

# France since 1870

## Culture, Politics and Society

Third Edition

Charles Sowerwine

# Contents

<i>List of Maps</i>	xv
<i>Preface</i>	xvi
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xviii
<i>Abbreviations</i>	xx
<i>French Regimes</i>	xxvii
<i>European Union Member States by Date of Accession</i>	xxviii
<i>Eurozone Member States by Date of Accession</i>	xxix
<b>Part I: The Rise of the Third Republic, 1870–85</b>	<b>1</b>
<i>Chapter 1: France in the Nineteenth Century</i>	3
Paris, ‘Capital of the Nineteenth Century’	3
An Economy in Transition	4
French Society in the Nineteenth Century: Nobles and Bourgeois	5
French Society in the Nineteenth Century: Women	8
French Society in the Nineteenth Century: Workers from Farm to Factory	9
<i>Chapter 2: The Franco-Prussian War and the Paris Commune, 1870–71</i>	12
The Franco-Prussian War, 1870–71	12
The Proclamation of the Third Republic, 4 September 1870	13
The Siege of Paris, September 1870–February 1871	14
The Struggle for Paris, 1–18 March 1871	16
Paris under the Central Committee of the National Guard, 18–28 March 1871	18
‘The Days of the Commune’, 28 March–21 May 1871	19
<i>La Semaine sanglante</i> (The Week of Blood), 21–28 May 1871	22
<i>Chapter 3: The Triumph of the Republicans, 1871–85</i>	25
Building the Republic	25
Thiers in Power, 1871–73	26
The Monarchists in Power: ‘Moral Order’ vs the Republicans, 1873–76	27
The Republicans Come to Power, 1876–79	30
The Republic of Jules Ferry I: Republican Freedoms	34
The Republic of Jules Ferry II: Republican Schools	34
The Republic of Jules Ferry III: Republican Colonies	36
	vii

## Contents

<i>Chapter 4: The Cultural Bases of Republicanism</i>	40
Reason and the Republican Project	40
Materialism and Anticlericalism	41
Freemasonry, Masculinity and the Republic	43
‘The Painters of Modern Life’	45
Time and Narrative	48
History and the Republic	49
<b>Part II: Testing Time for the Republic, 1885–1918</b>	<b>53</b>
<i>Chapter 5: Challenges to the Republic (1): Constructing the Modern Right</i>	55
Anti-Semitism and the New Nationalism	55
The New Nationalism and the Boulanger Affair, 1885–89	57
The Apogee of ‘Peasant France’?	59
The Panama Affair, 1889–93	61
The Church, the Republic and the Social Question, 1889–96	62
Dreyfus, from Case to Affair, 1894–97	63
The Dreyfus Affair and Mass Politics, 1898–1902	65
<i>Chapter 6: Challenges to the Republic (2): Constructing the Modern Left</i>	69
The Development of Social Movements	69
Feminism and the ‘New Woman’	73
Anarchism and Syndicalism	75
The Dreyfus Revolution	76
Clemenceau and the Defeat of Labour, 1906–10	78
Colonies, Alliances and the Origins of the Great War, 1898–1914	80
<i>Chapter 7: The Cultural Revolution of the Belle Époque</i>	86
New Cultural Space: The Montmartre Cafés	86
The Erosion of Realism	88
The Erosion of Objective Time	90
The Fragmentation of Perception	93
<i>Chapter 8: The Great War, 1914–18</i>	97
From War of Movement to Stationary War	97
The Trenches	98
The Home Front	100
The Evolution of the War	101
Peace Movements during the War	103
Wild Cards: Russia, America and Clemenceau	104
Victory	106
Counting the Losses	107
<b>Part III: The Decline of the Third Republic, 1919–40</b>	<b>111</b>
<i>Chapter 9: France after the War, 1919–28</i>	113
Class Struggle and the Elections of 1919	113

Gender Struggle: Repression	115
Gender and Race: Public Space and Diversity	117
Class Struggle Again	121
National and International Affairs: From Peace to Crises	124
From First-Wave Fascism to the Poincaré Years	126
<i>Chapter 10: France in the Depression, 1929–35</i>	129
Everyday Life in the Depression	129
Politics and Second-Wave Fascism	130
The Stavisky Affair and the Riots of 6 February 1934	133
Republican Response to 6 February 1934	135
<i>Chapter 11: The Popular Front, 1936–37</i>	138
Origins of the Popular Front	138
The Popular Front and the Strikes of May–June 1936	139
The Popular Front and Women	141
The Matignon Agreements and Popular Front Reforms	143
The Challenge of Spain	144
The ‘Wall of Money’?	145
<i>Chapter 12: Culture between the Wars</i>	148
Dadaism and Surrealism	148
Early Cinema	149
The Revolt in Music	150
Surrealism, Art and Art Deco	151
The Literature of War and Despair	153
The Literature of Reform and Revolt	155
Cinema and Politics	156
<i>Chapter 13: The Fall of France, 1938–40</i>	159
Foreign Policy, 1924–38	159
The <i>Anschluss</i> and Munich	161
The Death of the Popular Front and the Rise of Fascism	164
Gender Struggle	165
Towards War	167
The French Army and the <i>Blitzkrieg</i>	167
The Armistice and the Death of the Republic	170
<b>Part IV: Vichy and Its Aftermath, 1940–46</b>	<b>173</b>
<i>Chapter 14: The Vichy Government, 1940–42</i>	175
Was Vichy Fascist?	176
The Vichy Government	177
The Cult of Personality	178
Vichy’s National Revolution	180
Vichy’s Search for Collaboration	182

