French Revolution:
Napoleon Bonaparte and the Americas

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Introduction

We end our discussions on the French Revolution today. We will:

- Synthesize some of the information we have looked at.
- Begin a reflection on what Napoleon Bonaparte (August 15, 1769-May 5, 1821) meant to France, Europe, and the Americas.
- Consider the legacy of the French Revolution.
- Collectively define the essence of the French Revolution.

References

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- Andrew Roberts, *Napoleon: A Life* (New York: Viking, 2014).
- Jean Tulard, *Napoléon : les grands moments d'un destin* (Paris: Fayard, 2006) 97.
- Electronic resources are hyperlinked to the related information.

French Foundational Documents

We have been discussing the French Constitution since 1789. The French Assemblies between 1791-1795 drafted three of them.

- The Constitution of 3 September 1791
- The Constitution of 24 June 1793—never implemented.
- The Constitution of 5 Fructidor, Year III (22 August 1795).

Napoleon gave France four constitutions between his coup d'etat of November 9, 1799, and the final abdication on June 22, 1815.

- The Constitution of 22 Frimaire, Year VIII (13 December 1799).
- The Senatus-Consulte of 16 Thermidor, Year X (4 August 1802).
- The Organic Senatus-Consulte of 28 Floréal, Year XII (1804).
- The Constitutional Charter of 4 June 1814 (The Bourbon Restoration—not Napoleon's)
- The Additional Act to the Constitutions of 22 April 1815—the 100-day rule.

A New Form of Absolutism

- France began writing its first Constitution in May-June 1789 in the home of monarchical Absolutism, at the Versailles Palace. The Assemblée Nationale offered the monarchical Absolutism to evolve into a Constitutional Monarchy, but on August 10, 1792, the French street vetoed that option, choosing to be a Republic.
- The Reign of Terror from September 1793 to July 1794 scared the legislature. The Thermidorian Reaction dropped or modified the liberties the French would have enjoyed under the unimplemented Constitution of 1793, and attempted to end radicalism by establishing the supremacy of law as the principal force of governance.

The Constitution of 1795

This is the constitutional path for the eradication of absolutism the National Convention chose in 1795:

- France will have a bicameral legislature comprising 500 members of the lower house and a 250-member House of Elders.
- Executive Power will be vested with a Directory of five members chosen by the bicameral legislature, following strict criteria to eliminate the abuse of power during the Reign of Terror.
- Each member of the Directory shall preside over it in turn for three months only. The president will enact the Laws and acts. They will deliberate when at least three members are present.
- It entrusted the five with domestic and external, civil and military matters.

A New Form of Absolutism

- This collegial approach to governance could not evolve into an efficiently functional executive. The Directory, despite its several achievements, remained vulnerable to intrigue, corruption, and indecisiveness. Most unfortunately for itself, it failed to appreciate that its major accomplishment during the Revolutionary Wars had ironically developed into a parallel governance system outside France.
- Unwittingly, the Directory nurtured the absolutism of a new kind, the ambition of a brilliant military and civilian leader as an effective administrator, reformer, decision and deal-maker, and state-builder.

A New Form of Absolutism

- Napoleon's Army of Italy campaigned principally against Austria, but in fact against small principalities, duchies, and Papal States weary of the Holy Roman Empire. The war allowed Napoleon to use their resources to boost the morale of his army and enhance the Directory’s confidence in their war efforts.
- As the absolute ruler of these occupied territories, he introduced them to the newfound liberties of the French Revolution, an antidote to the Austrian monarchy. He also negotiated armistice deals, extracting financial and cultural advantages for France. These windfalls became his firewall against potential objections from the Directory to his growing assertiveness.

A New Form of Absolutism

- As a reformer, Napoleon enforced several of the French Revolution's gains during the Revolutionary Wars (single-handedly) and later Napoleonic Wars, as the First Consul and later, Emperor.
- Variously, these reforms abolished the internal tariffs to stimulate economic development, ended the noble assemblies and other forms of feudal privileges, ended serfdom where it existed, restructured finances to address the issue of state debt, demolished the restrictive guild system, imposed religious tolerance including for the discriminated community of Jews, sometimes nationalized Church property, abolished the Inquisition, and introduced rights including equality before law (Roberts, 96-97). After 1804, the Code Napoleon became another gift to the colonies.

