

# The Presidential Pact

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What you have said to me, I have heard. What I already knew, you have confirmed. Today, I put before you the Presidential Pact: a hundred propositions so that France can rediscover a shared ambition, pride and fraternity.

More than 6000 debates have been organised throughout the country. I have received over the internet 135 000 contributions. I have listened to the employers and the trade unions, I have met with associations, I have consulted experts. Many of you have wanted to take part in this joint effort.

I wanted this work of listening and confrontation of ideas. I wanted citizens to speak again so that I might be their spokeswoman: you no longer accept the composition in private of projects that are forgotten as quickly as they are written. Promises must be kept and they must be credible.

Together we will put this Presidential Pact into effect.

A fairer France will be a stronger France.

*Ségolène ROYAL*

## A President for a Confidence Regained

### Summary of the debates

To re-launch growth, the participants in the debates opted more for structural changes than for macro-economic policies that must necessarily be limited by the size of public debt.

We must encourage the creation of businesses, reinforce investment and research, deal with the problem of lack of qualification, develop professional training, support small and medium-size businesses and improve the efficiency of public spending.

### The issues

Sustainable development, strong growth, controlled public debt, and the reconciliation of the people with businesses are the necessary preconditions for a return of confidence, combined with a spirit of initiative, an appropriate sharing of wealth and controlled globalisation.

### Proposals

- 1. Massive investment in research and development:** 10% growth per year of the research budget and public funds for innovation over the five-year presidential period. (The public budget for research and development fell from 1% to 0.8% of GDP between 2002 and 2005). Of the €65bn of assistance to businesses, only 5% is directed towards research and development. I propose to increase that to 15%.
- 2. Put in place an industrial policy that prepares for the future and reduces the risks of delocalisation** with the creation of a national re-industrialisation agency.
- 3. Support small and medium-sized businesses** through the creation of regional participation funds and by reserving for them a percentage of public contracts.
- 4. Give priority to business investment** by lowering tax where the profit is reinvested and increasing it

where it is distributed to shareholders.

**5. Help for young entrepreneurs by supporting the creation of businesses** (simplification), by setting up creative workshops in all regions, by improving the social security rights of risk takers and by putting in place an insurance scheme for those who guarantee loans to their businesses with their private property.

**6. Reform of the government:** every euro spent should be useful. The existing decentralisation programme should be completed. Public services should be equally available throughout the country and they should be accessible by the internet.

## A President that Guarantees Purchasing Power

### Summary of the debates

The introduction of the euro, the increase of local taxes, the increase in the price of energy and the lack of competition in certain sectors, are considered to be the cause of the high cost of living. The cost of living index does not reflect consumer reality: it is incomplete, it does not take into account new types of expenditure and it does not reflect the different levels of income on spending practices.

But the key element in the high cost of living is the cost of housing: there is total agreement on the seriousness of the situation. There is not enough housing, and it is too expensive. The Solidarity and Urban Renewal law<sup>1</sup> must be better enforced. We must adopt an active building programme and put in place a public guarantees service. This is to act against the dictatorship of estate agents and property dealers.

The over-indebtedness of households is also a concern. The advertising for consumer loans and the conditions for obtaining credit ought to be more controlled. There is a need to create new types of non-commercial social loans.

Those taking part in the debates clearly thought that salaries were stagnating, while financial insecurity was rising. The increase in salaries is economically justified but has to be paid for. The government should become involved through a proactive policy and help with this.

Increasing family incomes through working overtime is not considered a suitable solution for everybody. Sometimes overtime is worked and not paid, while not all employees can work overtime. Furthermore, it is often the employer who decides, not the employee who chooses, when overtime is worked: "to pretend otherwise is to be ignorant of the real working environment".

Small pensions must be increased and the pension system completely overhauled. The main victims at the moment are women (widows), the agricultural world and self-employed tradesmen.

### The issues

The high cost of living affects the great majority of the French people and not only the less well off. Salaries stagnate, pensions buy less and less, the social services do not make up for the unexpected and the uncertainties of life. Access to a good quality home has become difficult for many families.

### Proposals

**7. Increase salaries:** The Minimum Wage to be increased to €1500 as soon as possible in the new parliament. With a view to raising salaries, a national conference on salaries, incomes and growth, bringing together employers and trade unions, will be organised in June 2007. It will be repeated annually.

**8. Immediately increase small pensions:** The increase of small pensions will be the first priority of a reform of the pensions system. They will be increased by 5%.

The minimum old age pension will be paid monthly.

