



French Cabinet

CIMUN XV

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1. Topic 1 - Maintaining French Hegemony

1.1. Contexte Historique: Background Information

Since the times of Charlemagne, France has held a position of dominance on the European continent. As the center of commerce, innovation, and culture shifted from the Mediterranean to the English Channel during the centuries following the Renaissance, France has always maintained relevance due to its unique geographical position and massive military power. This power reached its zenith under the Emperor Napoleon in the early 1800s; two successive coalitions of European powers managed to contain the ambition and power of France but could not fully crush it. This dominance and position of supreme importance went almost unanswered in Europe until 1871, when France and Prussia went to war.

The loss of the Franco-Prussian war was a great humiliation for what was once the second great power of Europe and the greatest continental army. France remained undeterred in its pursuit of an overseas empire in spite of this humiliation. France's massive empire was formally recognized by the other great powers during the Berlin Conference of 1884. Although Germany was included in the conference, the country largely excluded from colonizing Africa and Asia. This inspired animosity between Germany and France as the Germans felt France attained undue global economic power relative to their weaker military and industrial capacity.

While there is much debate over the exact causes of the war in 1914, Germany's desire to overtake France in global prestige and imperialism was certainly an impetus for the country to join the war against the Allied Powers along with Austria-Hungary and the Ottoman Empire. The war saw the complete destruction and dissolution of the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian empires, but Germany's strength prevented it from being as easily dismantled. There are some historians that view World War II as an inevitability due to the fact that Germany was still stronger than France and yet was still not given any recognition for its power in diplomatic circles.

In the aftermath of the WWII, the Allied Powers used Germany's total conquest as a platform to enact real change in the balance of power by dividing Germany in two and seizing much of its industrial productive infrastructure. Even in this weakened state, the French still had much to

fear from Germany. The war had left them weak as well and so additional steps had to be taken to maintain the third principle of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO): as NATO's first Secretary General put it, "keeping the Germans down."¹

France began work on this through the foundation of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), an economic organization that included the Benelux countries, the Federal Republic of Germany (BRD or West Germany), and Italy². The ECSC regulated all industrial production between its constituent members and facilitated trade of industrial goods. Robert Schuman, a French official who helped found the organization, established its goals in the aptly named Schuman Declaration. The Schuman Declaration stated the ECSC's goal was to create a united supranational Europe on the basis of democratic freedoms and peaceful cooperation between member states³.

In 1957, the ECSC was expanded into the European Economic Community (EEC) with the Treaty of Rome. This served as a major expansion of the ECSC and included several other measures such as a common agricultural policy for the member states. The EEC integrated the ECSC and European Atomic Community (EURATOM) in a 1967 merger. Though the EEC arguably helps to serve French interests in limiting German independence, current President Charles De Gaulle has been a notable dissident in the organization and incredibly hostile toward supranationalism.⁴ Until 1966, France removed its delegates from the EEC to prevent voting on implementation of the Common Agricultural Policy until France could have a veto power.

The EEC is not the only supranational organization for which De Gaulle has shown disdain. In 1965, De Gaulle pulled France out of SEATO, the South Eastern Atlantic version of the more important NATO. Just one year later France withdrew from the command structure of NATO, although it did not depart the organization entirely.⁵ De Gaulle wished to emphasize French

¹ NATO. "Lord Ismay, 1952 - 1957." NATO. Accessed August 05, 2018. https://www.nato.int/cps/us/natohq/declassified_137930.htm.

² "Treaty Establishing the ECSC." EUR-Lex. Accessed August 05, 2018. <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=LEGISSUM:xy0022>.

³ Mahant, Edelgard Elsbeth. *Birthmarks of Europe: The Origins of the European Community Reconsidered* (Gower Publishing, 2004)

⁴ *De Gaulle avait compris avant tout le monde que l'UE était une arnaque*. 23 March 2014. Retrieved 14 January 2016 – via YouTube

⁵ Horne, Alistair. *La Belle France: A Short History*. New York: Vintage Books, 2006, 405.

independence and not be stuck fighting wars started by other countries. He also warmed relations with the Soviet Union in 1964. De Gaulle viewed communism as a passing fad and did not refer to the Soviet Union as “Union Sovietique” but rather as “Russie,” due to his belief that the Union ultimately acted on Russian nationalist interests much in the same way that he acted on French national interests.

