PEREGRINATIONS OF AN ECONOMIST: PERROUX'S GRAND TOUR OF FASCIST EUROPE

Documents de travail GREDEG
GREDEG Working Papers Series

Nicolas Brisset
Raphaël Fèvre

GREDEG WP No. 2019-11
https://ideas.repec.org/s/gre/wpaper.html

Les opinions exprimées dans la série des **Documents de travail GREDEG** sont celles des auteurs et ne reflèlent pas nécessairement celles de l'institution. Les documents n'ont pas été soumis à un rapport formel et sont donc inclus dans cette série pour obtenir des commentaires et encourager la discussion. Les droits sur les documents appartiennent aux auteurs.

*The views expressed in the **GREDEG Working Paper Series** are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect those of the institution. The Working Papers have not undergone formal review and approval. Such papers are included in this series to elicit feedback and to encourage debate. Copyright belongs to the author(s).*

Peregrinations of an Economist: Perroux's *Grand Tour* of Fascist Europe

Nicolas Brisset
Université Côte d'Azur, CNRS, GREDEG
nicolas.brisset@unice.fr

Raphaël Fèvre
University of Cambridge, POLIS
raphael.fevre@gmail.com
ORCID ID: 0000-0001-7628-4888

GREDEG Working Paper No. 2019-11

Abstract:

This article examines Perroux's intellectual career, from the interwar period to the Vichy period, in the light of his *Grand Tour* of European authoritarian regimes. By assessing Perroux's singular analysis of the Italian, German, Austrian and Portuguese regimes, we will illuminate how Perroux used foreign fascist experiences to speak about France and the organization of Europe as a whole. Ultimately, by analysis Perroux's thoughts it will enable us to develop our understanding of how the Vichy regime perceived itself, and can, thus, contribute to recent debates concerning the ideological nature—fascist or not—of the Vichy regime.

Keywords : Fascisms, Travels, Vichy, François Perroux.

JEL codes : B29, B30

> If we are not mistaken, fascism, like communism, will contribute to the building of the new humanism[1].
>
> François Perroux (1936b, 66)

The economist François Perroux penned this unfortunate prediction in a 1936 paper in which he intended to capture the essence of the fascism phenomenon. [2] Perroux shaped his views in study visits to Austria, Germany and Italy (more briefly to Portugal), as a Rockefeller Fellow, between 1934 and 1935. Perroux's desire for a profound revolution of European liberal—parliamentary—democracies had led him to consider authoritarian regimes as a source of inspiration, despite the criticism he had shown towards them. Perroux was convinced that France should draw the lessons—both negative and positive—from fascist experiences to overcome the aporias of the French Third Republic, which, according to him, had proved to be a highly unstable economic system riddled by a secularized national mysticism.[3]

The tension arising from a critical analysis at the international level that is charged with national expectations is reflected in the literature devoted to the Perroux of the interwar period. What some commentators called a "passionate lucidity" (Jourdan 1990) that remained impermeable "to the political currents of extremism" (Dufourt 2009, 445) was seen by others as a culpable fascination (Sallée 2006, 145). Perroux's activities during the Occupation further complicated the reception of his interwar observations. Indeed, he participated in the

[1] All translations of Perroux's writings are ours.

[2] Perroux's definition of fascism included the Italian experience conducted by Mussolini since 1922, but also the politically authoritarian and economically corporatist regimes born in the early 1930s (Hitler's Germany, Dollfuss' Austria and Salazar's Portugal).

[3] His approach is in line with the non-conformist circles of the 1930s, gathered in particular around the (such-and-so) journal *Esprit* (Burrin 2000, 24).

drafting of the Vichy Constitution between June and October 1941, taught in two major elite training institutions of the regime (*École des cadres d'Uriage, École nationale des cadres de Mayet de Montagne*) and was also General Secretary of the *Carrel Fondation* from September 1942 to December 1943.[4] Apart from his institutional activities, the many typescripts found in his archives show that Perroux's intellectual production was particularly high between 1940 and 1944: he wrote dozens of articles in academic journals, newspapers and brochures, and gave lectures to various audiences (academic and non-academic).

Perroux explicitly took part in the "national revolution" by supporting Philippe Pétain's leadership, and welcomed enthusiastically the Saint-Étienne speech in which Petain elaborated on Perroux's concept of "working community". This speech outlined the French government's guideline on social organization (Le Crom 1995). He announced the creation of the Office of Social Committees, responsible for promoting social works councils, a cornerstone of Vichyist corporatism.[5] He also devoted one of his courses at the *Faculté de Droit de Paris* to the *Charte du travail* (Perroux 1943b), a seminal Vichy social doctrine. Gaëtan Pirou, one of his masters and friends, regretted Perroux's "ardent doctrinal passion" (Pirou 1944, 550). Perroux was indeed enthusiastic about the first steps taken by Philippe Pétain, who tried to guide the Vichy reforms such that they would satisfy his communitarian ideal (Jackson 2005; Cohen 2006, 567-68; 156; Brisset and Fèvre 2018, 24-26).

The purpose of this article is to examine Perroux's intellectual career, from the interwar period to the Vichy period, in the light of his *Grand Tour* of European authoritarian re-

[4] Perroux also participated in the Economic Study Council (*Conseil d'étude économique*), chaired by Yves Bouthillier (*Ministre des Finances* from 1940 to 1942).

[5] On Perroux's concepts in particular, and on his intellectual production between the 1920s and the end of the war in general, see Brisset and Fèvre (2018).

gimes—an episode largely neglected in the current literature. We will show how the construction of an original point of view regarding fascism(s) can help shed light on Perroux's appreciation of—and participation in—Vichy's socio-economic policy. His books, articles and various unpublished notes kept since 2004 in the François Perroux Fund [PRX] at the IMEC (Caen, France) will be widely referenced to. In particular, we will reconstruct Perroux's singular analysis of the Italian, German, Austrian and Portuguese regimes, and underline how Perroux used foreign experiences to write about France and the organization of Europe. Eventually, Perroux's thoughts can help us grasp the way the Vichy regime perceived itself, and can ultimately contribute to recent debates about the ideological nature—fascist or not—of the Vichy regime.[6]

1. A Rockefeller Fellow: from Capitalist Regimes to "Essential Fascism"

Perroux's interest in European countries and their cooperation did not start with the emergence of authoritarian regimes, but their emergence profoundly altered the nature of his work.[7] Perroux's travels, undertaken with the support of a Rockefeller scholarship in 1934,

---

[6] Was Vichy France a fascist regime? This question, as well as so many others that follow from it—Is there a French fascism? Was France a precursor country in terms of fascism?—was the subject of heated debates within the community of historians (Sternhell 2012, Dobry 2003, Bernstein and Winock 2014). Recent French debates over the re-release of Charles Maurras' works, as well as his entry in the 2018 Book of National Commemorations, have revived these violent quarrels, attesting to the significant emotional burden that still surrounds these questions.

[7] In his doctoral thesis entitled *Le problème du profit* (1924), Perroux had already sketched a comparison between Germany, Italy and Austria. In 1932 he participated in the international inquiry on the treatment of civil servants lead by the *Verein für Socialpolitik* (see Perroux, 1933b).

and again in 1935, has resulted in numerous publications in the late 1930s and during the Vichy period. Perroux developed a keen interest in the political-legal bases of European capitalist economies, and in particular in the way fascism influence their evolution. A renewed form of political action, Perroux stressed, was the key to a profound transformation of European societies:

> If the [fascist] experience has taught one thing so far, it is that of the plasticity of both the economic and the human material under the influence of a state animated by an indomitable energy. (Perroux 1938a, 49)

Perroux was thirty years old when he embarked on his *Grand Tour* of European authoritarian countries. *Agrégé* of Law since 1928, he was Professor of Economics at the University of Lyon and already enjoyed a certain national reputation which would, following his travels, become European.[8]

Retrospectively, Perroux was quite aware of the decisive significance of this period in his academic career. He mentioned his travels in a retrospective article entitled "Peregrinations of an Economist and the Choice of his Route" which he wrote the year before his death (Perroux 1988). The article provided little concrete information about his European journey. However, Perroux's *Grand Tour* is all the more interesting because it is at the confluence of two trends in research trips. On the one hand, Perroux shared a curiosity for the cultural diversity of economic systems and their ability to guide with many twentieth-century economists (Caldwell

[8] In a 1935 press article, the economist Henri Guitton stressed that Perroux's "strong personality" was already "known to all specialists in finance and political economy" (Guitton, 1935). Perroux was considered by international standards one of the very best French economists of his generation (see Rockfeller Card, Appendix B.).

and Montes 2015; Düppe 2016; Boianovsky 2017; Serra 2018). On the other hand, Perroux, like other French intellectuals, was attracted by authoritarian experiences, in particular those of Italy and Germany (Cornick, Hurcombe, and Kershaw 2017; Sallée 2017; Poupault 2014).

Perroux's initial application for a Rockefeller Fellowship referenced a two-month stay in Austria followed by six months in Germany. Subsequent information reveals that Perroux divided his time equally between the two countries: four months in Vienna (April to July 1934) and four months in Berlin (August to November 1934). After fulfilling his academic obligations at the University of Lyon in the first semester of 1935, Perroux obtained an extension of his scholarship for an additional four months (Appendix B.). He came back to Germany for one month that year, and spent the remaining three months in Italy (Rome), from mid-October to mid-December.

By staying in continental Europe, Perroux differed from the great majority of European Fellows in Economics, who almost systematically visited the United States—the Universities of Chicago, Columbia, or Harvard, as well as the NBER—or England, in particular the London School of Economics (Craver 1986b, 209).[9] However, the early 1930s marked the increasing attractiveness of Germany. The Bonn, Heidelberg and in particular Kiel institutes of economic conjuncture gave Germany a leading position in social science (Hagemann 1997). At the time, the Rockefeller Foundation followed a quite peculiar strategy: on the one hand, it supported researchers who emigrated (particularly from German-speaking countries), while on the other hand, it funded scholarships in the same authoritarian countries as long as the excellence of scientific research was maintained (see Craver 1986b, Take 2017).

