LIST 2 : HISTORIOGRAPHY

WORLD WAR TWO, FRANCE AND THE HISTORIANS.

THEME 5 : MYTH, HISTORY AND THE LIBERATION.

Document 1. Les Six Glorieuses de Paris (1944) [The Six Glorious Days of Paris' [uprising]] - illustrations.

Document 2. Fabrice Virgili, Shorn Women. Gender and Punishment in Liberation France (2000; English tr. 2002), pp 236-42 ('The Reconstruction of [Masculine] Identity').

Document 3. H.R. Kedward, 'Introduction: "Ici commence la France Libre"', in H.R. Kedward and Nancy Wood, (eds.), The Liberation of France. Image and Event (1995)

JOHN HORNE
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

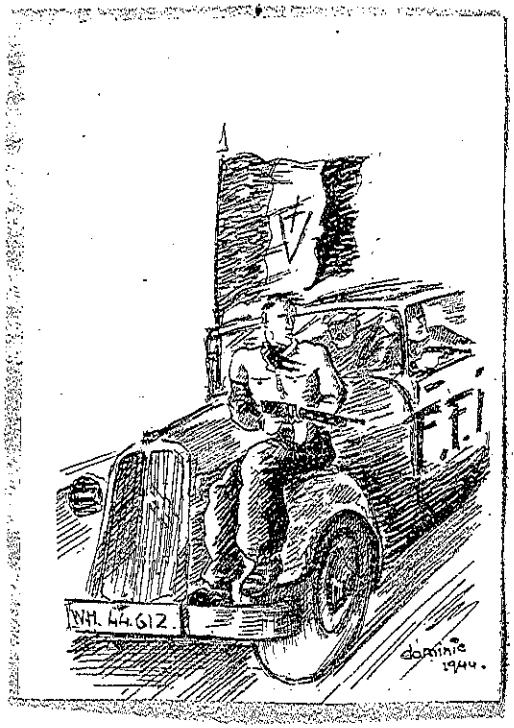
PIERRE MAUDRU

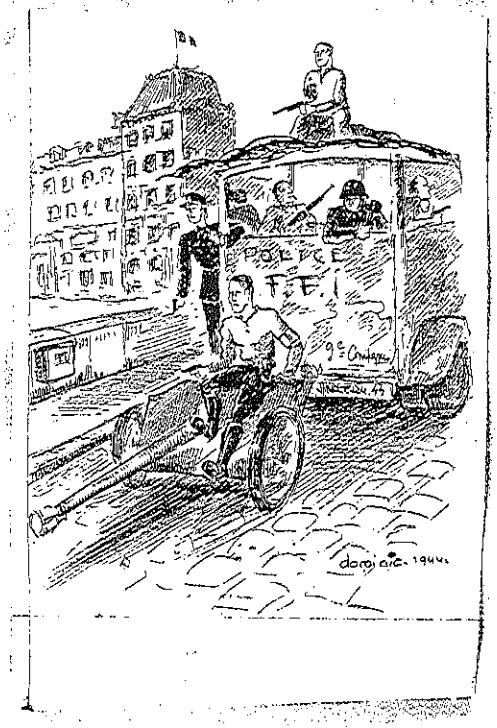
LES SIX GLORIEUSES DE PARIS

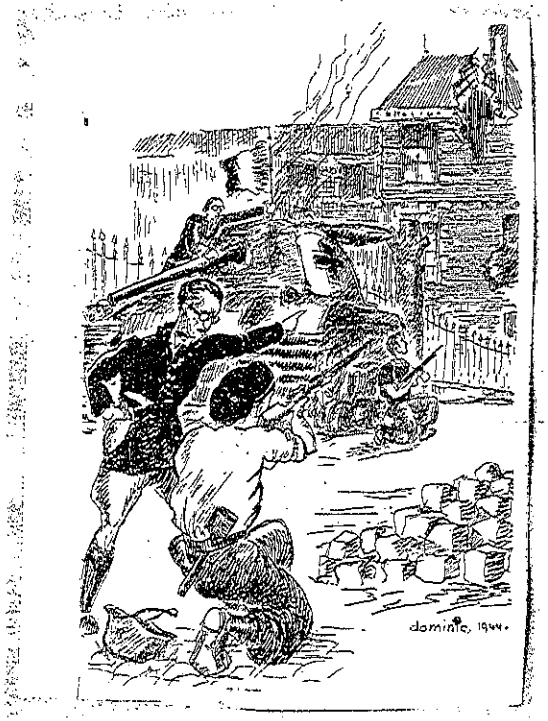
ILLUSTRÉ PAR DOMINIC

PRÉFACE DU COLONEL
ROL-TANGUY
COLONEL COMMANDANT LES F. F. I. DE L'ILE-DE-FRANCE

SOCIÉTÉ PARISIENNE D'ÉDITION
43, RUE DE DUNKERQUE - PARIS-X^e







Pierre Naudru,
Les Six Glorieuses de Paris (1944)

