French Republic

Land and People
Capital
Paris
Total area (square miles) 211,208 (Slightly less than twice the size of Colorado)
Population 59.8 million
Annual population growth rate (2000-2005) 0.5
Urban population (%) 75.4
Ethnic composition* (%)
French-born 91
Other European 3
North African 4
(mostly Algerian)
Other 2
*French law prohibits gathering statistics on public opinion polls and census surveys on ethnic or racial identity, so the figures provided are rough estimates.

Economy
Domestic currency Euro
US$1: .8039 EU
Total GNI (US$) 1.521 trillion
GNI per capita (US$) 24,730—2003
Total GNI, purchasing power parity (US$) 1.656 trillion
GDP per capita, purchasing power parity (US$) 24,640
GDP annual growth rate (%) 2002 1.2
2003 0.1
2004 2.1
GDP per capita average annual growth rate (%) 1993-2003 1.9
Inequality in income or consumption (1995) Share of poorest 10% 2.8
Share of poorest 20% 7.2
Share of poorest 10% 3
Share of richest 20% 40.2
Share of richest 10% 25.1
Gini Index (1995) 32.7

Structure of production (% of GDP)
Agriculture 2.7
Industry 24.5
Services 72.8
Labor force distribution (% of total)
Agriculture 3
Industry 27
Services 71
Exports as % of GDP 25.8
Imports as % of GDP 24.6

Society
Life expectancy at birth 79.3
Infant mortality per 1,000 live births 4
Adult illiteracy (% of population 15+)
5%
*The OECD estimates that France has a functional illiteracy rate of about 17 percent.

Access to
information and communications (per 1,000 population)
Television lines 573
Mobile phones 605
Radios 950
Televsions 632
Personal computers 337

Women in Government and the Economy
Women in the national legislature
Lower house or single house (%) 12.7
Upper house (%) 16.9
Women at ministerial level (%) 19
Female economic activity rate (age 15 and above) (%) 49.1
Female labor force (% of total) 45
Estimated Earned Income
Female 19,923
PPP US$ Male 33,950

Composite Measures and Rankings
Human Development Index (HDI) ranking (value) out of 177 countries 16 (.932)
Gender-related development index (GDI) ranking (value) out of 144 countries 15 (.929)
Gender empowerment measure (GEM) ranking (value) out of 78 countries Not available
Corruption Perception Index (CPI) ranking (value) out of 146 countries 22 (.7.1)
Environmental Sustainability Index (ESI) ranking (value) out of 146 countries 36 (.55.2)
Freedom in World Rating 1.0
**Political Organization**

**Political System**  Unitary republic. Semipresidential system; popularly elected president, popularly elected parliament, and prime minister and government appointed by president and responsible to National Assembly.

**Regime History**  Bewildering variety of regimes since the French Revolution of 1789. Most recently, a dictatorial regime based on Vichy collaborated with the Nazis during World War II; the Fourth Republic existed from 1946–1958; and the Fifth Republic, originating in 1958, has become universally accepted.

**Administrative Structure**  Unitary, with 22 regions and 100 departments.

**Executive**  Dual executive: president (five-year term); PM appointed by president, generally leader of majority coalition in National Assembly, and responsible to National Assembly.

**Legislature**  Bicameral. Senate (upper house) has power to delay legislation passed by lower house. National Assembly (lower house) can pass legislation and force government to resign by passing a censure motion.

**Judiciary**  A nine-member independent Constitutional Council named for nonrenewable nine-year terms; president of republic names three members, president of each house of parliament names three. They exercise right of judicial review.

**Party System**  Multiparty. Principal parties: Socialist Party (PS); Union for a Popular Movement (UMP); minor parties: Union for French Democracy (UDF); National Front (FN); Communist Party (PCF); and Green Party.
Unit 2
FRANCE

Chapter 7 France The Impact of the Past

I. The Early People
A. Celtic tribes merge with native Ligurians
B. Roman control: Julius Caesar to the Fall of Rome
C. The Franks (Germanic people)
   1. 496 AD, Clovis
   2. The Catholic Church
D. The Carolingians (8th to 10th centuries)
   1. Charles Martel ["the hammer"] repels the Muslim invaders in 1732
   2. Charlemagne creates the "Holy Roman Empire"