De Gaulle’s pursuit of this self-interest seemed to allow him to behave hypocritically in his hatred for supranationalism as he previously imposed supranational control over former French colonies in Africa. His support for the continued occupation in Algeria proved disastrous in the early 1960s. He was neither fascistic enough to impose the sort of radical ethnic cleansing desired by the “Ultras” nor willing to remove French troops and let Algeria self-govern.⁶ After the army failed to stage a coup against him, De Gaulle was forced to negotiate with the FLN (Algerian nationalists) and on much weaker terms than he could have expected previously. The loss of Algeria was a great personal humiliation for De Gaulle as it was one of France’s oldest overseas territories. British Prime Minister Harold MacMillan later remarked that Algeria “always hung like a shadow over (De Gaulle).”⁷

Though the loss of Algeria was a major blow to French pride, it was more importantly a major blow to French oil interests. This led France to look elsewhere for oil. General De Gaulle began to initiate his strategy of “Francafrique,” the imposition of French meddling and tacit support for dictatorial regimes in Africa.⁸ Two key players in this covert strategic initiative were Pierre Guillaumat and Louis Farquer. Guillaumat served as the CEO of Elf Aquitaine, France’s public oil company, and Farquer was a “spy master in chief” when it came to dealing with France’s African connections.

France’s most direct and important African connection was with the country of Gabon, on which France relied for oil independence. This led France to support the reinstatement of Leon M’ba and the later ascent of his successor Omar Bongo. France has even extended its influence beyond its own former colonies and is currently tacitly backing the Biafran secessionist movement in Nigeria due to the Biafran region’s oil.

⁶ Ibid, 403

⁷ Ibid, 404.

⁸ *The French African Connection*. Al Jazeera. 2013.

1.2. Situation Actuelle: Current Situation

While France has nominally surrendered its ultramarine empire, there is very little suggestion that France will give up its massive influence and privilege on the global stage. De Gaulle never has been a man to worry about norms and formality; he is a soldier, a patriot, and a stringent imperialist. France currently holds sway over many important dictatorships in its African colonies and has begun to curry favor across the developing world with other opponents of the United States in hopes of regaining its great power status. Of course, France must still deal with the fact that it has lost great power status and has to respect American power while working covertly to undermine it.

1.2.1. Françafrique: An Empire Not Yet Lost

While Françafrique has thus far proven successful in ensuring French oil independence, the program still rests on rather shaky grounds. In Gabon, Ali Bongo only has held the reigns of power for a year, and barely four years have passed since the French had to intervene to protect his predecessor, Leon M'ba, from ouster by Jean-Hilaire Aubame, a political rival. Aubame is still alive and imprisoned on the island Sette Cama off Gabon's coast⁹.

The growing viciousness of the Biafran War poses an incredible dilemma for Françafrique. Until now, the policy mostly has relied on secrecy and the use of Louis Fraquer's networks with former collaborators and businessmen in French colonies, but Nigeria was not a French colony and the French have few, if any, ties to the Biafrans. Even if the French can covertly influence the Biafran Republic, the Nigerian government would not tolerate such a move. While the U.S. has been perfectly content to allow West Africa to be a French sphere of influence, provided they police the area for communism, there is great uncertainty as to whether the U.S. would tolerate the sort of blatant and open intervention in Nigeria that France would have to undertake to keep the Biafran Republic independent. With De Gaulle already burning bridges left and right, the general may be open to the idea of intervention, but the decision of the cabinet will ultimately determine the fate of such a brazen colonial venture in an era where such ventures are no longer tolerated.

⁹ Ibid.

