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MEDIA, POLITICS, JUSTICE - A POWERFUL MIX

SPOTLIGHT ON THIERRY JEAN-PIERRE: ONE MAN'S CRUSADE

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The recent proliferation of corruption scandals in French public life during the 1980s-90s has taken France by storm. We have seen high-level politico-public scandals, such as the 'affaire du sang contaminé'; the illicit financing of political parties and court cases involving high-ranking political figures (let us take the Emmanuelli case); suspicious get-rich-quick practices operated by certain company directors (for example Jacques Crozemarie's lucrative 'fund-raising' for the ARC - Association pour la recherche contre le cancer) and self-interest conquering all on the Paris housing market (we need only glance in the direction of the Tiberis), to name but a few. This profusion of scandal provokes two interpretations: the first suggests that French public and political figures have become decidedly more corrupt (or at the very least more careless and caught more frequently with their hands in the till); the second that the forces of law and order are proving more efficient at tracking down and more dogged in their determination to investigate and bring to court crimes committed by high-ranking notables. It is no doubt unlikely that human nature has changed dramatically over the centuries and not difficult to accept that shady dealings have always gone on in these spheres. Therefore, we must conclude that the second of these interpretations is most likely to be the more accurate. A deep sense of injustice seems to prevail amongst some who feel that, in the past, those in power have been able to abuse their positions and have placed themselves beyond the Law. Recently, we have found a number of still comparatively young juges d'instruction - examining magistrates responsible for leading investigations in criminal cases - anxious to redress the balance, keen to 'take on' those in authority. The most well-known of these are probably Edith Boizette, expert in investigating financial scandal, Eric Halphen, known for his role in delving into the Tiberi dealings, Eva Joly and Laurence Vichnievsky, noted for their investigations into Roland Dumas' affairs, and Thierry Jean-Pierre and Renaud van Ruymbeke, who hit the headlines in connection with the Urba affair and illegal financing of the Parti socialiste. These battles, pitting Davids against Goliaths, have often appeared exceptionally aggressive and have led many to question whether those heading the enquiries are simply extending justice to a historically previously privileged class, as they maintain, or are seizing eagerly upon a chance to make important public figures 'pay', gaining public

recognition in the process. The affaires themselves have filled column after column in the press; the juges d'instruction investigating them have also, in unprecedented manner, been the subjects of many interviews and news articles, often likened, in their attempts to clean up society, to the legendary character Zorro, Mexican hero and justicier masqué, who anonymously rode to the assistance of those oppressed by the rich and powerful. Apart from the obvious differences - not least in terms of garb and mode of transport - there is one other major consideration which makes the comparison rather inappropriate: the identity of the Zorros de la justice is no mystery. They do not hide behind a mask, and if not actually playing to the media, manage with difficulty to resist that vital interview with that key journalist. One cannot refrain from asking - are their attempts to tackle high-level crime purely altruistic and aimed at providing a better society in which to live, or are these people cold and calculating 'ayant simplement trouvé un chemin rapide vers la notoriété?'¹ Is the mix of media, politics and justice a happy one?

Here, I would like to examine this question, taking one particular example of a juge d'instruction frequently in the news in recent years, Thierry Jean-Pierre. Subsequently to become a député européen, in fourth place on Philippe de Villiers' list, L'Autre Europe, in the June 1994 European elections, Thierry Jean-Pierre first became a household name in 1991, after his spectacular handling of the Urba case and his discovery of the illicit financing of the Parti Socialiste electoral campaign in 1988. He would appear to be a particularly appropriate figure to consider, since his actions have been both praised - by those who see in him a leveller of social injustices - and vehemently criticised, essentially by socialist politicians who have fallen foul of his investigations, who denounce him as being in the pay of the parties of the Right and describe him as a 'killer de la gauche'².

