grand Tour of Fascist Europe*. Université Côte d'Azur: GREDEG Working Paper.

Brisset, N., and R. Fèvre. 2019b. *Prendre la parole sous l'État français. Le cas de François Perroux*. Université Côte d'Azur: GREDEG Working Paper.

Brisset, N., R. Fèvre, and T. Juille. 2019. *Les années noires de la "Science de l'Homme". François Perroux, la Fondation Carrel et l'appropriation de la sociologie.* Université Côte d'Azur: GREDEG Working Paper.

Brun, G. 1985. *Technocrates et technocratie en France (1914–1945)*. Paris: Albatros.

Bruneteau, B. 2003. "*L'Europe nouvelle*" de Hitler: une illusion des intellectuels de la France de Vichy. Monaco: Éditions du Rocher.

Cahiers d'études communautaires. 1941. "Liminaire." *Cahiers D'études Communautaires* 1: 1–2.

Caldari, K. 2018. "Alfred Marshall and François Perroux: the neglected liaison." *The European Journal of the History of Economic Thought* 25 (11): 134–174.

Chambre, H. 1978. "Approche parallèle des analyses de F. Perroux et de Karl Marx." In *Hommage à François Perroux*, edited by R. Barre, 52–72. Grenoble: Presses Universitaires de Grenoble.

Chassagnon, V. 2015. "Economic Power and the Institutions of Capitalism: Reappraising the Legacy of François Perroux." *Journal of Economic Issues* 49 (1): 157–177. doi:10.1080/00213624.2015.1013885.

Chatriot, A. 2013. "Un débat politique incertain: le corporatisme dans la France des années 1930." *Les Études Sociales* 157–158 (1): 231–244. doi:10.3917/etsoc.157.0231.

Cohen, A. 2006. "Du Corporatisme au Keynésianisme." *Revue Française de Science Politique* 56 (4): 555–592. doi:10.3917/rfsp.564.0555.

Cohen, A. 2012. *De Vichy à la communauté européenne*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.

Cohen, A. 2018. "Why call it a 'European Community'? Ideological Continuities and Institutional Design of Nascent European Organisations." *Contemporary European History* 27 (2): 326–344. doi:10.1017/S0960777318000097.

Dard, O. 1995. "Voyage à l'intérieur d'X-crise." *Vingtième Siècle, Revue d'histoire*, 47: 132–146.

Denord, F., and P.-A. Rosental. 2013. "Comment Lier L'économique et le Social? Une Analyse Structurale Des Lieux D'expertise Sous le Régime de Vichy." *Gouvernement et Action Publique* 2 (2): 183–219. doi:10.3917/gap.132.0183.