1.2.2. Les Enfants de La Patrie: Domestic Disturbances

Francafrique and De Gaulle's brash diplomacy may have won him many enemies abroad, but the real trouble is on the home front. The general already survived a coup attempt in 1962, but he did so by punishing the army. Even though De Gaulle's legitimacy within the Fifth Republic derives from his heroism during both world wars, his ability to rely on the army for political support has been weakened severely by the harsh measures he imposed on those who conspired against him

In addition to a lack of firm military loyalty, De Gaulle has always faced opposition from the French left. During the 1965 election, Francois Mitterand, De Gaulle's leftist opponent, garnered 45 percent of the vote in the second round.¹⁰ Add to this that Jean Lecanuet, a conservative who opposed De Gaulle personally, received 16 percent of the vote during the first round of voting, and it becomes rather clear that De Gaulle's personal popularity has declined sharply in recent years. Furthermore, the opposition has become much younger and more brazen. In the crumbling halls of the overcrowded, understaffed, and mismanaged Sorbonne University, there is trouble brewing. Disgruntled students have been the genesis of far too many revolutions in France, and achieving French dominance on the world stage would be significantly hindered if domestic issues became front and center.

There are three main complaints at the core of this opposition. First, the country is still heavily conservative and Catholic, and De Gaulle has nearly no women across his entire government. In addition, the government has relied on wage restraint to produce a stronger trade advantage with the United States, which has been necessary to balance the massive spending needed to maintain imperial influence abroad. Finally, there is great personal hatred for De Gaulle's arrogant idiosyncrasies

The students mainly oppose De Gaulle for his imperialism as well as the lack of funding for or proper management of the Sorbonne. The school is massively overcrowded with almost 130,000 undergraduates in attendance (Large American schools, meanwhile, have at most 35,000). The administration has proven to be a nightmare and many of the students wish to

¹⁰ Alistair Horne. *La Belle France*, 409.

have a greater voice in the school's management in order to influence administrators who either do not want to or are unable to hear their complaints.¹¹

1.2.3. Le Jour de Gloire, est Arrivé: Anti-Americanism, Anti-Communism, and the Politics of Grandeur

Anti-Americanism historically has been at the core of De Gaulle's international strategy; this has put him in conflict with the United Kingdom and many of the Northern European states like Denmark, whose membership in the EEC he successfully blocked just last year. De Gaulle has chosen to counter American influence on three fronts: in Europe, in Asia, and in the monetary system.

The fight in Europe has centered on keeping the EEC small and keeping the British out; however, there is a great deal of support among the other bloc members for Britain's inclusion, and a great deal of frustration with France's attitudes toward the organization. If De Gaulle is to maintain hegemony, he will have to think creatively. France is still the only nuclear power in the EEC and in the Continental West, so perhaps this can serve as a form of leverage. Despite the former animosity of the war, France has cultivated great ties with West Germany, both economically and diplomatically. De Gaulle's personal charm and excellent command of the German language has made him fast friends with Konrad Adenauer and many in the currently governing CDU.¹² Another strategy De Gaulle could consider is bolstering trade ties among the current constituents of the EEC and an acceleration of tariff removal. It is questionable whether this would lead to notable protest from manufacturers and workers, but it is undoubtable that French farmers would be the greatest opponents of such policies.

Establishing dominance in Europe also involves countering the Soviet influence. With Dubcek, Tito, and Ceausescu all acting in ways that are not in line with Moscow's centralized economic planning under Comecon, France has an opportunity to expand its sphere of influence into territories where even the U.S. is prevented from entering. Due to its unique strategic

¹¹ Ibid, 410.

¹² Ibid, 405.

positioning and old ties to the three nations during the Interwar period, France may again revive the Little Entente of days past.

In order to counter American expansion in Asia, France has chosen to speak against the Vietnam War. Despite formally surrendering Indochina in the early 1960s, De Gaulle has repeatedly criticized the American war effort in the former colony of France. France had hoped to maintain a greater deal of control over the colony, similar to Francafrrique-style policies, but American intervention has left France sidelined in the region. Perhaps France could pursue a rather unholy alliance to regain influence in Asia. De Gaulle, though a fervent anti-communist, recognized Maoist China in 1964, an action that the U.S. still hasn't taken. France's early work in China may prove fruitful toward cultivating ties with the North Vietnamese and allow for complex and covert subversion of U.S. influence in the region.