Let us first consider the elements in his own dossier which have propelled him to fame and fortune and which have gained him the reputation of being something of a 'Mr Clean'. This 'Tintin contre les socialistes' (Greilsamer et Schneidermann, p 237) - complete with blond curly hair and intellectual air - has, just like the comic strip hero, entered many French

people's homes via the television screen as well as the printed word. One significant television appearance which emphasised this image followed the announcement of Henri Emmanuelli's sentencing for his part in the illicit financing of the socialist party's 1988 electoral campaign. The programme, 'Les juges sont-ils justes?', part of the France 2 series *La France en direct*, was shown at twenty to eleven on the evening of Monday 25 March 1996 and opened with two major questions directly arising from the Emmanuelli case. A star-studded cast of politicians and notables from the judiciary were asked:

1 Les juges veulent-ils se payer du politique? Veulent-ils s'acharner sur les hommes politiques?

2 Les politiques ne seraient-ils pas tentés de se croire au-dessus de la loi?

Absent from the television studio in person but featuring en duplex, projected larger than life onto an enormous screen suspended above the heads of the other participants, a deus ex machina in some ways appearing as the ultimate authority on things legal and consulted at regular and appropriate moments, was former juge d'instruction Thierry Jean-Pierre. Perhaps his role as unearther of the scandal justifies this attention - it certainly granted him the right to open the debate - but with such prestigious figures as Mireille Delmas-Marty (expert in criminal law at the Sorbonne and regularly a member of government commissions), RPR député of Haute-Vienne and former juge d'instruction Alain Marsaud, former socialist garde des sceaux Michel Vauzelle and reputed avocat Henri Leclerc present, the prominent position in the discussion granted to this one-time petit juge - a phrase often used to refer to the juge d'instruction and often perceived as rather derogatory - is quite remarkable.

However, his elevation to this status is by no means a freak occurrence peculiar to the television channel France 2. Thierry Jean-Pierre has been the subject of many interviews in the press, of a chapter in Daniel Schneidermann and Laurent Greilsamer's book of interviews with well-known juges, Les juges parlent (published by Fayard, 1992), and of an entry in Cara Barszcz' pocket manual Les juges (published by Hachette, series: Qui? Quand? Quoi?, 1995, p 19), and this star à Paris (Tezenas du Montcel, p 78) is considered suitable enough company to dine with politicians - or at least by Alain Madelin, whose banquet *Le Monde*

reports that he attended³. Certainly, at the origin of much of this attention is his role in the Urba scandal in Spring 1991. Originally required to investigate a fatal accident on a building site in Le Mans, during the course of his enquiries Jean-Pierre stumbled on information regarding the illegal financing of the 1988 PS electoral campaign. Unperturbed by the rank of those implicated, he pursued his investigations into this possible corruption case, only to be removed from the case by the public prosecutor, who deemed him to have gone beyond the bounds of his duty: a juge d'instruction is only to investigate cases which are allotted to him or her by the public prosecutor and does not have the right to act independently of that authority by choosing to expand those investigations to another case. Jean-Pierre's attempts to bring to account potentially corrupt political figures, his belief then as now that 'le droit s'impose également à tous'⁴ and his removal from the case in relatively undigified haste projected him into the limelight and transformed him, in the eyes of some, into a hero of the masses, determined to root out corrupt practices amongst the privileged classes. Indeed, the Urba affair was surprising for several reasons. Not only was it one of the first occasions where high-ranking political and business figures were taken on by a young and relatively inexperienced and insignificant petit juge, but it also shows a fine example of the Socialist government trying to hush up the scandal by clumsily ordering - via the justice minister and public prosecutor - that Jean-Pierre be removed from the case. The damage that Jean-Pierre did to the Socialists both in actual terms - Henri Emmanuelli, who was the treasurer of the party's electoral campaign in 1988, subsequently received an 18-month suspended sentence and was stripped of his civic rights - and in terms of their image: the party of corruption, ready to bend the law for its own good and to bend it again to make sure their secrets remain hidden - is not to be underestimated. But this was not all, for Jean-Pierre himself was deeply affected by his investigations during the late 1980s and early 1990s. Initially an ardent supporter of the Left, a militant de gauche⁵, inspired by the appointment as garde des sceaux in 1981 of Robert Badinter, whom he saw as une bouffée d'oxygène (Greilsamer et Schneidermann, p241), one-time regional representative of the left-wing syndicat de la magistrature, Jean-Pierre was to be bitterly disappointed by the Socialist government, particularly during Mitterrand's second septennat. Following the January 1990 amnesty,

