

FRANCE

Polity5 regime codes:

fac	scode	polity	pers	bmon	bday	byear	emon	eday	eyear	exec	exconst	polcomp
	FRN	-8	.	1	1	1800	4	11	1814	3	1	2
1X	FRN	-4	16	4	12	1814	5	16	1830	2	3	6
1Xa	FRN	-1	18	5	17	1830	2	23	1848	2	5	6
1Xb	FRN	6	4	2	24	1848	12	2	1851	8	5	7
1O	FRN	-88	1	12	3	1851	11	2	1852	-88	-88	-88
1Oa	FRN	-8	8	11	3	1852	11	24	1860	3	1	2
1Ob	FRN	-88	2	11	25	1860	6	1	1863	-88	-88	-88
1Oc	FRN	-6	6	6	2	1863	9	6	1869	3	3	2
1Od	FRN	-3	1	9	7	1869	9	4	1870	3	5	2
1Oe	FRN	-88	7	9	5	1870	12	13	1877	-88	-88	-88
1Of	FRN	7	21	12	14	1877	6	30	1898	8	7	4
2X	FRN	8	21	7	1	1898	7	12	1919	8	7	7
2O	FRN	9	11	7	13	1919	4	30	1930	8	7	9
2Oa	FRN	10	10	5	1	1930	6	22	1940	8	7	10
2Ob	FRN	-66	4	6	23	1940	9	10	1944	-66	-66	-66
3X	FRN	-88	2	9	11	1944	1	15	1947	-88	-88	-88
3Xa	FRN	8	11	1	16	1947	5	31	1958	8	7	7
3O	FRN	0	1	6	1	1958	1	7	1959	5	3	8
3Oa	FRN	4	7	1	8	1959	12	18	1965	7	4	8
3Ob	FRN	7	3	12	19	1965	4	28	1969	8	5	9
3Oc	FRN	9	17	4	29	1969	3	19	1986	8	6	10
3Od	FRN	10	33	3	20	1986	99	99	9999	8	7	10

PITF Problem Events:

- 1) 06/58-06/58 (ARC 06/58)

3X) Date of Change to Factional-Democratic: September 11, 1944 (end of foreign occupation; transitional government)

Brief Explanation of Change To:

The German military occupation of France unravels quickly following the invasion by Allied forces in the north (Normandy) and south (Riviera); Paris is liberated on August 23, 1944. The French collaborationist Vichy government collapses with the German retreat and is abolished by the French Provisional Government on September 10, 1944, upon its return from exile in Algiers. On the same day, Gen. Charles de Gaulle, president of the council, reorganized the Council of Ministers to include prominent leaders of the underground National Council of the Resistance. On September 11, 1944, the Provisional Government convened in Paris. The French Forces of the Interior (FFI) were integrated into the French Regular Army on September 23 and on October 28 the *Milices Patriotiques* (patriot militias) were disbanded. The provisional Consultative Assembly was replaced with a Constituent Assembly in general elections held on October 21, 1945, that was characterized by a near perfect, three-way split between the *Mouvement Républicain Populaire* (MRP), the Socialist, and the Communists; a three-party unity government is formed and de Gaulle is elected president. President de Gaulle resigned on January 20, 1946, and was replaced by Félix Gouin (Socialist). The first Constituent Assembly drafted a constitution favored by the Socialists and Communists but that draft was rejected in a national referendum (47% in favor). New elections were held on June 2, 1946, and a second Constituent Assembly was formed that was similarly split. A compromise constitution was drafted that was vigorously opposed by de Gaulle; it was approved narrowly by referendum (53% in favor with nearly one-third abstaining). The French Fourth Republic constitution was promulgated on October 28, 1946, and general elections were held on November 10, 1946,

showing a more prominent division between communists and anti-communists. The Communists emerged as the largest party but were unable to form a government; a caretaker government was formed by Leon Blum (Socialist) until presidential elections were held.

Identify Main Factions:

- *Moderates* — The French moderates formed the ruling *Troisième Force* ("third force") coalition, including the *Mouvement Républicain Populaire* (MRP), Socialists, Radical Socialists, and other smaller parties, in an apparently futile attempt to make the Fourth Republic work. The moderates were bolstered by passage, in May 1951, of an electoral reform bill that effectively limited the influence of both the Communists and Gaulists; however, fundamental differences among the ruling coalition partners precluded the formulation and advocacy of coherent policy under the prevailing international pressures of the Cold War and anti-colonialism.
- *Communists* — The Communists enjoyed a definite advantage and figured prominently in the unity government during the post-war transition period. They had been very important in the resistance movement during the German occupation and were able to maintain a coherent platform in response to the extreme economic disarray and hardships in the immediate post-war environment. As France recovered from the war and, especially, with the advent of the United States' Marshall Plan to aid recovery in western Europe, the Communist Party role moved to an obstructionist opposition.
- *Gaulists* — Gen. Charles de Gaulle had vigorously opposed the constitutional and party structure of the Fourth Republic from its inception. In April 1947, he established the *Rassemblement du Peuple Français* (RPF, Rally of the French People) explicitly as an obstructionist party. The Gaulists were anti-communist and maintained a very rigid party unity. They refused to enter any governing coalitions unless they were granted complete control and they very often voted with the communists in opposition to government policy.

