

France

Vanderbilt

The period from 1919 to 1945 is classified as the French Third Republic. The French Third Republic was a parliamentary democracy characterized by coalition governments until 1940 when France was overrun by Nazi Germany during World War II, resulting in both the German occupation and the Vichy puppet government. The Third Republic was characterized by government instability and procedural difficulties in the legislature.¹ It has been described that “much of the government instability of this period can be contributed to the lack of constitutional provisions that would allow the government to force the parliamentary majority to assume its responsibilities.”²

Prominent coalitions during this period were labeled as the Bloc National, the Cartel des Gauches, the Union Nationale, and Concentration. Given the instability and frequent changes in cabinets, it might be reasonable to treat these various party blocs as parties and not to code SOLS changes unless a government from a different party bloc comes to power. However, following our regional expert's suggestions, we code France based on our traditional parties and parliamentary democracy rules, ignoring party blocs. Regarding political affiliations for each cabinet minister, we use Bonnefous (1965) as our primary source for the 1919-38 period and we use Hanely (2002) for the period after 1938. The official part names are shown in the appendix at the bottom of this narrative.

Georges Clemenceau, GD, was asked by President Paymone Poincaré to form a government. He served as both head of the government and minister of war until the German armistice in November 1918. After the peace conference at Versailles, where a peace treaty was signed in June 1919, Clemenceau remained in power following elections in November of that year, which was the first election held after WWI. He made a coalition government with RAD, GR, UR, and RG. He was challenged by both the extreme Right and Left in the chamber and was forced to step down January 19, 1920. Following the resignation of Clemenceau, Alexandre Millerand, non-party, served as prime minister from January 19, 1920 until he was elected as president on September 24, 1920. This is a SOLS change. Millerand formed a right-center coalition government, known as the National Bloc, which included PRS, RAD, GD, GR, UR, RG, ERD, and ARS. During his time as prime minister he was mainly concerned with implementing the Versailles Treaty and suppressing the revolutionary activity of workers influenced by the events in Russia. Georges Leygues, RG, succeeded Millerand as prime minister on September 3, 1920. Leygues was appointed by president Millard in an attempt to strengthen the executive powers of the Presidency. He formed a coalition with UR, PRS, RAD,

¹ The French National Assembly HP: The History of the National Assembly: Entrenchment of the parliamentary system (1875-1940, 1946-58)

<http://www.assemblee-nationale.fr/english/8am.asp#6>

² Kurian (ed.) (1998) p.247.

GD, GR, ERD, and ARS. This is a SOLS change. However, this move was resisted in the parliament and his government fell on January 16, 1921.

As a successor of Leygues, the president Millerand was forced to appoint Aristide Briand, PRS. Briand succeeded to lead a government on January 16, 1921. Briand's appointment was welcomed by both left and right in the parliament. He formed a coalition with RAD, GD, GR, RG, and ERD. This is a SOLS change. He resigned from office on January 16, 1922. His efforts to come to an agreement over reparations with the Germans failed in the wake of German intransigence, and he was succeeded by the more bellicose Raymond Poincaré. Raymond Poincaré, UR, accepted the position of prime minister on January 16, 1922. He formed a coalition with GR, ERD, RG, RAD, GD, and ARS. This is a SOLS change. On March 29, 1924 he reshuffled his cabinet and formed a new coalition with ERD, GD, GR, ARS, RG, and URD. This is a minor SOLS change. He supported the enactment of a tax increase to aid France's financial difficulties in 1924. This met with opposition by the parties of the left, which achieved majority in the general election in May 1924. Poincaré stepped down from office on June 8, 1924. Currency instability was the cause of much of the governmental instability of the 1920's.³

Frederic Francois-Marsal, UR, was appointed as prime minister on June 8, 1924. Several sources describe him as an interim leader (see Russell's News Publications 1924: 536). He formed a coalition with ERD, GD, GR, ARS, and RG. Since this is an interim cabinet, we code no a minor change here. His cabinet fell six days later on June 14, 1924, precipitating Millerand's resignation as president. Edouard Herriot, RAD, and his left-wing coalition, known as Cartel des gauches,⁴ won control of the government on June 14, 1924. His cabinet included RAD, GRad, and PRS. This is a SOLS change. However, a financial crisis arose from the ensuing devaluation of the franc and his cabinet fell on April 17, 1925. Paul Paineleve, PRS, headed a Socialist government from April 17, 1925 until his government was forced to resign on November 29, 1925, over its instability to settle financial crisis brought on by the devaluation of the franc. He formed a coalition with RAD, GRad, and GD. This is a SOLS change. On October 29, 1925, he reshuffled his cabinet and formed a new coalition of PRS, RAD, and GRad. This is a minor SOLS change.