Dobry, M. 1989. "Février 1934 et la découverte de l'allergie de la société française à la "revolution fasciste." *Revue Française de Sociologie* 30 (3/4): 511–533. doi:10.2307/3321593.
Drouard, A. 1992. *Une inconnue des sciences sociales la fondation Alexis Carrel 1941–1945*. Paris: Éditions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme.
Dufourt, D. 2009. "L'avènement d'une épistémologie politique dansl'oeuvre de François Perroux." *Économies et Sociétés. Série Philosophie et Science de l'Homme* 33 (3): 419–447.
Grenard, F., F. Le Bot, and C. Perrin. 2017. *Histoire économique de Vichy*. Paris: Perrin.
Hellman, J. 1993. *Knight-Monks of Vichy France: Uriage, 1940–1945*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's Press.
Herf, J. 1984. *Reactionary Modernism. Technology, Culture, and Politics in Weimar and the Third Reich*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Joly, L. 1991. *Xavier Vallat (1891–1972): du nationalisme chrétien à l'antisémitisme d'État*. Paris: Grasset.
Julliard, J. 1972. "La Charte du travail." In *Le gouvernement de Vichy, 1940–1942*, 157–194. Paris: Armand Colin.
Frobert, L. 2018. "François Perroux: Saint-Simon rather than Marx." *French History* 32 (3): 408–430. doi:10.1093/fh/cry039.
Kaplan, S. 2001. "Un laboratoire de la doctrine corporatiste sous Vichy: l'Institut d'études corporatives et sociales." *Le Mouvement Social* 195 (2): 35–77. doi:10.3917/lms.195.0035.
Kuisel, R. 1977. "Vichy et les origines de la planification économique (1940–1946)." *Le Mouvement Social* 98, 77–101. doi:10.2307/3778070.
Kuisel, R. 1984. *Le capitalisme et L'État en France. Modernisation et dirigisme au XXe siècle*. Paris: Gallimard.
Landsberg, P. L. 1938. "Introduction à une critique du Mythe." *Esprit* 64 (Janvier): 512–529.
Le Crom, J.-P. 1995. *Syndicats nous voilà! Vichy et le corporatisme*. Paris: Les éditions de l'atelier.
Le Crom, J.-P. 2008. "Comités d'organisation et comités sociaux ou l'introuvable interpénétration de l'économique et du social." Working Paper. Retrieved from https://hal.inria.fr/halshs-00256587/
Le Crom, J.-P. 2013. "La défense du corporatisme intégral sous Vichy. Ses acteurs, leurs inspirations, leurs réalisations." *Les Études Sociales* 157–158 (1): 245–259. doi:10.3917/etsoc.157.0245.
Linbenberg, D. 1990. *Les années souterraines (1937–1947)*. Paris: La découverte.
Loubet del Bayle, J.-L. 2001. *Les non-conformistes des années 30. Une tentative de renouvellement de la pensée politique française*. Paris: Seuil.
Löwy, M., and R. Sayre. 1992. *Révolte et mélancolie. Le romantisme à contre-courant de la modernité*. Paris: Payot.
Meardon, S. J. 2001. "Modeling Agglomeration and Dispersion in City and Country: Gunnar Myrdal, François Perroux, and the New Economic Geography." *American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 60 (1): 25–57. doi:10.1111/1536-7150.00053.
Paxton, R. 1973. *La France de Vichy*. Paris: Seuil.
Perroux, F. 1926. *Le problème du profit*. Lyon: Imprimerie Bosc Frères et Riou.
Perroux, F. 1928a. "Georges Sorel et la Grève Générale." *Revue de L'université de Lyon*, 2 (Mars): 149–172.
Perroux, F. 1928b. "La dictature du prolétariat chez les marxistes. *Questions Pratiques. Droit Ouvrier*." *Économie Politique et Sociale* 24 (3): 115–136.
Perroux, F. 1929. *Contribution à l'étude de l'économie et des finances publiques de L'Italie depuis la guerre*. Paris: M. Giard.
Perroux, F. (1934). "L'indépendance de l'Autriche." *Revue de Luniversité de Lyon VII*: 245–278.
Perroux, F. (1935). "Le Portugal de Salazar Essai d'interprétation." *Affaires Étrangères 5(1)*: 521–535.
Perroux, F. 1936. "La notion de classe et les bouleversements de L'Europe moderne." Archives Perroux. (377PRX/36/15)
Perroux, F. 1937. "Contre les tricheries du marxisme." *La Vie Intellectuelle* (10 mai): 391–396.

