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Themes of anomie in French theatre since 1968

House, Jane E., Ph.D.

City University of New York, 1988

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THEMES OF ANOMIE IN FRENCH THEATRE SINCE 1968

by

JANE E. HOUSE

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in
Theatre in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City
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1988

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Abstract

THEMES OF ANOMIE IN FRENCH THEATRE SINCE 1968

by

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Chaos erupted in Paris in May 1968 as university students, who were later joined by workers, threw up barricades to protest the hierarchical nature of French society. The demonstrations took on the theatrical aspect of a festival. The social unrest reflected an anomie in French society which is deeply rooted in the nation's history. The alienation and disorientation of 1968 affected the theatrical system and the drama of France. Drawing on Robert K. Merton's typology of adaptations to anomie, in this study I will look at how seventeen playwrights addressed their concerns about the culture in twenty-two plays written since 1968. The chapters are arranged under three themes: plays about the Commune of 1871; plays about exile, immigration, and displacement; and plays on the theme of everyday life.

PREFACE

This dissertation would never have been possible if I had been working in a vacuum. For their intellectual stimulus and their helpful insights during the process of writing this paper, I owe a debt to all the members of my committee: Professors Albert Bermel, Marvin Carlson, and Stanley Kauffmann. I would especially like to thank Professor Daniel Gerould, the Chairman of my committee, for sparking my interest in the 1871 Commune and the theatre of everyday life, for giving me his sagacious advice on all aspects of the dissertation, and for spurring me on during the difficult months of writing. For his constant encouragement and warm support as well as for his counsel on the political and economic aspects of this dissertation, I want to acknowledge Elliot Zupnick, Professor of Economics at Columbia University and a friend of long-standing. Lastly, I must extend a special thanks to Ruth Cuker for insights and counsel that helped me endure.

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INTRODUCTION

Chaos erupted in Paris in May 1968 as university student revolutionaries led by Cohn-Bendit threw up barricades to protest the elitist university system of education,¹ the policies of the Fifth Republic and the god-like powers it had granted President General De Gaulle,² and the hierarchical nature of French society in general. Different factors led to similar uprisings in the United States and other European countries. The student protests in France triggered a general strike by workers, and the Paris police retaliated with batons and mace. The students took over the government-sponsored Odéon Theatre for administrative offices. Jean-Louis Barrault refused to follow the directive of the Minister of Culture, André Malraux, to cut off the Odéon's electricity, and his outspoken support of the occupiers later cost him the directorship of the theatre. The Odéon takeover was symbolic of the attitude of the revolutionaries. "Art is dead, let us create our daily lives" was one of the slogans used by the students.³

Several months earlier, on 15 March 1968, three days before the anniversary of the Commune of Paris, established on 18 March 1871, Les treize Soleils de la rue Saint Blaise by Armand Gatti opened at the Théâtre de l'Est Parisien

which was located in Belleville, the twentieth arrondissement. Long a working-class neighborhood, Belleville had been one of the last districts to fall to the government troops at the end of the Commune. The play grew out of discussions, led by Emile Copfermann, with regular audience members who talked about certain problems of their own that they would like to see presented in the theatre. This procedure resulted in a play that protested the gentrification of Belleville, and the rue Saint-Blaise in particular.

One of the central symbols was the watch that the Versaillais stole from the dead body of Eugène Varlin, one of the Commune leaders and a member of the Workers' International, after they had savagely executed him at the summit of Montmartre during the final week of repression. In reviving memories of the Commune barricades and of one of its martyrs, Gatti, quite by chance, prefigured the May 1968 barricades. One of the lines from the play, "Sous les pavés, la plage," which refers to a fantasy of bringing the ocean to the workers by flooding the streets of Belleville, was taken up as a slogan by the students.⁴ However, the Communist Party did not support the production, just as they did not wholeheartedly support the 1968 strikes. Gatti suggests that the Communists arranged for ejection of the production from the theatre because they disliked his anarchist views and the unrest he was causing in all-night discussions with the audience.⁵

Although I have chosen to begin this study at the turning point of May 1968, one cannot forget that this insurrection consummated long years of underlying discontent and restlessness in French society which has been noted by French writers, critics, and theatre artists. Simone Weil, writing during World War II and attempting to explain the collapse of France in June 1940, has traced a deep rift in French society back to the Commune.

The massacre during the Commune, so startling by reason of the number of victims and its ferocious character, gave the workmen the permanent feeling that they were outcasts in their own country, and the middle class, as a result of a bad conscience, a sort of physical fear of the workmen. This was still evident in June 1936; and the collapse in June 1940 is in a sense a direct result of that extraordinarily brief yet bloody civil war of May 1871, which continued secretly for nearly three-quarters of a century. The consequence was that the feeling of friendship between the youth of the big Ecoles and the people, from which feeling the whole of French nineteenth century thought had derived, as it were, its nourishment, became nothing but a memory.⁶

The prominent French theatre critic, Bernard Dort, argues that while the events of 1968 ushered in a new period of theatrical history in France that would have a long-lasting impact, the roots of the rebellion stretched down into French history.⁷ Many of the arguments regarding the elitism of French culture, manifested in the theatrical systems and traditions, echoed those of the French Revolution. The events of 1968 can also be seen, in the shorter perspective, as a reaction to developments since World War II, particularly the Gaullist policy of glorifying France

through its culture and the frustrated efforts of theatre people to reach a working-class audience.

The immediate post-war period saw the continuing popularity of Jean Anouilh, Jean-Paul Sartre, and Paul Claudel, as well as the emergence of Albert Camus as a dramatist.¹³ While theatre activity was still for the most part concentrated in Paris, between 1946 and 1951 Jeanne Laurent, the new head of the Spectacles et Musique sections of the Ministry of Beaux-Arts, would establish Centres Dramatiques Nationaux (CDN) in five areas of France. This marked an important step in the decentralization of French theatre, a process which Charles Dullin had first suggested. Michel Saint-Denis, nephew to Copeau, instituted an influential acting school as part of the CDN in Alsace when he became director in 1952. This school moved to Strasbourg with the company in 1953 and had a great impact on future generations of actors working in decentralized companies. In 1953, the influential theatre review, Théâtre Populaire, became another important factor in decentralization when it began publishing play texts and articles by critics and practitioners about activities at the Théâtre National Populaire in Paris, in the CDNs, and at theatre festivals. This journal was to last until 1963.

Decentralization continued in the 1950s and 1960s with the establishment of more CDNs as well as Maisons de la Culture, the brainchild of André Malraux, who was Minister of Culture from 1959 to 1969. Malraux also

instituted the category of Troupe Permanente for companies that would receive small government subsidies. In 1966 there were eight CDNs and nine Troupes Permanentes. By 1972, their numbers had greatly increased.

Major directors of the post-war period were Jean Vilar, who founded the Avignon festival in 1947 with Shakespeare's Richard II, Jean-Louis Barrault, Louis Jouvet, Roger Blin, Jean-Marie Serreau, and Jacques Mauclair. Their experimentation with works by Strindberg, Kafka, Genet, and Artaud (Le Théâtre et son double was reissued in 1944) paved the way for the New Theatre of the 1950s: the plays of Adamov, Beckett, and Ionesco. Five productions of plays by Adamov, and four by Ionesco, appeared in Paris between 1950 and 1953. In 1953, Roger Blin directed his famous production of En attendant Godot by Samuel Beckett. The plays of the New Theatre were confined to small art theatres in Paris; they did not achieve much success in the rest of France until the 1960s.

In 1951, Jean Vilar became head of the T.N.P. which was based at the 3,000 seat Chaillot theatre in Paris. He stayed at the T.N.P. until his resignation in 1963. Vilar felt that theatre could unite the people, and during his directorship, Vilar promoted the classics in the Parisian suburbs, known as the "red belt." He often used classical works, such as Antigone, The Mayor of Zalamea, and Aristophanes' Peace, to criticize both the Gaullist policies toward Algeria and the French populace's tendency to

deify the general in times of crisis; this led to a prickly relationship with the government, which was supporting Vilar's theatre. During his time at the T.N.P., Vilar also attempted to stage new plays, but the enormous size of the Chaillot hampered his efforts. In 1959 he hired a smaller theatre to produce contemporary writers such as Beckett, Pinget, Vian, Obaldia, Gatti, and Brecht.

Brechtian theories began to influence French theatre in 1954 when the Berliner Ensemble presented Mother Courage in their first trip to Paris. The French saw in Brecht the potential for an exciting new repertory, a new dialectical approach to the mise-en-scène, and a new way of writing. These aspects of Brecht's work would affect the work of French directors and playwrights and actors; the Brechtian influence reached its height in the 1960s. From the early 1960s to 1972, the decentralized theatres produced forty-four Brecht plays.

The director of the Théâtre de la Cité in Lyon, Roger Planchon, reacted to Brecht in a way that had an enormous influence on the younger generation of directors. Planchon, who had worked closely with Adamov in the 1950s, began to use a Brechtian dialectic in producing classics such as Shakespeare's Henry IV (1957), Adamov's Paolo Paoli (1957), and Molière's George Dandin (1958). However, despite the influence of Brecht, Planchon retained a strong style of his own in the production of plays which he began to write himself in the 1960s and in his production of Les

Coréens, an early play by Michel Vinaver, who was to become prominent in the seventies and the eighties.

The 1960s saw a new generation of artists in the provinces; they were inspired by Vilar, Planchon, the Strasbourg theatre school, and the Centres Dramatiques Nationaux. The repertory of the CDNs included classics produced after the fashion of Brecht and Planchon, plays by contemporary local writers such as Armand Gatti and Pierre Halet, and foreign works, both classic and contemporary.

The late 1950s and the 1960s also saw a growing sensitivity on the part of some theatre people, although not on the part of the government, to the problems of the third world. There were productions of works by Jean Genet (Les Nègres and Les Paravents), Kateb Yacine from Algeria (Le Cadavre enclercé and Les Ancêtres redoublent de férocité), Aimé Césaire from Martinique (La Tragédie du roi Christophe and Une Saison au Congo), and Armand Gatti, whose father was a poor immigrant from Italy. Gatti was the leading political dramatist of the 1960s and pleaded the case of countries in South and Central America and the Far East that he had visited as a journalist in the 1950s. Genet, Yacine, and Césaire were particularly concerned with the need for indigenous peoples in colonial countries to see themselves through their own eyes rather than through the eyes and prejudices of their colonizers. Jean-Marie Serreau began to successfully direct the work of Kateb Yacine in 1958; Roger Blin's production of Genet's Les

Nègres in 1959 drew great admiration from the author. In 1966, Barrault invited Blin to the Odéon to direct Genet's Les Paravents, a play about Arabs struggling for liberation in Algeria.

By the end of the 1960s, there was unrest among the members of decentralized theatres who felt that their productions were being used as showpieces for Gaullist policies despite the fact that in the productions they were attempting to criticize the consumer society and capitalism. They began to revive the 1930s debate over the relevance of the classics and rediscovered agit-prop theatre; and visits by the Living Theatre, the Bread and Puppet Theatre, and Grotowski's Laboratory Theatre in the 1960s created a demand for heightened emotional vitality in the theatre in France.

The 1968 revolution instigated a proliferation of new theatrical companies.⁴ Whereas in 1966 there were eight CDNs and nine Troupes Permanentes, by 1972 these numbers grew to twenty and seventeen, respectively. A great deal of activity came in the form of créations collectives, a terminology that suggests that the ideals of democracy were to be extended to theatre. Thus, the post-1968 period can be characterized as having a surge of experimentation with new theatrical forms which included a reappraisal of the roles of actor, director, and spectator. Six of the plays in this study grew out of a variety of collective work: La Passion du general Franco par les émigrés eux-mêmes by

Armand Gatti, Place Thiers by Yvon Birster, Les Immigrés by Jacques Kraemer, L'Age d'or by the Théâtre du Soleil, Germinal as adapted by Michel Deutsch, and La Table by Michèle Foucher.

Unfortunately, the militancy that was alive throughout society in the late 1960s could have destructive effects on the theatre. Dort has observed how a 1968 meeting in Villeurbanne was instrumental in destroying the dream that dramatic art could unite the public. The principal proponent of this dream was Jean Vilar, who had resigned from the T.N.P. in 1963 to devote himself to the Avignon festival. A meeting of a permanent committee of directors of popular theatres and maisons de la culture came up with a text, Charte de Villeurbanne,¹⁰ which contended that a cultural gap existed which the theatre could not bridge; the bourgeois cultural heritage was being enjoyed by the privileged--not the middle classes and educated proletariat, as had been expected; meanwhile, the ideas and feelings of their co-citizens, the "non-public," who participated in the production of material goods, were not being represented on the stage. The committee members wanted theatre to address this non-public; this meant that theatre had to be politicized, and that one could no longer cater to the dream that theatre could serve a mystical function of communion.¹¹

This profound division and this disorientation reflect anomie in the theatre which paralleled the anomic

experience in the society as everyone lived through times of social unrest. The term "anomie" derives from the Greek a meaning "without" and nomos meaning "law." Its use, in seventeenth century England, with the spelling "anomy" had legal and religious overtones. In the late nineteenth century, the French sociologist Emile Durkheim began to use the term in his studies on labor, crime, and suicide. In 1938, the American sociologist Robert K. Merton picked up the term in his essay, "Social Structure and Anomie," which he extended and revised in the 1950s in a second essay, "Social Structure and Anomie: Continuities."¹² According to Merton, Durkheim used the concept of anomie with regard "to a property of the social and cultural structure." Merton, in his study of deviant behavior, used it with regard "to a condition of individuals rather than of their environment."¹³

Merton developed his typology of reactions to anomie to oppose what he regarded as the "fallacious premise" of Hobbes and of Freud and of Freudian revisionists such as Fromm, that man rebels against the social structure because it "primarily restrains the free expression of man's fixed native impulses,"¹⁴ which are often "tagged as criminal, or pathological, or socially dangerous." Merton protests against this view of society as "an evil necessity"--the result of a compact between men to protect themselves from inherent anarchy. As a functional analyst, he prefers to view "the social structure as active, as producing fresh

motivations which cannot be predicted on the basis of knowledge about man's native drives."¹⁵ According to Merton, the social structure will not only impose constraints, but it will also create new avenues for expression. In addition, while not denying the validity of a psychological concept of anomie, which encompasses states of mind such as anxiety, isolation, or purposelessness, Merton argues that this concept is not a substitute for the sociological concept.¹⁶

The thrust of Merton's theory is that both socially deviant behavior and behavior that conforms to society's norms are products of the social structure. The problem, as Merton presented it in his 1938 essay, was to "discover how some social structures exert a definite pressure upon certain persons in the society to engage in non-conforming rather than conforming behavior."¹⁷

Merton assumes a group or society in which two social elements are very important. First are the goals which the group or society defines as being desirable. These goals "comprise a frame of aspirational reference. They are the things 'worth striving for,'"¹⁸ and they need not be related to man's biological drives. Merton suggests, for example, that acquiring wealth is a primary goal in American society and that this could be the cause of anomic distress.¹⁹ The second element within the society or group is the definition, regulation, and control of the institutional means or norms for achieving the desired goals. It

is the smooth integration of goals and means that leads to a well-ordered, healthy society. However, if there is an imbalance somewhere--stress on goals with no open avenues, no norms, stress on norms with no goals--the behavior of some individuals in the society will be affected.

In this context, the sole significant question becomes: which of the available procedures is most efficient in netting the culturally approved value? The technically most effective procedure, whether culturally legitimate or not, becomes typically preferred to institutionally prescribed conduct. As this process of attenuation continues, the society becomes unstable and there develops what Durkheim called 'anomie' (or normlessness).²⁰

Not everyone deviates. Merton writes that conformity is still the most common reaction to dysfunction between goals and means.²¹ It should be pointed out that Merton does not consider the dysfunction between goals and means to be the only cause of anomie. It is the one he focussed on in his exploration of aberrant behavior, and it is the one I shall be referring to.

Merton sees five possible reactions to the misalignment of goals and institutional norms within a society. In the first, the reaction of conformity, both the goals and norms are accepted; in the reaction of innovation, the goals are accepted and the institutionalized means rejected; in ritualism the goals are rejected and the means accepted; in retreatism both goals and means are rejected; finally, in rebellion, the goals and means of the old society or social structure are rejected and new goals and means are substituted.²² It must be remembered that these

are definitions of pure types, that there may be gradations, and that it is possible to move from one to the other.

In addition to these factors discussed by Merton, feelings of powerlessness are an essential component of anomie. Organized rebellion is an important mode of adjustment to anomie in that through rebellion people hope to gain control over their lives and destinies. In almost all the plays I have studied, in one form or another, the sense of powerlessness is pervasive.²³³

Despite the multiplicity of dramatic structures and the varying methods of creation and production, the plays I have chosen to discuss all reveal strong strains of anomie in French society. The plays, all written since 1968, fall into three categories: plays relating to the 1871 Paris Commune, plays on the theme of exile and displacement, and plays about everyday life, le quotidien, which reflect an interest in the everyday that extends through the fields of history, philosophy, and the arts.

Merton's "rebellion" mode of adaptation to anomie can be applied to all the Commune-related plays. Merton envisages "rebellion" as a way men have of changing an alienating society into a society that agrees more closely with their goals and means. It is when a state of rebellion has spread outside the small group level and has become endemic to a society that the potential for revolution is presented.²³⁴ In Benedetto and Fontaine's

historically oriented plays, rebellion is expressed against the prevailing government structures, as it is in Claude Prin's lyrical piece about the role of Commune women. In Pommeret's Lycée Thiers, maternelle Jules Ferry, it is expressed against an educational system that distorts the past. In Le Cochon noir, Planchon presents the audience with three conflicting forces. A backward mountain village undergoes anomic stress and value conflict as the villagers are caught in a struggle between the forces of white magic and the forces of orthodox religion. The villagers' pre-occupations undermine--by ignorance--the tragic political struggle of the Paris Communards, whom we see in intermittent scenes, first as they collect alms for children orphaned by la semaine sanglante and then as they are shot by firing squad. Merton's "rebellion" mode would even explain as induced behavior the actions of the famous Commune and poet, Louise Michel, who supported change by violent means when disillusionment with the governmental processes set in after her return from imprisonment in New Caledonia. Indeed it was she who began to use the black flag, a flag of mourning for the Commune dead, as a symbol of anarchy.²⁵

Two of Merton's modes of adaptation to anomie, "innovation" and "retreatism," can be applied to the group of plays which are concerned with the theme of exile, immigration, and displacement. As Merton has pointed out, with no intent of making any moral judgement, the adapta-

tion mode of "innovation" has often, although certainly not exclusively, been associated with immigrants, especially those most newly arrived who can find no opening to the success goal through institutionalized means and so devise their own illegitimate means.²⁶ In Sarrazac's Lazare lui aussi rêvait d'Eldorado we see how the displaced Lazare, dreaming of reaching an Eldorado filled with riches, is easily exploited by members of his own class who run a clandestine depot for the transportation of illegal immigrants to foreign parts. In L'Age d'or, the Théâtre du Soleil's collective creation, Mahmoud Ali aligns himself with the French owners of a shady construction business and assists in the exploitation of migrant labor.

"Retreatism" as a mode of adaptation to the anomic conditions of exile and displacement is widely apparent in this group of plays. As Merton explains:

. . .retreatism seems to occur in response to acute anomie, involving an abrupt break in the familiar and accepted normative framework and in established social relations, particularly when it appears to individuals subjected to it that the condition will continue indefinitely.²⁷

The typical characteristics of someone in this mode are a "nostalgia for the past and apathy in the present."²⁸

Simone Weil, who died in exile in England in 1940 at the age of thirty-three, has written with great compassion in complementary terms about the plight of exiles. She speaks very particularly to the difficulty of leaving old memories behind.²⁹ An extreme form of "retreatism" is complete

withdrawal, which, under the name of "accidie," the Roman Catholic Church considered a deadly sin because it induced "sloth and torpor."³⁰

Retreatism characterizes the behavior of Geronimo and the Apaches in Benedetto's Géronimo. Deprived of their culture and their historical means of making a living, they dream of a dignified past while the present drifts by. They and their Occitanian counterparts, whose culture was also destroyed, must rise up, says Benedetto.³¹

In Gatti's Passion du général Franco par les émigrés eux-mêmes, Spanish exiles, while sharing memories of the Civil War, suffer from inner conflict over how to continue struggling towards their goal of a Spain free from Franco's tyranny. In Exils by Enzo Cormann, a German poet in exile in Paris during World War II retreats into the past and sees nothing but bleakness in the present and future. From a different viewpoint, in Les Immigrés, without seeing any immigrants, we witness how fear and resentment and moral judgements within the social structure operate to deny the immigrant workers any sense of self-worth or achievement or any hope for advancement--attitudes which might force them into retreatism or innovation or rebellion as modes of adaptation.

In the théâtre du quotidien plays one can find all the modes of adaptation to anomie. Rebellion in the form of strikes and labor conflict is part of the off-stage action in Marianne attend le mariage by Wenzel and Fiévet,

in Michel Vinaver's Les Travaux et les jours and Nina, c'est autre chose, and in Michel Deutsch's Dimanche where the strikers all invade the gymnasium setting of the final scene. In Loin d'Hagondange a newly retired couple react with retreatism when they experience acute anomie in their new home far away from the routine life they have known for years. The father in Dimanche has a similar reaction of retreatism. In Vinaver's Dissident il va sans dire, a young man, alienated from society, turns to delinquency and crime.

The characteristics of the ritualist mode of adaptation are over-compliance in role performance and over-adherence to the regulations or the institutional norms despite experiencing a lack of success in achieving one's social aspirations; this over-compliance is coupled with an absence of belief in the goals of the social structure. According to Merton, he expects to find this response in the lower middle-classes³³ and among bureaucrats.³⁴ The lower middle-class fathers in Dimanche and in Marianne attend le mariage are good examples of this mode and of how a ritualistic, rigid attitude in a parent can lead children to suicide--as it does in Marianne. In Les Travaux et les jours we see how the ritualist adaptation mode works in a bureaucracy undergoing drastic changes in its structure.

An important aspect of the production of the plays in this study was their spontaneous response to the circumstances of the moment, to the context and climate of the

times. Since I did not see the plays, it is hard to predict what their lasting value and impact will be.

CHAPTER I

CONTEMPORARY COMMUNE DRAMA

Background of Literature on the Commune

The Paris Commune of 1871 is one of the great tragedies of the nineteenth century, so tragic, and any reminiscence so potentially divisive, that the event was officially buried from the French consciousness for decades and remains controversial today.³⁴ Although the Commune failed, over time it gained mythic proportions, both as a symbol of worker resistance to the repressive authority of the state and as a legend that echoes man's yearning for a Golden Age of economic and political equality and liberty. As the French historian Georges Haupt writes, the symbol of the Commune was used by anarchists and reinterpreted by left-wing parties:

Le symbole subsiste donc au sein des mutations. Resté inchangé dans les milieux anarchistes, il tend à se différencier chez les sociaux-démocrates, du fait de l'orientation que prend le socialisme international. La tradition reste vivace chez les marxistes révolutionnaires, mais l'image est estompée par les révolutions ultérieures. D'abord, par celle de la Révolution russe de 1905, encore qu'elle fasse resurgir le souvenir de la Commune, avec une forte touche de mimétisme.³⁵

Haupt goes on to say that the Commune image changed again before and after the Russian revolution of 1917; that it

became particularly inspired with Bolshevism in 1918; and that the 1927 Canton uprising also followed the model of Paris 1871. Haupt suggests that the symbol of the Commune is very much alive and that it inspired the May 1968 demonstrations in Paris.

Ce n'est là qu'un aspect de l'utilisation, après 1918, d'un symbole qui garde tout son prestige. On peut même dire que la tradition de la Commune trouve alors une seconde jeunesse. Elle se situe soit dans le sillage de la Révolution d'Octobre, soit en opposition à elle. Et mai 1968 à Paris encore en a fourni la démonstration.³⁶

May 1968 coincided very closely with the hundredth anniversary of the Commune and within the ten-year period 1968-1979 there appeared at least fifteen theatrical scripts on the subject. None, to my knowledge, have appeared since 1979. Of the fifteen, nine have been published. I will be examining seven of the published scripts, focussing particular attention on their structure and themes and on the authors' interpretations of Commune events. The plays, in chronological order, are Yvon Birster's Place Thiers (1970), André Benedetto's Commune de Paris (1971), Claude Prin's Cérémonial pour un combat (1971), Xavier Pommeret's Lycée Thiers maternelle Jules Ferry (1971), Roger Planchon's Le Cochon noir (1973), André Fontaine's Le Printemps de la sociale (1974), and Dominique Houdart's Louise Michel ou les oeillets rouges (1977).³⁷

On the educational front as well as in the arts, the official establishment suppressed factual knowledge about the Commune until after World War II. The prevailing

attitude was that the Commune represented an uprising by the dregs of society, the lowest classes; the rebels were considered to be an immoral lot, criminals and murderers, incendiaries and debauchers. In this view, the rebels had threatened the safety of France; the nation was saved and the Third Republic founded only through the foresight and political acuity of Adolphe Thiers, Chief Executive of the National Assembly sitting at Versailles. The calumnies against the Commune which had been handed down by historians, philosophers, critics (Taine, Renan, Littré, Sarcey) and literati (Flaubert, Daudet, Dumas films, Gautier, Edmond de Goncourt, Houssaye, Zola, and even Victor Hugo, as well as many others) were pointed out by Eugene Schulkind³⁸ and Jean Fréville³⁹ in the early 1950s. Two decades later, others expanded on this work, including Gérard Milhaud⁴⁰ and Paul Lidsky.⁴¹

It is impossible to discuss the literature on the Commune without saying a word about Karl Marx's famous essay, "The Civil War in France,"⁴² which he addressed to the General Council of the International Working Men's Association in London on 30 May 1871, two days after the end of the Paris Commune. Besides influencing future interpretations of the Commune, it would have a profound effect on all future leftist revolutions.

In the address, Marx presents the Commune as the first government of the people by the people. According to him, it was an inevitable outcome of the class struggle.

In his dialectical presentation, "[The Commune] was essentially a working-class government, the produce [sic] of the struggle of the producing against the appropriating class, the political form at last discovered under which to work out the economic emancipation of labour" (p. 473). On the other hand, the National Assembly at Versailles, headed by Adolphe Thiers, was a government of reactionaries, "expropriators" or "slaveholders."

He turns the conservative's view of the insurrection upside down. It was the Communards who were loyal to France against the Prussian invader; it was they who were long-suffering and peace-loving; it was they who were brave when forced into a bloody battle and who were kind to prisoners of war. It was the Commune women who were "heroic, noble, and devoted, like the women of antiquity" (p. 480). It was the Versaillais--by whom he means the government and its supporters as well as the bourgeois Parisians who had taken refuge there--who were vicious, two-faced canaille; they were the immoral traitors who robbed and betrayed France in order to preserve their wealth.

One of the most interesting aspects of his address for the purposes of this study is his scathing, acerbic depiction of Thiers and his government officials--Jules Favre, General Trochu, Ernest Picard, Jules Ferry--whom he calls "a cabal of place-hunting barristers" (p. 453), "a Government of National Defection" (p. 453), "capitulards"

(p. 455), and "ticket-of-leave men" (p. 456). He reserves special attention for Thiers, and he draws a scornful caricature. Among the most powerful of his descriptions of Thiers are: "monstrous gnome" (p. 456), with "dwarfish arms" (p. 458), the "historical shoe-black" (p. 458) of the first Napoleon, with "a brain all the vitality of which had fled to the tongue" (p. 458), who cries "as freely as Jules Favre, or any other crocodile" (p. 459), and who has "the elated vanity of a parliamentary Tom Thumb, permitted to play the part of a Tamerlane" (p. 467). Marx's portrayal of Thiers and his ministers must certainly have influenced the contemporary dramatic interpretations of the Commune that will be discussed in this chapter.

The effect of censorship on plays about the Commune, or on plays suggesting any kind of uprising, which were produced in Paris between 1871 and 1906, has been carefully documented by Josette Parrain and Madeleine Rébérioux in two separate presentations to a university-wide, multi-disciplinary colloquium commemorating the centenary of the Commune in May 1971.⁴³ For her paper, Josette Parrain researched the manuscripts submitted to the censors during this period as well as the censors' reports; most of these documents can still be found in the national Archives.

A word should be said at this point about Jules Vallès' play, La Commune de Paris, which was finished in 1872 but which was not published until 1970.⁴⁴ Vallès, poet, novelist, and journalist, as well as a delegate to

the Commune from the fifteenth arrondissement, wrote his play as an apology for the Commune while he was in exile. It suffers from an excess of rhetoric and a contrived plot. And while public readings of the play were favorably received by fellow exiles in Switzerland, it has never been performed in full.⁴⁵

Censorship in France officially ended in 1906 when the legislature cut off the funds that supported the censors' salaries. However, a form of censorship still exists since a 1790 law, which is still in effect, gives mayors and prefects the power to determine what can be performed in their bailiwicks, and they may forbid performances that disturb l'ordre public. Thus, as recently as 1968 Armand Gatti's La Passion de général Franco par les émigrés eux-mêmes was banned in subsidized theatres. In the same year, a number of directors of provincial Maisons de la Culture were dismissed for allowing their theatres to be used as forums for worker and student debates and political meetings.

Beginning in 1906 until just after World War II, despite the elimination of a censorship board, French plays about the Commune were rare. There are, of course some notable exceptions. In January-February 1908 André Antoine, then director of the Odéon and therefore part of the recognized establishment, presented a naturalistic production of L'Apprentie by Geffroy, a writer, journalist, and historian of Blanqui. Parrain describes the play as a

popular drama which, using the Commune as a framework, depicts the miseries of a lower-class family. The playwright's thesis is that "tout aurait été différent pour ces pauvres gens si la Commune l'avait emporté."⁴⁶

The previous year, as Parrain insists, Antoine had participated in a little noticed play about the Commune.

Un acte passe généralement inaperçu, même joué par Antoine. Du 28 novembre au 9 décembre 1907, par exemple, B. Ginisty donne Le Fanion. . . . Petit drame poignant où l'on prend le temps de discuter la Commune. . . . Il semble qu'on ait très peu parlé de cette pièce.⁴⁷

This suggests that Antoine had a continuing interest in the impact of the Commune on people's lives. Twenty years earlier, on 29 and 30 March 1877, he had opened the Théâtre Libre with a production of Zola's Jacques Damour. Antoine played the Communard, Jacques Damour. However, according to Parrain, the adaptation by Léon Hennique and Zola toned down the relationship between the suffering Jacques experienced as a social outcast and his participation in the Commune: "Plutôt qu'un ancien de 1871 qu'on avait la possibilité de montrer pour la première fois librement sur scène, Antoine a campé un pauvre diable malchanceux."⁴⁸

Other notable exceptions of plays about the Commune written before 1950 are those by Nordahl Grieg and Bertolt Brecht. In 1937 Grieg's The Defeat was very successful in Norway, his homeland. It was translated into German in 1938 at the instigation of Brecht, then into English in 1944, but it has never been translated into French. The

Defeat influenced one of Brecht's last plays, The Last Days of the Commune, which dates from 1948-49. This play, never produced in Brecht's lifetime, was in rehearsal when he died in August 1956. It was published posthumously in 1957. It had its premiere on 17 November 1956 at Theater Karl Marx Stadt, and became part of the Berliner Ensemble repertory in 1962. It was presented in Paris for the first time in March 1971 at Théâtre Gérard Philippe in Saint-Denis.⁴⁷

It was only after World War II that a flood of published materials began to appear in France on all aspects of the Commune.⁴⁸ Beginning in the late 1940s, there were many articles and books devoted to such Commune themes as the Thiers-Bismarck complicity against Paris; la semaine sanglante or the Bloody Week of repression; deportees and outlaws of the Commune; the Communes in the provinces; and the influence of the Commune in France and abroad. New editions were issued of works by the Communards Vallès and Vuillaume, and collections of Commune documents were published.⁴⁹

Among the 'new theatre' playwrights or absurdist, Arthur Adamov alone addressed himself to the Commune; in 1960 he wrote Le Printemps 71 in which he follows the fortunes of a group of fictional Communards from the seizure of the guns in Montmartre to the fall of Paris. The story of these Communards is interspersed with guignols, where allegorical figures representing Thiers,

Bismarck, the Bank, the Commune, and a Conciliator interact to show the historical stages of the struggle. Adamov knew Brecht's play but felt that it was too conventional and did not have a good synthesis between the historical action and the private lives of the Communards. He attempted to improve on Brecht by making the populace, "tous ceux de la Commune," take first place in the story.⁵³ The ending captures some of the horror of Adamov's earlier Professor Taranne: as the Versailles knock on the door, the red flag of the Commune suddenly falls from its hiding place and envelops a young Communard woman; certain death is implied if the soldiers catch her with the incriminating evidence.⁵⁴

French Plays on the Commune Since 1968

None of the seven contemporary published scripts dealing with the Commune questions the legitimacy of the revolt. The authors have political viewpoints which range from left of center to ultra-leftist and tend to reflect Marxist-Leninist views. However, the subject matter portrayed, the manner in which it is related to the Commune, and the form and style of presentation, are all quite different. In some cases it is also clear that the playwrights' intentions vis-à-vis their audience are markedly dissimilar. The authors may be accused of presenting partial truths, but one must keep in mind George Orwell's statement that "all art is to some extent propaganda."⁵⁴

For the purposes of this study I will contrast two plays that look at Commune events from a wide historical perspective (Benedetto and Fontaine); two that view the Commune specifically from the provinces (Birster and Planchon); and two that examine the role of Commune women (Houdart and Prin). I will conclude with the play by Pommeret, who chooses a school setting to address his concern over how the image of the Commune lives on in the educational system today.