Aristide Briand, PRS, again led the government from November 29, 1925, until July 20, 1926 when the chamber of deputies refused to grant the government special powers to deal with economic sanction. This is a minor SOLS change. He formed a coalition with RAD, GRad, and RG. On March 9, 1926, he formed a new coalition of PRS, RAD, GRad, GRep, RG, and GD. This is a minor SOLS change. Edouard Harriot, RAD, again headed the government for five days from July 20 until July 24, 1926. His cabinet included RAD, GRad, PRS, RG, GD, and GR. Since Harriot served less than 30 days, we code a SOLS30 change for his entry. Poincaré, UR, returned to head the government on July 24, 1926 and led a coalition cabinet to deal with the monetary crisis. This is a SOLS change. His cabinet included UR, PRS, RAD, GRad, ARS, ERD,

³ Haine (2000) p. 147.

⁴ Haine (2000) p. 148.

RG, and AD.⁵ On November 11, 1928 he formed a new cabinet composed of UR, PRS, GRad, RG, GD, and URD. He continued as prime minister after the general election of April 1928. Deteriorating health necessitated Poincare's retirement on July 28, 1929.

Aristide Briand, PRS, returned to head the government for several months from July 29, until October 11, 1929. He formed a coalition government composed of PRS, UR, GRad, RG, and GD. Since his government was interim (Kipping, 1990: 502, Steiner 2005: 479), we code no SOLS change here. It should be noted that there is informational difference among our primary resources. According to Archigos, Poincare, UR, returned to head the government for several weeks from October 11, 1929 until November 2, 1929. Yet, www.worldstatesmen.org and other sources (e.g., Hanley 2002) do not list this Poincare government. Since Poincare's government lasts less than a month and reliable sources do not include his government as a regular government, we do not code him in our data set.

Andre Tardieu, RG, formed a government on November 2, 1929. This is a SOLS change. He formed a coalition composed of RG, GD, PRS, GRad, ARS, URD, UR, and URD. He stepped down on February 21, 1930, over a budgetary question in the chamber. Camille Chautemps, RAD, became prime minister on February 21, 1930, but his government lost a vote of confidence in the chamber of disputes two days later and he was replaced on March 2, 1930. This is a SOLS30 change. He formed a coalition with GD, GRad, and PRS. On March 2, 1930, Andre Tardieu, RG, was again called upon to head the government, serving until December 13, 1930. This is a SOLS change. He formed a coalition with PRS, GRad, Rad, GD, DP, UDR, ARS, and URD.

Theodore Steeg, GD, formed a government and served as premier for slightly over a month, stepping down on January 27, 1931. He formed a coalition with UR, RG, PRS, GRad, RAD, and UDR. Although the duration of his term was relatively short, it lasted more than 30 days. Thus, this is a SOLS change. Pierre Laval, Non-party, became prime minister on January 27, 1931. This is a SOLS change. He formed a coalition with URD, RG, ARS, GD, GRad, and DP. He reshuffled his cabinet and formed a new coalition with UR, GD, RG, URD, GRad, PRS, GSR, and DP. This is a minor SOLS change. He stepped down on February 23, 1932 over a question of his fiscal policy.

Andre Tardieu, RG, formed his third government on February 23, 1932, serving as prime minister. This is a SOLS change. His cabinet was composed of RG, ARS, UDR, GD, GRad, UR, DP, and URD. His coalition was defeated in subsequent general elections in May, 1932 and he relinquished office on June 4, 1932. Edouard Herriot, RAD, returned to head the government as premier on June 4, 1932. This is a SOLS change. He formed a coalition with GD, GR, RG, SF,

⁵ According to Bonnefous (1960), the Poincare's cabinet included Andre Tardieu as a *mister* (of *Travaux Publics*). While Bonnefous lists him as a *minister of non inscrit*, we code AD as his political affiliation according to information from Wikipedia. We normally do not use Wikipedia as our primary source. However, our regional expert confirmed the reliability of Wikipedia for this case.