II. French Absolutism
A. In the aftermath of Charlemagne, France initially disintegrated into several kingdoms
   and dukedoms
   1. The Robertians [Robert the Strong] wrest the crown from the Carolingians
   2. The Capetians of the Direct Line [13 kings from 987 to 1328]
B. The Hundred Years' War (1328 to 1428)
   1. The death of Charles IV with no male heir
   2. Edward III of England lays claim
   3. The assembly of vassals, prelates and notables choose Philip VI (of the Valois
      family), enemy of the English Plantagenets
   4. Edward invades Normandy
   5. Aug. 26, 1346 Edward defeats Philip's forces at Crecy en Pontheuil, then
      marches to Calais
   6. John the Good (Philip's son) continues the war but loses ground to Edward's
      anglo-gascon army
   7. 1360, Charles the dauphin of Viennois negotiates a treaty with Edward at
      Bretigny assigning to the English the southwestern one-third of France
   8. 1368 the war continues as Charles enters an alliance with Henry of Castille
      and destroys the English navy at La Rochelle
   9. War continues with periodic truces
   10. 1415, Henry V of England lands on Normandy and defeats the French in the
      battle of Agincourt leaving the French in disarray
   11. The Treaty of Troyes, Henry V marries Charles VI daughter Catherine
       (recognized heir to the French crown)
   12. Henry V dies in 1422 leaving a one-year old child, Henry VI, king of France
       and England
   13. Charles VII and Joan of Arc
      a. The central and southern part of France remained loyal to the dauphin
      b. Charles VII resided in Bourges [his adversaries mockingly called him
         "King of Bourges"]
      c. Joan of Arc, a young girl from Doremy, claims to hear voices
         proclaiming Charles to be the true king of France
d. Meeting Charles at Chinois she volunteers to join his army to drive the
   English from France

c. She frees Orleans (May 1429), defeats the English at Patay (June), and
   sees Charles consecrated King at Reims on July 17, 1429

f. Joan is captured by the English, tried by the Church, and burned as a
   witch at Rouen on May 30, 1431

g. Little by little the whole country comes to accept the authority of Charles
   as blessed by God including the duke of Burgundy in 1435

h. 1436 Charles enters Paris as the King of France

i. By 1440 Charles had established himself as the absolute power in France

C. The Later Valois Dynasty (1461 to 1589)
   1. Louis XI (1461 to 83)
      a. doubled the size of France (to nearly its present size)
      b. further weakened the power of the feudal nobles
      c. ignored the Estates-General
      d. developed a royal bureaucracy to increase taxation
      e. cultivated relations with Rome making the Church a pillar of the French
         monarchy

D. The Bourbon Dynasty and Cardinal Richelieu
   1. 1589 the line of succession falls to Henry of Navarre who becomes Catholic
      (“Paris is well worth a mass”)
   2. Louis XIII, Cardinal Richelieu became chief minister and virtual ruler from
      1624 to 1642
      a. obsessed with power, he further weakens the nobles
      b. he recruits only middle-class bureaucrats
      c. he establishes a system of *intendants* to control the provinces for Paris

3. *Le Fronde*: In 1648 and again in 1650 some French aristocrats stage an
   uncoordinated revolt and were defeated

E. Louis XIV: The Height of Absolutism 1661
   1. “Letat cest moi”
   2. The “Sun King” further increased centralization and bureaucratization aimed
      at adding to his power and the glory of France
   3. Creating a large army, he engaged in continual war with England and Spain
   4. He was his own prime minister and administered personally
   5. He never bothered to convene the Estates General
   6. Constructing Versailles, he had thousands of nobility live there diverting them
      from power so they engaged in “game-playing” courtiers
   7. “War and magnificence” a great drain on the economy
   8. Colbert (Louis’ minister) used *Mercantilism* to “harness the French economy
      to serve the state”
   9. *Mercantilism*: the theory that a nation’s wealth is its gold and silver, to be
      amassed by government plans, subsidies, monopolies, and tariffs
   10. Without checks and balances to get in his way, Louis’s rule was absolute

F. The French Revolution
   1. By the mid 18th century, France was in difficulty
   2. The treasury was in near bankruptcy
      a. The Seven Years War, the French and Indian War
      b. Support for the American Revolution: Revenge
   3. The bureaucracy was corrupt and inefficient
4. Recognizing that mercantilism was bad economics, the regime tried to move to a free market but by that time French industry and agriculture was resistant to change away from protectionism
5. Revolutionary ideas of “liberty,” “consent of the governed,” the “general will
6. Spring 1789 Louis XVI convenes the Estates-General for the first time since 1614
   a. The clergy, the nobility, and the commoners elected by nearly universal male suffrage
   b. The Third Estate (the commoners) demand the estates meet together where it will be in the majority (popular will)
   c. Louis resists and the parliamentarians form a “National Assembly”
   d. Marie Antoinette, “Let them eat cake”
   e. The peasants angered by rising prices storm the Bastille on July 14, 1789
   f. Louis goes to Paris to try to appease the people
   g. August 4, the National Assembly abolishes the feudal regime and the tithe, but Louis refuses to sanction them
   h. October 5, the people of Paris march to Versailles and bring the royal family back to Paris
   i. The National Assembly tries to create a monarchical regime
   j. Louis conspires with foreign princes to restore him to full power
   k. Militant revolutionaries, Jacobins, organize, defeat the invaders at Valmy
   l. Louis tries to flee France but is stopped (June 20-21, 1791)
   m. August 10, 1792, revolutionaries occupy the Tuileries, seize the royal family
   n. September, 1792 Parisians break into the prisons and massacre the nobles and clergy imprisoned there
   o. On January 21, 1793, Louis XVI is guillotined
   p. The Committee of Public Safety is set up on April 6; Danton is out (July 10); Robespierre added (July 27); it assumes power
   q. On October 16, 1793, Marie Antoinette is beheaded
   r. The Reign of Terror follows as more than 20,000 are guillotined

