

The fight against the big city : Urbaphobia since 200 years

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Big cities have been censured, often violently, since the beginning of civilization. This negative trend has increased since the Industrial Revolution, at the end of the XVIIIth century, with the apparition of huge agglomeration summarizing human progress.

This paper tries and analyzes such censures, mainly in Europe, grouped here under the name of *Urbaphobia*, since two hundred years. Criticisms take two very different forms : some love cities, understand they are necessary, but underline their defects and try to cure them. Others hate big cities as such : they blame population concentration, artificiality and arrogance of their architecture, industrial and commercial functions, modernity and innovation, cosmopolitanism : this paper analyzes only this second type, the only real case of Urbaphobia.

1 - Urbaphobia in Time and Space : the European case

It is necessary to go back to the origin of civilization, in Mesopotamia, which happened also, and not by chance, to see the first big cities. The Bible describes Babylon as a summary of all evils under the sun. For their main god, Mardouk, Babylonians built a tower-temple, a *ziggourat*, of some 90 meters high, an extraordinary feat at the time, in a very flat plain : it inspired the myth of the *Babel-Tower*, symbol of men's haughtiness in challenging God, who punished them by forcing them to speak different languages : they could not understand each other anymore. Furthermore, the priests of Ishtar, the second deity, goddess of love and war, demanded that each woman in Babylon prostitutes herself once in a lifetime and gave them the money. All ingredients of Urbaphobia were there in a nutshell : the city as a manifestation of technical progress, man's arrogance , debauchery and a place of disastrous cosmopolitanism.

A second step takes us to the Roman Empire, at the beginning of second century AD. Under Trajan and Hadrian, the empire was built as a network of cities joined by excellent roads and active commercial transactions. For the first time, mankind discovered really big cities : Rome and Alexandria, then Constantinople, counted more than one million inhabitants, with excellent systems of water, sewers, transportation, administration, etc ... The fall of the Roman Empire, in the Vth century, has been a shock and an enigma for all Europe until today. Although the best specialist, Gibbon, has shown that the two main causes were the German invasion outside and Christian treason inside, many kept attributing the disaster to the evil role of big cities devouring population and resources and causing the collapse. In the XXth century, such arguments were still common.

Big cities disappeared with the empire : the Middle-Ages had no place for big cities. Their population was divided in three groups : noblemen waged war, priests and monks prayed to God, farmers tilled the land. The few craftsmen, lawyers or merchants began slowly to rebuild cities which remained outside the feudal system, usually protected by a powerful prince or a king through a particular contract (franchise). The whole strategy of kings, particularly in France, during one thousand years, was to make an alliance with growing cities to use their wealth against nobility. Considering cities as foreign bodies in society seems to have survived until our time.

Urbaphobia was limited during Middle-Ages to religious condemnations of their supposed or real debaucheries and of their many heresies. Modern urbaphobia begins actually with the second half of the XVIIIth century.

1.1 - The crisis at the end of XVIII° century : birth of the modern world

From 1750 on, Europe was deeply transformed by multifaceted revolutions : political revolution, of course, in the USA then in France and, with the French armies, all over Europe ; but also scientific, with Newton, economic and demographic : these two last ones are capital for our topic.

The first important economic school appeared, in France, in the middle of the century with the *Physiocrats*. Their leader was Quesnay, physician to the king Louis XV, followed by Dupont de Nemours, famous in the USA. They divided society in three groups : the farmers, who produced all wealth, the landlords (noblemen, the church, the king) who were useful because they were supposed to invest in agriculture, and all other citizens, called *sterile*, that is all city-dwellers. Cities were maintained outside the social framework and considered at the best as useless, at the worst as parasites. It is most surprising to observe how such doctrine, which was already out-dated at the end of the XVIII century, remained strongly in the minds of modern politicians.

The Enlightenment developed very new ideas which were soon contradicted. Jean-Jacques Rousseau was among the first and the more talented to write against cities (see **annex A**) :

“Cities are the abyss of mankind. After a few generations, races perish or degenerate ; they need to be renewed and it is always the countryside which provides this renewal”.

His first and main criticism went back to so many explanations of the fall of Rome : cities made too few children and killed quickly their dwellers. They needed constant replenishment from the countryside which they kept exhausting. He went further, however : he reiterated the accusations of moral debauchery against men and, of course, particularly women. More interestingly, he discerned the beginning of the industrial revolution, in particular, the division of labor, but refused it and advocated, against specialisation, the independence of workers, which made cities useless :

“In order to practice a unique activity, they have to depend on thousand others : one worker needs a whole city...”

His ideal was the illiterate farmer living on his farm as a patriarch, ignoring the rest of the world, protected from any cosmopolitanism :

“the nearest mill and the neighboring market are for him, the boundaries of the universe.”

Finally, he wanted a country's population to be equally distributed on its territory, which implied that agriculture had to be the only activity :

“the more powerful is always the State whose inhabitants are more equally distributed on its territory.”

It would have been easy, at the time of Rousseau, to refute his arguments, or rather to refuse his statements since he does not advance any argument to justify his anathemas. It is still more surprising to observe that practically all the arguments of current urbaphobia are contained in Rousseau's texts and still advocated to-day, as if the world had not changed in two hundred and fifty years.

Simultaneously, Europe experienced the most violent moral crisis since two thousand years : the Enlightenment challenged God in the name of Nature and destroyed largely the old order, but soon, an opposite movement, advocated by a pastor, Herder, planted the basis for Romanticism. The main opposition underlying the modern world began : Enlightenment vs Romanticism ; *Individualism*, *Machinism* and Reason on one side, with Newton, Kant and Diderot were soon opposed by *Holism*, *Organicism* and Affectivity defended by Herder, Hölderlin and Novalis ... The big city was a product of Enlightenment and the Industrial Revolution : Urbaphobia was largely developed by Romantic thought, although the conflict took complicated forms.

French and European demographic regimes changed deeply. Up to 1800, growth could be explained by the difference between births and deaths. It was slow : in one hundred years, Paris grew by 100 000 inhabitants, with few migrations. In Napoleon's time, the western world knew only two big cities : London (some 600 000 dwellers) and Paris (approximately 550 000). Then, migrations became all important, although we are not able to give a definitive reason : political changes ? Industrial development ? Napoleonic wars ? Whatever the reason, Paris grew by 500 000 more dwellers in thirty years (one million in 1830). For the first time since the Roman Empire, 1 500 years ago, big cities reappeared. It was an enormous shock : urban structures were not fit to such rapid increase and life conditions became awful. Several cholera epidemics (1832, 1834) and social rebellions (1830 in Paris, 1834 in Lyons) frightened the population.

1.2 - XIXth Century : Ancient regime vs Modern societies, rural vs urban

Europe experienced violent convulsions all along the XIXth century, with the appearance of the social question and revolutions in France in 1830, 1832-34, 1848, 1870-71. The crisis in February 1848 was all European and proved the existence of a real network of capital cities along which ideas and revolts circulated fast, while the countryside in-between remained immobile. In France, the revolution had very heavy consequences : the new Republic, having ousted the king, gave the right to vote, which had been reserved to wealthy citizens, to every male adult. While wealth, talent, innovation remained in Paris, political power was given to the farmers who, terrified by the new socialist ideas, wished the ruin of a capital city so often in the hands of revolutionary mobs.