Le Printemps de la sociale and Commune de Paris

Benedetto's Commune de Paris (1971) and Fontaine's Le Printemps de la sociale (1974) both deal with the major events of the Paris Commune. They approach their subject, however, from very different points of view. Benedetto, who wrote the play to commemorate the hundredth anniversary of the Commune, expresses a militancy reminiscent of the Jacobins, as well as of the 1960s writer Frantz Fanon. For Fontaine, the question of the Commune is a complicated one which needs to be discussed in depth. He is concerned about portraying the Communards, and through them, socialists, as people who care about preserving and enhancing human life. He does not want to minimize their drama by presenting "une situation politique et des cas de conscience sous forme de flashes" (p. 6), a criticism that he might have levelled at Benedetto's play. Fontaine con-

cludes Le Printemps de la sociale with a call for socialists to unite worldwide.

In his "Note de l'Auteur," Fontaine discloses that he aims to reveal the power that was possessed by the written word, by which he includes song, during a time when people relied on it as almost the sole vehicle of ideas. During the course of the play he also indicates how necessary it is to be a careful judge of what one reads and hears. He even suggests that the non-literate man in the street can perceive truth more clearly than the educated person just by using common sense.³⁵

While conducting the reader-viewer through all the contradictions of the event, Fontaine addresses himself critically, sometimes by satire, to the polemics that have always plagued leftist thought. This is not surprising for a man who was editor-in-chief of Le Monde (1969-85) and who has for a long time been a student of both international affairs and socialist thought.³⁶ He reviews many of the arguments between the various factions of Communards, placing particular emphasis, as one would expect from a working journalist, on the documentary evidence of newspaper articles, position papers, official journals, and other writings spanning the years from the work of Leconte de Lisle in 1848 to Solzhenitsyn.

While Fontaine wants to disclose the power of the written word, he recognizes the value of entertaining an audience by juxtaposing polemics and debate with romance

and satire and a whole range of audio and visual stimulation. The script, which is two hundred pages long and very dense, is a conglomeration of popular and documentary theatre. Fontaine creates a colorful, theatrical collage in which he interweaves a story of young love, in the style of popular romance, with fictional and historical Commune scenes, as well as scenes which directly cite documents. There is a range of fictional and non-fictional characters drawn from the two sides in the civil war, as well as non-fictional characters who were active in the socialist movement. In addition, there are the chorus of workers, and the allegorical figures of Famine and War. He uses cartoon, caricature, and satire in treating villains such as Bismarck, Favre, and Thiers, as well as the Commune's Committee of Public Safety. Interspersed in the play are worker and Commune poetry, mime, dance, music, song, battle sounds, and slide projections. The combination of many art forms is reminiscent of the total theatre of union which was supported by the Front Populaire in the late thirties and even of Jean-Louis Barrault's experiments in directing the works of Paul Claudel and others.

The chorus of eight to ten workers dressed in rags opens the play, recalling the choral aspects of Mayakovsky's Mystery Play. In the background we hear a recording of the "Chant des ouvriers."⁵⁷ Out of the chorus comes François, le jeune premier, an uneducated adolescent Parisian who sympathizes with the international plight of

the worker and who turns Communard. For Fontaine, François represents the people, especially the youth, of France:

François, c'est le représentant du peuple mais il n'est pas seulement choryphée, il se mêle aux groupes et se bat sur les barricades. Ses interventions sont celles de la vox populi avec en plus le sens critique de la jeunesse de tous les temps.
(p. 20)

The most recognizable aspect of the play, to the unsophisticated members of the audience, would be the love story between the worker, François, and the young bourgeoisie, Marie, innocent daughter to a disagreeable and harsh landlord who does not support the Commune. They represent the nation, and because they are able to unite and fight together for the Commune, despite class differences, they symbolize Fontaine's hope for the future.

François often addresses the audience directly or plays up to them, and we have the opportunity, throughout the play, to hear his comments on the historical events and intellectual debates of the Commune. He is the common man who does not understand all the intellectual arguments but who has the presence of mind to perceive in I:7 that, despite them, the exploitation of the worker can come to an end:

Bon, à c'qu'y parait les intellectuels sont pas d'accord, mais il y a une chose qu'est sûre, y veulent tous que les ouvriers soyent plus exploités; c'est ça que j'retiens d'abord.

Et si on doit faire la révolution, c't'idée suffit pour commencer. Après pour mettre une république d'aplomb on a no'mot à dire. Faudrait pas qu'ils oublient ça, tous autant qu'ils sont. Parce que les idées, c'est une chose, la volonté du peuple c'en est une autre.

While François repeatedly questions the value of intellectualizing about the Commune, it is the ideas behind the rebellion that Fontaine spends much time analyzing, both seriously and satirically. He cites from documents to dramatize the crosscurrents of intellectual argument and the struggle for power, particularly as they affected socialist contentions within the Commune. To represent the radicals, he revives the 1790s French revolutionary and sans-culotte, Père Duchêne, whom he describes as a "sexagenaire" of "forte corpulence" with a "pipe et chapeau à larges bords, foulard rouge" (p.42). This character quotes selections from Le Père Duchêne, a radical Commune newspaper.¹³⁴ The editors of this paper took an anticlerical position that harked back to the 1793 paper of the same name; they divided the world into two categories, the jean-foutres or queux and the bons bougres or braves; aimed at a populist public, the writing was replete with slang and bawdy interjections.

In II.12 and II.25 Fontaine uses Père Duchêne along with journalists Vallès, Pyat, Pierre Denis, and André Leo (pseudonym for the female writer, Leonide Champsex) to support the Communards. Sarcey, Jules Richard, and P.Leroy Baulieu represent Versailles. The latter quote injurious and inflammatory passages selected from Le Figaro, Le Gaulois, and Le Revue des Deux Mondes. Communard writers, outraged by what they have heard, respond with passages

selected from Le Père Duchêne, La Sociale, and Le Cri du Peuple. Interweaving his own words with these selections, Fontaine demonstrates how powerful propaganda can be in journalism and how both factions follow class lines. Sarcey's speeches are particularly malignant in their portrayal of Communards as convicts and canaille or rabble.

Duchêne responds vociferously, presenting his opinions throughout the second act in soliloquies and numerous scenes. In the first soliloquy (II.14), his identification with the proletariat often spills over into sentiments of violence against any of its enemies:

Fusillez! Guillotinez,
 et que la révolution soit sauvée
 La terreur dira-t-on
 Oui.
 La terreur
 Imbéciles que vous êtes
 Qui veut la fin veut les moyens et il suffirait de
 500 têtes pour sauver 500 000 âmes.
 Mais vous, vous avez peur
 et vous ne ferez rien.

This virulence extends to Communards who disagree with majority opinion. When, having lost their vote against the institution of a Committee of Public Safety and fearful of another Reign of Terror, the Commune minority withdraw from the Hôtel de Ville, Père Duchêne accuses them of treason (II.17):

Il faut que le peuple sache à quoi s'en tenir sur vos personnes, il faut que vos noms soient connus. ... Le père Duchêne défie n'importe lequel d'entre vous de prouver qu'il a fait cela par courage, ah misérables! Ca vous a plu tant qu'il n'y avait pas de danger... de vous goberger dans les fauteuils de l'Hotel de Ville...et de vous dire les élus du peuple et d'en tirer profit. ... Vous

seriez bien aise de tirer votre épingle du jeu sans rien dire!

Donc vous ne croyez pas au succès, donc vous êtes des traîtres et vous devez passer en jugement.⁵⁷

Using more fiery language, in II.19 he calls for the destruction of the infamous monuments to dynastic power, such as the Tuileries Palace, and suggests throwing the body of Badinguet, or Napoleon III, into quicklime. In II.28 he challenges Versailles to war to the death; sure that the idea of the Commune will live on, he is unafraid. In his final soliloquy, he quotes from Eugène Vermersch's poem "Les Incendiaires" as he watches Paris burn. Remnants of the old imperial order which served to suppress the people burn with it: prisons, the Palace of Justice, the Court of Accounts, and the Gobelins tapestry works. Duchêne revels in the destruction: "L'incendie est partout, immense, triomphant."

While Duchêne brings to mind the terrors of the French Revolution, Fontaine puts his faith in the common man's ability to see through and control Duchêne's ravings. Allied to François by class, as Act II begins Duchêne takes it upon himself to teach the young man the ideological ABCs or RPBs (révolte, rêve, patriot, Blanqui) of the newly elected Commune. By II.25, François seems to have caught on to the fact that there is something irrational about Duchêne's thinking. It is because of François's healthy, sceptical attitude toward all rhetoric that he is able to point out a discrepancy in Père Duchêne's views:

FRANCOIS:--Je comprends pas, père Duchêne; vous êtes pour la liberté de la presse et vous réclamez la dictature?

LE PERE DUCHENE, un instant déconcerté:--Eh bien oui, je veux la démocratie dans la dictature, en quelque sorte. (II.25)

If Fontaine emphasizes the volatile and agitational nature of radical thought, he also acknowledges the frustrations of socialist interaction, and he condemns the destructive and petty nature of socialist leaders and ideologists. The lines of argument are drawn at the beginning of the play, in I.7, between ideologists Proudhon and Blanqui who disagree over whether reason or revolution should be used to foment a new order, and over whether the new community will allow freedom for the individual. Even when they do agree about the importance of education, they disagree over whether it should be religious or atheistic in orientation.

Other Commune leaders continue to wrangle throughout the play. In II.6 Varlin and Vallès argue about whether the bourgeoisie can be allowed to play a revolutionary role. In II.23 Varlin and Ferré strongly disagree over the issue of violence and over whether hate and collective fury need to play a role in changing the world. Varlin, who believes in following the way of justice and fighting without hate, has the last line of this scene: "Le doute n'est pas un défaut lorsqu'on remet la vie en question, avec les principes." Some quarrels continue to the point of absurdity, persisting at inordinately inopportune times.

The final debate takes place in III.5 between Ferré, Vallès, Varlin, and Delescluze (President of the Commune), as the noises of war are heard in the distance. Up till the last minute before they collect themselves for battle, they are lost in an interminable round of interpersonal quarrels: Girondin or Jacobin, justice or tyranny, religion or atheism, compromise or no compromise.

Fontaine mocks all those who put themselves above others, all manifestations of power, whether it be MacMahon, Bismarck, Thiers, Favre, Napoleon III, and the Versailles Assembly or the newly elected Committee of Public Safety, the supposedly powerful but incompetent executive committee of the Commune. In II.30 we see the five Committee members sitting in a Kiddy Park with toy cannon, wooden swords, miniature trumpets, drums, an abacus, and a little red flag, unable to come to any decisions about allocations of money or personnel. In contrast, three scenes prior to this (II.27) we had witnessed the Assembly at work in Versailles. Here, the representatives indulged very little in discussion and a vote was quickly overruled in order to favor the desires of Prime Minister Thiers, who proved to be well-practiced in the egotistical, spoiled, and imperious ways of royalty.

In the final scene of the fictional love story between Marie and François, Fontaine picks up the theme of education as propaganda for a particular social system. Fontaine suggests that when the Commune failed, the bour-

geoisie returned to Paris and incorporated into their own policy the idea of education for all. But instead of socialist beliefs, everyone was to learn the bourgeois values of respect for property and love of capital. However, these values do not assuage the common man's underlying hostility towards the bourgeoisie, who are portrayed as being in league with the repressive police force. François, now a mechanic who attends night school, demonstrates what he has learned in physics by punching a bourgeois in the face.

Fontaine establishes a connection between student and worker alienation in post-Commune society and the student and worker strikes of 1968, which met with armed retaliation by the conservative Gaullist government. In fact, some circumstances of May 1968 paralleled those of March-May 1871: the strikes spread to other cities; factories were occupied; the CGT workers' union paraded its troops (of four to eight hundred thousand) in Paris; and the Bourse was fired. On 29 May 1968 De Gaulle, fearing a revolution, fled during the night for Germany to confer with his military leaders. This is reminiscent of Thiers' flight to Bismarck to arrange for the release of French troops to crush the Commune.⁶⁰

In March 1971, Parisian high school students, and some even younger, encouraged workers to strike as a way of celebrating the Commune's centenary. Schools were opened to the populace who were invited to join in the celebra-

tions. That the government called out the "CRS security police armed with grenade-launchers and submachineguns"¹⁶¹ is evidence of the fact that the forces of revolution and repression are still very much alive in France. The government's fear of student power was felt most recently in 1986, when students went on strike to protest a proposed change in the university fee structure. The protests, which were organized by the youthful members of S.O.S. Racisme, France's major anti-racist group, made Chirac's government of co-habitation drop their proposal.

In the grand finale of Le Printemps de la sociale, Fontaine attempts to universalize the socialist movement and expunge political disagreements. Following the aesthetic of socialist realism, Fontaine makes use of music and socialist literature, and he adapts images from romantic revolutionary art, such as Eugène Delacroix's 1830 painting "Liberty Leading the People," to make us believe in the reality of permanent social revolution and in the evolution of a socialist state. As the red flag waves, François and Marie, now in modern dress, join the worker chorus, poets, Père Duchêne, and famous Communards: Louise Michel, Varlin, and Vallès. They cite Lenin, Rosa Luxembour, and Marx; they sing Pottier's "L'Internationale," first in French and then in Russian and Spanish, recalling the Russian Revolution of 1917 and the Spanish Civil War. The proletariat is urged to unite in nine cities: Paris,

Berlin, Moscow, Madrid, Peking, Hanoi, Havana, Budapest, and Prague.

Chorus members quote nine phrases from the May 1968 uprising of students and workers:

- 1/ L'émancipation de l'homme sera totale ou ne sera pas.
- 2/ Soyez réalistes, demandez l'impossible.
- 3/ Un bon maître, nous en aurons un dès que chacun sera le sien.
- 4/ La révolution est une initiative.
- 5/ L'imagination prend le pouvoir.
- 6/ Il faut changer de vie.
- 7/ Cours camarade, le vieux monde est derrière toi.
- 8/ Il ne peut y avoir révolution que là où il y a conscience.
- 9/ Vive la démocratie directe. (Page 210)

Then they slowly descend the stairs of the raised platform to the rhythm of Shostakovitch's Twelfth Symphony. The projection of portraits of prominent leftist theoreticians such as Marx, Bakunin, Lenin, Trotsky, Jaurès, Rosa Luxembour, Mao, Ho Chi Minh, Che Guevara, and Lumumba stresses the eclectic aspect of socialism; some actors dance in the manner of the Peking Opera. Again the "Internationale" theme is evoked. A red curtain rises up behind the chorus as they sing the final song, Eugène Pottier's "L'insurgé."

Where Fontaine attempts a dialectical approach to history, Benedetto avoids any fundamental discussion of ideas and polarizes the audience into positions which are either for or against the martyrs of the Commune.⁴² Known for his Marxist views and for his support of the Occitanian separatist movement, he aligns himself with the forces of

rebellion in modern France. His Commune de Paris consists of one hundred and fifty short scenes; over half of the scenes have fewer than fifteen lines of dialogue. The playwright assumes a familiarity with the events of the Commune since he does not include character names in the published script nor are they often incorporated into the dialogue. He relies on the power of the image or the symbol to catch the attention of the viewer, and the relationship of oppressor-victim to catch the viewer's emotions.

For instance, the final sixth of the play is devoted to the massacre of la semaine sanglante. Here, Benedetto juxtaposes images of the victims with images of Thiers' government, which he portrays as a self-satisfied sadistic oppressor, thereby provoking feelings of rage against the forces of "law and order and civilisation," who are revealed as the real villains. Twenty-four short and powerful scenes show the indiscriminate murder of innocents--women, children, doctors, the aging--as well as National Guards. Then Premier Thiers, who has ordered the murders, addresses "the silent and satisfied majority," claiming that the forces of civilisation have prevailed over the evil-doers. There follow twelve staccato lines devoted to the joy of shooting defenseless people with machine guns; one can almost hear the bursts of fire. Then Thiers orates again, this time glorifying the lesson he has taught to the pile of dead monsters. The juxtaposition of

these scenes facilitates an awareness of the tragic contradictions imbedded in his speech:

La justice du reste satisfera bientôt la conscience humaine indignée des actes monstrueux dont la France et le monde viennent d'être témoins.

L'armée a été admirable. Nous sommes heureux dans notre malheur de pouvoir annoncer que, grâce à la sagesse de nos généraux, elle a essuyé très peu de pertes.

Il n'y a plus de question sociale. Le socialisme est fini pour longtemps. La République sera conservatrice, ou ne sera pas.

L'ordre, la justice, la civilisation ont enfin remporté la victoire!

Bravo! (p. 183)

Benedetto wishes to break down all the walls that divide men. His post-script to Commune de Paris is a prose poem about many kinds of walls which ends with a tribute to the Commune as an exemplary spiritual force in today's world. He implies that the people of modern France should take up arms and create a people's army, as they did on 18 March 1871 when they claimed the cannon on Montmartre. In the play, he attributes to the Communards the idea that: "Le droit ne s'établit que par la persuasion du fusil et par la force morale du canon" (p. 28).

Should the example of the Commune be followed, Benedetto suggests possibilities of further revolutionary action in modern France: dismissing the city councillors; taking the Papal palace of Avignon and making it a space which is full of energy (as strikers and students attempted to do when they occupied the Odéon in 1968); appropriating the Avignon bridge for dancing; converting churches and empty places into day nurseries, meeting halls, or youth

halls; desecrating Thiers's tomb and skeleton; televising meetings of ministers to prevent them withholding information from the people; suppressing subsidies to theatres and assuming control over them; creating restaurants for the populace out of kitchens that suffer from disuse. The final lines of Benedetto's post-script imply that the Commune is the spark of the future: "le luxe de la vie," "une liste à compléter," "une liste à refaire," "une page blanche."

Benedetto's view that the Commune is a blank page of the future suggests a kinship with the International Situationist section which was founded in 1957 and to which has been ascribed the inspiration for the student uprisings in Strasbourg, as well as the 1968 revolt in Nanterre and Paris.⁶³ The Situationists called for a rethinking of the working-class movement, and suggested that the mass movement be allowed to develop on its own, free of traditional revolutionary parties and their inherited slogans, as Richard Greeman explains:

This 'dead hand of the past,' which today includes not only Jacobinism but every form of reformism and Communism, still weighs heavy on the present, although the French events of 1968 and the rise of a world-wide New Left have done something to counter its effect. . . .

Like the Communards of old, the youth and workers of France experienced their revolt as actuality; as possibility, as a future that lay open before them; this in contrast to the Old Left dogmatists for whom history, and hence the future, is determined. These contrasting viewpoints reveal two totally opposed conceptions of revolutionary praxis.⁶⁴

The Situationists took as their literary heroes Baudelaire, Rimbaud, the Surrealists, and the Dadaists. Benedetto chooses Rimbaud as a literary hero and claims that he was the only man of letters clearly to have supported the 1871 Commune. Although he has some doubt about the extent of their involvement, Benedetto does consider Hugo and Verlaine as also being Commune supporters. One must assume that, in choosing Rimbaud, Benedetto has been inspired by Rimbaud's Commune poems--"Chant de guerre parisien," "L'Orgie parisienne ou Paris se repeuple," and "Les Mains de Jeanne-Marie"--as well as the earlier poems against oppressive rule--"Morts de quatre-vingt-douze" and "Rages de Césars."

If Rimbaud saw himself as "one of the founders of a new age" and exalted the power of revolutionary violence in 1871, Benedetto follows his lead a century later. Commune de Paris begins with two short conversations between Marx and Engels, Stalin and Lenin, and then moves into lyrical passages describing the meaning of the Commune in apocalyptic visions of eruption, in visions of Commune life exploding into being, in visions of a flower, a heart, a fire, a dream, all alive and gestating a new society. This lyricism surrounds a core passage which revives the harsh sentiment that revolutionary action is a necessity if one wants both to make these visions live and to create one's own life. Poetry and politics live side by side in his writing.

The play has no plot except the gestation, the explosion, and the flow of the Commune. Following the lyrical opening described above, the play is divided into three sections, each allocated its own visual symbol and song: the struggle for control over Paris, symbolized by a cannon and "The Red Flag" song; the elections and the days of the Commune, symbolized by Marianne, une grande femme rouge, and "La Carmagnole"; and the repression, symbolized by a large fist and "La Commune N'est Pas Mo-or-orte." Two brief closing scenes bring us suddenly into the present.

Whereas Fontaine emphasizes documentary evidence and historical accuracy, Benedetto limits any suggestion of deep political disagreement to four episodes: two people arguing about whether it's time to work or to fight (p. 87); a discussion of the value of solitary confinement for political prisoners (p. 96-7); a showdown between the Commune majority and minority parties which outlines the difference in their principles (p. 105-6); and an argument between Rossel and Delescluze about how to conduct the defense of Paris against Thiers' army (p. 154). Benedetto's emphasis, consequently, is not on the actions of the intellectual leaders but on the role of the less verbal proletariat, who are advised to keep their eye on the leaders and their guns ready to defend the revolution.

To further underline his theme that power lies in the hands of the people, in his introduction Benedetto requests that the use of costume or other disguise be kept to a

minimum, because disguise does not possess the magical powers attributed to it. Real power can only be found in street action: "Qu'il faut aller rendre à la rue les forces que le théâtre vole. Qu'il aille révéler les tendances inconscientes, les virtualités, les potentialités. Sans occultisme!" (p. 19) Moreover, the power of the sans-culotte is easily available to the mass movement in the imagination of "n'importe quel jeune qui arpente la chaussée," if he is given a "bonnet phrygien" and brought into the street parade:

Voilà des gens qui s'expriment
 et qui expriment ce qui anime au fond les
 \ masses
 tous les autres
 Il y a la joie et la gravité. De transgresser
 et d'assumer cette transgression.
 De témoigner que malgré tout les forces vives de
 l'imagination restent présentes et actives,
 qu'il est possible de faire "quelque chose" et de
 donner envie aux autres d'en faire autant. (p. 20)

Benedetto is known for performing in the street. He celebrated the centenary of the Commune on 27 March 1971 with a parade through Avignon. The participants, who were small in number, waved red flags and placards and beat their drums; above their heads they held up a huge fist and an enormous puppet of la grande femme rouge which was topped with a phrygian bonnet. In their midst, they pushed a cannon constructed out of wood and iron. The children rode hobby horses. They all marched to City Hall, where elections were taking place, and sang Commune songs.

Cérémonial pour un combat and
Louise Michel or Les Oeilletts rouges

In a time of contemporary crisis concerning sexual roles, it is only natural that some plays should have been written about the role of women during the Commune. The power of women is particularly made manifest in the two plays by Dominique Houdart and Claude Prin. Both plays are marked by their poetic content. The Commune gave rise to a significant amount of poetry and song.⁶⁷ Moreover, Louise Michel was one of its most vocal poets. Images allying women with poetry go back to The Old Testament. Because of her ecstatic song and dance, Miriam roused people's devotion to God and she was called a prophetess. In the "Song of Deborah," Deborah thanks the Lord for helping her in battle.

In Louise Michel, Houdart uses poems, most of them by Louise Michel herself, to link scenes from her life; the poems often have instrumental or vocal accompaniment. Claude Prin, on the other hand, has created a play which is lyrical throughout. The speeches, written down in poetic form, are short and reminiscent of operatic recitative. In both plays, the authors specify that the musicians should be on stage during the performance to integrate and punctuate the action.

While the playwrights share the desire and the need to use poetry to express their separate visions, Houdart focusses on how the Commune shaped the political ideas of

Louise Michel, educator and revolutionary, and how it converted her into one of the leading anarchists of the nineteenth century. In his structuring of the play, Houdart implies that this self-declared anarchism was rooted in a passionate and honest life: she defends her own illegitimate birth as an act of free love; at a young age she begins to criticize Napoleon III and the Empire in her classes; she ecstatically welcomes the Commune as the beginning of a new world for the oppressed; she makes the development of individual conscience the most important aspect of her new teaching methods; she travels to Versailles in disguise to prove to Communard Ferré that it would have been possible to commit the useful murder of Thiers; she nurses the wounded during the Versaillais siege; she is the leader of a woman's club which emphasizes the need everyone has to make a living from work; and, lastly, she clearly states her belief in the dignity of man.

With the failure of the Commune comes Louise Michel's disillusionment with any government, state, or institution because all are limited by the impossibility of man remaining incorruptible when given power. When she returns from prison in New Caledonia, she begins to use the black flag of anarchy instead of the red flag of revolution as a symbol of revolt. For her, the new answer lies in inspirations of the moment which will arise spontaneously from the anarchy which follows in the wake of "the Social Revolu-

tion." Her disillusionment makes her harden her heart towards any opposition to her dream. She suggests that some terrorist acts could be useful and that the precepts of the Russian nihilists might be followed in order to hasten the goals of the revolution; these goals are a world without war, an end to all personal ambition, and a strong enough economy to support work and a peaceful life for all. In one of the later scenes of the play, she rejects the passive attitude of the socialists:

LE JOURNALISTE: Mais quel est le sens de l'anarchie?

LOUISE: Je le prends dans son sens grec: plus d'autorité ni de gouvernement. La liberté absolue.

LE JOURNALISTE: Alors, plus de famille, plus de pays, plus de patrie?

LOUISE: Parfaitement. Elevés dans une autre atmosphère les hommes auront d'autres idées, d'autres principes. L'ordre sortira de la société elle même comme une conséquence naturelle.

LE JOURNALISTE: Etes vous pour l'union libre?

LOUISE: Certainement. Et je crois qu'on ne se quittera pas plus dans ces conditions qu'on ne se quitte aujourd'hui.

LE JOURNALISTE: N'y a-t-il pas une autre voie pour transformer la société?

LOUISE: La lutte doit être implacable.

LE JOURNALISTE: Mais vos amis socialistes ne pensent pas comme vous.

LOUISE: Nos amis socialistes? Eux qui ont renié la violence? Les idiots! Comme si un moyen pacifique contre la bêtise et la méchanceté des bourgeois était possible. (Pp. 46-7)

Houdart is careful to show that Louise had a limited tolerance for violence and that she disapproved of killing people unless the murder were a useful one, such as that of a Napoleon or Thiers. "La cause de la Révolution n'a rien à gagner à un meurtre inutile," she says (p. 41).

In his introduction to the play, Houdart explains how, by using a multi-media presentation, he hoped to emphasize the popular nature of Louise Michel's heroism: "Nous avons pris le parti d'utiliser des photographies, des gravures, des caricatures de cette époque afin de retracer avec plus de force les péripéties d'un destin fait de violence et d'amour comme les héros de l'imagerie populaire." Intermixing the small cast of seven live actors with life-size puppets, music, cardboard cutouts, enlargements of period photographs, cartoons, and engravings, and by dispersing the action between the stage and a theatre within the theatre, Dominique Houdart commemorates Louise Michel as an anarchist saint of the nineteenth century who died in poverty whilst dedicating herself tirelessly to lecture tours throughout Europe in support of the anarchist cause. (Houdart ironically shows that her manager, not being as altruistic as she, cheated her of her earnings.)

The whole of her life, from her birth on 29 May 1830 to her death on 9 January 1905, is retold in fifty-one short scenes by le présentateur. This character, like the travelling showman of a fair, carries on his back a pack containing the little theatre--made of wood, sailcloth,

rigging, fishnets, and Italianate machinery--as well as all the other ingredients he will use to tell her story. An actress playing Louise Michel watches the action on the inner stage or takes part in it "selon qu'elle agit sur l'évènement ou qu'elle en prend la mesure." The wandering puppeteer was a familiar figure at fairs and religious holidays throughout Europe until the end of the nineteenth century and attracted large audiences.⁶⁸ By using him as a character in the play, Houdart underlines the fact that Louise Michel was a popular figure whose story was easily accessible to the lower classes.

Indeed, it has been one of Houdart's goals for his theatre, which was founded in 1964, to find "un répertoire populaire, c'est-à-dire lisible par tous les publics."⁶⁹ Perhaps following in the footsteps of Guignol, a French puppet (cousin to the English Punch) introduced by Laurent Mourguet in the late eighteenth century,⁷⁰ Louise Michel takes the side of the weak against the bourgeoisie, is independent minded, and resists intimidation. However, whereas Guignol and Punch often take their frustrations out on their friends and loved ones, Louise Michel offers the alternative of forming a union of workers who will fight together for la révolution sociale.

Because puppets can be so lifelike, they have often evoked philosophical thoughts regarding the element of manipulation of man-puppet by unseen, mysterious, higher forces. Perhaps this is one reason why puppetry of one

kind or another has held a fascination for many peoples over the centuries. However, in the production of Louise Michel, the manipulator of the puppets could always be clearly seen; Dominique Houdart, who played him, did not pretend he was invisible by wearing a costume of black. Thus, it was suggested that it is man, not a mysterious force, who manipulates man, whether it be Thiers, Bismarck, or a simple National Guard; and thus, the production, in form, was true to the fact that anarchists refuse to believe in the existence of any force that is higher than man or woman.

Dominique Houdart based his play on "écrits importants--mémoires, poèmes, romans" which Louise Michel left behind her. This documentary and biographical aspect of the play, the use of multi-media, and the presentation of Louise Michel as a popular figure, all contrast strongly with Cérémonial pour un combat, a ritualistic, memory play with music and with Biblical and Hellenic overtones, which takes place during the trial of five women Communards. The eighteen scenes of which it is comprised are "tantôt parlé, tantôt modulé, psalmodié, etc." and Claude Prin specifically asks that any interpretation should "éviter tout vérisme qui pourrait contredire la distance instaurée vis-à-vis de l'Histoire" (p.8). In his stage directions, he requests that a minimum of furniture be used throughout. The language of the play is to transport us "beyond this ignorant present" to the past and the future as the women

cast back through their memories to reenact together the events of the Commune.

The structure of the play is very balanced and succinct. Two opening scenes introduce the antagonists, the Women and the Magistrates, and the Lawyer. Two closing scenes see the departure of the Magistrates after passing judgement and the departure of the Women for New Caledonia. Fourteen scenes intervene between these four coupled scenes: ten are devoted to the reenactment of memories; amongst them are interspersed four scenes depicting the women in various states of struggle with the Magistrates or with themselves or with an amateur psychiatrist.