Social security pensions will be paid on the first day of each month.

**9. Payments to the handicapped will be immediately increased by 5%.**

**10. The payment of the allowance to parents to fund the beginning of the school year will be doubled and paid to families in two portions.**

**11. Reduction of bank charges:**

Bank charges will be controlled by the government: deductions and penalties in connection with account problems will have upper limits and will have to be billed.

The government will create a basic banking service with a view to making social and micro- loans.

To prevent over-indebtedness, advertising for consumer loans will be the subject of regulation, and banks that grant loans to people who are insolvent will be punished. They will be required to co-operate with the social services in sorting out over-indebtedness situations.

**12. Fight against expensive housing, housing security for life.**

Increases housing allowances so as to limit to 25% of income the amount spent on housing for low income families.

Build 120 000 social dwellings per year financed by a more attractive popular tax-free savings scheme (Livret A). The government to have the power to enforce the *Loi SRU* where mayors do not take action.

Create a public guarantee service for rented property, so that the absence of financial guarantees are not a block on the access to rented housing, while at the same time the owner of the property is protected.. The procedures for the expulsion of unsatisfactory tenants will be simplified.

Organise tax advantages and subsidies with a view to keeping rents low.

Make available for renting vacant, speculative property. Local authorities to be allowed to acquire them through compulsory purchase in exceptional circumstances.

Encourage owner occupation by the increased use of loans without interest. Tenants who have rented council property for 15 years to be able to buy them.

Penalise local authorities who do not provide emergency accommodation in the ratio of one to one thousand inhabitants.

**13. Set up a number of cost of living indices that reflect different types of household expenditure (assisted families, families on minimum wage, pensioners).**

## A President of Full Employment

### Summary of the debates

The debate was much concerned with job insecurity. This insecurity even affects qualified employees, who take a series of unpaid placements because they cannot get a proper job. Upward social mobility is blocked. Only the most fortunate manage well. The young today are convinced that they will have a less pleasant life than their parents.

The social security system should adopt a give-and-take approach. New rights must be accompanied by new obligations. We should move from a passive approach where a benefit is given, to an active approach where a path to employment is defined.

To fight effectively against jobs moving abroad, a number of participants suggested shareholding employees.

## The issues

Unemployment is not going down, except in the official figures, insecurity is spreading, the number of those on assistance (RMI) has gone up by 250 000 since 2002. 70% of those taken into employment are on short-term contracts and temporary employment. How can it be suggested that workers do longer hours when so many young people and not so young people are seeking a job?².

## Proposals

To fight against job insecurity

**14. Link public subsidies to companies** with a commitment not to dismiss employees whilst substantial profits are being made and obtain the repayment of these subsidies in cases of jobs moved abroad.

**15. Adjust subsidies to businesses and exemptions from social security payments** according to the type of employment contract. Abolish the CNE new employment contract³ and make long-term contracts the norm.

**16. Extend collective bargaining to all levels and all subjects**, notably on the questions of organisation of working practices, working conditions, working time improvements, difficult working conditions, and part-time working.

Give job security to young people entering into employment.

**17. Create the right to a first job for young people** so that no young person stays unemployed for longer than six months without having access to training, assisted employment or paid instruction in a job. Offer 500 000 starting jobs⁴ by extending the scheme already operating in the regions being run by the Left at the moment.

**18. Create a €10 000 loans scheme without interest for any young person wishing to set up a business.**

Create a favourable environment for the return to work of the unemployed.

**19. Put in place an allowance (*Revenu de solidarité active, RSA*)** that will enable an increase of a third of their income for every person, receiving social minimum assistance, who is returning to work.

**20. Strengthen the qualifications and the ability to return to a job of those employees threatened with redundancy:** put in hand as a matter of course a scheme of certification of professional experience and recognize a right for everyone to training and retraining, in inverse proportion to their existing qualifications.

**21. Establish a professional social security organisation guaranteed by the government that permits every person who has lost his job to be given a contract containing a summary of rights and duties that include:**

Unemployment pay at the rate of 90% of the previous net salary.

The right to training that leads to a qualification.

Personalised help to find a job.

This assistance to be provided by the public employment service.

A President of Educational Success and Culture

## Summary of the debates

School no longer seems like a special place, the students seem to be losing their way little by little. However,

school plays an essential role as the place where pupils learn about society. It is the place where respect for the rules of successful living should be learnt by pupils and future citizens.