[9] Asking for a new grant in the aftermath of WWII, Perroux conceded that it was "paradoxical that a 1934 Rockefeller Fellow should discover America only in 1946" [377PRX/221/5]. On the role of the Foundation on the shaping of French social sciences, see Tournès (2008).

Perroux's fellowship aimed at studying "the historical evolution and national structure of contemporary capitalism" with the ambition "to determine the possibilities and limits of international capitalism" (Appendix A.). He required an extension in 1935 to collect more material for a book "on the whole problem of Capital [sic], which will outline the conditions for a form of intermediate economic organization between the old liberal concept and the Marxian theories of State Socialism" (Appendix B.). However, Perroux's analysis of the corporatist Third Way would require additional years of work, eventually published as *Capitalisme et comunauté de travail* (*Capitalism and the Working Community*) in 1939. In this book, Perroux (1939) compared step by step the authoritarian regimes, highlighting both their achievements and weaknesses. With this study, Perroux completed the mapping of European totalitarian regimes started ten years earlier (Perroux 1928). Based on comparative analysis, Perroux formulated his own formula of corporatism for France, which he labelled "*Communauté de travail*" (see Brisset and Fèvre 2018, 13-16).

In short, Perroux's intellectual approach is based on a back and forth between particular and essential features. From his travels within European fascisms, Perroux aimed at analyzing the "General Significance of the Fascist Fact" (Perroux 1936b). Published in *Actualité Économique*, Perroux wrote this central article while he was still in Rome (October 1935). He had the ambition to understand the common foundations of the regimes of the "era of fascism"—what he called "essential fascism" (1936b, 54-55). Politically, fascist regimes shared three major characteristics: the independence of the executive power; a denial of democratic representation in its liberal form; and a state that presents itself as the embodiment of civil society. At the social level Fascism would also stress the importance of the "traditional intermediate groups" that are the family, the profession or any form of local communities. These were hierarchically organized under corporations, and submitted to the one-party rule (Perroux 1936b, 57-58).

According to Perroux (1936b, 58), the ambition of fascism was to "give to a human group a proper political form," involving in particular the subordination of economic issues to politics. In this sense, Perroux's approach explicitly opposed Marxist definitions of fascism, which emphasized the collusion of high civil-servant with first-rank entrepreneurs and financiers in order to safeguard a collapsing capitalism. According to Perroux, fascism was born before European countries began to overcome the 1929 economic crisis.

As we will see, Perroux (1939a, 551) was fully aware of the risk of the contamination of the political sphere by capitalist interests due to, in particular, the increasing socialization of fascist economies in Italy and Germany. However, he was convinced of the standing integrity of the state apparatus, and therefore opposed Marxist theories (such an "anti-anti-fascism" point of view was shared by many non-conformists of the 1930s).

Regarding what Perroux called mysticism, Fascism would be based on a "vigorous affirmation of irrational values," coupled with a form of return to the religious (Perroux 1936b, 55). Fascist systems produced a "pseudo-religion more welcoming and less austere than religion itself, a semblance of the Absolute." This aspect was, according to Perroux, "the central reason for their success" (Perroux 1936b, 65). Perroux levelled his fire at Durkheimian sociologists in particular. Indeed, Durkheim's critical analysis of religions would be responsible for having "temporarily spread among the masses the erroneous impression that the religious fact [was] a relative fact like all other social facts" (Perroux 1936b, 64).

If Perroux was far from sharing all the concrete achievements of European Fascisms, he stressed the legitimacy of what he considers to be its deep sources and long-term aspirations. Fascisms, unlike liberal regimes such as France's Third Republic, provided a response to the issue of political and economic decline of Western societies, but especially to the collapse of the moral order:

> Wherever fascist experiences developed: instruction, propaganda, education, the press, they are restoring their values to emotional and sentimental factors. Through youth institutions (*œuvres de jeunesse*), one tries to shape men who are also totalitarian and not only young intellectuals or quiet children. More generally speaking, the intuitive knowledge, relatively independent from rational knowledge, has the sympathies of new regimes. At least, the respective values, domains of intelligence and moral conscience are carefully discerned. (Perroux 1936b, 56)

According to Perroux (1938a, 166), refusing to "recognize frankly what is positive about fascist experiences" would ultimately precipitate France's decline, because it meant refusing to recognize the crucial problems of his time. By ignoring the "historical judgment that fascisms draw up on a fallen world" stressed Emmanuel Mounier (1936, 13) in the same year, one would be deprived of "collecting the ardent forces that they diverted." Perroux shared with the non-conformists of *Esprit* a critical and constructive perspective on fascism in general, and on national-socialism in particular.[10]

To stick to the essentialist approach that Perroux set out in his 1936 article, is, however, to take the risk of misunderstanding the serious specificities among national experiences Perroux carefully highlighted. Indeed, in his view, Italy, Germany, Austria and Portugal are far from being equivalent, and "each fascism, taken separately in actual reality, is not an export product" (1936b, 55). Each country provided its own definition and articulation of the authoritarian state, of the corporate economy and of a social mystique. So when Perroux came to the concern of reforming France, it was not really a question of applying some fascist features *en bloc*, but of building institutions (widely understood) tailored to the French reality.

[10] Perroux published several articles in *Esprit* (1936c, 1936d, 1938b, 1938d, 1939b).

2. Fascist Italy: a paragon of corporatism?

Benito Mussolini's Italy was the third and last destination of Perroux's research trip. He would spend two months there in the autumn of 1935. In Rome, Perroux attended the seminars of Luigi Amoroso, one the most influential Italian economists of the period, who was a follower of Paretian mathematical economics and an architect of fascist economic policy (Keppler 1994, 600, ssq.). Perroux (1988, 80) also became friends with Corrado Gini, Robert Michels, Ugo Papi and public finance specialists—Alberto de Stefani and Lello Gangemi—that admired, like him, De Viti de Marco.[11]

The Rockefeller Foundation's records show that Perroux's travel plan initially did not include Italy. He wanted to continue his studies in Germany on the occasion of his second scholarship. Nevertheless, Perroux changed his mind between late April and late July (Appendix B.). There is no information to explain this turn of event. The warming of diplomatic relations between French and Italian governments at the beginning of 1935 is probably a factor to consider.[12] Italy was an obvious destination for those who sought to analyze the contemporary transformations of international capitalism. Perroux's initial omission can probably

[11] De Viti de Marco (1858-1943) is considered as a founding father of Public Choice theory (Mosca 2016). On Italian economists of the interwar period and their relation to fascism, see Guidi (2000)'s survey.

[12] France and Italy settled an agreement on colonial issues by the Rome Agreement of January 7th. More significantly, Paris, London and Rome united against the violation of the Versailles Treaty by Germany and its annexationist ambitions on Austria (Stresa Agreement, April 14th). This slight *détente* proved short-lived, and Italy declared war on Ethiopia in October 1935 (while Perroux was then in Rome). The imperialist tendencies of the Italian regime were nevertheless already known since 1923 (Corfu). This trend only intensified from 1934 onwards (Gentile 2004, 59).

be explained by the fact that he had already dedicated various studies to Italian corporatism, a subject he knew quite well.

As early as 1929, Perroux wrote a book entitled *Contribution à l'étude de l'économie et des finances publiques de l'Italie depuis la guerre*, focusing on a descriptive account of the transformations of fascist Italy. The political and economic aspects of the regime are discussed in a series of four articles that Perroux (1928, 1931, 1933a, 1933c) published in the *Revue d'Économie Politique* prior to his travels.

In the article entitled "Le syndicalisme fasciste", Perroux (1928) showed great sympathy towards Italian trade unionism, exalting the nation and trying to reconcile class antagonisms. In doing so, Perroux implicitly condemned the political position of the revolutionary trade unionism in France. Nevertheless, Perroux regretted the absorption of a pluralistic trade union movement by a single, hierarchical, authoritarian and disciplined party. In particular, he was concerned about the "remaining guarantees of the working class in Italy" (1928, 1113). However, Perroux stressed that "the dictatorship processes established in this democratic organization that is the joint-stock company (...) are put at the service of the public interest" (Perroux 1933c, 1291, see also 1933a, 1412). Prices (wages, goods, etc.) would not be set according to profitability, but in order to satisfy the "general interest" (Perroux 1933c, 1294).

Perroux's most important article in relation to the study of Italian fascism is certainly "Corporate Economy and Capitalist System: Ideology and Reality" (1933a). In this article, he pointed out that "the Duce" could have grasped at its root "the real problem of the hour—which contains all the others—that of the value and effectiveness of the capitalist system" (1933a, 1409). The corporate system could then have initiated a real revolution in the conceptions of traditional economic theory by disrupting the "very substance of economic reasoning" since "its premises, *i.e.* the motives of the economic act and the legal framework in which it takes place, are transformed" (Perroux 1933a, 1411). The corporatist economic poli-

cy is essentially reflected in the subjection of "the adjustment of interests" and "the accident of social struggles" (*hasard des luttes sociales*) to "the intervention of State power" (ibid.). In doing so, however, the apparatus of the market economy is preserved, so are the mechanisms of price, income or wealth formation.

Corporatism would be, in the last analysis, only a special form of economic policy amongst others according to Perroux (1933a, 1413). A form of economic policy that is not compatible with any form of political system. Perroux considered the liberal state unable to represent, as a whole, groups that make up a nation and thus embrace the role of defender of the general interest. On the contrary, the liberal state would be prey to the "power of the dominant groups," oscillating between the holders of capital or organized labour according to the current economic balance of forces (Perroux 1933a, 1415). By contrast, fascism would have succeeded in establishing "a guardian State of the nation's interests" by establishing an unequal and hierarchical structure and, in doing so, succeed in achieving its objectives of the coordination and the development of Italy's productive forces.