GRad, and PRS.⁶ His cabinet fell on December 20, 1932 when the chamber of deputies refused to pay an installment of France's war debt to the United States. Joseph Paul-Boncour, PRS,⁷ briefly served as premier from December 20, 1932 until January 31, 1933. Although the duration of his term was relatively short, it lasted more than 30 days. Hence we code a leadership change from Herriot to Paul-Boncour as a SOLS change.

Edourd Daladier, RAD, led the government as prime minister from January 31, 1933 until October 24, 1933. This is a SOLS change. He formed a coalition with GD, RG, SF, PRS, and SFIO. Albert Sarraut, GD, headed the government as prime minister from October 24 to November 22, 1933, when he resigned over a financial issue. This is a SOLS30 change. He formed a coalition with RAD, SF, GRad, PRS, RG, and SEIO. Chautemps, RAD, again headed the government from November 22, 1933 to January 30, 1934. This is a SOLS Change. He formed a coalition with UDR, GD, SF, GRad, PRS, and SFIO.

Daladier, RAD, again became prime minister on January 30, 1934. He formed a coalition with GD, RG, SFIO, CR, and GR. This is a minor SOLS change. He was step down after ten days on February 9, 1934, following violent riots that took place in Paris over a financial scandal. After rioting in Paris forced the resignation of Daladier's government, Gaston Doumergue, RAD, emerged from retirement to head a coalition government on February 9, 1934.⁸ He formed a coalition government with GD, CR, UDR, GRad, RG, SF, and URD. This is a minor SOLS change. He was unable to accomplish his planned constitutional reforms that would increase the power of the premier, and again retired on November 10, 1934. Pierre-Etienne Flandin, RG, became Prime Minister from November 10, 1934. This is a SOLS change. His cabinet was composed of GD, CR, UDR, GRad, RG, SF, and URD. His government collapsed over a financial issue on May 30, 1935.

Fernand Bouisson, Non-party, headed the government as prime minister for seven days from June 1 to 7, 1935. This is a SOLS30 change. He formed a coalition with RIAS, RAD, URD, GD, RG, GRad, CR, and SF. Pierre Laval, Non-party, again headed the government as premier from June 7, 1935 to January 25, 1936. This is a SOLS change. He formed a coalition with UR, RAD, RG, GRad, CR, GD, FR, and SF. In October 1935, Laval and British foreign minister Samuel Hoare proposed a "realpolitik" solution to the Abyssinia crisis, which was widely denounced as appeasement to Mussolini. Laval was forced to resign on January 25, 1936, and was driven completely out of ministerial politics.

Albert Sarraut, GD, became prime minister on January 25, 1936 and formed a coalition

⁶ According to Bonnefous (1962), the Herriot's cabinet included Paul-Boncour as a minister (of Guerre). While Bonnefous lists him as a minister of non inscrit, we code PRS as his political affiliation according to information from Wikipedia. We normally do not use Wikipedia as our primary source. However, our regional expert confirmed the reliability of Wikipedia for this case.

⁷ We code PRS for Paul-Boncour.

⁸ Bonnefous (1962) does not clearly list a political affiliation for Doumergue. Thus, we follow information from WSM and Wikipedia and code RAD for him. We normally do not use Wikipedia as our primary source. However, our regional expert confirmed the reliability of Wikipedia for this case.

composed of GD, RAD, RG, US, RAIS, and PRS.⁹ This is a SOLS change. He continued to head the government when Germany violated the Treaty of Versailles by sending troops into the Rhineland. Sarraut stepped down on June 3, 1936. Leon Blum, SFIO, formed the FP (Front Populaire: Popular Front), a leftist coalition of Socialist Party, Social and Republican Union, and Communist Party opposed to fascism in 1936 and led the coalition to victory. He became prime minister on June 3, 1936. This is a SOLS change. His cabinet included SFIO, GD, GRad, and RAD and carried out a number of social reforms. Blum resigned on June 23, 1937, when the chamber refused to grant him special powers to deal with economic crisis.