III. Napoleon Bonaparte
   A. From 1795 to 1799, the government of the Directory (five directeurs) set up by the Constitution of 1791 (Year III) struggled to establish order while the French army emerged as a political force
   B. A young artillery officer, Napoleon Bonaparte, gains fame for his brilliant leadership in the Italian and Egyptian campaigns
   C. Arriving in Paris in October, 1799, Bonaparte determines that the Revolution can only be consummated in a military dictatorship.
      1. On November 9, 1799 a coup d’état gets rid of the Directory and sets up the Consulate with Sieyes, Ducos, and Bonaparte consuls
      2. The Consulate lasts from 1799 to 1804
   D. The First Empire (1804 to 1814)
      1. Napoleon crowns himself emperor
      2. Through wars throughout Europe, France’s army expands the empire from Spain to Austria to Poland.
      3. Napoleon’s fateful decision to invade Russia meets disaster in 1812.
4. English, Swedish, Austrian, and Russian defeat Napoleon at Leipzig, October 18, 1813.
5. On April 14, 1814 Napoleon signs his abdication at Fontainebleau.

E. The First Restoration (1814) returns the Bourbons to power in the form of Louis XVIII

F. The Hundred Days
   1. Napoleon escapes exile from the island of Elba in March 1815
   2. At Waterloo he is defeated by the Prussian army under Blucher and a mixed British, German, Dutch force under Wellington (June 18, 1815)

IV. The Bourbon Restoration (1830 to 1848)
A. “They learned nothing and they forgot nothing.”
   1. Most French aristocrats hated the Revolution and what it had led to
   2. The commoners supported “at least a version of it
   3. The Catholic church was reactionary
B. Still, the Revolution had changed things which could not be reversed
   1. Kings could not rule without Parliament
   2. The Napoleonic Codes and civil reforms were preserved
   3. And the people insisted on equality before the law
C. 1830 rioting erupts and the last Bourbon, Charles X is replaced with Louis Philippe

V. The Second Republic (1848 to 1852)
A. 1848 revolutionary fervor spreads throughout Europe including France
B. The French elect Louis Napoleon (Napoleon’s self-proclaimed nephew) President of the Republic
   1. 1852 Louis Napoleon declares himself Emperor Napoleon III turning the Second Republic into the Second Empire

VI. The Second Empire (1852 to 1870)
A. The Constitution of 1852 effectively stifled political activity
   1. Members of parliament, magistrates, officials were required to swear allegiance to the emperor
   2. The press was strictly controlled
   3. the corps legislatif could not elect its own president or publish debates
B. The Seven Weeks War (1866) delivers a blow to French prestige and influence as France is obliged to accept Northern German unification and hand over land to Italy
C. The failed Mexican intervention (1862 to 1867) was a further blow
D. The Franco-Prussian War in 1870 brought humiliating defeat
   1. Prussian Chancellor Otto von Bismarck provokes France into declaring war on July 19
   2. Outgeneraled, outnumbered, outmaneuvered, the French army surrenders on September 2 and the Emperor is dethroned
E. On September 4 there is a bloodless revolution in Paris, the Paris Commune assumes control
F. Conservative French troops crush the Commune May 21, 1872, killing so 20,000 Parisians

VII. The Third Republic (1870 to 1940)
A. The corps legislatif negotiates the peace with Prussia
   1. It cedes the province of Alsace and agrees to a billion dollars in gold as tribute
2. The terms leave the French eager for revenge
B. Fairly conservative and bourgeois
C. Social tensions simmered underneath
   1. The Dreyfus Affair (1894 to 1906) reveals French anti-Semitism and the deep fissures between republicans and reactionary classes
D. Colonial expansion into Africa, Indochina and the South Pacific
E. World War I (1914 to 1918)
   1. July 29, 1914 Austria-Hungary declares war on Serbia, Russia mobilizes, Germany declares war on Russia (August 1) and on France (August 3), Great Britain enters following German invasion of Belgium
   2. The Battle of the Marne both sides dig in and the bloody war drags on
      a. On the French side, a million and a half lives are lost
F. Germany surrenders and the French exact revenge: The Treaty of Versailles
   1. Clemenceau demands Alsace and Lorraine
   2. Germany is required to pay billions in reparations
   3. The coal mines of the Saar were ceded to France
   4. Germany’s military is disbanded
G. Post-war decadence, prosperity followed by world economic crisis in 1929
H. Popular Front: coalition of leftist/liberal parties in the 1930s
I. The rise of Italian fascism and German National Socialism
J. World War II
   1. Germany invades Poland on September 1, 1939
   2. France declares war on Germany on September 3
   3. The “phony war”: for eight months the French mobilize, man the Maginot line, anticipating the German advance
   4. On May 10, 1940 the Germans attack through the Netherlands and Luxembourg, five days later they are in France
   5. Lacking armour and aircraft, the French are unprepared for blitzkrieg and on June 16 the Reynaud government resigns making way for Marshal Petain who favored coming to terms with Hitler