In these troubled times, many pamphlets were circulated against the city. Lecouturier's text is an excellent example of Urbaphobia in France in 1848 (see **Annex B**). Repeating Rousseau's and Quesnay's statements, he accused the big city of killing its dwellers (which, at the time, was quite true), of devouring the countryside population, of developing vice and debauchery, of not producing anything of value. More interesting, he criticized modern civilization as such, and lamented the extravagant freedom which people enjoyed in a city where they were not checked by their neighbors, like in small villages. There was some naivety here : Lecouturier's followers have been equally shocked but most did not dare to regret publicly urban freedom ; they insisted, instead, upon urban loneliness which was supposed to torture so many urban dwellers. The suggestion to move forcefully population away from big cities was also quite new and did inspire many followers.

1871 was a turning point in French history : Napoleon III went foolishly to war against Prussia and lost the war. Paris was besieged while an Assembly, elected mainly by the countryside (the north-east, more urban and industrial, was occupied) settled down in Bordeaux. Following the quite anarchical ideas of Proudhon, several cities, following Paris, elected a "Commune". The Assembly, representing mainly farmers and countryside nobility, was royalist, catholic, conservative, rural. The Communes were Republican, atheists, feminists and revolutionary : the conflict could not be avoided. The Assembly declared that Paris would not be the capital of France anymore, while the Paris

Commune discussed a proposition to declare its independence from France. It was followed for a few days, by other cities : Lyons, Marseilles, Clermont-Ferrand, ... Never had the opposition between big cities and countryside be so obvious and so violent. A conservative aristocrat, Count of Galembert, elected to the Assembly, published an open letter demanding to remove Paris from its capital position (see **Annex C**) :

“We wish the forfeiture of Paris as the capital city, head of the nation.”

After learning that the Assembly had decided to move closer to Paris and to settle in Versailles, he expressed his terror of the big city :

“Versailles is still the countryside, but so close to the nefarious influence of Paris ... This is not yet the abyss, but its very margin ...”

and he urged his fellow representants to prefer austere life to the pleasures of a big city, in terms which will move American citizens :

“You will not hesitate to prefer the boredom of Washington city, with the certainty to fulfil here your duties, to the temptations of New-York, whose pleasures would induce inevitable remorse.”

The Paris Commune was crushed by French troops in may 1871, at the cost of 35 000 victims. Newspapers indicated that the “French” troops has entered the city and victoriously crushed the rebellion, suggesting that rebels were not French anymore : the first appearance, and most interesting, of a theme which has developed since then, the ostracism of urban poor branded as “non-French” :

“ In industrialized countries experiencing a strong rural exodus, celebrating rural life is rather a manner of rejecting the world of industry workers .” (Thiesse, 1991, p 242)

In 1873-1893, Europe experienced the first globalization crisis : machines, steam engines, frigorific steamers made very cheap the transportation of goods all over the world. France and Germany were particularly concerned : they chose opposite solutions. The young German emperor Wilhelm II fired the famous Bismarck and nominated a new chancellor (von Caprivi, then von Hohenlohe) with the mission to transform the country into a powerful industrial nation. In 20 years, before World War I, Germany became the second industrial power, at the cost of enormous migrations from rural Prussia to urban Ruhr (Cf Bergmann, 1970). Migrants adopted, in the huge buildings were they were parked (*Mietkaserne*), a socialist culture which frightened simultaneously bourgeoisie, landlords and farmers and led to a violent rejection of the big cities.

France chose the opposite way : Jules Méline, Minister of Agriculture then Prime Minister, built a huge wall of taxes to protect French farmers (1892-93). A liberal economist, Léon Say, criticized the law : it would increase the cost of life for poor people in the cities by some 4 billion francs (approximately, 25 billion dollars). The Assembly chose the countryside against the city. In 1905, not realizing the crisis was over, Méline published a book which had a huge impact in Europe¹, advocating a “Back to land” policy (**Annex D**). Industrial production, multiplied by machines, could only lead to over-production and crisis ; on the contrary, agriculture had the immense advantage of a low productivity and would always offer jobs to workers. Repeating physiocratic ideas, he saw agriculture as the only serious source of national wealth :

“Industrial production is limitless : in that, it differs radically from agricultural production, necessarily limited by the available amount of cultivable land ... The high days of industry are passed and will not be seen again. Industrial profit goes down every day ...”

1 It influenced many publications : for instance Fuchs (1907) *Die Landflucht*, Wien.

Big cities should be abandoned to their doom, investments and men should flow back to the countryside.

1.3 - XXth Century : Back to Country and Nature

At the turn of the century, the crisis was actually deeper. The whole legacy of the Enlightenment became criticized : big cities, which had been considered as symbols of progress, of reason and of man's talents, became targets of criticism. All tenets of modernity were put to the test : Christians tried and refuted Nietzsche's condemnation of their doctrines by insisting on the evil of modernism and the weaknesses of science. Einstein (1892), then Max Planck (1900) underlined important limitations in Newton's physics ; even Mathematics were exploded by Cantor's discovery of transfinite numbers (1902). Picasso provoked an outrage with Cubism in 1909 and Schönberg began to write a new music (String Quatuor n° 2) in 1908. The whole European culture was in turmoil : many advocated a return to the past, longing for a supposed Golden Age, before the industrial revolution and the explosion of cities.

The French right developed a powerful movement, l'*Action Française*, under the leadership of Charles Maurras. He pleaded for a return to the Ancien Regime, before the Revolution, a strong decentralization and a fight against big cities, too industrial and too socialist. Christian writers (Bazin, Bourget, l'Ermitte, ...) afraid of the decline of their doctrine, wrote texts after texts to condemn the big city and to praise the farmers' life. Pierre l'Ermitte published a book called "*The Great Friend*", (it was the land cultivated by farmers) and another one : "*Stay where you are !*", to try and convince peasants not to leave their land.

The first World War deepened the crisis. It was a very strong moral shock. Paul Valéry wrote a famous letter in 1919 : "We, civilizations, we know now that we are mortal ...". In Germany, an important philosopher, Oswald Spengler, wrote a pessimistic history of the world where periods of growth (*culture*) are followed by periods of stability and decadence (*civilization*). At the turning point, the world city looming up at the product of culture, the symptom and the cause of the following decadence. For the first time, a deep and pessimistic theory was developed to justify urbaphobia (Spengler, 1923). Spengler's book, published among the disasters of the war, the German defeat and soon, the Great Depression, had a fantastic impact, at least in Europe. It was based on deep dialectics and typical German *Kulturpessimismus*. French opinion was impressed : many writers against the city followed, usually without quoting it, Spengler's ideas.

The target changed : the enemy was not only the city anymore, but the whole modern world which, through its science, its techniques and its capitalism had made the terrifying massacre possible. Alain Gerbaut decided to abandon civilization and to cruise the oceans alone on a small sailing boat. A strong movement for returning to the land, to a simple and "natural" life developed quickly in Europe : it was the beginning of the scout movement, the discovery of the pleasures of trying to sleep on the ground under a tent, of campfires in the countryside, singing in harmony with "Mother Nature". These trends were heavily used by the new fascists movements : Balilas in Italy, Hitlerjugend in Germany learned songs against the "asphalt" and the corruption of big cities and cherished the peace of nights "under Jove". Big cities were related to the Marxist movements, their atheism and their revolutionary propaganda. Peasants were considered as the only true French or German men : big city dwellers, and particularly industrial workers in the poor suburbs were rejected out the nation.

