

# Notes

## Introduction

1. In French, for example, J. Fauvet, *Histoire du parti communiste français* (Paris: Fayard, 1964–65) and P. Robrieux, *Histoire intérieure du parti communiste* (Paris: Fayard, 1980–84). In English, M. Adereth, *The French Communist Party: A Critical History, 1920–1984* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984).
2. See F. Fejtö, *The French Communist Party and the Crisis of International Communism* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1967).
3. Most notably A. Kriegel, *The French Communists. Profile of a People* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972).
4. D. S. Bell and B. Criddle, *The French Communist Party in the Fifth Republic* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994).
5. From the decade when the leadership began to lose control of dissent within the party, see H. Fiszbin, *Les bouches s'ouvrent* (Paris: Grasset, 1980), P. Juquin, *Fraternellement libre* (Paris: Grasset, 1988).
6. A. Spire (ed.), *La Culture des camarades* (Paris: Autrement, 1992).
7. Robert Hue has been painstaking in his attempts to do this in, for example, *Communisme: La mutation* and *Communisme: le nouveau projet* (Paris: Stock, 1995 and 1999).
8. M. Lazar, *Le Communisme: Une passion française* (Paris: Perrin, 2002).

## 1 Political credibility

1. R. W. Johnson, *The Long March of the French Left* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1981), p. 136.
2. These figures are from J. Fauvet, *Histoire du parti communiste français*, vol. I, *De la Guerre à la Guerre: 1917–1939* (Paris: Fayard, 1964) and refer to party cards placed with members rather than the larger numbers conveyed to party secretaries.
3. The very apt expression used by D. Borne and H. Dubeif, *La Crise des années 30* (Paris: Seuil, 1989), p. 127.
4. See, for example, R. Bordier, '36, *la fête* (Paris: Messidor, 1985).
5. J. Jackson, *The Popular Front in France Defending Democracy, 1934–38* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 277.
6. F. Fejtö, *The French Communist Party and the Crisis of International Communism* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1967), p. 18.
7. Fauvet, vol. I, p. 254.
8. J. Fauvet, *Histoire du parti communiste français*, vol. II: *Vingt-cinq ans de drame* (Paris: Fayard, 1965), p. 86.
9. R. Tiersky, *French Communism, 1920–1972* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1974), p. 114.

10. J.-Y. Boursier, *La Politique du PCF 1939–1945* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1992), pp. 209–10.
11. See A. J. Rieber, *Stalin and the French Communist Party 1941–1947* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1962).
12. See A. Dansette, *Histoire de la libération de Paris* (Paris: Plon, 1994).
13. D. Pickles, *French Politics: The First Years of the Fourth Republic* (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1953), p. 270.
14. Tiersky, p. 135.
15. M. Thorez, *Fils du peuple*, in *Oeuvres Choiesies*, vol. II (Paris: Editions Sociales, 1966), pp. 488–9.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 491.
17. G. Wright, *The Reshaping of French Democracy* (New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, 1948), pp. 38–40.
18. Wright, pp. 178–9.
19. Fauvet, vol. II, p. 196.
20. W. Bedell Smith, *Trois années à Moscou* (Paris: Plon, 1950), p. 198.
21. J. Ranger, 'L'Evolution du vote Communiste en France Depuis 1945', *Le Communisme en France* (Paris: Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, 1969), p. 243.
22. Johnson, p. 138.

## 2 Dynamics of the counter-culture

1. See M. Weber, *On Charisma and Institution Building* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968).
2. J. Mer, *Le parti de Maurice Thorez ou le bonheur communiste français* (Paris: Payot, 1977), p. 36.
3. B. S. Bell and B. Criddle, *The French Communist Party in the Fifth Republic* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), p. 195.
4. E. Mortimer, *The Rise of the French Communist Party 1920–1947* (London: Faber & Faber, 1984), p. 339.
5. See C. de Gaulle, *Mémoires* (Paris: Gallimard, 2000).
6. See F. Mitterrand, *Ma part de vérité* (Paris: Fayard, 1969).
7. See J. Ranger, 'L'Evolution du vote communiste en France depuis 1945', *Le Communisme en France* (Paris: Cahiers de la Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, 1969), pp. 211–53.
8. J. Fauvet, *Histoire du parti communiste français*, vol. II (Paris: Fayard, 1965), p. 167.
9. G. Elgey, *La République des Illusions* (Paris: Fayard, 1965), p. 17.
10. H. Seton-Watson, *Nations and States. An Enquiry into the Origins of Nations and the Politics of Nationalism* (London: Methuen, 1977), p. 5.
11. B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London: Verso, 1991), p. 6.
12. A. Kriegel, *The French Communists. Profile of a People* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972).
13. P. Bourdieu, *Distinction* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984), p. 101.
14. J. Degras, *The Communist International 1919–1943*, vol. I (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1956), pp. 166–72.
15. See D. Thomson, *Democracy in France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964).