VIII. The Vichy Regime (1940 to 1944)
A. Marshal Petain (Head of State) and Pierre Lavel (Premier) led the pro-Nazi government of France
   1. French SS units fight in Russia
   2. French police round up Jews for deportation to concentration camps
   3. French workers volunteer to work in Germany
B. The “French Resistance”
   1. An underground network that sabotaged and spied on the Germans, rescued British and American airmen, and sometimes killed German collaborators
   2. Many political persuasions but dominated by leftists

IX. The Fourth Republic (1946 to 1958)
A. A provisional government from 1944 to 1946 is led by de Gualle
1. A newly elected constituent assembly (dominated by leftist parties) draft a constitution for the Fourth Republic giving great power to the legislative branch and a weak executive
2. De Gualle opposes the plan and resigns
B. The National Assembly becomes paralyzed with small, squabbling parties and frequent changes of cabinet: “immobilisme”
C. Decolonization brings crisis
1. The Indochina War (1946-1954): French defeat at Dienbienphu
2. The Algerian War (1956-1962)
   a. 1958 the French army prepares a coup d’état
   b. Both sides agree to call upon de Gualle
D. De Gualle agrees to lead France, but only under a new constitution.
Chapter 8 France the Key Institutions of the 5th Republic

I. The Semi-presidential System
   A. De Gualle devised a semi-presidential system because he hated the executive weakness of the 4th Republic, but did not want an American presidential system with its checks and balances
   1. The French Semi-presidential system: a hybrid with features of both presidential and parliamentary systems (see Roskin “Comparison”)
   2. Pre-1986, the balance of power between the president and premier was tilted in favor of the president who commanded the largest bloc of votes in the National Assembly
   3. 1986, Socialist Mitterrand must deal with a conservative National Assembly
   B. The “original system” designed by de Gualle (1958-1969)
      1. The general structure remains, but the powers of the president have weakened
      2. Original term: 7 years
         a. 2000 referendum reduced the term to 5 years
      3. Elected by an “electoral college” of parliamentarians and local office holders
         a. 1962 referendum amended the constitution to direct popular election
      4. Powers were divided between the president and the premier but the practice was “unclear” (Roskin)
         a. On paper, the president appointed the premier, but couldn’t fire him
         b. The premier selected his own cabinet without parliamentary approval
         c. In fact, the president picked both premier and cabinet ministers
      5. Virtually all foreign and defense affairs were in the president’s hands (still mostly the case)
      6. The Elysee (presidential palace) originated most legislation (often with the advice of ministers)
         a. The president could even force the National Assembly to simply vote yes or no to executive proposals
         b. Although he did not (and does not) have the power to veto legislation
      7. The president had/had the power to call for a referendum
         a. De Gualle called five such plebiscites
      8. The president had/had the power to invoke “emergency powers” in time of national danger
         a. Article 16 seems to put no limits on a president’s actions
         b. The National Assembly must meet but it has no power to block
   C. 1986 for the first time the president did not control the National Assembly
      1. Mitterand served his remaining term but with reduced power
      2. He called on neo-Gaullist (conservative) Jacques Chirac to be premier
         a. And he did not block Chirac’s legislative program
         b. Thus began French cohabitation
      3. Mitterand concerned himself with foreign and defense policy and let Chirac handle domestic policy
      4. Mitterand repeated this in 1993 with neo-Gaullist Edouard Ballador
      5. Chirac did the same in 1997 with Socialist Lionel Jospin

II. The Premier and his Cabinet
   A. Pre-cohabitation, the premier was little more than servant to the president
      1. His function was to push the president’s measures through parliament
B. With cohabitation the premier has pursued his own legislative agenda
C. Premiers name ministers
   1. Approval of the National Assembly isn’t needed (but is usually sought)
   2. A cabinet not to the liking of parliament may be censured and ousted
D. The president cannot fire a premier
   1. But if they are of the same party, the premier may be persuaded to resign
      a. 1991 Mitterand had Rochard resign
      b. 1993 Mitterand had Beregovoy resign
D. A French deputy chosen to be a minister must resign his or her seat in parliament
E. Ministers do not have to be members of parliament
   1. Many are experienced administrators and non-party technocrats
   2. George Pompidou, de Gaulle’s premier, had never run in an election
F. French ministries are almost ad hoc combinations of existing French agencies and
   bureaus, which change according to the policy goals of the executive
   1. 2002 Premier Jean-Pierre Raffarin forms a cabinet of 15 ministries
   2. An additional 11 junior ministers and 10 secretaries of state filled more
      specialized offices within the ministries