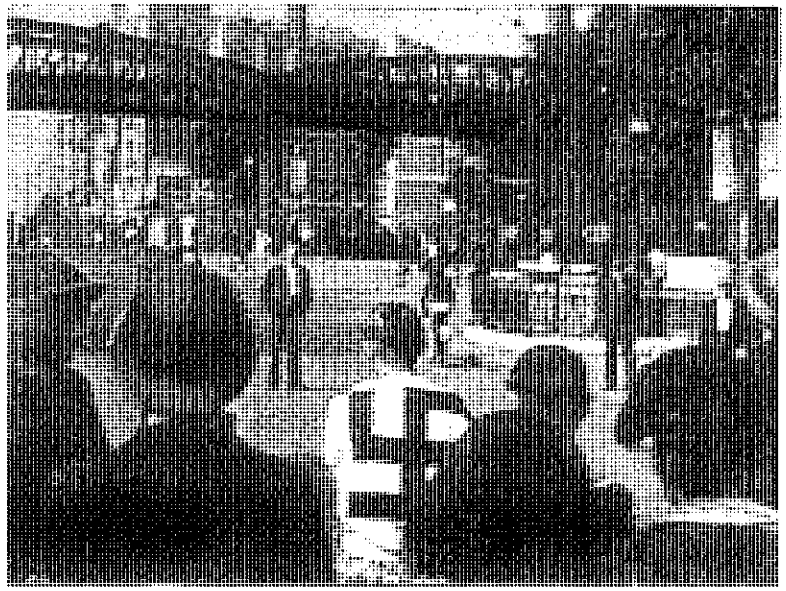
Shorn Women

Gender and Punishment in Liberation France

Fabrice Virgili

Translated from the French by John Flower

Oxford • New York , 2002



Shorn woman in Paris. *Libération, de R. Seguin et R. Legrand.* Vidéothèque de Paris.

all fragments of local history, or geography, could only be understood if they could be seen to be part of the nation.

The period of the Liberation is both a break with the past and a renewal. There is no question that the huge patriotic explosion drew on the events and values of the 1789 Revolution, but for those setting about the creation of a new Republic, what mattered above all was the future. A future that would break away as much from Vichy as with the period before that. More than providing the link with the past, the practice of shaving women's heads was an essential part of the image of the new and a pure future.

The Reconstruction of Identity

The dynamics set in motion in the aftermath of the *tontes* affected individuals as much as groups. The variety of approaches proposed and the multiple explanations offered and the refusal to create any order in the reasons for the practice, mean that any single view is impossible other than an acceptance of something that was extraordinarily complex. At the same time the practice did not simply reflect other features of the time; it

also crystallized movements that could be contradictory, and in so doing helped to give shape to the identity that was being reconstructed.

Anyone who took part in the *tontes* could reassert himself individually, simply by being present. And this assertion could be affirmed by sharing those feelings experienced by everyone – fear, hatred, jealousy, humiliation, guilt. There was also a sense of once more becoming part of a group hitherto fragmented by war, and of being able to rediscover an individual identity which had been pretty well unsettled by circumstances. A new self image could be forged, that of the 'good Frenchman' whose principal characteristics, according to Luc Capdevila, were a sense of belonging to 'a group whose fate it had been to suffer during the Occupation, but had never lost hope in victory'.[48] The *tontes* allowed everyone to share in the action and they could confirm their patriotism by working for freedom. They also allowed a new found virility to be expressed.

All of these things were features of individual and collective experience alike. A rediscovery of a national identity that allowed individual citizens to 'recognize themselves and feel recognised by the community to which they belonged'[49] also necessitated getting rid of the blemishes of the past if a new, virile and regenerated France were to emerge. The practice of the *tontes* was at the heart of this process.

Masculine Failure, Feminine Betrayal

To trace features based on sexual difference in accounts of the period is vital if we are to understand how people related to it.

To talk of masculine versus feminine in descriptions of the enemy is not specific to France, or to the period of the Second World War,[50] even if during the Occupation and at the Liberation such a contrast assumed a particularly strong meaning. The shaving of women's heads put the relationship between men and women under the spotlight, highlighting the disorder that prevailed at the time. The practice did not confirm any archetypal relationship between the sexes, but rather showed French society in which traditional features and the disruptive elements of the time where intertwined.

How could a woman, who is the mother of nine children, take up arms? This was a question put by the president of the military tribunal in Lyon, and to which Marguerite Gonnet, the head of the Libération-Sud movement in the department of the Isère replied: 'Quite simply Colonel, because men had dropped them.'[51] In addition to the exceptional character of the person concerned, this stinging reply was also in condemnation of

men whose failure to carry out their traditional role had lead to the present disaster. The most obvious evidence of the failure by men to prevent defeat were the Occupation, surrender, the exodus and the departure of prisoners to Germany. Even though they were called up to serve under the French flag, men had not prevented the country from being invaded. As prisoners they were not able to help their families struggle through the years of the Occupation. But the scale of the tragedy in 1940 should not hide deeper features of a crisis of masculinity. Well before the defeat, the myth of the warrior no longer had any status; during the period of the *drôle de guerre* there were many ways in which soldiers were represented which were a long way from those of traditional warriors.[52] Work which examines the question of masculine identity is still in its early stages, but a few points need to be looked at if we are going to understand the extraordinary resurgence of virility in France at the time of the Liberation.