In Scene I, as the women together and individually lament the death of their Commune dream, the atrocities of la semaine sanglante, their humiliation at the hands of the bourgeoisie at Versailles where they were taken as prisoners, and their punishment yet to come, one is implicitly reminded of the Trojan women who also awaited their humiliation, degradation, and punishment by the Greeks. Like the Trojan prisoners, the Commune women will be transported across the ocean into exile. Louise, who is certainly Louise Michel although no last names are given, has a link to the upper classes, but the others--Nathalie, Anne, Elisabeth, Catherine, and Jeanne--are uneducated and of peasant stock.

In Scene II, four nameless aristocratic Magistrates, while awaiting the arrival of the six women in court,

reveal that their aesthetics of beauty prejudices them against the working classes. It is not the deeds of the prisoners that are the subject of criticism but their outward appearance, flat noses and blunt hands, and their deficiencies in meeting the standards of feminity: genteel beauty, sweetness, purity. The lines of combat are drawn. This trial will encompass not only political revolution but also man's very perceptions and preconceptions of woman-kind.

As is often the case with Greek choruses, the Commune women relate past history. They start with those memories closest in time and move backwards: the burning of the Tuileries; the killing of hostages; fighting on the barricades; converting sacred churches into meeting halls; destroying the guillotine; toppling the Vendome Column, symbol of war and massacre throughout Europe; and the struggle over the Montmartre cannon. Despite the admonishment and horrified attacks of the four Magistrates, and against the advice of their Lawyer, they claim that the deeds were done in full conscience. Although the play starts off on a level of despair, once the memories start coming back their passion rebuilds, and they give combat in the courtroom. An insistent cry is that man has created much that is evil--prisons, guillotine, and war. Man also keeps woman from taking part in creating laws of morality, and from participating in government, politics, or the military. Woman must change what man does, not imitate

him; woman must act, not just talk (p.57). Celebrants of the life force, the women achieve heights of joy in the destruction of the symbols of evil. The burning of the guillotine is accompanied by a dance around the flames:

Frères et soeurs!
Soeurs et frères!
République égalitaire!

Vive la vie!
A mort la mort!
Un peuple libre
est toujours fort!

Frères et soeurs!
Soeurs et frères!
Unissons-nous prolétaires!

Vive la vie!
A mort la mort!
Entre tes mains
remets ton sort!

(p. 72-73)

This fervor is topped by the memory of the Proclamation of the Commune (Scene 14). The recreation of this Proclamation Day reaches mythic dimensions as an event in which "hundreds of thousands" participated. With the aid of verbal images and projected sound, the audience experiences the women's memory of feet hurrying to the Hôtel de Ville, crowds swirling, red flags waving, military music playing, shouting, revolutionary songs, and celebration. This moment has the dimensions of a modern Pentecost because they all understand one another. Louise says, "Même langage/ même pensées!" (p. 94)⁷¹ Again, the women dance, this time with imaginary lovers, and Louise claims her adulation of all poets.

The ecstatic memories are constantly undercut by the Magistrates who turn the women's vision of beauty into one of lewdness and horror. In Scene Thirteen, Magistrate Two calls them "Choeur de Harpies!" "Entremetteuses de Satan!" "Sorcières de Sabbat!" "Attila de la Civilisation!"; Magistrate Three refers to them as "Furies! Fureur! Abomination!" in Scene Thirteen, as "bacchantes ivres" in Scene Fourteen, and as "Gorgones" and "Parques" in Scene Seventeen. Magistrate Four, following the lead, calls them "Walkyries de l'Apocalypse!" (Scene Thirteen). The references of Magistrate One are more Biblical--"Ange de la Destruction" (Scene Thirteen). He is the most lenient of all four judges and goes so far as to muse over the fact that their names, all except one, are the names of saints.

In one of the most beautiful scenes of the play, Scene Fifteen, a parallel is drawn between Louise's gathering of her four friends and Christ's gathering of his disciples Peter-Simon, Andrew, James, and John as they were at work casting or mending their fishing nets.⁷² Prin has Louise use this same image of work at the water-side when she describes the first time she met Catherine: "Catherine/ un jour que tu lavais ton linge/ dans la Seine/ j'ai voulu m'agenouiller/ près de toi" (p. 100). The image of kneeling here is significant for its religious overtones, however whereas Christ and his disciples spread the word of a higher force, these Commune women were spreading the word

of secular religion embodied in the Commune: the rights of all to work, to be educated, to be free, and to be equal.

This strength in the togetherness of women is a focus throughout the play and is joined in the final scene with the image of the limitless power of that great mother (mère): the ocean (mer). The symbolism encompasses the struggle of women as well as the struggle of all revolutionaries. The play ends on a note of uplifted hope as the women imagine their ship sailing on waves of an indestructible revolution which will inevitably crumble any rock that resists its force. The waves of the ocean are endowed with the power of millions of weavers working for that revolution.

JEANNE	Canuts de la mer à vos métiers!	
LOUISE	Soldats de la mer à vos fusils!	
CATHERINE	Mains de la mer qui façonnez la houle!	
NATHALIE	Mains de la mer qui fécondiez la foule!	
ANNE	Mains de la mer patientes!	
ELISABETH	Mains de la mer ferventes!	
LOUISE	Mains de la mer victorieuses!	
CHOEUR DES FEMMES	Victorieuses! Victorieuses!	(pp. 125-126)

Le Cochon noir and Place Thiers: chronique des temps
de la Commune de Paris vus de province

In these two plays the authors, Roger Planchon and Yvon Birster, attempt to explain why the provinces failed to give the Paris Commune the support that it expected. Brecht addresses himself briefly to the problem in The Days of the Commune; in Part One, Scene Nine, he introduces the character of an old Beggar, who was once a farmer in the Auvergne. This man cannot comprehend that the Commune favors the redistribution of land. The Commune delegate says of him: "C'est un ennemi. Beggar-stick in hand, he defends the interests of the thief who robs him. And to convince him would take years."⁷⁴

Bradby has called Planchon "the first French dramatist of stature to attempt a serious treatment of peasant life."⁷⁵ Le Cochon noir is the third in a cycle of four peasant plays.⁷⁶ In exploring traumatic events in a small mountain village, Planchon portrays a Hobbesian society; the villagers are a hypocritical and superstitious lot, who lead cruel and brutal lives and show no respect for the law. Birster offers a Marxian view in his treatment of events in Le Havre. His play includes standard references to the Internationale and class struggle. Both plays suggest that the worlds they depict have not changed.

The settings in each production recalled popular theatre.⁷⁷ The set of Place Thiers consisted of a trestle stage with minimum furniture and a backdrop that was

changed by hand. This closely reproduced the traditional stage of travelling outdoor theatre. The set for Le Cochon noir was more mechanized and much less mobile; the sky cloth could be raised and lowered mechanically and the wooden planking was set at a very steep rake, so the actors could not move about on it easily.

Planchon has explained his reason for writing about the Commune:

. . . as the grandson and great-grandson of peasants I wanted to investigate the mechanism that could lead country people into becoming the death-squads on [sic] the Commune. . . My great-grandfather was in the ranks of the Versailles army. I can say that that has haunted me."⁷⁹

Planchon drastically upsets the romantic notion of country life as idyllic, and he reverses the official view of Communards as vicious canaille and provincials as patriots who are pure in spirit. The play spans la semaine sanglante, and the black pig of the title connects three actions: The ploughman Gédéon's rape of the farmgirl, Violette, on her wedding day, of which he dreams a pig is the progeny; the use of Violette as sacrificial object in a village exorcism; and the massacre of Communards as sacrificial objects in the exorcism of France. The first action has a personal aspect; the second, a communal one; and the third is country-wide.

The play consists of a prologue and ten scenes. The prologue, which takes place in front of the curtain, colors the events in the rest of the play because, here in the

beginning, Planchon creates an image of the Parisian Communards as brave people fighting for social justice against a vicious force. The time is the beginning of the final week of the Commune. Young Communards gallantly try to raise money for children orphaned by the insurrection⁷⁴; and they talk of how the Versaillais are canaille who think nothing of firing at ambulances for the wounded. In the distance is heard the sound of explosions and a violin playing "Le Temps des Cerises." Planchon returns to the Paris scene of la semaine sanglante once more, only briefly. The end of Scene Six recalls the massacres in Père Lachaise cemetery; a group of battle-weary, wounded Communards line up as if in front of a wall; and they collapse as if shot by a firing squad. This vision takes place in utter silence.

Other than these two references to Paris, the play moves around the village community. The characters are symbolic in nature. The population consists mostly of women, because the men are serving in the Franco-Prussian war. The police of the bourg have also been absent since the beginning of the Paris insurrection, when they were sent to keep order in the towns. Four men remain who symbolize the forces of violence and of "religion," that shape this rural society: Rank, whom they also call Le Grand Charretier, Gédéon, the Curé, and Le Solitaire. The main actions in this part of the play are misogynist in nature and these men initiate them.

Rank is feared, together with his sons, for his physical strength. As a carter, he also has some stature in the village. Gédéon is a poor, ignorant, and mentally unstable ploughman who embodies the worst aspects of these canaille. He is, among other things, a rapist whose victims include his own daughter, Eulalie, Rank's wife, and Violette. The Curé, the village's spiritual leader, is dying. He stands on the threshold of folklore and Christianity; although he preaches the love of the Virgin and the saints, he is obsessed with images of serpents and spiders entering women's bodies (Scene Two); his lechery extends to his deathbed where he sexually harasses a virgin.

His rival, Le Solitaire, is a white witch or wizard who gains control of the village during la semaine sanglante. As a white witch, he combines Christian imagery with folklore and magic in illicit acts of divination and healing.¹⁰⁰ He is socially conservative, old-fashioned, and sado-masochistic, and he attempts to preserve the ways of magic. For him, the arrival of the steam engine means an end to any profound beliefs (Scene Seven). His reactionary attitude is frightening. Although he denounces the Curé as a practitioner of black witchcraft, he is not beyond using it himself, in the form of an illegal exorcism, to further his own purposes. It is he who connects the exorcism of Violette with ancient rites in which virgins are sacrificed to ensure fertile crops and victory in battle:

Si le village acceptait qu'une de ses filles soit possédée, qu'arriverait-il? Les récoltes seraient-elles superbes? ou les champs tomberaient-ils en friche? Vos hommes mourraient-ils dans cette guerre civile ou reviendraient-ils s'asseoir à notre table? (Scene Five)

Gédéon precipitates the first action of the play. The Emperor, a figure of ultimate authority, obsesses him when he is both awake and asleep, in his conscious and unconscious life. This obsession has rendered Gédéon totally dependent and, therefore, economically impotent; it has also disturbed his sexuality. In Scene One, Gédéon declares that he has seen the Emperor, and that the Emperor will bring him Gold, "de l'Or, du bon Or." He met the Emperor, he says, behind a fallen tree trunk. He describes a fantastical encounter which begins where he is about to kill the Emperor, and ends with his sexual surrender.

Alors je lui ai sauté sur le dos, saisi l'oreille pour lui plonger mon couteau dans le coeur. Mais il se redresse, pousse un rugissement, alors une volée de corbeaux se leva. Il me fait sauter le couteau des mains, m'emprisonne les reins avec ses cuisses. Alors je vois un châtaignier se briser, mais pas le moindre bruit me parvint.

Gédéon's sado-masochistic relationship with the force of authority reappears in the middle of the play (Scene Six) where we see him talking to two Emperors, both fantasies of his imagination. The first, a Napoleon-Rank figure, threatens to bleed him like a pig and drink his blood. The second, Napoleon-Eulalie, offers him titles to an underground chateau, and suggests that he/she will give Gédéon children.

Gédéon's obsessive fear of an arbitrarily authoritarian Emperor who infiltrates all domains of his life emasculates him and strangles any possibility of self-determination. This provides a plausible explanation for his brutal violation of women, which is the only way he has to feel potent. It is his rape of Violette that initiates the action. When Violette cannot admit to the rape for fear of losing her fiancé, she has to submit to the idea that a devil possesses her, and she agrees to undergo the physically abusive rite of exorcism, where Rank beats her back, her thighs, and her stomach. The exorcism constitutes the second stage of the play.

While the rape of Violette by the Emperor-possessed Gédéon is taking place off-stage (Scene Three), the guests at the prenuptial feast discuss the rumors they have heard about the Communards' savagery, that they are brutal bandits and that they want to divest the peasants of their land. Like Brecht's Beggar, they cannot understand that the Commune wants to improve their lot, that Versailles is the real enemy. In a speech to the imaginary Emperor in Scene Six, Gédéon loudly voices the general opinion of the villagers regarding the repression of the Commune: "A Paris, tuez si vous le jugez bon tous les méchants qui font le désordre, tuez tous les socialistes. Mais ne tuez pas le laboureur, il aime l'Ordre. Il aime l'empereur."

In Planchon's mind, Violette symbolizes the Commune of Paris. When she undergoes exorcism she becomes a

sacrificial object. Indeed, her name in argot means "gift" or "present," and "faire une violette à quelqu'un" means "to do someone a favor."¹ He equates the exorcism of Violette with the extreme violence unleashed on the Communards, and suggests that the bloody repression was an act of exorcism in which uneducated soldiers drawn from rural France were encouraged by the controlling forces to use Communards as scapegoats for the evil in themselves and for their frustrations with the structure of society.

The exorcism is orchestrated by Le Solitaire, just as Thiers orchestrated the repression with the support of the moneyed classes, the Bank of France, and the French army.² Using Violette as sacrificial object, Le Solitaire claims spiritual leadership over the village by cleverly manipulating the inhabitants. First, he convinces them that Violette is possessed and that the devil came from the priest. Then he endears himself to the poor by making Violette's wealthy mother, a widow, share with them a fourth of her money. He allies himself with Rank, a figure of some authority, by giving him the role of beating Violette during the exorcism. Rank is thus able to use Violette as a scapegoat for Gédéon, who cuckolded him.

The end result is that Gédéon does get some gold, from Victorine, Violette's mother, whose name symbolizes the ironies of the victory over the "devil" in Violette and over the Communards. The village overlooks Rank's murder

of Eulalie; and Violette, driven mad by the rites of exorcism, commits suicide.

At the end of the play all returns to a surface sense of order, in Paris and in the mountains. Gédéon and his new woman, a war widow, settle down for the night. She says: "Tout rentre dans l'ordre: les filles sont mortes. L'exorciseur est parti. Le curé sera rendu aux prêtres des villes. On dit qu'à Paris tout s'arrange. Et toi, tu recevras des pièces d'or." The play ends on a note of uneasy stillness and quiet; as they drift off to sleep, "Tout est immobile, la lune est au-dessus de la colline."

In Place Thiers, Yvon Birster, in cooperation with his director Bernard Mounier, deals more directly with the reaction of the provinces to the Paris insurrection and supports his drama with historical research. Perhaps in order to stress the documentary aspects of Place Thiers, the last sixteen pages of the published script are devoted to a bibliography of works about the International Association of Workers and the history of the Commune, and information is provided on where to go should one be interested in conducting further research.

The play itself has the trappings of a storybook brought to life. The scenes are called "Chapters." The storybook is bracketed within a Prologue, where "Le Chant des Ouvriers" of 1840 is sung, and a final Chapter which mythologizes the Communard martyrs and looks forward to a victory in the struggle of workers world-wide. This

recalls the opening and closing of Fontaine's Le Printemps de la sociale. The Marxist theme of class struggle is omnipresent while a story of intrigue, which is often comic in nature, is chronicled. In stage time this story spans the period from 3 February 1870 to the summer of 1879 when the prisoners of the story return from New Caledonia. As Yvon Birster says in his introduction: "L'histoire se joue sur ces deux plans: celui de la chronique et celui de la tragédie. C'est pourquoi il ne suffit pas de raconter, il faut aussi répéter cet insupportable sacrifice des héroïques Parisiens" (p. 5).

Three of the eleven short "Chapters" of the play take place in Paris and the remaining eight are aimed at revealing how and why the Le Havrais bourgeoisie and landowners did not support the 1871 Commune. Birster concludes that the reason was fear: the fear of the Red Spectre (presented as a comic puppet in the play), the fear of new ideas, and the fear of losing property rights; and that these fears were fired by Versailles propaganda and by the widespread use of terror against all those in the provinces who supported the Commune, many potential delegates having been imprisoned.

Availing himself of a Narrator to introduce and link the majority of the Chapters, Birster cleverly and amusingly interweaves many disparate elements: a love story between a provincial girl, Amanda, who goes to Paris and a Parisian Communard, Charles-François, envoyé of the Commune

to Le Havre; a travelling showman, Lajoie, who performs in town squares or places; the electorate of Le Havre, embodied in a Conservative and a Republican Bourgeois; a soldier released by Bismarck to fight against the Commune; four popular Commune songs and "Le Chant des Ouvriers"; the performance within the play of an allegorical piece about the Commune; an historical review of events leading up to the Commune; and la semaine sanglante seen through slide projections. The author peppers the dialogue of workers and bourgeoisie with factual evidence he has gleaned from Le Havre archives about working conditions, elections, and the political situation. No attempt is made to create the verisimilitude of historical figures. With no effort to disguise themselves, other characters play the historical roles. For instance, the Narrator announces the entrance of Thiers, bows, and then puts on a hat to play the politician himself. They play them with pathos if they are Communard heroes, as in Chapter Eleven, and with satire if they are the Versailles leaders Thiers, Trochu, and Favre, as in Chapter Three.

The four leading characters, Amanda, her godmother, envoy Charles-François, and the travelling showman Lajoie are crossbreeds of commedia and melodrama. Amanda is the heroine victimized by her old schoolteachers, her employers, and even by a priest who violates the privacy of the confessional. But she is spirited and can defend herself verbally and physically. Charles-François is the hero who

wears his heart on his sleeve and whose honesty and forthrightness keep getting him into trouble in the alien world of the provinces. He has to take lessons in how to walk like a fearful worker from Le Havre. Amanda's godmother is the honest, hardworking, generous, old lady who secretly supports the Commune yet is fearful that the politics involved will harm those she loves. Finally, the actor Lajoie is the wily, comic character who always knows how to rescue the innocent poor from the threatening clutches of power. He embodies the joy of life because he is not bounded by any of society's rules and regulations. He creates his life and his art everywhere he goes, including New Caledonia where, we are told, he sets up a prison theatre.

The interaction between these four characters is light-hearted, warm, concerned, and gay. They have fun together. The paradise that they are all striving for, particularly Amanda and Charles-François who have already experienced the reality of it, is a France which will be like the paradise of Paris at the time of the Commune. The villains--the Soldier, the Bourgeois, Thiers, the National Assembly, and the Provinces--all together thwart this dream, but the four lead characters are reunited after the amnesty and will keep the memory of the Commune alive through Lajoie's theatre.

The play was commissioned by the Maison de Culture at Le Havre and performed by the actors of Théâtre de la

Salamandre. Bernard Mounier draws a parallel between the aims of the actors of Théâtre de la Salamandre, the fictional life of the characters in the play, and the experience of the Commune. They all, he said, wanted to create "la grande Commune quotidienne"; that while the play had revolutionary aims their purpose in creating and performing it was also to enjoy their togetherness, just as the Communards had done in battling together.

Voici les images d'un jeu de contre-"vérité séculaire et obligatoire," d'un jeu de contre-culture étrangère et statufiée pour monuments aux morts," d'un jeu de guerre à mettre des armes entre les mains des vivants; pour forcer les mécanismes de l'imagination critique, sans cesse bloqués par ceux qui--pour quelque temps encore--y jettent le sable/poudre aux yeux/sel qui pétrifie.

Si nous avons un jour décidé de le jouer, ce n'est pas pour enseigner mais pour vivre ensemble--bateleurs sur une estrade qui appartient à tous--la grande Commune quotidienne dont il sortira un jour quelque chose. (Back cover)

Within the presentation are many attempts to close the gap between life and art, between audience and actor. At the end of Chapter Five, the players mix with the audience, hand out lists for the elections of 30 April 1870, and call out "Votez pour le comité central républicain," or "Votez pour le comité central républicain de solidarité," the latter being the Commune party. The players also watch while fellow actors do their turns. Or they intrude on the onstage action by handing up a prop which is then handed back to them after it has fulfilled its function. The mechanics of the theatre are laid bare.

There is no attempt to create a fourth wall. Costume racks are visible, and actors change in full view of the audience. The costumes are simple. Characters are indicated sometimes, as in Chapter Three, by hairdos and hats only. Chapter transitions are made quite openly; while the Narrator verbally prepares the audience for the new subject he also changes the backdrops, and the stage manager, who is also an actor, moves the furniture. The transitions are often accompanied by a drum roll.

The stage is reminiscent of a medieval travelling show's tréteau. There are six backdrops which are used as background for the Chapters. One backdrop also functions as a modern screen for the projection of silhouettes or slides. In Chapter Three, the silhouette of a man in a Prussian helmet invades the screen and thus symbolizes the presence of the Prussian menace in France and Paris. In Chapter Nine, while Lajoie delivers a monologue, he projects original photographs of the barricades and engravings of la semaine sanglante, selected from Armand Dayot's L'invasion, le siège, la commune,¹³³ onto the backdrop. The impression is that one is attending a lecture by a survivor of the Commune on the atrocities of its final bloody week.

The last Chapter, "La Dernière Parade," after reviewing the deaths of Commune heroes Flourens and Delescluze, and martyring Varlin as the "Jesus of socialism," glorifies the thousands of others who were

murdered; a poem is chanted rhythmically while a firing squad performs the ritual of shooting imaginary Communards. The play ends on an elevated note which transcends time and space where the actors/characters express hope for the future in the power of solidarity with the International:

L'INSTITUTEUR:--Les travailleurs se libèreront de leurs mains. . .

LA MARRAINE:--Regarderont de leurs yeux. . .

LE REGISSEUR:--Marcheront de leur pas tranquille et fatal. . .

LAJOIE:--Parleront des mille et mille voix de l'Internationale!

While the Le Havre Maison de la Culture has a reputation of being leftist in its leanings, the town of Le Havre can be outspoken in its support of more conservative views. Several months after Place Thiers was produced, a series of articles appeared in the local newspapers protesting plans the municipality had to change the name of Place Thiers into Place Charles de Gaulle. Many of these articles credited Thiers with the liberation of France in 1871.¹⁴

Lycée Thiers, maternelle Jules Ferry

Xavier Pommeret puts his play in an educational environment in present time. The set for this play is largely an empty space, the gymnasium of a boys' lycée which is used for all kinds of recreational purposes. A corner is set off with desks for the ten year old girls of Evelyn du Camp's primary school class which shares the same

administration as the lycée. Another corner serves as the lodging for Tolain, a history professor between thirty-five and forty years old, a member of the revolutionary leftist arm of the United Socialist Party and a confirmed homosexual. In two scenes, spatial definition disappears as Tolain's beautiful and brainy niece, Clio, and Edouard de Paladines, a student preparing for the military academy of St. Cyr, share their moments together. As all the students prepare for the panegyric to be given on 27 May in honor of Thiers as founding father of the Third Republic, they confront the lies that have been handed down to them by an educational system organized by Jules Ferry, one of Thiers' group whom the students satirically call "Bande à Jules," alluding both to the first names of Thiers' favorite trio-- Jules Ferry, Jules Favre, and Jules Simon--and to "chamber-pots," which is the slang meaning of "jules."

Although Pommeret muses, as he puns on "Thiers" and "tiers," that the play unfolds in "trois thiers-temps, comme les matches de hockey," this is no sporting competition. The battles in the play are waged on levels which reveal a deep rift in French society. Their subject matter is the knight errant heritage, the quality of patriotism, the hypocrisy of the educational system which teaches not truth but submission to an idea, the disillusionment of youth with power they believe is founded in bloodshed, and a France that has compromised its essence.

Rather than acts and scenes we have First, Second, and Third Thiers-temps. The First is "le temps des armées, le temps désarmé, le temps des armé [sic]"; the second is "le temps des cerises"; the Third, "le temps du sang, le tant du cent, le temps du cent, le tant du sang, le temps du sang." Within each of these Thiers-temps the action alternates for the most part between the lycée and the maternelle. As the historical events of the Franco-Prussian war, the armistice, the Paris Commune, and la semaine sanglante are reviewed by the students (who sit on chamber-pots in the gymnasium), and as they reenact the historical Thiers-temps, the historical events have their parallels in the contemporary scene. In the first Thiers-temps, the students rebel, mirroring the Communards whose history they are following, as they discover that the founder of the Third Republic, Thiers, was actually a traitor who, like Pétain, conspired with the Germans to end the war. The gymnasium and the maternelle become battle grounds as the students attempt to redeem the honor of the Communards and to reinstate the true historical perspective on the Commune which is not provided in the officially approved Ministry of Education history books. In the second Thiers-temps, the student/Bismarck promises to send in troops to help squash the Communards; and in a parallel action Evelyn du Camp, the maternelle teacher, threatens to kill anyone who ruins the panegyric by casting aspersions on the Republic.

Pommeret draws further parallels between the Commune rebellion and the rebellion of students in 1968 Paris by giving his characters the names of historical figures of 1870-71. Evelyn du Camp, while she must be played sympathetically, says Pommeret, has her parallel in Maxime du Camp, a literary figure who was virulently against the Commune, as is proved by citations from his work in the play. Her young students are given the names of Commune women, among whom are Louise Michel and Marguerite Tinayre. Tolain, the lycée instructor, was "un des maîtres de la révolution de mai 68" (p. 23), but he has come to terms with the necessity of compromise with history and with power. This is evidenced by the fact that he has contributed to a textbook which hides the true facts of the Commune. His niece, Clio, is an expert on the Commune too, and she also has learned to submit to compromise. They both have their parallel in the past with their ancestor Tolain, one of the founders of the International who later changed his opinions and joined the Versailles group, or the "Bande à Jules."

The leading character of the play is Edouard de Paladines, descended from a long line of distinguished military men, including General d'Aurette de Paladines, a supporter of Thiers. Significantly for the theme of the play, in March 1871 this ancestor was head of the Paris National Guard, which refused to recognize his command. As the student selected to give the panegyric in honor of

Thiers, Edouard is ordered by the head-boy to make it a funny speech that suggests Thiers and his band were traitors and the Communards the true patriots. What starts as a jest turns out to be true and Edouard, disillusioned and outraged, is faced with the dilemma of whether or not to stand by his sense of honor and justice.

This sympathetic young man embodies a medieval knight errant. Indeed, "paladin" means "champion" or "knight-errant." He is pure. Edouard wants to redress the wrongs against the Commune, which he compares to the wrongs done Joan of Arc and Dreyfus. He and Clio, Tolain's niece, also embody the youth of 1968 Paris as they recite their love poems in the middle of the Second Thiers-temps, "le temps des cerises" or "happy-go-lucky days," a term often attributed to the Commune. This scene, which has a central position in the play, echoes 18 March 1871 when Parisians rescued their cannon and the Commune began. Pommeret says this scene takes place in Paris or on the moon.

The consequence of Edouard's passionate devotion to his self-appointed mission of reinstating the Commune is his death at the hands of Evelyn du Camp after he has given his diatribe against Thiers-Judas and broken the ceremonial sword. Her claim to this deed is that she is a virgin and pure and that, through her, God is striking at the detractors of Thiers and Jules Ferry. Her sexual repression is manifested by her confusing the broken sword with a phallus and a cross. This theme of the sexual perversion of those

in power, those who accept the system and profit by it, was encountered before in the play as the ten-year old girls practice the cancan, which is intended to please the officials who attend the panegyric, and when the boys play a game of Whoring Monopoly. In this Monopoly game, the price of whores goes up as a player nears the estates of the powerful and rich. The final image is of Evelyn kissing Edouard's dead body which she has strewn with red roses and which, in the last lines of the play, she now claims to love: "Tu es mon époux, Edouard de Paladines/ je t'aime, je te retrouves tu es tout à moi/ je t'aime" (p. 98).

As she kisses the corpse, the little girls dance the cancan slowly and solemnly. Since revolutionary times, the cancan, derived from "wild, high-kicking dances," has been symbolic of the revolutionary energies of the lower classes.¹⁰³ In this bizarre closing image, Pommeret may be suggesting that while the upper classes fight, and even kill one another, over historical traditions and concepts of honor, the revolutionary energies, although subdued, still march steadily forward.

CHAPTER II
THE THEME OF EXILE AND DISPLACEMENT IN
FRENCH THEATRE SINCE 1968

The phenomenon of displaced persons, whether created by political or economic factors, is one of the quintessential problems of the twentieth century, and those who undergo what are often drastic changes in culture can suffer from extreme forms of anomie. Since the end of World War II the world has witnessed a steady procession of displaced people. The flow of refugees includes the dislocations caused by World War II, the exodus of Indians and Pakistanis, of Arabs and Jews, of Vietnamese and Cambodians as a result of the wars in the Far East and the Middle East. Famine and wars in Africa, including Egypt and Algeria, and conflict and political repression in Latin America have created countless more millions of displaced people. In addition, the fifties and sixties saw the repatriation of over a million pieds noirs when France withdrew from Indo-China and when her colonies, Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia, gained their independence.¹³⁴

The exodus of refugees and exiles has been reinforced by millions of gastarbeiter from Pakistan, India, Turkey, non-oil Arab countries, Poland, Yugoslavia, Portugal,

Spain, Italy, Africa, South America, Central America, and Mexico, all of them searching for jobs in the factories, mines, oilfields, and farms of more prosperous countries. After World War II, Western Europe actively sought foreign laborers, so badly had its own workforce been depleted. In the post-war period immigrant labor was a structural requirement of the Western industrialized societies.¹⁷

Given the importance of immigrant labor in France and the difficulties of integration with the existing body politic, it is not surprising that many playwrights of French background have recently treated this theme. Particularly since this period called for a theatre which was actively involved in helping people deal with their daily lives. In this chapter I am going to explore six plays in this category written since 1968: La Passion du général Franco par les émigrés eux-mêmes by Armand Gatti, Les Immigrés by Jacques Kraemer, Géronimo by André Benedetto, L'Age d'or by the Théâtre du Soleil, Lazare lui aussi rêvait d'Eldorado by Jean-Pierre Sarrazac, and Exils by Enzo Cormann.¹⁸

Gatti's play, which has a long and complicated history, addresses the plight of exiles who have escaped Franco's fascist government. It has had three titles: La Passion du général Franco, La Passion en violet, rouge et jaune and La Passion du général Franco par les émigrés eux-mêmes.¹⁹ The first public reading of the play took place at the Théâtre de Plaisance in Paris in 1965. The group

Renate Voss, Ulrich Brecht, and Kai Braak did the first production in 1967 in Kassel, Germany. Then in 1968 Jean Vilar⁷⁰ was rehearsing it at the Théâtre National Populaire when, in order to assuage Franco who was considering a trade agreement, the French government banned production of the play in any subsidized theatres. More precisely, although the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, Michel Debré, advocated the ban, de Gaulle had made the final decision after reading the play. Despite much gossip to the contrary, the Minister of Culture, André Malraux, did not wish to give in to the Spanish demands and suggested that the non-subsidized Théâtre de l'Est Parisien could house La passion du général Franco and that the T.N.P. could produce another Gatti play, L'Homme seul. According to Gatti, the actions of his political enemies, and not Malraux's lack of cooperation, destroyed this plan.⁷¹

Four other countries attempted productions of La Passion du général Franco, but three were forbidden and the authorities stopped the fourth during rehearsal. Gatti changed the title of the play several times in an attempt to avoid censorship and he adjusted the content to keep up with current events inside and outside Spain. The version I am using appeared in 1975. It was not until Franco's death in November 1975 that French censorship of the play ended; and it was produced finally in 1976 at Théâtre du Palais, Paris, and toured France.⁷²

According to Gatti's 1972 preface, Spanish worker-émigrés living in Toulouse invented the play in its primitive form. Made up mostly of miners, the group gave performances in order to raise money for the Asturian miners on strike in their homeland. They created scenes encompassing the journeys of four groups of Spanish refugees in Russia, in Cuba and Mexico, in France, and in Germany, who search for their identity in political and existential dimensions. In the early stages, performances consisted of presenting in agit-prop form only one journey at a time. Once the play entered the professional arena, they presented all four journeys at once; the comments and discussion of the actor-émigrés comprised the links in the action. For Gatti, this commentary mattered just as much as the imaginary plot lines of the journeys.