concocted with the specific aim of extricating Christian Nucci from his entanglement in the Carrefour du développement scandal, by pardoning any offence committed before 15 June 1989 related to financing election campaigns or political parties, Thierry Jean-Pierre and several of his colleagues had had their first brush with the media. Frustrated at the number of corruption cases opened against political figures, which simply had to be abandoned, they had drawn public attention to themselves by releasing from prison a number of petty criminals detained prior to trial, in protest at the blatant manipulation of the law to allow the release and exoneration of politicians guilty of far more serious offences.

At this point, the rebel juges had agreed only to accord interviews to the written press, deliberately shunning the television and radio, and had not intended to create a national furore. Indeed, their explanations of their actions were amateurish and unclear to the general public, and their intention had clearly been to make a group protest against the political leaders rather than to draw media attention to themselves as individuals. As we have seen, Jean-Pierre's role in the Urba affair a year later was already a more public one and it was by no means his last appearance. In November 1990, he had founded the Forum de la justice, during the period when he was investigating the Urba case, as an organisation comprising legal professionals, police inspectors, journalists, and providing a forum in which to air concern over the administration of every-day justice and in particular over high-level corruption, a forum which also wished to nominate a committee of experts on justice to suggest a recasting of the legal framework. This obsession with rooting out corruption and fraud at high levels can be attributed to the idealism of a young jugé d'instruction at the start of his career wishing justice to be applied to all, irrespective of social category, but also reflects an earlier career as a tax inspector in the Tax office at Bourges, where he worked for five years as a young man in his twenties. His experience in this domain in fact made him a particularly formidable legal opponent, meticulous in his unravelling of financial wrangles, and his competence in these areas led to his subsequent appointment by the Balladur government, between December 1993 to May 1994, to a post at the justice ministry, where he was to head a mission sur le blanchiment et la corruption, a post to which certain maintained

he was appointed by the conservative government in grateful thanks for services rendered in discrediting the Socialists, and others suggested he was offered in order to keep him out of further potential mischief-making for the new majority. Such hypothesising was probably not simply idle gossip, for this was certainly an appointment which was most significant, seen in the context of his career at the time. For early in 1993, the year of Prime Minister Pierre Bérégovoy's suicide after the spring legislative elections, which had been so disastrous for the Socialists, Jean-Pierre had been responsible for investigating the highly suspect interest-free loan made by millionaire Roger-Patrice Pelat to Bérégovoy. In fact, he found himself investigating the Pelat/Bérégovoy case completely by chance. Apart from his government appointment, his own feelings were that, post-Urba, he had been entrusted no further interesting cases and that his anti-corruption crusade was being carefully blocked by those in power. As with the Urba Scandal, Jean-Pierre had been investigating a different case when certain irregularities attracted his attention and induced him to broaden his search. His findings led him to point the finger, on grounds of corruption, at a number of VIPs, even going as far as naming President Mitterrand himself and his son Gilbert. With the suicide of Bérégovoy and the subsequent tirades against the intense media coverage of the affair, Thierry Jean-Pierre, in his role as examining magistrate, was inevitably to find himself in the firing line. It is true that in this context, the tag killer de la gauche seems to take on another dimension. Attacked on the television by the Socialists' garde des sceaux Michel Vauzelle, accused alongside the media of mercilessly hounding the Prime Minister, he twice requested to be taken off the case, but to no avail. This was only to come about in December 1993, following the departure of the Socialist government and with his new appointment in the justice ministry, which he took up, leaving behind for his successor

‘...la liste complète des ‘découvertes judiciaires’ qui ont émaillé les deux années d’instruction. Elle concerne principalement la fortune de Roger-Patrice Pelat, ses sources de revenu, parfois extravagantes, comme la vente d’une entreprise surévaluée à une société nationale avec le soutien de l’Elysée. Il révèle également le détail de ses dépenses et de ses largesses, parfois surprenantes. C’est tout un système d’influence, d’entremise dans les coulisses du pouvoir qui

est ici mis à nu avec une méticulosité de chasseur de papillons.’(PONTAUT, J-M, ‘Affaire Pelat: le rapport explosif’, *Le Point* (31 décembre 1993) p 43).