Camille Chautemps, GD, replaced Blum as prime minister on June 23, 1937 and led the coalition of GD, SFIO, RAD, and USR. This is a SOLS change. On January 19, 1938 he reshuffled the cabinet and formed a new coalition with GD, RAD, and USR (a minor SOLS change with a drop of SFIO). Chautemps resigned on March 12, 1938 due to the loss of Socialist support,¹⁰ and was succeeded by Blum's second government. This is a SOLS30 change. This Blum's government included PS, RAD, USR, and SFIO.¹¹ He was forced to resign on April 10, 1938. Édouard Daladier, RAD, resumed the position of prime minister on April 10, 1938. This is a SOLS change. He led the government to the right, using force to break strikes and refusing to support the Spanish Republic during the civil war. His cabinet was composed of RAD, URS, and PS. He continued to head the government when France declared war on Germany on September 3, 1939. He stepped down on March 21, 1940, when his government was criticized for not assisting Finland during the Soviet invasion.

Paul Reynaud, ERD, became prime minister on March 21, 1940. This is a SOLS change. His coalition government included ERD, ARS, GD, UR, RAD, PRS, and SFIO. He supported the continuation of the war as France's forces were collapsing. When an armistice seemed inevitable, he resigned on June 17, 1940, rather than be a party to it.

Vichy Government *****

After the French forces suffered heavy losses against the Germans in the early part of World War II, Henri-Philippe Petain, a French general who had been appointed to head the Ministry of War by Reynaud on May 18, 1940,¹² formed a government to negotiate an armistice with the Axis Powers in June 1940. He summoned the French National Assembly to Vichy where he was granted emergency powers as chief of state on June 17, 1940, bringing an end to the French Third Republic. This is a SOLS change.

⁹ We code PRS for Paul-Boncour.

¹⁰ Haine (2000) p.158.

¹¹ According to Bonnefous (1965), the Blum's cabinet included Paul Faure as a minister (Ministres d'Etat). While Bonnefous lists him as non-parlementaire, we code SFIO as his political affiliation following information from Wikipedia. We normally do not use Wikipedia as our primary source. However, our regional expert confirmed the reliability of Wikipedia for this case.

¹² Haine (2000) p.160.

Since Jun 15, 1940 POLITY codes France as undemocratic state. We consider the entry of Petain as a start of foreign occupation by the Nazi Germany. Pierre Laval, Non-party, returned to power to lead the Vichy government on April 18, 1942. This is not a SOLS change. Laval was granted doctorial power by Petain shortly after resuming office. COW codes France as an independent state until November 11, 1942. The Alliances began achieving victory over the German forces, and Laval was forced to retreat with the Germans on August 18, 1944.

By the time of the liberation of France in 1944, Charles de Gaulle, Non-party, was heading a government in exile, insisting that France be treated as an independent great power by the other Allies. De Gaulle became president and prime minister of the provisional government on September 10, 1944. We code a SOLS change for the entry of De Gaulle-- the first leader after France regained independence-- since his affiliation was different from the last regular leader: Reynaud. Woldendorp et al. 2000 provides information on a change in de Gaulle's governing coalition on November 23, 1945, when a new coalition¹³ formed between the MRP (Mouvement Républicain Populaire), PSF (Section Française de l'Internationale Ouvrière - also SFIO)¹⁴, PCF (Parti Communiste Français), and RSP¹⁵ (Parti radical-socialiste).¹⁶ Because, according to Polity IV, the year of 1945 is a transitional year and thus not a democracy, we do not code a minor SOLS change here. We also continue to code de Gaulle's SOLS as non-party in 1945. Worldstatesmen.org has de Gaulle's SOLS as Non-Party and Woldendorp et al. (2000, 201) also consider him to be Non-Party, but he was technically a military officer. Cogan (1992, 183) describes that "Like the good military officer that he was, de Gaulle was both beyond political parties and disdainful of them." According to Ambler, he was "a political chief of the army's own choosing" (Ambler 1966, vii). De Gaulle relinquished his position as premier on January 27, 1946.

1946 marks the start of France's Fourth Republic (TIME 1945) during which France can be coded as a parliamentary democracy. In 1946 Félix Gouin, PSF, became Chairmen of the Provisional Government in coalition with the MRP, PSF, and PCF. This is a SOLS change. Later that year Georges Bidault, MRP, became Chairmen of the Provisional Government in coalition

¹³ The predominance of the three parties MRP, SFIO, and PCF from 1944-1947 is referred to as *Tripartisme*. It was defeated by the *Troisième Force*, which excluded the Gaullists and Communists until 1958 (TIME 1947).