For Michael Kelly there are two elements to the crisis of masculinity. Men were humiliated both in their role as fighters and in their failure to protect the country, which can be seen as feminine. According to him the fact that women became economically active and also participated in the Resistance, only served to make the problem worse.[53] Yet the debacle did not stop at a defeat for men. French society as a whole was traumatized by it and the military failure was above all one of leadership. As Jean-Pierre Azéma has stressed 'for political reasons the Vichy government chose to make a comment about the atmosphere of rejoicing when it exonerated its army officers from all responsibility for the defeat.'[54] Political reasons? To an extent there were some, but it should not obscure other cultural ones to do with men's perceptions of Vichy, of their head of state, and of the men and women who made up French society. The language of national revolution suggested that women were quite specifically responsible for a climate of rejoicing and consequently for the defeat of France. Francine Muel-Dreyfus has shown how the 'close association of women with a general *mea culpa* was an essential part of Vichy's attitude to them.'[55]

According to the values asserted by Vichy, women should be mothers looking after their homes, and whose existence depended on their families and on their male opposite numbers. It is also to be noted that from the three symbols of national and republican identity, *La Marseillaise*,[56] the *tricolore* and Marianne, it was only the last that was rejected by the Vichy government, which from March 1941 replaced all feminine busts by others of Pétain.[57]

Yet if the Republic – or the 'slut' as the extreme right liked to call it – was considered to be female, so was Vichy and the whole policy of

collaboration. After the war, Jean-Paul Sartre noted in the collaborationist press 'curious images which presented the relationship between France and Germany in which France was always playing the part of the woman'.[58] Among all texts probably the most celebrated sentence was one written by Robert Brasillach: 'We belong to those few French people who, having thought about it, slept with Germany and the memory of it is sweet.'[59] Because it relates to stereotypes of submission and to fantasies of domination, because in reality there was a German presence, almost entirely male, in a country where more than two million of its men folk were absent (prisoners or workers in Germany), collaboration was seen entirely in sexual terms.

At the end of the first chapter I made a point about the split that resulted from women having sexual relationships with the enemy and consequently their being accused of collaboration. 'Horizontal collaboration' became one of the most unbearable types of collaboration, not on account of its immediate effect, which was negligible, but because it represented the absolute defeat of France. It went beyond both private relationships and even perhaps beyond collaboration in general. As Pierre Laborie has observed

> everything that makes reference to a submissive France, to a France which is sleeping with . . . has become intolerable. In a country in which symbols of verticality are numerous and which makes a point of exalting its strength, horizontal collaboration – did it happen by chance – can only unleash all kinds of fantasies.[60]

Indeed it is possible to find references everywhere to the way the body in France was stained by the enemy, to the loss of national identity, to the dangers of cultural assimilation and even more virulently, to the fear that the French nation would disappear altogether.

A Virile France

'Action alone is virile. Struggle is fertile.'[61] References to verticality[62] in any discussion of the Liberation are not just a figure of speech. The idea of virility is completely tied up with that of national liberation. It is part not only of any description of victory against the enemy, and in the expression of the need to 'remove the stain', but features in any representation of a future in which the uncertainty of waiting would have disappeared.

When in 1940 Pétain visited Marseille, the *Petit Journal* had as its headlines: 'With all the generosity of its soul , Marseille has given itself to Maréchal Pétain, the living symbol of a renewed France.'[63] Four years later De Gaulle evoked 'the virile cheers of our towns and villages, finally purged of the enemy'.[64] The comparison is perhaps a facile one, but the difference between them is no less deep. The struggle against the occupier followed by the Liberation allowed a new masculine posture to emerge, the return of the warrior, thereby re-establishing the links between traditional roles in times of war. The link to be made between fighting, victory and virility, banal in as much as it corresponds to intangible schemas to do with the difference between sexes, is nonetheless to be found in many other places and in many other periods. At the same time the stress on virility, which we can see at the Liberation, has three dimensions: it is not simply the development of the stereotype in relation to a particular event, but a rediscovery of a virile identity that had been completely demolished; it is not limited either simply to the battlefield, but embraces society as a whole; and finally it finds expression through a massive demonstration of sexual violence.

Luc Capdevila has written: 'Whereas before the struggle was above all a matter for civilians at best acting underground and with few arms, with the result that the social differences between the sexes began to disappear, now by having the final phases of the Resistance become the preserve of men, the sexual division has been reintroduced.'[65] At the Liberation the difference was accentuated and if women were present during the events of these days, it was the figure of the FFI fighter which dominated. 'Valiant', 'courageous', or 'magnificent', the FFI fighters were glorified for the way they had carried out an underground campaign. They were to be found everywhere in those areas that had been freed, their processions were greeted with cheers and they often formed the first row of people around a woman whose head was being shaved. Their presence was a sign of a new legitimacy that allowed everyone to take part in the action and to have a tiny share in the struggle and with the new authority.

In Bucquoy (in the Pas-de-Calais), a group of men looking for help questioned a young agricultural worker, asking him whether he was 'French' and 'whether he would chicken out' at the idea of shaving the heads of two young women from the commune. The worker agreed to go with them. The *tontes* provided many opportunities for people to become involved in a collective action, or to associate themselves with those who had fought and to participate in what was going on. They also provided the means to act and this is an essential element if we are to

understand the way in which those who gathered around the woman whose head was being shaved behaved. The derisory nature of an act in the course of which clippers took the place of a rifle and the victim represented the enemy, should not obscure the fundamental issue of identity.