These investigations into the Pelat case, carried out so fastidiously were - almost predictably - declared null and void in 1995, and the suspects let off the hook for the same reasons as those given when Jean-Pierre was removed from the Urba case: he had once again gone beyond his remit, violating article 80 of the Code de la procédure pénale⁶:

‘La chambre d’accusation estime que ces investigations étaient illégales car effectuées en dehors de toute saisine judiciaire du juge Jean-Pierre pour les faits visés... En conséquence, tous les actes d’instruction alors menés dans le cadre d’investigations sur un ami du Président Mitterrand, Roger-Patrice Pelat, mort le 7 mars 1989, “sont nuls et d’une nullité absolue pour avoir été exécutés en violence de l’article 80 du code de la procédure pénale”.’ (PARINGAUX, R, ‘L’instruction du juge Jean-Pierre visant Roger-Patrice Pelat est annulée’, *Le Monde* (5 août 1995) p 6).

The Bérégovoy incident possibly epitomises public reactions in general to Jean-Pierre and others like him, doggedly determined to take on those in high places and to plead for ‘l’égalité de tous devant les lois de la République’⁷. On the one hand, we see support for an idealist as yet still convinced that justice applies equally to all:

‘Thierry Jean-Pierre n’est pas un envieux, mais un jeune juge issu de ce qu’on appelle aujourd’hui la génération morale. Une génération imprégnée des idées de Mai-68, croyant aux vertus de l’éthique, de la vérité. Thierry Jean-Pierre, avec un nom si banal, sort de l’ordinaire.’ (RAFFY, S, ‘Les accusateurs en procès’, *Le Nouvel Observateur* (6 mai 1993) pp 28-29).

On the other hand, we see violent criticism of the young juge d’instruction:

‘Une chose est de chercher la vérité, de la faire connaître, d’être intractable sur l’information, une autre de supputer, de harceler, de persécuter. Entre le silence et la persécution il y a toute une place pour une information correcte qui ne doit

jamais, en aucun cas, être dissimulée.’ (GIROUD, F, ‘L’honneur, richesse des pauvres’, *Le Nouvel Observateur* (6 mai 1993) p 27).

In any event, this episode appears to have marked a turning point in Jean-Pierre’s career. The pressures associated with investigating such a delicate affair and the subsequent government post encouraged Jean-Pierre to change the orientation of his career, leaving behind his relatively short-lived but much talked of profession as a magistrat to embrace the world of politics - a move which, according to Greilsamer and Schneidermann (p 259), he had already been pondering as early as 1992. Possibly hoping for greater things at the end of his contract - a ministerial or advisory responsibility perhaps, rather than the attractive promotion abroad reputedly offered by Matignon and the Elysée, and turned down⁸ - Jean-Pierre contented himself with standing (and being elected) as a Euro MP in the 1994 European elections on Philippe de Villiers list for the far Right, L’Autre Europe, de Villiers, who had been one of the 250 members of the Forum pour la justice⁹. For his critics, this was the moment for which they had been waiting to voice their anger at his behaviour over the years. The PS was particularly vehement in its attacks on Jean-Pierre. Having suffered at his hands in the past, this was their chance for revenge. Jean Glavany, PS spokesman, talked of Jean-Pierre’s exploitation of the independence of the judiciary for political ends:

‘...celui qui se drapait dans l’indépendance de la justice pour s’acharner sur certains socialistes apparaît aujourd’hui sur une liste de la droite extrême... Y a-t-il encore des Français pour ne pas voir que l’essentiel des attaques à propos des pseudo-affaires contre les dirigeants socialistes n’étaient en fait qu’une indigne manoeuvre de la droite extrême?’ (‘La préparation des élections du 12 juin’, *Le Monde* (13 mai 1994) p 6).