16. See Gallie, *Social Inequality and Class Radicalism in France and Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).
17. T. Kemp, *Stalinism in France* (London: New Park, 1984), p. 98.
18. See J.-P. Brunet, *Jacques Doriot* (Paris: Balland, 1986).
19. See P. Robrieux, *Maurice Thorez, vie secrète et vie publique* (Paris: Fayard, 1975).
20. See F. Claudin, *From Comintern to Cominform* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1976).
21. A. Cole and P. Campbell, *French Electoral Systems and Elections since 1789* (Aldershot: Gower, 1989), p. 68.
22. R. Rémond, *Les Droites en France* (Paris: Aubier, 1982), pp. 208–11.
23. A. Lecoœur, *Le Partisan* (Paris: Flammarion, 1963), pp. 105–7. Describing the general mood of the miners in the Pas de Calais, Lecoœur observed: 'Aux yeux de la majorité, le pacte représentait une trahison des intérêts nationaux en laissant à Hitler les mains libres pour attaquer la France' (*ibid.*, p. 106). And the same sense of betrayal was expressed in the municipal bastions of the PCF in the Nord, the Paris region and Brittany, where the tone was set by the resignation of the mayor of Concarneau, Pierre Guéguin.
24. *Le Populaire*, 27 September 1939.
25. J.-Y. Boursier, *La Politique du PCF 1939–1945* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1992), p. 42.
26. See S. Courtois, *Le PCF dans la guerre* (Paris: Seuil, 1975).
27. P. Robrieux, *Histoire intérieure du parti communiste, 1945–1972* (Paris: Fayard, 1981), p. 271.
28. R. Girard, *La Violence et le sacré* (Paris: Grasset, 1972), p. 28.
29. See the analysis of his discourse in Mer, Chapter 2.
30. G. G. Raymond, *André Malraux: Politics and the Temptation of Myth* (Aldershot: Avebury, 1995), p. 195.
31. G. Ross, *Workers and Communists in France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), p. 54.
32. The CGT's own figures, which must therefore allow for a degree of exaggeration, quoted by Ross, p. 64.
33. Kriegel, *The French Communists*, p. 173.
34. M. Servin, 'Report to the 15th Congress', *Cahiers du communisme*, July–August (1959).
35. Kriegel, *The French Communists*, Chapter 6, still remains the classic definition of party practices during the PCF's reign as France's premier party.
36. A. Kriegel, *Le Pain et les roses, Jalons pour l'histoire des socialismes*, collection '10/18' (Paris: Union Générale d'Éditions, 1968), p. 405.
37. 'Lorsque les ouvriers communistes se réunissent, c'est d'abord la doctrine, la propagande, etc., qui sont leur but. Mais, en même temps, ils s'approprient par là un besoin nouveau, le besoin de la société, et ce qui semble être le moyen est devenu le but'. In J. Bruhat, *Marx/Engels*, collection '10/18' (Paris: Union Générale d'Éditions, 1971), p. 71.
38. A. Stevens, *The Government and Politics of France* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1992), p. 257.
39. Cole and Campbell, *French Electoral Systems and Elections*, p. 86.
40. For concise overviews of all these movements, see G. G. Raymond, *Historical Dictionary of France* (Lanham, Maryland: Scarecrow Press, 1998).
41. A few days before the Soviet intervention on 4 November 1956, the PCF leadership had been fiercely critical of the Hungarian leader symbolising the desire for emancipation from Moscow, Imre Nagy, and in the November 2

edition of *L'Humanité* Etienne Fajon, the former PCF representative on the Komintern, accused the party in Hungary of no longer being a 'marxist workers' party'.