Aujourd'hui que cette pièce a quitté l'agitation pour entrer dans le professionnalisme, il nous paraît difficile de n'y point faire intervenir ce qui a toujours été sa partie la plus vivante: les Mateo, les Joan, les Martin, les Alfonso, etc., de Toulouse. Leur travail, leurs discussions autour des différentes fables des différents trajets sont tout aussi importants que la fable elle-même. Tout est ici mis sur le même plan. (p. 10)

The forty actor-émigrés split into six basic sections: the four groups of travellers made up of three people in each group, an enclave representing ten members of Franco's government and their political prisoner Alfonso, and a base group that assumes a multiplicity of collective roles, many of them very colorful, as the stage space undergoes various transformations for the four jour-

neys. The roles of the base group include Asturian Saint Francis of Assisi (the patron saint of miners and animals), Cuban sugar cane cutters, Spanish jewellers, nine pretenders to the Spanish throne, Frankfurt émigré workers who accuse one of the travellers of spying for Franco, and six Christs who display up-dated images in a fashion show sponsored by Franco. In a scene where Gatti satirizes the destructive in-fighting of left-wing politics, the actor-émigrés even dress up as prehistoric animals--tyrannosaurus, diplodocus and dinosaur, proboscide, pterodactyl--representing communist, republican, Trotskyite, and anarchist political exiles in Paris who continue the same arguments they had in Spain. The title character never appears in person but is represented by a rubber blow-up with six arms, like Shiva, the Hindu god of destruction and reproduction. References to Franco paint a picture of an empty, passionless figure.⁷³ His wife's greed is a subject for black comedy as she prays to the Virgin Mary to help her acquire Evita Peron's necklace of precious stones.

The image of Calvary is a double-sided one in this play. All the journeys are directed away from Franco's Spain as the émigrés try to hold on to or rediscover some idea worth fighting for. The pivotal force of Franco fascism which drives both the real lives of the émigré-actors and their imaginary characters is symbolized on stage by a stone cross made up of incongruous elements which tell the history of Spain under fascism: the raising

of bulls, the "raising" of civil guards, the Falange museum, the modernized prison system, the economic boom times, the flourishing tourist trade, the Ministry of Religion and Security, the Army. Monarchism lurks in the foundations of this cross and at its foot are the dead and the revolution destroyed.

Gatti informed me in an interview in New York on 2 March 1987 that his conversations with Piscator influenced his work a great deal. He had met Piscator for the first time in 1965 when their talk was recorded by German television. Gatti escapes the confining borders of the fourth wall tradition and makes use of the free flow of time and space common to the medieval Passion Play. In a recent critical study, L'Avenir du drame, Jean-Paul Sarrazac commented on this aspect of epic theatre⁷⁴:

Avec le théâtre épique, nous accédons à une nouvelle dimension de l'espace et du temps, la dimension du lointain. Et, bien sûr, pour montrer simultanément ces lointains, ces réalités qui se font face, on réduit, on condense, on coupe. L'auteur du théâtre dramatique crée un monde apparemment fait d'une seule pièce; l'auteur du théâtre épique assemble un patchwork. (p. 27-28)

and

De l'espace d'une pièce épique, on peut imaginer qu'il se suffit à lui-même: l'extérieur et l'intérieur s'y conjuguent. Chez Shakespeare, Claudel ou Brecht, dramaturges épiques s'il en est, la scène a vocation à s'étendre à l'univers entier. Parce qu'elle est par définition béante et inachevée, parce qu'elle se construit d'une collection sans fin, toujours plus lacunaire, de fragments, l'oeuvre épique n'est pas contrainte à puiser autour d'elle, dans les fausses profondeurs de la coulisse, un supplément de réalité. (p. 28)

In Passion du général Franco par les émigrés eux-mêmes, the spectator is asked to accept a patchwork of many realities. Multi-dimensions are presented, beginning with the actuality of the émigrés as actors on a stage that is admitted to be a stage from the first moments when the émigrés-actors are seen preparing it for performance. In addition to this primary reality of stage as stage, Gatti writes brief segments of personalized drama into which he inserts fantasy, farce, flashback, political argument and discussion, and direct contact with the audience, to create a rambling, many-tentacled story of actor-characters searching for a way to adjust to their homeless situations.

In the opening scene as the émigrés collect on stage, they talk of the lost Spanish Civil War, of the interrogations, of the prisons, of political suicides. They now live in the land of the dead, of the exiled, they say, at the foot of the cross of Spain. The four journeying groups represent a typology of present-day refugees. There is, first, the Kiev-Moscow-Krasnoiarsk exiled group of three men--one born in exile and the other two refugees since the fall of Madrid in 1939. They follow the route of the Bolsheviks when they crossed Russia in armored trains. The second, which moves between Toulouse and Madrid, is composed of two loyalists, who survived the Civil War and Buchenwald, and Dolores, the daughter of a dead companion. Dolores has never seen her homeland, and it is she who travels back to Spain. The third journey begins in Havana

and moves to Mexico where, following emotional and circumstantial promptings, the group splits up. On these travels through Cuba and Central America, two young people and a revolutionary fighter search for an identity in every town, but "se retrouvent partout étrangers (même dans leur village natal, lorsqu'ils y retourneront)" (p. 24). This haunting image, ancient in origin, is taken up throughout the play--the exile whom nobody recognizes and who recognizes no one when he returns--even though the dreams of home still continue, dreams of a lost paradise. The fourth group, which travels from Barcelona through Paris to Frankfurt, have emigrated for economic reasons, but once abroad they become politically active.

Each group's journey is explored separately. The stage time encompasses flashbacks to recent or distant past. The image presented is one of a whole people scattered to the corners of the earth because of a repressive inhumane regime back home, of families broken up, of motherless or fatherless children, of fathers whose daughters have been raped and killed by the fascist military, and whose sons have disappeared. The boundaries of the stage space are such that the travelling groups can meet on a psychic plane to share their experiences, their feelings of alienation and loss of identity, and their dilemma of whether or not to continue their struggle against Franco.

While we watch all four groups travel forward in space to some destination, they are beset by conflicting

memories of Spain--grape vines, warm sun, Civil War, strikes, violence to family and friends. They are caught in a past time, which only emphasizes their wandering, alienated state. Their solution to this state of psychic suspension is a commitment to continue their own individual journeys as they attempt, each in his own way, to break out of their political and psychic prisons. A Resistance fighter, Gatti was sentenced to death and later imprisoned in a camp near Hamburg during World War Two. The problems facing the survivor of the holocaust haunt his work. The question has also preoccupied the Nobelist, Elie Weisel, another survivor, a Romanian Jew who lived in France after World War Two. Wiesel has written a number of books in which he explores various possible reactions to surviving the holocaust. Some of the consequences he considers are suicide, madness, silence, and bearing witness.¹⁰⁰

In recent years there has been a growing awareness of the impact of the holocaust on the children of its survivors and its victims. Substantial work has been done in this area by psychiatrists. Can these children escape the tragedy? is the question. Is it possible for them to face up to the enormity of the tragedy and survive? How can they live mentally healthy lives? Among the exiles and émigrés in Gatti's play is Soledad, a student particularly tortured with doubt. Her name means "loneliness." She is comparable to a child of victims of the holocaust. With her father already disappeared, she came into the world as

her loyalist mother was being dragged to her death by firing squad. Born an orphan, she rebels against belonging to any group, even one which is fighting Franco, and resists any preoccupation with the tragedy of her situation: "Je refuse le tragique. Je le refuse...en espagnol...en français...en russe...en allemand. Je veux être moi--pas la mort des autres...Est-ce clair?" (p. 25).

Gatti has great sensitivity to the plight of children growing up in an alien world. In addition to Soledad, we hear about Luz the eleven year old daughter of the exiled Marino. Luz went alone to the store to pick up some chorizo. When she dropped her ten pesetas on the ground, a woman claimed it by putting her foot on it, and no one intervened. This pork sausage thereby becomes an important symbol of freedom in the play. Marino tells the story of how seven people watched passively and said nothing as a child was robbed:

(...Ce n'est pas mon affaire...Sourire de façade ...renouer avec le fil des préoccupations (il y en a tellement))...Sept personnes--et un enfant seul, soudain, face à quelque chose de plus gros que l'Univers. Et qu'est-ce qu'il propose à ce moment-là l'Univers? Rien que des boîtes de conserve, de la publicité, et des bouteilles de vin coupé sur les étalages d'une épicerie...Et celle qui a mis le pied sur l'argent, trouve là son issue. Elle achète quatre hectogrammes de chorizo supérieur...Ces hectogrammes marqués sur la balance, et le chorizo supérieur deviennent une fête sauvage qui fait de la blessure d'un enfant humilié, de la joie humaine. Voilà trente ans que nous vivons dans cette blessure. (p. 100)

In the last section of the play, Marino, remembering this impassive violence as well as the interrelated vio-

lence of fascist soldiers who raped and killed his daughter, stands guard over a sausage which is nine feet long. It is placed on the cross of Spain, another symbol of the distortion of values in the dictatorship. Gatti, an anarchist, is also perhaps suggesting that in Spain people need food, not religion, especially if the priests are consorting with Franco. In the final moments, the émigrés, now grouped around the cross with their suitcases, tell the story of a Spaniard who tried to set Franco on fire by running into him after having first inflamed himself. This is a grisly and grotesque image of the refugees' drive to regain their homeland.

When the play premiered in Kassel, Germany in 1967, Spanish gastarbeiter came in wagon loads with flags and slogans and guitars to support the performers and loudly demonstrated their approval. As Gatti describes in his preface to the play, they took over the stage at the end of performances, opened up discussions, and continued this activity in the street (p. 9). The production echoed the feelings of many immigrant workers and refugees in the environs.

Much regenerative energy that grew out of 1968 was invested in producing creative collections by and for a particular public.⁷⁴ In the northeast province of Lorraine, Jacques Kraemer, of Polish Jewish origin, was in the late 1960s and 1970s involved with creating plays that showed solidarity with the working classes of the area. In

1963 he founded the Théâtre Populaire de Lorraine. He presented a classical repertory until 1968 when he decided to favor plays more relevant to his community. This switch brought problems: he did a production in the mid-1970s that favored striking mine workers, but since miners comprised a high percentage of the audience, the town of Metz, fearing trouble, withdrew its subsidy. Fortunately, the troupe managed to relocate.

According to Kraemer, there were in the 1970s four million immigrants in France alone, many of them working in little jobs at low salaries and living in deplorable conditions.⁹⁷ Such is the role that immigrant labor has played in the French workforce over the last century, that France has been called "Europe's Melting Pot."⁹⁸ In 1930 immigrant labor made up more than six percent of the French population, and at this time most of the immigrants were of European origin.⁹⁹ However, the immigration that followed World War II created, instead, a migrant labor force that drew its racial and ethnic identity from the Third World.¹⁰⁰ The Metz area is industrial, having many steel foundries, and first or second generation immigrants made up the majority of the working class population. Through interviews with this population and visits to the home and workplace, Kraemer gathered materials that formed the basis for a short agit-prop piece or a spectacle d'intervention¹⁰¹ called Chronique théâtrale pour un spectacle sur les immigrés which the theatre performed about thirty

times. Workers and trade union associations were asked to view it. Their comments contributed to the structuring of a refined version entitled Les Immigrés. Created in 1972, this was the troupe's third political play. For Kraemer, the method used in creating the play "justifies the idea of decentralizing theatre, since it presupposes specific roots in the realities of one province and an artistic product that could not have been created elsewhere."¹⁹²

The new version consists of seventeen saynètes or playlets in which three actors impersonate about fifty different characters taken from the petite, moyenne, and bonne bourgeoisie. The play focuses on the prejudice and xenophobia of this portion of the population when fantastic and fabulous creatures, who are called anthropomorphs, are brought in chains from distant colonies to work in the mines in France. They represent migrant labor, Africans, Algerians, Portuguese. In his introduction to the play, Kraemer describes these creatures:

L'histoire de l'immigration a été transposée dans une fable fantastique, l'histoire des anthropomorphes: créatures hybrides, ni hommes, ni bêtes (cependant à forme humaine) découvertes dans un lointain pays.

Le choix de "l'anthropomorphe" pour désigner l'immigré n'est que le prolongement du vocabulaire animalier qui exprime tous les racines. (p. 9)

The anthropomorphs are never seen. We hear about their activities through the mouths of many others. Each playlet exists independently and no character appears more than once: Scientists on expedition in an unnamed colony,

millionaires on the deck of a ship transporting anthropomorphs; a woman fearful for her daughter's virginity, inventors trying to improve the output of the anthropomorphs, a secretary whose post-office routine is disturbed by an anthropomorph who cannot understand what is, for him, an alien procedure, an employee needing to escape blame for an industrial accident which killed many anthropomorphs, and so on.

Most of the characters are quite unsympathetic to the plight of these creatures, but although they fear them, they exploit them and blame them for the rise in the crime rate, for the worsening economy, and for the devaluation of private property. Moreover, the real criminals and exploiters are revealed to be among the townspeople and the police, who conspire with the townspeople against the foreigners. The play ends with the author's Marxist-inspired suggestion that the anthropomorphs and other workers will unite against the exploiting classes.

While Kraemer writes a lengthy introduction in which he explains how he tried to find a path which avoided the pitfalls of naturalism and of caricature, Les Immigrés presents a one-sided view of the problems of migrant labor. He says that he wanted to avoid a naturalistic presentation and create a comic, heightened reality which would also allow the audience to adopt a critical attitude to the way that the bourgeois characters were behaving.¹⁹³ Meanwhile, there is never much room for any doubt about their behav-

ior. He takes sides against the bourgeoisie from the very beginning, making the majority of them practice silent, if not vocal, racism. Some points he makes are worthwhile; the very first playlet satirizes those films which arouse prejudice against indigenous non-white populations by portraying them as savage predators, especially vis-à-vis white women. But because the major portion of the play shows a hostile French environment victimizing an innocent, alien intruder, the importance of his political statement is undermined. Only twice do we briefly hear mention of a friendly force: a supervisor in the mines and a proprietor's chauffeur. As the playwright himself admits, this genre of theatre has its limits.

In the early 1980s Jacques Kraemer's artistic goals took yet another direction. He wanted to divest himself of his image as a politically engaged Lorraine author. In a 1984 interview he stated that, without any regret for the past, he was looking forward to directing plays which were more personal in treatment, and that, in his opinion, the change in his outlook reflected a similar change in the outlook of society.¹⁰⁴ Kraemer said he was particularly interested in the work of Enzo Cormann, whose play, Exils, is the last one I will be discussing in this study. As we shall see, Exils, unlike Kraemer's Les Immigrés, treats the subject of displacement in a very subjective and personal way.

Like Kraemer in the northeast, André Benedetto's Nouvelle Compagnie d'Avignon was creating such collective works as Le Siège de Montauban and Les Drapiers jacobins, which were historical pieces written specifically for performance in particular sites, and Emballage, which was commissioned by the Le Havre Maison de Culture and the cultural arm of the city's Ministry of Tourism and Labor.¹⁰⁵ One of Benedetto's major concerns has been to support the Occitanian rights movement. This movement wants to restore the language and culture, and even the independence, of those people who live in the essentially mountainous southern third of modern France. Simone Weil had noted the strength of local feeling during the occupation of France in World War II and she related it to the need for roots in the face of Nazi oppression.

People have now in a much sharper, more permanent form than before the feeling that they belong to Brittany, Lorraine, Provence or Paris.... It would be disastrous to declare it anti-patriotic. In the atmosphere of anguish, confusion, solitude, uprootedness in which the French find themselves, all loyalties, all attachments are worth preserving like treasure of infinite value and rarity, worth tending like the most delicate plants.¹⁰⁶

The revitalization of Oc dialects today--Limousine, Auvergnat, Dauphinois, Languedoc, Provençal, and Gascon--is supported by regional movements and also by the University system.¹⁰⁷

The southern people, who spoke langue d'oc, were conquered by the northerners, who spoke langue d'oïl, in the early thirteenth century. Caesar himself had referred

to these two totally different linguistic groups that made up two-thirds of Gaul--the third group being the Belgians-- and he was aware of the difference in their customs and legal systems:

Gaul is divided into three parts, one inhabited by the Belgians, another by the Aquitainians, the third by those people called Gauls in our language and Celts in their own. The three nations each have different languages, customs, and laws. The Gauls are separated from the Belgians by the Seine and the Marne, the Aquitainians by the Garonne.¹⁰⁸

It was in 1213 that the northern rulers put an end to all Occitanian dreams of independence at the decisive battle of Muret.¹⁰⁹ Then, in 1539, langue d'oïl became the official language of the French king and, therefore, of France. Langue d'oc continued to be spoken in the south of France, but officially it was considered inferior. There exists, however, a remarkable literature in the Occitanian language. The most famous is that of the twelfth and thirteenth century troubadours, but Le Roy Ladurie has done important research on Occitanian plays written between 1550 and 1790,¹¹⁰ and within the last century there has been some revival of the written language.¹¹¹ Jacques Copeau thought that the 1904 Occitanian Nobel, Mistral, was one of two great poets who had "l'accent du peuple."¹¹²

In Géronimo, Benedetto draws parallels between the eradication of the Indian and his culture by the White Man and the suppression of the Occitanian language and culture--the "false France" in the south--by the "real France" in the north. Both Indians and Occitanians suffered from

the imperialism of their conquerors. The barbarity of conquering nations has been pointed out by Walter Benjamin who said, "There is no cultural document that is not at the same time a record of barbarism."¹¹³ In her impassioned review of French history, Simone Weil also stated, "Although the kings of France are praised for having assimilated the countries they conquered, the truth is that they to a large extent uprooted them."¹¹⁴

First performed in Avignon in the summer of 1975 at Benedetto's converted warehouse theatre, Théâtre de Carmes, Géronimo takes as its theme the denial of native culture to the displaced person and the repressive force of all conquerors. The playwright may have been influenced by Arthur Kopit's Indians, which played in Europe in the late 1960s.¹¹⁵ Benedetto begins his play with "Annonce Aux Spectateurs." Here we are introduced to major signposts of the play that is to follow. These signposts are not the intricate details of plot and place setting but rather symbolic objects: the white Indian leather vest, symbol of the rebel; a model of an Indian village, symbol of home in a native land; and the bad white man John Whisky, also called Tribollet, who collects the trappings of civilizations he has destroyed and transports them in a wagon. In the play, the wagon holds all the musical instruments, costumes, and props that will be used in the performance.

Perhaps to prepare the audience for the non-realistic mode of the production, the first scene gives warning of

the existence of multiple Geronimos whose fate will be related to their own.

Nous en sortirons les vestes blanches pour louer et nous dirons: Géronimo arrive en ami, en ennemi, en travailleur, en touriste, etc. Alors des journalistes lui poseront des questions.

Nous nous demanderons si, Provençaux, Occitans, nous sommes des Apaches à l'heure de la mise en valeur touristique et d'un pays momifié.

The wagon and the characters then come on stage and the first scene ends with a song about Geronimo who was "né dans la liberté" and "mort prisonier de guerre."

In the following twenty-six scenes Benedetto uses four distinct Geronimos: the historical Geronimo, Old Geronimo, Geronimo One--an Occitanian today, and Geronimo Two--who seems to embody a spirit of rebellion and defiance in the contemporary world. In Scene Nineteen, after the historical Geronimo has given himself up for the last time and been deported to Florida, many nameless characters on stage claim to have his identity. Thus, in telling the Indian's story--which he draws from Geronimo's memoirs as related to Mr. Barrett,¹¹⁶ Benedetto reaches far beyond the story of this particular Apache. Since the plot is not of primary concern, Benedetto refrains from invariably moving in chronological order while relating how the white man forced the Indian into submission and annihilated his culture; using an ancient story-telling method, Benedetto sometimes presents memories within memories. Geronimo even has to defend this method when the journalists interviewing him indicate that they cannot understand anything that is

not in chronological order. He says, "Ecrivez ce que j'ai dit! Dans l'ordre où je le dis et comme je le dis, c'est moi qui parle" (Scene Three).¹¹⁷

Benedetto uses what Sarrazac has called a "patchwork" to structure his play. A scene that has an historical aspect regarding Geronimo's real life, whether based on his memoirs or imagined, may be followed by a scene where the Apache Geronimo, or another Geronimo or even all the Geronimos, are in Belgium or south France as immigrant workers, or hawkers, or members of an oppressed French minority. At the end of Scene Seven, the actress playing Geronimo's mother explains:

Nous sommes une minorité nationale
 Une nationalité opprimée, privée du plein usage
 de sa langue et de sa culture historique.
 Il y en a sept en France: la Bretagne, la Corse,
 la Catalogne nord (Roussillon), l'Euskadi nord (Pays
 basque), l'Alsace-Lorraine, le Pays Flamand et
 l'Occitanie.

A scene can also appear which seems to have no relation to the one before or to the one following. Much as in film montage, one must experience a series of images or blocks of story before understanding how the images function together. For instance, at the end of Scene Three, the actors drop their roles of Three Journalists interviewing Geronimo and take on the roles of actors questioning the actor-Geronimo (played by Benedetto) about why he's bothering to do a play about Apaches or even about minorities.

Je demande: les minorités ont-elles droit à l'existence en tant que telles qu'elles sont pour y puiser des forces oubliées?

Il n'y a plus de minorités. Elles sont au fond de la mer. Elles sont au fond de la terre. Les bouledoseurs nivellent les cultures. Y a-t-il encore des Indiens par ici? La vraie France est celle du Nord. Moi je suis de la fausse France. On l'appelle l'Occitanie. Hier c'était un besoin. Aujourd'hui c'est une douleur, un terrible écartèlement. . . Et une farce!

Then Benedetto cuts to Scene Four, where two old men chatter and eye girls in the sun. We do not know who they are nor what time or space they are in. When one calls the other "Geronimo," is this the Apache or the Occitanian or the immigrant? We have been introduced to the possibility of all these Geronimos and more. That a union man arrives with a recording of a cicada helps identify this as the modern era! Immediately following, in Scene Five, we see Geronimo, now clearly the Apache, sitting in a cage at the St. Louis Exposition. We are back in the familiar territory of the history play.

There is a strong story-telling aspect to the play and even some fantastical characters reminiscent of fairy-tale and féerie. Characters will announce that they are going to say something ("il dit") in much the same way as Paul Sills' story theatre; and there is a talking tree, a cat which turns into a woman, and Geronimo's talking horse which keeps him company during the final hours before his death. Finally, there is Tribollet, alias John Whisky, who falls into the category of melodramatic villain since

Benedetto makes him the one responsible for luring Geronimo into drinking the forbidden alcohol. Tribollet also expresses a vicious hatred for "primitive" forces which he wishes to see annihilated. In pinpointing this character as a major force in the destruction of Geronimo, Benedetto is focussing attention on the role that alcohol has played in the downfall of the American Indian and perhaps of other exiles as well.

The dialogue varies a great deal, from mundane exchanges to monologues drawn from Geronimo's memoirs, to song and poetry; five short sections in Occitanian which lament its submersion as a living language are included too. Dance is also an important part of the action--the bourrée, the farandole, and the mazurka. While latter is performed innocuously to entertain tourists at the railway station, dances can also symbolize the spirit of rebellion. In Scene Thirteen, while carrying a Provençal flag, Geronimo dances the bourrée Auvergnat: "une danse guerrière," "une danse solaire," "la danse antique des Gaulois." In this dance, the Apache struggle and the Occitanian struggle merge as Geronimo speaks:

Avec qui te bats-tu?
 Avec quel masque de quelle famille?
 Avec quel parti politique ou mouvement?
 Pour l'indépendance?
 Pour l'autonomie?
 Pour la fédération?
 Pour le supplément d'âme?
 Pour l'unité française?
 Pour. . . Indiens, où êtes-vous?
 Sur quel mot d'ordre danses-tu?
 Je vais m'arrêter de danser

De mélanger le présent au passé. . .

Although we are constantly being forced to distance ourselves from complete emotional involvement with the tragic story of Geronimo the Apache, its impact is still strong and the Indian's experience of anomie very clear. Born in freedom, he dies a prisoner of war. Before his death he has been exiled to a strange land where he has to tap his way through the scenic space because he is psychologically blind to the mental geography of the conquering white culture. He lives in the past, longing for his homeland of Arizona and for the happy return of his people. He sells his hand-made bow for a pittance. Tribollet asks for his arrows too, remnants of the Indian culture which the white tourists want to buy. Thus a whole civilisation is reduced to an object and the white man can gloat over his victory and boast about how he, in his purity, conquered a "savage" (Scene 26). The white Lady, on the other hand, sees Geronimo as a sex object. Neither of these images--savage or sex object--encompasses the possibility that he is autonomous. Geronimo is a symbol of all those who are alive "dans l'immensité désertique.../ Seul chacun avec son histoire..." (Scene 13), strangers in the nation and yet dependent on it. "Me voici devant vous et toujours en exil/ Caricature d'homme et partout étranger," says Geronimo One in Scene Nineteen.

Many of the images in Géronimo accentuate the lonely existence of the Indian isolated with and by his memories

in an immense psychic desert and forced to inhabit cities where even the dwellings are made of concrete, and are cold and hard. "Je suis mort victime/ de l'hospitalité citadine/ Emmenez-moi/ à l'hôpital," says Old Geronimo in Scene Twenty-One. The alienation leads to an inability to create. When Geronimo, in Scene Twenty-Three, talks about an old dog fruitlessly trying to mate, he is referring to the death of his own, and his culture's, essentiality:

J'ai vu un vieux couple de chiens sur le bord de
la route sur un fond de rocaille rouge de paysage
désolé

En face de ce lac artificiel sous le ciel gris
Et le vieux mâle aux yeux mi-clos s'accroche aux
reins de sa vieille femelle
Des souvenirs de l'ancienne pulsion le traverse
Mais il ne créera plus
De simulacre en simulacre il s'achemine vers la
mort immobile dans le silence.

It is these feelings of impotence and alienation so common to exiles and displaced people that Benedetto wants his Occitanian audience to confront in their lives.

In the same year, in an eastern suburb of Paris, another play was performed which addressed itself to the difficulties faced by the worker immigrant in an alien France: the Théâtre du Soleil's L'Age d'or. The focus was on an Algerian named Abdallah. Rehearsals on the play began in late 1973, shortly after a cholera epidemic in Naples, Rome, and Bari in which twenty-four died and thousands were hospitalized. Work continued for one year and four months until March 1975 when the first version was deemed ready to be presented at the troupe's permanent

home, a converted warehouse, the Cartoucherie in Vincennes. This professional theatre company was born in 1964 from a university theatre group of technicians and actors headed by Ariane Mnouchkine; they had already made an impression on French theatre with their production of Arnold Wesker's The Kitchen in 1967, and their two collective creations about the French Revolution, 1789 in 1970-71 and 1793 in 1972-73.

L'Age d'or was not published in script form because the group felt that the piece, inspired by the commedia dell'arte, would not translate well into dialogue on the printed page. Instead of a script the published form, L'Age d'or: première ébauche, resembles a theatre log which shows how the play came into being. The piece stands as an example of a completely collective creation; the author of the play and of the introductory remarks is listed as the "Théâtre du Soleil." Contributions to the "log" include essays by actors, actresses, mask maker, assistant director; interviews with the lighting designer, technical director, and costume designer; and a brief scenario with examples of dialogues that took place.

Another feature of the publication is the inclusion of a list of real events that took place between 14 August 1973 and 27 December 1974. Although these events have nothing to do with disease, they are equated with the 1720 plague and the 1973 cholera epidemic because they, too, are able to inflict mortal injury and they, too, are one of the

causes of the struggles of mankind. Among this list of modern fléaux are labor unrest, strikes, imprisonment and the difficulties and hardships, often fatal, endured by workers, particularly migrant labor, and peasants as a result of racism and fascism. The list encompasses events all over the world.

It is made clear from the words "première ébauche" that the creators conceived of the presentation as being in a state of constant revision and renewal, which might include new plot lines and characters. In the log, the assistant director, Sophie Lemasson, qualifies her contributions to the section "Raconter L'Age d'or" as being "Etat du travail au 20 février 1975," two weeks before the opening; and we are told that some of the characters listed under "Les comédiens et leurs personnages" were not present in L'Age d'or: première ébauche. In claiming that the production is in a constant state of flux, the group is perhaps emulating the ancient tradition of commedia dell'arte and the free flowing atmosphere of the old fair theatre.

In Le Théâtre populaire¹¹⁸ Jacques Copeau--who along with Meyerhold and Henri Michaux is quoted in the log of L'Age d'or--followed a long line of French artists in advocating a theatre of the people. Maurice Pottecher, Michelet, Romain Rolland, and Firmin Gémier are among those in the last hundred years. The Théâtre du Soleil acknowledges in the opening remarks to the log that they were

indeed attempting to give an elucidating vision of the modern universe by using the principles of popular theatre in a new way:

La réalité sociale de 1975 nous apparaît comme une mosaïque d'univers inégaux et imperméables les uns aux autres, dont on nous cache le fonctionnement. Pour la raconter, tenter d'en faire comprendre les ressorts, nous choisissons de la recréer par les moyens du théâtre. Nous voulons montrer la farce de notre monde, créer une fête sereine et violente en réinventant les principes de théâtres populaires traditionnels. (p. 13)

As reinvented by the group, these principles expressed a solidarity of feeling with the working classes, in the Marxist tradition. While the theatre log reveals that the group created the play through improvisations inspired by characters in the ancient commedia and Chinese theatre as well as by certain scenes from Molière which featured Scapin and other commedia types, the process of creation also included sessions with school students, young immigrants, miners from Mages, inhabitants of Lussan, and workers at the Kodak factory in Vincennes. These sessions contributed directly to the creation of more characters and new turns in the plot. Throughout the log, such expressions as "que notre art devient une arme de combat," "sa lutte contre ses exploités," "populariser leurs luttes,"¹¹⁷ and "acte politique de solidarité"¹²⁰ show the readiness of the troupe to use Marxist language. While relating that they wanted to avoid caricature, Philippe Caubère, who played the Algerian immigrant worker Abdallah,

reveals an antipathy towards the police which he turns to comic use:

En revanche, si j'utilise une forme qui me permet de montrer qui est ce flic, quels intérêts le font fonctionner, quel pouvoir il détient, comment il s'en sert et finalement à quoi et à qui il sert, et que je fais rire de cette découverte, alors je fais oeuvre théâtrale et politique. (p. 44)

In the arrangement of space, the Théâtre du Soleil attempted to recreate the atmosphere of popular spectacle. Both inside and outside the performing area, the physical surroundings created a mysterious, interior, spiritual world as well as an expectation of holiday fun and circus sights. In a review of the play, Bernard Dort says that the Cartoucherie reminded him of a church, temple, or railway station.¹²¹ In order to enter the performance area, the audience had to slide down a steep incline; thus, from the start, they were brought into a new world of unexpected experiences. Inside, the huge space was divided into four separate yet interdependent crater-like areas or "pistes de cirque." As the performers moved, so the spectators followed. There was no scenery. It was through mime and words that the actors created all the décor in L'Age d'or.