Ségolène Royal, socialist MP for Deux Sèvres, spoke of her concern at such a political liaison from a ‘...juge qui s’est toujours prétendu neutre’ (see ‘la préparation des élections du 12 juin’). At last, for the PS, everything fell into place. Jean-Pierre’s determination to brand the Socialists as corrupt and to ruin the careers and lives of their leaders had not been due to an anti-corruption crusade or clean-up campaign, a desire to extend justice to all, but had simply

been a base matter of political profiteering. Furthermore, questions were raised as to the political sincerity and even stability of someone who had supposedly begun his career as a militant de gauche (see Reverier, p 46) but who was now a supporter of the far Right. Jean-Pierre protested, of course, that as a juge d'instruction, he had simply been doing his job: 'En tant que juge d'instruction, je n'ai fait qu'appliquer la loi' ('La préparation des élections du 12 juin', p 6), and that the Socialist gardes des sceaux who had tried to prevent him from so doing had been shown for what they were. He also insisted that his support for L'Autre Europe was not party political, but based on many similar views shared with the leader of the list and founder of the 'Combat pour les valeurs', notably on Europe and on the fight against corruption. He stressed that their views on the death penalty, abortion and the family were not common ground. Some years before, he had re-asserted his Left-wing loyalty, but taken care to make clear that for him the Left was not the Socialist government in office at the time:

'Ce [la gauche pour Jean-Pierre] n'est pas l'Etat PS. Ce n'est plus qu'une idée, une éthique, celle de 81, trahie aujourd'hui, mais qui est à reconstruire. La gauche devrait passer dans l'opposition ... ce n'est pas le socialisme en R25.'

(GREILSAMER et SCHNEIDERMAN, p 257).

In November 1994, he clarified his political position still further, insisting: je n'appartiens à aucun parti politique.¹⁰ An indication of his disillusionment with the corrupt practices of the political class, exploited by the socialists in an attempt to salvage some threads of credibility, Thierry Jean-Pierre's involvement in the political arena also caused unease amongst members of the legal profession. Although dissatisfied at the agendas imposed on them in the guise of constant reforms, attacks on their independence, underfunding, few seemed convinced by the 'image brouillée'¹¹ of Thierry Jean-Pierre, his criticisms of a profession too stolid to rebel and his recourse to politics, precisely the world he had taken to task with such determination. Eric de Montgolfier, procureur de la République in Valenciennes, famous for his role in the Tapie investigations, sums up the view of many that it should not be necessary to turn to politics to fight corruption:

‘Pour faire passer ma vision des choses, la loi me suffit.’(DUPUIS, p55).

Politics has been one of the tools used by Thierry Jean-Pierre to fight corruption. Another, used apparently without compunction, is the media. Accused of excès médiatiques, of méthodes de cowboy (Tezenas du Montcel, p 78), Jean-Pierre freely admits to using the media for his own ends, and sees no shame in so doing. Described as a jugé médiatique, of the opinion that ‘l’administration de la justice en cette fin de siècle, ne peut se faire sans les médias’ (Raffy, pp28-29), he openly encourages the use of the media:

‘Il faut mettre en place le couple presse-justice.’ (DE RUDDER, p 10).

and many of his former colleagues hold similar views, maintaining that if they do preserve the secret de l’instruction when working on a high-profile case, resisting the temptation to have recourse to the media to aid them, then they are probably the only ones involved to strictly observe the law in this matter. It is interesting at this point to note the quotation from Marcel Pagnol’s *César* displayed - with humour and resignation? - on the door of jugé Jean-Pierre Murciano’s office in Grasse, a reflection upon the lamentable flouting of the secret de l’instruction:

‘Un secret, ce n’est pas quelque chose qui ne se raconte pas. Mais c’est une chose qu’on se raconte à voix basse et séparément.’ (DE RUDDER, p 10).