42. Bell and Criddle, *The French Communist Party*, p. 206.

### 3 The anti-system party

1. D. S. Bell and B. Criddle, *The French Communist Party in the Fifth Republic* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), p. 80.
2. J. Fauvet, *Histoire du parti communiste français*, vol. II (Paris: Fayard, 1965), p. 293.
3. D. Caute, *Communism and the French Intellectuals* (London: André Deutsch, 1964), p. 228. It is also fair to note, however, that the communist intellectuals who mobilised in order to criticise the PCF's supine endorsement of the Soviet line over Hungary, were generally those who were not deeply involved in the apparatus of the party. See also S. Hazareesingh, *Intellectuals and the French Communist Party* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), p. 146.
4. M. Evans, *The Memory of Resistance: French Opposition to the Algerian War (1954–1962)* (Oxford: Berg, 1997), p. 214. For key extracts of Thorez's speech, see B. Khedda, *Les Origines du premier novembre 1954* (Algiers: Editions Dahlab, 1989), p. 292.
5. See the editorial by E. Fajon, *L'Humanité*, 27 April 1960.
6. P. Robrieux, *Histoire intérieure du parti communiste*, vol. IV (Paris: Fayard, 1984), p. 488.
7. *Ibid.*
8. Fauvet, p. 300.
9. Although this version of events was disputed, unconvincingly by Georges Marchais, who claimed to have taken Thorez to an anonymous sympathiser.
10. Published in *L'Humanité* on 27 May 1958.
11. *L'Humanité*, 11 June 1958.
12. *L'Humanité*, 18 July 1958.
13. *L'Humanité*, 8 September 1958.
14. Robrieux, p. 494.
15. S. Berstein, *La France de l'expansion: La République gaullienne 1958–1969* (Paris: Seuil, 1989), p. 27.
16. 'Le référendum et les élections de 1958', *Cahiers de la Fondation nationale des sciences politiques*, 109 (Paris: Armand Colin, 1958), p. 138.
17. De Gaulle himself described how the result far surpassed his expectations. See C. De Gaulle, *L'Esprit de la Ve République: mémoire d'espoir* (Paris: Plon, 1994).
18. For a clear and concise account of how this developed, see A. Cole (ed.), *French Political Parties in Transition* (Aldershot: Dartmouth, 1990), Chapter 1.
19. Thus starting his career as 'le fossoyeur du Parti communiste', the socialist chiefly responsible for digging the PCF's grave.
20. De Gaulle himself had made it clear to the media that the verdict on his proposals would be a verdict on him personally.
21. N. Nugent, 'The Strategies of the French Left', in D. S. Bell (ed.), *Contemporary French Political Parties* (London: Croom Helm, 1982), pp. 71–88, p. 74.

22. M. Adereth, *The French Communist Party: A Critical History, 1920–1984* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984), p. 237.
23. See P. Robrieux, *Histoire intérieure du parti communiste, vol. II, 1945–1972* (Paris: Fayard, 1981), p. 644.
24. Bell and Criddle, p. 17.
25. J. R. Frears, *Political Parties and Elections in the French Fifth Republic* (London: Hurst, 1977), p. 199.
26. Robrieux, vol. 2, p. 647.
27. V. Wright and H. Machin, 'The French Socialist Party in 1973: Performance and Prospects', *Government and Opposition*, 9:2 (1974), 127–8.
28. While, superficially at least, it might seem improbable that a fraction like CERES, which saw itself as standing for a more complete type of socialism than all the others, would make common cause with a pragmatist like Mitterrand, in reality they had had to confront the same question as all the others: by what means can one help the Left to power without joining the PCF? Mitterrand appeared to offer the most viable compromise in pursuit of that aim. See D. Hanley, *Keeping Left? CERES and the French Socialist Party* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986), p. 54.
29. D. Goldey and D. Bell, 'The French Municipal Election of 1977', *Parliamentary Affairs*, XXX:4 (1977), 408.
30. Robrieux, vol. 2, p. 653.
31. A. Cole and P. Campbell, *French Electoral Systems and Elections since 1789* (Aldershot: Gower, 1989), p. 109.
32. D. Goldey and R. W. Johnson, 'The French General Election of March 1973', *Political Studies*, XXI:3 (1973), 336.
33. It was, as Alistair Cole has observed, a 'triumphant defeat' which thereafter enabled Mitterrand to govern the PS in a more presidential manner. See A. Cole, *François Mitterrand: A Study in Political Leadership* (London: Routledge, 1994), p. 74.

#### 4 The rise of the Socialists

1. See G. Lavau, 'Le Parti communiste dans le système politique français', in *Le Communisme en France* (Paris: Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, 1969).
2. H. Mendras with A. Cole, *Social Change in Modern France. Towards a Cultural Anthropology of the Fifth Republic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 25.
3. Charbonnages de France, *Statistique annuelle édition 1991* (Paris: Charbonnages de France, 1991).
4. See D. I. Scargill, 'French energy: The end of an era for coal', *Geography*, 76 (1990), 172–5.
5. R. Hudson and D. Sadler, *The International Steel Industry: Restructuring, State Politics and Localities* (London: Routledge, 1989), pp. 126–8.
6. As Prime Minister Pierre Mauroy commented, when explaining the Socialist government's new austerity policy in 1982: socialism made little sense if it generated penury. See P. Favier and M. Martin-Roland, *La Décennie Mitterrand*, vol. I (Paris: Seuil, 1990), p. 419.