A New Form of Absolutism

- Besides shared elements of reform, Napoleon also responded to local conditions. During the Egyptian Campaign of 1798, for example, Napoleon reorganized the occupied Malta. He replaced the island's medieval administration with a governing council, dissolved the monasteries, introduced street lighting and paving, freed all political prisoners, installed fountains, and reformed the hospitals, postal service, and university. He also abolished slavery, liveries, feudalism, and the arms of the order of the Knights (Roberts; 167-168).
- As a military ruler, Napoleon reached out to the intellectuals, religious and civilian leaders, as well as scientists, to widen his circle.
- The military leader was also getting used to long reception lines of applauding people along his marching routes.

A New Form of Absolutism

- The military leader also extrapolated from the great moments of his military campaign. Roberts refers to the battle at Lodi in this regard. The storming of the bridge there, he recounts, “became a central story in the Napoleonic legend. He cites Tulard ascribing this statement to Napoleon, “ I no longer regarded myself as a simple general, but as a man called upon to decide the fate of peoples…At this point was born the great spark of high ambition.”

A New Form of Absolutism—the Economics of War

- Roberts' detailed narrative of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars shows that they were not always imbued with a revolutionary spirit. Both generated valuable financial resources.
- Napoleon, he says, found his soldiers without appropriate footwear and winter gear and unpaid for months as the Army of Italy. He arranged, according to him, for a Swiss loan for the Army of Italy through his personal contacts and hoped that once on the ground, the Army would be able to live off the land, which it did.

A New Form of Absolutism—the Economics of War

- Besides having access to better resources, Napoleon also ensured soldiers had access to better funding and pay once they reached the “enemy” territory.
- Roberts refers to several financial transactions out of which he gratified his troops. For example, in early June 1796, Napoleon extracted a “contribution” of fifteen million French francs from the Pope, in addition to a hundred pieces of art of the French choice, and five hundred manuscripts from the Vatican library. By June 27, he had captured £12 million from the British retreat at Livorno.

A New Form of Absolutism—the Economics of War

- By the Egyptian campaign, his name had become an asset. Roberts estimates that within days he raised eight million francs through “contributions” his lieutenants raised in Rome, Holland, and Brune (Roberts: 162). His shopping list, besides needed equipment and a vast library, included 800,000 pints of wine (Roberts: 166).
- His topmost booty flowed in soon after entering the Mediterranean as he took over the control of Malta. Napoleon, says Roberts, ordered the plundering of the treasury, mint, churches, and artwork, securing some 60 million francs (Roberts: 178). He could not use this money because once the British found out about his Egyptian campaign, Admiral Nelson sank his entire fleet, including the treasure ship, at Aboukir Bay on August 1, 1798.

A New Form of Absolutism—The Consul-Emperor

- The military leader met a defeat in the Holy Land at Acre in May 1799, during his Egyptian campaign at the hands of a Coalition including the Ottoman Empire and England. Apprehending a bigger setback looming, Napoleon deserted his troops in Egypt and sneaked a return journey home through the Mediterranean, ditching the British.
- Back home, he built a coalition of civil and military leaders who enabled him to bulldoze his way through the House of Elders and use force to disperse the lower house.
- On November 9, 1799, Napoleon became the First Consul, only marginally sharing power with two other co-equals. Absolutism of a different kind returned to France, eleven years after the last few months of Louis XVI, before the Estates General of 1789.
- The Napoleonic Wars began in 1803, and on December 2, 1804, Napoleon crowned himself, although Pope Pius VII was present at Notre Dame.

A New Form of Absolutism—the Economics of War

- As the wars resumed under the Napoleonic absolutism, Napoleon boldly emphasized to his lieutenants what it meant for the economy. On July 14, 1810, he told them, “War must pay for war.” He used a three-pronged strategy to achieve this objective:
  - Through “ordinary contribution”: straightforward seizure of cash and property from “enemies.”
  - Through “extraordinary contribution”: payments from enemy treasuries agreed in peace treaties.
  - Through the billeting and maintenance of French troops at foreign or allies’ expense.
  - Requisitioning manpower and products was also common.
- France would train, equip, and clothe her armies, says Roberts, after that, they were expected to be self-financing.