ZEPs<sup>5</sup> were much discussed. The individualisation of school life and personalised help with homework will avoid failures at school. The need for different types of classes, with a maximum of 25 pupils, was a widespread suggestion.

The training of teachers was also discussed. A complete reorganisation of teacher training and the encouragement of continuous on-the-job training were two of the concrete suggestions made by contributors to the debate on the internet.

Some contributors believed that using the educational zoning map differently would resolve some problems. Others cite the example of the city of Tours, that has reintegrated its ZEP so as to achieve a better social mix in schools.

The need for stronger links between the school and the parents, so as to generate mutual confidence, was stressed. Because of the perceived need to make parents feel responsible for their children's progress, the number of meetings between parents and teachers ought to be increased.

There was a general feeling that the moment for widespread reform in education had come. Whether schools should return to basics or modernise drastically, reform was perceived as essential to reduce social inequality and to allow all children to find their place in society.

## **The issues**

At the present time 150 000 students leave school without any qualifications. Schools should honour the Republican commitment to educational equality.

## **Proposals**

Acknowledge the fundamental mission of teachers

**22. Organise national conferences of teachers on a participative basis**, to improve working conditions in schools, to guarantee full understanding of their aims, prepare a plan over several years for the recruitment of teachers and the training and re-absorption of those whose jobs are at risk.

Deal with the fundamental problems of pupil failure

23. Set up a department to deal with very young children, and introduce compulsory education from the age of three years. Guarantee the ability to speak correctly in pre-school classes.

Honour the Republican commitment to educational equality

**24. Organise free educational support for all pupils with the aid of teaching assistants that supervise revision and homework.**

**25. Limit the number of pupils to 17 in classes CP and CE1 in ZEPS, and allocate 25% more funding every pupil in difficulty.**

**26. Redraw the educational zoning map to eliminate ghetto schools, ensure social mixing and set up priority education networks.**

**27. Increase the adult presence in schools** including, where necessary, the presence of a second adult in the classroom.

**28. Establish preparatory classes for the grandes écoles in the areas where they are lacking.** Educational excellence should not be confined to establishments in the centre of towns.

Help parents in difficulty

**29. Create jobs for parents in schools**, make classes for parents generally available, and make available family mediation to help parents establish their authority.

Give universities the resources to succeed

**30. Pass legislation to restore to universities the means to do well.** In five years, expenditure per student will be brought up to the same level as the average in the OECD countries. Give universities greater autonomy. Associate the regions with the upgrading of university's (buildings, accommodation, students...)

**31. Create a national guidance service** so that students may be fully informed as to what is available to them within the education system.

**32. Provide a means tested cost of living grant for the young**, with a contract to help with study and the first job.

**33. Undertake the national project proposed by the Council for employment, income and social cohesion.**

Culture, initiator of scholastic success

**34. Support activity and employment in culture.**

35. Involve art and artistic education at every level, from kindergarten to university. A national plan will be put in hand, in conjunction with the regions, to improve the cultural facilities of the universities and *Lycées* (rehearsal rooms, performance halls and studio workshops). Part time entertainers and art school students could take part in this scheme as resident artists.

A President of Social Security

### **Summary of the debates**

The increase in the cost of health care and equality of access to treatment were widely debated. The CMU<sup>6</sup> was much discussed. Whilst it is not considered to be perfect, its aims are recognized as praiseworthy.

“Retirement should not be a social death. Nothing is more beautiful than the freedom that retirement gives, providing that you have the means to enjoy it”. Talk of the benefits of greater life expectancy, which justifies pushing back the age of retirement, seems destined for the fortunate, and not those who started work early in difficult conditions.

The financing of pensions is not properly established. This is something that concerns all age groups. A change in the system is not ruled out provided that it is fair and justified.

The debates recognised that the number of dependent old people will grow every year, that there is concern that they should grow old with dignity and respect, and that they remain active citizens to the end. “Yes, youth is important. But what should we think of a society that doesn't do everything it can for its dependent elderly?”.

### **The issues**

The Right has weakened our social security system in allowing deficits to build up, by voting through an unjust reform of the pension system, by increasing cash payments for health care and undermining public hospitals.

## Proposals

### Health for all

**36. Put in hand a major plan for the prevention of, and research into, serious illness - cancer, AIDS, Alzheimer's and orphan diseases.**

**37. Guarantee on a permanent basis the financing of public hospitals,** so as to allow them to face up to everything they have deal with whilst at the same time paying attention to equality of access to health care throughout the country.