In this production the audience had to imagine that they were living in a future age. The play spans three time periods. It begins with a plague in Naples in 1720 (the same year of the Marseilles plague that Artaud refers to in The Theatre and its Double). The action moves to

Marseilles and Paris in 1975, and then to a new era, the year 2000, "l'âge d'or," which, as a Tunisian woman narrator explains, is really present time, all the proceedings to that point having simply been a review of historical events. In this future time, the actors take a pause in their storytelling and gather around the narrator, as a chorus around its leader. The assistant director, Sophie Lemasson, describes the central role of this chorus in the production:

. . . on redécouvre un élément noyau du spectacle:
 le chœur des comédiens qui raconte et porte une
 histoire durant toute sa durée et son déroulement.
 Ceux qui jouent cette histoire sont issus de ce
 chœur et ne perdent jamais contact avec lui.
 (p. 122)

The eternal theme of greed unites the two stories that are told. In Naples 1720, the Prince's corrupt counsellors--a mayor and a greedy ship outfitter--attempt to assuage their ruler and escape their responsibility for the plague by laying the blame on Arlequin, while in present day 1975 the real estate and political powers (architect, developer, and mayor) attempt to escape blame for faulty work which causes the death of hundreds in building accidents. The 1975 story centers on the escapades of a modern Arlequin, Abdallah, an immigrant Arab worker from Algeria. The first transition from 1720 to 1975 is made as the 1720 Arlequin encounters Abdallah and tries to make him the scapegoat for the plague in Naples.

Comment t'appelles-tu?
 -- Abdallah!

- D'où viens-tu? Où vas-tu?
 -- Je viens d'Alger et je vais à Marseille!
 -- C'est toi le coupable de la peste à Naples en
 1720!
 -- Mais ce n'est pas possible, je vis dans le XXe
 siècle!
 -- Aucune importance! (p. 106.)

The traditional commedia was used as inspiration for the play, not as a model to be perfectly copied. The troupe decided to have recourse to the commedia's use of mask, its character types, lazzi, and improvisational techniques, and its emphasis on movement (p. 31). As described by Philippe Caubère, his modern Arlequin, Abdallah, differed from the original in an important way. The old Arlequin lived in a simpler world where he knew how to manipulate the vices and habits of his enemy, Pantalón the merchant. However, the immigrant Arlequin, Abdallah, has no knowledge of the language and he lives in what the actor felt to be a state of limbo, which can also be described as anomie.

Abdallah, lui, au départ ne sait rien. Il arrive à Marseille, ne parlant pas un mot de français, sans adresse, habillé à l'orientale, l'esprit plein d'illusions: il débarque sur le port comme "un prince du désert". Alors il se retrouve seul, démuné, face à une société incroyablement hiérarchisée et brutalement hostile. Ses seuls alliés seront les siens, les autres immigrants et peut-être Demosthème qui vient lui apprendre à lire.
 (p. 38)

There were other immigrant character types whom the Théâtre du Soleil discovered to be integral to the modern French world which they wanted to put on stage: the Tunisian woman, Salouha, who was the narrator; Abdallah's

Senegalese friend, the immigrant worker M'Boro, who was played by a woman; Ramon Granada, a worker of Spanish descent; a Spanish maid and her mother; and Mahmoud Ali, an immigrant from an unspecified Arab country. Each is in different stages of integration into the French culture and society. It is Mahmoud Ali who has taken to feeding on the troubles of his fellow immigrants; he conspires with French scavengers such as Aimé Lheureux, an old clothes dealer.

In the final scene, Abdallah falls to his death from a construction girder, as Verdi's Requiem is being played. The girder does not exist on stage; the whole scene is mimed on the ground. Bernard Dort faulted Abdallah's death scene for being too much on the scale of the Passion and for creating a feeling of unity and communion which did not belong in a play which was attempting to elucidate the distance that exists between reality and utopia.¹³² The workers revolt, and in the final moments, which were inspired by the "sack" scene of Les Fourberies de Scapin, they chase the two villains, the real estate developer, Pantalón, and his construction chief, forcing them to try to escape by climbing up a rear wall of the Cartoucherie stage.

In Sarrazac's Lazare lui aussi rêvait d'Eldorado, first produced under the direction of Thierry Bosc on 23 January 1976 in Paris at the Palace theatre, the dreams of another popular immigrant hero end in his death. "Le moment est venu de se pencher sur l'immigré," writes

Sarrazac in his notes "Pour Jouer Lazare" at the end of the playscript. But he makes it clear that this is to be no paternalistic leftist or rightist approach, that for him the immigrant's difference--color, odors, sweat--from those in the surrounding society should be kept intact, accepted, and not obscured in favor of antiseptic social tendencies.

Here, myth, mysticism, and dreams are combined with a tale of physical and psychic hardship and violence. The grotesque spirit of the carnival conceals a deep underlying sadness. Sarrazac begins his story where the popular Spanish picaresque novel, Lazarillo de Tormes (1554), left off: Lazare, after years of adversity while trying to stay honest, has come to cynical terms with life--he shares his wife with the Archpriest of the San Salvador quarter of Toledo in exchange for a job which keeps him half a step away from penury; he has the lowly duties of a town crier. In eleven segments, Sarrazac creates a kind of passion play for the famous picaro. He likens Lazare's pathway to death to the stations on Jesus's journey to Calvary, where acceptance of martyrdom serves the purpose of transforming his oppressors and of giving voice to the tribulations of all immigrants everywhere.

Les stations de Lazare, ce ne sont pas seulement son itinéraire personnel, la chaîne de son exploitation forgée du renversement de ses désirs, ce sont aussi les moments de sa remontée historique. Lazare est halé jusqu'à nous par d'actuels émigrants de l'extérieur, des provinces. Héros décevant, il n'a pas seulement le profil de l'homme du tiers monde, il a la silhouette du postier occitan ou du mineur qui de Lorraine part travailler en Allemagne. ^{1.233}

Sarrazac peppers the play with mythic, carnivalesque figures, modern monsters, and Christian imagery in a way that recalls the ancient tradition of street parades. On the night Lazare leaves Toledo (Scene Two), the stage is filled with low comedy. After Lazare's wife locks him out of the house, two giant, drunken tourists nurse him with a bottle of wine. When they take him to "faire bibi"--they speak French with pronounced German accents--he deliberately sprays them. Anachronisms in the sleepy world of a bygone Toledo, these figures make a loud impression "en chapeaux de paille et costumes blancs, prodigieusement équipés: lunettes noires, appareils photo, caméra, flashes électroniques qui font des éclairs dans la nuit." Are they shades of the motel giants in America Hurrah? They think Lazare is a monkey. "Pachyderms" of a future bourgeois society, they scatter children before them as if they were from outer space.

There is, of course, a parable: The real gold is spiritual and is found at home. The symbols of Eldorado are dark and gloomy. Shortly after the episode with the tourists, a silent chariot arrives as in a nightmarish vision, and two sinister creatures who drive it, "les rabatteurs d'Eldorado"--the hunting imagery is significant--persuade their victim to leave his world and follow the lure of gold. On the road to Seville, Saint Thérèse, the patron saint of foot travellers, laments the children

she has lost who dreamed of Eldorado. Once in the port of Cadiz, battered and tattered mythological maps of the New World, Eldorado, hang on the walls of the weigh-in station. The ship which is supposed to take Lazare across the ocean is water-logged and in ruin. Despite these signs, he presses on, obsessed by his dream of owning his own shop.

Lazare, born on the Tormes river--whence comes his name, is returned to water in cruel fashion: his tormentors, Antonio and Domingo and Pedro, after robbing him of all his money, display him in a tank as an exotic sea creature--a Triton or newt--which they have captured in Eldorado. Triton, a minor deity, trumpeted the arrivals of Zeus. Lazare, an earthly cipher, is his comic, Bacchic parallel, who as town crier beats on a drum before announcing wine sales and the latest tidbit of insignificant gossip.

The landscapes have an eternal, timeless aspect. They are all public ground or places of transit. Five scenes take place in town squares in Toledo and France; here walls are covered with graffiti. Two occur in the port of Cadiz: in a clandestine warehouse used to crate illegal immigrants, and in the environs of the dilapidated ship. The remaining four sections of the play happen on the roads and deserted plateaus traversed by those seeking their fortune far from home, in the Indies or Eldorado, and by the predatory bandits. Characters from several time periods and places gather here:

. . . les passagers insoupçonnés de la Meseta: faux pèlerins le l'époque picaresque, mais aussi émigrants d'aujourd'hui ou d'il y a trente ans, en livrée de portier d'hôtel, en tenue et bonnet de laine d'éboueur africain, en casquette de postier occitan. . . ." (p. 35)

The names of Saint Thérèse's lost children reflect their diversity of origin: "Sancho, Monipodio...Piotr, Ahmed, Luigi, Deodatto, Bienvenu, Toussaint, Youssef, Khelim, Kaled...Peire du Causse, Omar, Khelif, Ali, Yann, Jacques le Lorrain, José et Tahar de Kabylie" (p. 36).

In these eternal surroundings, the travellers swap stories. All begin with anecdotes of a life of poverty, or of villages gradually abandoned. They talk of the need to find work in a distant world of gold before returning home to realize their dreams. Each traveller is in a different stage of hope or despair. The Sicilian barber still believes he will have a salon in Tuscany. The Turkish cheese-maker has lost hope and laughs at other immigrants who have a "bulle" over their heads: "Ils me font pitié ces rêveurs debout. Voyageurs postiches prenant un grain de sable de la Meseta pour une source qui jaillit!" (p.37). Stories emphasize the horrifying impotence of the illegal immigrant's position. A Togolese is frightened by horrifying tales of a Senegalese who died in the trunk of a car when it crashed, and of another black African who died in a crate which took two years to reach its destination (p. 55).

Like the hero of the old Lazarillo story, Sarrazac's hero encounters evil in the guise of good. Only, where the sixteenth-century anonymous narrator satirized the powerful classes--the knight for his falseness, the monk for his impurity, and the pardoner for his complicity with the police--Sarrazac creates a world where there are no class distinctions between exploiter and exploited and where everyone is alienated from the social order.

Ce monde si pur que ceux qui t'y exploitent sont encore tes frères: les possédants sont à peine des possédants, les exploités à peine des exploités, tout juste des judas, l'aliénation est mise en regard avec l'aliénation. Lazare ne dénonce pas explicitement le rôle du capitalisme à l'égard des travailleurs immigrés, ni rien que nous connaissons déjà.¹²⁴

Lazare's journey comes full circle. He is faced with the ultimate psychic torture, the humiliation of being exhibited as a sea monster in his hometown in front of his wife. Rather than returning in glory, he has come back as an inhuman object of fun that stinks from having to stand in stagnant water for days on end. His indomitable nature is crushed when he is forced to face the reality of his nonentity. However, if he can no longer live in a physical body, his essence is resurrected after his death. In a powerful final soliloquy, he moves in slow motion, his gestures and voice softened and euphoric as he is freed of his mortal trappings--"mes peaux de misère, les pustules du Triton, les croûtes de l'émigrant, les verrues du petit commerçant que je n'ai jamais pu devenir" (p. 82).

Transfigured now, somewhere in an eschatological space and time after his physical death, he calls to Pépito and his little Toledo beggar friends who had tormented him at the beginning of the play and who perhaps remind Lazare of his own youth. Advising them to renounce everything, including language and any dream of being champions, he says:

Je voudrais devenir moins que j'ai été, moins que gueux, plus nu que sans chaussures... Si les indiens valent moins que nous, alors, petits, plutôt que de rêver de vous élever, devenez des indiens, des sauvages sans parole. Désapprenez cette langue qui nous empoisonne. Ne faites pas comme moi, ne vous laissez pas tricoter à même le corps un maillot de champion. (pp. 82-83)

The last scene attests to the fact that Lazare's life and death have had an effect on others after all; he has unwittingly aroused the consciences of the three men who have persecuted him in the dog-eat-dog world. Grief-stricken that Lazare's faith was destroyed and that he has departed this life, Antonio dons his Triton accoutrements and dies on the lonely Meseta as fog drifts over him. Meanwhile, Pedro and Domingo wander on in the endless plateau attempting to convince themselves of their innocence in Lazare's death, Pedro playing the voice of conscience to Domingo's efforts to escape the truth.

The alienating coldness and emptiness of the cities for the refugee and the desolation of the landscape are images that are turned to effective use in Exils, a one-act play by Enzo Cormann. Cormann, who arrived on the French

literary scene in 1980, lives in Lyon where Exils was first performed in 1984 by Compagnie Travaux 12 under the direction of Philippe Delaigue. The play was subsequently performed at Théâtre de la Bastille, Paris, in April 1985. Born in 1953, Enzo Cormann is the youngest of the six writers whose works I am discussing in this chapter.

In November 1985, Cormann came to New York under the aegis of the French government which was sponsoring a tour of his play, Le Rôdeur. He and the actor-playwright-director Jean Paul Wenzel, who was the lone actor in Le Rôdeur, spoke informally at Ubu Repertory Theatre on 4 November. During the course of the evening, Cormann avowed a penchant for Faulkner's work, which he claimed to read fanatically. He said that in his own work he wanted to emphasize not reality, as one thinks it is, but the truth of one's relationship to reality. He stressed the role of imagination and dream in the creative work of the writer as he sits at a table and fantasizes.

A quality of inescapable nightmare pervades Exils. The boundaries of character are fluid and the boundaries of reality shift, while any sense of continuity of time is lost. Past, present, and future blend together, as in a dream or a drug-induced trance. The opening stage directions, which although they exist only in the English translation are Cormann's, report that the play takes place in Paris in the late 1930s, but what we see on stage is a cold, empty room which could be anywhere, anytime. Here a

poet sits waiting, while he suffers the deep anxieties of loneliness, impotence, and the uneasy conscience of the survivor. The emphasis is on his interior mood. He is a German poet who is living in exile in Paris. His pseudonym is Carl Sturm, and he identifies with four other exiled German writers: Toller, Feuchtwanger, Heinrich Mann, and Tucholsky (both Toller and Tucholsky committed suicide). We never know the poet's real name. Cormann calls the character "Vous." In the final monologue of the later English version, "Vous" or "You" becomes "Me."

The play begins with a poem by Carl Sturm (later we learn that the poem's title is "Exil") which describes the murder of a woman at some future time and a subsequent feeling of physical relief in the murderer "ainsi qu'après l'amour." Soon after, a woman, "Elle," enters and the murder takes place. We are not sure whether the murder happens in a dream or reality, or, indeed, whether the murder is not really an act of making love. Talk of death does not necessarily mean death of the body. Elle at one time asks the poet, "Est-ce que tu étais mort?" At the end of the play, the poet says, "Toujours toi qui m'éveille et toi que j'assassine. A l'aube cette main blanche, sur le parquet."

The figure of Elle reverberates with the memories of several other female figures in Vous's life, memories that induce in him feelings of powerlessness and guilt over his betrayal of loved ones: Elle is his mother, who dropped

dead "sans que j'ai pu rien dire, ni rien faire"; Elle is Annah, his beautiful German lover who was married to his friend--both friend and lover were deported; Elle is also the Germany from which he has been banished. On the banal level of reality, Elle works in his publisher's office in Paris.

When Vous talks about the outside world, it is of a world of terror and squalor, which reflects his own inner state. The presence of the city is ugly and horrifying. Across the street a bar flashes blue for "NIGHT" and red for "CLUB" all night long and "viande saoule" is bought and sold. Speaking of how he collapsed on the streets while suffering an attack of nerves, Vous relates what the artist in him saw:

Une lueur précède une sorte de nuit pleine des bruits du jour.

Quelques éclairs, quelques ratés cardiaques, un petit film terrible vrille mon crâne de part en part. On y voit que la ville de Carl Sturm est celle des contreforts granitiques un peu sales, des buttes pelées ou des quais d'amarrage. Celle des usines désaffectées aux vitres étoilées, celle des maisons murées, des façades étayées, des immeubles éventrés, des quartiers vérolés, celle des chantiers en instance, de l'urine moisie, des terrains vagues, des chiens pelés, des casses boueuses, des décharges fumantes, celle de la rouille et du manque et de l'âge, que telle oui, telle est la ville de Carl Sturm.

Cormann's language in this play is extremely original, albeit violent and visceral. He draws on the terminology of art to explore, at the end of the play, three grotesque and terrifying images--he uses the words "photo"

and "images mortes." He is speaking to Elle whose screams he has just stifled. The first "image morte" mixes, with a sickening impact, images of innocence in childhood and of the beauty of nature with images of nuclear dust, the degradation of drug addiction, and of human excrement and vomit. The second "image morte" is a series of grotesque images--of ashtrays full of cigarettes, of naked, fat and greedy bodies, of Adolf Hitler, of passionless, sordid sex. Mention of turning to "Fantaisies amoureuses," the title of a chapter in a book, brings on cannibalistic desires: "Envie d'un morceau de viande crue."

The third "image morte" is a montage beginning with a beautiful vision of peaceful nature, followed by an image of nature hurt and helpless, then by images of war and power and sexual perversity:

La troisième: Ciel, nuages, soleil. Plus de soleil. Nuages de nouveau, et pluie. Arc-en-ciel, coucher de soleil, crépuscule, toute la clique. Une musique en forme de cube. Oiseau blessé sur la plage.

Bonds impuissants. Longue trace rouge et petit cris. Un léger manque à l'horizon. Garder la pause. Passage éclair d'une armée en tenue d'apparat. Grosz me dédicace le dessin d'un général au bordel, culottes baissées, cigare au bec. Je dis: "on dirait qu'il bave." Et Grosz: "Comment l'avez-vous deviné?" Carl Sturm téléphone à une amie qui lui en conseille une autre. Au dernier plan, on aperçoit une paire de bas chiffonnés sur une carquette. Petits gémissements nocturnes comme perçus au travers d'une cloison trop fine.

The play ends with a deep silence following a long series of cries to "Maman" interjected with one cry to "Annah." These are open-throated cries that reach to the soul and

echo the anguish and despair of the exile or refugee or immigrant who searches for an identity in an unfamiliar landscape. Unfortunately, it is highly likely that these cries will continue to be heard for the foreseeable future.

CHAPTER THREE

ANOMIE AND LE THEATRE DU QUOTIDIEN:
THEATRE OF EVERYDAY LIFE

In the first chapter I considered anomie as a theme in a number of contemporary French plays that dealt with the rebellion and anarchy of 1968 as seen through the prism of the 1871 Commune of Paris. In Chapter Two, I explored the recent portrayal by several French playwrights of the anomic experience of the exiled and displaced person in a variety of genres ranging from Armand Gatti's Passion du général Franco par les émigrés eux-mêmes, of the late sixties, to Enzo Cormann's powerful, personal dream poem of 1984. Inherent in both these themes, revolution and exile, is the potential for striking dramatic conflict. Now I am going to examine plays with a theme which is distinct for its seeming mundanity: everyday life in modern France.

I have selected the majority of the plays from a group of playwrights and playwright-directors who have been identified by critics as belonging to the théâtre du quotidien. The first of the nine plays I will be treating is Germinal (1975), which was adapted by Michel Deutsch and Dominique Muller and presented by the Théâtre National de Strasbourg (T.N.S.). Since no script exists for this

production, I have had to rely, for much of my information, on a publication which developed out of the T.N.S.'s production research.¹²⁵ The other eight plays are: Dimanche (1974) and L'Entraînement du champion avant la course (1975) by Michel Deutsch; Loin d'Hagondange (1975) by Jean-Paul Wenzel and Marianne attend le mariage (1975) by Claudine Fiévet and Jean-Paul Wenzel; La Table: paroles des femmes (1977) by Michèle Foucher; Théâtre de chambre: Dissident, il va sans dire / Nina, c'est autre chose (1978), and Les Travaux et les jours (1979) by Michel Vinaver.¹²⁶

There has been some recognition of these authors in the United States. Michèle Foucher's La Table went on an extensive tour which included this country. Michel Vinaver's L'Ordinaire was presented in a staged reading at the O'Neill Theatre Festival in 1985. In New York, the UBU Theatre, directed by Françoise Kourilsky, has also presented staged readings of the works of Deutsch, Fiévet, Wenzel, and Vinaver in English translation.

As David Bradby has pointed out, the French theatre of everyday life was strongly influenced by the works of contemporary German writers. Between 1972 and 1975, the Comédie de Caen had produced Handke, Kroetz, and Fassbinder. The T.N.S., in Alsace-Lorraine, began to serve a number of writers of the French school in 1975 when it acquired Jean-Pierre Vincent as the new artistic director. In the early 1970s, Vincent's productions of Brecht and

Büchner, as well as of the French classics, at the Théâtre de l'Espérance, Paris, had brought him recognition in France.¹²⁷

It was under Vincent's direction that the Théâtre National de Strasbourg produced, over the course of five years, six works from the French quotidien school. It was here that Michel Deutsch, Dominique Muller, and Michèle Foucher were engaged as part of the "ensemble artistique." The T.N.S. opened its 1975-76 season with Germinal; Deutsch's Dimanche was the second production of the season; and Michèle Foucher's La Table was presented in 1977-78. The T.N.S. also produced quotidien plays that had originated in other theatres: Deutsch's L'Entraînement du champion avant la course (1975-76 season) and Wenzel and Fiévet's Marianne attend le mariage (1976-77), both of which began at Wenzel and Fiévet's Théâtre Quotidien in Paris; and Vinaver's Les Travaux et les jours (1979-80), which originated at Théâtre Eclaté d'Annecy.

The théâtre du quotidien is but a manifestation of a broader interest in the subject of everyday life which developed in France in the 1950s and 1960s and which extends through the fields of history, philosophy, and the arts. For example, Fernand Braudel and Le Roy Ladurie are two scholars from the Annales School who have reexamined history through the everyday life of ordinary people. Henri Lefebvre is a critic of everyday life as it is lived by modern man. His orientation is Marxist; it was his

intellectual and political critique of consumer society and urban living that influenced anarchic and radical elements in the 1950s and 1960s in France, England, Italy, West Germany, as well as the United States. In France, the unrest culminated in the 1968 insurrections and strikes.

He has written several seminal works on the subject of everyday life. Introduction à la critique de la vie quotidienne (1946) which he acknowledges is dated¹²⁸; Critique de la vie quotidienne (1963); and La Vie quotidienne dans le monde moderne (1968), which includes a reappraisal of the first two volumes and new writings on linguistics, terrorism, and cultural revolution. Three important concepts of Lefebvre are Style, which was typical of an age dominated by kings and the church; the Festival, which had peasant origins, and the Quotidian, which is marked, in our age of commodities and consumerism, by an absence of style. According to Lefebvre, Style and Festival had been displaced by the Quotidian. For him, the Commune of 1871 had a special significance. In La Proclamation de la Commune, he views it as a time of Festival, where the populace rescued themselves from the daily round of oppression, the quotidian, and took over the city. In a recent issue of Yale French Studies entitled Everyday Life, the editors attribute particular importance to Lefebvre's impact on the activities of the Situationists.¹²⁹

Little has been written in English on the subject of the French quotidian playwrights who began in the 1970s to

take naturalism as their point of departure, and often as their object of criticism, as they explored new ways to present everyday life on stage. David Bradby has devoted some attention to the work of Deutsch, Wenzel, and Vinaver in Modern French Drama 1940-1980.¹³⁰ There is much more material available in French. As primary source material, the plays of Foucher, Deutsch, and Vinaver include commentaries by the authors; and two essays in Vinaver's Ecrits sur le théâtre¹³¹ reveal his thoughts about writing in the quotidien genre. As for secondary sources, there are none that treat this school of writers exclusively. Sarrazac in L'Avenir du drame explores their work, but he does not limit his discussion to this genre. Various French theatre journals can be useful, but they are not always easily available in the United States.¹³²

Three publications are valuable for their revelations about the theoretical and practical work of the T.N.S.: Germinal: project sur un roman, which has already been mentioned; Le Voyage du T.N.S.: 1975-1983,¹³³ a biography of the company by André Gunthert which includes descriptions of rehearsals, of productions, and of audience reaction; and Quatre Peintres et le TNS: Jean-Paul Chambas, Lucio Fanti, Titina Maselli, Nicky Rieti.¹³⁴

To introduce the discussion of the quotidien let us look first at the T.N.S. reworking of Zola's Germinal. In a transcription of a taped conversation of 2 September 1975 in Germinal: project sur un roman,¹³⁵ Michel Deutsch and

Dominique Muller clarify their intellectual position regarding the nineteenth-century naturalism of Zola. Understanding this position is a key to getting some insight into Deutsch and Muller's approach to playwriting. They go into detail about why particularly they chose a novel, why they chose Germinal, and what they attempted to do with it. They explain that Germinal is a classic where, for the first time, an author made the working class his central focus; they wanted to explore why it was a classic, why Zola chose to write it, and what his relationship was with the working classes of his day. They also shared the post-1968 interest in a pre-Marxist working class "avec son idéologie propre, autonome, spontanée et pour laquelle le socialisme scientifique ne serait pas l'idéologie de la liberation."¹³⁶ Since Deutsch and Muller do not explain what they mean by pre-Marxist, one must assume that they are not referring to chronological time, but rather to the state of awareness of Marxist dialectic.

In reworking the novel, they became conscious of it as an expression of Zola's adherence to the scientific precepts of naturalism. Indeed, it is naturalism itself." . . . qui autorise la classe ouvrière à devenir pour la première fois objet de littérature."¹³⁷ Even though Zola attempted not to judge, indeed claimed adamantly that one should not judge in one's search for truth, judgement was part of his unconscious. Naturalism is, according to Deutsch and Muller, a bourgeois philosophy, since it is

based on social Darwinism or on applying to man Darwin's determinist scientific principles of survival of the fittest, as had been expounded in Origin of Species. Marx was a great admirer of Darwin; however, Darwin did not subscribe to the idea that there was a connection between his theories and socialism and thought any attempts to make such a connection "foolish."¹³⁸

Deutsch points out that as a result of positivism, Zola viewed society itself as an organism, not as a social formation: "Zola est condamné à cette appropriation mécaniste de la réalité du fait de son idéologie scientiste Claude Bernardienne. Il pense la 'société' comme un organisme plutôt que comme une formation sociale."¹³⁹ The working classes were put at the bottom of the chain, and as the beasts among men they were bound to be the losers most of the time, since those with a healthier environment would be selected for survival, according to the naturalists. Even in the medical field, the positivist attitude, said Deutsch and Muller, reduced the worker to a mechanical object of study, a thing to be judged, classified, and analyzed, and then reported on as though only the visible were the truth.

Deutsch explains that although Germinal is a powerful and moving depiction of a miners' revolt, Zola's view was deterministic rather than dialectical and, therefore, of questionable value. Origin of Species was to the bourgeoisie a little like what Das Kapital is "pour nous" says

Deutsch.¹⁴⁰ One might add to Deutsch's argument that Zola seemed to be unaware that social relations can be altered by dialectical changes in the modes of production. Robert Merton has commented on this:

With increasing bureaucratization, it becomes plain to all who would see that man is to a very important degree controlled by his social relations to the instruments of production. This can no longer seem only a tenet of Marxism, but a stubborn fact to be acknowledged by all quite apart from their ideological persuasion.¹⁴¹

In creating their own new revised version of Ger-
minal, the T.N.S. wanted to find the simplest way of changing words in a book into a theatrical presentation: "une scène en planches, vue frontale, coulisses etc...pas une 'autre scène'. L'épreuve du théâtre--nous faire passer à la limite du théâtre." This was not to be an adaptation or translation but a journey which would explore Zola's own journey through a mining community as an artist-scientist who was following the precepts of positivism, determinism, physiology, and social Darwinism. The production would also explore their own journey towards Zola in time and space, and, therefore, towards history:

L'autre chose, c'est notre voyage: le voyage que nous faisons pour aller vers Zola. Le spectacle doit être conçu comme un voyage à travers un paysage --celui du livre et celui de la scène. Le voyage est lié à l'historial! Le chemin--notre chemin--à travers le paysage Germinal-Zola conduit à l'histoire, mais dans la mesure où c'est l'arpentage d'un espace, le balisage d'un espace. Encore une fois: l'arpentage du livre, le balisage de la scène--ou l'inverse.¹⁴²

To these ends, the T.N.S. production of Germinal presented the text in a unique fashion. Bernard Dort called it a critical reading of Zola rather than an adaptation.¹⁴³ To introduce Zola's journey there was Doctor Vanderhagen, who was dressed as a nineteenth-century bourgeois and who spoke in the manner of Zola or Zola's physiologist friend Claude Bernard in that he expounded on surface details and spent time diagnosing the illnesses of the miners. The characters of the miners were not plumbed in depth since the company had rejected Zola's positivist view of character as the sum total of his environment and heredity. Rather, during the presentation the actors read aloud Zola's descriptions of the miners' daily lives. Deutsch worked on keeping the "aspect lyrico-hugolien" of the descriptions because they were typical of the nineteenth-century love of panorama and also because they revealed, in a Freudian sense, Zola's unconscious.¹⁴⁴

Where Zola stood at the center of his novel, looking outward at people, as if they were objects of scientific research, to create a seeming living totality,¹⁴⁵ the T.N.S. Germinal created a feeling of life by exploring the peripheries, particularly as the troupe experimented with the expressive quality of the living bodies of actors.

Michel Deutsch said:

Le mineur assis sur les talons permet aussi de montrer que notre appréhension de Germinal passe par une opération sur le corps. Cette opération est intimement liée à l'opération médicale. D'une part l'idéologie médicale réduit le corps au silence,

d'autre part le théâtre donne la parole au corps.
(p. 125)

A pure naturalist production would have put the mine on stage, but here, the interior of the mine was not represented. However, its presence was felt everywhere because of the behavior of the actors. The stage was bare except for a wall at the rear which supported an iron curtain. There was a minimum of scenery throughout. Simple benches and tables were carried on and off to denote changes of scene. Only once did a trap door open briefly to release a vision of red lights and the deafening noise of machines and mining wagons in "l'enfer du mine." At the end of the play, after the failure of the revolt, the iron curtain lifted to reveal an image of Jules Verne's Nautilus as symbol of a bourgeois mechanized utopia.

Aspects of everyday life were "lived" on stage only insofar as they shed light on what it was like to go underground as a miner. Actors were not asked to play the character, but to go through everyday actions as themselves and also to read, as themselves, descriptions of their characters' everyday lives that are found in the novel. Some of the everyday actions were: sitting and waiting in silence after a hard day's labor--this was the opening scene; Maheude/Michèle Foucher washing the dirt off Maheu/Bernard Freyd; setting up tables for a party; the actor playing Etienne Lantier making a wooden box to be used as a strong-box for the worker's aid society; the same

actor putting his ear to the ground at the end of the play to listen for the sounds of those buried under the earth.

It was by doing/living these simple actions that the troupe approached the problem of how to present the miners' lives on stage as well as they were presented in the novel. While the troupe avoided the naturalistic conventions of a detailed setting, they managed to capture a documentary vision of the miners' lives. According to Dominique Muller, they discovered that the everyday actions, le quotidien, do not express themselves in exhibitionist ways.

La grande chose qu'on découvre avec ce spectacle, c'est que le quotidien ne se représente pas.