Many writers, between the wars, published fiction texts praising the glory of the farmer's life and vilifying the big city : an important novelist, Jean Giono, described an army of farmers attacking

and destroying Paris as a dream to become true. His influence was important and multiplied by Marcel Pagnol, a talented film producer who used several Giono's novels as screenplays for his films, which met enormous success. Another writer, with less talent but equal fame, Henri Pourrat, published between 1930's and 1960's, novels glorifying the peasants and hating the city. In a pseudo history of the farmer in France since the origins, he advocated the destruction of Paris and described peasants as men inspired by God to complete the Creation (**Annex F**). Contemporary geographers like Lucien Gachon and Gaston Roupnel explained, in the same vein, that the farmer was working to accomplish a divine will : the big city was nothing but a bug in God's plan, a position which seems to announce the present *Intelligent Design theory*.

At the same moment, the Great Depression convinced many people that capitalism was dying, a belief shared at the same time by conservative fascists and revolutionary Marxists. It was the origin of "planism", a movement, in France, of engineers who wanted to plan "rationally" economy and society without being troubled by democratic controls by elected officials : they knew best. Planers were not necessarily against the city, but a combination of urbaphobia, hate against the modern world and planing trends produced, in France, a peculiar type of planing, based on the strength of the central State and directed against cities and particularly, against Paris. It appeared during the 1940's, as France was occupied and governed by the Maréchal Pétain in the small city of Vichy. His government, mistrusting even wealthy industrialists, confided only in the farmers and gave them many advantages. He tried a "Back to land" (*Retour à la terre*) policy, with subsidies to young people accepting to leave the city and to occupy a farm again. In spite of the money offered and of the lack of food in big cities, only 1 400 couples came back to the countryside and 400 remained there.

More importantly, it was during the Vichy period that a geographer, Jean-François Gravier, prepared a book which was to become the bible of urbaphobia and the guide to regional planning in France for half a century (Gravier, 1947, 1953, 1972). Gravier was a militant on the extreme-right before WW II. He became an editor in the main magazine published by the Vichy regime : *Idees*, and, in 1943, came closer to French fascists. He worked then in the new foundation of Alexis Carrel, dedicated to eugenics. His book, in 1947 and still more in 1953 became quickly a bestseller. It has been quoted with admiration in government publications and goo newspaper still in 2006. No university course in human geography could avoid quoting it ; all elementary school manuals contained allusions to "the French desert" destroyed by Paris.

Gravier did not like big cities and hated Paris with all his heart (See **Annex E**) :

"In every field, Paris has behaved since 1850, not like a metropolis vivifying its hinterland, but like a monopolist group devouring national substance. Paris has confiscated executive activities and abandoned inferior activities to the rest of France. Such absolute dependency is the mark of a colonial regime."

He advocates, huge transfer of population from big cities to towns and to the countryside, using brutal methods and praising Stalin's planning:

"Planned economy is the rational use of production factors. Rational localisation of production implies the rational location of man power. So, planned economy implies necessarily planned distribution of the population."

In a typical French way, he is much more concerned about land, territories, than about men :

"Two thirds of France are dying slowly. Growth is limited to Paris and Marseilles : 4 % of the territory grow but 96 % decline."

The extraordinary success of the book remains an enigma. Written with passion, it has deep flaws : some quotations are truncated to signify the contrary and sustain the author's viewpoint, figures

are doubtful, postulates are very weak. Gravier assumes a few basic ideas : he wants the whole population to be distributed equally on the map without justifying this requirement. He believes, in a typical Malthusian way, that the number of jobs is fixed ; so, in order to create employment in the countryside, jobs must be taken away from Paris and other big cities. He wants a strong central power but, at the same time, an energetic decentralization : a typical contradiction at the heart of the Vichy regime and which has plagued French national planning until recently.

1.4 - Acting against the city, 1940-2006 :

National planning had a field day after 1945 : the country lacked everything. Gravier's influence, however, turned the Reconstruction into a campaign against Paris and the biggest agglomerations. One of the leading planners of Paris's region, Paul Delouvrier said :

“At this time [1950], we were all believers of Gravier's theories, i.e convicted that Paris, particularly in the XIXth century, had devoured the rest of France” (*Le Monde*, 19-02-1997)

For half a century, French planing presented some peculiar characteristics : all development had to be based on public action ; private enterprises were kept away ; local authorities were rarely consulted ; the basic goal was not so much to increase national wealth and welfare but to distribute population and activities as equally as possible on the territory. Special taxes were created to punish industries or services which wanted to settle in the Paris agglomeration (*La redevance* : a tax of some 100 \$ per square meter). A special authorization was also required, which the government could give or refuse without explanation (*L'agrément*). These constraints were slightly relaxed after the Left took power in 1981.

Still now, urbaphobia remains high in France : in 1990, the Right issued a document expressing concern about the growth of Paris and demanding strong actions. In 1991, the Socialist Party held a congress to, address the question : “*Can we avoid the catastrophe-scenario ?*” i.e the population of the capital city exceeding 11 million inhabitants. The agglomeration has reached this limit without apparent catastrophe ... Hating cities and bashing Paris is still a national sport. In 1990, huge floods destroyed a part of some northern cities like Amiens and Arras. Rumors went around that Paris, to avoid being flooded, had pumped the water from its river Seine into the northern river Somme. Technically, it was impossible and definitely absurd, but thousands of people, spontaneously, believed it because they wanted to. The Minister of Agriculture, Daniel Bussereau, told the newspapers in 2005 : “One can feel how the rural countryside feels oppressed by big cities” ...

School manuals have been, since a century, expressing a disdain and a fear of the city and praising farmers' life :

“Actually, until the end of rural exodus, primary schools have presented to all children from the countryside or the cities, a universe organized by farming tasks and enhanced by the pleasures of hunting and fishing.” (Thiesse, 1991, pp 249-250)

“The Depression has often been presented in schoolbooks, during the 1930s, as a consequence and a punishment of rural exodus, according to conceptions which did not consider industrialization as a development factor” (Thiesse, 1997, p 93)

In march 2007, as the Government proposed to teach French vocabulary to young immigrants, the TV showed a class where the teacher wrote a list of words to learn : “chicken, rabbit, goose, ...” which might not be so useful to children living in huge city suburbs ...

There is no doubt that Paris has become a scapegoat for excusing governments' mistakes. But criticizing the big modern city is also a way to criticize modern economy :

“Denouncing Paris since a century is at least one way taken by the revolt against Capitalism..” (Thiesse, 1991, pp 287)

Urbaphobia had some very important effects in France. Let us consider two of them. According to the medias, most French people still believe that the provinces are subsidizing Paris although the reality is inverse (**Annex G**). Out of 22 regions, 19 receive more than they pay and are thus subsidized. Three regions pay to the others, with the Paris region (Ile-de-France) paying practically all subsidies. It is not anomalous that a rich region helps the others, but is surprising and almost incredible that most of the population ignores the fact and believes in the contrary. True, this data are confidential in France and one must consult European publications to discover them ...