III. Parliament: The National Assembly
A. The Palais Bourbon: Paris house of the French National Assembly
   1. 577 members
   2. Term of Office: 5 years (or sooner if the president wishes it)
      a. The president may dissolve the National Assembly for new elections
         before the end of its normal five-year term
      b. The president is limited to one dissolution per year
B. Powers
   1. The National Assembly can censure and oust a cabinet
   2. The premier and the president not the National Assembly hold key powers of
      legislation
      a. Most bills originate with the government
      b. The government sets the agenda
      c. If the government specifies, its proposals must be considered without
         amendments on a take it or leave it basis (a “blocked vote”)
      d. Legislative sessions are limited to 5 ½ months a year
      e. The National Assembly has only six committees
      f. Bills must be reported out of committee
      g. The government is able to pass many laws by simple decree provided the
         premier and the president agree
   3. The 1958 Constitution specifies what types of laws must go through
      parliament (all others presumably do not need to)
   4. Since the power of the government extends to the budget, the legislature has
      lost its most fundamental power—the power of the purse
      a. Any motion to increase or decrease taxes or spending is out of order
      b. If the parliament cannot settle on a budget within 70 days, the
         government may make it law by simple decree

IV. Parliament: The Senate
A. Membership, Term of Office, and Electoral College
   1. 316 members
   2. Term of Office: 9 years (staggered elections for one-third every 3 years)
3. Elected by an electoral college composed of National Assembly deputies and more than 100,000 regional and municipal councilors

B. Representative Function
1. The Senate represents rural and small town France
2. Above all, the Senate represents agricultural interests
3. The French Senate criticizes and amends numerous government bills
   a. Senators are not under pressure like deputies to pass what the government wants
   b. The government listens to the Senate on farm matters
4. Still, the government, when it wants a measure passed, can override Senate objections by a simple majority in the National Assembly

C. An example of the Senate’s power came in 1969 when the French people rejected de Gaulle’s referendum to limit the power of the Senate

V. The French multi-party system
A. France’s Three Large Parties
   1. PS: the Socialist Party occupies the center left of French politics
   2. UDF: Union for French Democracy is the center right ( sometime ally of)
   3. UMP: neo-Guallist larger than the UDF and further right
B. France’s Three Small Parties: (1) the Communists [far left], (2) the National Front [racial and far right], and (3) the Greens [environmentalist]

VI. France’s Electoral System
A. Presidential and legislative elections: normally every five years
   1. Originally scheduled for different years
   2. 2002 reduction of president’s term was in part to end the need for presidents to either cohabit or to dissolve the National Assembly for new elections
B. Single-member districts with runoff elections
   1. A majority (50%+1) is required in the first election to avoid a runoff
   2. The runoff comes one week later with either the top two candidates or those with at least 12.5% of the eligible voters of that district
   3. A simple plurality wins the runoff election
C. Presidential elections (similar rules)
   1. In the first round, all but the two top candidates are eliminated
   2. Two weeks later, the runoff is held

VII. The Constitutional Council: “The French Supreme Court”
A. Nine members: Three members appointed each by the president, the National Assembly, and the Speaker of the Senate
B. Term of Office: 9 years
C. Their role is political rather than legal, members are rarely lawyers
   1. It reviews the constitutionality of laws only after they are passed by parliament but before they have been signed by the president
   2. It does not consider lower court decisions but only those matters demanded by the executive or any 60 members of either chamber of parliament
D. Rather than set legal precedents, it acts as a “brake against hasty and ill-considered legislation”
PARLIAMENTARY VERSUS PRESIDENTIAL SYSTEMS

Most European governments are parliamentary; that is, they depend on votes in parliament to put a cabinet into executive power and keep it there. The cabinet, usually composed of members of parliament, is a sort of parliamentary steering committee that also guides the ministries or departments. If no party in parliament has a majority, a coalition of parties is necessary, and this may be unstable. In policy splits, a vote of no-confidence may oust the cabinet. Where a single party dominates the parliament—mostly the case in Britain—the system can be very stable.

In a presidential system, such as the United States and Brazil, the executive does not depend on parliamentary support, for here the chief executive is elected more or less directly for a fixed term. The parliament can do what it wants, but it cannot oust the president in a vote of no-confidence. (It may impeach the president.) The advantage of a presidential system is its stability and certainty: There will always be a president to lead. The disadvantage is that the president and the legislature may deadlock, producing something similar to the immobilisme that plagues parliamentary systems.