France has successfully pulled off a similar strategy in the Middle East where their opposition to arms trade with Israel during the Six Days War garnered France a great deal of respect in the Arab world, a place where it once held colonies. Naturally, this has put France at odds with the now victorious Israel and U.S. interests in Middle Eastern oil companies. Oil dependent and in need of more anti-American allies, furthering influence in the Middle East seems like an optimal path forward for French influence in Asia.

Lastly, the current Bretton Woods monetary system has been a great thorn in De Gaulle's side. With the U.S. dollar as the sole backing for global currencies, the Americans essentially control the world's financial system.¹³ American-backed institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) are able to hand out loans and curry favor with smaller countries in a way that France simply cannot. This "exorbitant privilege" has drawn the ire of De Gaulle, and his central goal has been working to undermine it, especially since France ran afoul of the system during the early 1950s, resulting in the creation of the European Payments Union to keep France's currency from collapsing during the reign of De Gaulle's predecessor.

1.3. Mots Important: Key Terms

¹³ Eichengreen, Barry. *Globalizing Capital: A History of the International Monetary System*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008, 157.

- Sorbonne: A colloquial shorthand for the administration of the various academic institutions that share the same campus and administration building based around the building known as La Sorbonne.
- Union Nationale des Etudiants de France: The country's largest and most important student union. It has a heavy presence in the Sorbonne as this is the center of academic life in France.
- North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO): A mutual defense treaty between the nations of Western Europe, and the nations of Turkey and Greece. If one member state is attacked, all nations pledge to defend that nation. The largest and only non-European nation in this organization is the United States.
- Warsaw Pact: The Warsaw Pact functions similar to NATO; however, in addition to mutual defense, the pact also involves cooperation for the defense of socialism. Therefore, a member state wishing to defect from socialism will be subject to invasion from neighboring powers to restore socialism in that country.
- Comecon: The Soviets' economic organization. It essentially acts as a multinational central planning organization for the entirety of the Eastern Bloc. However, Romania and other nations have been notable deviants from the central command of Moscow.
- Gaullism: A peculiar political sentiment attached to the actions and stances of Charles De Gaulle. The ideology is right-leaning and centered on affirmation of national sovereignty, unity, and a disdain for divisions by class. It differs from fascism in that it is not explicitly racist, dictatorial, or inherently expansionist.

1.4. Questions Pour Le Cabinet

1. What steps can France take to bolster the war effort in Nigeria aside from just selling arms to the Biafrans?
2. How should France act to ensure exclusive influence over West Africa and its former colonies?
3. Is West Africa the chief focus for France or should the country look elsewhere for oil and other goods?
4. Should France be attempting to expand its sphere of influence beyond former colonial territories, or is a smaller but deeper sphere of influence better?

5. How should the cabinet balance opposition to De Gaulle's imperialism with the necessity of retaining French oil independence?
6. What reforms can the cabinet accept in the Sorbonne without appearing weak and losing conservative support?
7. What policies or press strategies can the government perform to improve De Gaulle's personal unpopularity?
8. Which countries will France find an easiest path to an alliance with in the Middle East?
9. What is a good strategy for using soft power in Southeast Asia to regain influence in Vietnam?
10. How can France undermine the Bretton Woods system?
11. What can France do to strengthen ties with the other members of the EEC? What reforms to the body can France propose to ensure it is effective, but respects sovereignty and remains closed to the British?

2. Topic 2 - France as a Bulwark against Communism in Europe

2.1. Introduction: Introduction

As her empire overseas has collapsed beyond repair, France must find new avenues to express her economic, social, and cultural power to the world while navigating around the massive space occupied by the United States. While France may no longer be able to dictate affairs in Africa like she once did, the current setup of the European Economic Community and the greater drive towards integration in non-Communist Europe can both serve to strengthen French power and serve French interests.

2.2. Contexte Historique: Background Information

On June 25, 1940, France shocked the world with its surrender to Nazi Germany after the capture of Paris. France had only lasted 40 days against the invading German. Just the city of Leningrad itself lasted almost 200 times longer than the entire country of France¹⁴. The

¹⁴ Britannica, The Editors of Encyclopaedia. "*Siege of Leningrad*." Encyclopædia Britannica. September 01, 2018. Accessed September 13, 2018.

humiliating defeat shocked the confident French who had, with great difficulty, at least put up a decent fight against the Germans in the First World War.