Another capital effect is the deformation of the electoral system, against the big cities. The graph on **Annex H** shows the fairness of elections to the National Assembly between 1936 and 1956 : the horizontal line indicates the size of the communes, the smaller ones (a few hundred inhabitants) on the left, the big cities on the right. The upper part of vertical axis measures over-representation, the lower part, under-representation. Rural areas have been constantly over-represented and big cities weakened : 10 farmers living in small villages have had the same political power as 18 voters in Paris or in Lyons. The three lines are extremely regular : the phenomenon has nothing to do with relief, lakes, or littoral. It does increase strongly at both ends : hamlets have been particularly privileged and big cities strongly weakened. It is worth noticing that France was stunned, during these 20 years, by a Depression, a World War, enemy occupation, bombing, and two colonial wars : all these disasters did not change anything. It was obviously the result of a constant policy over several decades. Actually, it goes on since 1884 until to-day. Elections to the Senate are still much more twisted : it is a purely rural assembly in a nation where 80 % of the population live in cities and where most of the wealth is produced in a few big agglomerations.

1.5 – Urbaphobia in other countries

In Germany, Klaus Bergmann's excellent analysis shows the violence and the constance of urbaphobia among large groups of population since the end of XIXth century, with the explosion of German industry and the growth of huge metropolises (Bergmann, 1970). The movement culminated just before WW I, with the creation of associations defending “agrarian romantism”. The main one, *Bund Artam*, was incorporated into the Nazi party (NSDAP) in the late 1920's, lead by a chicken-farmer, Heinrich Himmler, who was to become famous as chief of the SS and the Gestapo. In Germany also, the role of schoolbooks in educating children in urbaphobia was paramount.

In Colombia, a geographer, professor Alberto Mendoza Morales, planing consultant, has prepared, for the Bogotà basin, a large plan narrowly based on Gravier's ideas. He laments the growth of the capital city, wants to move to smaller towns most of its activities and insists on the economic future of the Bogotà basin : the production of potatoes (Mendoza, 1996, 2000).

Urbaphobia in the USA has been very strong, with important religious connotations. Walt Whitmann declared : “Man made the city, God made Nature”, condemning cities to mediocrity and evil, a movement analyzed in several good studies (White & White, 1962 ; Nash, 1976).

In the same way, in Italy, Riccardo Mariani records Mussolini's predicament as the Duce kept decrying cities but had to create new towns when he dried up the Pontines swamps (Mariani, 1976).

Urbaphobia seems to have been a constant in developed and many developing countries since the Industrial Revolution. It is very surprising that it has not been studied more widely and more in details. Let us try and analyze its foundations.

2 - Foundations of Urbaphobia :

It seems to have three different types of basis : *rational arguments* which can be weighed and discussed ; powerful myths, much older, which move people ; finally, deep down and largely unconscious, some very important *ideological trends* : they are the more powerful, the more interesting ingredients but also the more obscure.

2.1 - Rational arguments

Discussions in France in texts and with adults and students, let appear always the same arguments :

- "A strong agriculture is necessary" :

* "to produce wealth" : but French agriculture, the most powerful in the European Union, produces less than 2 % of the national GNP;

* "to feed the nation in times of war" : a very common argument, a trace of the wars which kept devastating Europe during so many centuries ; it is worthless : during the two world wars, French agricultural product fell by more than half : in 1914, farmers were in the army, in 1940, they were prisoners ; in both cases, industries did not produce for agriculture anymore.

"The city is politically and socially dangerous" :

The theme has been constantly used by conservative groups insisting on the danger of "red suburbs" (i.e voting socialist or communist) between 1920 and 2000 ; of "green suburbs" full of Islamic extremists and of terrorists since then ; such fears have been much used politically but seem to have been widely exaggerated ;

"Concentration is hazardous and useless" :

This is the Rousseau argument, repeated all over again since two centuries ; many artists, however, have shown that the charm of Paris, for instance, is largely due to its strong density, in comparison to London ; anybody having lived in Paris and visiting Los Angeles may understand such preferences ...

"The city is an obstacle to planning and wealth redistribution : the cult of the territory" :

"*population and activities should be distributed equally on the territory*" is a typical French conviction ; it is obvious, however, that when the population is concentrated in cities, ***ensuring equality between territories results in ensuring inequality between men.***

2-2 The main myths :

The city-Babylon : reproducing old biblical curses on moral and religious grounds ; this comes down to opposing Community against Individual ; see later ...

The city-Moloch, devouring its own children : it implies that cities are, per se, unhealthy. This was certainly true at the beginning of the XIXth century. Since the works of Pasteur and the increasing role of the State in sanitary questions, the myth has had no bases anymore since around 1900, but it is still deeply buried in minds. It has been shown that the sanitary situation does not depend on the size of the city but on the quality of its management (Coleman, 1982).

The city of Lights (La ville-lumière) : the myth decries the haughtiness and power of big cities. Beyond provincial rancor, there is a deeper layer : the conflict between a powerful city and the central State whose legitimacy comes in question. Competition between the centralized French State and the city of Paris has been a constant of French history since three hundred years. Here appears the question of the nature and the justification of State's power ...

The farmer as "the good savage" : this myth has been much used, since antiquity, to throw a fresh look on existing institutions and to criticize them. In this case, however, the myth implies that farmers are pure, naive and close to the original man, while city dwellers would be artificial, cunning and deeply corrupt ; Rousseau stated it often but never proved it. Since then, many others used repeated the myth without new justifications.

2.3 - Basic ideological conflicts :

Some deep ideological dialectics underline urbaphobia : they are, at the same time, its most important, most constant and most delusive components. Let us try and define some of them.

*** Nature vs Culture :**

This is the big divide, always used against cities, but in such a fuzzy way that it serves mainly to obfuscate a very delicate question. John Stuart Mill explained that the statement "Man should follow nature" was absurd and immoral : absurd, because if Man is part of Nature, how could he avoid following its rules ? If he situated outside, why should he follow them ? And immoral, because Nature is committing more errors and more crimes than any human civilization ... Confusion is extreme : in the north of France, on the Channel, some huge and beautiful chalk cliffs were deeply eroded by the sea and crumbled down in 2004. Several mayors demanded that the State build a concrete wall at their foot in order "to protect Nature" ... from itself ! A deeper philosophical analysis of the use of this dialectic would be most interesting and useful, particularly in view of the progress of Ecology to-day.

*** Organism vs Machine :**

This opposition is also all important, although not so obvious (**Annex I**). Classical thought saw the world as an immense machine build by a divine Engineer, a great "Architect of the Universe" or a clever "Watchmaker". In these terms, the city was nothing else than an object built by man, exactly like Nature but at a much smaller scale. It made Man a competitor with God. These ideas were developed at the Renaissance and deepened by Descartes, Kant and the Enlightenment. In strong reaction to these ideas, which the French Revolution and Napoleon's conquests extended over Europe, Herder, Novalis and later Romantic writers developed an opposite view : Nature and most other creatures were living beings, organisms and not machines, with a very different organization which could not be

rationally understood by Man but had to be guessed, felt and loved.