¹⁴ Woldendorp et al. list SFIO as PSF (Parti socialiste français) for the period between 1945 and 1997. Indeed, from 1969 onwards SFIO became the PSF (Worldstatesmen.org). To be as accurate as possible, we make the distinction between the two names until 1969.

¹⁵ RSP is Woldendorp et al.'s abbreviation. Worldstatesmen.org lists the party as *Républicains Radicaux et Radicaux-Socialistes* (RRRS). Woldendorp et al. (2000, 201) explain that from 1945-1947 RSP includes UDSR.

¹⁶ Woldendorp, Jaap, Hans Keman, and Ian Budge. "Party Government in 48 Democracies (1945-1998): Composition, Duration, Personnel," Kluwer Academic Publishers, (Dorbecht, Netherlands), page 201. (WKB)

with PSF and PCF. This is a SOLS change. Later in 1946 Léon André Blum, PSF, became Chairmen of the Provisional Government (no coalition). This is a SOLS change. While all of these leaders were members of a Provisional Government, by our coding rules, we code them as regular leaders. The Provisional Government started when France regained independence in August 1944 and lasted until January 1947 (i.e. it lasted longer than 18 months).

In 1947 Paul Ramadier, PSF, became PM in coalition with MRP, RSP, and PCF. This is a minor SOLS change. On May 8, 1947, PCF left the coalition, which constitutes a minor SOLS change. Still later, Centre National des Indépendants et Paysans (IND - also CNI)¹⁷ joined in the Ramadier's coalition on October 23, 1947. This is a minor SOLS change. In late 1947, Robert Schuman, MRP, became PM in coalition with PSF, RSP, and GAUL.¹⁸ This is a SOLS change.

In 1948 André Marie, RSP, became PM in coalition with PSF, MRP, and IND. This is a SOLS change. Later that year Schuman, MRP, once again became PM in coalition with PSF, RSP, and IND. This is a SOLS change. Still later in 1948 Henri Queuille, RSP, became PM in coalition with PSF, MRP, IND, and GAUL. This is a SOLS change.

In 1949 Georges Bidault, MRP, became PM in coalition with PSF, RSP, IND, and GAUL. This is a SOLS change. In 1950, Bidault's coalition changes to a coalition of MRP, RSP, IND, and GAUL. This is a minor SOLS change. Also, in 1950 Queuille, RSP, once again became PM in coalition with MRP, IND, and GAUL. This is a SOLS change but his government lasts less than a month so we code a SOLSchange30. René Pleven, GAUL, became the next PM in coalition with RSP, MRP, PSF, and IND. This is a SOLS change.

In 1951 Queuille, RSP, became PM in coalition with PSF, MRP, IND, and GAUL. This is a SOLS change. Later that year Pleven, GAUL, became PM in coalition with RSP, MRP, and IND. This is a SOLS change. In 1952 Edgar Faure, RSP, became PM in coalition with MRP, IND, and GAUL. This is a SOLS change. Later that year Antoine Pinay, IND, became PM in coalition with RSP, MRP, and GAUL. This is a SOLS change. In 1953 René Mayer, RSP,¹⁹ became PM in coalition with MRP, IND, and GAUL. This is a SOLS change. Later that year Joseph Laniel, IND, became PM in coalition with RSP, MRP, and GAUL.²⁰ This is a SOLS change. In 1954 Pierre Mendès-France, RSP, became PM in coalition with MRP, IND, and GAUL. This is a SOLS change. In 1955, Edgar Faure, RSP, became PM in coalition with MRP, IND, and GAUL. This is not a SOLS change. In 1956 Guy Mollet, PSF, became PM in coalition with RSP and GAUL. This is a SOLS change. In 1957 Maurice Bourgès-Maunoury, RSP,

¹⁷ CNI (<http://www.cni.asso.fr>) is referred to in Worldstatesmen.org as CNIP and in Woldendorp et al. (2000, 201) as IND.