Perroux outlined in particular the various tax incentives introduced in Italy by the 1927 decree-laws, and, subsequently, mandatory cartels formation that enabled the government to establish industrial concentration. Financial concentration also experienced a significant rise since the Italian state had organized a national "formation, collection and distribution of capital" (Perroux 1933a, 1438). The so-called Mussolini Plan of 24 December 1928 further accentuated the transformation of the fascist state organisation and led to structural changes in its economy. In Perroux's view, such a structural program for a new economy was well beyond the scope of a liberal state:

> Under unparliamentary regimes, the State has frankly addressed these structural problems, which are still completely ignored by many democracies, as a result of insufficient theoretical developments, of a lack of continuity in political leadership and some-

> times—and this is the case in France—the excessive analytical spirit has successively reached the components of a national activity without embracing it as a whole. (Perroux 1933a, 1461)

In the last analysis, is the "collusion of the headquarters (*état-major*) of capitalism and political rulers more active in democratic regimes or in authoritarian ones?" asked Perroux (1933a, 1476). His answer is ambiguous. Perroux was for instance not convinced that fascist reforms were always the most appropriate ones. In this respect, Perroux advocated alternative reforms, based in particular on a communitarian-like organization that is more immanent, personalist and spontaneous than vertical and repressive:

> We believe that free trade unionism for workers, combined with the universal suffrage, is a more effective counterweight to the grip of the financial oligarchy than the use of a state police force and of pressure from governments through the distribution of credit and the adjustment of customs duties. (Perroux 1933a, 1476)

Perroux (1933a, 1477) conceded that he found "many indications of the growing authority of businessmen among administrations and governments", a finding he based on reading "fascist literature." Certainly, fascist laws constituted an attempt to erase the class struggle in favor of a general interest built on the "cult of the nation." As a result, Italian corporatism was still 'moving further and more openly away from liberal capitalism" (1938a, 28). The 1934 reforms, in particular, fortified the fusion of economics and politics and the rise of a bureaucratic apparatus (1938a, 38, ff.). Yet these laws completed the subordination of trade unions—and so of the workers—to the one-party state.

3. The Hitlerian German Reich: the Drifts of a Pseudo-Mystique

Germany was the second step of Perroux's journey, and the country in which he stayed longest (four months at the end of 1934, then again one month in the summer of 1935). Unlike his trip to Italy, where Perroux had forged most of his analyses beforehand, his examination of national-socialism is inseparable from his stay in Berlin. The publication of *The Hitlerian Myths* (1935) was the main result of Perroux's experience.[13] Before his stay, however, Perroux was not blind to the German question, which had been extremely worrying since the early 1930s.

In 1932, Perroux's "*Essai sur les relations économiques franco-allemandes*" (Essay on Franco-German economic relations) was published in a special issue of the *Revue Universitaire de Lyon* (1932a) dedicated to the relations between the two countries. The text is the French version of two public—radio broadcasted— lectures given during his stay at the University of Frankfurt in May 1931 (Perroux spoke German fluently). Perroux was then concerned with the increasing "Hitlerian and militarist demonstrations" following the election of 14 September 1930 (first electoral success of the NSDAP, second party at the *Reichstag*).

In his lectures, Perroux tried to answer the following question: "Does the economy conspire to bring the two nations closer together or to disunite them?" (1932a, 43). If history and current politics rather marked the discord between the two countries, Perroux stressed that their interrelated economic development compelled Germany and France towards the construction of a new cohesion. Yet, Perroux (1932a, 61) identified two "seeds of conflict" linked to the Treaty of Versailles: the first was based on the reparation payments; the second concerned the future of the Saar, a coal-mining area exploited by France. According to Perroux, a

[13] The book will have a new and significantly increased edition (Perroux, 1940), as well as a Portuguese edition in 1937.

booming European future was calling for an "economic solidarity" between the two countries. Such an ambition, "as complex as the peaceful reorganization of Europe," could go beyond purely national economic interests though; for Perroux it was "vital to combine all the resources of mysticism and interests" (1932a, 68; see also Dufourt 2009, 431-33).

It is quite clear from these conferences that Perroux tried to become the medium of Franco-German cooperation, the agent of a mutual understanding between the two nations. However, this effort, which he would intensify throughout the following years, required an in-depth study of the national socialist mysticism, the purpose of his fellowship. According to Perroux, France and the French people suffered from a sheer ignorance of German society, which was often caricatured by an *a priori* approach that was politically aggressive:

> However hostile one may be to some contents of National Socialism, one must agree that in France we have (…) abused the right of misinterpretation. Some have rejected it outright, without distinction or precaution, in the name of a political credo repeated by habituation. They have, to the right or to the left, given in to this anti-Germanic automatism that a French critic has rightly denounced. Through judgments without consideration, they did neither serve their cause nor harm the opponent. Indignation is a poor yardstick for patriotism or for faith. (Perroux 1940b, 135)

If Germany had been attracting intellectuals since at least the nineteenth century, the emergence of the national-socialist regime had a profound impact on travel modalities and objectives (Sallée 2017). As a Rockefeller Fellow, Perroux joined the *Institut Français de Berlin*. Henri Jourdan, a young *Normalien* (graduated from the *École Normale Supérieure*) recently appointed director of the Institute in 1932, remembers Perroux's "long stays," the various "personal meetings" with leading academic figures such as Werner Sombart and Carl Schmitt, as well as his "progressive assimilation" in the Germanic *milieu* (Jourdan 1990, 238). Perroux

joined the French Institute while Jean-Paul Sartre (after Raymond Aron), Henri Brunschwig and René Capitant were there.

Within the *Institut Français de Berlin*, researchers came from different networks, but they all gravitated around the jurist Carl Schmitt.[14] Perroux was no exception and developed not only an intellectual admiration for Schmitt, but what he called a true friendship:

> I was also interested in the works of Carl Schmitt on the philosophic foundations of politics. I subsequently got to know the profound moral greatness of the man, whom I call my friend, when he courageously snatched one of my students from the clutches of the Nazi police. (Perroux 1988, 80)[15]

Perroux's concern for Schmitt's work attested the former's interest in political sciences and humanities in general, well beyond mere economic analysis. Deeply concerned with economic issues though, Perroux's approach was encompassing: political, juridical and moral aspects were just as important to understand the economic mechanisms as the usual economists' tools.

---

[14] Frédéric Salliée (2006) identified as different converging networks: the Strasbourg network (Edmond Vermeil, Henri Laufenberg, René Capitant) and the network of philosophers (Henri Brunschwig, Raymond Aron, Jean-Paul Sartre). Perroux is said to be linked to the "Henri Linchenberger" network (including Roger Bonnard), which would constitute "a pole of benevolence towards Nazism" in contrast to the fierce anti-fascism of Strasbourg, and in particular Vermeil (Sallée 2006, 26).

[15] In Perroux's archive, the correspondence with Schmitt started in 1973, and there is no evidence of previous exchanges. Perroux's first letter to Schmitt refers to this episode of the rescue of the French (of Jewish origin) student [377PRX/207/32].

Perroux approached National-Socialist Germany through the prism of its "myths." Perroux borrowed this concept from Georges Sorel, an author he carefully read in the late twenties (Perroux 1928; Villanueva 1994). Perroux defined the myth as a set of images and valued judgments that drive the action and the government of a given community (1940b, 33, 136). These driving images are both grasped and shaped by the personality of the leader (*chef*). The leader's legitimacy is precisely rooted in his ability to manipulate myths; and certainly not from an election by majority rule.

Perroux outlined four main Hitlerian myths: (1) the myth of race as the foundation of the German people (*Volk*) and community; (2) the myth of the political soldier; (3) the myth of German socialism; and (4) the myth of the *Reich*. Perroux criticized these myths through his readings of contemporary German literature. In particular, the racist myth developed by Alfred Rosenberg in *The Myth of the Twentieth Century* and taken up by Hitler in *Mein Kampf*, was severely denounced by Perroux. This "absurd" myth was all the more problematic as it was used to justify current German imperialism. It was indeed from the alleged superiority of the Aryan "race" that Hitler derived the legitimacy of the *Reich*—the most dangerous myth according to Perroux—as a universal empire, thus, imposing on the world the will of the German *Volk*. Perroux, in both published and unpublished writings we have consulted so far, remained unequivocally dismissive with regard to this racist myth:

> Against racial particularism, we will tirelessly raise this sense of catholicity. As a Man, the other earns our respect. We reject the morality that burns down ghettos and sells Negroes. (Perroux 1940b, 311)

Perroux's position was more conciliatory with regard to the other two myths. If the political soldier myth seems to be the embodiment of Nazi militarism, his counterpart, namely the cult of the body and physical courage, forces his admiration (Perroux 1940b, 49-50). The renewed

attention to the body would also be at the heart of the Vichy regime's policy to which Perroux lend his support as Secretary General of the French Foundation for the Study of Human Problems (the *Fondation Carrel*). Thus, in an article published in 1943 in the periodical *Demain*, entitled "*Pour une politique naturelle*" (For a natural policy), Perroux stressed that "the nation, as a community, has a biological and physical basis. It is a set of bodies that can be vigorous or weak, noble or degraded" (Perroux 1943c, 30). He added that this reality had been forgotten by parliamentarian democracies and had led to a gentrified and weak society. However Perroux's sympathy to the politics of the body and eugenics did not start with the Occupation. Already during his 1930s travels Perroux devoted a laudatory note to an article by Thierry Maulnier (future supporter of the Vichy State) published in *Nouvelles littéraire*s and entitled "Plea for the body" (*Plaidoyer pour le corps*):

> Thierry Maulnier, in strong and pure lines, dared to write what all those who have travelled to Germany and Italy think: "In the path of physical regeneration, France is among the least developed of the European peoples". (Perroux 1935b, 1)

Perroux was nevertheless concerned to adapt this politics of the body to the French model, to his vision of the future of France. For instance, there was absolutely "no question of relegating intelligence or despising it, as many official educators in Hitler's Germany did" (Perroux 1935b, 4).

Finally, Perroux welcomed the myth of German socialism with a certain enthusiasm. His understanding of socialism is derived from Werner Sombart's 1934 book *Deutscher Sozialismus* (translated in English as *A New Social Philosophy*). For Perroux, Sombart's work marked a crucial step in the history of socialism: Sombart amended orthodox socialism by recognizing the importance of the community as an organization that goes beyond interests, whether individual ones or specific to antagonistic classes. Thus the notion of *Ständ* was at odds with

the Marxist representation of a class society (Perroux 1936a). This is why German socialism is both "totalitarian"—it concerns the nation as unified—and "spiritualist"—it abandons historical materialism (1940b, 72, 79).