In the Var, a primary school teacher and head of the FFI group, made a declaration to the administrative committee of the *épuration* about the shaving of the heads of three of his colleagues in which he had taken part. He finished what he had to say by declaring:

> On the day of the Liberation I behaved as a FRENCHMAN and no more; it was simply my being FRENCH which dictated my attitude towards them. At the Liberation I no longer behaved as a primary school teacher, but as a patriot and a soldier. My attitude towards these colleagues was not dictated by any prejudice, by any rivalry, or need for revenge. Except as far as their relationships with the enemy was concerned I had nothing to hold against them.[66]

Once more the *tonte* is seen as a duty, the national and combative dimension of it excludes all other. To punish those women who had collaborated reflects the absolute need to wash away the 'stain' left by the occupying forces. Whether the metaphors used are taken from the realms of pornography, medicine, or morality matters little. Sexual betrayal is always the same and the shame of it could only be got rid of by the removal of hair. The threat to national unity, of which a number of collaborators were accused, was not enough as a definition of 'stain'. This is an image which only works if and when the bodies of the women accused are symbolically interchangeable with the nation. Unlike during the First World War when the word 'stain' was used with reference to rape by German soldiers, it was now a case of ongoing relationships between French women and the occupiers. This was all the more painful for men who were themselves suffering:

This anger was justified, it was a cruel but necessary way people had to express themselves, a people who had for too long been ridiculed by their own daughters: girls who had forgotten that their brothers, their fathers, their fiancés and their parents had been shamelessly mollested by the self same Germans they were themself frequenting, that these Germans had kept them prisoners in their camps far from France. *Dura lex sed lex.*[67]

The obsession with cleansing can only be understood in the perspective of a better future. To shave heads simply as a form of punishment is not a sufficient explanation; it was merely one of several methods used

to purify the country thoroughly as a whole. 'Purity' is not only etymologically linked to 'purification', but also reflects the necessity to break with the past in order for reconstruction to take place. As the periodical *14 juillet* proclaimed in Lyon in May 1944, purification was 'the first step towards our future'.

The ambition expressed at the Liberation was every bit equal to the drama which the country had lived through during the four previous years. It was for a country that had been on its back, now to be upright again, to have recovered its strength at the same time as its blood and to be purified for having rediscovered its honour. On 30 August 1944 *La Renaissance républicaine du Gard* published an article entitled 'The virile law', which argued for the necessary harshness of the measures used at the *épuration* and the need as well to continue the war. It concluded with the sentence: 'France will be virile or dead.' Once again the alternative here expresses the absolute need for the country and for its men to rediscover their power.

Rejection of the *Tonte* and the Re-entry of Women into Public Life

In April 1944, when the right to vote was given to women by a law passed by the consultative Assembly in Algiers, the practice of shaving heads had already taken place all over France.

Many people expected a liberation in which those women who had collaborated with the occupying forces in one way or another would be punished. Between the two rounds of municipal elections in the spring of 1945, the first at which women had the right to vote, the practice of shaving heads had again taken place in more than a quarter of the departments in France. Between these two dates, several thousands of women had been punished in this way creating a paradox between a political equality that had finally been obtained and a real equality when it was a question of punishing men and women for their collaboration.

Disapproval

From the autumn of 1944, disapproval of the practice was heard more widely. As we know, the rejection of it did not mean that it had disappeared: on the one hand, hostility to it was not unanimous, and on the other opinion could vary and the uncertainties of any local situation left open the possibility of its being renewed. Disapproval has to be examined

carefully, not simply as something which helped explain its disappearance, but also as the sign of an increasing rejection of violence. We have to distinguish between condemnation dictacted by political reasons and condemnation based on strictly moral grounds.

As the state began to be restored, the fact that there were still incidents of the practice caused the authorities problems. From being a legitimate para-legal practice, it was gradually rejected to the point where it became illegal. Only a renewal of legitimacy, as for example when prisoners and those who had been deported returned home, allowed acts of violence used for purposes of *épuration,* to have a momentary resurgence. The *tonte* was one of them.

The way in which the press in the department of the Oise described the practice of shaving heads at the Liberation is significant. Let us recall that almost eighty women had their heads shaved in the courtyards of the préfecture and the prison on 30 August 1944. The twice weekly paper *L'Oise Libérée*, which was the official publication of the CDL, carried the following report on 2 September 1944: 'In the region around Beauvaisis the cleaning up process continues. The clippers have cut off the hair of eighty women whose conduct with the occupying troops was by far too flagrant and scandalous. Forty-five of these *hetaeras* had their curls cut off completely in the courtyard of the town hall and thirty-five others suffered the same fate at the prison and all for the moral health of our country.' On 30 September the same publication carried the account of a CDL meeting dealing with complaints made by women who had been aggressed:

> Certain repressive measures (notably the cutting off of hair) authorized by the leaders of FFI groups and carried out on women who were guilty of collaboration, or unbecoming behaviour, will be endorsed and those who carried them out protected, but cases of violence carried out as an individual initiative and without authorization will eventually be referred to the courts who will judge them quite independently.