Sur une scène de théâtre il n'est pas nécessaire de justifier un mouvement: laver, battre de la paupière, dire un mot, et à ce moment-là dire un mot a le même statut que laver ou battre de la paupière. Elle ne demande pas à être pleine de sens pour être sur la scène. Elle a sa propre force, c'est là où quelque part on récupère le documentaire.¹⁴⁶

Although this was far from a naturalist production because the tension between actor as actor/character and actor as reader/narrator was always present and because the setting did not recreate a pure naturalist atmosphere, still, according to Bernard Dort the T.N.S. unwittingly achieved one of Antoine's stated aims that "les acteurs vivent leurs personnages sous nos yeux [...], nous en présentent docilement tous les aspects, aussi bien matériels que moraux."¹⁴⁷ According to Dort, the company's exploration and rethinking of Zola's text on the physical, intellectual, and feeling levels, as well as through an

historical and ideological prism, gave him the impression that he was witnessing a new way of doing theatre:

. . . ce n'est pas en devenant ces personnages, en s'effaçant derrière eux, mais en faisant ce qu'ils font que les acteurs du TNS les "vivent", tout en demeurant eux-mêmes. Certes, une telle métamorphose, en quelque sorte à ciel ouvert, n'est pas constante. . . . Mais quand se produit cette rencontre des acteurs et des personnages au niveau des faits et des actes de la vie quotidienne, on a vraiment l'impression de se trouver devant une nouvelle manière de faire du théâtre: la reprise en charge d'un récit par une équipe, son exploration non seulement intellectuelle ou sentimentale, mais également physique, concrète, une façon de "repen- ser", en tenant compte de toute la distance tempo- ruelle et idéologique qui nous en sépare, ce texte- là, devant nous, sur les planches, dans un travail où le théâtre et la réalité plutôt que se refléter l'un l'autre sont fondus ensemble.¹⁴⁸

Germinal was not the first joint venture for many members of the TNS. The roots of the collaboration between Vincent, Dominique Muller, and Michel Deutsch lay in their experience from 1972-1974 at the Théâtre de l'Espérance, Compagnie Vincent-Jourdheuil, where the organizing spirit was Jean Jourdheuil. In the aftermath of 1968, Jourdheuil found himself wanting to shake up the stage image and the dramaturgy of the theatre.¹⁴⁹ Indeed, many members of this company followed Vincent to the T.N.S. Muller and Deutsch had also previously collaborated in writing Dimanche, first presented in July 1974 at Lucien Attoun's Théâtre Ouvert in Avignon. Muller and Michèle Foucher, as well as Christine Fièvet, had acted in this production. Deutsch is listed as the author and Muller as his collaborator, while the play is dedicated to Michèle Foucher.

In his introduction to Dimanche,¹⁵⁰ Deutsch reveals that the play resulted from the post 1968 class struggles and artistic upheavals which the Compagnie Vincent-Jourdeuil was confronting in its work. As a tragedy of the inarticulate oppressed, it suited the mood of post 1968. In a 1978 discussion with Jean-Pierre Renault and Alain Mergnat,¹⁵¹ Deutsch also indicates that he had drawn inspiration from Büchner's Woyzeck. In his exploration of how to relate the life of people (les gens) to people (les gens), Deutsch wished to avoid the realistic eyewitness report dear to the bourgeois aesthetic of naturalism. He did not, however, reject the notion of art using science to work against the powers that be.¹⁵²

In Dimanche, Deutsch says he explores the speech of ordinary people (les gens), as differentiated from the speech of bankers and professors; les gens were those who he felt were exploited and oppressed, whose thoughts about their past and their lives had for years been distorted by newspapers, television, and the educational system, and had, indeed, been used as weapons against them. Deutsch's rejection of the use of educated speech was also stimulated by the class struggles since May 1968 which, he said, enlightened him to the fact that the "discours savant" could also be the mask of the "discours de domination."

The playwright expounds at some length, in the introduction to Dimanche, on the importance of capturing the different rhythms of speech and the silences which

cover a lifetime of unexpressed, repressed feeling. However, he does not succeed in capturing the grammatical or syntactical cadences of the "gens d'en bas." The nineteenth-century naturalists went much further in trying to reproduce their patois and argot. Deutsch's language is more like an educated baby French; the use of the simplest words makes his plays written in this idiom easy to read. This is also true for the plays by Wenzel and Fièvet and Foucher. There is little attempt to reproduce anything equivalent to what has been done by British playwrights with Cockney or North country speech or American playwrights with black American speech.

In the discussion, with Renault and Mergnat, about the tragic aspects of Dimanche, Deutsch revealed some of his thoughts about tragedy. He made the distinction between the genre of tragedy, neo-classical tragedy, which he asserted Dimanche was not, and the philosophy of tragedy as explored by Hölderlin from the time of his adaptation of Sophocles' Antigone until his madness set in. Deutsch sums up Hölderlin's philosophy of tragedy as: "le conflit du tragique comme conflit de la folie--l'accouplement du divin et de l'humain--de la non-réconciliation des contraires dans ou par la mort."¹⁵³ Deutsch suggests that this philosophy of tragedy had no dialectic because it had to end in death and not in the regeneration of the spirit. It was this reading of Hölderlin that was at the origin of Dimanche where a young girl's obsession with becoming the

best drum majorette alienates her from her family, her friends, and finally her own body.

The subject matter of the play could have been drawn from a fait divers, which might have read: "Double murder or suicide? Drum majorette Ginette, seventeen, drops dead Sunday before competition. Unemployed ex-army boyfriend René found dead earlier this week." There are twenty-three scenes in the play, fourteen in the first act and nine in the second, all of which vary in length. The plot is simple. Interest lies in the presentation of scenic images from the story. The majority of scenes end with a black-out, as Deutsch clearly indicates is necessary in his instruction: "NOIR." This emphasizes the nature of the scenes as separate images. These images have a two-dimensionality, a surface flatness. Rather than a world that operates from the kind of perspective discovered by Renaissance artists, we seem to be in a world of abstractions, dream, or mental landscapes.

The scenes encompass everyday activities: a girl exercising in a gymnasium; parents preparing breakfast; daughter returning home late; Ginette and René walking outside town; girls in the locker room chatting; waiting for a bus in the morning. Loneliness and isolation are dominant themes. Anomie results from the way the characters pursue their goals and how they fail to adjust to social indicators of success. Ginette abandons her job, her family, her boyfriend, and her girlfriends, to put all

her energy into becoming "la meilleure" in the competition. She practices through the night and sleeps at the gymnasium. Her father, Le Père (he has no name), a retired coal-miner, cannot adjust to his home life. Her mother, La Mère (she also has no name), cannot adjust to losing the little girl Ginette, who was dependent on her for everything.

The play reflects a world where the values regarding male-female relationships are in a state of flux which affects both generations. Ginette's father fears that she will become a whore or a lesbian because she is more involved with her work and girlfriends than with boys or marriage. Her friend, Rose, gets a job in town despite her fear of her boyfriend's disapproval and, later, we hear she is thinking of breaking up with him. René cannot understand Ginette's preoccupations and cannot bridge the gap that exists between them because he does not have the vocabulary to talk about the stirrings of nature. Their conversations are hesitant, as they try to penetrate the mystery of communication. One is reminded of Maeterlinck; however, in Maeterlinck, silence is the silence of the elite. In Dimanche, we hear the silence of the inarticulate lower classes, as in Act One, Scene Seven.

RENE: J'aime l'herbe mouillée, j'aime les chemins boueux, la forêt... Je voudrais connaître plus de mots pour dire combien j'aime ce chemin après la pluie. Tu comprends ça?

GINETTE: On s'éloigne trop... viens, revenons sur nos pas.

RENE: Déjà?

GINETTE: Qu'est-ce que tu voulais me dire, l'autre fois?

RENE: Quand?

GINETTE: Une fois ou tu étais tellement épuisé...tu as même cassé une raquette.

RENE: Marchons encore un peu.

GINETTE: Mais seulement jusqu'à la rivière, et seulement si tu m'apprends ce que tu voulais me dire.

RENE: C'est pas facile... non, c'est pas facile... C'était à cause de l'herbe et de tes jambes... ça ne se dit pas comme ça...

GINETTE: Pourquoi?

RENE: Tu ne comprends donc pas?

GINETTE: Ne sois pas idiot.

RENE: Tu l'auras voulu! (René se jette sur Ginette et tente de l'embrasser sur la bouche.)

Since the only way René knows how to approach sex is through physical force, Ginette runs away.

Deutsch has suggested¹⁵⁴ that the whole play could be considered as a lyrical text in the first person, since the opening stage directions which he and Muller wrote are expressed in that mode: "Moi, enveloppé de brume, j'entends une pluie obstinée qui s'abat sur de précieuses tôles. Une jeune fille trop fragile poursuit inlassablement son exercice. . . ." The loneliness of this anonymous watcher is picked up by certain characters in the play as they express themselves in monologues which reveal their isolation. Le Père, to find peace of mind, goes to the

cellar where, on a pile of coals, as in a primitive ritual, with a miner's helmet on his head, he dances a bourée "qui se distingue mal d'une danse du scalp" and sings a song in German to the miner whose value society always forgets (Act I:9). In II:2, as he sits alone in the garden shed, he dreams of a magical and romantic underworld. As Le Roy Ladurie has pointed out, the idea that a magical treasure exists which will put an end to one's problems is common to folklore.¹⁵⁵ Le Père says:

Les navets et les radis... Eux, au moins, savent la valeur des trésors qui gisent au fond de la terre. Terra Nostrum!... Viens ma petite fille, viens, on va descendre au fond du puits... On va s'enfoncer dans la terre, nous trouverons l'anneau et la pierre de rubis... tout au fond de la plus profonde galerie, là où la voûte est si haute que la flèche de la cathédrale de Strasbourg pourrait y tenir...

This speech is a sad testimony to the difficulties of coping with modern life, to the necessity of drawing on old traditions to overcome the coldness of an industrial society.

At the end of Act I, La Mère waits for public transportation in a lonely country bus-stop, and night gives way to a cold, white, early morning mist. She has just received a message that her daughter will not be coming home anymore. Quietly bitter over the meaninglessness of motherhood, she prays to God and Jesus Christ to restore her love for her daughter.

One image is repeated many times in the play: Ginette, in the gymnasium alone, listens to a tape recorded

voice which gives her constant directions on how to conduct her exercises and she then repeats these directions to herself. This forced concentration on her body stimulates a physical self-love that goes beyond a healthy appreciation of her own looks to self-adoration. There is the suggestion that the aftermath of exercise will bring Ginette to an oblivion which will unite her dreams, "l'état civil," and nature. Exercise is given the role of orgasm and religion. In the opening scene, the recording gives her instructions on how to relax:

Alonge-toi sur le sol... Oublie ton corps... Oublie ton corps sur le sol dur et froid... Ne plus savoir si ton corps de femme est de verre ou si c'est l'orage de printemps qui bouleverse tes sens... Ne plus savoir si tu es le corps de ton rêve ou le corps de l'état civil... ça déborde ce que tu en penses...

In her death by exhaustion, Ginette achieves an oblivion she did not foresee. Her final monologue (II:9) picks up the images of nature captured in the first scene:

Je ne savais pas que la vie pouvait s'éteindre, sans maladie, sans poison... simplement, je m'éteins, mais non... simplement l'esclaffement de mon intimité...elle s'en va et je suis si heureuse... L'herbe de l'herbe avec les oiseaux et les autres animaux du soir et ma vie emportée descend le fleuve...¹⁵⁶

Deutsch has compared her silent death to that of Maeterlinck's *Mélisande*.¹⁵⁷

After twenty-two scenes where only a few characters inhabit the stage at the same time, the final scene explodes with the energy of workers who are finally in control of their daily lives. Often throughout the play,

the mood of quiet loneliness is emphasized by the gloomy lighting and the early morning mist, which lends a gray cast to the scene; sounds of falling rain, or a bouncing ball, or a machine at work, crack the silence. Breaking this mood, the last scene erupts in a bustle of springtime celebrations as ebullient mine workers and their families fill the gymnasium: it is here that they intend to discuss the practical problems of running the mine, which they have just expropriated. The image has mythic dimensions. Benches, tables, and barrels of beer fill the stage. A men's choral society first sings a drinking song and then the "Internationale." Beautiful young girls carry flowers and mill about with children and lads who are "forts et beaux." Across a blue sky float little white clouds and, below, cherry trees bloom.

It is not even Sunday yet, the day Ginette expected to win her coveted prize. Amongst the joyous hubbub she tells her girlfriends that she is uncertain she ever loved them and then she fades away. Is this a vestige of the ancient tribal cult of maiden sacrifice? Her death goes unnoticed, perhaps the ultimate expression of anomie. The play ends with a woman remarking: "Cette année, il va y avoir beaucoup de cerises, les arbres n'ont jamais fleuri ainsi. . . ."

For the T.N.S. production of Dimanche in March 1976, Jean-Paul Chambas was asked to create the sets. Chambas was a painter and his set design for Dimanche was the first

such work he had ever done. It was Jourdheuil who had first proposed to Vincent at their Théâtre de l'Espérance that one way to break with the scenic image tradition was to work with painters not set designers. Together they agreed that the professional training of designers immersed them in the Italianate perspective and made them less likely to propose revolutionary solutions that broke with that tradition; painters would bring a fresh perspective. The set would not be submissive to the other tools of the stage but would co-exist as an equal force with actors and text. Vincent has remarked that the set designs created by painters for T.N.S. productions had a quality of emptiness, as though the painters were trying to rediscover the empty canvas they were accustomed to seeing. They also had a quality of escaping from the borders of the theatre space, which forced viewers to think of that other place while resting their eyes on the organized image before them.¹⁵⁸

In the black and white photographs of the Dimanche set that appear in Le Voyage du T.N.S., one can see the marvelous result that Chambas achieved in his first attempt at stage design. The overall impression on this canvas-set is of loneliness and crisis. The startling white expanse of the gymnasium overwhelms the human beings on-within it. A black square, used as a mirror by Ginette, hovers menacingly on the right beside a vertical, even strip of sky. The strip of sky offers some relief until it hits the horizon and becomes a jagged grassy path.

The play as produced at TNS was not a great success. People walked out and cancelled subscriptions. There was no real dialogue. People did not talk to each other; they could not exchange language.¹⁵⁹ Vincent said, "L'écriture de la pièce comme celle du spectacle tenait compte de ce qu'avait été la vague néo-réaliste allemande des Fassbinder et des Kroetz, et déjà de la critique qu'on pouvait en faire."¹⁶⁰ Deutsch claimed that Muller's direction was five years ahead of its time.¹⁶¹ Gunthert found the production hallucinating in the impression it gave of truth unfolding before him; and he found it horrifying to listen to a dialogue "tel qu'on peut le vivre tous les jours."¹⁶²

In the fourteen short scenes of L'Entraînement du champion avant la course, which Deutsch created after Dimanche with Le Théâtre Quotidien, we are once again in a joyless, unbalanced world with lower class alienated people, all three this time being of the same age of thirty. The play bears more than a little resemblance to Franz Xaver Kroetz's 1973 version of Men's Business,¹⁶³ which Kroetz indicated was not to be performed. The characters and some of the dialogue are exactly the same in both plays. Kroetz, however, sets his play in the contemporary world. Deutsch's play takes place in 1910 in a little town in Corrèze, "peut-être Brive-la Gaillarde," which is near the eastern border of the Dordogne, in southern France. Simple speech, empty silence, and brutal action are the language of the play. Maurice, a married man with four children,

dallies with a butcher-woman and trains his body for cycling races in his leisure hours. We do not know what he does for a living. From one hint it is suggested that he works in a courtroom. In his eyes his mistress, Jeanine, has the primitive dimensions of an earth-mother with her big, fat breasts, and her tendency to get "en chaleur comme une génisse" (Scene One). "Tu es une bête," "tu vis comme une bête," Maurice says to her repeatedly while relegating her to an order outside civilized society because she makes a living killing and quartering animals and selling their meat. His wife Liliane is confined to her duties around the kitchen table and in the bedroom. Her relationship to Maurice is one of fear as he all too easily brutalizes her, even when she's pregnant.

The story is much more violent and bloody than Dimanche. Sarrazac was prompted to write that it touches on Grand Guignol¹⁶⁴. Maurice forces Jeanine to stab her dog to death. We hear the screams of dog and woman and see the bloody knife. He beats his wife unconscious when she threatens to abort a pregnancy. After her abortion, he rapes her. In a male-female psychological power struggle with Jeanine, he stabs her to death in her kitchen using two knives. At this point the stage direction read: "Il y a du sang partout. Ca ressemble terriblement à un abattoir" (Scene Thirteen). In the final moment we are given to understand that Maurice has been poisoned by his wife.

Whilst Sarrazac also suggests that Deutsch has used "les ficelles du mélodrame"¹⁶⁵ to create the tension of the play, it does not have the trappings of that genre. Certainly the sudden reversals of the play are not unique to melodrama, and whilst Maurice does exert a cruel power over his mistress and his wife, he is no villain of melodrama, nor are the women pure and innocent victimized heroines. Here there is no hero to right wrongs, nor any comic relief. Deutsch's characters have no independent will, no planned purpose. Rather, their actions are linked to the distortions encouraged by a society where maleness is adulated, where a male God, and male military power dominate and where women are expected to engage in phallic worship. The microcosm of the fictive story is affected by the order of the macrocosm of French society. Deutsch has said that "power relationships do not simply express themselves through state apparatus but they pierce us through completely, pierce through our bodies."¹⁶⁶ Images of the piercing of vulnerable physical worlds abound in the play: eating rabbit, teeth piercing gums, knives piercing dog's flesh, knives piercing woman's flesh, screams piercing ears, rape of woman, execution of a man, and subjugation of the Moroccan people.

In the exterior macrocosm, respect is commanded by power and power is in the hands of men. Maurice gets excited about French military successes in Morocco and the pending execution of a brigadier's assassin, In his

microcosm he desperately attempts to follow the goals laid out by society. He is obsessed with ideas of law and order and punishment. He spouts a fascist doctrine which includes statements regarding the necessity of fear to create order, the military greatness of France, the baseness of Prussians, the sacred duty of wives to devote themselves to their husbands and children. He follows the course of the military and proudly points out the existence of a military troop which paraded on bicycles on July 14. But nevertheless he is alienated. He is unconscious of how his private beliefs are prescribed by the goals of the society in which he lives. Both he and the two women are trapped in this social order. The goal of independence in women is not accepted in this culture, especially independence gained by doing what is considered man's work: the killing of animals. After all, even in ancient ritual, the slaughter of animals was relegated to male priests. Jeanine can achieve no sense of self-worth in this society and this eventually induces her self-destruction: she kills what is dear to her, her dog, and sells her shop to attain the only goal she is allowed--subjugation by a man.

In this world even touching is an act of violence, of degradation of the soul, as between man and woman there is no love, no regard, no respect. The unrelenting psychic and physical brutality of the play is suddenly and startlingly relieved in two lyrical, symbolic, central scenes which stand out sharply since they break the reality. In both

scenes the sea, the origin of life, is seen in the distance. In Scene 6, Liliane, alone, prays to Peace and Love for relief to her distress and anguish and asks to be rid of a child conceived with her drunken husband. In Scene 8, with simple forgiveness and quiet tenderness wife and mistress clandestinely share their sorrows, and Jeanine helps Liliane abort. "Terrible est le pouvoir du Père qui nous interdit notre désir soeur!" says Jeanine, referring to the forbidding god of this patriarchal society.

In the 1980s Deutsch moved away from his exploration of the quotidien. In his latest play, Thermidor,¹⁶⁷ written in 1983, he draws on Greek mythology: in the cenotaph of those who died for France, Minerva questions Robespierre about the meaning of the French Revolution.

Jean-Paul Wenzel and Claudine Fiévet had produced Deutsch's L'Entraînement du champion avant la course in Paris, in 1975; it was this production that was remounted at the T.N.S. in 1976. Wenzel and Fiévet were the artistic directors of Théâtre Quotidien (which, according to an interview with Wenzel in New York, was still operating in 1985). Themselves writers of quotidien theatre, Wenzel and Fiévet collaborated on Loin d'Hagondange and Marianne attend le mariage; then they, too, moved away from this mode of expression.

Loin d'Hagondange, which Wenzel wrote in 1974, won the distinction of "meilleur création français" of 1975-76 from the "Syndicat de la critique dramatique" and received

a number of productions,¹⁶⁸ but it was Patrice Chéreau's 1977 staging at the Théâtre National Populaire that received the most acclaim. Although Wenzel and Fiévet had used a minimum of scenery themselves--"espace nu, piqué simplement d'un chauffe-eau, d'une table, d'un semblant de lit ou de cheminée, d'un bout d'établi"¹⁶⁹--Chéreau set the play in a vast deserted landscape, thus emphasizing the inner loneliness of the retired married couple, Georges and Marie.¹⁷⁰

In a program for the 1977 TNP production, Wenzel revealed that he had had no real technique for structuring the play, that he had written from his feeling for the characters.¹⁷¹ After observing people closely and listening to them he took common phrases and rearranged them in a new order of discontinuity within the dramatic story line, he said. It was the silences of speech and the relationships that happened around and between all the small talk that he wanted to explore, since he had found this missing in theatre.

Je prend des phrases employées par des millions de français, je n'en change pas un mot. Ce qui change, c'est l'agencement des phrases, entre elles---non en continuité, mais en discontinuité-- et la situation théâtrale dans laquelle elles sont prononcées. Interviennent également les pauses, les silences, les temps révélateurs du non dit...

Le rapport qui se noue autour des petits riens de l'existence, des questions matérielles, est irremplaçable, c'est quelque chose qui est trop souvent absent de la scène.¹⁷²

The thirteen scenes of this episodic play--although with two Scene Tens there are really fourteen--take place in Georges and Marie's retirement home. As the scenes unfold, we discover that the dream of a happy retirement does not come true for this couple. Now living far to the west of their old home in Hagondange, an important industrial center in the Moselle valley north of Metz, Georges, sixty-eight, cannot find an alternative way of life to the routine of the factory where he has worked for fifty years. Life is colorless as days melt into each other, and nights are passed in fitful sleep. Holidays are hardly noticed. A visit by a daughter and her husband is mentioned in passing. Wenzel does not include it in the text. He focusses on the anomie of retirement. From bits of conversation we realize that Christmas and New Year have come and gone, then that another summer has passed, that the outside world has impinged very little on their lives. We witness the concern with material objects, with diet, and the emptiness of existence for this working class couple who have had little education and who show no interest in world events.

Their isolation is acutely and painfully emphasized in the unsaid and in the silences. Occasionally eddies of irrepressible emotion disturb the ocean of calm. There is anger over a broken mustard pot. A stranger visits, and Marie, seventy-three, lonely for people, tells her life-story, and reveals how she once dreamt of becoming a

singer. In a quietly devastating scene, Marie refuses to take an afternoon siesta and blurts out that she has never enjoyed sex anyway. Georges hangs onto his work routine as to a lifeline. He has a monologue that borders on madness, and as such is akin to Le Père's dance in the cellar in Dimanche; alone in his workshop, he reviews the highpoints of his life--marriage, factory accidents, organized work, friends dead in war, birth of a daughter, factory shutdown, retirement--while trying to break the monotonous silence with the sound of a pounding hammer.

Robert K. Merton has classed the anomie of retirement under a type of adaptation which he calls "retreatism":

Generally. . . retreatism seems to occur in response to acute anomie, involving an abrupt break in the familiar and accepted normative framework and in established social relations, particularly when it appears to individuals subjected to it that the condition will continue indefinitely.¹⁷³

The play builds in pressure as Georges obsessively dwells on the work he has created for himself in his private workshop behind the house. In Scene Eleven the frustration erupts on his birthday. He refuses a cake and chases Marie, who has been trying to get him to stop work, out of the shop, saying: "Fous le camp--Je ne peux pas m'arrêter, je ne peux pas m'arrêter. . ." His subsequent act of destroying his workshop is sad evidence of his alienation and despair.

By writing the play Wenzel wanted to purge himself of the "complexes culturels" of his proletarian youth and also

engage himself politically, "car pour moi, parler du quotidien comme nous le faisons est foncièrement politique."¹⁷⁴ In a 1976 interview with Jean-Pierre Sarrazac, Wenzel said that domestic life could not be separated from public life and that both should be analysed in political terms.¹⁷⁵ For him it was the factory system that had destroyed Georges in both body and psyche. And it was bourgeois ideology which alienated the working classes because they embraced it completely, to the letter, without understanding what they were doing.

In the same interview, both Wenzel and Fiévet emphasized that the primary target of their criticism was the family environment of the lower classes where, they said, repressive bourgeois ideology had a foothold, particularly vis-à-vis daughters and their inter-familial relationships and expectations of marriage.¹⁷⁶ Both Ginette in Deutsch's Dimanche and Marianne in Fiévet and Wenzel's Marianne attend le mariage suffer from cold and demanding relationships with fathers who reject them when they do not follow the traditional path expected of them.

It was because Loin d'Hagondange was criticized for bordering on the sentimental and for being too universal in scope instead of just speaking about the dilemma of a retired working class couple, that Wenzel and Fiévet decided to pay more attention, in Marianne attend le mariage, to a methodology of writing. They assembled a great many faits divers and conceived of a story. Claudine

Fiévet wrote a scenario and the conception of the story was modified. Wenzel then wrote the play. He used a catalogue of phrases which they had established, a catalogue of trivialities or banalities which people might say every day¹⁷⁷--what Sarrazac calls "les proverbes de l'idéologies, cette pseudo-sagesse qui paralyse la vie, qui condense le pouvoir aliénant d'un langage instrumentalisé par la bourgeoisie sur l'existence des gens d'en bas."¹⁷⁸

Their purpose, said Fiévet, was not to use the phrases to make fun of the characters who mouthed them, nor to adopt a superior point of view but to show "les commandes idéologiques qui se cachent derrière ces formules toutes faites, benignes seulement en apparence."¹⁷⁹ In addition, they had to avoid the sensationalism of the fait divers, as Wenzel explains:

. . . dans l'écriture de Marianne, nous n'avons pas voulu utiliser le fait divers. . . dans son aspect spectaculaire, sensationnel. Tout notre travail d'écriture vise à déspectaculariser la réalité, à priver le spectateur de cette espèce de jouissance qu'il y a par rapport à l'horreur du fait divers.¹⁸⁰

The play takes place in a Council house near Torcy Lake. The fourteen scenes are given titles, most of which emphasize the oppressive round of daily existence for the family of four living there: Petit Déjeuner I and II, Les Filles I and II, Le Football, La Télé, Les Parents, Le Soir, Solitude, La Pluie. Acts of violence and self-destruction are attempts to escape both the controlling bourgeois social forces and the demands of a controlling

father. The youngest daughter, Chantal, seventeen, is caught stealing a pair of shoes. Fearing her father's wrath she drowns herself. This episode was modelled on a fait divers. The class conflict typical of these plays exists in the background; a group of women are striking for better conditions at the factory. The eldest daughter, Marianne, twenty-six, is a member of the group and draws strength from her fellow workers. The play implies that she achieves some freedom. Even though she is pregnant, she breaks off her engagement to a man she does not love and moves to Lyon to begin a life away from the oppressive fears and demands of her family.

The play is stark and cold and grey. If there is tenderness it is unspoken. There are no long speeches of dramatic conflict. Even Chantal's suicide, which has the most potential for sensationalism, was played down; in the only scene which breaks with the quotidian mood of the piece, Chantal, microphone in hand, sings directly to the audience about why she killed herself. According to Wenzel, he modelled the song on those of a popular singer, Michel Sardou, and he intended, by this form of presentation, to distance the audience from any feelings of sentimentality or from any enjoyment of the horror of her sensational act.¹⁹¹

It is impossible, however, not to be shocked by Lucien's, her father's, order, on the day of her funeral, that no one in the household speak Chantal's name in the

future. Wenzel and Fiévet chose to portray the father, Lucien, as a man who used a different set of values for the home and the workplace. In the final scenes, he remains obdurately unmoved by the fate of both his daughters. Coldly turning his back on what he considers their failures, he looks forward to the homecoming of a son whose young wife he hopes will be what Chantal and Marianne were not. However, despite his oppression and rejection of his daughters, Lucien does support the women striking at the factory. He is unconscious of the discrepancy between his two positions. Claudine Fiévet has pointed out that this duality is not uncommon, and that justice in the home is as important as justice in the workplace:

Or, c'est vrai que des ouvriers qui ont, dans leur travail, des comportements tout à fait responsables, de syndicalistes, de militants politiques, se trouvent souvent, également, exercer des rapports tyranniques dans leur vie familiale, à l'égard de leur femme ou de leurs enfants. Notre souci est de montrer un rapport dialectique entre l'intérieur et l'extérieur, de donner à voir à nos spectateurs comment ces deux termes agissent l'un sur l'autre et, surtout, de supprimer la distinction fallacieuse entre luttes prioritaires et luttes secondaires. Toutes les luttes sont premières, une grève à mener dans une usine et la libération de la femme au foyer. Il faut toutes les mener de front.¹⁸²

It was as a result of their work in the quotidien form that Wenzel and Fiévet were asked by George Buisson in 1976 to create a play with the inhabitants of Bobigny, where Buisson was co-director with Alain Grasset of the Centre Culturel Karl Marx. With the reorganization of the Paris area, Bobigny had suddenly changed from being a small

market garden town of 15,000 to a prefectural town of 40,000. The intent of the Centre Culturel was to make theatre a vital force in helping the people adjust to the changes. Buisson thought that some kind of celebration could bring the community together. The tradition of such a celebration existed: the Commune had been celebrated yearly until World War One, and until World War Two the community had enjoyed the religious festival of St. Fiacre. Wenzel and Fiévet were asked to help in the organization of a theatrical event which would be part of the celebration.

In a dossier about the 1976-77 activities in Bobigny, Buisson and Wenzel and Fiévet have revealed how they underwent some important changes in their attitudes towards the working classes when they all collaborated on this project. As Buisson told his interviewer, he began to realize that, contrary to his belief, the working classes had plenty to say about their situation:

The criteria of the Quotidien [Wenzel and Fiévet's theatre] seemed to tie in with the aim of the experiment. When we employed this group, we thought, and so did they, that it would lead to their usual kind of writing by placing characters on a stage, using the local slang, changed and analysed but basically in the same style. However, as time went by we were really struck by the richness of the local individuals involved in the project--they were really aware of their situation. We always say that such people are alienated, and they have nothing to say. They have plenty to say--they are conscious of their situation and we therefore felt it was pointless trying to create a Brechtian type of theatre for them; even if they don't think politically, they were still aware of their situation.¹⁸³

The piece that Wenzel created with the inhabitants of Bobigny, Dorénavant 1, was presented there and at the Théâtre National de l'Est, Paris, from 12 to 30 October 1977. According to Wenzel, the material they gathered in the workshops was of such a violent nature that it shocked them and forced them into new modes of theatre.

Our problem, as theatre practitioners, was how to transcribe this information, so brutal and violent, and so enormous (over 3000 people were interviewed), into a working process towards a theatre piece. What has happened is that the experience has forced us to change our ways of making theatre, of imaging reality. After this year of words, language, of contact with the people of Bobigny, it is no longer possible, in our view to image reality by peopling the stage with working-class characters or whoever. In no way does this encounter the reality of our experience in Bobigny.¹⁸⁴

Dorénavant 1 was to have none of the formal characteristics of Wenzel and Fiévet's work to date at Théâtre Quotidien. There was no plot, no dialogue, no illusory set, no characters. Actors carried on isolated activities on stage: a woman sitting in a glass box sometimes sang whilst she applied her makeup; a group of actors discovered objects typical of our consumer society under a setting of concrete; a rock band played music which expressed society's conflicts--the cries of violent revolt were juxtaposed with a soft, stifling, insidious sound.¹⁸⁵ In a recorded monologue a man related the alienation he experiences living in a town where the buildings are all tall, where underground marts have plastic trees, where the roads

are for cars not people, and where there is the constant sound of music.¹⁸⁶

It was at Bobigny in May 1977 that Michèle Foucher continued to record her conversations with working-class women which would lead to La Table.¹⁸⁷ This play was presented at Bobigny on 14 October 1977 and opened at the Théâtre National de Strasbourg on 4 November 1977. The conversations centered on the role of the table in women's lives. She created a multi-character piece which could be acted by one woman on a very simple set using table and chairs and everyday kitchen objects. Foucher wanted to explore what had happened to the familiar object of the table which had once been used as a sacred sacrificial altar to the gods, and she wanted to explore whether sacrifices were being made to any modern gods.¹⁸⁸ She also was burning to research what had become of such working-class characters as Zola's Maheude in the last one hundred years, and to find a popular female stage character, a woman who was neither soubrette or whore.¹⁸⁹

Foucher's text added a mythic dimension to the theatre of the everyday. Jean-Pierre Sarrazac, agreeing that the table can be considered the thymele of domestic life, wrote that Michèle Foucher expressed an important vision of its place in the everyday routine of women:

La Table de Michèle Foucher, c'est la parole plurielle des femmes condensée par cet objet médiumnique de la vie familiale, par cette table ouverte à l'ordinaire--de soumission et de résis-

tance, de dérision et de pathétique--du quotidien féminin.¹⁹⁰

The text is full of unspoken words, silences, suspended phrases, stories of violence, which are all common to the théâtre du quotidien of Deutsch and Wenzel, but there is a humor and tenderness which is missing in Dimanche, L'Entraînement du champion avant la course, Loin d'Haqondange, or Marianne attend le mariage. Moreover, Foucher is still able to reveal how a woman's life around the table is a kind of imprisonment which needs to be terminated.