A New Form of Absolutism—the Economics of War

- Roberts breaks down the income from various wars, some victories being more profitable than others (395-97). Cumulatively, he estimates that during the decade from the breakdown of Amiens, May 18, 1803, to 1814, the war booty amounted to 1.8 billion French francs, one FF of those days being equal to $ 8.44 today.
- The total cost was, however, higher, at about 3 billion French francs, which meant that the French citizens had to pay 1.2 billion French francs to meet the deficit.
- Unlike the ancien regime, which collapsed under the growing budgetary deficit and debt financing, Napoleon's financial administration raised people's share of about forty percent of the war expenses without a severe direct tax burden.
- By 1814, the French national debt was down to sixty million French francs, while the annual revenue collection hovered between 430 million to half a billion French francs.

A New Form of Absolutism: End of the Republic

- We will briefly discuss what this new form of absolutism meant for the French Revolution. Although Napoleon's 1799 coup d'etat demolished Republican institutions, he introduced a constitution that preserved formal features of a Republic until the emperor took over in 1804.
- Through February 17, 1800 law on the administrative reorganization, elected municipal offices became immediate victims of Napoleonic absolutism. Appointed officials, Prefects, and sub-Prefects became state agents in the territorial units. Through them, Napoleon administered France and appointed the Mayors and the members of the local councils for three years. Like other officials, the government could suspend them from their offices.
- The Workers' Record Book, reintroduced in 1803, made labor more dependent on the employers' whims.

A New Form of Absolutism: Church and State

- We know that by 1795, France had completed the separation of Church and State.
- Napoleon recognized the value of self-induced social control that only religion could impart to human beings. He had therefore walked a tightrope in his equations with the Catholic Church, whose Papal States he had smashed into subjugation.
- Within France, after secret negotiations with Rome that began in 1800, he sought to restore the French links with the ecclesiastical authorities, but on his terms. France will not return the expropriated Church lands, but beyond that, almost all Revolutionary religious policies were reversed.

A New Form of Absolutism: Church and State

- By July 1801, Napoleon signed a Concordat with Rome. France acknowledged Catholicism as the religion of the majority in the country, restored Catholic worship, and agreed to pay salaries to sixty senior Church leaders and other priests, named by the Pope and the Church but secretly, after Napoleon would have approved them.
- The priests would function as loyal French State officials, pray for the Consuls during all services and sing Te Deum for Napoleonic victories, read his proclamation to the congregations, and depict conscription as a patriotic duty. Sunday will be a day of rest, again. Children would have a choice of traditional names.
- Clergy would oversee the primary (only) education.
- Separately, France committed to protect the rights of 700,000 protestants and 55,000 Jews (Roberts: 273-274).
- Napoleon, however, failed to strike a friendship with Rome. In July 1809, he annexed the Papal State and had Pope Pius VII imprisoned first within Italy and in France until his abdication.
- His equation with the Jewish community also went through ups and downs.

NAPOLEON

Empereur des Français, Roi d'Italie
et Protecteur de la Confédération
du Rhin

CODE
DE
NAPOLEON
LE GRAND

R. BIBLIOTECA UNIVERSITARIA DI PISA

A FLORENCE
CHEZ MOLINI, LANDI, ET COMPAGNIE
MDCCCIX.

A New Form of Absolutism: Code Napoleon

- In January 1801, Napoleon decided to give France a unified Code Civil, reminiscent of the Justinian Code, to replace nearly 400 local and limited legal codes. He established a commission of jurists and politicians to accomplish the task and presided over fifty-five of its 107 plenary sessions (Roberts: 276). Completed by December 1801, it became law in 1804. By 1810, the Code of Civil Procedure, the Commercial Code, the Code on Criminal Procedure, and the Penal Code joined it.
- Beginning in 1804, Napoleon enforced it in the areas under French control, and several other jurisdictions opted for it.

A New Form of Absolutism: Code Napoleon

The Code stipulated the rights and duties of the government and its citizens in 2281 articles. It simplified the 14000 decrees and laws that various revolutionary assemblies had promulgated since 1789.

- It guaranteed the principles of the freedom of the person and contract, the equality of all Frenchmen in the eyes of the law, freedom of person from arbitrary arrest, and the sanctity of legal contracts.
- The Code allowed all “men” to engage in any occupation and to own property.

The Code also reflected the social customs of the epoch.

- The paterfamilias had total control over the family unit, including the property of his wife. Sons until the age of 25 and daughters of 21 could marry only with his permission. Minimum marriage age was fixed for men at 18, women at 15. In case of disobedience, a father could have a child under 16 imprisoned for a month, and for six months for a child between sixteen and twenty-one.