The punishment itself is not condemned. There is clear distinction made between those who carried it out and the reasons. The CDL's declaration is in no way a formal one. A woman from Amblainville, who had her head shaved, made it clear that a member of the FFI had come to undertake an enquiry about those who had cut women's hair off and that 'the person responsible for such acts would be shot if it was the case that he had acted out of personal revenge'.[68] Still on the subject of the shaving of heads, on the same day the official departmental publication of the

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The Liberation of France

Image and Event

Edited by
H. R. Kedward and Nancy Wood

BERG PUBLISHERS
Oxford / Washington, D.C., 1992

MM	Musée Mémorial, Caen
MOI	Main d'Œuvre Immigrée
MRP	Mouvement Républicain Populaire
MUR	Mouvements Unis de la Résistance
NRF	*Nouvelle Revue Française*
OAS	Organisation Armée Secrète
OCM	Organisation Civile et Militaire
OS	Organisation Spéciale
OSE	Œuvre (or Organisation) de Secours aux Enfants
PCA	Parti Communiste Algérien
PCF	Parti Communiste Français
PPA	Parti Populaire Algérien
PRL	Parti Républicain de la Liberté
RDA	Rassemblement Démocratique Africain
SD	Sicherheitsdienst
SFIO	Section Française de l'Internationale Ouvrière
SiPo	Sicherheitspolizei
STO	Service du Travail Obligatoire
UFF	Union des Femmes Françaises
UJC	Union des Jeunesses Communistes
UJRE	Union des Juifs pour la Résistance et l'Entraide
WRI	War Resisters' International

Introduction: 'Ici commence la France libre'

H.R. Kedward

Mont Mouchet, which rises at the northern end of the Margeride, due west from Le Puy, has none of the dramatic scenery associated with the Maquis citadels of Les Glières and the Vercors. Densely clad with pines, and beech woods fringing the base, it has an extensive rounded summit with rolling views over the Auvergne. In early summer there are clumps of huge dark violets, and carpets of wild narcissi. It was here that almost 3,000 *maquisards* were mobilized at the end of May 1944. Unlike the Alpine plateaux there were easy routes for dispersal. Many who came from the urban centre of Clermont-Ferrand remarked on the stillness and beauty of the Margeride, but within days they were exchanging machine-gun fire with a German unit which attacked their position early on 2 June. After several hours of fighting, a small but well-armed Maquis relief-group surprised the German forces from the rear, close to the village of Paulhac, and towards five o'clock in the afternoon the Germans retreated into their lorries and took the route towards Mende. Shortly afterwards the *maquisards* descended into Paulhac, and the villagers returned from their hiding places in the woods. A celebratory banner was hastily prepared and erected at the entrance to the village. It read: 'Ici commence la France libre.' It was four days before the Normandy landings, but it might have been forty; no one was confidently predicting the date of an Allied 'débarquement' which seemed never to come. Eight days later the Germans returned in force to take Mont Mouchet and exact reprisals on the surrounding villages.[1]

There are other examples of premature, or abortive, liberations in the months from June to August 1944, but the Paulhac banner was a potent signifier for the whole Liberation of France, whatever the setbacks that followed. '*Ici* commence...' indicates a specific place, an encounter, a boundary, a crossing, a spatial beginning. The Liberation

of France is first and foremost about territory, specific territory. It is about the fight for territory, and the reclaiming of territory. On 2 June 1944 this territory begins at Paulhac-en-Margeride. On 6 June 1944 it begins on the Normandy beaches; on 8 June, momentarily and tragically, it begins at Tulle in the Corrèze; on 15 August on the rugged coastline of Provence. It had already begun earlier, in November 1942 in Algeria, and in October 1943 in Corsica.

The banner at Paulhac images the liberated territory in national terms. It is not 'Ici commence l'Auvergne libre' but '...*la France* libre', though there is a certain zonal echo in the sense that it triumphantly displaced notices which had proclaimed 'zone libre' at the crossing points of the demarcation line. It signified a new frontier, the crossing into a France that was genuinely free. It is true that the return of the Germans soon made it ironic, but by contrast 'zone libre' had been fraudulent from the start. It is also true that the image of 'la France libre' encodes a specific and selective identity. Detailed Resistance accounts of the Liberation show that the hopes and disappointments, the successes and the failures, reinforced the sense that a minority of French men and women were carrying the onus of liberation on their own shoulders. Those who had chosen to become Resisters embodied selective aspects of French history; they were disaggregated; they have often remained anonymous in the national history. They have their own specificities of motivation and organization. And yet they claimed to stand for the whole. At Annonay, in the Ardèche, the scene of another premature liberation, four days after Paulhac, the local Resistance ran off two editions of a broadsheet which they entitled *Gazette du Comité de la libération nationale*.[2] It was the same universalizing claim. Was this small paper-making town really the epicentre of the national struggle? Relatively speaking, yes: so too was Paulhac, Lyon, Vassieux-en-Vercors, Paris, Albertville, and every other location of Resistance activity. In terms of events, each Resistance locality had its own liberation (sometimes twice); each Resistance group its own liberational struggle. In terms of image, each local liberation proclaimed the 'libération nationale'. Liberation of French territory in 1944 is therefore pluralistic but unitary; its relative chronology, as a series of local events, is symbolically represented as the Liberation of France. However atomized or localized, the Resistance never really imaged itself in any other way.