The organization of the *Reich* toward this specific socialist agenda was one of the "positive" achievements of national-socialism according to Perroux. He stressed that the German State aimed at compensating the shortcomings of liberal and capitalist societies by recognizing the existence of the community (Perroux 1940b, 138). By aiming its fire on the individualistic "bourgeois spirit," national-socialism would have developed a criticism "much deeper and broader" than that of Marxists (Perroux 1940b, 151). Thus Perroux welcomed part of the authoritarian plea of the German model:

> Hitlerism has, at least, the eminent merit that we generally do not want to recognize in France, to enact duties instead of defining relative rules, to require devotion to blood—bodies and souls—instead of admitting the separation of civic life and life itself. (Perroux 1936b, 56)

According to Perroux, German emphasis on the community was reflected both in the disappearance of the republic and in the control of capitalism through a corporatist organization that combines price, production and consumption control with the maintenance of private property. Accordingly, it would be wrong "to present Hitler's corporatism as a simple instrument of defense and consolidation of capitalism" (Perroux 1938a, 84). Perroux argued along the same line as he did with fascist Italy: the true master of the factory was the State.

Regarding the treatment of the person, Perroux stressed that national-socialism would "deeply repel anyone who has a notion, however weak, of the dignity of the person" (Perroux 1940b, 154). Perroux perceived, behind a facade of communitarian features, an oppressive state policy disguised as "pseudo-mystic." Thus the Hitlerian myth conveyed a betrayal of the

(true) mystique in so far as it leads to "a systematic use of the irrational for shorter and temporal purposes" (Perroux 1940, 330).

Two issues can be identified in the drift of this pseudo-mystic: from the point of view of economic and social organization on the one hand, Hitler's corporatism perpetuated the crushing of the person by the State, whether through the control of companies, the prohibition of trade unions, the control of bodies or the family (sterilization, racial laws). On the other hand, it was less the oppressive political apparatus per se that upset Perroux the most, but the treason—and corruption—of the Christian faith:

> What I essentially aim at criticizing in National Socialism, is not the promotion of an unfair and violent state. Above all, it is to preach and spread a false religion of which this State is the Church and God together. (Perroux [1936] 1940, 313)

From the point of view of its mysticism, the people (*Volk*) as an absolute leads to the rejection of universal Christian values in the name of a will to power assimilated to a "collective delirium" (Perroux 1940b, 324). Perroux, in line with the *Esprit* personalists and their leader Emmanuel Mounier, was extremely critical of national socialist expansionism, its nationalist exaltation and the racism it regularly demonstrated well before the war (de Senarclens 1974). Perroux and Mounier used, nonetheless, the Third *Reich* as a distorting mirror for parliamentary democratic systems in general and for French politics in particular. They targeted essentially the degenerative nature of modern liberal regimes:

> We would not be far from thinking, to be honest, that in Hitler's furnaces, by the persecution of some, by the hard asceticism to which some others are subjected, and despite massive subjugation, more prominence is forged in the dark than among the facilities of decadent Europe. (Mounier 1939, 4)

The ambiguity of some of Perroux's analyses is inherent in his approach. As Henri Guitton summarized in a review of *The Hitlerian Myths*, "at the same time as each myth holds terrible dangers, he [Perroux] thinks that each of them leaves open possibilities for collaboration" (Guitton 1935). In the final analysis, Perroux was convinced that the deep social forces captured by Hitler's myths could be invested in a different way.

4. The National-Catholic Model of Austria and Portugal

Perroux's study trip started in Austria. He stayed in Vienna from April to July 1934. There, Perroux participated in the famous seminars of Ludwig von Mises, and met Oscar Morgenstern and Othmar Spann. Perroux saw his Viennese period as the foundation of his intellectual career (Perroux 1987).[16] As he observed, it was not only "'naked economics' that one learned in Vienna" but "lessons in an elevated, delicate and all-pervading culture" (1988, 79). The vibrant intellectual life of the Viennese circles (*Kreis*) exceeded the concern for economic theory, and embraced the study of the rise and fall of Western civilization (see Dekker 2016). In many respects, Perroux's later work was as much a part of the legacy of a cultural critique of the economy as it was a renewal of Austrian economic analysis.

When Perroux arrived in Vienna, the dictatorial regime was already in place. Since March 1933, Chancellor Engelbert Dollfuss governed by decree-law, systematically dispensing with the approval of parliament which he considered vain. In the summer of 1933, Dollfuss dissolved the Communist Party and then the National Socialist Party in order to contain the growing political tensions in Austria. Perroux witnessed the first steps of the Austrian

[16] Mises left Vienna for Geneva in October 1934. The high-scale emigration of Austrian economists, mostly in the US, is well documented (Craver 1986a; Hagemann 2005).

corporatist state, officially established by the new constitution on May 1, 1934, this "legal and political instrument of national unity" (Perroux 1934b, 259).

In various publications, Perroux analyzed the Austrian situation—in particular its independent status—through the wider role the country played for Europe as a whole (Perroux 1934a, 1934b, 1934c). In his opinion, Austria was "the 'political place' of Europe *par excellence*" because "towards it converged, and in it are opposed, the two flows of fascism," Italian and German (Perroux 1934b, 245). According to Perroux, Austria was "the keystone" of all Danubian Europe, the "melting pot (*creuset*) of the European spirit," placing it alongside Belgium and Switzerland as one of the "vital points of Europe's organism" (ibid., p. 265, 277).

Equally decisive in this regard was the privileged cooperation of Austria with former countries of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, formed in the aftermath of World War I as a "Little Entente" (Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Romania). For once, Perroux (1934a) embodied the French diplomatic position that was proactive in the formation of an autonomous Danubian economic region.[17] Therefore, Perroux opposed the pan-Germanic solution—the annexation (*Anschluss*)—that would mark the destruction of the European equilibrium. The Hitlerian "racist outburst placed in a raw light many truths that we did not want to see" Perroux (1935a, 532) warned his contemporaries: in the last analysis, the managing of the Danubian problem led to a clear "dilemma," that of "Germanic Europe" versus "Free Europe."

Perroux defended a federal view of Europe that rested on strong sovereign states (the last section of our paper elaborates on this). He thus openly opposed the *Reich*'s expansionist tendencies. According to him, Austria's great "merit" lay in a corporatist policy that unified its national community, against ~~both~~ class struggle (notably through the persecution of the

[17] France defended this view through the Briand / François-Poncet Plan, its position at the London Conference (17 June 1933) and the Tardieu Plan (see Dufourt 2009, 435-36).

Austro-Marxists) and against the German annexation.[18] The Christian aspect of the Austrian system would have played a crucial role in this process:

> A new constitution had been promulgated which claimed to bring peace and reconciliation, to consecrate the collaboration of the classes in the acceptance of the Christians' absolute and order. (Perroux 1938a, 123)

Perroux also pointed out that internal Austrian political conflicts were coupled with sociological frictions, stressing the gap between a progressive and social-democratic capital versus the conservative-minded regions attached to traditional values. Perroux saw the Austrian *Ständestaat* as "a compromise between the requirements of a doctrine and those of a hard political test" that deserved "respect" (Perroux 1938a, 123).

In Perroux's view, Austria avoided the artificiality of National Socialism thanks to a national front policy embedded in Christian values. This "force" would be firmly rooted in a long-established Austrian tradition of social Catholicism. The Austrian corporatist state would attest to a true spiritualist aspiration, one towards social integration and the "de-proletarianization" (*entproletarisierung*) of the masses (Perroux 1938a, 127).[19] Nevertheless, Perroux observed that this ideal was never fully realized. Firstly, because the external and internal pressure exerted by Nazism pushed the Austrian regime towards authoritarianism: "their Catholic universalism has been put to torture by the brutalities of action" (Perroux

[18] The Anschluss of March 1938 precipitated the rise of the German Europe (hence Perroux's revised title of the new edition of the *Myths*). Whether Dollfuss tried to contain or precipitate the rise of fascism in Austria is still a controversial question in the literature (Allinson 2006).

[19] The de-proletarianization question was a cross-partisan issue that concerned German-speaking liberals, socialists and conservatives (see Fèvre 2017, 227–30).

1938a, 139). Secondly, Perroux pointed out that a corporatist "model" of social Catholics was all the more complex to implement because it has not yet been thought through properly.

Even if the *Quadragesimo Anno* encyclical signed by Pope Pius XI in 1931 was "one of the major sources of the reformers," Perroux stressed that it had not specified "any indication on the relations and influences that must be established between the two—corporate and state—systems" (Perroux 1938a, 132). Dollfuss had tried to work in this direction, but he was assassinated on July 25, 1934. Then in Vienna, Perroux expressed deep admiration and respect for the Austrian statesman in an unpublished obituary:

> This saint of politics knew that martyrdom would consummate the profession of faith. This "conscientious objector" was not unaware that he would be asked to testify in blood (...) From his grave rises a lesson in Catholicity. (Perroux 1934d)

Unlike Mussolini's and Hitler's "false mysticism" that Perroux condemned, the French economist listed Dollfuss in his personal pantheon of great statesmen (but will never mention his successor, Kurt Schuschnigg). After Dollfus, Perroux turned to another authoritarian leader in the same years, the Prime Minister of Portugal António Oliveira Salazar.

Perroux found in Salazar's model the Christian universalism he was looking for.[20] According to the preface to the first edition of the *Myths*, Perroux visited Portugal in 1935 (from March to May as his passport attested). Yet Lisbon was not one of the destinations of its Rockefeller scholarship; the country's lack of interest in theoretical discourse *de facto* characterized Portugal as a place of relatively low scientific attractiveness (Almodovar and Cardoso

[20] Salazar, head of government since June 1932 in a military regime, had the Constitution amended in 1933, promulgating the Second Portuguese Republic. Salazar assumes full power over the Estado Novo as President of the Council.

1998, 100). However, Perroux was interested in this regime, despite a corporatist economy characterized by a strong pre-capitalist sector (agriculture in particular), because he saw its objectives as laudable: the inclusion of Catholic and social inflexions and the regeneration of fascism.