We have seen that most enemies of cities use organic images : Gravier keeps speaking at every page of France as a living being and of Paris as a monstrous head, pathologically excessive, a “cancer”, a case of “megalo-cephalia” ... Critics have exhausted medical dictionaries to imagine new insults against the big city. The meaning goes much further than a simple use of images : it is not only bad style, but the use, more or less unconscious, of a complete underlying ideology.

Identifying territories, regions or nations as Organisms has most important consequences. All members of an Organism are necessarily different but work in a perfect unity : the political meaning is obvious. They are all equal, an excellent argument for conservative thought. One remembers the famous parable of “the stomach and the members” told by Titus-Livius : the Roman plebe rebelled and retired on the Aventine, complaining that they worked hard and were sent to war by Senators who did not do anything. The Senate, frightened, sent a clever man, Menenius Aggrippa, to pacify them. He explained that if the members work to feed the stomach, they are themselves fed by the blood produced by the stomach : every member of a body has its role and none is privileged. The plebe, maybe too naive, was convinced....

Comparing a nation to a living body allows one to justify all possible subsidies going from rich cities to poor farmland : it is just letting blood circulate ... It implies also a certain harmony of size between members : hence, the criticisms against “cities pathologically enormous” ... Finally, an organism needs a skin, some membrane to protect it from outside : this is a strong justification for nationalism and protective policies. Big cities, however, live and work as nodes on an international network...

Romantic ideologies have led, in Europe, to the cult of a national soil considered as sacred, and to very nationalistic regimes. It would be most interesting to further this research on the dialectic Machine vs Organism and on its use in some particular countries ...

* Ontogenesis vs Phylogenesis: Personal happiness vs Species perpetuation

Nature does not care about individuals. Every living being has, built in itself, strange mechanisms which destroys it, after reproduction time has passed. Dawkins said that man was but a container for genes ... During almost 2 000 years, the goal of the European man was to ensure his salvation. After the Renaissance, and particularly with the Enlightenment, its main goal became personal happiness. Saint-Just declared at the Convention in 1794 : “The belief in happiness is a new idea in Europe”.

Big cities, as centers of freedom, of contacts and of personal opportunities, have been the best places for individual realization of happiness. But is there no contradiction between the interest of the individual and the interest of the species ? Modern ecology asks the question. Another excellent example is given by the progress of contraception, liberating women's bodies : it happened first and is still more widely practiced, in big cities, but natality falls as a consequence. This has been one of the main criticisms leveled at the city since a century. Here again, the equilibrium, or lack of, which can obtain in big agglomerations, between individual interest and species' interest, is an open way for research.

* Holism vs Individualism

Anthropologists, and particularly, in France, Louis Dumont (Dumont, 1977, 1991) have come to divide cultures in two opposite groups (See Annex I) : **holism** form the culture of **communities** (in German, *Gemeinschaften*), which raise and determine a person, where a man is first member of his community, and only after that, a man ; on the other hand, **individualism** is the basis of **societies** (*Gesellschaften*), which are but a collection of individuals. Dumont thinks societies, in this anthropological sense, appeared at the end of the XVIII^e century, with the Enlightenment (One could argue that the Roman Empire was more of a society than a community, but Dumont starts his research with the Middle-Ages...) and that most cultures were and are still based on the community system. He sees individualistic societies as a recent and European exception.

In communities, main relationships are between men, with different but necessary systems of privileges ; wealth and power are based on land or cattle, whereas in societies, most important relationships are between objects, things (hence the repeated accusation of “materialism”) and power is based on money and capital. In holism, values and facts are usually combined ; distinctions between subjects and objects are fuzzy ; objects of thought are usually sacred, producing a magical mix of religious beliefs and pseudo-scientific theses. In individualistic societies, on the contrary, values and facts are radically separated, nothing is sacred or taboo, knowledge is carefully separated in different fields.

It is quite obvious that big cities, as they appeared around 1800, have been ideal places for the development of individualistic cultures : migrations separate families from their usual neighbors ; members of the same family tend to work to-day in different places ; while the village farm allowed three, sometimes four generations to live under the same roof, this is quite impossible in big cities : youngsters have closer relationships with people of their age than with their parents and, still more, with their grand-parents. So, we can postulate that big cities offer, in general, an individualistic culture, as opposed to the rural countryside which tends to keep holistic cultures.

Consequences are most important for planing in developing countries : from my personal experience in Africa (Mali, Senegal) and in South-America (Venezuela, Brasil), I have observed a double mechanism in rural exodus, a **push-pull** movement. On one side, the well-documented attraction of big cities which lures young people to believe they will find better jobs and better income there, which is usually true, even if they have to work in an un-official economy. But there is also a push mechanism : the repulsion of life conditions for young men and women in villages were they feel, rightly or wrongly, oppressed by customs, religion and traditional systems of power. In a way, rural exodus can be considered as an effort to move from a holistic culture, where a man or a woman are strictly subjected to community rules, to an individualistic world where they feel freer.

One cannot exaggerate the importance of such conflict between individualism and holism, the hopes and sufferings which going from on to the other entail, and the consequences on city growth. It does explain something which have often puzzled foreign observers : why do so many people move, with much difficulties, to shanty towns at the periphery of big cities where they will remain jobless ? First, their standard of living, even in a *bidonville* with no official job might be higher than in a village deep in the country. But one may wonder if the main reason is not a very strong desire to go from holistic dependency to individual independence. To ask why they chose one type of culture or the other is already assuming an individualistic stance, assuming that one has some freedom of choice. One may wonder if, among all the economical, sociological and geographical research which has been made in developing countries, the anthropological aspect has not been left quite behind. Consequences are paramount.

3 - The main effects :

Among the many effects of urbaphobia, let us quote a few which may be deemed particularly important. Urbaphobia justifies (and often seems to be developed only to justify) huge flows of resources from big cities to the countryside.

This entails three problems : experience shows that such considerable flows of subsidies are not discussed democratically. They are often hidden in opaque bureaucratic policies. Second, subsidies flowing out of big cities impoverish not so much the rich parts of these cities, but the poorest ones : downtowns in USA, suburbs in Europe. In France, such flows are particularly questionable : the eight biggest agglomerations contribute for more than 80 % to the national Treasury. The majority of their population lives in suburbs containing young households who work, pay taxes but lack sufficient equipment (health, education, sport, security, etc..) because their taxes are subsidizing small rural communities which pay very few taxes. **Annex G** shows that the Paris region (Ile-de-France) subsidizes heavily the rest of the country while suffering itself of huge problems in housing, transportation and other public equipments. The *Cour des Comptes* has evaluated the total amount of subsidies to French agriculture to some 40 billion euros a year : for 600 000 farms, it represents an average of some 5 000 euros per exploitation and per month. Third, such subsidies are a waste of investments : they are, by their very nature, flowing from regions where productivity is very high to regions where it is very low.

In France as in Germany, since a century, urbaphobia has produced a true social ostracism of urban populations, considered as “not truly French”, as traitors to the national soil, as degenerates and, in Germany during the 1920-1930s, as sub-human races. Such inner exile of a growing part of the national population has become absurd to-day when three-quarters of the inhabitants of France live in cities, often, in big cities, but it is still going on, based on the idealization of a glorious national and rural past. It would be most interesting to study, in developing countries where past history is not so well and so widely known, to check if such trends are also met.