7. C. Piganiol, 'Industrial relations and enterprise restructuring in France', *International Labour Review*, 128 (1989), pp. 621–38.
8. *Le Monde, Les Forces Politiques et les Elections de Mars 1973* (Paris: Le Monde, 1973), p. 13.
9. V. Wright and H. Machin, 'The French Socialist Party: Success and the Problems of Success', *Political Quarterly*, 46:1 (1975), 36–52, p. 42.
10. P. Hardouin, 'Les Caractéristiques Sociologiques du Parti Socialiste', *Revue Française de Science Politique*, 28:2 (1978), 222–5.
11. P. Bacot, 'Le Front de Classe', *Revue Française de Science Politique*, 28:2 (1978), 277–95, p. 283.
12. *Ibid.*
13. M. Kesselman, 'The Recruitment of Party Activists in France', quoted in P. Garraud, 'Discours, Pratique et Idéologie dans l'Evolution du Parti Socialiste', *Revue Française de Science Politique*, 28:2 (1978), 257–76.
14. See R. Cayrol, 'Le Parti Socialiste à l'Entreprise', *Revue Française de Science Politique*, 28:2 (1978), 201–19.
15. J. Charlot, 'Votes des Français: Qui, Comment, Pourquoi?', *Le Point*, 23 January 1978.
16. D. S. Bell and B. Criddle, *The French Communist Party in the Fifth Republic* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), p. 209.
17. The transformation of Renault into a market-driven state champion was completed under a Socialist-led government in 1999, when it sealed its alliance with Nissan of Japan. Although ostensibly a partnership, there was little doubt left by the French press as to who the senior partner was and to whom the victory belonged in national terms. By March 2002 the cross-ownership of shares left Renault with 44.4 per cent of Nissan, while Nissan had 15 per cent of Renault, but without any voting rights.
18. Figures quoted in M. Waller and M. Fennema, *Communist Parties in Western Europe. Decline or Adaptation?* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988), pp. 58–60.
19. D. S. Bell and B. Criddle, *The French Socialist Party* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), p. 200.
20. P. Buton, 'Les effectifs du parti communiste français, 1920–84', *Communisme*, 7 (1985), 9.
21. *L'Humanité*, 9 January 1979.
22. Bell and Criddle, *The French Communist Party*, p. 212.
23. R. Milon, 'Le PCF est toujours un parti passoire', *Est et Ouest*, 50 (1988), 29.
24. See E. Fajon, *L'Union est un combat* (Paris: Editions Sociales, 1975), pp. 75–127, for the first publicly available account of Marchais' report.
25. E. Fajon, 'Stratégie et politique: L'Union et la différence', *Cahiers du Communisme*, July–August (1976).
26. F. Mitterrand, *Ma part de vérité* (Paris: Fayard, 1969), pp. 90–1.
27. A. Cole, *François Mitterrand: A Study in Political Leadership* (London: Routledge, 1994), p. 73.
28. G. Marchais, *Le défi démocratique* (Paris: Grasset, 1973), pp. 117–30.
29. See Fajon, *L'Union est un combat*, pp. 95–100, 114–27.
30. F. Mitterrand, *Ma part de vérité*, pp. 202–8; and F. Mitterrand, *La rose au poing* (Paris: Flammarion, 1973), p. 24.
31. For the key passages of Kanapa's report see P. Juquin, *Programme commun, l'actualisation à dossiers ouverts* (Paris: Editions Sociales, 1977), pp. 19–20, 148–50.

32. Ibid., pp. 147–55.
33. G. Le Gall, 'Le nouvel ordre électoral', *Revue politique et parlementaire*, July–August (1981), 17.
34. Bell and Criddle, *The French Communist Party*, p. 105.
35. J.-L. Parodi, 'L'Échec des gauches', *Revue Politique et Parlementaire*, April–May (1978), 16–17.
36. P. Bezbakh, *Histoire de la France contemporaine* (Paris: Bordas, 1990), p. 217.
37. A. Cole and P. Campbell, *French Electoral Systems and Elections since 1789* (Aldershot: Gower, 1989), p. 118.
38. Bell and Criddle, *The French Socialist Party*, p. 136.
39. J. Julliard, 'Comment les Français ont changé de cap le dernier jour', *Le Nouvel Observateur*, 24 April 1978.
40. R. W. Johnson, *The Long March of the French Left* (London: Macmillan, 1981), p. 206.
41. Cole, *François Mitterrand*, p. 74.
42. In an interview given in 1989, Rocard admitted that his message that night had been too complicated, the setting he had chosen was wrong, and that throughout the broadcast he had fixed his gaze on the wrong camera, thereby giving the French electorate the uninspiring prospect of placing their faith in a leader who addressed them sideways. In Favier and Martin-Rolland, p. 21.
43. Ibid., p. 20.
44. See J. Séguéla, *Hollywood lave plus blanc* (Paris: Flammarion, 1982).
45. C. Nay, *Les sept Mitterrand: Ou les métamorphoses d'un septennat* (Paris: Grasset, 1988), p. 28.
46. Favier and Martin-Rolland, p. 28.
47. Cole and Campbell, *French Electoral Systems*, p. 130.