On October 17, 1935, Perroux signed an article from Rome entitled "A new doctrine of public law. Portugal and Salazar: an interpretation" in *Affaires Étrangères*. Perroux was full of praise for Salazar's achievements. The latter, "imbued with Catholicism," would have grasped the vocation of the Portuguese nation, which he administered with "unshakeable firmness" yet "without any stiffness" (Perroux 1935a, 521, 522). Perroux concluded that Salazar "did not intend to 'force' Portugal, but to help it to 'accomplish itself'" (ibid., p. 534). In doing so, Salazar already achieved promising results, such as the recovery of public finances, the restoration of internal security and the sustainable functioning of public services. In short, Salazar embodied the figure *par excellence* of the "great political leader" in Perroux's conceptualisation of it (ibid., p. 535).[21]

Salazar's strength would be to have built a model of authoritarian state and corporatist economy specifically adapted to Portugal's requirements, and this in a relatively independent way from other European dictatorships. Nevertheless, Portugal shared with the Italian fascist state some strong features: both countries provided the most robust corporatist experiences in the interwar period (Almodovar and Cardoso 2005, 334). As in the case of Italy, Perroux stressed that Portugal's executive power was strengthened in so far as it explicitly broke with democratic representation—Parliament was reduced to 90 members, elected on a single list—

[21] Perroux would renew his "sympathetic optimism" and his "confident hope" in Salazar's action years later in his book *Capitalisme et communauté de travail* (Perroux 1938a, 121).

and established a corporate chamber with a purely consultative value. As in Italy, workers strikes and lockouts were prohibited.

Nevertheless, according to Perroux, Portugal's peculiarity among European fascisms was its "personalist philosophy" centered on the social-Catholicism notion of common good. Contrary to the Hitlerian state in particular, "the Salazarian state does not erect itself in absolute terms, but submits to ethical requirements" (Perroux 1935a, 528). Consequently, in the economic sphere, labour would neither be treated as a commodity (liberalism) nor as an end in itself (Marxism), but as "a free activity of the human being, tending to his highest material and spiritual development, and a duty of social solidarity" (ibid., p. 530).

Perroux based his positive assessment of Portugal on the study of legal texts. Indeed, he systematically combined his analysis of academic literature and political discourse with that of constitutions (and other labour charters) in order to understand the objectives and aspirations of the new corporate systems. In the case of Portugal, Perroux cited in particular two law articles from the National Labour Statute (*Estatuto do Trabalho Nacional*), the complement of the Constitution regarding the organisation of the corporatist economy. Perroux especially referred to articles 21 and 24, which stipulated that labour remuneration must be ruled "by means of individual or collective agreements on the basis of a 'humanly sufficient wage'" (ibid., p. 530). The later expression opened the door for price fixation that is neither purely the outcome of market forces nor purely authoritarian.

Another remarkable difference with Germany and Italy was, according to Perroux, that the Portuguese corporatist state aimed at a "general superintendence" clearly distinct from both mixed and totally administrated economies (ibid., 531). Ultimately for Perroux, Portugal embodied a third—authoritarian and corporatist—way, inspired by "a personalist and communitarian philosophy far away from democratic liberalism and collectivist socialism" (Perroux 1935a, 528). With only a few years' hindsight, Perroux believed that Salazar had

brought the Portuguese nation into a decisive situation free from the extremism of the German and Italian models (Perroux 1938a, 119). In comparison, Portuguese state apparatus was more resistant to economic pressures and its corporatism less state-minded and bureaucratic.

5. Fascisms as a Resource: Perroux on Vichy France and Europe

Perroux's perspective of Europe is the only part of his pre-1945 work that has been the subject of major studies (Bruneteau 2003; Cohen 2004, 2006, 2012, 2018). Bruneteau pointed at the *dangerous liaisons* between authoritarianism and Europeanism in the 1930s and 1940s, essentially insofar as the idea of a European Revolution was the counterpart to the third way between liberalism and Marxism. In this vision, supported by Perroux, Europe should position itself as a new way between the USSR and the United States.

Antonin Cohen, on the other hand, insists more precisely on the continuity between the rhetoric of a so called "new Europe" (*Europe nouvelle*) and post-war European integration, in particular by focusing on Jean Monet's entourage. In both narratives, Perroux played a central role. On the one hand, Perroux defended his own pre-war European vision, and on the other hand, he was directly connected to Monet's surroundings through two of his students: Paul Reuter and Pierre Uri. In the following, we will connect Perroux's European vision with his analysis of the fascist regimes of Europe.

In *Les Mythes*, Perroux considered Germany as a potential resource for the new Europe to come:

> Even in the half-conscious aspiration to the European Empire, however, I will not hesitate to recognize a thought of universalism, atrophied, suffocated and adulterated by national pride . . . In the myth that [the Germans] welcome, there is the best and the worst: the threat of excessive pride, but also the confused aspiration for a peaceful

> community of nations. It is up to the French reason to bring the distinction to its full light. It is up to the French force to obstruct the *prussification* of Europe and to purify the myth of the Reich to the point of allowing only the idea of the organization of relations between free nations to persist, which has haunted the spirit of humankind since the distant past when scholastics already spoke of *societas nationum*. (Perroux 1940b, 55)

Beyond this German study, written before the war, Perroux in the 1940s continued this line, that considered the construction of a Europe of nations, required a "European revolution". This is only the expression of the unsuitability of the liberal order. Perroux will maintain this dialectical rhetoric when it comes to defending the Vichy regime and the work of Philippe Pétain.

Perroux—together with the Commandant Urvoy—placed the "national revolution" in line with great historical revolutions: the collapse of Rome, the birth of the feudal world, the end of feudalism, the Renaissance, and the Liberal Revolutions (of 1776 and 1789). The common point of each of these revolutions is to express 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 European revolution of the twentieth century, as Perroux called it, would mark the end of "liberal civilization." In France, this collapse was revealed by various symptoms: from an economic point of view, the emergence of large economic structures such as trusts and cartels; from a political point of view, the 6 February 1934 attempt to overthrow the French government (Dobry 1989); from a constitutional point of view, the strengthening of the executive powers through the practice of the decree-laws under Daladier's government.

According to Perroux and Urvoy, political and economic liberalism was coming to an end. At the time of writing, the authors consider that "no one is willing to be killed for the liberal ideals of 1789" (1943a, 45). Thus, the National Revolution would only accompany an

underlying movement of the national and European community. Therefore, the French State could not be analyzed through the prism of the ups and downs of recent history since "the adaptation of the State to the new economy is not one of those issues that arose from defeat" (Perroux 1941a, 193). On the contrary, the French State was part of a longer history: "Beyond political and military accidents, there are lasting movements of transformation, long-term changes in cultural and economic conditions." (Perroux 1943b, 5) The coming European revolution was a major theme of *Esprit* in the 1940s (Lacroix 1940; Mounier 1940; Beuve-Méry 1941).

As we saw in the case of Austria and Portugal, Perroux envisaged a Christian Europe. This factor became increasingly central in Perroux's discourse with the first signs of war. In a text titled "When Christians cut each other's throats" dated May 1938, Perroux stressed that the key for peace, for a "Christian peace," lay in the search for an "*integral Christianism*" among European nations in order to thwart the coming "*total war*" (1938c, 15-16).

This political vision was embodied in a short text constituting an "important milestone for post-war Europeanist thinking" (Bruneteau 2003, 256) The article "Money in an organized international economy," was published by Perroux in the *Revue d'économie contemporaine* in 1943. This paper, in which the White and Keynes plans are discussed, appears to be a reflection about the post-war European order.

Perrouxian Europe would be structured into a set of federations of nation-states (a community of communities emancipated from democratic heaviness and suffrage) hierarchized according to population size, national and imperial territory, "work potential" and "cultural development." It goes without saying that France and Germany would be the great organizing powers of Europe in this context. Germany, for the reasons cited above, and France because it embodies European values, "the common heritage of the entire Western civilization": it would be according to Perroux "a *natural* disposition of French thought which has been muti-

lated and deflected by the rationalist and abstract idealism of the 18th century" (Perroux 1943b, 9). François Perroux legitimized the regime in Vichy in two ways: first, by inscribing the regime as a step in European historical dialectic (through the support of the European revolution); second, by promoting the universalism of Christian values. Therefore, Perroux legitimized the rise of Vichy France in a manner consistent with the criticisms made of the German and Italian regimes.

The European organization advocated by Perroux would therefore have at its base federations led by a federal government constituting an authority that was "neither dependent on ideologies nor opinions" (Perroux 1943b, 10). What does this government manage? Perroux focuses here on economic and monetary issues. The idea is to create an integrated economic community with a single currency, a European bank and a clearing house. This zone would not be regulated by any customs duties, but by agreements between federations according to an economic plan freed from international free trade. This economic planning (between corporatist states) would be the big difference between the "Perroux plan" and the White and Keynes plans.

His European model should therefore also be read as a response to the idea of a German Europe through a federation of authoritarian but independent states. Perroux had addressed the question of expansionism in a short 1940 book, *Autarcie et expansion. Empire or empires?* Perroux intended to demonstrate that autarchy, in the sense of a desire for national emancipation from market forces, is necessarily imperialistic. He argued that German and Italian expansionism were direct consequences of the autarkic policies implemented in these two nations.

Perroux's argument can be summarized as follows. In the context of what Perroux called "folding autarchy" (*autarcie de repliement*), the emancipation of the national economy from market forces required strict self-sufficiency, *i.e.* a pure and simple closure of borders to

products, labour and foreign capital. This logic cannot be subject to any exception, insofar as any opening (import or export of labour, capital or products) "would constantly call into question the full employment of its labour forces and would have to suffer capital losses each time the structures had to be readjusted to a new situation created by external fluctuations" (Perroux 1940a, 39). Thus, any consequent autarchic doctrine that cannot assume its claims within the strict national framework must necessarily move on to the implementation of an "expansion" autarchy, defined as "the set of means used by a nation to give full development and effectiveness to its economic forces by bringing together foreign economic forces within its own sphere of effective domination" (Perroux 1940a, 40).