## Contents

The Politics of Exclusion	184
French Participation in the Holocaust	187
Explaining French Participation in the Holocaust	188
<b>Chapter 15: <i>Resistance and Liberation, 1942–44</i></b>	<b>191</b>
Charles de Gaulle and the Call	191
The Beginnings of Resistance	193
The Stakes Are Raised, 1940–43	195
The Resistance: From Isolated Actions to Mass Movement, 1942–44	196
The Liberation	199
<b>Chapter 16: <i>Liberated France, 1944–46</i></b>	<b>202</b>
The Struggle for Authority	202
The Purge	204
The Price of War	207
Reform and Reconstruction	208
Rebuilding the Republic	211
The Parties Write a Constitution	213
Liberated Paris	214
<b>Chapter 17: <i>Existentialism: Culture of the Resistance?</i></b>	<b>216</b>
Beauvoir, Camus and Sartre	216
The Effect of the War	219
From the Liberation to <i>Le Deuxième Sexe</i>	223
From Hope to Despair	224
Culture in the 1950s: The Theatre of the Absurd	225
<b>Part V: The Fourth Republic, 1946–58</b>	<b>227</b>
<b>Chapter 18: <i>Vietnam War, Cold War, 1946–54</i></b>	<b>229</b>
The Colonial Heritage	229
An Autonomous Vietnam in the French Union?	231
The Eruption of the Cold War in French Politics	233
The Cultural Politics of the Cold War	235
The Cold War and the Marshall Plan	236
Social Explosion, 1947	237
The Beginnings of European Institutions	239
The ‘Third Force’ and the 1951 Elections	240
On to Dien Bien Phu	241
Pierre Mendès France and the Geneva Conference	243
<b>Chapter 19: <i>The 1950s: Coke, Culture and the French Economic Miracle</i></b>	<b>246</b>
The French Economic Miracle	246
‘Fast Cars, Clean Bodies’	247
Modernization or Americanization?	250
France versus America: The Culture Wars	252

<i>Chapter 20: The Algerian War Erupts, 1954–57</i>	253
Algeria in Historical Perspective	253
The Fall of Mendès France	256
Fallout in Paris: The 1956 Elections	257
Guy Mollet Escalates the War	258
The Suez Invasion	259
Torture: The Battle of Algiers	260
<i>Chapter 21: The Fall of the Fourth Republic, 1958</i>	263
From International Incident to National Crisis	263
‘The 13 Plots of 13 May’	264
Rebuilding the State in Algeria	267
Rebuilding the State in France	269
<b>Part VI: The Fifth Republic I, 1958–81</b>	<b>273</b>
<i>Chapter 22: De Gaulle’s Presidency, 1958–68: Algeria vs ‘Grandeur’</i>	275
Putting Down the Generals	275
Torture and Anti-War Movements	277
Attempted Putsch and Terror	278
The Evian Accords	280
Domestic Politics under de Gaulle	281
Economic Growth	284
The Politics of ‘Grandeur’: Industry and Foreign Policy	286
The Politics of ‘Grandeur’: Urbanism and Culture	288
<i>Chapter 23: Cultural Explosion: New Theory, New Cinema, New Novel</i>	292
New French Theory and Post-Modernism	292
Three Precursors: Saussure, Lacan, Lévi-Strauss	293
Roland Barthes	295
Michel Foucault	296
Jacques Derrida	297
The ‘New Novel’	298
‘New Wave’ Cinema	301
<i>Chapter 24: Social Explosion: May ’68</i>	305
A Crisis in Higher Education	305
A New Critique of Modern Society	307
Radicalization	308
Explosion	309
The Workers Join, Everyone Joins	311
From Revolt to Revolution?	312
Defeat	314
The Legacy of May	316
Epilogue	317