Perroux, F. 1938a. *Capitalisme et communauté de travail*. Paris: Librairie du Recueil Sirey.
Perroux, F. 1938b. "Intelligence de la nation." *Esprit* 7 (75): 343–377.
Perroux, F. 1938c. "Le mot capitalisme. Sens et faux sens." *Esprit* 6 (72): 711–734.
Perroux, F. 1938d. "Limites et dépassement de la notion de classe." *Esprit* 6 (68): 161–180.
Perroux, F. 1938e. *Syndicalisme et capitalisme*. Paris: Librairie générale de droit et de jurisprudence.
Perroux, F. 1938f. "Pour et contre la Communauté de Travail." *Archives de Philosophie du droit et de Sociologie juridique* 8 (3–4): 68–99.
Perroux, F. 1939a. "La representation comme fiction et comme nécessité." *Esprit* 7 (78): 789–809.
Perroux, F. 1939b. Les classes chez Marx et dans la vie. Le problèmes des classes dans la Communauté Nationale et dans l'ordre Humain. Presented at the Semaines sociales de France, XXXIe session, Bordeaux. (690PRX/288/3)
Perroux, F. 1940. *Des mythes hitlériens à l'Europe allemande*. Paris: Librairie générale de droit et de jurisprudence.
Perroux, F. 1941a. "La Charte du travail: son contenu et son esprit." In *L'économie sans abondance*, 152–198. Paris: CERF.
Perroux, F. 1941c. "Notre communauté." *Cahiers D'études Communautaires* 1: 3–28.
Perroux, F. 1942a. *Communauté*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
Perroux, F. 1942b. "Pour un renouvellement de l'économie et de la sociologie modernes." *Économie et Humanisme* 1 (1): 1–13.
Perroux, F. 1942c. "Le problème français du prolétariat." *Idées* 1 (1): 13–19.
Perroux, F. 1942d. *Le prolétariat dans la Nation*. Clermont Ferrand: Imprimerie de Mont Louis.
Perroux, F. 1943a. *Le sens du nouveau droit du travail. Droit du travail et Capitalisme*. Paris: éditions Dommat Montchrestien.
Perroux, F. 1943b. "Pour une politique naturelle." *Demain* 91 (Aout): 1.
Perroux, F. 1943c. Monnaie et crédit dans une économie corporative et communautaire. Conference. (690PRX/292/5).
Perroux, F., and Y. Mainguy. 1944. "Le role professionnel et politique de l'ingénieur." *Cahiers de Travaux* 9–10: 3–9.
Perroux, F., and Y. Urvoy. 1943a. *Renaître 1: La révolution en marche*. Paris: Librairie de Médicis.
Perroux, F., and Y. Urvoy. 1943b. *Renaître 1: Valeurs*. Paris: Librairie de Médicis.
Perroux, F., and Y. Urvoy. 1943c. *Renaître 4: Politique*. Paris: Librairie de Médicis.
Pétain 1989. "Discours du 1er mars 1941." In *Discours aux Français*. Paris: Albin Michel.
Plouviez, M. 2013. "Le projet durkheimien de réforme corporative: droit professionnel et protection des travailleurs." *Les Études Sociales* 157–158 (1): 57–103. doi:10.3917/etsoc.157.0057.
Rossignol, D. 1991. *Histoire de la propagandeen France de 1940 à 1944*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
Rousso, H. 1979. "L'organisation industrielle de Vichy (perspectives de recherches)." *Revue d'Histoire de La Deuxième Guerre Mondiale* 29 (116): 27–44.
Sapiro, G. 2004a. "Le savant et le littéraire. Les hommes de lettres contre la sociologie durkheimienne." In *Pour unehistoire des sciences sociales. Hommage à Pierre Bourdieu*, edited by J. Heilbron, R. Lenoir, & G. Sapiro, 83–106. Paris: Fayard.
Sapiro, G. 2004b. "Défense et illustration de «l'honnête homme». Les hommes de lettres contre la sociologie." *Actes de La Recherche En Sciences Sociales* 153 (3): 11–27. doi:10.3917/arss.153.0011.
Savall, H. 2005. "Vers une trascendance des deux grands courants de la pensée économique: L'oeuvre de François Perroux." In *François Perroux le centenaire d'un grand économiste*, edited by R. Barre, H. Bartoli, & H. Savall, 137–157. Paris: Economica.
Serry, H. 2004a. *Naissance de l'intellectuel catholique*. Paris: La Découverte.

Serry, H. 2004b. "Saint Thomas sociologue? Les enjeux cléricaux d'une sociologie catholique dans les années 1880–1920." In *Pour une histoire des sciences sociales. Hommage à Pierre Bourdieu*, edited by J. Heilbron, R. Lenoir, and G. Sapiro, 59–81. Paris: Fayard.

Sorel, G. 1908. "Réflexions sur la violence." Les classiques des sciences sociales. Edition enligne: http://classiques.uqac.ca/classiques/sorel_georges/reflexions_violence/Sorel_Reflexions_violence.pdf.

Sternhell, Z. 2012. *Ni droite ni gauche. L'idéologie fasciste en France*. Paris: Gallimard.

Tournès, L. 2006. "L'institut scientifique de recherches économiques et sociales et les débuts de l'expertise économiqueen France (1933–1940)." *Genèses* 65 (4): 49–70. doi:10.3917/gen.065.0049.

Villanueva, C. (1994). "Une utilisation critique du "mythe": François Perroux, lecteur de Georges Sorel." *Mil Neuf Cent* 12: 87–110.

Winock, M. 1996. *Esprit. Des intellectuels dans la cité 1930–1950*. Paris: Seuil.