After France's liberation in 1944, preventing the ascendancy of Germany became a prime objective of government policy. However, it should be noted, that this was no less of a concern for the French government in 1920 when they pushed for punitive measures against the Germans in the Treaty of Versailles.

The Treaty of Versailles forced Germany to pay a massive indemnity and cede territory to the newly formed Poland. Much to German ire, the treaty successfully crippled Germany economically and resulted in hyperinflation in Germany and a departure from the gold standard during the 1920s¹⁵. In order to ensure that Germany paid its debts, the French invaded and occupied the Rhine Ruhr area and extracted debt in the form of physical asset transfers (i.e. literally taking German coal from the mines without compensation for the workers)¹⁶.

Naturally the French occupation of the Ruhr proved disastrous for the already crippled economy and the presence of French troops and the ease with which international actors could be blamed for the plight of Germany itself made the rise of militant ethno nationalist populism much easier. Though the United States would eventually intervene and end the French occupation by proposing the Dawes Plan, the damage had already been done to Germany, and the Dawes Plan failed to adequately address the root cause of the problem which was the toxicity of reparations on the German economy¹⁷.

Though Versailles kept Germany down, it did rely on French activism in keeping them down. With the onset of the Great Depression in 1930, France no longer had the resources or political will to enforce the treaty. Thusly, the Nazi Party was able to easily break the terms of the agreement and rearm.

¹⁵ Goodman, George J.W. "*Paper Money*." PBS. Accessed September 13, 2018.

¹⁶ Britannica, The Editors of Encyclopaedia. "*Ruhr Occupation*." Encyclopædia Britannica. September 01, 2018. Accessed September 13, 2018.

¹⁷ Britannica, The Editors of Encyclopaedia. "*The Dawes Plan*." Encyclopædia Britannica. September 01, 2018. Accessed September 13, 2018.

Though it was a rather expensive lesson to learn, the French did indeed learn their lesson: military domination would not be their path to security in Europe. With this in mind, the French began diplomatic efforts with the newly established West Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium, and Luxembourg to form the European Coal and Steel Community.

The European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) was an organization of economic cooperation that was intended to give control of coal and steel production to a multinational organization, thereby truly neutering the ability of any one nation to covertly ramp up military production¹⁸. However, with the economic prosperity and the relative backwardness of Europe in mind, the initial impulse towards transnational standardization in steel and coal for defense purposes lead to a greater drive towards total economic integration for the purpose of driving growth and trade. These goals would be outlined in the famous Schuman Declaration, drafted by French official Robert Schuman¹⁹.

From its humble roots, the ECSC would evolve and spawn new organizations culminating the 1957 Treaty of Rome which established the European Economic Community (EEC)²⁰. Though its primary purpose was to act as a zone of economic cooperation, the EEC also had a parliamentary body and acted with a good deal of legislative authority. In 1967, the EEC grew to include many different communities such as the ECSC and the European Atomic Community (EURATOM).

The EEC was not without controversy as it required countries to drop tariffs and allow market access to competitors. The French President, Charles De Gaulle, was particularly critical of the Common Agricultural Policy as he believed it would harm French farmers. Until assurances were given that French subsidies would be permissible, De Gaulle removed French delegates from the EEC and brought the organization to a legislative standstill. Though the act was perceived negatively in the international community, the success of the tactic is undoubtedly worth noting.

¹⁸ "Treaty Establishing the ECSC." EUR-Lex. Accessed August 05, 2018. <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=LEGISSUM:xy0022>.

¹⁹ Mahant, Edelgard Elsbeth. *Birthmarks of Europe: The Origins of the European Community Reconsidered* (Gower Publishing, 2004)

²⁰ *De Gaulle avait compris avant tout le monde que l'UE était une arnaque*. 23 March 2014. Retrieved 14 January 2016 – via YouTube

While important, the EEC is just one important side effect of the Second World War. Another side effect of the war was the current dominance of communism in Eastern Europe. While the EEC unites most of Central and Western Europe, Comecon has united all of the East under Soviet domination²¹. With Germany pacified, the Soviet Union now poses a new and unique threat to France.