## 5 Failing the presidential challenge

1. G. Lavau, 'Le parti communiste: Un congrès de survie', *Revue politique et parlementaire*, 914, January–February (1985), 6–15.
2. P. Bauby, 'Le révisionnisme institutionnel du PCF', *Revue politique et parlementaire*, 919, September–October (1985), 97.
3. M. Naudy, *PCF le suicide* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1986), p. 171.
4. M. Cardoze, *Nouveau voyage à l'intérieur du parti communiste français* (Paris: Fayard, 1986), p. 324.
5. Marchais' report was published in *L'Humanité*, 4 February 1982.
6. M. Cardoze, 'PCF: Le destin du courant critique', *Revue politique et parlementaire*, 927, January–February (1987), 48.
7. M. Samson, 'PC: Divorces à la toulousaine', *Libération*, 31 October 1987.
8. P. Juquin, *Autocritiques* (Paris: Grasset, 1985), Chapter 9.
9. P. Juquin, *Fraternellement libre* (Paris: Grasset, 1988), p. 28.
10. Published in *L'Humanité*, 3 December 1987.
11. A. Lajoinie and R. Passevent, *A cœur ouvert* (Paris: Messidor, 1987), p. 170.
12. O. Biffaud, 'M. Lajoinie se définit comme un candidat révolutionnaire', *Le Monde*, 21 October 1987.
13. *Paris Match*, 9 October 1987.

14. Reported in *L'Humanité*, 16 November 1987.
15. *Paris Match*, 13 November 1987.
16. *Paris Match*, 11 December 1987.
17. *Paris Match*, 21 January 1988.
18. M. Samson, 'Marchais: Communistes, encore un effort pour être mobilisés', *Libération*, 11 February 1988.
19. *Paris Match*, 26 February 1988.
20. *Paris Match*, 25 March 1988.
21. *Paris Match*, 22 April 1988.
22. Small left-wing groups existing outside the two major left-wing parties.
23. All statistics taken from *Le Monde, Dossiers et Documents: L'élection présidentielle, May 1988* (Paris, 1988).
24. *Le Monde, Dossiers et Documents: Les élections législatives, June 1988* (Paris, 1988), p. 33.
25. D. Jeambar, 'Présidentielle: L'ombre de Marchais', *Le Point*, 25 May 1987.

## 6 Marchais: The (dis)course of leadership

1. J. Gaffney, *The French Left and the Fifth Republic* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1989), p. 31.
2. It may be argued, however, that in the case of communist discourse, where, paradoxically, the authority delegated by the party to the General Secretary is so strong, it is not possible to gauge comprehensively the effect of presidentialism on the discourse of the leadership without comparing it with the discourse of the leadership under a regime that was not presidential, for example the Fourth Republic.
3. A. Kriegel, *The French Communists* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972), p. 173.
4. This ideology of disinterested representation is identified by Pierre Bourdieu as a key to the 'social magic' which empowers the discourse of speakers such as political leaders, by sustaining the illusion that they speak in pursuit of nothing other than the interests of those whom they represent. P. Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991), p. 215.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 212.
6. Bourdieu explains his notion of 'capital' with regard to political representation in the following way: 'Political capital is a form of symbolic capital, *credit* founded on *credence* or belief and *recognition* or, more precisely, on the innumerable operations of credit by which agents confer on a person (or on an object) the very powers which they recognise in him (or it)'. *Ibid.*, p. 192.
7. All translations from the French are mine. Report reproduced in *Cahiers du Communisme*, February–March (1976).
8. *Ibid.*
9. *Ibid.*
10. H. Fiszbin, *Les bouches s'ouvrent* (Paris: Grasset, 1980), pp. 230–1.
11. *Cahiers du Communisme*, June–July (1979).
12. *Ibid.*
13. *Ibid.*
14. Gaffney, p. 87.



15. *Cahiers du Communisme*, February–March (1982).
16. *Cahiers du Communisme*, March–April (1985).
17. *L'Humanité*, 3 December 1987.
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid.
20. *Le Monde*, 15–16 October 1989.
21. *Cahiers du Communisme*, January–February (1991).
22. Ibid.
23. *L'Humanité*, 20 August 1991.
24. Ibid.
25. *L'Humanité*, 30 August 1991 (my translation).
26. Wurtz's report and the ensuing discussion were printed over three days in *L'Humanité*, 21–23 May 1992.
27. *L'Humanité*, 23 May 1992.
28. See, for example, his interview with Alain Rollat in *Le Monde*, 19 September 1992.
29. The *refondateur* and *reconstructeur* tendencies had already formed a grassroots organisation in November 1991 called *Alternative pour la démocratie et le socialisme* (ADS) which was to deliver a remarkable challenge to the authority of the party by putting up independent communist candidates in the regional and cantonal elections of March 1992, with notable success in Marcel Rigout's base of Haute-Vienne.
30. *Le Monde*, 11 September 1992.
31. H. Algalarrondo, 'Qui veut sauver Georges Marchais?', *Le Nouvel Observateur*, 18 March 1993.
32. *Le Monde*, 18 June 1993.
33. *Le Monde*, 1 February 1994.