Finally, urbaphobia is also a part of a larger movement, anti-occidentalism (See Herzinger R & H Stein, 1995). The bloodiest urbaphobic policy since a century was due to the Red Khmers, in Cambodia, whose main goal was to destroy utterly all traces of colonization by wiping out of the map Pnohm-Pen and its inhabitants. Here again, a deeper analysis would be welcome.

Conclusion :

Urbaphobia, in a particular country, at a given time, is a combination of different trends, some with a short wave length, some going on in human minds since millenniums. This makes all the fascinating complexity, but also the power and the importance of the phenomenon. In first approximation, it seems possible to reduce it to three basic movements :

1 - The three basic components

1.1 - Refusing Change : in Time and in Space

It appears as a very strong, almost desperate effort to stop time, in some cases to reverse it. It implies preserving continuity between generations by saving traditions and communities. It leads also to considering only spatial contacts through contiguity : the ideal remains small towns exchanging good with the countryside around it, like in the Christaller model, often used by critics of big cities. This is not, however, how big metropolises live : August Lösch had understood it well in the 1940s ... Paris is

much more dependent on what is going on in Los Angeles, Frankfurt, New-York or Osaka, than in any small French town. Such cosmopolitanism, constituent of big cities, is particularly unacceptable to urbaphobia.

1.2 - Individualism vs Holism :

This conflict may be the most important one : big cities are definitely individualistic . Rural exodus is not only a social and economic phenomenon but also, maybe principally, a change of culture, from holism to individualism. The phenomenon seems to have been partly neglected : I would tend to see it as of paramount importance, particularly in developing countries which are still at the beginning or in the middle of the process.

1.3 - the State vs the City

A French sociologist, at the end of the XIXth century, suggested that a very centralized state generates necessarily at its doors a very big and powerful city which balances its power through demonstrations or even urban rebellions(Cf Dupont-White, 1860). The state needs the wealth of the capital city but dreads its crowds and its political power. There is here an important basis for urbaphobia, which might be useful in studying developing countries where governments are often strong, centralized but not very stable,

2 – Eventual policies

Let us try and deduct some policies from preceding considerations :

1 - Accompanying rural exodus :

We may assume that rural exodus will keep going on in developing countries and probably increase until only a few percents of active population remain on the countryside. This announces huge flows up to a third of a country's population. Governments responsibilities would be paramount in two domains :

- to provide migrants coming to the city with adequate housing, a very huge task indeed but also providing many unqualified jobs to the migrants
- to ensure them adequate training and investments to create jobs : another difficult challenge

It seems however, that such policies, by taking into account actual modern trends, might be much more useful than comforting urbaphobia and trying very hard to maintain people on the land.

2 - Studying changing relationships between Holism and Individualism in countryside and big cities :

It is our belief that acculturation, i.e switching from a culture type to another very different is at the root of rural exodus, as the reason for its strength and its difficulties. Most urbaphobic efforts can be explained by the desire to maintain people in their holist culture of the past and to avoid the growth of an individualistic society. This questions are too important to be left aside. They should be discussed clearly, openly, in a country until a reasonable choice is made. Of course, this is in part utopia, but it should be possible to open eyes which want to remain shut.

3 - Studying State/City relationships in developing countries :

The basic point here is the competition between a centralized State and a powerful capital. It seems that two different situations may occur. In some cases, a nation's wealth and the State's resources come from industry and services, which are mainly urban functions. Big cities are for the State, at the same time, dangerous competitors in exercising power, and basic purveyors of taxes and resources. In this case, experience shows that the equilibrium is fragile, with urban dwellers tending to demand more participation in the government while farmers on the countryside rebel against their poverty and claim they are abandoned.

A different situation occurs when the bulk of a state's wealth come from exporting raw materials, particularly oil. In this case, resources flow directly, as royalties, into the State's Treasury. Big cities do not contribute much to national wealth and are considered only as eventual sources of unrest. One may expect, in this case, a much stronger urbaphobia from leading groups.

A centralized State will consider cities differently : in the first case, as dangerous and profitable, as a kind of necessary evil ; in the second case, as purely hazardous.

4 – To study inequalities between cities and countryside in political systems

If this consideration are accepted, they should lead to study particularly the growing inequalities between cities and countryside : in income and standard of living, but also in the way institutions wield power, keeping in mind the differences between holist and individualist cultures which may make certain decisions acceptable by a part of the population and causes of rebellion for other parts.

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Annex A

Rousseau J-J (1762) *Emile ou De l'éducation*

Men are not made to be crowded in anthills, but dispersed on the land they must till. The more they gather, the more they corrupt each other. Body's diseases as well as soul's vices are the inevitable effects of excessive gatherings. Man is, of all animals, the less able to live in herds. Men crowded like sheep would all die in a jiffy. Man's breath is fatal to his fellow-men : this is true in the proper as well as in the figurative sense.

Cities are the abyss of mankind. After a few generations, races perish or degenerate ; they need to be renewed and it is always the countryside which provides this renewal.

The first and most respectable of all activities is agriculture : I would rank forge second, carpentry third, etc... How many important reflections will our Emile get from his Robinson ! What will he think when he observes that activities can improve only by subdividing themselves, by multiplying infinitely the workers' tools. He will say : all these people are stupidly ingenious, as if they were afraid of using their arms and fingers and had to invent so many tools to be able not to use their members. In order to practice a unique activity, they have to depend on thousand others : one worker needs a whole city.... As for us, we put our genius in our dexterity ; we make such tools that we may take them everywhere. All these people so proud of their talents in Paris would not know anything in our island : they would become our apprentices.

So farewell, Paris, celebrated city, city of noise and dirt, where women do not believe any more in honor and men in virtue. Farewell, Paris, we are looking for love, happiness, innocence : we will never be far enough from you.

Another test of good government is not the quantity of population but its distribution. Two nations equal in size may have very different strength, and the more powerful is always the State whose inhabitants are more equally distributed on its territory. The State which has no big cities, and shines less, will always be the winner. It is the big cities which exhaust a State and weaken it ... Some say the city of Paris is worth a whole province to the king of France, but I believe it costs him several provinces and that, from several viewpoints, Paris is fed by the provinces ... When I hear a Frenchman or an Englishman, so proud of the size of their capital cities, dispute which has more inhabitants, it is for me as if they decided which nation has the honor of the worst government.

This brown bread which you find so good, comes from the wheat harvested by this farmer ; his wine, dark and rough but healthy and refreshing, comes from his vineyard ; his linen comes from his hemp, spun by his wife, his daughters and his maid ; no other hands than his family's hands have provided for the table, the nearest mill and the neighboring market are for him, the boundaries of the universe.

Women of Paris and London, forgive me, I pray you. No place on earth excludes miracles, but I do not know any ; and if only one of you has a truly sincere soul, then I do not understand anything at your institutions.

Annex B

H Lecouturier (1848) *Paris incompatible avec la République*, Desloges, Paris.

Paris would not survive one month without France ; and France would still live et thrive without even noticing the absence of Paris

As for the usefulness of Paris industries, it seems to me that, should they disappear, we would not live a worse life and a shorter time ; I even dare to believe that France would not lose anything. What good is made here could be made as well anywhere else.

