Thirty Modern Years:
Economy, Society, and Technology in the Post-War Era
Announcements

Your next short paper is due in class a week from today.

No discussion class this coming Friday.

Tomorrow is ELECTION DAY; the polls are open in Indiana, 6:00-6:00.

The IU Cinema this week is showing a series of films by the French filmmaker Claire Denis; she is speaking on Saturday at 7:00 p.m.
What is France? summer 1942

Churchill: You say you are France. But you are not France. You have not been recognized.

De Gaulle: Why are you discussing this with me, if I am not France? I am fighting alongside England, but I am not fighting for England.

Churchill: The problem is to decide what France is.

“I would rather give my soul to God than be in the hands of the English.”
Joan of Arc (Vichy poster)
FRANCE and COMPANY
gambling, capitalism, Jewishness, Communism, greed, freemasonry, fear, bribes, anti-militarism
LAZINESS, DEMAGOGY, INTERNATIONALISM

FRANCE
school, artisans, peasants, Legion [of Veterans]
discipline, order, savings, bravery
WORK, FAMILY, FATHERLAND
Resistances

*maquis* (literally refers to the scrublands of Corsica)—men in hiding in the countryside

PCF (French Communist Party)—had been staging armed attacks in the Occupied Zone from 1941—*democratized* the idea of “resistance” to build a mass movement (knitting socks, hiding grain)

newspapers: *Libération-Sud* (copies printed/issue)
- June 1942 20,000
- July 1943 120,000
- Dec. 1942 60,000
- Aug. 1944 200,000

*Combat*
- 1942 10,000
- Nov. 1943 50,000
- 1944 100,000-200,000

FFI (French Army of the Interior—all militarized resistance groups *within* France)
- Jan. 1944 50,000
- June 100,000
- August 500,000
The “Franco-French Wars” (*guerres franco-françaises*)* in Modern History

1789-1804 Revolution; Vendée; Terror; Counter Terror

1871 the Paris Commune

1894-1906 the Dreyfus Affair

1940-1944 Collaboration, Vichy, Resistance

* term first used in 1950 by Pétain’s former chief of staff to describe current divisions

Stanley Hoffmann (1968) used it to emphasize that key issue for 1940-1944 is French-French (not French-German) relations

editors of *Vingtième Siècle (Twentieth Century)* used it in 1985 to suggest that all modern French history could be understood around a series of fault lines *within* French society
Liberation?

Paris! Outraged Paris! Broken Paris! Martyred Paris, but liberated Paris! Liberated by the people of Paris with help from the armies of France, with the help and support of the whole of France, of the France which is fighting, of the only France, the real France, eternal France. …The nation knows that to conquer, to reconstruct and to be great all Frenchmen are needed. The nation well knows that the sons and daughters of France - all the sons and daughters except for a few unhappy traitors who gave themselves over to the enemy and who are tasting or will taste the rigors of the law - yes! all the sons and daughters of France must march towards France's goal, fraternally and hand in hand.

De Gaulle, Paris Hôtel de Ville, Aug. 25, 1944.
Defining Collaboration, Blaming Collaborators

1944-1951 trials for collaboration
approx. 2500 death sentences; 767 executions
1950: 40,000 people in jail for collaboration
after 1951 amnesty: 1,570; after 1953 amnesty: 62

1944-1945 épurations (purges)
10,000 people shot as “collabos”

“For the relief troops, for my family,
for France—I work in Germany. Do as I do”
Vichy poster in support of STO (Forced Labor)

1949: 97% of Vichy civil servants still in post

French woman having her head shaved as punishment for “collaboration” photo from US National Archives
Conseil National de la Résistance (CNR) Charter

The representatives of the movements, groups, parties, and political tendencies included in the CNR declare they will remain united after the Liberation, in order to ensure:

- democracy established by giving a voice back to the French people and restoring universal suffrage
- complete liberty of thought, faith, and expression
- liberty of the press and its independence from both the State and moneyed or foreign influences

... 
- the creation of true social and economic democracy, with the eviction of all economic and financial feudal overlords
- a rational organization of the economy, assuring that all private interests are second to the general good
- increased national production based on a state plan, after consulting representatives of all elements of the population
- the right to work and the right to leisure ... and a complete plan of social security, guaranteeing that all citizens can support themselves, even when they cannot get work
- recompense for the bombed and pensions to the victims of fascist terror
- an extension of political, social, and economic rights to the native populations of the colonies
Why doesn’t France after the Second World War become Communist?
# French Regimes since 1792