<b>Part VII: The Fifth Republic II, 1969–95</b>	<b>319</b>
<i>Chapter 25: Pompidou's and Giscard's Presidencies, 1969–81:</i>	
<i>May's Aftershocks and the End of the Trente Glorieuses</i>	321
Politics, <i>Groupuscules</i> and Worker 'Insubordination'	321
Women's Rights, Gay Rights	323
Pompidou and Vichy	325
The Common Market and the Renewal of the Left	326
Pompidou and Paris	328
Last Years of the <i>Trente Glorieuses</i>	329
Women and Men in the New Industrial Revolution	330
Valéry Giscard d'Estaing: Liberal Reform?	331
Oil Crisis, Permanent Crisis	332
Politics in the Late 1970s	334
 <i>Chapter 26: Mitterrand's Presidency, 1981–88: 'Socialist France'?</i>	 337
The Three Icebergs	337
Creating 'Socialist France', 1981–82	338
The Lasting Reforms	340
Technology	341
Mitterrand and Women: Almost All the Way to the Altar	342
The 'Wall of Money' Again? 1982–83	344
Treading Water, 1984–86	345
Immigrants and the Front national	346
Cohabitation, 1986–88	349
 <i>Chapter 27: Mitterrand's Presidency, 1988–95: Stalemate</i>	 353
Michel Rocard's Government, 1988–91	353
Integration and <i>Foulards</i>	354
From Berlin to Maastricht: Foreign Policy and Europe, 1989–92	356
The Socialists in Decline	358
Celebrating Revolution, Exposing Collaboration	359
Mitterrand, Chirac and Paris	361
Édouard Balladur's Government, 1993–95	364
Towards the Presidential Elections of 1995	366
Epilogue: The End of the Mitterrand Era	367
 <i>Chapter 28: Culture after '68: Conflicting Trends</i>	 369
Post-Modernism, Feminism and Gay Rights	369
The End of Post-Modernism?	372
'New Philosophers', Reactionary Pessimists and <i>Déclinistes</i>	376
Literature after '68	377
'The Beur Moment'	382
Cinema after the New Wave	383

<b>Part VIII: The Fifth Republic III, 1995–2017</b>	<b>389</b>
<i>Chapter 29: Chirac's Presidency, 1995–2002: From Juppé to Jospin</i>	391
The 1995 Strikes	391
The Surprise Elections of 1997: Socialist Renaissance	393
Lionel Jospin's Tightrope Act, 1997–2002	394
Liberalism, Globalization and the EU	396
Towards Gay Liberation: The PaCS	398
Towards Women's Equality: The Parity Amendment	400
Revising the Constitution: The <i>Quinquennat</i>	401
Remembering Vichy, Forgetting Algeria	402
Presidential Elections 2002: Vichy's Revenge	404
<i>Chapter 30: Chirac's Presidency, 2002–07: Sarkozy Rising</i>	407
The Iraq War: France Out in the Cold	407
Integration: The <i>Foulard</i> Crisis, 2002–04	408
The Colonial Past: Papon and <i>La Querelle des Mémoires</i> , 2002–07	410
Rejecting the EU, 2004–05	410
The <i>Banlieue</i> Riots, October 2005	413
Neo-Liberalism? The 'CPE' Riots, February–March 2006	415
New Museums	416
Sarko/Ségo, 2006–07	416
<i>Chapter 31: Sarkozy's Presidency, 2007–12: Neo-Liberalism and the GFC</i>	420
Sarkozy's First Year: Bling and Bush	420
Sarkozy's First Year: Tax Cuts and Shocks	421
France and the GFC	423
Judges and Regions	424
Playing the Muslim Card	425
Pensions and Scandals	427
The Rise of the FN	428
Presidential Elections 2012	429
<i>Chapter 32: Hollande's Presidency, 2012–17: Socialism or Neo-Liberalism?</i>	432
Jean-Marc Ayrault's Government, 2012–14	432
Locking in Austerity	433
A Government Divided	435
Austerity, For and Against	435
A 'Normal Presidency'?	436
Paris in the Twenty-First Century	437
The Loi Macron	438
'Je Suis Charlie'	439
Macron and the Loi Macron	441
The Front National, Politics and Terror	441
The 2016 Labour Law	442
Terror Again	443

## Contents

Presidential Elections 2017	444
Legislative Elections 2017	447
A Sixth Republic?	449
<i>Chapter 33: Racism, Pessimism, Despair: A Culture for the Twenty-First Century</i>	453
Beur Writing since 1995	453
Cinema: A Success Story and an Escape	454
Thought for a Neo-Liberal Age: Facing Up to Inequality	457
Thought for a Neo-Liberal Age: Pessimists, <i>Déclinistes</i> and <i>Néoréacs</i>	458
Literature for a Neo-Liberal Age: Narcissism and Despair	461
The New Public Intellectual	463
<i>Conclusion</i>	465
The Weight of the Past	465
Colonialism and Racism	466
Integration and the State	466
France in the EU	467
France and Neo-Liberalism	468
A Just Society?	469
Corruption and Justice	470
French Culture in the Twenty-First-Century World	471
The Identity of France	472
<i>Notes</i>	473
<i>Suggestions for Further Reading</i>	505
<i>Index</i>	515