The unitary image does not foreclose research, or preempt controversy. Studies of the Liberation are complicated and sustained by the unending arguments about agency. These are due not only to rivalry between different strands within the Resistance narrative but also to the pivotal role of the allied *débarquements*. Tears welled up in

the eyes of Pierre Boyer, a grain merchant in Saint-Affrique in the Aveyron, when he described the rows of American, British and Canadian graves in Normandy. He had been a *maquisard* at the liberation of Montpellier, but in 1991 he stated unequivocally that the French only participated in the national liberation. Ultimately, he said, they owed everything to the invading Allies.[3] And what of the debts, less often recognized, to the troops from Algeria, Morocco, West and Equatorial Africa, and more distant French colonies, who fought in the liberating armies? The overwhelming case that France could only be liberated by invasion has never seriously been contested, and it is certainly not the intention of this book to do so, though the huge cost in French civilian lives, as well as Allied military lives, has to be confronted.

The people of France had been expecting the Allies ever since the liberation of Corsica in October 1943. There is a great deal of evidence from the letters intercepted by Vichy's 'Contrôle postal' that many French people imaged the Liberation quite simply as the Allies arriving one day and driving out the Occupiers, and careful use of this admittedly flawed source would suggest that a majority who expressed an opinion favoured such a liberation from outside over one dependent on a period of armed conflict within.[4] 'Liberation by whom?' is not just a post-War controversy about the relative merits of Allied invasion, on the one hand, and arming the Maquis, on the other; it was an issue which occupied people's minds long before the summer of 1944. The arguments live on, and show no signs of abating. This is necessarily so. The Resistance narrative must surely be enriched by researching a plurality of agencies. Through such research it becomes multilinear, and this is much closer to the evidence on the ground. What cannot be lost, because it was manifest throughout, is the image of a unitary 'libération nationale' with all the promises of a new beginning.

In his celebrated, but Delphic, message to the internal Resistance in June 1942, General de Gaulle claimed that 'le peuple français' had condemned both the pre-War Republic and the Vichy regime, and he added, 'Tandis qu'il s'unit pour la victoire, il s'assemble pour une révolution.'[5] Wresting the concept and promise of revolutionary change away from Vichy's 'Révolution nationale' was one of the major recuperative aims of Resistance writing and action, inside and outside France. The term 'libération' remained a stronger mobilizing concept than the term 'révolution', but the two shared many column inches in the clandestine press as if they were synonymous. Liberation was to be a new dawn: 'Ici *commence*...'

Fifty years on, with the discourse of revolution under continuous

deconstruction, and revolutionary studies diverted from the mainstream of academic enterprise, there are few, if any, new works on 1944 as a revolutionary situation. And yet, paradoxically, the criteria for judging the liberational potential of 1944 are wider than ever. Revolutionary studies are flanked and even challenged by the growth of resistance and liberational studies. Common ground is being discovered across historical time, geographical space and intellectual disciplines, in which previously discreet patterns of resistance and liberation can be conceptualized together. These include: the struggle against any form of repressive rule; day-to-day strategies of peasant refusal, named by James C. Scott 'weapons of the weak';[6] gender, sexual and racial liberation movements; working-class industrial action, and the politics of the dispossessed. This is the soil in which theories of radical opposition and change currently take root. It signals the return to a more Utopian understanding of revolutionary forces, and one freed from the energizing, but constraining certainties of historical necessity.

The sheer extension of resistance studies accentuates the demands made on any particular liberational event and multiplies the potential images of liberation, both prospective and retrospective. Is liberation divisible? How radical is a new beginning? Did the Liberation of France radically change the lives of women, colonial subjects, or ethnic minorities? Or, are the expectations implicit in these questions anachronistic? In what sense was the *épuration* liberational? The Liberation, one of the pre-eminent 'lieux de mémoire' within the landscape of French history, and one where the two revolutionary traditions of the 'Marseillaise' and the 'Internationale' appear to conjoin, is justifiably a site of celebration.[7] The Resistance narratives present it as a triumphal climax; and so it was, but on closer scrutiny the thrust of this narrative history, however multilinear, is dislocated by the ambiguities created by the expectations of the liberational period, by the spontaneous acts of insurgency, and by the moral issues of the *épuration*. There is a tendency in oral and written memoirs to become over-defensive at this point, or factional and accusatory.