## 7 A tale of clashing counter-cultures

1. A. Prost, *Education, société et politique* (Paris: Seuil, 1992), p. 123.
2. In reality, the police were initially disinclined to intervene when the agitators began to congregate in the courtyard of the Sorbonne on May 3. According to some commentators, it was the rector of the university, Roche, who was keenest to see the *perturbateurs* expelled and invited the police to do so. See R. Backmann and L. Rioux, *Mai 1968* (Paris: Laffont, 1968). Thereafter, contingent factors led to the point where an initially awkward situation degenerated into violence. Unable to make identity checks on the spot because the students were judged to be too numerous, the police decided to take the students away in waiting vehicles, thus igniting the rumour that spread like wildfire in the Latin Quarter that the students were being victimised in a repressive police raid. L. Jofrin, *Mai 68. Histoire des événements* (Paris: Seuil, 1998), p. 23.
3. Ibid., p. 87.
4. S. Courtois and M. Lazar, *Histoire du Parti communiste français* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2000), p. 350.
5. It has been forcefully argued elsewhere that by cutting itself off from the anti-totalitarian sentiment that emerged in May 1968, the PCF cut itself off

- from an underlying process of profound change, creating a 'cultural blockage' between itself, French society and even a new wave of its own party members, that would result in a time-bomb set to explode in the 1980s. M. Lazar, *Maisons rouges. Les partis communistes français et italiens de la Libération à nos jours* (Paris: Aubier, 1992), p. 130.
6. H. Hamon and P. Rotman, *Génération*, 2 vols, vol. 2, *Les années de poudre* (Paris: Seuil, 1998), p. 10.
  7. J.-P. Le Goff, *Mai 68: L'héritage impossible* (Paris: La Découverte, 1998), Part III.
  8. F. Picq, *Libération des femmes. Les années mouvement* (Paris: Seuil, 1993), p. 14.
  9. R. Pronier and V.-J. Le Seigneur, *Génération verte. Les écologistes en politique* (Paris: Presses de la Renaissance, 1992), p. 26.
  10. *Ibid.*, p. 330.
  11. Lazar, *Maisons rouges*, p. 145.
  12. See Parti Communiste Français, *Kremlin PCF: Conversation secrètes* (Paris: O. Orban, 1984).
  13. Lazar, *Maisons rouges*, p. 364, note 67.
  14. Interestingly, archival evidence shows that in exchanges between the Czech embassy and Prague in the spring of 1968, their ambassador in Paris had come to the conviction that Waldeck Rochet was caught between the sympathies he shared with those in favour of the reasons for the experiment in Prague, and those who shared his (Rochet's) instinctive fear of doing anything that might jeopardise the PCF's relationship with the CPSU. See K. Bartosek, *Les aveux des archives. Prague-Paris-Prague, 1948-1968* (Paris: Seuil, 1996), p. 187.
  15. J. Elleinstein, *L'Histoire de l'URSS* (Paris: Editions Sociales, 1972-5); J. Elleinstein, *L'Histoire du phénomène stalinien* (Paris: Grasset, 1975).
  16. A. Adler et al., *L'URSS et nous* (Paris: Editions Sociales, 1978).
  17. See F. Hincker, 'Le groupe dirigeant du PCF dans les années 70', *Communisme*, 10 (1986).
  18. Courtois and Lazar, p. 385.
  19. The French translation of Solzhenitsyn's *Gulag Archipelago* appeared in 1974 to great success and confirmed what many had felt about the wholesale and brutal betrayal of the ideals of the revolution in the Soviet Union.
  20. See A. Glucksmann, *La cuisinière et le mangeur d'hommes* (Paris: Seuil, 1975), and B.-H. Lévy, *La barbarie à visage humain* (Paris: Grasset, 1977).
  21. T. Judt, *Marxism and the French Left* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 198.
  22. A term coined by S. Daney in *Libération*, 25-26 April 1987.
  23. See A. Finkielkraut, *La défaite de la pensée* (Paris: Gallimard, 1987).
  24. S. Hazareesingh, *Intellectuals and the French Communist Party* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), p. 286.
  25. Articles subsequently reprinted in English in *New Left Review*, 109, May-June (1978).
  26. M. Goldring, 'A quoi sert un intellectuel communiste en 1986', in A. Spire (ed.), *La Culture des camarades* (Paris: Autrement, 1992), p. 94. Goldring situates this observation in the context of a broader evolution in which the public is no longer interested in the clash of intellectual titans defending one system of thought against another, since systems of thought themselves have no purchase on the public imagination.