Internally, France has always had a long history of leftist populism going all the way back to the French Revolution. The existence of a powerful communist state on the continent increases the power and legitimacy of the far left in France as well as most of Europe. While Communism is a clear threat to France, it is also an opportunity to be exploited. As the sole uniting opponent for Western Europe, anti-Communism may yet unite the fractious and historically warring states of Europe.

However, it is worth noting that De Gaulle, though firmly anti-Communist, has always differed from mainline policies towards fighting the Soviet Union. In 1964 De Gaulle visited the Soviet Union and recognized Maoist China in order to warm ties with the communist world²². He viewed the ideology as a passing fad and believed that the Soviet Union is driven primarily by Russian national interests not grand ideological designs. As a result of this view, De Gaulle left the command structure of NATO in 1965 to the chagrin of the United States.

2.3. Situation Actuelle: Current Situation

France's position in Europe at the moment is an incredibly unique one with many different paths to pursue. Though the "Trentes Glorieuse" (thirty years of glory) are beginning to wind down, France is still an economic powerhouse. While De Gaulle's personal positions may have placed France on an independent trajectory, his decisions are not irreversible, nor is his leadership necessarily permanent. In order to unite Europe against Communism France has three main areas where it can act: internal French politics, internal EEC politics, and broader European politics.

²¹ Britannica, The Editors of Encyclopaedia. "Comecon" Encyclopædia Britannica. September 01, 2018. Accessed September 13, 2018.

²² Horne, Alistair. *La Belle France: A Short History*. New York: Vintage Books, 2006, 405.

2.3.1. *Quelque Chose est Pourri à France: Removing Communism at Home*

There is an old saying that in order to change the world one must change one's self first. The divided political situation in France makes it difficult to pursue aggressive policies against communism and weakens the countries ability to focus on foreign problems.

Once the hero of France, De Gaulle's personal political appeal has waned in recent years to a point that he is somewhat problematic for the conservatives in France. The united left under Francois Mitterand was able to garner 45% in the second round of voting in the 1965 election despite this being the first time De Gaulle had ever failed to win in the first round of voting. In the broader conservative movement, Jean Lencaneut ran against De Gaulle during the first round purporting to be a supporter of "Gaullism without De Gaulle," and was able to garner 16% of the vote in the first round²³.

Though De Gaulle is not as popular as he was in days past, its not clear that he is entirely unpopular on the right and it is somewhat difficult to say whether or not any political figure in French public life could actually lead the Union for the New Republic Party to victory against the French left. Replacing De Gaulle may open new areas of foreign policy, but it should be weighed along with domestic political concerns as well.

Apart from electoral issues, the growing unrest of students in the Sorbonne presents a potential problem for France. The overcrowded and poorly funded Sorbonne has always been a hotbed of revolutionary thought and discourse, but recent reports indicate that perhaps the revolutionary discourse may turn into revolutionary action²⁴. With many French workers beginning to feel the squeeze of wage restraint in an era of prosperity, the unrest could appear on two fronts and drag France into protracted domestic struggles.

2.3.2. *Liberté Égalité Unité: Bringing Europe Together*

While World War II may have had a massive effect on French policy in the 40s and 50s, the antagonism between France, Germany, and Italy has largely passed and the three are strategic

²³ Ibid, 409.

²⁴ Ibid, 410.

allies. While the three are militarily cooperative, economic issues still remain a big wedge between them as well as the Benelux countries.

France has largely solved its economic issues with Germany in the Common Agricultural Policy, but issues of industrial production are still apparent. German cars and other heavy goods threaten French domestic industries. In spite of this, De Gaulle's personal relationship with Konrad Adenauer and his excellent command of the German language have made him historically well liked in the country²⁵. With some limited friction, West Germany is likely France's closest ally in Europe and most sympathetic to its conservative anti-Communist agenda as it too is beset by internal struggles and more imminently threatened by foreign communist powers.