The only Resistance narrative that seems to thrive on the events of the liberational period is the Gaullist one, a narrative of steadily evolving authority and national representation, in which the carefully chosen Resistance authorities are seen to establish control and re-establish order in the name of the provisional government and national reconciliation. Most other Resistance accounts admit to considerable problems in dealing, firstly with the turbulence and *épuration* that occurred, and secondly with the collapse of so many Resistance ideals, not least the virtual disappearance of the radical charter of the Conseil

National de la Résistance (CNR). Descriptions of power in the streets, and of threats and vengeance, which suggested anarchy in orderly minds, almost all return to the question of agency, of who was responsible: the Maquis? the urban Francs-Tireurs et Partisans (FTP)? the Communists? the *milices patriotiques*? the thirteenth-hour resisters? nameless 'voyous'? named individuals? Establishing, or in many cases denying, agency continues to be the aim of the narratives. But it remains deeply unsatisfactory, and suggests an embarrassed exculpation. Equally problematic is the longer-term search for those responsible for the collapse of radical hopes and ideals. Ambiguity and ambivalence dominate in both these domains, frustrating linear causality and explanation.

It is at this point that the growing theorization of resistance and liberational studies can offer an approach which de-centres linear, even multilinear, narratives and embraces a process of analysis in the manner of Foucault. In *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (1969) Foucault sought to replace conventional intellectual history with a process which he (stipulatively) calls 'archaeology'. He states that such a process 'labours to untie all those knots that historians have patiently tied: it increases differences, blurs lines of communication and tries to make it more difficult to pass from one thing to another'. This enables differences and discontinuities to emerge, and emphasizes non-identities, internal fractures and ambiguities. He was seeking mainly to transform the treatment of discursive formations, such as texts, sets of ideas, intellectual positions and arguments, all of which have been treated by historians as documents to be unravelled, with the stress on authorship and agency. Archaeology, he claims, would treat them as monuments, separating them from the question of agency. The archaeologist, he says, digs in all directions, in spaces liberated from the constraints of agency, in sites, each with its own specificity, unearthing identities which clash and overlap.[8]

Foucault's concepts, liberational in themselves, have run into problems of over-extensive use, but his process is ideally suited for the period of the Liberation, not least because it allows an exploration of carnival theory, one of the central theoretical constructs of resistance and liberational studies. Carnival is more and more seen as an archetypal and recurrent pattern of public behaviour, ritualized in the Middle Ages and acted out as ritual ever since, but going back well beyond Christian festivals to patterns of controlled, or permitted, inversion in Greek and Roman times. Rendered colloquially as 'the world turned upside down', it has been rigorously conceptualized, notably by Mikhail Bakhtin, so that its most prominent elements can be generalized across a diversity of historical situations.[9] It entails: a

fortune and inversions of power, the theory of carnival cannot be confined to the Liberation. Louis Malle and Patrick Modiano stumbled on a different carnival scenario in their film of *Lacombe Lucien* (1974): the carnival of collaboration. Lucien, the young peasant outsider, is first an onlooker, then a participant in the cynical revelry of the French *gestapistes*. His world is turned upside down, through drink, the flattering attention of Betty, the instant sex with Marie, and the delinquency of his licensed power. He becomes a strutting 'roi du carnaval', theatrically dressed in comic clothes (*pantalon golf*), brandishing his gun and the magical words 'police allemande'. Social transgression is there throughout: he has the bourgeois and stuffy Monsieur Horn to taunt and dominate, and his cultivated daughter France to assault and seduce in a mix of brutality and tenderness which can be seen in the end to excite her own sexuality; there is derision for the dignified image of Pétain, used as target practice; the destruction of the life and property of the country doctor, and the humiliation by Lucien of Monsieur Horn's hypocritical landlord.[15]

Local accounts of the strutting and bravado of collaborators, both male and female, make Malle and Modiano's portrait almost a documentary. Collaboration was a protean phenomenon, and Resisters were not unaware of its diversity. But from 1942 onwards they developed a single response: collaborators would be punished. In this perspective the Liberation, well before the return to so-called normality, was a closure. It ended the Occupation; it ended the inversionary world of a Lacombe Lucien; it extinguished the collaborationist vitality of a Brasillach and the opportunism of a Luchaire; it closed down the torture chambers of the Milice; it brought an end to the 'New Order', to the 'New Europe', and to the 'Révolution nationale'. The mentality of closure was widespread and needs far more analysis. Against the collaborators the insistence on closure was fiercely judgemental, and the extent of people's anger at the perceived insufficiency of the *épuration* still has to be fully researched. The *épuration* cannot simply be seen as negative: it was widely stated in the liberation press that a positive new beginning could only be made if the purging of collaboration was complete. The Liberation Committee of the Hérault, for example, which was far from revolutionary and had opposed all acts of unregulated vengeance, was hostile to any softening of the *épuration*. On 31 October 1945, over a year after the Liberation, it expressed horror at the government's proposal to close all the remaining 'camps de concentration' within France, and declared that it would lead to the release of hundreds of *miliciens* and traitors.[16] It was in the face of such unswerving moral severity that certain young, and not so young, right-

wing intellectuals promoted a vogue for satire and iconoclasm after the first enthusiasms of the Liberation were over.

The Liberation was a complex amalgam of opening and closure. It looked backwards as well as forwards, and felt it necessary to do so. In the private sphere, scores of Resisters, particularly women, but many men also, closed a chapter in their own lives at the moment of liberation. Despite all the evidence of a Resistance bandwagon onto which people climbed, in many localities the notion of using acts of resistance as a personal *point de départ* was equated with unseemly careerism.[17] People, once more, went back home. The return to what many saw as 'normality' was not just a closure of the euphoria and inversions of the heady days of liberation, it was, before that, and alongside it, a closure of 'les années noires'. The right that the Liberation gave to people to see 1944 as an end as well as a beginning must surely be more fully explored beyond the topic of *épuration*, in order to explain the relative conservatism of the outcome within France and the myopic reactions to stirrings of liberation within the empire.