¹⁸ Woldendorp et al. explain that for Schuman's coalition GAUL includes UDSR, ARS, URAS, RDA, and PAY (Woldendorp et al. 2000, 201). Worldstatesmen.org uses UDSR in place of GAUL (see René Pleven 1950). TIME Magazine (1951) uses the term "Gaullists" <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,806016,00.html>.

¹⁹ Worldstatesmen.org lists his party as "Rad" for the Radical Party. We go with Woldendorp et al. TIME Magazine (1955) confirms

<http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,807008,00.html>.

²⁰ Woldendorp et al. explain that for Laniel's coalition, GAUL includes ARS and URAS.

became PM in coalition with PSF and GAUL. This is a SOLS change. Later in 1957, Félix Gaillard, RSP, became PM in coalition with PSF, GAUL, MRP, and IND on November 6.²¹ This is a minor SOLS change.

In 1958, Pierre Pflimlin, MRP, became PM in coalition with RSP, IND, and GAUL. This is a SOLS change but because he was in power less than a month we code a SOLSchange30. Later that year, de Gaulle, UNR (We follow Woldendorp et al. and code GAUL), became PM in coalition with MRP, PSF, RSP, and IND. In 1959, De Gaulle became president. At this point, the leader's position changes from PM to president. This marks the end of France's Fourth Republic, which lasted from 1945 to 1959, and the start of the Fifth Republic, which lasts through 2008. (Note that Cheibub et al. continue coding France as a parliamentary system between 1958 and 1964 and code France as a mixed system after 1964, but Archigos codes de Gaulle, the President, rather than the Prime Ministers as effective ruler already during the early period of the new regime. By our coding rules we follow Archigos.) As De Gaulle was prime minister before he became president under the presidential regime we do not code a SOLS change (nor a minor one) here.

Starting in 1965, in the middle of de Gaulle's term, France is considered a presidential democracy until 2008. In 1969 Alain Poher, Independent (Ind), became interim president (Worldstatesmen.org; Simons 1996). This is not a SOLS change. A couple of months later Georges Pompidou, UDR, became president. This is not a SOLS change because his SOLS is the same as the last regular president. The UDR is the successor of the UNR (Worldstatesmen.org). In 1974 Poher, Ind, once again became interim president (Worldstatesmen.org; Simons 1996). This is not a SOLS change. Later that year Valéry Giscard d'Estaing of the Fédération Nationale des Républicains Indépendants (RI) became president. This is a SOLS change. In 1981 François Mitterrand of the Parti Socialiste français (PS) became president. This is a SOLS change. In 1995 Jacques René Chirac of the Rassemblement Pour la République (RPR) became president. This is a SOLS change. In 2002, his SOLS changed from RPR to UMP (Union pour un Mouvement Populaire). This is not a SOLS change. In 2007 Nicolas Sarkozy, UMP, became president. This is not a SOLS change.

²¹ Woldendorp et al. explain that from Gaillard through de Gaulle 1957-1958 GAUL includes RDA.

Appendix: Party Names in pre-1945 periods

RAD = Radsoc: Radical Socialiste

GRad = GRad: Gauche Radicale

GD = GDem: Gouche Democratique

GR = GRep: Gauche Républicaine Démocratique

RG = RepG: Republican de Gauche

UR = UnPep: Union Republicane

PRS = RepSoc: Republican Socialiste (Parti Républicain-Socialiste)

PS = Socialist Parti (Parti Socialiste or

SF = Section Française

SFIO = Section Française de l'Internationale Ouvrière

ARS = Action Republicaine et Socieale (later Action Democractique et Sociale)

ERD = Eentente Republicane democratique (or the Groupe de l'Entente Républicaine Démocratique)

URD = Groupe de l'Union Républicaine Démocratique

UDR = Union Democratique et radical

DP = Démocrate Populaire (also Parti Démocrate Populaire)

SF = Parti Socialiste Français

GSR = Gauche Sociale et radicale

RIAS = the Groupe Républicain et Social (later Groupe des Républicains Indépendants et d'Action Sociale)

FR = Federation Republicane

US = Union Sciate

USR = Union socialiste et republicane

CR = Centre Republucan

AD = Alliance démocratique

“independent”, “non inscrit”, “socialite independant”, “non parlementaire”, “independent de gauche”, “gauche independante” are all considered as “Non-party”

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