27. J. Kehayan and N. Kehayan, *Rue du prolétaire rouge* (Paris: Seuil, 1978); J. Kehayan, *Le tabouret de Piotr* (Paris: Seuil, 1980).
28. Figures quoted in Courtois and Lazar, p. 409.
29. Charles Fiterman at Transport, Anicet Le Pors with a portfolio for Public Administration, Jack Ralite at Health and Marcel Rigout with responsibility for vocational training.
30. See D. Labbé and F. Périn, *Que reste-t-il de Billancourt? Enquête sur la culture d'entreprise* (Paris: Hachette, 1990).
31. See A. Bevort, 'Les effectifs syndiqués à la CGT et la CFDT', *Communisme*, 35–37 (1994); and D. Labbé, 'Le déclin électoral de la CGT', *Communisme*, 35–37 (1994). There was in fact a nuanced process of osmosis during the 1980s that saw a growth in the number of communists entering the CGT, but a declining number of CGT members present in the party, just as the presence of CGT members declined throughout the working population. See Y. Santamaria, 'Difficult Times for the French Communist Party and the CGT', *The Journal of Communist Studies*, 6:4 (1990), 58–79.
32. See the PS' undertakings vis-à-vis immigrants in *Parti socialiste: 89 réponses aux questions économiques* (Paris: Flammarion, 1977), p. 43.
33. By March 1983, 46 per cent of respondents to a SOFRES poll agreed with the proposition that the Left had done too much for immigrants, and 34 per cent disagreed. Among the Left's own supporters, 38 per cent agreed with the proposition that government policy had been too liberal regarding immigrants. See J. Julliard, 'L'Alerte', in *SOFRES, Opinion publique. Enquêtes et commentaires* (Paris: Gallimard, 1984), p. 125.
34. For the government's attitude to this potentially revolutionary understanding of citizenship, see P. Weil, *La France et ses étrangers. L'aventure d'une politique de l'immigration 1938–1991* (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1991), pp. 157–62.
35. One of the salient characteristics of the FN in terms of its sociological profile during the 1980s is the youth of its members and elected representatives. In C. Ysmal, *Les partis politiques sous la Ve République* (Paris: Montchrestien, 1989), p. 226.
36. Ysmal, 'Communistes et Lepénistes', p. 53.

## 8 The end of ideology

1. K. Marx and F. Engels, *The German Ideology*, ed. C. J. Arthur (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1978), p. 65.
2. K. Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia*, trans. L. Wirth and E. Shils (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1936), p. 54.
3. H. J. Eysenck and G. D. Wilson, *The Psychological Basis of Ideology* (Lancaster: MTP Press, 1978), p. 303.
4. R. Geuss, *The Idea of a Critical Theory: Habermas and the Frankfurt School* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p. 5.
5. M. Rodinson, 'Mouvements Socio-Politiques', *Cahiers Internationaux de Sociologie*, 33 (1962), 97–113, p. 99. The personal sense of justification that ideology imparts is enhanced by the self-referential nature of ideological discourse, which makes the arguments of its proponents irresistible. In D. J. Manning, *The Form of Ideology* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1980), p. 78.

6. C. Lévi-Strauss, *Anthropologie Structurale* (Paris: Plon, 1958), p. 231.
7. In J. Jaffré, 'Après les municipales et les européennes. Le nouveau décor électoral', *Pouvoirs*, 55 (1990), 147–62.
8. See M. Duverger, *La démocratie sans le peuple* (Paris: Seuil, 1967).
9. Figures quoted in L. Billordo, 'Party Membership in France: Measures and Data-Collection', *French Politics*, 1:1 (2003), 137–51. Billordo also identifies the peculiar distortions that occur in the management and representation of party membership figures in France: the lack of a legal obligation to report accurate membership figures, which encourages the parties to exaggerate them in order to bolster their image; the historically occult nature of party financing which meant that inflated reported membership figures made for more plausible explanations concerning the provenance of party funds. *Ibid.*, p. 138.
10. S. Courtois et al., *Le livre noir du communisme* (Paris: Robert Laffont, 1997), p. 13. The authors revived Kolakowski's argument that the absolutist mindset that arises from the certainty that one is in possession of the truth makes terror the inescapable flip side of ideological conviction. Moreover, unlike the religious terror represented by the Inquisition, the step is that much shorter in a secular, revolutionary worldview because the enjoyment of grace is not to be found in an otherworldly dimension but is achieved in one leap in the here and now. In L. Kolakowski, *L'Esprit révolutionnaire* (Paris: Editions Complexe, 1978), p. 22. In short, as Todorov argues, the shadow that can hang over an atheist society is not the mythical hell to which rebels were condemned in the past under religious regimes, but the prospect of a real hell being created, in which those who refuse to submit to an absolutist state can be concentrated and crushed, and whose crushing can be used as an example to intimidate others. In T. Todorov, *Nous et les autres* (Paris: Seuil, 1989), pp. 226–7.
11. P. Rigoulot and I. Yannakakis, *Un pavé dans l'histoire. Le débat français sur 'Le livre noir du communisme'* (Paris: Robert Laffont, 1998), p. 219.
12. See, for example, N. Tenzer, *La société dépolitisée* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1990).
13. See R. Delacroix and N. Tenzer, *Les élites et la fin de la démocratie française* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1992). Delacroix and Tenzer make the point that the end of ideology has made what were once Left and Right in terms of political elites, adopt a libertarian individualism that does not allow them to assume a leading responsibility for determining the evolution of collective values, since underlying these are moral choices that are commonly perceived as belonging to the individual alone. Consequently, political elites in particular, find refuge in a quasi-managerial discourse focused on rational organisation and efficiency gains, comforted in their abdication of responsibility by what the authors refer to as 'libérale-libertaire' assumptions that function as a default ideology. *Ibid.*, p. 140.
14. See F. Furet and R. Halévi, *La Monarchie républicaine: La constitution de 1791* (Paris: Fayard, 1996).
15. M. Wiewiorka, 'L'Etat et ses sujets', *Projet*, 233 (1993), 17–25.
16. For example, B. Boccara, *L'Insurrection démocratique: Manifeste pour la Sixième République* (Paris: Democratica, 1993).
17. For example, A. Finkielkraut, *Ingratitude* (Paris: Gallimard, 1999).