**38. Establish dispensaries,** particularly in rural areas.

**39. Establish a young person's health card for those aged 16 to 25,** giving them the right to a free consultation each term. Free contraception for young women under 25.

**40. Increase the resources of the school and university medical service, and the medical service in the workplace.**

**41. Affirm the right to the CMU, and punish any refusal to treat CMU patients.**

**42. Change the qualifying conditions for the adult handicapped allowance (AAH) to include those suffering from evolving illnesses with an uncertain diagnosis.**

**43. Put in hand a policy to fight against obesity,** based on early detection and treatment based on good diet.

**44. Re-establish the facilities, suppressed by the Right, for the treatment of foreigners whose papers are not in order,** in the cause of dignity and public health.

**45. Negotiate with employers and trade unions a strengthening of the independence of the workplace medical service.**

**46. Protect access to health care for sick people in developing countries** by the promotion of less expensive generic medicines.

### Make pensions secure

**47. Open wide ranging negotiations with employers and trade unions bearing in mind particularly:-**

The establishment of a guaranteed minimum pension near the level of the minimum wage.

Increase small pensions

In calculating pension rights take account of harsh working conditions and family responsibilities

The more widespread employment of people over retirement age

The method of financing the special pension schemes

The bringing up to appropriate levels of the pension fund reserves

### Dependency and old people

**48. Develop the care of old people in their homes.**

**49. Increase the number of places in existing old people's establishments** by increasing the number of trained personnel and their qualifications.

# A President For the Fight Against all Forms of Violence

## Summary of the debates

Acts of violence seem to be getting more and more common: including physical attacks on people, destruction of property, acts of incivility, violence on the roads, moral violence and discrimination. Everything combined amounts to increasing violence in society, despite the reassuring statements from government authorities. The feeling of insecurity seems to be widespread. Many contributors disputed statistics, referring to “the vagueness of the figures”.

Domestic violence affects all social levels and concerns adults as well as children. Violence at school is often raised, as well as that which takes place on sports fields which are supposed to be places for *fraternité*.

Security is a right of the Citizen and the duty of the state. For the contributors to the debate, this should be established at a local level with a police force “side-by-side with the citizens” – whether you call it “proximity policing”, “neighbourhood policing” or “contact policing”.

If preventative measures are to be effective, they must be accompanied by educational measures: such as alternative punishments and community work. Reintegration, helping people to rediscover their personal worth and, above all, accompaniment was the keynotes to these debates.

## The issues

The right to security and justice are fundamental. Violence, particularly violence against the person, has increased continuously since 2002. It is necessary to be clear-sighted and uncompromising with all crimes and all the causes of violence.

## Proposals

Resolutely resist all violence

### 50. Reintroduce civility

Teach children to be civil: through education programmes dealing with respect for other people that teach children to handle disputes with words rather than violence.

Guarantee everyone that they will be able to travel without fear on public transport, particularly at night, by imposing greater responsibility on the transport authorities (greater use of technology, more staff at sensitive times).

Establish wardens in all social housing.

### 51. Resist violence at school by increasing the number of adults present in the establishments.

Recruit supervisors for colleges.

Provide each establishment with a full-time nurse and welfare assistant.

### 52. Firmness in the face of violent juveniles

Establish a policy of early prevention of violence: a stronger educational framework, establishment of the tutoring system for pupils.

Establish a juvenile squad in every police station in the big urban areas.

Punishments must be quick and firm: an emergency plan will be put in place for juvenile justice (recruitment of juvenile judges, educationists and court officials).

The new solutions to be put in place to get juveniles away from crime: abolition of prison for minors, except in serious cases of physical violence; and development of strict education centres, if necessary with

military staff.

**53. Make the fight against marital violence a national priority:** pass legislation on marital violence taking into account all the ways of eradicating this problem.

**54. Establish a new area policing policy for better day today security:**

Rebalance the distribution of the police force giving priority to the reinforcement of difficult areas both in terms of quality and quantity.

Post experienced police officers, with the benefit of a substantial pay differential, to the more difficult areas (better promotion, help with accommodation etc).

**55. Helping the victims:**

Modernise and simplify the making of a complaint to end the law of silence: improve the reception in police stations with the establishment of social workers from the national police force, and with the possibility of making complaints on the internet.

Make a lawyer available immediately to victims of serious violence after the filing of the complaint.

Dealing with the needs of the justice system

**56. Double the budget of the justice system to make it quicker and more respectful of people's rights.**

**57. Make access to legal advice and the courts easier for the less well off.**

Increase legal aid.