To call it a 'libération manquée', which it clearly was in the wider spheres of liberational possibilities, runs the risk of underestimating the human immensity of the struggle to close the door firmly on Nazism and to proclaim 'Ici commence la France libre.' On 22 October 1944, an article in the Languedoc paper *Le Volontaire* struck one of the recurrent notes of melancholy which accompanied the refrains of jubilation: 'For us,the civilian population of the Lozère, the war is over...and on Sunday Mende staged its official celebration of the liberation of the département. But some of us are sad...sad to see the reality of the struggle so quickly forgotten.'[18] The Resistance narrative will rightly be protective of the Liberation as a culminating event, and wary of any image which betrays signs of forgetting. But one aim of research must be to achieve a narrative which recognizes its explanatory limitations. This need not be either threatening to the memory of Resistance or a denial that the Liberation of France should remain a privileged 'lieu de mémoire'. The act of stepping outside the narrative, like the process of analogy and allusion, and even contestation, allows the event to be creatively re-sited. This can ultimately threaten only those who operate the mechanism of closure, not within liberation, but against it.

Notes

Unless stated otherwise, the place of publication is Paris.

1. Gilles Lévy and Francis Cordet, *A nous Auvergne*, Presses de la Cité, 1981, pp.222–65.
2. The dates of the broadsheet were 10 and 17 June. Bibliothèque Nationale, Réserve G.1470 (622).
3. H.R. Kedward, *In Search of the Maquis*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1993, p.256.
4. Archives Départementales, Aude, M2 656, SCT synthèse, 25 December 1943.
5. Charles de Gaulle, *Mémoires de Guerre. L'Appel 1940–1942*, Plon, 1954, p.678.
6. James C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak. Everyday forms of Peasant Resistance*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1985. See also Ranajit Guha, *Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency in Colonial India*, Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1983; and H.R. Kedward, 'La Résistance 1940–42: quelques domaines de la théorie', in *La Résistance et les Français*, Toulouse, Université de Toulouse-le Mirail, 1993, pp.43–69.
7. Pierre Nora (ed.), *Les Lieux de mémoire*, vols.1 and 2, Gallimard, 1984–86. See also Nancy Wood, 'Memory's remains: *Les Lieux de mémoire*', *History and Memory*, vol.6, no.1, 1994, pp.123–49.
8. Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, trans. by A.M. Sheridan Smith, London, Tavistock, 1972, pp.162–70.
9. Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and his World*, trans. by H. Iswolsky, Cambridge, Mass., M.I.T., 1968.
10. Jean-Marie Guillon, 'La Libération du Var: résistance et nouveaux pouvoirs', *Les Cahiers de l'IHTP*, no.15, June 1990.
11. Daniel Fabre and Charles Camberoque, *La Fête en Languedoc*, Toulouse, Privat, 1977.
12. Guillon, 'La Libération du Var', pp.11, 15–18.
13. Alain Brossat, *Les Tondues. Un carnaval moche*, Manya, 1992, p.21. Another work by Brossat, equally imaginative, has been published since the writing of this introduction and the editing of this book. It is unquestionably the best exploration of the theme of carnival and the Liberation: Alain Brossat, *Libération, fête folle, 6 juin 1944 – 8 mai 1945: mythes et rites, ou le grand théâtre des passions populaires*, Autrement, Série Mémoires, 1994.
14. Guillon, 'La Libération du Var', p.13. For evidence of contemporary Resistance disapproval of the 'tontes', see Kedward, *In Search of the Maquis*, p.221.

15. *Lacombe Lucien*, 1974. The script by Patrick Modiano and Louis Malle was published by Gallimard in the same year. The final, enigmatic sequence of the film, in the depth of the countryside, with Lucien's arrest and execution announced on the screen at the very end, recall the dénouement of the carnival at Lagrasse (Aude) in 1946. Daniel Fabre's account ends, 'The group who organized the carnival let it be known that an unknown "person" was prowling in the Corbières: a hunted milicien or a maquisard unaware that the war was over...This unknown prowler...was captured after a hunt at Labastide-d'Anjou, and the effigy judged and burnt. The king-prisoner had ruled for three days.' At Vinassan (Aude) it was an effigy of Hitler that was burnt, a common occurrence at the Liberation, e.g. in the place du Martroi, Orléans. See Fabre and Camberoque, *La Fête en Languedoc*, pp.136–7, and *Le Journal de la France, les Années 40*, no.82, 1972, p.2272.
16. Séances du Comité départemental de Libération, 1945. Archives Départementales, Hérault, 138W18.
17. See, for example, the testimony of Michel Bancilhon from Aubenas (Ardèche) in Kedward, *In Search of the Maquis*, p.249.
18. *Le Volontaire*, no.3, 22 October 1944. Archives Départementales, Hérault, Journaux divers, no.397.