Germany's choice in the context of the autarchy of large areas (*Grossraumautarkie*) was followed by Italy and led to the rise of openly imperialist maneuvers. To this imperialist peril, Perroux opposed the European economic project:

> If, as there are specific reasons to believe, the Reich's push is repressed, the large nations of Europe, in full agreement with the medium-sized and small nations, will have to resolve the difficulty of maintaining a market-based economy and a relatively authoritarian organization from its beginning, start-up and first operation. (Perroux 1940a, 64)

It was clear for Perroux that post-war Europe should not embody a kind of democratic revival impeded by a transient fascist step, but the rise of a third—corporatist and somehow authoritarian—way.[22] He drew this lesson from a long-lasting reflection from the interwar experiences.

[22] On Perroux's 1950s perspectives on the European integration, see Alexandre Cunha (2018).

Conclusion

Having travelled Austria, Germany, Italy and Portugal, what conclusions can be drawn from Perroux's *Grand Tour* of fascist Europe? First of all, Perroux insisted on the common nature to these different regimes over and above national particularities. He pinpointed the authoritarian, corporatist and anti-parliamentarian aspects of this "essential" fascism. According to Perroux, fascism was going to mark the beginning of a new European era, as important as the Renaissance for instance. Perroux showed a rather optimistic reception of authoritarian regimes. It was facilitated by the visceral rejection of liberals democracies and the thirst for a new model that he shared with a lot of French and European young intellectuals of the inter-war period. Yet Perroux aimed at elaborating a constructive critic of the European regimes he travelled in.

One outcome of this ambition can be found in Perroux's distinction between Germany and Italy on the one hand, and Austria and Portugal on the other. He condemned the expansionism and racism of the formers but embraced the corporatism and the Catholicism of the latter. After the 1940 defeat, Perroux aimed at shaping Vichy France along this national-Catholic formula. He trusted Pétain's "national revolution" in the pursuit of such a goal.
Ultimately, however, Perroux's *actual* engagement during the occupation cross his own *conceptual* line of demarcation. Indeed, Perroux supported—and to some extent participated in—the openly racist French State that perpetuated anti-Semitic policies from the very beginning and increasingly; the Vichy regime even exceeded the demands and expectations of the Nazi occupier (Marrus and Paxton 1995; Joly 2018).

Like the vast majority of people who—directly or indirectly—participated in the Vichy regime, Perroux goes through the Liberation undisturbed; despite of some of his entourage's concerns. On the contrary, Perroux proved to be one of the leading French economists in the shaping of the economic and political imaginations of the post-war period.

References

Allinson, M. (2006). Reading the Dollfuss Years. *Austrian Studies*, *14*, 337–348.

Almodovar, A., & Cardoso, J. L. (1998a). *A History of Portuguese Economic Thought*. London and New York: Routledge.

Almodovar, A., & Cardoso, J. L. (1998b). Corporatism and the Economic Role of Government. *History of Political Economy*, *37* (Suppl. 1), 333–354.

Anonymous. (1935). Mythes hitlériens. *L'Européen*, (21 juin).

Aron, R., & Dandieu, A. (1933). *La révolution nécessaire*. Paris: Jean-Michel Place.

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

Beuve-Méry, J. (1941). Révolutions nationale, révolutions humaines. *Esprit*, *mars*(98).

Boianovsky, M. (2017). Economists and Their Travels, or the Time When JFK Sent Douglass North on a Mission to Brazil. https://papers.ssrn.com/abstract=3046743

Brisset, N., & Fèvre, R. (2018). François Perroux, entre mystique et politique. GREDEG Working Paper. http://www.gredeg.cnrs.fr/working-papers/GREDEG-WP-2018-04.pdf

Bruneteau, B. (2003). *Les "collabos" de l'Europe nouvelle*. Paris: CNRS éditions.

Burrin, P. (2000). *Fascisme, nazisme, autoritarisme*. Paris: Seuil.

Cahiers d'études communautaires. (1941). Liminaire. *Cahiers d'études Communautaires*, *1*, 1–2.

Caldwell, B., & Montes, L. (2015). Friedrich Hayek and his visits to Chile. *The Review of Austrian Economics*, *28*(3), 261–309.

Chapoutot, J. (2013). *Fascisme, nazisme et régimes aurotitaires en Europe (1918-1945-*. Paris: Press Universitaire de France.

Cohen, A. (2004). “Vers la révolution communautaire”. Rencontres de la troisième voie au temps de l’ordre nouveau. *Revue d’histoire Moderne et Contemporaine*, *51–2*(2), 141–161.

Cohen, A. (2006). Du corporatisme au Keynésianisme. *Revue Française de Science Politique*, *56*(4), 555–592.

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.

Cornick, M., Hurcombe, M., & Kershaw, A. (2017). *French Political Travel Writing in the Interwar Years: Radical Departures*. London: Routledge.

Craver, E. (1986a). Patronage and the Directions of Research in Economics: The Rockefeller Foundation in Europe. *Minerva*, *24*(2–3), 205–222.

Craver, E. (1986b). The Emigration of the Austrian Economists. *History of Political Economy*, *18*(1), 1–32.

Cunha, A. M. (2018). The Europe of the Five Parts of the World: François Perroux on European Integration. *Textos Para Discussão Cedeplar-UFMG*. Cedeplar, Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais. https://ideas.repec.org/p/cdp/texdis/td590.html

de Senarclens, P. (1974). L’image de l’Allemagne dans la revue “Esprit.” *Relations Internationales*, (2), 123–145.

Dekker, E. (2016). *The Viennese Students of Civilization*. New York : Cambridge University Press.

Dobry, M. (1989). Février 1934 et la découverte de l'allergie de la société française à la "révolution fasciste." *Revue Française de Sociologie*, *30*(3–4), 511–533.

Dobry, M. (Ed.). (2003). *Le mythe de l'allergie française au fascisme*. Paris: Albin Michel.

Dufourt, D. (2009). L'avènement d'une épistémologie politique dans l'œuvre de François Perroux. *Économies et Sociétés. Série Philosophie et Science de l'Homme*, *33*(3), 419–447.

Düppe, Till. 2016. Koopmans in the Soviet Union: A Travel Report of the Summer of 1965. *Journal of the History of Economic Thought*, *38*(1), 81–104.

Fèvre, R. (2017). Walter Eucken et Wilhelm Röpke face à la "nouvelle" Question Sociale. *Revue d'histoire de La Pensée Économique*, *3*(1), 209–240.

Gentile, E. (2004). *Qu'est-ce que le fascisme ? Histoire et interpétation* (Gallimard). Paris.

Guidi, M. (2000). Corporative economics and the Italian tradition of economic thought: a survey. *Storia del pensiero economico*, 40, 31–58.

Guitton, H. (1935). Les mythes hitlériens. *Mémorial de La Loire et de La Haute-Loire*, (3 Juillet), 2.

Hagemann, H. (1997). Zerstörung eines innovativen Forschungszentrums und Emigrationsgewinn. Zur Rolle der „Kieler Schule" 1926–1933 und ihrer Wirkung im Exil. In H. Hagemann, *Zur deutschsprachigen wirtschaftswissenschaftlichen Emigration nach 1933* (pp. 293–341). Marburg: Metropolis.

Hagemann, H. (2005). Dismissal, Expulsion, and Emigration of German-Speaking Economists after 1933. *Journal of the History of Economic Thought*, *27*(4), 405–420.

Jackson, J. (2005). Mal Embarqué, Bien Arrivé.' The Strange Story of François Perroux. In *Vichy Resistance, Liberation: New Perspectives on Wartime France* (Berg). Oxford: Hanna Diamond and Simon Kitson.

Joly, L. (2018). *L'État contre les juifs: Vichy, les nazis et la persécution antisémite*. Paris: Grasset.

Jourdan, H. (1990). 'Une lucidité passionnée'. Quelques réflexions en marge 'Des mythes hitlériens.' In *François Perroux: dossier* (L'Age d'homme, pp. 235–244). Lausanne: François Denoël.

Keppler, J. H. (1994). Luigi Amoroso (1886–1965): Mathematical Economist, Italian Corporatist. *History of Political Economy*, *26*(4), 589–611.

Lacroix, J. (1940). Nation et Révolution. *Esprit*, *novembre* (94).

Le Crom, J.-P. (1995). *Syndicats nous voilà ! Vichy et le corporatisme*. Paris: Les éditions de l'atelier.

Loubet del Bayle, J.-L. (2001). *Les non-conformistes des années 30. Une tentative de renouvellement de la pensée politique française* (Seuil). Paris.

Marrus, M. R., & Paxton, R. O. (1995). *Vichy France and the Jews*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Mosca, M. (2016). *Antonio de Viti de Marco. A Story Worth Remembering* (Palgrave Macmillan). Basingstoke

Mosse, G. (2003). *La Révolution fasciste. Vers une théorie générale du fascisme* (Seuil). Paris.

Mounier, E. (1936). Adresses des vivants à quelques survivants. *Esprit*, *avril*(43).

Mounier, E. (1939). Les conditions de paix pour l'été 1939. *Esprit*, *août*(83).

Mounier, E. (1940). À l'intelligence française. *Marianne*, *août*(401).

Perroux, F. (1928a). Georges Sorel et la Grève Générale. *Revue de l'université de Lyon*, *2*(mars), 149–172.

Perroux, F. (1928b). Le syndicalisme fasciste. *Revue d'économie Politique*, *42*(Juillet-Août), 1100–1113.

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. (1931). La Notion de Groupe Industriel. *Revue d'Économie Politique*, *45*, 1377–1402.

Perroux, F. (1932a). Essai Sur Les Relations Économiques Franco-Allemandes. *Revue de l'université de Lyon*, *5*, 39–69.

Perroux, F. (1932b). Les Finances Fascistes 1922-1932. *Public Finance Analysis, New Series*, *4*, 604–641.

Perroux, F. (1933a). Économie Corporative et Système Capitaliste : Idéologie et Réalité. *Revue d'économie Politique*, *47*(5), 1409–1478.

Perroux, F. (1933b). *Les traitements des fonctionnaires en France* (Sirey). Paris.

Perroux, F. (1933c). Société d'économie Mixte et Système Capitaliste. *Revue d'économie Politique*, *XLVII*, 1275–1313.

Perroux, F. (1934a). La Petite Entente et La Crise Européenne. *Revue de l'Université de Lyon*, *7*, 245–278.

