

Cambridge University Press
978-0-521-58061-8 - The Pompidou Years, 1969–1974
Serge Berstein and Jean-Pierre Rioux
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This is the latest volume to appear in the successful ‘Cambridge History of Modern France’, and is the most authoritative account available in English of the presidency of Georges Pompidou. Pompidou consolidated the constitutional changes made by de Gaulle, to the extent that he is now regarded as the Fifth Republic’s second founding father, and continued de Gaulle’s haughty attitudes to foreign policy. He also launched a programme of modernization and industrialization: under Pompidou France saw both the climax and the end of the post-war boom. Serge Berstein and Jean-Pierre Rioux analyse the politics of the period, and also give an overview of France’s economy, culture and society. Their comprehensive study contains all the standard features, such as maps, chronology and tables, which have helped this series to establish itself as the premier multi-volume account of modern France. Students, scholars and teachers in history and political studies will find this volume invaluable.

SERGE BERSTEIN is Professor of History at the Institut d’Etudes Politiques, Paris, and the author of *The Republic of de Gaulle, La République sur le fil* and numerous other books on modern French history.

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The Cambridge History of Modern France

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Abbreviations

| | |
|-----------|--|
| BEP | brevet d'études professionnelles |
| CAL | comités d'action lycéens |
| CAP | certificat d'aptitude professionnelle |
| CCU | Comité consultatif des universités |
| CDP | Centre Démocratie et Progrès |
| CEA | Commissariat à l'énergie atomique |
| CEG | collège d'enseignement général |
| CERC | Centre d'études des revenus et des coûts |
| CERES | Centre d'études, de recherche et d'éducation socialistes |
| CES | collège d'enseignement secondaire |
| CFDT | Confédération française et démocratique du travail |
| CFP | Compagnie française des pétroles |
| CFTC | Confédération française des travailleurs chrétiens |
| CGT | Confédération générale du travail |
| CID-UNATI | Centre d'information et de défense–Union nationale des associations de travailleurs indépendants |
| CIR | Convention des institutions républicaines |
| CNESER | Conseil National de l'Enseignement Supérieur et de la Recherche |
| CNIP | Centre national des indépendants et paysans |
| CNJA | Centre national des jeunes agriculteurs |
| CNPF | Conseil national du patronat français |
| CPU | Conférence des présidents d'université |
| CREDOC | Centre de Recherches, d'Etudes et de Documentation sur la Consommation |
| CREP | Centre de Recherche Economique sur l'Epargne |
| DATAR | Délégation à l'aménagement du territoire et à l'action régionale |
| DEA | diplôme d'études approfondies |
| DESS | diplôme d'études spécialisées |
| DEUG | diplôme d'études universitaires générales |

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| | |
|---------|---|
| DGRST | Délégation générale à la recherche scientifique et technique |
| EDF–GDF | Electricité de France–Gaz de France |
| EEC | European Economic Community |
| ENA | Ecole nationale d'administration |
| EPCSC | Etablissements publics à caractère scientifique et culturel |
| ERAP | Entreprise de recherches et d'activités pétrolières |
| FDES | Fonds de développement économique et social |
| FEN | Fédération de l'Education nationale |
| FGDS | Fédération de la gauche démocrate et socialiste |
| FNSEA | Fédération nationale des syndicats d'exploitants agricoles |
| GAEC | Groupement agricole d'exploitation en commun |
| GDP | gross domestic product |
| GNP | gross national product |
| HLM | Habitation à loyer modéré |
| IFOP | Institut français de l'opinion publique |
| INED | Institut national d'études démographiques |
| INSEE | Institut national de la statistique et des études économiques |
| IUT | Institut universitaire de technologie |
| JAC | Jeunesse agricole chrétienne |
| JOC | Jeunesse ouvrière chrétienne |
| MLAC | Mouvement pour la Libéralisation de l'Avortement et de la Contraception |
| MODEF | Mouvement de défense des exploitants familiaux |
| MRJC | Mouvement rural de la jeunesse chrétienne |
| MRP | Mouvement républicain populaire |
| NATO | North Atlantic Treaty Organization |
| OECD | Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development |
| ORTF | Office de radio-télévision française |
| PCF | Parti communiste français |
| PDM | Progrès et démocratie moderne |
| POS | Plans d'occupation des sols |
| PS | Parti socialiste |
| PSU | Parti socialiste unifié |
| RATP | Régie autonome des transports parisiens |
| RPF | Rassemblement du Peuple Français |
| SAFER | Société d'aménagement foncier et d'établissement rural |
| SDAU | Schéma directeur d'aménagement et d'urbanisme |