The destruction of Paris, drowned in the blood of more than a million of human beings and crumbling down in flames, would be the most frightening and the most disheartening catastrophe ; but that Paris, which has become a monster, begins to decrease and to disappear gradually , without noise and concussion, following the inevitable law which has stricken out of the map Babylon, Ninive, Carthago ,.. where would be the damage ?

While half of the Parisians starve, the other half eats for two. France is exhausted, producing for a Paris which devours it. ... But Paris does not only consumes, it is also productive : I deny it ! Just close all its gates and Paris will starve out. Then, I will shout : What do you complain about ? Well, eat your own productions. And then, Paris will die beside its jewels, its precious stones, its magnificent clothes..

A few titles :

Paris eats France and does not produce anything
 Human races degenerate in Paris
 Paris does not make children but recruits men. People are not born in Paris but they die there.
 Debauchery everywhere and in all possible fashions.
 Incognito is the root of all evil
 Prostitution : Paris, capital of vices
 Civilisation destroys societies

We should push back into the country all these crowds which, lacking space, are piled up one upon the other, in big cities.

Paris is not lovely in itself and is not loved for itself. Life there is boring and monotonous

Another type of swindle is *industrialism* : originated in England, it has crossed the Channel and come to Paris, which has become a simple branch of London.

Before all, I would forbid in Paris all industrial activities which are not absolutely required there. .. This would decrease sharply Paris population and, as a consequence, its moral and physical defects.

Annex C

**Comte de Galembert (mars 1871) *De la décentralisation et du transfert en province de la capitale politique de la France*, Mame, Tours, 68 p
(Lettre à nos représentants à l'Assemblée Nationale)**

We wish the forfeiture of Paris as the capital city, head of the nation.

In cities, the perpetual promiscuity will inspire children with other ideas than those taught by their fathers and divert them away from religion.

Paris is a monstrous head on a weakened body. We believe that to declare Paris's forfeiture is the wish of all the French people, who prays and works, not those who make revolutions, but the men who suffer from them and participate in it, only to repair its destructions.

As a consequence of the stressed and artificial life in big cities, and particularly in Paris, men consumption, physically and morally, is swift and frightening. In order to bridge the gap, a reviving flow of men is constantly going from the countryside to the capital city. But this flow is losing itself in the arid sands of the desert, without leaving any trace. They may slow down the decadence but fail to raise again the moral level,

You will not hesitate to prefer the boredom of Washington city, with the certainty to fulfill here your duties, to the temptations of New-York, whose pleasures would induce inevitable remorse.

Versailles is still the countryside, but so close to the nefarious influence of Paris ... This is not yet the abyss, but it is its very margin ...

Annex D

Méline J (1905) *Le Retour à la Terre et la surproduction industrielle*, 3^e édition, Hachette, Paris.

We have come now to the third historical period of industry, which we have entered since a few years, and which we may call a period of over-production and industrial congestion.

To be self-sufficient is to-day the master idea inspiring the economic policies of most nations.

Industrial production is limitless : in that, it differs radically from agricultural production, necessarily limited by the available amount of cultivable land.

The high days of industry are passed and will not be seen again. Industrial profit goes down every day ...

To the farmer disheartened by a life too hard and a profit too small, I would show that in the city, life is not rosy either, that one pays dearly for the pleasures one can find there, and that at each step, misery and despair lie in wait for the poor fellows who have believed in its deceiving mirages.

Reaction against the city is increasing, while attraction to the land becomes more irresistible every day. Everything contributes to such a movement : city dwellers are worn out, their life always disturbed and unhealthy ; the violence of political, social and religious passions make one long for the country's peace and quietude. The ruin of so many healths impaired by a disordered life is another cause for exhaustion.

The main reason for so many insidious and mysterious diseases which our fathers ignored, nervous disorders under so many different forms : neurasthenia, hypochondria, brain diseases and the horrible tuberculosis worst than plague, are produced by the polluted atmosphere in the middle of which our civilisation, or rather its degenerate form, has forced half of the human species to live.

The policy "*Back to the land*" is narrowly related to the conservation of our military might and is today the central piece of our national defense.

Is there a worst danger for a nation than to depend on foreign countries for its food ? This is the situation of England to-day and it is unenviable ...

Annex E

J-F Gravier (1947) *Paris et le désert français*, le Portulan, 420 p; subsequent editions : 1953, 1972.

Our topic is the optimal distribution of population and activities (*Text's first phrase*).

In every field, Paris has behaved since 1850, not like a metropolis vivifying its hinterland, but like a monopolist group devouring national substance. Paris has confiscated executive activities and abandoned inferior activities to the rest of France. Such absolute dependency is the mark of a colonial regime.

Two thirds of France are dying slowly. Growth is limited to Paris and Marseilles : 4 % of the territory grow but 96 % decline.

France is a living being .. health of a human being is not represented necessarily by its weight.. what if your rickety son has an enormous skull ?

Who can say that a country is healthy when its population distribution does not fit its resources distribution ? Can we base the future of a nation on internal hemorrhage ?

Paris tentacles are extending themselves on the whole territory : Paris depopulates France.

Main reason : the "materialism" of a voltarian bourgeoisie... Nations en danger are liberal nations : the baby-boom happened as they tend to abandon, at the same time, liberal capitalism. We observe everywhere an evolution towards socialism and State planing, often reinforced by a catholic and mystic rebirth. Gravier summarizes the world evolution in three words : "Aristocracy, plutocracy, technocracy."

Paris is a demographic catastrophe. Such consequences happen in all giant cities, particularly in capital cities : Situation in Vienna, Oslo, Stockholm is worst than in Paris.

Metropolis against children : the life of a numerous family in Paris is a kind of heroic adventure.

An urban monster like Paris leads to a loss of three times more wealth than alcoholism. All effort for raising up France again would be condemned if big cities should continue to increase at the cost of the rest of the country, if Paris should continue to devour the substance of the nation.

Solution : authoritarian transfer of inhabitants from big cities to small cities and to the countryside. The housing crisis in Paris helps.

Planned economy is the rational use of production factors. Rational localisation of production implies the rational location of man power. So, planned economy implies necessarily planned distribution of the population. (He praises Stalin's policies)

Limit for growth : An agglomeration which, in order to get water, must build hundreds of kilometers of aqueducts is growing beyond the limits fixed by nature and becomes a monster, fragile and artificial.

Annex F

Pourrat H (1940) *L'homme à la bêche*, Flammarion, Paris.