Perroux, F. (1934b). L'Europe danubienne. *Affaires Étrangères*, *4*(11), 528–532.

Perroux, F. (1934c). L'indépendance de l'Autriche. *Revue de L'Université de Lyon*, *VII*, 245–278.

Perroux, F. (1934d). Sur la Tombe de Dollfuss. Perroux's Archives, IMEC, PRX 36.9.

Perroux, F. (1935a). Une Nouvelle Doctrine Du Droit Public. Le Portugal et Salazar: Essai d'interprétation. *Affaires Étrangères*, 521–535.

Perroux, F. (1935b). Les droits du corps. Perroux's Archives, IMEC, PRX 36.14.

Perroux, Fr. (1929). Doctrine fasciste et notion d'entrepreneur. *Revue d'économie Politique*, *43*(6), 1665–1670.

Perroux, F. (1936a). La notion de classe et les bouleversements de l'Europe moderne. Perroux's Archives, IMEC, PRX 36.15.

Perroux, F. (1936b). Sur la signification générale du fait fasciste. *L'actualité Économique*, *1*(1), 52–67.

Perroux, F. (1936c). La personne ouvrière et le droit du travail. *Esprit*, *4*(42), 866–897.

Perroux, F. (1936d). Les paternalismes contre la personne humaine. *Esprit*, *4*(42), 855–865.

Perroux, F. (1937). Grandeurs et misères de l'État national-socialiste. *La Vie Intellectuelle*, *2*(HS), 223–232.

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). Quand les chrétiens s'égorgent. *La Vie intellectuelle*, *1*, 9–28.

Perroux, F. (1938d). Limites et dépassement de la notion de classe. *Esprit*, *6*(68), 161–180.

Perroux, F. (1939a). Allemagne et Italie. *Revue d'économie Politique*, *53*(1), 551–565.

Perroux, F. (1939b). La représentation comme fiction et comme nécessité. *Esprit*, *7*(78), 789–809.

Perroux, F. (1940a). *Autarcie et expansion. Empire ou empires ?* (Librairie de Médicis). Paris.

Perroux, F. (1940b). *Des mythes hitlériens à l'Europe allemande* (Librairie générale de droit et de jurisprudence). Paris.

Perroux, F. (1941). La Charte du travail : son contenu et son esprit. In *L'économie sans abondance*. Paris: Cerf.

Perroux, F. (1943a). La monnaie dans une économie internationale organisée. *Revue de l'économie Contemporaine*, *20*, 5–12.

Perroux, F. (1943b). *Le sens du nouveau droit du travail. Droit du travail et Capitalisme* (Les éditions Dommat-Montchrestien). Paris.

Perroux, F. (1943c). Pour une politique naturelle. *Demain*, *91*(Aout), 1.

Perroux, F. (1988). Peregrinations of an economist and the choice of his route. In *Regional Economic Development: Essays in Honour of Francois Perroux* (Benjamin Higgins and Donald J. Savoie, pp. 77–90). Boston: Routledge.

Perroux, F., & Urvoy, Y. (1943). La révolution en marche. *Renaître*, *1*.

Perroux, N. (1987). Pérégrination d'un économiste et choix de son itinéraire. *Économie Appliquée*, *15*(2), 197–212.

Pirou, G. (1944). Note sur "Le sens du nouveau Droit du Travail." *Revue d'économie Politique*, *54*(4/6), 550–551.

Poupault, C. (2014). *Á l'ombre des faisceaux: les voyages français dans l'Italie des Chemises noires (1922-1943)*. Rome: École française de Rome.

Sallée, F. (2006). Voyager en terre brune (1933-1939). la construction d'une autre image du national-socialisme allemand. Histoire : https://dumas.ccsd.cnrs.fr/dumas-01144642/document

Sallée, F. (2017). *Sur les chemins de terre brune. Voyage dans l'Allemagne nazie 1933-1939* (Fayard). Paris.

Serra, G. (2018). Soviet Journeys: Maurice Dobb (1930) and Joan Robinson (1952) as Travel Writers. *History of Political Economy* (forthcoming).

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

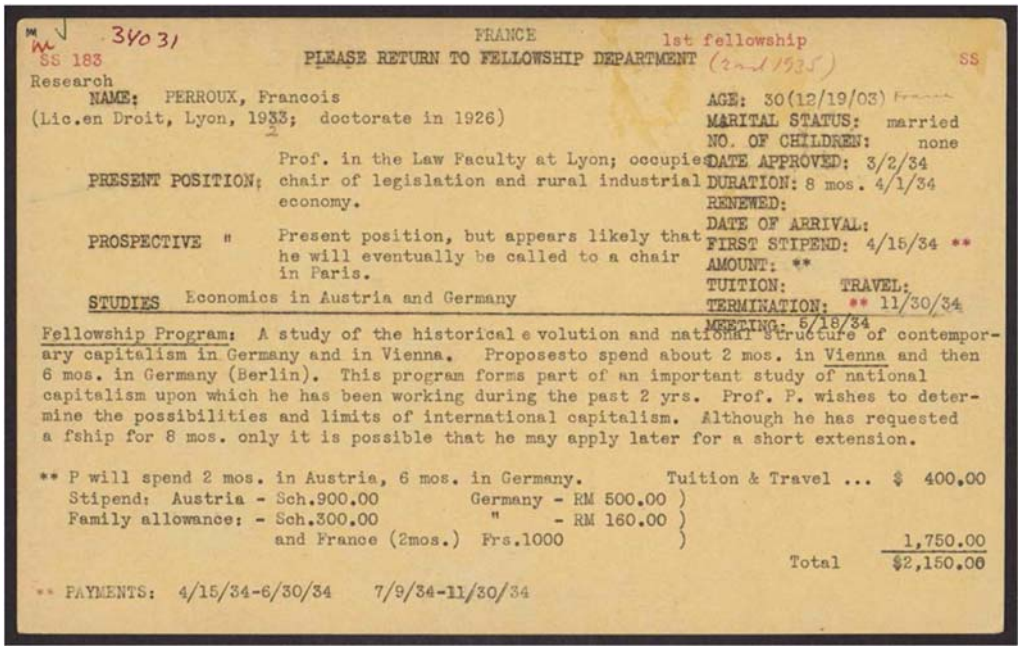
Take, G. (2017). American Support for German Economists after 1933: The Kiel Institute and the Kiel School in Exile. *Social Research: An International Quarterly*, *84*(4), 809–830.

Tournès, L. (2008). La fondation Rockefeller et la construction d'une politique des sciences sociales en France (1918-1940). *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, *63*(6), 1369–1402.

Urvoy, D. (1978). Yves Urvoy. *Revue Française d'histoire d'outre-Mer*, *65*(238), 64–98.

Villanueva, C. (1994). Une utilisation critique du "mythe" : François Perroux, lecteur de Georges Sorel. *Mil Neuf Cent*, *12*, 87–110. Caldwell, B., & Montes, L. (2015). Friedrich Hayek and his visits to Chile. The Review of Austrian Economics, 28(3), 261–309.

Annexe A.
Rockefeller Foundation records,
fellowship recorder cards, RG 10.2 (FA426), 1st fellowship 1934.



34031 FRANCE 1st fellowship
SS 183 PLEASE RETURN TO FELLOWSHIP DEPARTMENT (2nd 1935) SS

Research
NAME: PERROUX, Francois
(Lic.en Droit, Lyon, 1923; doctorate in 1926)

PRESENT POSITION: Prof. in the Law Faculty at Lyon; occupies chair of legislation and rural industrial economy.

PROSPECTIVE " Present position, but appears likely that he will eventually be called to a chair in Paris.

STUDIES Economics in Austria and Germany

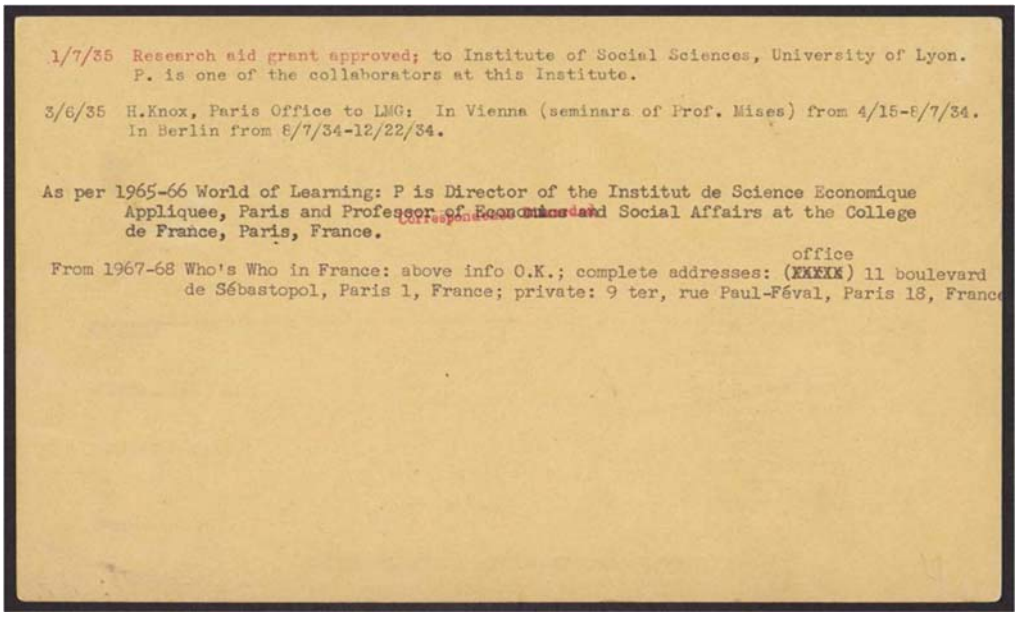
AGE: 30(12/19/03) France
MARITAL STATUS: married
NO. OF CHILDREN: none
DATE APPROVED: 3/2/34
DURATION: 8 mos. 4/1/34
RENEWED:
DATE OF ARRIVAL:
FIRST STIPEND: 4/15/34 **
AMOUNT: **
TUITION: TRAVEL:
TERMINATION: ** 11/30/34
MEETING: 5/18/34

Fellowship Program: A study of the historical evolution and national structure of contemporary capitalism in Germany and in Vienna. Proposesto spend about 2 mos. in Vienna and then 6 mos. in Germany (Berlin). This program forms part of an important study of national capitalism upon which he has been working during the past 2 yrs. Prof. P. wishes to determine the possibilities and limits of international capitalism. Although he has requested a fship for 8 mos. only it is possible that he may apply later for a short extension.