A New Form of Absolutism: Code Napoleon

- The Code provided for divorce by mutual consent (Napoleon and Josephine divorced that way); otherwise, because of a limited number of reasons, including adultery, only if the husband introduced a permanent mistress into the family household. A wife could be imprisoned for two years for adultery, while a man would only be fined. A husband would not be prosecuted if he murdered his wife caught *in flagrante*.
- The code protected married and single men from having to support an illegitimate child or even being identified as the father.
- It prevented women from making legal contracts, taking part in lawsuits, serving as a witness in court, or to births, deaths, or marriages.
- Wives could not sell produce in markets without their husbands' permission.
- Women were prohibited from giving, selling, or mortgaging property without their husbands' written consent.
- Unmarried women could not be legal guardians or witnesses to wills.

A New Form of Absolutism: Code Napoleon

- The Code ended primogeniture. While 25 percent of the property could be bequeathed away from the family, the rest must be divided equally among the sons
- It universalized the use of the metric system.
- In 1800, Napoleon established the Banque de France for financial stability and in 1803 introduced standard coinage, the French franc, which retained its value until 1926.
- French became the language of instruction for the educational and administrative reforms he launched.
- While the Church supervised the primary education, the state offered, monitored instruction at the secondary level only to boys, the lycée becoming a great French institution. It also offered 6,400 full-fee scholarships.

A New Form of Absolutism: Code Napoleon

- Napoleon maintained the Revolution's elimination of the notion of noblesse by birth.
- Legion d'Honneur replaced the old titles.
- Emperor Napoleon, however, reversed this practice. He installed his male siblings as Kings of the occupied areas. Female members of the family had princely titles, and he arranged their marriages into Royal families. Territorial governance opened new titles to his close associates and victorious commanders as well. Finally, he married Maria Theresa of Austria, and their son was born King of Rome.
- Beyond royal houses, Napoleon began " re-hierarchization" of the French society based on what he considered merit and service to the nation.

A New Form of Absolutism: Institutional Legacy

- Le Conseil d'Etat, still exists, became a major vehicle of Napoleonic reforms and his privy council as Emperor.
- Created under the Napoleonic constitution of 1799, it comprised talented jurists. Napoleon keenly presided over its long sessions, deliberating not only the proposed legislation but also administrative matters of a wide range.
- In 1807, Napoleon also established Le Cour des Comptes, an independent judicial body to audit the state finances, which reported directly to the Emperor and functions until now.

CIVIL CODE

OF

THE STATE OF LOUISIANA.

Preliminary Title.

Of the general Definitions of Rights and the Promulgation of the Laws.

CHAPTER 1.

Of Law.

ARTICLE 1.—Law is a solemn expression of Legislative will.

ART. 2.—It orders and permits and forbids, it announces rewards and punishments, its provisions generally relate not to solitary or singular cases, but to what passes in the ordinary course of affairs.

ART. 3.—Customs result from a long series of actions constantly repeated, which have by such repetition, and by uninterrupted acquiescence, acquired the force of a tacit and common consent.

CHAPTER 2.

Of the publication of the Laws.

ART. 4.—As laws cannot be obligatory without being known, they must be promulgated by the Governor of the State.

The laws shall be directed to the authorities entrusted with their execution or application, and to such other persons as

CODE CIVIL

DE

L'ETAT DE LA LOUISIANE.

Titre Preliminaire.

Des Définitions Générales du Droit, et de la Promulgation des Lois.

CHAPITRE 1.

De la Loi et des Coutumes.

ARTICLE 1.—La loi est une déclaration solemnelle de la volonté législative.

ART. 2.—La loi ordonne, elle permet, elle défend, elle annonce des récompenses et des peines. Elle dispose en général, non sur des cas rares ou singuliers, mais sur ce qui se passe dans le cours ordinaire des choses.

ART. 3.—La coutume résulte d'une longue suite d'actes constamment répétés, qui, par cette répétition et une soumission non interrompue, ont acquis la force d'un consentement tacite et commun.

CHAPITRE 2.

De la Promulgation des Lois.

ART. 4.—Les lois ne pouvant obliger sans être connues, elles seront promulguées par le Gouverneur de cet Etat.