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Notes</th>
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<td>- Directory, 1795-1799</td>
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<td>- Consulate, 1799-1804</td>
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<td>First Empire, 1804-1815</td>
<td>- First Restoration, 1814</td>
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<td>- Hundred Days, spring 1815</td>
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<td>Restored Monarchy, 1815-1830</td>
<td>- Louis XVIII, 1815-18</td>
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<td>- Charles X, 1815-1830</td>
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<td>July Monarchy, 1830-1848</td>
<td>- Louis Philippe, 1830-1848</td>
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<tr>
<td>provisional government;</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Second Republic, 1848-1851</td>
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<td>Second Empire, 1851-1870</td>
<td>- provisional government, 1870-1875</td>
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<td>Third Republic, 1875-1940</td>
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<td>French State (“Vichy”) in</td>
<td>- German occupation in north, 1940-1942</td>
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<td>south; all of France governed by German military with collaboration of Vichy state, 1942-1944</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>provisional government,</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Fourth Republic, 1947-1958</td>
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<td>Fifth Republic, 1958-present</td>
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When is modern France?
France in 1945

- railroads 50% unusable
- imports 5x > exports
- *franc* at 1/6 its pre-war value
- many of those who returned from STO or deportation found marriages had collapsed but no mutual consent divorce (1973)

bread (*pain*) ration coupon
Unhampered trade dovetails with peace; high tariffs, trade barriers, and unfair economic competition, with war...if we could get a freer flow of trade...freer in the sense of fewer discriminations and obstructions...so that one country would not be deadly jealous of another and the living standards of all countries might rise, thereby eliminating the economic dissatisfaction that breeds war, we might have a reasonable chance of lasting peace...

U.S. Secretary of State Hull, 1944.

In the years to come, our domestic comfort will be a direct result of our economic policy. Ah, yes! These great problems of imports and exports, these electrification plans—all of these questions that seem to be above your head, Madame—all have a direct influence on the agreeability or difficulty of your daily life ... So? Do not be disinterested in politics...

“The Perfect Housekeeper,”
*La Femme* (Woman, weekly magazine) 1946.

Today it is no longer just our material comfort, our standard of living, but our entire weight and role in the world that depends on production. Yesterday, there was no greater national duty than that of fighting. Today there is no greater duty than producing.

de Gaulle, radio address, March 1945.

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Vespa scooter advertising poster, 1955.
“Without the Marshall Plan, your factory chimneys wouldn’t smoke…and neither would you.”

[European Recovery Program]
- Germany $1,448,000,000
- Sweden 347,000,000
- United Kingdom 3,297,000,000
- France 2,296,000,000

“But of course there is a Marshall Plan, and it costs every American 32 dollars a year.”

George C. Marshall, 1880-1959
1939-1945, Chief of Staff (Army)
1947-1949, Secretary of State
1949, Pres., American Red Cross
1950-1951, Secretary of Defence
World peace cannot be safeguarded without making creative efforts. An organized and living Europe can make an indispensable contribution to civilization… By taking upon herself for more than twenty years the role of champion of a united Europe, France has always had peace as her essential aim. A united Europe was not achieved and we had war…

The coming together of the nations of Europe requires the end of the age-old conflict between France and Germany. With this aim in mind, the French Govt proposes that action be taken immediately on one limited but crucial point. It proposes that Franco-German coal and steel production be placed under a common High Authority… The solidarity in production thus established will make it plain that any war between Franc and Germany would be not only unthinkable but materially impossible.

May 9, 1950.
France in 1945

- 37% of households had running water
- most housing stock was 60-100 years old
- 46% of population rural (i.e., in communities < 2000)

U.S. soldier playing with French children, 1945-1946
Le Corbusier
Cité Radieuse, Marseilles, 1945-1952
HLM
*habitations à loyer modéré*= low-rent housing

> 50% of rental properties in France today

25% of population lives in HLMs
The “New Look” (1947)
“Do what I did! You can buy your Renault right now, thanks to exceptional credit offers for winter 1954-1955.”

### Paris population

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>City</th>
<th>Urban Area</th>
<th>Greater Urban Area</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>2.8 million</td>
<td>6 million</td>
<td>urban area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>2.79</td>
<td>7.38</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>8.55</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>2.13</td>
<td>9.65</td>
<td>11.1</td>
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### Cars in the Paris region

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>500,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>1,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>2,000,000</td>
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</tbody>
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Jean Fourastié,

Pompidou Center, Paris
TGV = trains à grande vitesse (High-speed trains)

trains built by ALSTHOM (French, German, British conglomerate)
Poujadisme

UDCA = Union for the Defence of Shopkeepers and Artisans

1954 called for new Estates General

opposed: income tax; urbanization; Americanization; immigrants; parliamentary compromise

1956 53 UDCA representatives elected to National Assembly (including Jean-Marie Le Pen)
“act so that every person, every society, every nation can live and fulfil itself in equal dignity, sharing and exchanging with others”

Universal Manifesto of Emmaüs

abbé Pierre [Henri Antoine Grouès], 1912-2007
$1.00 US
Dec. 1945   119.11 French francs
Oct. 1948    263.52
Sep. 1949    350
Aug. 1957    420
Dec. 1958    493.71
Jan. 1960    4.93