** P will spend 2 mos. in Austria, 6 mos. in Germany.
Stipend: Austria - Sch.900.00 Germany - RM 500.00)
Family allowance: - Sch.300.00 " - RM 160.00)
and France (2mos.) Frs.1000)

Tuition & Travel ... $ 400.00
1,750.00
Total $2,150.00

** PAYMENTS: 4/15/34-6/30/34 7/9/34-11/30/34



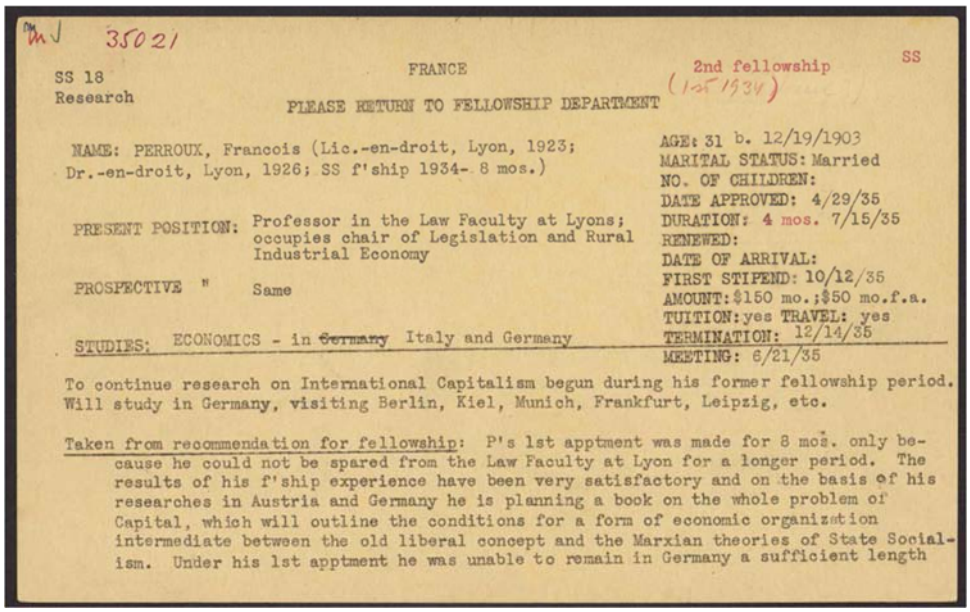
1/7/35 Research aid grant approved; to Institute of Social Sciences, University of Lyon. P. is one of the collaborators at this Institute.

3/6/35 H.Knox, Paris Office to LMG: In Vienna (seminars of Prof. Mises) from 4/15-8/7/34. In Berlin from 8/7/34-12/22/34.

As per 1965-66 World of Learning: P is Director of the Institut de Science Economique Appliquee, Paris and Professor of Economics and Social Affairs at the College de France, Paris, France.

From 1967-68 Who's Who in France: above info O.K.; complete addresses: (XXXIX) office 11 boulevard de Sébastopol, Paris 1, France; private: 9 ter, rue Paul-Féval, Paris 18, France

Annexe B.
Rockefeller Foundation records,
fellowship recorder cards, RG 10.2 (FA426), 2nd fellowship 1935.



35021

SS 18
Research

FRANCE

2nd fellowship (1934)

SS

PLEASE RETURN TO FELLOWSHIP DEPARTMENT

NAME: PERROUX, Francois (Lic.-en-droit, Lyon, 1923; Dr.-en-droit, Lyon, 1926; SS f'ship 1934- 8 mos.)

AGE: 31 b. 12/19/1903
MARITAL STATUS: Married
NO. OF CHILDREN:
DATE APPROVED: 4/29/35
DURATION: 4 mos. 7/15/35
RENEWED:
DATE OF ARRIVAL:
FIRST STIPEND: 10/12/35
AMOUNT: $150 mo.; $50 mo.f.a.
TUITION: yes TRAVEL: yes
TERMINATION: 12/14/35
MEETING: 6/21/35

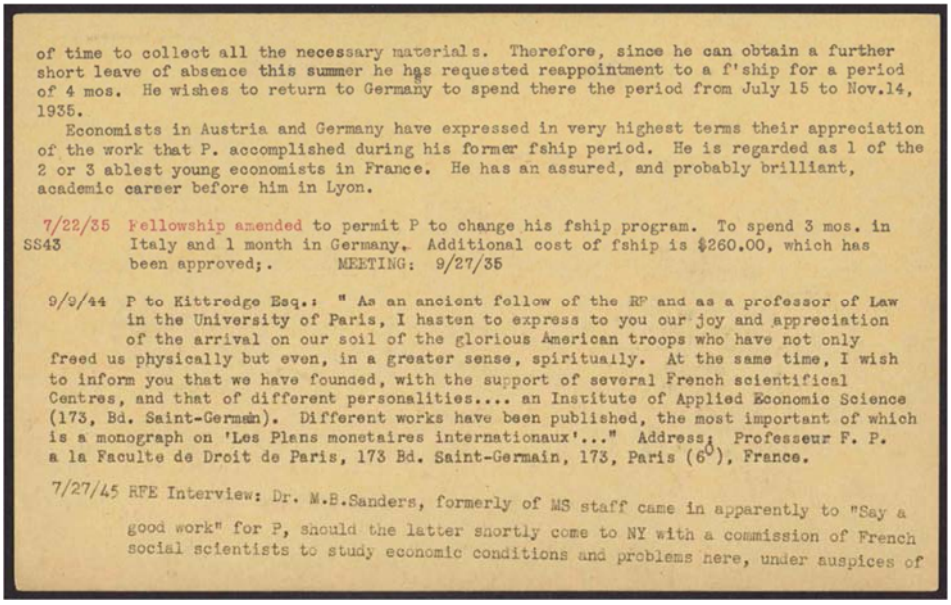
PRESENT POSITION: Professor in the Law Faculty at Lyons; occupies chair of Legislation and Rural Industrial Economy

PROSPECTIVE " Same

STUDIES: ECONOMICS - in ~~Germany~~ Italy and Germany

To continue research on International Capitalism begun during his former fellowship period. Will study in Germany, visiting Berlin, Kiel, Munich, Frankfurt, Leipzig, etc.

Taken from recommendation for fellowship: P's 1st apptment was made for 8 mos. only because he could not be spared from the Law Faculty at Lyon for a longer period. The results of his f'ship experience have been very satisfactory and on the basis of his researches in Austria and Germany he is planning a book on the whole problem of Capital, which will outline the conditions for a form of economic organization intermediate between the old liberal concept and the Marxian theories of State Socialism. Under his 1st apptment he was unable to remain in Germany a sufficient length



of time to collect all the necessary materials. Therefore, since he can obtain a further short leave of absence this summer he has requested reappointment to a f'ship for a period of 4 mos. He wishes to return to Germany to spend there the period from July 15 to Nov.14, 1935.

Economists in Austria and Germany have expressed in very highest terms their appreciation of the work that P. accomplished during his former fship period. He is regarded as 1 of the 2 or 3 ablest young economists in France. He has an assured, and probably brilliant, academic career before him in Lyon.

7/22/35 Fellowship amended to permit P to change his fship program. To spend 3 mos. in SS43 Italy and 1 month in Germany. Additional cost of fship is $260.00, which has been approved;. MEETING: 9/27/35

9/9/44 P to Kittredge Esq.: " As an ancient fellow of the RF and as a professor of Law in the University of Paris, I hasten to express to you our joy and appreciation of the arrival on our soil of the glorious American troops who have not only freed us physically but even, in a greater sense, spiritually. At the same time, I wish to inform you that we have founded, with the support of several French scientifical Centres, and that of different personalities.... an Institute of Applied Economic Science (173, Bd. Saint-Germain). Different works have been published, the most important of which is a monograph on 'Les Plans monetaires internationaux'..." Address: Professeur F. P. a la Faculte de Droit de Paris, 173 Bd. Saint-Germain, 173, Paris (6^{0}), France.

7/27/45 RFE Interview: Dr. M.B.Sanders, formerly of MS staff came in apparently to "Say a good work" for P, should the latter shortly come to NY with a commission of French social scientists to study economic conditions and problems here, under auspices of

DOCUMENTS DE TRAVAIL GREDEG PARUS EN 2019
GREDEG Working Papers Released in 2019

2019-01 Muriel Dal Pont Legrand & Harald Hagemann
Impulses and Propagation Mechanisms in Equilibrium Business Cycles Theories: From Interwar Debates to DSGE "Consensus"

2019-02 Claire Baldin & Ludovic Ragni
Note sur quelques limites de la méthodologie de Pareto et ses interprétations

2019-03 Claire Baldin & Ludovic Ragni
La conception de l'homme dans la théorie de l'Echange Composite de François Perroux : entre homo economicus et homo religiosus

2019-04 Charlie Joyez
Shared Ownership in the International Make or Buy Dilemma

2019-05 Charlie Joyez
Alignment of Multinational Firms along Global Value Chains: A Network-based Perspective

2019-06 Richard Arena & Ludovic Ragni
Nature humaine et choix rationnel : Pareto contre Walras ?

2019-07 Alain Raybaut
A First French Episode in the Renewal of Nonlinear Theory of Economic Cycles (1978-1985)

2019-08 Alain Raybaut
Bertrand Nogaro et l'économie de guerre : le Service de la main d'œuvre étrangère

2019-09 Nicolas Brisset & Dorian Jullien
Models as Speech Acts: A Restatement and a new Case Study

2019-10 Kozo Kiyota, Toshiyuki Matsuura & Lionel Nesta
On Export Premia

2019-11 Nicolas Brisset & Raphaël Fèvre
Peregrinations of an Economist: Perroux's Grand Tour of Fascist Europe