The final three plays I will be dealing with are by Michel Vinaver, considered one of France's outstanding contemporary playwrights. His Théâtre de chambre: Dissident, il va sans dire / Nina, c'est autre chose were created in 1978 at the Petit Théâtre Est Parisien in a mise-en-scène by Jacques Lassalle, himself a playwright-director interested in the quotidien,¹⁹¹ who would become artistic director of the T.N.S. in the 1980s. The last play I will deal with is Vinaver's Les Travaux et les jours, which Bradby has called "a masterpiece."¹⁹² It was first produced by the Théâtre Eclaté d'Annecy in January 1980.

While Deutsch, Wenzel and Fiévet, and Foucher are worthy exemplars of the théâtre du quotidien, each contributing his own interpretation and themes, they are all overshadowed by Michel Vinaver, whose plays and theoretical writings are proof of his unique creative vision and breadth of thought. As he himself claimed in 1978, he has been

inspired by modern artists: first Braque, then Dubuffet, Rauschenberg, and Motherwell.¹⁹³ Just as these artists broke with the traditional pictorial image which told a story and which drew on history, literature, politics, psychology, and religion, so Vinaver broke with the demands of action, suspense, and resolution of action.

For Vinaver, the play is a finished object¹⁹⁴ which grew out of a nothingness, from the uninteresting, the banal. The object which Vinaver ends up with may have the reductionist qualities of minimalist art; it may address elements of popular culture such as advertising, as does pop art; or, like some of Dubuffet's work, it may have a primitive, formless quality. To create the play-object, Vinaver uses the material of language--"effets rythmiques, frottements de sons, dérapages de sens d'une phrase à l'autre, collisions déclenchant comme de mini-phénomènes de décharges ironiques"¹⁹⁵--just as these artists use diverse materials, forms, tonalities, and rhythms to create or assemble their paintings or sculpture.

It is the audio stimuli, Vinaver stresses, that take primary place over all visual images, over the acting, and over the setting, all of which are there to support the words. Here again there is a relationship between Dubuffet's preoccupation with how the substances he used reacted with each other and Vinaver's opinion that the importance of words does not lie in their being the "véhicule d'idées et de sentiments"¹⁹⁶; rather, "ils sont l'action."¹⁹⁷ Vinaver

has also claimed a kinship with modern composers. If he were a painter, he would begin, he said, where matter, forms, tonalities, and rhythms are most undifferentiated.¹⁹⁸ If he were a musician, he would begin at a point nearest to "la matière sonore indéterminée."¹⁹⁹ It is because his talent lies in words that he writes, he says, and it is because a theatre piece can begin in banality, disorder, and discontinuity that he enjoys writing plays and has given up writing novels. He has written twelve original plays to date.²⁰⁰

Like Dubuffet with whom he shares several points in common, Vinaver left something to chance in his creative work. Neither wanted too much clarity in the finished object. Vinaver wanted to do without exposition. He would also have liked to dispense with plot and character. He wanted to begin with abstractions, nonsense, allowing the writing to create itself, and a meaning to gradually push itself into sight through the "croûte qui nous enveloppe"²⁰¹ out of its "état originel de magma."²⁰² He described this as an explosion comparable to a small atomic explosion or to the explosive abstractions of a Kandinsky creation.²⁰³ The way he talks about writing as having texture, as being related to earth, again calls to mind Dubuffet's preoccupation with using his own mélange of crusty paste and his fascination with the textures of walls, stones, tables, and doors. In the final scene of Les Travaux et les jours,

three characters discuss which is the most important piece of furniture in a house, a table or a bed.

In the scripts of the chamber plays as well as of Les Travaux et les jours, all the customary signposts have vanished. Except for a few question marks and exclamation points, all punctuation is missing. There are no set descriptions in the chamber plays, no stage directions, and minimal comments about the characters. Commas and periods are treated as unnecessary boundary lines which interfere with the imagination of the reader, and, indeed, of the actor, and that lengthy descriptions of set and character might give them undue weight as important aspects of the play-object. Of course, many of the difficulties encountered while reading the plays would not be encountered by an audience in production.

Dubuffet has often expressed a desire that his paintings capture something much greater than a "focussed" look at the world, or that they show an awareness "of a world infinitely greater than the specific fragment, a world expanding around us on all sides."²⁰⁴ In particular, writes the art critic, Selz, Dubuffet's *Texturologies*:

. . . reject any center of interest or other compositional devices. There are no objects with precise contours or shapes, no lines and no limits except the frame. Instead of form he has provided us with formlessness. By painting surfaces which are both continuous and endless, he evokes a vision of infinity.²⁰⁵

One can compare this technique with Vinaver's desire that his plays have no beginning and no end; that they have no

plot; that the audience do without suspense. He fills his characters' language with references to people and places that remain offstage throughout. The play's universe stretches beyond the stage, remaining forever in the audience's imagination, never to be realized either by the arrival of any of the people mentioned or by any set changes.

Dissident, il va sans dire takes place in an apartment where Philippe, who is about seventeen, lives with his divorced mother, Hélène. We hear about many peripheral characters: Hélène's mother when she dies during the course of the play; the father whom Philippe despises because he's hypocritical about his socialist values; Philippe's friends who have no work and who eventually lead him into a life of drugs and crime; Hélène's friend, Madame Tossu, who sells lace. Then we hear about peripheral activities: strikes at the Citroen factory, robberies at pharmacies, police searches. However, this multiplicity of action is offstage. Although we never see it, we feel it encroaching on the mother-son relationship, simply as part of the tide of life; and the relationship is in constant flux, a kind of formlessness, as both people struggle with the tide. The set was extremely cramped and suggested that mother and son were two rats caught in a box.

Vinaver has said that chamber theatre is like chamber music "ou la matière se constitue à partir du jeu ensemble d'un petit nombre de voix, de thèmes. Accords et disso-

nances. Répétitions et variations."²⁰⁶ The recurrent themes in Dissident revolve around Hélène wanting Philippe to be a writer, to clean up his records, to get along with his father. As for Philippe, he wants his mother to find a boyfriend and to leave him alone. Then there are the personal themes: love lives, medical problems, and death. These themes can be imagined as different tunes on various instruments which get repeated every so often throughout the piece or as repetitive colors, lines, or forms in a painting. There are the dissonant moments as well, such as when Philippe, pushed against the wall through his own deceit, almost hits Hélène at the end of Scene Ten. The play ends on a note which echoes with melodramatic suspense and then negates it. As the police knock loudly at the door for the third time to arrest Philippe for his participation in a robbery, Hélène, rather than reacting in horror, puts on a record for Philippe to listen to while the police wait outside. The last moment is a quiet one between mother and son.

Nina, c'est autre chose is the companion piece to Dissident, il va sans dire and as such is its complement. The darker mood and subtle undercurrents of Dissident contrast with the brighter and cheerier tones of Nina. Both are made up of twelve episodic scenes, but only in Nina has Vinaver given the scenes their own distinguishing titles. Here again we have a household which undergoes major changes as events on the periphery of the stage exert various pres-

tures on the characters. This time, the exterior events are more related to taking stands on worker's rights. All three characters spend their days on the job. Sébastien, forty-two, oversees the machines in a factory. Charles, forty, and Nina, twenty-four, work at the same salon as hairdresser and shampooer, respectively.

The offstage life at the salon is vividly depicted. One could imagine that it comes close to being a Feydeau farce. The names of the customers and boss even suggest certain character traits. There's the daughter of Madame Brossard "la grande nana blonde à la frange" (Scene Eight); old Madame Barberat--"barber" means "to bore"--whose hateful husband died of cancer of the larynx from too much smoking; Mlle. Colin--"colin" is a kind of fish which projects its lower jaw; Madame Mouchet--"moucheté" means "spotted" as a tiger is spotted--wife of the B.N.P. regional director. Then there is the boss, Tonton Fretton, a ladies' man who takes advantage of his position with the shampooers, including Yvette. He is well-named as "frette" means "bind" or "hoop" or "coil." There is a great deal of irony in his being called Tonton as he is anything but a good uncle.

Offstage life at Sébastien's factory is a different story. He deals with Algerian and Polish workers. When he is promoted to "chef d'équipe," his overseer Leduc, once a union man, tests his loyalty by forcing him to fire an Algerian, Tahar. Sébastien comes home bleeding one day from a blow to the head which Tahar gave him. There are other

offstage characters in this picture of contemporary everyday life in France; since his 1954 army duty twenty-two years ago, Charles has been receiving a box of dates from a Tunisian girlfriend for his birthday; and Nina eventually runs off with a Czechoslovakian painter who was in a camp for dissidents.

Another dominant presence on stage is Charles' and Sébastien's mother who died about eight months prior to the opening scene. The furniture and curtains are old-fashioned, and Sébastien tries to keep her memory alive by keeping everything neat and tidy and by continuing to cook her recipes exactly the way she liked them. As Nina brings fresh life into the house when she comes to live there with Charles, it takes on a new look. Paralleling the symbolic inner change, during the course of the piece, in the outside world, Charles and Sébastien confront their consciences and stand up for what they believe to be the right thing to do. However, it is important to stress that soul searching is only one of the factors in the onstage scenes, as the tide of life continues to ebb and flow around the presence of a girl in the house. This is not a didactic play about how one should stand up for workers' rights. Although this is what Sébastien eventually does when he threatens his own livelihood by backing the striking workers, this activity is only a fragment of the continuity of everyday life, however formless and discontinuous it may be. The titles of the scenes underline the fact that for Vinaver the social themes

are only a part of the play's fabric. Some of the titles refer to objects: *L'Ouverture du Colis de Dattes*, *Le Roti de Veau aux Epinards*, *Le Châle*, *La Baignoire*. Others refer to habitual activities: *L'Arrivée*, *La Partie de Cartes*, *Au Cinéma*, *L'Eveil*, *Le Départ*, *La Visite*.

There is no culmination in either of these chamber plays. Vinaver wants the audience to experience his theatre of the everyday like a piece of music without the usual expectation of "What is going to happen?" Because one aspect of the everyday is that it never culminates. Everything is always possible. There are always contingencies. Nothing is fatal or final.²⁰⁷ This liberating aspect of the quotidien Vinaver sees as being quite different from the purging quality of traditional theatre.

La contingence est peut-être ce qui donne au théâtre ancré dans le quotidien un pouvoir libérant, mais autre que celui du théâtre traditionnel. Celui-ci libérerait moyennant un effet de purge. Le nôtre libère par l'évidence que rien n'est joué une fois pour toutes, que le champ du possible ne se ferme pas, que la réalité ne cesse pas de se créer multiplement.²⁰⁸

At the end of *Nina, c'est autre chose* as at the beginning, Sébastien and Charles are unwrapping a packet of dates that has just arrived from Sébastien's admirer in Tunisia. It must be a year later. Nina is visiting. Vinaver leaves it purposefully unclear whether she will stay with Charles and Sébastien or leave. She has no reply when she is offered the box of dates to take and share with her new Czechoslovakian boyfriend. The recurring theme of the box

of dates reminds us that we are back where we started and that perhaps some small progression has been made.

The sphere of action of Les Travaux et les jours is one of constant jostling, shaking, and mixing, almost as though in imitation of the action of the coffee mills that the Cosson company sells; everyone scrambles to keep his or her position or to improve it, whether it be in the work place or in personal lives. The title of the play refers to Hesiod's Works and Days in which the author praises the kind of strife between men which leads to hard work and healthy competitive feelings and describes the kind of strife which leads to war. Hard work, Hesiod assumes, will naturally lead to wealth. Vinaver uses two quotes from Works and Days as prefaces to the play. The first stresses the profitable return a man will get from hard work in the fields. The second foretells the suffering and misery and death of those men belonging to the "race of iron" whose work will bring them no relief. Although he wrote about twenty-eight hundred years ago, Hesiod's words seem prophetic of the industrial disease and alienation which continues into the present day. The preface also cites André Giraud, Minister of Industry, who on 20 July 1979 said that it was up to man, in his wisdom, whether the working conditions which were undergoing transformation would liberate mankind or make his life more miserable.

In the nine scenes of the play, the Cosson coffee mill company undergoes a merger with Beaumoulin, a strike

by workers at the factory in Vosges, and complete reorganization. The setting never changes. The three customer service girls--Yvette, twenty, Nicole, thirty, and Anne, forty--sit at their desks in their cubicles as Mr. Jaudouard, forty-five, watches over them from his work space. Guillermo, forty-two, a repair man of Spanish descent who has been with the company for twenty-five years--"Je suis entré chez Cosson comme on entre en religion," he says in Scene Nine--has a work space in the same area. As in the chamber plays, we constantly hear about the offstage characters, particularly those in the company hierarchy since they are a subject of constant gossip, beginning with Théophile Cosson who founded the company in 1869, his son Louis, his grandson Martial, his great-grandson, Albert, who's been dead for eight years, and the present owner, Pierre. Then there is Charles Bataille, the Administrative Director and Financier; his secretary, Cécile; Mr. Célidon; and Mme. Serge.

The competition between the conglomerates, Cosson and Beaumoulin and Mixwell, is replicated in the lower corporate levels, so that there is vicious competition even between the various departments within Cosson, as well as between the personnel within the departments. One has an impression of jostling and compartmentalization which is similar to the world that Dubuffet depicted in his 1961 painting, "Business Prospers." The competition leads to what Marx has called "reification" as the directors of the

modern Cosson company have lost the personal touch they used to have with the personnel. The personnel have become numbers in a statistics file, or extensions of telephones or other objects. Guillermo, who has been with the company the longest, appreciates the craft of the old coffee mills, almost to the point of being obsessed with them. In Scene Three, he describes his discovery of an old mill; he says that he felt "une grosse émotion"; he felt magnetized. "A dix mètres je l'ai reconnu avant de voir j'ai senti je me suis senti comme pris dans le champ d'un aimant." He does everything but say he's in love with the object, describing it as "un rêve si beau qu'on a peur de se réveiller" and as "le miracle." Guillermo's obsession with coffee mills is reminiscent of Georges' obsession with his iron work in Loin d'Haqondange, or of the father's longing for his coal mine in Dimanche.

The company, microcosm of the world, is seen as an imprisoning system which still irresponsibly engages in the exploitative practices of the nineteenth century where the worker is at the mercy of the bosses. Honesty and hard work are less likely to get the attractive young Yvette ahead than sleeping with the men in charge. The fact that Nicole joined in trying to set up a union results in her getting fired. Mr. Jaudouard, the After Sales supervisor, responds to her plight like the chauvinist husbands of Brioux's thesis plays. Despite her years of service, he turns his back on her, and condemns her for taking up a

menage à trois with Guillermo and Yvette, even though this is her only alternative. Her children, he says, will turn to a life of crime. And all this because she was trying to unionize. Of course, this touch of melodrama is not always manifest, but it is nevertheless a strand in Vinaver's plays.

According to Vinaver, quotidien writing must strive to create an object-play which has a great deal of poetic tension and density.²⁰⁹ Everyday conversation is discontinuous and is created by:

. . . fragments réfractaires les uns aux autres, qui se croisent et s'assemblent au prix d'un gâchis tout à fait considérable, et elle est traversée de décharges qui ont très peu de rapport avec la volonté des parleurs, mais qui font que la communication se noue, que des mouvements de sens se produisent.²¹⁰

Les Travaux et les jours is one of the best examples of this as the conversations among the personnel, on the phone with customers and friends, and even short monologues weave in and out of each other, rub against each other, reflecting the changing emotions of the speakers toward their families, their work, their fellow workers, and toward the company.

While the strike is taking place far away in the Vosges factory in Scene Seven, the normal functioning of the company begins to break down, and this is reflected in an increase in stage tension and a breakdown of the normal work pattern as they follow the worker uprising. The girls are unable to assuage the customer complaints about delays

in service; Nicole tries to organize a union; the three girls, almost in a kind of chant, repeat the episode of Yvette's seduction by Mr. Célidon in the elevator; Anne says they're between the hammer and the anvil; Yvette uncharacteristically explodes at Jaudouard and tells him, "Vous par exemple arrêtez vos familiarités."

For Vinaver, irony supersedes a dialectical or satirical approach to playwriting. If he admires Brecht and thinks that his theory of distanciation was as great an invention as the wheel, he also believes that the simplified world of two opposing forces portrayed by Brecht no longer exists. Instead, mankind is afflicted by many oppressive systems and forces, not just the force of capitalist power, and there is no clear truth worth fighting for.²¹¹ In this regard, Vinaver never judges or condemns or pardons any of his characters, even Mr. Jaudouard. Vinaver does not believe in using the critical mode of satire in his plays because "c'est la vision qui surplombe, et le théâtre que je cherche à faire est à l'opposé du satirique."²¹² Like Dubuffet, Vinaver is interested in irony, not vis-à-vis the characters but within the textual language:

Tout le tissu des décalages entre ce qu'on attend et ce qui se produit. Autant de décharges qui provoquent l'effet comique. Celui-ci est essentiel. Sans doute déclenche-t-il rarement l'éclat de rire. Mais plutôt, il déstabilise la banalité, et place le spectateur en permanence dans une zone au bord du rire, la zone du va-et-vient privilégié entre le drôle et le grave, là où, entre ces deux pôles, des mouvements de sens se produisent. La fabrication de

l'effet comique n'est pas délibérée, elle est consubstantielle à l'écriture; l'effet comique est ce qui fait prendre la pâte, c'est la vibration qui donne consistance à la matière même de la conversation de tous les jours.²¹³

If satire has been replaced by irony in Vinaver's quotidien theatre, there are still threads of tension which tie everyday life to the tension of classical tragedy, if that is defined as an event where a transcendent order of things, which society accepts as being true, is put into question.²¹⁴ Vinaver does not give any examples of how these threads of tragic tension are manifested in his plays. But, taking Les Travaux et les jours as an example, I would suggest that the little betrayals by friends and the company which occur throughout the play are but little remnants of the grand tension of classical tragedy. Guillermo leaves Nicole for Yvette. After twenty-five years of service, Guillermo is suddenly sent off to the factory in Vosges. Nicole tries to defend her rights for a better working place and is fired. Not gods but humans are responsible for these betrayals.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

The plays on the Commune, exile and displacement, and everyday life are evidence of the existence of widespread anomie in present-day France: the anomie of those whose expectations of a Golden Age have been disappointed; the anomie of the uprooted living in a strange land; and the anomie of everyday life in what one commentator has called the "bureaucratic society of controlled consumption."²¹⁵ These three themes are also representative of three situations or strands which are indigenous to the condition of the sous-classe in modern France. It is the hopes, frustrations, failures, and failings of these people which the playwrights in this study address.

Among these people are those who put their faith in revolution as a method of achieving a society that would permit them to share more equitably in the fruits of labor. They have been ultimately frustrated. Their discontent has its roots in the troubled outcome of the 1789 revolution, but the experience was to be repeated throughout the nineteenth century, and again in the twentieth, when even the failure of any real social reform after the Liberation echoed previous disappointments.²¹⁶ Herein lie the seeds

of anomie, since, whether or not it is fulfilled, the unrealizable dream of a Golden Age lives on in the imagination and in the slogan of 1789, "Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité."

The contemporary Commune plays offer proof of how vital the theme of revolution remains even today. Contemporary playwrights have not only been attracted by the 1871 Commune. In recent years, plays dealing with the revolutions of 1789-92, 1830, and 1848 have also appeared. Indeed, at least three such plays exist by authors whose works I have explored in this study: 1789 and 1793 by the Théâtre du Soleil and Thermidor by Michel Deutsch.

The theme of uprootedness is an old one in France. For many years the country has attracted refugees and exiles from many parts of the world. The nation has always been ready to offer them asylum, if not a welcoming hearth, and it remains even today a center for political refugees. This openness, however, has presented problems in today's France, where many have raised questions as to whether France's refugee policy has not damaged her national interest. In addition, people are questioning France's policy of permitting large numbers of foreigners to work, particularly in the face of the high levels of unemployment which exist today. Even as early as 1977, foreign workers made up eleven percent of the total work-force.²¹⁷

Life, however, has not been kind to these people. They occupy menial positions, they are badly paid, and they

suffer from alienation and from the indignities to which strangers are typically subjected, even when they conform. Yet, the situation is even worse for the second generation. These immigrant children present special difficulties today, when the under fifteens comprise more than twenty-five percent of the foreign populace. The journalist and filmmaker, Jonathan Power, has written about the kind of anomie that occurs within this younger generation:

Youngsters seeking work tend to get a raw deal both from their inexperience and from their foreignness (even those born in the country). Yet at the same time, they tend to assimilate the rising expectations--thanks to their liberation from menial jobs, amongst other things--of the country's own youth, and refuse to do the type of work which first attracted their parents' generation. This conflict between rising expectations and diminishing opportunities is generally recognized, in every country with a sizeable "foreign" population, as one of the most acute social, political and economic significance for the future.²¹⁸

Besides the alienation and anomie of the physically displaced, one must be aware of the alienation of those who have long felt that the suppression of their language and culture by the State has condemned them to an internal displacement: the Occitanians and Bretons, for example. This aspect of the problem was addressed by André Benedetto in Géronimo.

The third strand is that of the worker's everyday life as he confronts the modern world. This existence, as portrayed in the plays of the théâtre du quotidien, is typically portrayed as being marked by tedium, by the absence of play or joy or celebration, by an absence of

delight in language, and by the repression of human desires and needs, particularly, although certainly not exclusively, as regards the relationship between the sexes, whether interfamilial or otherwise.

In the final chapter of his prophetic Everyday Life in the Modern World--prophetic because it was published in 1967--Henri Lefebvre addresses the topic of cultural revolution. He sees the revolutionary process as made up of three aspects: sexual reform and revolution, urban reform and revolution, and the rediscovery of the Festival. The latter is to be "the final clause of the revolutionary plan" and is to bring harmony to everyday life in an urban society.²¹⁹

The poster that was attached to the door of the Sorbonne during the night of 13 May 1968 called for a revolution which would end all alienation through the power of the imagination. The poster read:

The revolution which is beginning will call into question not only capitalist society but industrial society. The consumer society must perish of a violent death. The society of alienation must disappear from history. We are inventing a new and original world--Imagination au Pouvoir!²²⁰

That this phrase recalls the precepts of Surrealists is not surprising since the Situationist leaders of the 1968 rebellion were the disciples of André Breton. During the winter of 1794-95, Mary Wollstonecraft, who had spent the final years of the Revolution in Paris, also spoke of the

imagination, describing it as "the true fire" which unites passions with reason.

The impulse of the senses,--passions if you will-- and the conclusions of Reason, draw men together; but the Imagination is the true fire, stolen from heaven, to animate this cold creature of clay--producing all those fine sympathies that lead to rapture, rendering men social by expanding their hearts, instead of leaving them leisure to calculate how many comforts society affords.²²¹

It is through imagination that mankind creates art, and through art, people can be moved to love what is good. Art, therefore, has an important social function which has been utilized to enslave as well as to liberate.

Like all revolutions, the 1968 revolution did not fulfill its expectations, either in the political, social, or economic domains; but it can be said that the revolution sparked committed research on the part of many theatre people into how the theatrical arts can reflect and clarify daily life. Bernard Dort has pointed out that, in this sense, the new theatre is very much related to the old:

Du moins ce nouveau théâtre reste-t-il fidèle à l'un de ses premiers mots d'ordre: la quête d'une théâtralité à l'état naissant, la volonté de rendre visible et lisible, en clair, dans un espace devenu presque sensible, le jeu de notre vie. Ici, le nouveau théâtre renoue avec le plus ancien.²²²

Theatre has moved into diverse environments: farming communities, worker housing projects, villages, urban environments, universities, high schools, and the streets. As was noted at a theatre conference sponsored by the Council of Europe's Division of Higher Education in 1983:

. . . there is occurring at present throughout Europe a massive realignment of theatre activity in relation to society. The languages of theatre activity, as means of communication and celebration, are being employed by people within a wide spectrum of societal activity. . . . Far from there being a demise of theatre making within European societies, it is clear that the activity is participated in and has been appropriated by large numbers of people, many of whom are working outside traditional definitions.²²³

The plays in my own study serve as some proof of the concern theatre artists had in France in the 1970s that their art address social questions and create a social conscience.

NOTES

Introduction

1. William Safran, "French Politics: The Economic and Social Context," in Contemporary Western Europe, Glenda G. Rosenthal and Elliot Zupnick, eds. (New York: Praeger, 1984), 174.

2. T. Alexander Smith, "An Overview of Political Institutions," in Contemporary Western Europe, Rosenthal and Zupnick, eds., (New York: Praeger, 1984), 64-65.

3. Lenora Champagne, French Theater Experiment Since 1968, Theatre and Dramatic Studies No. 18, Bernard Beckerman, ed. (New York: UMI Research Press, 1984), 9.

4. Edward Ball attributes the slogan to the Situationists but fails to point out that it originated with Gatti's play. Edward Ball, "The Great Sideshow of the Situationist International," Everyday Life: Yale French Studies 73, Alice Kaplan and Kristin Ross, spec. eds. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), 22n.

5. According to Gatti, he used to interrupt the show each night to carry on discussions with the audience that would last until four or five in the morning. The Communist Party began asking questions. Eventually the theatre was turned over to "le syndicat d'une entreprise voisine qui était venu protéger ce lieu en attendant qu'il soit mis à la disposition des travailleurs." Marc Kravetz, L'Aventure de la parole errante (Toulouse: l'Ether Vague, 1987), 101.

6. Simone Weil, The Need for Roots: Prelude to a Declaration of Duties Towards Mankind, pref. T. S. Eliot, trans. A. F. Wills (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1952), 188; originally published as L'Enracinement (Paris: Gallimard, 1949). Like all of Simone Weil's work, this is a posthumous publication. It was written during the Second World War when she was working at French Headquarters in London.

7. Bernard Dort, "Sur la corde raide," Théâtre en jeu: essais de critique 1970 - 1978 (Paris: Seuil, 1979), 9; originally published as "Le Théâtre dans le monde," in Le Théâtre en Pologne, spec. no. 11-12 (Déc 1972).

8. For the following brief synopsis of French theatre history between 1945 and 1968, I owe a debt to David Bradby's excellent survey, Modern French Drama: 1940-

1980 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).

9. Dort, "Le Théâtre public en France: une voie étroite," Théâtre en jeu, 45; originally published as "Idéologie et production culturelle," Politique aujourd'hui (Oct-Déc 1974).

10. "Déclaration de Villeurbanne," in Philippe Madral, Le Théâtre hors les murs: Rétoré, Garran, Debauche, Gerbal, Valverde, Chereau, six animateurs et trois élus municipaux nous parlent, Coll. Théâtre (Paris: Seuil, 1969), 245-250.

11. Dort, "Le Théâtre public en France: une voie étroite," Théâtre en jeu, 45-46.

12. The 1938 essay, "Social Structure and Anomie," contains Merton's famous typology of deviant behavior caused by anomie. The second essay, "Social Structure and Anomie: Continuities," clarified the first, responded to criticism, reviewed subsequent research on anomie by other social scientists, and made suggestions for further research; it was published in 1957. Both of these essays appear in Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, rev. and enl. (New York: The Free Press, 1949, 1957), 131-160, and 161-194. My discussion of anomie is based on these two essays, hereafter referred to as STSS 1938 or STSS 1957. According to Steve Fenton who reviewed Merton's typology in the light of further research on crime in the 1960s and 1970s, the typology is broad enough to remain viable. See Steve Fenton, with Robert Rainer and Ian Hamnet, Durkheim and Modern Sociology (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 186-194.

13. Merton, STSS 1957, 161. I have added the italics.

14. Merton, "Introduction to Part II: Studies in Social and Cultural Structure," Social Theory and Social Structure, rev. and enl. (New York: The Free Press, 1949, 1957), 121.

15. Ibid.

16. Merton, STSS 1957, 162.

17. Merton, STSS 1938, 132.

18. Ibid., 132-3.

19. Using a tone of disapproval which Merton did not echo, Simone Weil wrote in 1940 of how the pursuit of money was one of the four obstacles that impeded the greatness of

French civilization. She lists the four obstacles as: "our false conception of greatness; the degradation of the sentiment of justice; our idolization of money; our lack of religious inspiration." Weil, The Need for Roots, 188.

20. Merton, STSS 1938, 135.
21. Merton, STSS 1957, 183.
22. See chart in Merton, STSS 1938, 140.
23. I owe this insight to Professor Albert Bermel.
24. Merton, STSS 1938, 155-157; and STSS 1957, 190-192.
25. This was corroborated in an interview with Armand Gatti on 3 April 1987 at Columbia University.
26. Merton, STSS 1957, 192-193.
27. Merton, STSS 1957, 188.
28. Merton, STSS 1957, 189.
29. Weil, Need for Roots, 198-199.
30. Regarding Langland's Piers Plowman, Chaucer's "Parson's Tale," Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy, and works by Aldous Huxley and Rebecca West, see Merton, STSS 1957, 189, n54.
31. Apathy can be a hotbed for totalitarianism as Robin Williams points out, cited by Merton, STSS 1957, 189-190; or for fascism; or neo-fascism, which is a cause for grave concern all over Northern Europe today. In France, the right-wing National Front party, led by Le Pen, has a growing number of supporters. See James M. Markham, "Rightist Parties Forming in Europe: New Groups in North Seek to Bar and Expel Immigrants," New York Times, Sunday, 22 November 1987, Section I, p. 1.
32. Merton, STSS 1938, 151.
33. Merton, STSS 1957, 185.

Chapter 1. CONTEMPORARY COMMUNE DRAMA

34. Since this chapter will be dealing with contemporary plays that have the Commune as their subject, I am

presenting two excerpts from encyclopedic sources that give some necessary background of the insurrection. One deals with historical events and the other deals with the Commune's political composition:

"COMMUNE. Following the disastrous Franco-Prussian War of 1870-1871, there developed a mutual feeling of distrust and suspicion between Paris and the new provisional government of Adolphe Thiers at Versailles. Thiers's unsuccessful attempt to remove some artillery from Paris aroused the old revolutionary feeling of the lower classes and on March 26, 1871, a municipal government was elected that defied the provisional government by proclaiming itself the Commune of Paris. . . . it required considerable effort to organize the provinces against the new Commune, and eventually Thiers was forced to ask Bismarck for the release of prisoners.

. . . On April 2, the Thiers government seized Courbevoie, a suburb of Paris, and civil war began. The nation was exhausted by the catastrophic war with Prussia and had a deep desire for peace; only the Commune seemed to stand in the way, and consequently it was hated. . . . By the end of the month, the forts protecting Paris were being bombarded, and on May 16, the government troops forced their way into the city. The resistance of the Commune continued for another bloody week. The Versailles troops systematically shot all prisoners who had borne arms against them, while the Commune executed hostages, including the Archbishop of Paris, and set fire to parts of the city. By May 26 all was over. The destruction of the Commune of 1871 had cost the lives of approximately one thousand troops and more than twenty thousand citizens of Paris. Also destroyed in the fire were certain famous landmarks such as the Palace of the Tuileries and the Cour des Comptes." Collier's Encyclopedia, 1987, s.v. "Commune," by John Fraser Ramsay.