In corruption cases against political leaders, Jean-Pierre says:

‘On est seul, on manifeste notre puissance. En se servant des médias comme bouclier, on se met en dehors des répressions de manière temporaire.’(DE RUDDER, p 10).

However, this use or abuse of the media is very much criticised - by those who are its victims, naturally, and also by some members of the legal profession who see the concubinage notoire¹² between justice and media as damaging, degrading the profession, awarding too much power to the journalists ‘qui se prennent pour des auxiliaires de la justice’¹³. The violation of the secret de l’instruction can lead to many ills, but one significant consequence

is the annulling of a prosecution on grounds of procedural irregularities. Daniel Soulez-Larivière, well-known avocat and author of a number of works on justice and the relationship between justice and the media, is highly critical of what he refers to as the cirque médiatico-judiciaire¹⁴, and openly condemns Jean-Pierre for his exploitation of the media, maintaining that prosecutions associated with the Urba case were compromised due to the publication of a book, *Bon appétit Messieurs* (published by Fixot, 1992), by Jean-Pierre in which he recounts his version of events. The hostility is returned - Jean-Pierre bitterly regrets Soulez-Larivière's denigrating references to the status of the petit juge (Greilsamer and Schneidermann, pp 160-161).

Another of Jean-Pierre's publications actually led to a court case. *Le livre noir de la corruption*, published in 1994, immediately prior to the European elections in which he was standing and just after the end of his contract with the justice ministry, and drawing from his investigations when in post, accused two major French companies of being responsible - via funding of election campaigns - for 80% of political corruption in France¹⁵. Although the two companies were not actually named in the document, they were deemed to be easily recognisable as the Lyonnaise des eaux and the Compagnie générale des eaux. The Lyonnaise des eaux instigated proceedings on grounds of libellous accusations, emphasising at the same time that, on the eve of the European elections, Jean-Pierre, who was standing on an anti-corruption platform, had personal interests in making such defamatory allegations¹⁶. Required to pay a nominal one franc in compensation to the Lyonnaise des eaux, Jean-Pierre had chosen for his defence lawyer the notorious and flamboyant Jacques Vergès, and was found not only guilty of the offence, but also of putting forward a defence 'constitué de coupures de presse et non de faits soigneusement vérifiés.'¹⁷

Thierry Jean-Pierre's assertion that 'sans cela [la presse], je n'avancerais pas' (Tezenas du Montcel, p 78) is open to interpretation. He is by his own admission someone who turns to the media (in its broadest definition) in circumstances when, in the letter of the law he should not, but this statement can also reflect the ambitions of a petit juge apparently desiring to

stand out from the crowd, seeing the media as a means of furthering both his cause and his career, a career, which as we have seen, has followed an unusual pattern. Born in 1955 in Lozère, son of a mathematics teacher and the headmistress of an école maternelle, choosing an early career in the tax office in Bourges and then, for a year, as an intendant in the Collège Guy Môquet, Gennevilliers, Jean-Pierre's early career is nothing out of the ordinary. It is true that, despite his decision to retrain as a jugé d'instruction, the chosen profession of his wife, even from the early days, doubts appeared to hang over his future in this profession. A report from the Ecole Nationale de la Magistrature, which Jean-Pierre is happy to publicise, reads as follows:

‘Monsieur Jean-Pierre manifeste un très grand esprit d'indépendance. Il n'apparaît pas opportun, pour cette raison, que ce magistrat occupe des fonctions de juge d'instruction.’ (GREILSAMER et SCHNEIDERMAN, p 242).

Indeed, in 1992, he was already openly talking of becoming an avocat, clear in his own mind that the magistrature would not be his final resting place, declaring ‘Je ne ferai pas carrière dans la magistrature’ (Tezenas du Montcel, p 79). He has now changed course again to espouse the world of politics, albeit campaigning in his specialised domain, the battle of justice against political corruption, but the combination media-politics-law is an explosive one, which holds considerable potential.