Corruption and criminal activity have been major concerns for Italy since the end of the War, and things have not improved much in that regard. Though France and Italy may compete in the market of luxury goods like wine and fashion, Italy is not a strong enough competitor to draw French ire. Much like France and Germany, revolution is brewing in Italy. Denazification was thorough and successful in Germany, but many fascists still remain at large in Italy and their tactics of domestic terrorism have become more and more brazen in recent years. Now they are being met by response from equally extreme leftist groups that threaten to drive the country into a quasi civil war. Add to this the military threat of communism in Italy's shared maritime border with Yugoslavia, and the country seems to share many of France's concerns.

Given general trends of domestic communist insurgency, France has the opportunity to potentially lead EEC wide initiatives to clamp down on domestic terrorism, which could potentially further integration of Europe with French dominance.

2.3.3. Expansion de la Frontière: Looking Beyond the Borders of the EEC

Though it is easy to focus on France's current sphere of influence, an expansion of that sphere may be more feasible and desirable than President De Gaulle would think. In 1967 the UK, Spain, and the Scandinavian states all applied to be members of the EEC, but were vetoed by De Gaulle, fearing that he would lose power if the organization grew²⁶. If France were to warm

²⁵ Ibid, 405.

²⁶ Roberts, Nesta. "Emphatic 'No' by De Gaulle." *The Guardian*. November 28, 1967. Accessed September 13, 2018. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/1967/nov/28/eu.france>.

relations with many of the nations in the cold lands of Northern Europe, perhaps it would be admitting allies and economic opportunities to the EEC instead of adversaries.

The once impassible Iron Curtain now seems to be deeply shaken. Communist Dictator Josip Broz Tito in Yugoslavia has never been a reliable ally of the Soviets and his independent position makes him a potential ally against the Soviets. While the EEC does not admit non-democracies, France may be able to take diplomatic back channels to pursue a different relationship with Tito.

New leadership in Czechoslovakia and Romania also present an interesting opportunity for France to expand its influence. Both countries have historically been Francophiles and in the Interwar Period relied on French guarantees of their independence. With Aleksandr Dubcek of Czechoslovakia defecting from the Soviet line on more social democratic lines and Nicolae Ceausescu defecting from Comecon orders on the grounds of Stalinist autarky, the two countries are rather divergent in their dissent, but both present opportunities for France to step up and combat the Soviet Union.

Naturally, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, and Romania being communist countries does not exactly make them fast allies for anti-Communist activity, but dragging them out of the Soviet sphere of influence may place them on a better trajectory towards democracy and weaken the outward expansion of the Soviet sphere of influence.

The Iberian Peninsula presents the last opportunity for European expansion. Spain, the largest country on the peninsula is currently governed by the rightist dictator Francisco Franco. While Franco did not explicitly side with the Nazis, his ultra-conservative and questionably fascist government does not fit the qualifications for EEC membership²⁷. That being said, independent diplomatic actions with Franco would not be out of the question. Unfortunately, Portugal is not in much better state with the Estado Novo still maintaining a firm hold on the country²⁸.

Considering the country does not share a border with France and is far poorer than Spain it is not a terribly relevant target for expanding French influence in Europe.

²⁷ Britannica, The Editors of Encyclopaedia. "*Francisco Franco*" Encyclopædia Britannica. September 01, 2018. Accessed September 13, 2018.

²⁸ Britannica, The Editors of Encyclopaedia. "*Estado Novo: Portuguese History*" Encyclopædia Britannica. September 01, 2018. Accessed September 13, 2018.

2.4. Questions Pour Les Cabinet

1. What sort of policies can the cabinet enact to ensure popularity with the electorate?
2. How should the cabinet handle the students in the Sorbonne? Are they worth ignoring?
Negotiating with?
3. What role should the military play in stabilizing society? Are they a destabilizing force?
4. How can France help Italy with its political instability? Should it?
5. Is Germany really a reliable ally? What role should De Gaulle play in the process of negotiations with Germany?
6. Is the EEC inherently good? Does it actually bolster French power or limit it?
7. Which countries seem like the best candidates to perform outreach to?
8. What are the risks of reaching out to communist countries? What are the benefits?
9. Is there even a benefit to reaching outside the EEC or will this just backfire and alienate the current membership of the EEC?