Improve the *maisons de justice et du droit*<sup>7</sup>.

Establish a public service for the recovery of damages and interest awarded to victims.

**58. Protect the citizens:**

Guarantee the presence of a lawyer from the first hour of an arrest.

Restrict the use of provisional detention, which is much more common in France than in other European countries, by imposing deadlines for release.

Reinforce alternatives to preventive detention.

Guarantee prison conditions that make possible the reintegration into society of the detainees.

Establish an independent supervisory authority of the prison service.

**59. Make the justice system impartial and efficient:**

Change the membership of the *Conseil supérieur de la magistrature*<sup>8</sup> to make it more representative, and establish a balance between magistrates and non-magistrates.

Reform the organisation of the courts to take account of the distribution of the population.

Reform the system of justice in the workplace after consulting with the interested parties.

Change the law to allow "class actions".

## A President of Environmental Excellence

### Summary of the debates

Contributors are concerned about the seriousness of the ecological crisis, and particularly concerned with the risks associated with climate change. Several posed the question of the limits of growth: "we must produce less but better" and "reduce our way of living to move towards an economic model that is more ecological" because "to believe in everlasting growth is to believe in a myth".

With this thought comes the idea that change is possible: “if every project involves considering the environmental aspects, we can get things changed quite quickly”.

Finally, the environment is perceived as an area of the economy which is capable of producing new professions, new services and therefore new sustainable jobs.

## **The issues**

Global warming compels a radical change in our behaviour. But safeguarding the planet is also an opportunity for the growth of the economy and employment. We can therefore choose a new type of development without anxiety.

## **Proposals**

### **60. Preparing for the post petrol economy:**

We should prepare for the exhaustion of the supplies of oil by massively supporting the development of renewable energy so as to obtain 20% of energy consumption by the year 2020, which will bring about the creation of 70 000 jobs and reduce the share of energy produced with nuclear power.

Create an energy centre with Electricity de France and Gaz de France.

### **61. Fighting against climate change:**

Encourage the use of insulation and energy saving in housing, which will create 80 000 jobs.

Expand public transport through a windfall tax on the super profits of the oil companies.

Impose the principle that the polluter pays by establishing the liability of businesses responsible for damaging the environment.

Establish true road transport charges by negotiating an ecological road tax to discourage lorry transport and transfer the cargo to rail, as is done in other European countries.

### **62. Develops the idea of environmental added value:**

Make planning permission subject to high environmental quality throughout the public sector.

Encourage eco industries with a VAT rate tending towards zero.

### **63. Motivate all sections of society towards environmental excellence:**

Create the position of Deputy Prime Minister responsible for sustainable development. This position would also deal with the development of infrastructure.

Change the Economic and Social Council to become the Economic Social and Environmental Council.

### **64. Work for the establishment of a World Environmental Organisation.**

### **65. Work towards an agriculture which provides quality food and which is environmentally friendly:**

Favour margins on agricultural produce to improve farm incomes and encourage young people to set up in farming.

Work towards the redirection of the Common Agricultural Policy towards environmentally friendly subsidies, and guarantee openness and a better distribution of agricultural subsidies.

Transfer the management of agricultural subsidies to the regions.

Encourage farmers to engage in the supply of energy (biomass, crop-based fuels, bio gas and windfarms).

**66. Stop the experimental plantation of genetically modified crops in open fields** so that a major public debate can take place to decide on a policy which does not handicap conventional farming and at the same time protects the development of organic agriculture.

### **67. Protect health from pollution:**

Use tax incentives to encourage industry to eliminate toxic chemicals over and above the requirements of the European REACH regulations.

Put in place a national programme for the reduction in the use of pesticides.

Aim for zero industrial waste by 2012.

**68. Promote the idea of a “world agricultural policy”** to organise markets in a more balanced way and to give a real opportunity to the agriculture of developing countries.

## A President of a New Republic

### Summary of the debates

The citizens want to speak out more often, and more directly, to decide for themselves: “referendum or proposition by a citizen”, “right of petition” or “perpetual referendum” etc. all the instruments of participative democracy have been tried before.

People want to get closer to the elected representative, and involved with decisions. It is a question of restoring confidence and renewing the terms of public debate, so as to reconcile people and politics. Contributors to the debate want elected representatives who resemble ordinary citizens. Many of the contributors to the debate wanted to see a stricter limitation of accumulation of electoral appointments.

The contributors to the debates were very concerned about proportional representation, compulsory voting, and the recognition of the blank vote, all in the cause of the modernisation of political institutions.