"COMMUNE OF PARIS. The revolutionary movement known as the Commune of Paris of 1871 is significant primarily as constituting the most clearly defined attempt of the Parisian proletariat to free itself from hostile domination by rural France. . . . That the Commune of Paris was so short lived and that it failed so conspicuously to "operate" [the] "administrative and economic reforms" is attributable in the main to an absence of leaders capable of integrating the various incongruous elements or of formulating a constructive program. The bulk of the delegates . . . were essentially demagogues, would-be Jacobins, repeating the inflamed but empty phrases emanating from the radical clubs of Paris. . . . A very small group. . . was composed of professional revolutionists, followers of Auguste Blanqui. . . . [They] championed a program of violent class struggle

. . . . In striking contrast to the Jacobin majority and the Blanquists was an inconspicuous group of seventeen socialists Peaceful organizers rather than agitators, internationalists rather than patriots sincere federalists, seeing in the autonomous commune the first step toward social equality and an ideal agent for the socialization of land and tools. . . . The authoritarian views of the Jacobin majority were completely alien to the socialistic ideals of this group and the first Committee of Public Safety met with strong opposition. Here again, however, the lack of capable leadership. . . . defeated a consistent policy. . . . The Versailles troops, which on May 21, 1871, entered Paris. . . . were little disposed to make any distinction between these various groups which had constituted the refractory commune. Retribution was relentless, impartial . . . its severity has seldom been equaled. Between twenty and thirty thousand citizens of Paris were executed. . . . The tradition of the heroism of the Paris proletariat and of the brutal retribution of the national government has been sedulously kept alive in the minds of socialist and communist parties, which still celebrate either the 18th of March or the 'Bloody Week.'" Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, 1948, s.v. "Commune of Paris," by Georges Bourgin.

35. Georges Haupt, "La Commune comme symbole et comme exemple," Le Mouvement social 79 "La Commune de 1871" (avril-juin 1972): 212-213.

36. Ibid., 215.

37. André Benedetto, Commune de Paris (Honfleur: Pierre Jean Oswald, 1971); Yvon Birster, Place Thiers: chronique des temps de la Commune de Paris vus de province (Honfleur: Pierre Jean Oswald, 1971); André Fontaine, Le Printemps de la sociale (Paris: Pierre Jean Oswald, 1974); Dominique Houdart, Louise Michel ou les oeillettes rouges (Paris: Edition du Manitous, 1977); Roger Planchon, Le Cochon noir, in Le Cochon noir / La Remise (Paris: Gallimard, 1973), 9-69; Xavier Pommeret, Lycée Thiers, maternelle Jules Ferry (Honfleur: Pierre Jean Oswald, 1973); Claude Prin, Cérémonial pour un combat (Paris: Seuil, 1971). The two plays that I am not dealing with are: Armand Gatti, Les 13 Soleils de la rue Saint-Blaise (Paris: Seuil, 1968) and Claude Alranq, Le Cirque impérial (Chatillon-Sous-Bagneux: S.E.G., 1979).

38. Eugène Schulkind, "La littérature de la Commune," Thesis, University of Paris, 1951.

39. Jean Fréville, "La Commune et la littérature," Europe 64/65 (avril-mai 1951): 73-122.

40. Gérard Milhaud, "De la calomnie à l'histoire," Europe 499/500 (nov-déc 1970): 42-56.

41. Paul Lidsky, Les Ecrivains contre la Commune, (Paris: Maspéro, 1970).

42. Karl Marx, "The Civil War in France," intro. Frederick Engels, in Karl Marx and Frederick Engels: Selected Works in Two Volumes, Vol. I, trans. and ed. Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute (Moscow: Gospolitizdat, 1948; Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1950), 429-494.

43. Josette Parrain, "Censure, théâtre, et Commune (1871-1914)," Le Mouvement social 79, special issue on La Commune de 1871 (avril-juin 1972): 327-342; and Madeleine Rebérioux, "Roman, théâtre et chanson: quelle Commune?" Le Mouvement social 79 (avril-juin 1972): 273-292.

44. Jules Vallès, La Commune de Paris, préf. et notes de Marie-Claire Bancquart et Lucien Scheler (Paris: Les Editeurs Français Réunis, 1970).

45. See Gerhard Fischer, The Paris Commune on the Stage: Vallès, Grieg, Brecht, Adamov, European University Studies, Series I: German Language and Literature, Bd./Vol. 422 (Bern: Peter Lang, 1981).

46. Parrain, "Censure, théâtre, et Commune," 340.

47. Ibid., 339-340.

48. Ibid., 335-6.

49. For further comparison of these two plays, see Gerhard Fischer, Paris Commune on the Stage. For a review of the March 1971 performance of Brecht's play, see Raymond Temkine, "La Commune au Théâtre," Europe 499/500 (nov-déc 1970): 211-212.

50. See J. Rougerie and G. Haupt, "Bibliographie de la Commune de 1871 (travaux parus de 1940 à 1961)," Le Mouvement social 37 (oct-déc 1961): 70-92. There is a second part to this bibliography, which I have been unable to locate, in Le Mouvement social 38 (jan-mar 1962).

51. Ibid.

52. Arthur Adamov, "Préface" to Le Printemps 71 (Paris: Gallimard, 1961), 7.

53. For a good discussion, see Fischer, Paris Commune on the Stage.

54. Cited by A. P. Foulkes, Literature and Propaganda, New Accents Series, ed. Terence Hawkes (New York: Methuen, 1983), 2.

55. For a comparison of the views of Paul Rivet, Jacques Ellul, and Marshall McLuhan regarding literacy and information and freedom, see George H. Szanto, Theater and Propaganda (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1978), 16-21.

56. He is the author of, among others, Histoire de la guerre civile froide (1966), La Guerre civile froide (1969), and La France au bois dormant (1978).

57. By Pierre Dupont, 1846.

58. See Roger Bellet, "Le Père Duchêne et Le Cri du peuple: deux miroirs et deux acteurs de la Commune de Paris," Europe 499/500 (nov-déc 1970): 70-90. The newspaper began on 7 March 1871 and ended during la semaine sanglante on 22 May 1871. It was edited by Vermersch alone at first; later he was joined by Alphonse Humbert and Maxime Vuillaume.

59. Ellipses are in the text.

60. Philippe Labro, "This Is Only A Beginning," trans. Charles Lam Markmann (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1969), 24-34; originally published as "Ce n'est qu'un début," (Paris: Editions et Publications Premières No. 2, 1968).

61. Richard Greeman, "The Permanence of the Commune," in Revolution and Reaction: The Paris Commune of 1871, eds. John Hicks and Robert Tucker (U. of Massachusetts Press, 1973), 5.

62. For a discussion of Jacques Ellul's three types of propaganda--dialectical, agitational, and integrationist--see George H. Szanto, Theater and Propaganda, 71-93; and also Foulkes, Literature and Propaganda, 10-13. Szanto and Foulkes refer to Ellul's seminal work, Propaganda: The Formation of Men's Attitudes, trans. Konrad Kellen and Jean Lerner (New York: Knopf, 1965).

63. Greeman, "The Permanence of the Commune," 5-13.

64. Ibid., 11.

65. See Wallace Fowlie, "Rimbaud and the Commune," Revolution and Reaction, eds. John Hicks and Robert Tucker, (University of Massachusetts Press, 1973), 168-171.

66. Ibid., 169. For a recent book on Rimbaud and the 1871 Commune, see Pierre Gascar, Rimbaud et la Commune (Paris: Gallimard, 1971).

67. See Fréville, "La Commune et la littérature," and Rebérioux, "Roman, théâtre et chanson: quelle Commune?"

68. René Simmen, The World of Puppets (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1972), 20.

69. Program for the production of Louise Michel directed by Dominique Houdart at Théâtre La Bruyère, Paris. Borrowed from Professor Daniel Gerould, Ph.D. Program in Theatre, Graduate School and University Center, City University of New York.

70. See Simmen, World of Puppets, 31-34.

71. In Acts 1:6 is written: "And at this sound the multitude came together, and they were bewildered, because each one heard them speaking his own language."

72. See Matt. 4:18-22 and Mark 1:16-20.

73. Bertolt Brecht, "The Days of the Commune," trans. Leonard Lehrman, in Revolution and Reaction: The Paris Commune 1871, eds. John Hicks and Robert Tucker (University of Massachusetts Press, 1971), 192-232.

74. The quote changes from French to English in the translation by Leonard Lehrman.

75. David Bradby, Modern French Drama 1940-1980 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 121; for another interpretation of Le Cochon noir, see Bradby, Modern French Drama, 114-119.

76. The cycle consists of La Remise (1961), L'Infâme (1969), Le Cochon noir (1972), and Gilles de Rais (1976).

77. For Le Cochon noir, I am relying on the description and photograph given by David Bradby, Modern French Drama, 116-118, of the production at T.N.P. Villeurbanne, 1971, directed by Planchon and designed by Luciano Damiani. For Place Thiers, I rely on the stage directions as well as the photographs of the October 1970 production in Le Havre which are supplied in the published script; although this was a collective creation, Bernard Mounier is named as director and credit for the setting is given to Bernard Mounier and Patrick Ouvrier. See Birster, Place Thiers, 79.

78. Planchon cited in Bradby, Modern French Drama, 116, who quotes Emile Copfermann, Théâtre de Roger Planchon, rev. ed. (Paris: Union Générale d'Éditions, 1977), 312. Ellipses are in Bradby's book.

79. Planchon notes that he is borrowing from the following anthology of Commune literature: Arthur Adamov, ed., La Commune de Paris, 18 mars - 28 mai 1871, anthologie (Paris: Editions Sociales, 1959). See Planchon, Le Cochon noir, 12.

80. See E. William Monter, Witchcraft in France and Switzerland: The Borderlands during the Reformation (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1976), 167-190.

81. Harrap's Slang Dictionary, new and rev. (London: Harrap, 1984).

82. Planchon has also compared Le Solitaire's actions to those of Pétain who, after the French defeat in 1940, was able to gain prestige by blaming that defeat on the Front Populaire, immorality, and loose living, and by promising to restore traditional values. See Bradby, Modern French Drama, 119.

83. Armand Dayot, L'Invasion, le siège, la Commune (Paris: Flammarion, 1901).

84. Birster, "Annexes," Place Thiers:

85. Charles Rearick, Pleasures of the Belle Epoque: Entertainment and Festivity in Turn-of-the-Century France (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 49.

Chapter 2. THE THEME OF EXILE AND DISPLACEMENT IN FRENCH THEATRE SINCE 1968

86. Paul Tabori, The Anatomy of Exile: A semantic and historical study (London: Harrap, 1972), 209-210. Tabori puts the total number of repatriates between 1956 and 1966 at 1,400,000.

87. Gary P. Freeman, Immigrant Labor and Racial Conflicts in Industrial Societies, cited by David Beriss, "The Political Identity of Immigrants in France," paper presented at annual student conference, Institute on Western Europe, Columbia University, 14 March 1986, p. 1.

88. Armand Gatti, Passion du général Franco par les émigrés eux-mêmes, préf. de Armand Gatti (Paris: Seuil, 1975); Jacques Kraemer, Les immigrés (Paris: Pierre Jean Oswald, 1973); André Benedetto, Géronimo (Paris: Pierre Jean Oswald, 1975); Théâtre du Soleil, L'Age d'or: première ébauche Théâtre Ouvert (Paris: Stock, 1975); Jean-Pierre Sarrazac, Lazare lui aussi rêvait d'Eldorado (Paris: Pierre Jean Oswald, 1976); Enzo Cormann, Exils, in Avant-scène: théâtre 755 (1 octobre 1984): 42-46; also, trans. J. G. Strand in Paris Exiles 2 (1985): 8-12, and in Philippa Wehl, ed., Drama Contemporary: France (New York: PAJ Publications, 1986): 171-81.

89. See Stéphane Gatti and Michel Séonnet, Armand Gatti: journal illustré d'une écriture (Montreuil: Centre d'Action Culturelle de Montreuil, La Parole errante, 1987): 249-251.

90. With the production of Le Crapaud-buffle at the T.N.P. in 1959, Vilar was the first establishment director ever to stage a Gatti play.

91. See interview with Gatti in Marc Kravetz, L'Aventure de la parole errante: multiloques avec Armand Gatti (Toulouse: L'Ether Vague, 1987): 101-104.

92. It should be noted that according to Sarrazac, the 1975 play suffers from being an abridged version of the 1968 play. See Jean-Pierre Sarrazac, L'Avenir du Drame, préf. de Bernard Dort (Lausanne: Editions de l'Aire, 1981), 48-49.

93. Gatti's portraits of South American dictators in Le Crapaud-Buffle, directed by Jean Vilar, had a similar effect. I owe this insight to Albert Bermel.

94. Jean-Pierre Sarrazac, L'Avenir du drame, préf. Bernard Dort (Lausanne: Editions de l'Aire, 1981).

95. See Elie Wiesel's play, Le Procès de Shamgorod (Paris: Seuil, 1979); and other writings: Les portes de la forêt (Paris: Seuil, 1964); Le Chant des morts (Paris: Seuil, 1966); Les Juifs du silence (Paris: Seuil, 1966); Le Mendiant de Jérusalem (Paris: Seuil, 1968); Entre deux soleils (Paris: Seuil, 1970); Night, Dawn, The accident: three tales (New York: Hill and Wang, 1972); Paroles d'étranger (Paris: Seuil, 1982); Le Cinquième fils (Paris: B.Grasset, 1983).

96. See Lenora Champagne, French Theater Experiment Since 1968; and Judith Graves Miller, Theater and Revolution in France Since 1968 (Lexington, Ky.: French Forum; 1977). Miller has an excellent discussion of both Jacques

Kraemer's and André Benedetto's work.

97. Kraemer, Les Immigrés, 9.

98. Don Dignan, "Europe's Melting Pot: A Century of Large Scale Immigration into France," Ethnic and Racial Studies 4:2 (1981): 137-152, cited by David Beriss, "The Political Identity of Immigrants in France," 1.

99. Gérard Noiriel, "L'Histoire de l'immigration en France, note sur un enjeu," Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales (sept. 1984): 72; cited by Beriss, "The Political Identity of Immigrants in France," 2.

100. David Beriss, "The Political Identity of Immigrants in France," 2.

101. See Jonny Ebstein and Philippe Ivernel, eds., Le Théâtre d'intervention depuis 1968, 2 vols. (Lausanne: L'Age d'homme, 1983).

102. Jacques Kraemer, "Theatre of Intervention in the Provinces," Theatre Quarterly 6:23 (Autumn 1976): 59.

103. Kraemer, Les Immigrés, 10-11.

104. Raymonde Temkine, "Un Nouveau Jacques Kraemer," Acteurs 18 (avril 1984): 16.

105. See Yves Gaston Henri Falck, "André Benedetto et la problématique d'un théâtre différent," (Ph.D. dissertation, Brown University, 1979), p. 268; and also Miller, Theater and Revolution in France Since 1968.

106. Weil, Need for Roots, 158.

107. See André Dupuy, Historique de l'Occitanie, Marcel Carrière et Alain Nouvel, colls., Collection Connaissance de l'Occitanie (Montpellier: Alain Nouvel, 1976); and La Grande Encyclopédie, 1975, s.v. "Provençale (littérature)," by André Berry.

108. Julius Caesar, Commentaires sur la guerre des Gaulles, cited in André Dupuy, Historique de L'Occitanie, 26. The translation is mine.

109. It is interesting to note that it was Occitanian law that led to the Hundred Years' War between England and France over the rights to Aquitaine; in Occitania women were recognized as equals under the law, and could inherit and own property. Henry II of England had married Eleonor of Aquitaine, the previous Queen of France (who was now divorced), and expected the marriage to bring him Aqoi-

taine. However, France, which was under Salic law, did not acknowledge any woman's right to inherit and own property and denied that Eleonor, and thereby Henry, had a right to Aquitaine. See André Dupuy, Historique de l'Occitanie, 36.

110. Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, Love, Death and Money in the Pays D'Oc, trans. Alan Sheridan (Paris: Seuil, 1980; London: Scolar Press, 1982).

111. In 1904, Frédéric Mistral won the Nobel prize for literature for his Occitanian writings, Mireille and Le Poème du Rhône. More recently, Robert Lafont's Joan Lar-sinhac (1951) caught the attention of critics.

112. Jacques Copeau, Le Théâtre populaire (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1941), 39. The other poet was Charles Peguy.

113. Walter Benjamin, "Eduard Fuchs, Collector and Historian," in One-Way Street and Other Writings (London, 1979), 359; cited in Terry Eagleton, Literary Theory (Minneapolis: U. of Minnesota Press, 1983), 208.

114. Weil, Need for Roots, 104.

115. Arthur Kopit, Indians (New York: Hill and Wang, 1969). The play was first performed in London in 1968 by the Royal Shakespeare Company. After extensive rewrites, it opened at the Arena Stage on 6 May 1969, and afterwards moved to Broadway.

116. S. M. Barrett, ed., Geronimo's Story of His Life: Taken down and edited by S. M. Barrett (New York: Duffield, 1906). Geronimo's words had to be edited to meet with the approval of the War Department.

117. This scene is taken from Barrett's edition of Geronimo's memoirs, Geronimo's Story of His Life; Taken down and edited by S. M. Barrett, xx-xxi.

118. Jacques Copeau, Le Théâtre populaire.

119. Théâtre du Soleil, L'Age d'or, 100, 100, and 98. Jean-Claude Bourbault, actor, used these expressions.

120. Ibid., 155. The expression was used by Sophie Lemasson, assistant director.

121. Bernard Dort, "L'Age d'or: entre le passé et le futur," in Théâtre en jeu: essais de critique 1970-1978 (Paris: Seuil, 1979), 70-78; originally appeared in Travail théâtral 20 (juil-oct 1975).

122. Ibid., 77.

123. Jean-Pierre Sarrazac, "Pour jouer Lazare," Lazare lui aussi rêvait d'Eldorado, 92-93.

124. Ibid., 92.

Chapter 3. ANOMIE AND LE THEATRE DU QUOTIDIEN:
THEATRE OF EVERYDAY LIFE

125. Daniel Lindenberg, Jean-Pierre Vincent, Michel Deutsch, et Jacques Blanc, eds., Germinal: projet sur un roman, intro. Jean-Pierre Vincent (Paris: Christian Bourgois, 1975). This book includes the following articles, excerpts, poems, and songs: Emile Zola: "La République en Russie," Le Figaro, 1881; Emile Zola, "Germinal," Le Figaro, 7 novembre 1885; extracts from Busnach and Zola, Germinal; Lucien Solvay and Fr. Riga's song, "Germinal"; Benoît Malon's 1869 poem, "La Grève des mineurs"; Georges Dumoulin, "Au pays des gueules noires," La Vie ouvrière (mars 1912). There are also essays by contemporary writers: Daniel Lindenberg, "Les Mystères de Montsou, ou la critique de la raison brute"; Bernard Chartreux, "Après Germinal"; and "Bandes," a taped conversation between the dramaturgs of the TNS production of Germinal, Michel Deutsch and Dominique Muller.

126. Michel Deutsch, Dimanche, in Dimanche/Ruines, Théâtre Ouvert (Paris: Stock, 1974): 14-87; Michel Deutsch, L'Entraînement du champion avant la course, in La Bonne Vie / L'Entraînement du champion avant la course, Théâtre Ouvert (Paris: Stock, 1975): 87-130; Jean-Paul Wenzel and Claudine Fiévet Loin d'Hagondange / Marianne attend le mariage, Théâtre Ouvert (Paris: Stock, 1975); Michèle Foucher, La Table: paroles de femmes..., in L'Avant-scène: théâtre 636 (15 oct. 1978): 23-30; Michel Vinaver, Théâtre de chambre: Dissident, il va sans dire / Nina, c'est autre chose, Afterword de Jean-Pierre Sarrazac, Scène Ouverte (Paris: L'Arche, 1978); Michel Vinaver, Les Travaux et les jours, Scène Ouverte (Paris: L'Arche, 1979).

127. Emile Copfermann, B. Dort, T. Sinding, "Le Théâtre de l'Espérance: une compagnie impossible et nécessaire: entretien avec Jean Jourdeuil et Jean-Pierre Vincent," Travail théâtral 16 (juil-sept 1974): 3-22.

128. Henri Lefebvre, Everyday Life in the Modern World, trans. Sacha Rabinowitz (London: The Penguin Press, 1971), 30; originally published as La Vie quotidienne dans

le monde moderne (Paris: Gallimard, 1968). This volume contains a reappraisal of (1) Critique de la vie quotidienne I: Introduction, (Paris: Grasset, 1946), 2nd. ed. with Avant-propos (Paris: l'Arche, 1958); and (2) Critique de la vie quotidienne II: Fondements d'une sociologie de la quotidienneté (Paris: L'Arche, 1961). It is also contains some main themes of a third volume not published by the time of this printing.

129. Alice Kaplan and Kristin Ross, "Introduction", Everyday Life: Yale French Studies 73 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), 2.

130. Bradby, Modern French Drama, 235-249. Bradby also identifies René Kalisky as a playwright in this genre. However, since Kalisky is a Belgian who writes in French, I will not be addressing myself to his work.

131. There are two essays, one from 1978, the other from 1980: Michel Vinaver, "Le Théâtre et le quotidien," Ecrits sur le théâtre, ed. Michelle Henry (Lausanne: L'Aire, 1982), 123-126, originally presented 25 March 1978, Intervention aux Rencontres, Ecritures au présent, Théâtre de Bourgogne, Dijon; and "Une Ecriture du quotidien," Ecrits sur le théâtre, ed. Michelle Henry (Lausanne: L'Aire, 1982), 126-134, originally presented as a speech to the Congrès d'Etudes on the theme, "Théâtre et vie quotidienne, hier et aujourd'hui," at Rassegna Internazionale dei Teatri Stabili, Florence, April 1980, and published in Théâtre Public 39 (mai-juin 1981). I will refer to these essays as Vinaver, Ecrits (1978) and Vinaver, Ecrits (1980).

132. Travail théâtral, which is extremely useful, can be found in the Billy Rose Research Room, New York Public Library at Lincoln Center. A.T.A.C.-Informations is available at the International Theatre Institute in New York. I have not been able to locate Alternatives théâtrales or Théâtre/Public in New York.

133. André Gunthert, Le Voyage du T.N.S.: 1975 - 1983 (Paris: Solin, 1983). This book includes a list of the members of the company; a bibliography of four books and forty-five articles that deal with T.N.S. productions; and a calendar of plays presented at T.N.S. from 1975 to 1983.

134. T.N.S. et Strasbourg Musée d'Art Modern, Quatre Peintres et le TNS: Jean-Paul Chambas, Lucio Fanti, Titina Maselli, Nicky Rieti, Catalogue pour une exposition, 16 Janvier - 8 Mars 1981, intros. par Nadine Lehni et Jean-Pierre Vincent (Strasbourg: IREG, 1981).

135. Michel Deutsch and Dominique Muller, "Bandes," in Germinal: projet sur un roman, intro. Jean-Pierre Vincent (Paris: Christian Bourgois, 1975), 104-129.
136. Deutsch and Muller, "Bandes," 107.
137. Deutsch and Muller, "Bandes," 105.
138. Fritz J. Raddatz, Karl Marx: A Political Biography, trans. Richard Barry (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe Verlag, 1975; Boston: Little, Brown, 1978), 232.
139. Deutsch and Muller, "Bandes," 119.
140. Deutsch and Muller, "Bandes," 117.
141. Merton, STSS 1957, 196.
142. Deutsch and Muller, "Bandes," 117.
143. Bernard Dort, "A la recherche de Germinal," in Théâtre en jeu: essais de critique 1970-1978 (Paris: Seuil, 1979), 180; originally appeared in Travail théâtral 22 (jan-mars 1976). Further Dort comments will be drawn from this review.
144. Deutsch and Muller, "Bandes," 119.
145. Jean-Pierre Vincent wrote: "Dans Germinal, la classe ouvrière semble pour la première fois constituer le sujet d'un roman. Elle n'en est que l'objet, car Zola ne peut que se situer a l'extérieur de ce sujet principal," in "En guise d'avertissement," in Germinal: project sur un roman, 6.
146. Deutsch and Muller, "Bandes," 127.
147. André Antoine, "Causerie sur la mise en scène," Revue de Paris (1 Avril 1903), cited by Dort, "A la recherche de Germinal," 183.
148. Ibid.
149. See Vincent, "Eux et nous (?) Grandeur nature (?)" in Quatre Peintres et le TNS, catalogue pour une exposition, Musée d'art modern à Strasbourg, 16 Jan - 8 Mar 1981. (Strasbourg: IREG, 1981), no page numbers.
150. Deutsch, "Avertissement," in Dimanche, Théâtre Ouvert (Paris: Stock, 1974), 9-13.

151. Alain Mergnat et Jean-Pierre Renault, "Dimanche, une tragédie moderne? Un Entretien avec Michel Deutsch," Travail théâtral 31 (avr-juin 1978): 34-37.

152. Deutsch, "Avertissement," in Dimanche, 12. Deutsch refers one to Tretiakov, Lou Sin, and Brecht's plays of the 1930s.

153. Mergnat and Renault, "Dimanche une tragédie moderne?" 35.

154. Mergnat and Renault, "Dimanche une tragédie moderne?" 37.

155. Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, Love, Death and Money in the Pays d'Oc.

156. Ellipses are in the text.

157. Mergnat and Renault, "Dimanche une tragédie moderne?" 36.

158. Vincent, "Eux et nous (?) Grandeur nature (?)."

159. Gunthert, Voyage du T.N.S., 19.

160. Gunthert, Voyage du T.N.S., 19.

161. Gunthert, Voyage du T.N.S., 41.

162. Gunthert, Voyage du T.N.S., 19.

163. Franz Xaver Kroetz, Men's Business, new version (1973), trans. Michael Roloff and Carl Weber, in Farmyard and Four Plays, intro. Richard Gilman (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1973; New York: Urizen, 1976), 77-99. Kroetz states in a note: "The play is not to be performed. This text has been rewritten to make it more accessible to the reader.

164. Sarrazac, L'Avenir du drame, 179.

165. Sarrazac, L'Avenir du drame, 72.

166. Sarrazac, "L'écriture au présent," Travail théâtral 24-25 (juil-déc 1976): 95, cited in Bradby, Modern French Drama, 238.

167. Michel Deutsch, Thermidor (Paris: Christian Bourgois, 1986).

168. Théâtre Ouvert at the twenty-ninth Avignon Festival, 22-25 July 1975; joint production by Comédie de Caen and Théâtre Ouvert in 1976; T.N.P. in 1977.

169. Jean-Pierre Sarrazac, "La Vieillesse, cette lente agonie," Travail théâtral 21 (oct-déc 1975): 92.

170. See John Burgess, "Loin d'Hagondange," Plays and Players 24:9 (June 1977): 34; and Sarrazac, L'Avenir du drame, 70-73.

171. Jean-Paul Wenzel, "J'observe les gens" in T.N.P. Program for Loin d'Hagondange. Billy Rose Library, New York Public Library at Lincoln Center, New York.

172. Wenzel, T.N.P. Program for Loin d'Hagondange.

173. Merton, STSS 1957, 188.

174. T.N.P. Program for Loin d'Hagondange.

175. Jean-Pierre Sarrazac, "L'écriture au présent II: Wenzel, Fiévet," Travail théâtral 24-25 (juil-déc 1976): 89.

176. Sarrazac, "Wenzel/Fiévet," 91.

177. Flaubert invented this procedure in Bouvard et Pécocet. I owe this insight to Prof. Marvin Carlson.

178. Sarrazac, "Wenzel/Fiévet," 90.

179. Sarrazac, "Wenzel/Fiévet," 90.

180. Sarrazac, "Wenzel/Fiévet," 91.

181. Sarrazac, "Wenzel/Fiévet," 91.

182. Sarrazac, "Wenzel/Fiévet," 88-89.

183. Peter Hulton, ed., "Cité Karl Marx, Bobigny, Paris. 1976-77. Théâtre Quotidien," trans. Diana Howlet, Theatre Papers, II:3 (Devon, U.K.: Dept. of Theatre, Dartington College of Arts, 1978), 9.

184. Hulton, ed., "Cité Karl Marx, Bobigny," 24.

185. Hulton, ed., "Cité Karl Marx, Bobigny," 24.

186. Hulton, ed., "Cité Karl Marx, Bobigny," 25.

187. Michèle Foucher, La Table, in Avant-scène: théâtre 636 (15 oct 1978): 23-30.

188. Michèle Foucher, "Mon histoire est toujours liée à celle des autres," Avant-scène: théâtre 636 (15 oct 1978): 21.
189. Foucher, "Mon histoire est toujours liée à celle des autres," 21.
190. Sarrazac, L'Avenir du drame, 72.
191. Lassalle wrote Un Couple pour l'hiver (1974) and Un Dimanche indécis dans la vie d'Anna (1980). In 1980, he directed Vinaver's A la renverse.
192. Bradby, Modern French Drama, 246.
193. Vinaver, Ecrits (1978), 124.
194. Vinaver, Ecrits (1978), 125.
195. Vinaver, Ecrits (1978), 125.
196. Vinaver, Ecrits (1980), 132.
197. Vinaver, Ecrits (1980), 132.
198. Vinaver, Ecrits (1978), 124.
199. Vinaver, Ecrits (1978), 124.
200. Vinaver, Théâtre complet, Tomes 2 (Paris: Gallimard, 1987).
201. Vinaver, Ecrits (1980), 127.
202. Vinaver, Ecrits (1978), 124.
203. Vinaver, Ecrits (1980), 127.
204. Peter Selz, The Work of Jean Dubuffet, with texts by the artist (N.Y.: Museum of Modern Art, 1962), 139.
205. Peter Selz, The Work of Jean Dubuffet, 139.
206. Sarrazac, "Vers un théâtre minimal," in Vinaver, Théâtre de chambre (Paris: L'Arche, 1978), 71.
207. Vinaver, Ecrits (1980), 130.
208. Vinaver, Ecrits (1980), 130.
209. Vinaver, Ecrits (1980), 131.
210. Vinaver, Ecrits (1978), 125.

211. Vinaver, Ecrits (1980), 131.
212. Vinaver, Ecrits (1980), 129.
213. Vinaver, Ecrits (1980), 129.
214. Vinaver, Ecrits (1978), 125.

Chapter 4. CONCLUSION

215. Henri Lefebvre, Everyday Life in the Modern World, 68-109.

216. Ibid., 40.

217. Glenda G. Rosenthal, "Mediterranean Migration," in Contemporary Western Europe: Problems and Responses, eds. Glenda G. Rosenthal and Elliot Zupnick (New York: Praeger, 1984), 348.

218. Jonathan Power, "The Migrants: Who Are They?" in Contemporary Western Europe: Problems and Responses, Rosenthal and Zupnick, eds., (New York: Praeger, 1984): 341.

219. Lefebvre, Everyday Life in the Modern World, 206.

220. Richard Holmes, Footsteps: Adventures of A Romantic Biographer (New York: Viking/Elisabeth Sifton, 1985; Penguin Books, 1986), 87.

221. Cited in Holmes, Footsteps, 127. Mary Wollstonecraft, an early feminist, wrote Thoughts on the Education of Daughters (1786), and A Vindication of the Rights of Woman with Strictures on Political and Moral Subjects (1792). She was married briefly to the British political thinker and anarchist, William Godwin, author of the revolutionary tract, Political Justice (1793). She died in 1797, eleven days after the birth of their daughter, Mary Godwin. This daughter became Mary Shelley when she married the poet, Percy Bysshe Shelley. See Holmes, Footsteps, 90-132.

222. Bernard Dort, "Du nouveau à l'ancien," Théâtre en jeu: essais de critique 1970-1978 (Paris: Seuil, 1979), 25; originally published as "Théâtre: 3. Le nouveau théâtre," Encyclopaedia Universalis, t. 15 (Paris, 1973).

223. Peter Hulton, ed., Theatre and Communities: A Council of Europe Workshop. Theatre Papers, The Fifth Series, No. 16 (Devon, U.K.: Dept. of Theatre, Dartington College of Arts, 1985), 6-7.

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