The varied career pattern to date of this ‘sprinter’ (Raffy, p 29), the number of occasions when this young man of modest origins has hit the headlines and caused considerable embarrassment in the highest possible places, the numerous works on corruption he has published in defiance of the secret de l'instruction, expressing through the written word what he has been prevented from acting upon in law, the founding of non-political associations to discuss corruption - for example, in 1994, he founded the Forum Démocratie Justice, an association open to all, not affiliated to any political party, whose aim was to serve as a pressure group denouncing those who impede the true course of justice through corruption, be they patrons, magistrats ou hommes politiques - have certainly caused some to question both

his motives and his projects for the future. Despite his official exit from the legal profession in 1994 when he became a Euro MP, his principal chevaux de bataille continue to be corruption and justice, and he is still frequently in the media. For someone committed to a morality campaign within the framework of the law, will the straight-jacket imposed on the legal profession be too constraining to wear in the long term? Is the way forward rather via a career in the media or in politics? Whatever the answers to these questions may be, one thing is sure - Thierry Jean-Pierre will continue to make himself heard, for 'Sans cela, je n'avancerais pas'.

¹ GREILSAMER, L et SCHNEIDERMANN, D, *Les juges parlent* (Fayard, 1992) p 237.

² TEZENAS DU MONTCEL, A, 'Je suis un ovni judiciaire', *Le Nouvel Economiste* (5 novembre 1993) p 79.

³ SCHNEIDERMANN, D, 'Images - Vertiges de la transparence', *Le Monde* (15 octobre 1994) p 25.

⁴ REVERIER, J-L, 'Débat - l'instruction au menu', *Le Point* (20 juillet 1996) p 46.

⁵ DUPUIS, J and PONTAUT, J-M, 'Pourquoi la justice ne va plus s'arrêter', *Le Point* (22 octobre 1994) p 39.

⁶ Article 80 of the Code de la procédure pénale states:

'Le juge d'instruction ne peut informer qu'en vertu d'un réquisitoire du procureur de la République... Lorsque des faits, non-visés au réquisitoire, sont portés à la connaissance du juge d'instruction, celui-ci doit immédiatement communiquer au procureur de la République les plaintes ou les procès-verbaux qui les constatent.' (Jérôme Rabenou, <http://www.fdn.fr/~rabenu/cpp/PILIT3.html>).

⁷ 'Les colères d'un juge', *Le Point* (12 octobre 1996) p 12.

⁸ PONTAUT, J-M, 'Le juge Jean-Pierre ne s'arrête pas', *Le Point* (25 septembre 1993) p 29.

⁹ DE RUDDER, C, 'Ces hommes qui font trembler le pouvoir', *Le Nouvel Observateur* (16 avril 1992) p 4.

¹⁰ DUPUIS, J, 'Le j'accuse de Thierry Jean-Pierre', *Le Point* (5 novembre 1994) p 55.

¹¹ DUMAY, J-M, 'Le réveil des juges - I', *Le Monde* (20 octobre 1994) p 1.

¹² GREILSAMER, L, 'Six enjeux pour la France', *Le Monde* (29 mars 1993) p 6.

¹³ SOULEZ LARIVIERE, D, *L'Avocature* (Seuil, 1995) p 278.

¹⁴ The title of one of Soulez Larivière's recent books, *Du cirque médiatico-judiciaire et des moyens d'en sortir* (Seuil, 1993).

¹⁵ PARINGAUX, R-P, 'Thierry Jean-Pierre met en cause 'deux grands groupes' français', *Le Monde* (1er juin 1994).

¹⁶ PARINGAUX, R-P, 'Les diffamations électorales du juge Jean-Pierre', *Le Monde* (11 novembre 1994) p10.

¹⁷ 'Diffamation: Thierry Jean-Pierre condamné', *Le Monde* (16 décembre 1994) p 12.