« How was it possible for them (*the german population*) not to listen to the man who came promising to change everything ? To rebuild a young Germany, heroic and rural. With the wind blowing in the huge red banners with the swastika, it looked like harvests running in front of them, with huge trees calling them in the morning sun and that, at the final end, it would re-open space for them. The Leader told them : « Look what hundred years of liberalism and industry have made of Germany : a country which is not rural anymore and completely ruined. No civilization has perpetrated worst crimes again mankind. Down with machines ! Down with factories ! Down with cities !.. We will change the nation so drastically that before fifty years, in order to re-populate the land, we will have made the big inhuman cities disappear .. »

« Since hundred years, in the West, men have been taken away from land to be crowded in cities. And if the white man found himself facing a terrifying threat, never conceived before : the death of our race, to-morrow ? »

« The farmer is a man married to Creation, accomplishing the work of God. »

« The great farmer program, work and peace, is coming from the Bible. »

« We must teach to the city dwellers that they are unhappy. »

« On one side, the farmer, living by instinct, i.e for Darré, the german people, the most deeply related to nature. On the other side, the banker, originating from the jewish nation, a nation of urban dwellers, even when they live in the country ... Yes, the Jew, the summit of the intellectual, always against the farmer ; and, against him with all his energy, the German, the summit of the natural man, living in close relationship with God and creation. »

« The farmer is the nobleman by excellence. »

« Will we ever see again the Golden Age, the great and peaceful rural civilization ? »

Annex G

State taxes and subsidies in 1995 by regions and inhabitants

<u>Budget 1995</u>	<u>Taxes</u>	<u>Subsidies</u>	<u>Difference</u>	<u>Pop 95</u>	<u>Tax/cap</u>	<u>Balance</u>
Total	-1734807	1734807	0	59130023	-29339	0
	(millionsF)	(millions F)	(millionsF)		(F/Cap)	(F/Cap)
ALSACE	-48792	46004	-2670	1679258	-29056	-1590
AQUITAINE	-76262	84662	8220	2852094	-26739	2882
AUVERGNE	-36908	39205	2219	1315046	-28066	1687
BOURGOGNE	-43407	47819	4358	1609860	-26963	2707
BRETAGNE	-74203	83524	9243	2850917	-26028	3242
CENTRE	-67933	68444	598	2405682	-28239	249
CHAMP- ARD	-38715	40739	2015	1345105	-28782	1498
CORSE	-6138	9415	3233	255283	-24044	12664
FRANCHE CTE	-28775	31179	2346	1107167	-25990	2119
ILE DE FRANCE	-463225	343748	-118056	10806282	-42866	-10925
LANGDOC	-55968	74195	17566	2205316	-25379	7965
LIMOUSIN	-19301	23734	4331	716894	-26923	6041
LORRAINE	-61790	70133	8263	2308051	-26772	3580
MIDI-PYR	-65910	80401	14310	2491175	-26457	5744
NORD P de C	-99942	119924	19854	3980823	-25106	4987
P DE LA LOIRE	-82530	89364	6783	3140586	-26279	2160
PICARDIE	-47761	51005	3257	1834084	-26041	1776
POITOU CHAR	-42819	47689	4785	1617588	-26471	2958
PACA	-124449	128887	4336	4382029	-28400	989
RHONES ALPES	-164944	160078	-4460	5498054	-30000	-811
BASSE NORM	-36805	43305	6327	1406755	-26163	4498
HAUTE NORM	-48231	51354	3140	1758719	-27424	1785

Sources :

* *Economic and Social cohesion in the European Union : the impact of member states own policies, regional Development studies*, N° 29, (1998) Bruxelles.

* French Census 1990, 1999, *INSEE*.

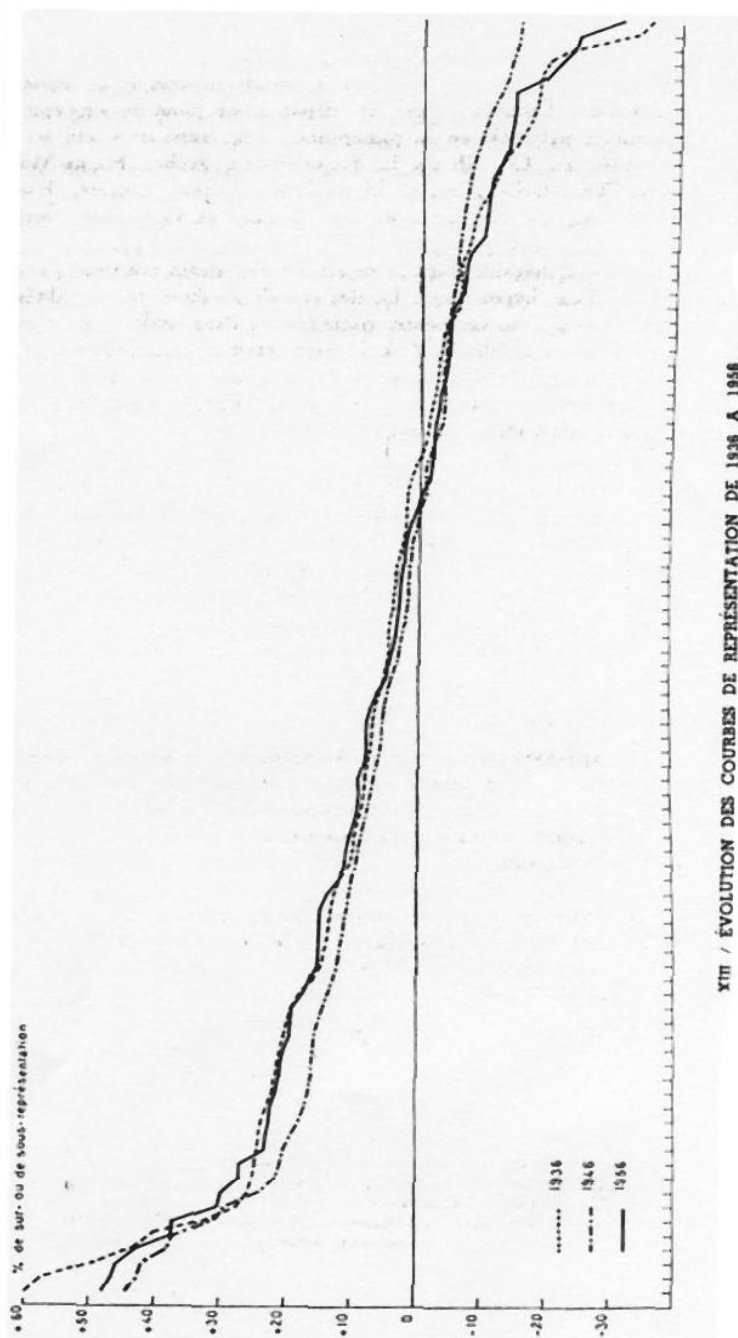
The table shows the flows of money paid by each region to the national treasury (taxes, etc..) and flows received by each region (public servants salaries, subsidies, etc...) The sum is nil.

Annex H

Classical conception vs romantic conception

Machine vs Organism

	<u>machine</u>	<u>organism</u>
Structure	Complexity	Unity
Goal fixed from	Outside	Inside
Organisation	Determined from outside	Self-determined
Growth	By adjunction	By inner process
Limits	No limit	Protective skin
To the world	Open	Closed
Level of parts	Hierarchical	No hierarchy
Built by	Man	? God, Nature ?
Value	Pragmatic	Sacred
Modifications	Banal	Taboo



Annex I

Annex J

Holism vs Individualism

(from Louis Dumont (1991) *Homo Aequalis*, 2 vol, Gallimard)

	<u>Individualism</u>	<u>Holism</u>
Relationships to	things, objects	Men
Wealth based on	money, capital	land, buildings, herds
Distinction Subject/Object	radical	blurred
Values/Facts	radical separation	usually combined
Objects of Thought	scientific	sacred
Fields of knowledge	separated disciplines	mixed together
Groups	Societies <i>Gesellschaft</i>	Communities <i>Gemeinschaft</i>