Changes within Factional-Democratic Period:

3Xa) January 16, 1947 (new government) – Vincent Auriol was elected president by a joint session of the bicameral legislature (National Assembly and Council of the Republic) on January 16, 1947, thereby initiating the Fourth Republic. The French government was faced with enormous challenges of recovery and reconstruction in “metropolitan” France and increasing rebellion in its overseas territories, particularly in French Indochina and, subsequently, in its northern Africa territories (Morocco, Tunisia, and Algeria). During the period from the liberation of Paris in 1944 to the Algerian mutiny in 1958, France had twenty-five governments, the most enduring of which lasted only sixteen months. It also experienced widespread and recurrent social turmoil. In January 1956 general elections the Gaulist Rally of the French People had nearly disappeared after having emerged as the largest party in the previous (June 1951) elections. In retrospect, this appears to signal a change in strategy by the Gaulists from active opposition to the Fourth Republic to proactivism within the French armed forces. On May 13, 1958, Gen. Raoul Salan, the commander of French forces in Algeria, led an Army mutiny and seized control in Algiers, setting up a Committee for Public Safety and appealing to de Gaulle to assume leadership of France. On May 16, Gen. de Gaulle announced his readiness to take over leadership of France. On May 24, a similar revolt took place in Corsica.

30) Date of Change from Factional-Democratic: June 1, 1958 (new government)

Brief Explanation of Change From:

On May 26, 1958, the two-week old government of Pierre Pflimlin (MRP) resigned and President Coty asked Gen. Charles de Gaulle to form a government. On June 1, 1958, the National Assembly approved the investiture of the de Gaulle government by a vote of 329-224 and a new government was announced on June 2 that included all parties except the Communists and the extreme right-wing Poujadists. The new government was invested with “special powers” for six months to carry out by decree “the necessary legislative measures for the rehabilitation of the nation.” A new constitution was drafted that concentrated greater authority in the executive office of the president. The election of the president was to be conducted by an Electoral College comprising the municipal mayors and councilors, members of the departmental councils, national legislators, and some additional delegates.

Changes within Democratic-Consolidation Period:

30a) January 8, 1959 (new constitution; new government) – The new constitution was approved in a popular referendum on September 28 (79.2%) and promulgated on October 6, 1958.

Elections to the National Assembly were conducted for the first time on the basis of single-member constituencies; this method produced strong results for the newly formed Union of the New Republic (supporting de Gaulle; 189 seats) and conservative independents (132 seats). The Socialists (40 seats) and, particularly, the Communists (10 seats) were under-represented based on the total vote (the Communists polled second only to the independents). The presidential election was held on December 21 and Gen. de Gaulle was elected by a wide margin over two additional candidates (77.5%). The French Fifth Republic was established on January 8, 1959, when President de Gaulle took office. General elections held in October 1962 increased the Gaullist majority. The country was divided on policy toward the Algerian war and coercive tactics were quite common, especially regarding the right-wing extremist Secret Army Organization (OAS) which attempted on at least two occasions in 1962 to assassinate President de Gaulle.

30b) December 19, 1965 (direct presidential elections) – On October 28, 1962, President de Gaulle submitted a constitutional amendment to public referendum calling for direct election of the president with universal suffrage. The referendum was approved with 62% of the vote and promulgated on November 7, 1962. The first direct presidential election was held in December 1965; President de Gaulle (55.2%) was re-elected in the second round held on December 19, 1965, against Francois Mitterrand (44.8%).

30c) April 29, 1969 (presidential resignation) – Beginning on May 2, 1968, urban areas in France faced major, violent demonstrations by students and widespread strikes by organized labor against the de Gaulle government’s economic policies, control over broadcast media, and the conservative and anti-communist values it espoused and, to a considerable extent, enforced. With popular support eroding (the ruling coalition had lost its majority in parliament), increasing criticism by the Federation of the Left and the Communists, and with the country virtually at a standstill, President de Gaulle threatened to invoke Article 16 “special powers” to quell the

disturbances. He dissolved the National Assembly on May 30 and called new elections in an attempt to prevent the formation of a leftist government. With the scheduling of new elections, the workers' strikes and student demonstrations began to dissipate. A flare up in Paris led the government, on June 12, to issue a ban on open demonstrations until after the general elections. Elections were held on June 23 and 30, 1968; the reorganized Gaulist party, *Union pour la défense de la République* (UDR), gained a strong majority in the national Assembly and solidified de Gaulle's leadership. On April 27, 1969, submitted a package of constitutional reforms to public referendum but that package was defeated (52.4% No) and, on April 28, President de Gaulle resigned. In June 1969 presidential elections, Georges Pompidou (UDR; 58.2%) defeated Alain Poher (moderate), with the Socialists in disarray and the Communists boycotting the election.

30d) March 20, 1986 (legislative elections) – The May 1981 presidential elections had, by a narrow margin, produced the Fifth Republic's first Socialist president, Francois Mitterrand. On March 16, 1986, elections were held for the National Assembly. Although the Socialist Party emerged as the largest party, the coalition of right-wing opposition parties, Rally for the Republic (RPR) and Union for French Democracy (UDF), constituted a slim majority and were called upon to form a government. On March 20, 1986, President Mitterrand appointed Jacques Chirac (RPR) prime minister, establishing the first period of cohabitation in the French government.