Les lois seront adressées aux autorités chargées de les exécuter ou de les appliquer, et à telles autres personnes que la

Napoleon and the Americas

- George Washington died on December 14, 1799. Napoleon declared a ten-day mourning period for him. His propagandists drew comparisons between him and Napoleon as part of public eulogies to the American Cincinnatus (Robert: 233).
- By September 1800, Napoleon ended the quasi-war with the United States, eliminating the grounds that led to it: Both countries abrogated the Treaty of Alliance of 6th February 1778, the Treaty of Amity and Commerce of the same date, and the Convention of 14th November 1788, which resulted in contradictory expectations about their foreign relations.

Napoleon and the Americas

- The French National Convention had abolished slavery in 1794. In 1803, Napoleon took the counterrevolutionary step of restoring slavery and the slave trade in the French colonies. We learned last week that his nemesis, the forces of Toussaint L'Ouverture, prevailed in Saint-Domingue and created Haiti by the end of 1803.
- The success of the Saint-Domingue salve revolt sank Napoleon's hope of reviving the French Empire in the Americas. He decided to sell the French possession of the Louisiana Territory to Jefferson's America in 1803 and thus doubled the size of the country.
- Napoleon's motive, Roberts cites J. Holland Rose, was giving "to England a maritime rival that sooner or later will humble her pride" (325).

French Revolution and the Americas

- Napoleon's Berlin Decrees of November 1806 countered the British blockade of the French coast. First and foremost impact of his suicidal Continental System, indirect, unintended, and probably unforeseen, yet significant, was on the Spanish and Brazilian Americas' independence movements.
- To impose the System, Napoleon attacked the violators of the System, Portugal and Spain, in 1807-1808. The Portuguese Braganza dynasty escaped to Rio de Janeiro in November 1807. Napoleon abolished the Portuguese monarchy. In 1808, the Spanish Monarchy also abdicated.
- Iberia, however, was no walkover. The Peninsular War,1808-1814, was full of disappointments for Napoleon because of the Iberian resistance, guerrilla warfare, and the British troops assisting the Peninsular struggle.

French Revolution and the Americas

- Viewed from the Americas, however, Napoleon had displaced and weakened the aura of colonial powers' hold over their possessions there.
- Although it would take two or more decades to complete, coinciding with the restoration of the Spanish Ferdinand VII (1814-33), the process of the Spanish American liberation began in 1810 with Mexico. The Portuguese Brazil began late in 1822. On December 2, 1823, the United States issued the Monroe Doctrine forbidding European powers from any interference in the Americas. In pursuit of its commercial interest, Britain supported the Doctrine.
- In the end, Cuba and Puerto Rico were the only American colonies that the Spanish held until the Spanish-American War of 1898.

French Revolution and the Americas

- The Anglo-US War of 1812 was another fallout of the Continental System. President Madison detailed the reasons in his message to Congress on June 1, 1812. Here is one excerpt from the message about British aggression, “Under pretended blockades…our commerce has been plundered in every sea, the great staples of our country have been cut off from their legitimate markets, and a destructive blow aimed at our agricultural and maritime interests. In aggravation of these predatory measures, they have been considered as in force from the dates of their notification, a retrospective effect being thus added, as has been done in other important cases, to the unlawfulness of the course pursued…” The British actions against neutral US shipping constituted a major ground for seeking a declaration of war (impressment was another reason).

Liberté • Égalité • Fraternité
RÉPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE

LA MARSEILLAISE

COUPLET 1
Allons ! Enfants de la Patrie !
Le jour de gloire est arrivé !
Contre nous de la tyrannie,
L'étendard sanglant est levé ! (bis)
Entendez-vous dans les campagnes
Mugir ces féroces soldats ?
Ils viennent jusque dans vos bras
Égorger vos fils, vos compagnes.

REFRAIN
Aux armes, citoyens,
Formez vos bataillons,
Marchons, marchons !
Qu'un sang impur
Abreuve nos sillons !

COUPLET 2
Que veut cette horde d'esclaves,
De traîtres, de rois conjurés ?
Pour qui ces ignobles entraves,
Ces fers dès longtemps préparés ? (bis)
Français, pour nous, ah ! Quel outrage
Quels transports il doit exciter !
C'est nous qu'on ose méditer
De rendre à l'antique esclavage !