List of abbreviations

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| | |
|--------|---|
| SEREB | Société pour l'étude et la réalisation de l'engin ballistique |
| SESAME | Système d'étude du schéma d'aménagement |
| SFIO | Section française de l'internationale ouvrière |
| SMIC | Salaire minimum interprofessionnelle de croissance |
| SMIG | Salaire minimum interprofessionnel garant |
| SNCF | Société nationale des chemins de fer |
| SNECMA | Société nationale d'études et de construction de moteurs d'avions |
| SNES | Syndicat national de l'enseignement secondaire |
| SNI | Syndicat national des instituteurs |
| SNIAS | Société nationale industrielle aérospatiale |
| SOFRES | Société française d'enquêtes par sondage |
| UCRG | Union des clubs pour le renouveau de la gauche |
| UDR | Union des démocrates pour la république |
| UER | Unités d'enseignement et de recherche |
| UGCS | Union des groupes et clubs socialistes |
| UNEF | Union nationale des étudiants de France |
| ZAC | Zone d'aménagement concerté |
| ZUP | Zone à urbaniser en priorité |

Chronological summary

1969

| | |
|---------------|--|
| 29 April | Georges Pompidou and Gaston Deferre announce their candidatures for the presidency |
| 30 April | The Independent Republicans declare their support for Pompidou |
| 12 May | Alain Poher announces his candidature |
| 22 May | Jacques Duhamel declares his support for Pompidou |
| 1–15 June | Presidential elections |
| 20 June | Jacques Chaban-Delmas becomes prime minister |
| 2 July | Formation of parliamentary club Présence et action du gaullisme |
| 4 July | Formation of Centre démocratie et progrès |
| 1–13 July | Foundation of Parti socialiste under the leadership of Alain Savary |
| 20 August | The franc is devalued by 12.5 per cent |
| 16 September | Prime minister Chaban-Delmas launches <i>Nouvelle Société</i> project |
| 19 October | Maurice Faure becomes president of the Parti radical |
| October | <i>L'Anti-de Gaulle</i> by Louis Vallon |
| 13 November | Pompidou declares position on nuclear industry |
| November | Liberalization of ORTF |
| 1–2 December | Conference at The Hague on EEC enlargement |
| 10 December | EDF signs up to first <i>contrat de progrès</i> |
| 15 December | Pompidou decides to create a centre for the contemporary arts in Paris |
| 19 December | The American press reveals Franco-Libyan negotiations on arms sales |
| 24–9 December | The ‘Cherbourg gunboats’ affair |

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Chronological summary

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1970

| | |
|---------------|--|
| 7 January | Law introducing SMIC |
| 14 January | Chancellor Brandt sets forth his <i>Ostpolitik</i> to the Bundestag |
| 21 January | Law providing for the sharing out among Renault's employees of a part of the company capital The parliamentary UDR group question the objectivity of the first TV channel |
| 28 January | Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber publishes his radical manifesto, entitled <i>Ciel et Terre</i> |
| 8 February | Georges Marchais becomes assistant general secretary of the PCF |
| 23–9 February | Visit of Pompidou to United States |
| Feb–March | Clashes at Nanterre and Assas. The dean of Nanterre, Paul Ricœur resigns from his post on 14 March |
| 8–15 March | Cantonal elections |
| March | Creation of the Institut pour le développement industriel |
| March–April | Lorry drivers block roads; protests by farmers; demonstration of mayors outside Hôtel Matignon |
| 4 April | Roger Frey calls on the majority to seek broad alliances for the municipal elections |
| 20 April | Agreement between CNPF and trades unions on monthly basis for wages payment |
| 20 May | Roger Garaudy is expelled from PCF |
| 27 May | Disbandment of the Gauche prolétarienne |
| 4 June | <i>Anti-casseurs</i> law |
| 18 June | Victory of Conservatives in Great Britain. Edward Heath becomes prime minister |
| 25–7 June | Chaban-Delmas attacked at UDR Conseil national |
| 28 June | Servan-Schreiber elected parliamentary deputy for Nancy |
| 9 July | Agreement reached on right to training leave |
| 16 July | The Conseil Constitutionnel removes several clauses from the Pleven law on the creation of associations |
| 10 August | German–Soviet treaty recognizing the Oder–Neisse border |
| 20 September | Chaban-Delmas re-elected deputy of Bordeaux, defeating Servan-Schreiber |
| 6–13 October | Visit of Pompidou to Moscow |

xviii Chronological summary

| | |
|-------------------|--|
| <i>9 November</i> | General de Gaulle dies |
| <i>December</i> | The Senate opens an enquiry into irregularities in the administration of public affairs in La Villette |