KEY TERM

deadlock U.S. tendency for executive and legislature, especially when of opposing parties, to block each other.
The French system is "semipresidential," for the cabinet still has a certain parliamentary connection. The premier is named by the president but can be censured and forced to resign by the National Assembly. If that happens—and it has occurred only once, in 1962—the president can dissolve the legislature and hold new elections.

**Key Term**

censure  Legislative condemnation of executive.
Chapter 9 French Political Culture

I. French Attitudes
   A. The “politically schizophrenic” French
      1. On the one side: hard-working, religious, conservative, rural/suburbanite
      2. On the other side: intellectual, anti-clerical, Socialist, urbanite
   B. The “typical” Frenchman
      1. Politically cynical (“all government is crooked”)
      2. A nation of complainers (“nothing works right”)
   C. The “historical roots” of French attitudes
      1. Traceable to French kings who “implanted an omnipotent state that tried to
         supervise everything”
         a. “trained to expect a powerful government to help them (the ideal), [they]
            are always disappointed when it does not [the real]”
      2. French “statism” which “stunted the development of a voluntary, do it
         ourselves attitude”
      3. Centuries of “bureaucratic administration which left the French used to living
         by “uniform, impersonal rules—and lots of them”
         a. This creates the “hatred of the little citizen” against the “cold, impersonal
            bureaucrat”

II. A Climate of Mistrust
   A. In personal relations, the French are “distant and mistrustful”
      1. Jean Paul Sartre: “L’enfer, c’est les autres”
   B. Special mistrust is reserved for government
      1. Children are taught to love “la patrie” but to disdain politics
      2. Politics is a personal matter (discussing politics only leads to arguments”

III. Religion: The “Nasty Split”
   A. Voltaire: the epitome of the Enlightenment attacked the Catholic Church as intolerant,
      irrational, and hypocritical
   B. The French Revolution
      1. The Catholic Church supported the monarchy from which it received
         privileges
      2. Republicans were anti-clerical: selling Church land, schools, banning orders
   C. After the Revolution the Church supported “the restoration”
   D. During the “Dreyfus Affair” the Church took the side of the military and government
      while anti-clericals and intellectuals defended Dreyfus and attacked anti-semitism
   E. In 1905, the National Assembly completed the separation of church and state by
      removing the Catholic church as the established church of France
   F. Political parties
      1. The “right” (Guellists/UDF) are supported by church-goers
      2. The “left” (Socialist/Communist) are supported by anti-clericals
   G. Most French are baptized into the Catholic faith, but less than 10% of the French people
      regularly attend Mass
   H. The abortion issue and control of Catholic schools produce protest demonstrations
IV. Education
   A. Curriculum Reform
      1. In the past, centralized administration, standardized tests, emphasis on classical subjects and rote memorization
      2. Modern reform has made schools less centralized, diversity of subjects
      3. Conflicting objectives
         a. “Outwardly” mechanistic and conformist
         b. “Inwardly” humanistic and individualistic
      c. The result is to create “privatistic attitudes” and occasional rebellion
   B. Equal Educational Opportunity?
      1. Technically French education is open to all
      2. In practice, the system is skewed in favor or middle and upper class children
      3. Working class/peasant children are disadvantaged and often discouraged from staying in school beyond 16
   C. The Lycee: gateway to social, economic, and political power
      1. State operated schools awarding the baccalaureat
      2. Very competitive, very demanding
   D. Les Grandes Ecoles (The Great Schools): elitist and undemocratic
      1. Ecole Polytechnique ("X"): technology and management
      2. Ecole Normale Superieure: (founded by Napoleon) intellectuals (Sartre, Aton)
      3. Ecole Nationale d'Administration (ENA): top school for civil servants
      4. Institut d'Etudes Politiques: (political science)
      5. Les Grandes Ecoles are “the epitome of the best and the worst of French education”: brilliant, hardworking, cold, calculating, aloof

V. Psychology of the French Personality:
   A. A predilection towards privacy and introversion (“the fear of face to face”)
   B. A preference for the philosophical (including abstraction and the ideological)

VI. The French Dilemma: Freedom or Authority?
   A. Compartmentalization: the “private Frenchman” loves liberte (freedom) but the “public Frenchman” wants order and rules
   B. A “mental split,” at times liberty bursts out (the Paris Commune 1871, the Events of May 1968) and other times a surrender to authority (Vichy 1940-1944)

VII. French Social Class System:
   A. The gap between the working class and the middle class is one of the biggest in Europe
      1. Odds are one born into the working class will die in the working class
   B. Income distribution is more unequal than in Britain or other European countries

VIII. Marxism and the French intellectuals
   A. At one time drawn to Marxism, French intellectuals have abandoned Marx
   B. Intellectual disillusionment with Marxism
      1. 1970s, intellectuals began to criticize the USSR
      2. 1980s with Socialist Mitterand in office, the left became middle of the road embracing free-market capitalism
Chapter 10 France Patterns of Interaction