18. See A. Minc, *Le nouveau moyen âge* (Paris: Gallimard, 1993).
19. J. Ion, *La Fin des militants?* (Paris: Editions de l'Atelier, 1997), p. 80.
20. P. Perrineau, *L'Engagement politique. Déclin ou mutation?* (Paris: Presses de la FNSP, 1994), p. 19.
21. See I. Sommier, *Les Nouveaux mouvements contestataires à l'heure de la mondialisation* (Paris: Flammarion, 2001).
22. S. Waters, *Social Movements in France. Towards a New Citizenship* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), pp. 22–3.
23. J. Fabien, *Les nouveaux secrets des communistes* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1990), p. 123.
24. J. Julliard, 'Le sixième raz de marée', *Le Nouvel Observateur*, 25–31 March 1993.
25. S. Griggs, 'Candidates and Parties of the Left', in R. Elgie (ed.), *Electing the French President. The 1995 Presidential Election* (Basingstoke, Macmillan, 1996), pp. 96–122, p. 99.
26. [www.elections2002.sciences-po.fr/Enjeux/respres.html](http://www.elections2002.sciences-po.fr/Enjeux/respres.html).
27. S. Courtois and M. Lazar, *Histoire du parti communiste français* (Paris: PUF, 2000), pp. 436–7.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 435.
29. See S. Ronai, 'Evolution de la géographie des municipalités communistes, 1977–1995', *Communisme*, 47–8 (1996).
30. In his book, *Communisme: La mutation* (Paris: Stock, 1995), Hue had already made the point that sticking with the name 'communist' did not mean sticking with the Soviet model, but that it referred to much older national traditions of communal action according to shared values. And during the year that followed he used numerous media opportunities to underline that point, such as during the major interview given to France-Culture on 12 May 1996, and published in *Le Monde*, 'Les communistes français ont définitivement écarté toute idée de modèle', 14 May 1996.
31. See the extracts from the PCF programme in *Modern and Contemporary France*, 5:4 (1997), 473–4.
32. See P. Buffotot and D. Hanley, 'Chronique d'une défaite annoncée: Les élections législatives des 25 mai et 1<sup>er</sup> juin 1997', *Modern and Contemporary France*, 6:1 (1998), 5–19.
33. G. Grunberg, 'Que reste-t-il du parti d'Epinais?', in C. Ysmal and P. Perrineau (eds), *Le Vote sanction: Les élections législatives de 1993* (Paris: Figaro/FNSP, 1993), pp. 208–9.
34. A. Chemin, 'Le Parti communiste rend hommage à Georges Marchais', *Le Monde*, 18 November 1997.
35. 'Le serment de Robert Hue', interview in *Le Nouvel Observateur*, 23–29 October 1997.
36. G. Hermier, 'La mutation du PCF reste à faire', *Le Monde*, 24 September 1997.
37. A. Chemin, 'Les anciens "exclus" du PCF déclinent l'invitation à réintégrer le parti', *Le Monde*, 20 November 1998.
38. My translation, *Libération*, 31 March 1999.
39. M. Lazar, 'La gauche communiste plurielle', *Revue française de science politique*, 49:4–5 (1999), 695–705, p. 697.
40. *Ibid.*
41. R. Hue, *Communisme: La Mutation* (Paris: Stock, 1995), p. 339.
42. R. Hue, *Communisme: Un nouveau projet* (Paris: Stock, 1999), p. 9.

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46. *Ibid.*, p. 10.
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48. E. Barth, 'Robert Hue obtient l'investiture des militants du PCF pour la présidentielle', *Le Monde*, 9 October 2001.
49. [www.pcf.fr/w2/?iddoc=38](http://www.pcf.fr/w2/?iddoc=38).
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53. 'Robert Hue, candidat du PCF, au Grand jury RTL-Le Monde-LCI', *Le Monde*, 3 April 2002.
54. M.-C. Lavabre and F. Platone, *Que reste-t-il du PCF?* (Paris: Editions Autrement, 2003), p. 69.
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69. G. Marchais, 'Justice, liberté, paix. Le chemin de l'avenir pour la France', Report to the 26th Congress of the PCF, 2–6 December 1987, pp. 49–50.
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73. See N. Kiwan, *The Construction of Identity Amongst Young People of North African Origin in France: Discourses and Experiences*, unpublished PhD thesis/ Doctorat de 3ème cycle, University of Bristol/EHESS, 2003, especially Chapters 4 and 7.
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