1971

| | |
|-----------------------|---|
| <i>7 January</i> | Government reshuffle; René Tomasini becomes UDR general secretary |
| <i>19 February</i> | Demonstration by lycée students following the ‘Guiot affair’ |
| <i>24 February</i> | Colonel Boumédiène nationalizes French oil companies operating in Algeria |
| <i>26 February</i> | Pierre Messmer becomes minister for overseas departments and territories |
| <i>14–21 March</i> | Municipal elections |
| <i>20–1 May</i> | Heath–Pompidou talks in Paris |
| <i>16 June</i> | François Mitterrand becomes first secretary of the PS |
| <i>12 July</i> | The five UDR chairmen of National Assembly committees issue a criticism of the government |
| <i>16 July</i> | Laws on the reform of apprenticeship, the upgrading of technical education, and on job training |
| <i>19 July</i> | ‘Garantie foncière’ scandal and charging of UDR deputy Rives-Henry |
| <i>August</i> | Michel Poniatowski launches the idea of a federation of centrists |
| <i>20 September</i> | Senate elections |
| <i>12 October</i> | The PCF publishes its election manifesto, <i>Changer de cap</i> (‘Changing course’) |
| <i>17 October</i> | Servan-Schreiber becomes president of the Parti radical |
| <i>3 November</i> | Creation of Mouvement réformateur |
| <i>18 November</i> | Dega affair |
| <i>13–14 December</i> | Pompidou meets Nixon in the Azores |

1972

| | |
|-------------------|--|
| <i>19 January</i> | <i>Le Canard enchaîné</i> publishes Chaban-Delmas’ tax form |
| <i>22 January</i> | EEC membership treaty signed by Great Britain, Ireland, Norway and Denmark |
| <i>March</i> | PS programme, <i>Changer la vie</i> , published |

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| | |
|--------------------|---|
| <i>1 April</i> | Senate report on clandestine advertising on television |
| <i>23 April</i> | Referendum on EEC enlargement |
| <i>17 May</i> | Chaban-Delmas is authorized to call for a vote of confidence in the National Assembly ‘if he deems it useful’ |
| <i>23 May</i> | National Assembly approves confidence motion |
| <i>16 June</i> | Parti radical splits |
| <i>26 June</i> | Socialist party and communist party sign a <i>programme commun de gouvernement</i> |
| <i>5 July</i> | Law on regional public authorities; Chaban-Delmas resigns; Pierre Messmer becomes prime minister |
| <i>12 July</i> | Arthur Conte becomes director general of ORTF |
| <i>5 September</i> | Alain Peyrefitte replaces René Tomasini as UDR general secretary |
| <i>6 September</i> | Pierre Messmer outlines general policy to National Assembly, but does not request a vote |
| <i>4 October</i> | Foundation of the Mouvement des radicaux de gauche |
| <i>8 October</i> | Valéry Giscard d’Estaing declares that ‘France wants to be governed from the centre’ |

1973

| | |
|----------------------|--|
| <i>7 January</i> | Messmer sets out the majority’s programme in a speech in Provins |
| <i>10 January</i> | Visit of Pompidou to Minsk |
| <i>27 January</i> | Vietnam peace accord signed in Paris |
| <i>12 February</i> | Second devaluation of the dollar |
| <i>4–11 March</i> | Legislative elections |
| <i>6 March</i> | Messmer–Lecanuet electoral agreement on candidate withdrawals |
| <i>2 April</i> | Edgar Faure elected president of National Assembly; Roger Frey becomes president of UDR group |
| <i>3 April</i> | Pompidou’s message to parliament announcing a reform to reduce the presidential term to five years |
| <i>5–12 April</i> | Second Messmer government formed |
| <i>22 April</i> | Henry Kissinger proposes a new Atlantic Charter |
| <i>31 May–1 June</i> | Pompidou meets Nixon in Reykjavik |
| <i>12 June</i> | The Lip watchmaking firm at Besançon goes bankrupt and closes: the workers occupy the factory |

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xx Chronological summary

| | |
|-----------------|---|
| 28 June | Disbandment of Ligue communiste and Ordre nouveau |
| 10 July | Michel Debré criticizes the government's economic policy |
| 14 August | The police clear the Lip factory |
| 11–17 September | Pompidou travels to China |
| 6 October | Outbreak of Yom Kippur war. Alexandre Sanguinetti elected UDR general secretary |
| 16 October | Arthur Conte replaced by Marceau Long as director general of ORTF; the Arab countries reduce their oil exports by 25 per cent and increase the price by 17 per cent |
| 16–19 October | The National Assembly and the Senate vote in favour of the introduction of five-year presidential terms |
| 24 October | Plan to introduce five-year presidential terms shelved |
| 17–18 November | UDR conference in Nantes |
| 4 December | Alleged bugging of <i>Le Canard enchaîné</i> offices |
| December | Jean Charbonnel entrusts Claude Neuschwander with the task of turning Lip around |
| 14 December | EEC summit in Copenhagen, including three new member states |
| 20 December | Approval of the Royer law restricting the opening of large-scale retail outlets |

1974

| | |
|-------------|--|
| 5 January | Pierre Messmer declares: 'Lip, c'est fini!' |
| 19 January | The Conseil des ministres decides to float the franc |
| 11 February | At the summit of industrialized countries in Washington, France opposes the creation of an organization of oil-consuming nations |
| 28 February | Government reshuffle |
| 12 March | Visit by Pompidou to USSR |
| 2 April | Death of Georges Pompidou |