I. Voter Identification
A. Not well developed: few voters have long term party preferences
B. Many aren’t attached to one party and shift their votes as a form of protest

II. Party Image
A. Parties come and parties go and many change their names
   1. Gaullist Parties: (1) RPF (47-52); (2) UNR (58-66); (3) UDVe (67); (4) UDR (68-70); (5) UDR (71-75); (6) RPR (76-00); (7) UMP (02–)
   2. Socialist Parties: Worker International (08); PCF (20); PS (69);
   3. Center: UDF; Republicans (66); Liberal Democracy (88)
   4. Communist: PCF
   5. Ultra-Right: National Front (86)
B. Alliances among leftist and rightist parties are formed because of necessity
   1. Socialist and Communist though hating each other need each other to survive
   2. Gaullist and UDF

III. The Emerging Party System
A. Down from ten in 1958 to four or five blocs today
   1. Left: Communist, Green, Socialist
   2. Center: UMP (Union for Popular Movement)
   3. Right: neo-Gaullists, Republicans, National Front
B. Ideological positions
   1. Left: favor equality of result, tax the rich, control the economy, pro-welfare
   2. Right: cautious change, modest reform, capitalist economic growth
C. Rise of Socialist Party, Demise of Communist Party
   1. Socialist Party split with Communists as they abandoned revolutionary Marxism for gradual pragmatic reforms
   2. Communist PCF supported Soviet communism until 68 invasion of Czechoslovakia then embraced “Euro-communism”
   3. 1980s alliance between Socialists and Communists
      a. Mitterand woos the uncommitted Communist protest voters to win the presidency
      b. 84 the Communists leave the cabinet and begin their decline
D. The Fractured Right
   1. Three Strands
      a. Ultra-conservative: National Front (anti-immigrant)
      b. Moderate Orleanist: UDF
      c. Populist/Napoleonic: Neo-Gaullist, Liberal Democracy
   2. Ideology is less important than personality
      a. Gaullists are skeptical of European unity and free markets
      b. UDF is for European unity and pro-free market
      c. 2002 attempted merger frustrated because of personality conflicts
      d. De Gaulle despised political parties
      e. Chirac alienated many with his “high-handedness”
   3. Gaullism: is it passé? (a conservative “mood” rather than a party)
4. The French electoral system forces the right to join forces to reach the second round, but no one wants to play “second fiddle.”

IV. The “Stalemate Cycle”
A. “Normal” French Politics
   1. Political parties constantly feud blocking change causing an impasse
   2. Every 1-2 generations an explosion creates a crisis the system can’t handle
   3. The French then turn to a “hero” (e.g., Napoleon, de Gaulle)
B. “Cohabitation”
   1. 1986 Socialist President Mitterand asks Republican/Gaullist Chirac to be premier; 1993 Mitterand asks neo-Gaullist Balladur to be premier
   2. 1997-2002 Chirac named Socialist Leonel Jospin premier

V. “Referendum Madness”
A. National plebiscites allow the people to decide major questions directly without having to go through the National Assembly
B. “In reality, plebiscites can be very tricky, an authoritarian tool that manipulates the citizenry.” – Roskin
   1. The key power belongs to the one who writes the question
   2. Also, a referendum comes after the decision has already been made; “the leader just wants popular endorsement.”
C. The five plebiscites of de Gaulle (p. 155)
D. 2005 French rejection of the proposed European Constitution

VI. Interest Group Politics
A. Labor
   1. Labor interests are splintered; groups compete against each other
   2. Communist (CGT); Socialist (CFDT); Catholic; FO centrist
   3. Weak and divided, labor has little impact on business or government
   4. Though strikes are many, they are short of funds to last long
   5. Problem: their “political slant” (communist), they aim at government policies instead of “bread and butter demands”
   6. Side-effect: unions are more militant, ideological, and bitter
B. Business (The French Enterprise Movement – Medef)
   1. “Medef has little direct political access, but its economic moves force Paris to listen.” – Roskin
      a. When business cut French investments and increased U.S. investments, Mitterand backed away from his leftist economic program
      b. Chirac announced he was pro-business and privatized large sections of France’s nationalized industries
   2. Advantages
      a. Business executives and French civil servants are “the same kind of people” (e.g., many graduate from the same grandes écoles)
      b. “Structured access”: there is an openness of bureaucracy to business interests (people move between top jobs in industry and government)
   3. Still, French political tradition is against business dominating government decision making
C. French politics look at pluralist (interest group) politics as immoral
   1. Interest groups are partial wills rather than the general will (Rousseau)
D. The French tradition is *dirigiste*
   1. Bureaucrats directing industry, closely connected to French statism
   2. The government (bureaucracy) ignores interest group demands and civil
      servants do what they deem best for French power and prestige