COUPLET 3
Quoi ! des cohortes étrangères
Feraient la loi dans nos foyers !
Quoi ! ces phalanges mercenaires
Terrasseraient nos fiers guerriers ! (bis)
Grand Dieu ! par des mains enchaînées
Nos fronts sous le joug se ploieraient !

COUPLET 5
Français, en guerriers magnanim
Portez ou retenez vos coups !
Épargnez ces tristes victimes,
À regret, s'armant contre nous !
Mais ces despotes sanguinaires
Mais ces complices de Bouillé !
Tous ces tigres qui, sans pitié,
Déchirent le sein de leur mère !

COUPLET 6
Amour sacré de la Patrie
Conduis, soutiens nos bras veng
Liberté, Liberté chérie,
Combats avec tes défenseurs !
Sous nos drapeaux que la victoi
Accoure à tes mâles accents

Legacy

- The Revolution was caught in a vortex of developments that took the focus away from its essence, the revolutionary changes enshrined in the constitutions of 1791 and 1793. Over the centuries, the French have strived to recapture that essence.
- Liberte, egalite, and fraternite have become the yardstick of French political, economic, and social life.
- La Marseillaise remains the national anthem, an omniscient reminder of the revolutionary spirit.
- Separation of state and religion stays firmly anchored in the political and educational ethos of the *etat laic*.
- The Socialist Government in 1981 claimed the spirit of the Revolution. In October, Loi Badinter abolished the death penalty.

Legacy

- Between 1981-2000, France moved to a thirty-five-hour work week.
- Highly unionized France enjoys five weeks of annual paid holidays and generally, retirement at 62. Young spouses can count on their city institutions to provide childcare at affordable rates as they resume their professional lives.
- In March 2024, France reacted to the US Supreme Court's 2022 decision *in Dobbs v. Jackson*. Meeting at the Versailles Palace, a joint session of the French Parliament closed the doors to any similar action in France. They raised the IVG, voluntary interruption of pregnancy, the Simon Veil law of 1975, into a constitutional amendment, 780:72. France became the world's first nation to constitutionally protect the principle of *mon corps, mon choix*.

Conclusion

Looking back, we can analyze the learning curve of the major historical figures involved in the revolutionary period.

- Louis XVI called the Etats Généraux, but failed to appreciate the dynamic process of change that the decimation of their tri-sectional character generated. He could not transition from an absolute to a constitutional monarchy, a generous deal that his citizen-subjects offered him.
- The National Convention on an extended legal life, and Maximilien Robespierre failed to reconcile with a multilayered notion of their motherland. Their paranoid reactions to dissent on crucial issues such as justice, religion, and diversity of regional perceptions of a Revolution turned them into a horribly senseless killing machine.

Conclusion

- After decades of absolutism and vertically embedded social stratification, people realized that radical change was possible and most energetically sought to realize it. They had different ideas of change, and the divergences remained vulnerable to the use of excessive force and violence.
- The Thermidorian Reaction attacked the essence of the Revolution by incorporating a chaotic collegial system of executive decision-making into the 1795 constitution in their bid to fight radicalism.
- The Directory offered a contrast to its efficient commander of the Army of Italy, whose name became synonymous with courage and effective leadership. Initially, projecting a revolutionary image in the French European colonies, ironically, he invented a new kind of absolutism. His inability to understand a different battlefield and his maritime constraints trapped him in a disastrous defeat.

Conclusion

- Violence also marked the Black slaves' struggle for freedom in Saint-Domingue. The enslaved persons' biggest weapon was to deprive the planters of their labor and destroy the chains of production and supply, which they viewed as a source of their miseries. They burnt down whatever they could on the road to freedom.
- Toussaint L'Ouverture, their leader, born a slave at a Le Cap plantation in Saint-Domingue, on May 20, 1743, a liberator of himself and the largest French slave holding colony, scored a great victory capitalizing on his learning skills.

Conclusion

- Non-implementation of the 1793 Constitution was a key turning point in the French Revolution. We learned how difficult it was for a revolutionary process to empower the people at the grassroots level. France lost that track within five years. We have also seen that it was equally difficult to kill the revolutionary ideas. They resurfaced in multiple forms. The Socialist victory of 1981 was one of its manifestations.
- France remains engaged with the ultimate essence of the French Revolution, more intently tuned to what the Third Estate wants and figuring out ways to realize its dreams amid divergent opinions defining them.