V. The French Bureaucracy
A. Grands Corps: The several thousand who staff the Paris Ministries
   1. Many of the top administrators are graduates of the great schools (ENA)
   2. French civil servants of the administrative class (the top 20% of bureaucrats)
      run France
B. Reasons for their power
   1. de Gaulle’s 5th Republic Constitution diminished the power of the National
      Assembly to oversee the bureaucracy
   2. by long French tradition, many top politicians were themselves civil servants
      a. “Typically, ¾ of ministers and 2/5 of National Assembly deputies are
         civil servants; government of the bureaucrats, by the bureaucrats, and for
         the bureaucrats.” – Roskin
C. Though doing their job well, French bureaucrats alienate their countrymen
   1. Their attitude is aloof, arrogant, cold, logical, and rigid
   2. “Tutelle”: French bureaucrats act like tutors to their “students”
D. The Inspector Generale de France: the “real elite”
   1. the most powerful ministry
   2. chosen from the top 10 ENA graduates each year
   3. it reviews how public funds are being spent
   4. “All levels of government are afraid of them.” – Roskin
E. French frustration and bitterness
   1. Dealing with an unresponsive, undemocratic, bureaucratic maze, the French
      are frustrated and bitter
Chapter 11 What the French Quarrel About

I. Economics
   A. Small shopkeeper (petit bourgeois) mentality vs. big (hypermarche) businesses
      1. The “Americanization” of France or just the modernization of an “old-fashioned” economy?
   B. Too many small farms half of which run “part time”
      1. Farmers overproduce, dump surplus to protest inadequate prices
      2. Should the government stop subsidies but pay them not to produce?
   C. There is no nice solution to too many small shops and farms
   D. Privatization: To privatize or not to privatize, that is the question
      1. The French left has traditionally demanded more nationalization (including all big banks and industries) believing that state control would benefit workers and produce what French people “really need”
      2. Traditionally, much of the French right also liked state owned industries, believing that they contributed to national power and greatness and were best run by brilliant xiens and enarques
      3. But as the Socialist Mitterand discovered, nationalization of large firms and banks produced “money losers”
      4. Also, generous welfare, wages and benefits brought inflation, stagnation, and higher unemployment
      5. Mitterand, Chirac, even Jospin privatized, selling off state-owned industries.
   E. Unemployment
      1. Labor-force rigidities and high social costs have produced an unemployment problem
      2. Firms are reluctant to hire more workers, unemployed workers are discouraged from seeking new jobs
      3. Also, Chirac’s programs of austerity in order to join Europe’s single currency were considered by many to be the “chief cause”
      4. How to fix the problem? Cut the work week? Create government projects?

II. Race
   A. 9 million foreigners live in France (16% of the population), 4.5 million Muslims
      1. Arabs and Africans from Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, Senegal, Mali
      2. those who work have the hardest, dirtiest, lowest-paid jobs
      3. some (often illegal) become street peddlers or petty criminals
      4. they live in shabby, high-rise housing
      5. they resist assimilating to French cultural norms
      6. some become fundamentalist Islamists
      7. angry, uneducated youths riot (2005)
   B. In public, few French say or do anything hostile to African immigrants, but in private many will admit their fear and dislike of Muslims.

III. Education
   A. Nationally, France has expanded educational opportunity to improve social mobility and integrate all, even immigrants, into French society.
   B. Problems
      1. Immigrant children enter French schools unprepared to learn
2. Fear of immigrant children overwhelming their schools, local authorities have tried to prohibit enrolling Arab or African children.

C. Even with a major upsurge in spending, the public lycee system suffers from dilapidated buildings, crowded classrooms (40 students per teacher), and crime in the hallways and restrooms.

IV. France and Europe
A. Most French leaders favor European unification (partly because they see France as the dominant power)
B. The question is what kind of united Europe?
   1. Federation or Confederation (“Europe des patries”)
True or False (mark T for true and F for false)

01. Louis XIV started French absolutism. _____

02. The Jacobins were radical revolutionaries. _____

03. The decline of the French economy led to the Revolution. _____

04. French cabinet ministers also serve in the National Assembly. _____

05. Mitterand was the Fifth Republic’s first leftist president. _____

06. The National Assembly still has the power of the purse. _____

07. The French people tend to be mistrustful. _____

08. Most French are practicing Catholics. _____

09. The Great Schools are the elite of higher education. _____

10. The two French electoral blocs are unstable. _____

11. De Gaulle carefully created a Gaullist party. _____

12. France has a strong pluralist tradition. _____

13. The Poujadists represented chiefly big business. _____

14. France has more state-owned industry than Britain. _____

15. France’s anti-immigrant party is the National Front. _____

Bonus Question

16. The French “indicative plans” are similar to Communist-style centralized planning. _____