A number of suggestions were put forward to rethink and simplify the organisation of the local authorities. Contributors want more effective public services “we want a reformed government that is more effective and fairer.”

The idea of some form of civic service was undoubtedly in the minds of contributors, either obligatory or voluntary, for a few weeks over a period, strictly organised or as an individual scheme.

The debates produced many painful examples of discrimination relating to sex, age for those just below retirement age, religion, ethnic origin, disability etc. Homophobia in the workplace was often mentioned.

### The issues

Too many citizens have distanced themselves from politics and taken refuge in abstention because they felt, often justifiably, that nobody was listening to them or taking any notice of them. French democracy needs them, and we should therefore build a new Republic together.

### Proposals

Make institutions more democratic

**69. Forbid members of Parliament from simultaneously holding other elected offices.**

**70. Introduce an element of proportional representation** into the election of deputies, and modify the method of election of senators.

**71. Strengthen the role of parliament:** the Prime Minister will seek the approval of parliament for his appointment; the use of block vote and article 49 - 3 will be abolished where ordinary laws are under consideration. The President of the Finance Commission of the National Assembly will be a member of the opposition.

**72. The right of veto in constitutional matters by the Senate will be abolished.**

**73. Participative democracy will be introduced in all local authorities (citizens juries, participative budgets etc).** Citizens who gather a million signatures will be able to ask parliament to examine a proposed law.

**74. Resist any alteration to the law of 1905 on the separation of the church and the state, and incorporate into the constitution a charter decreeing the separation of church and state.**

**75. Give foreigners legally resident for more than five years the right to vote in local elections.**

Reviving social democracy

**76. Organise on a regular basis consultation and negotiation before any social reform,** basing the representation of organisations on electoral principles and extending the principle of majority approval to the validation of collective agreements.

**77. Promoting mass trade unionism** through transparent public financing, and instituting a procedure by which trade union rights and the procedure for joining a trade union is communicated to an employee on signing a contract of employment. A tax credit will be allowed for trade union contributions.

**78. The setting up of a civic service for young people.**

Protecting the diversity of the media

**79. Establish a *Haute autorité du pluralisme* of which 3/5 will be nominated by Parliament.**

**80. Reinforce anti-monopoly measures.**

**81. Tax the revenues of the private channels in favour of the public service media.**

Overseas territories: assure equality, respect diversity.

**82. Guarantee territorial links** by requiring airlines to provide a public service.

**83. Introduce teaching about the overseas territories into schools, having particular regard to the history of slavery.**

**84. Apply to the overseas territories the principles of environmental excellence and notably the protection of biodiversity.**

The fight against discriminations

**85. Guarantee equality between men and women, particularly at work:**

Draw up a charter for equality of access and equality of treatment that businesses and public services can sign.

The government to commit itself to equal promotion for women and men to top jobs.

**86. Increase the powers of the Haute Autorité de Lutte contre les Discriminations (HALDE) .**

**87. Guarantee equality of rights for couples of the same sex.**

A President of France Strong in Europe and Active for Peace in the World

## **Summary of the debates**

All are agreed: France cannot be successful alone. She has to rely on Europe, but not just any Europe. Rebuilding a political Europe is the priority for many. Some wish to see the strengthening of European diplomacy and defence.

“Let us end the pessimism”. “We must believe in France and her capability.” “We must have a France that is sure of itself, capable of acting in the interests of Europe and the world.” “We want a France that is integrated and open.” “If France showed a new open and modern image she would become more credible and useful in the world.”

Citizens want a France that works alongside developing countries and builds cooperation with them. Many contributors to the debate want the United Nations to return to the centre of international political action.

As regards immigration: “we must act with tolerance, humanity and without demagoguery”. The issues of immigration are seen as closely linked with questions of integration and respect.

The contributors to the debate agreed on the necessity of adopting a global approach to immigration, centred round the immigrants already in France (the conditions in which they are received are regarded as deplorable and humiliating), and co-development with the countries of origin. “It is necessary to continue with a sufficient level of immigration of workers”. “Selected immigration is deeply opportunist and unjust for the country of origin.”

## **The issues**

The European Union has broken down and the voice of France in the world is weak. However, the world needs Europe and the French as well.

## **Proposals**

Give a new impulse to Europe

**88. Build a Europe that does more to protect the citizens, and is more in step with their needs.** Quickly put in place ambitious common policies on the major issues: research and innovation, energy, the environment; the preservation through a framework directive of the development of quality public services.

**89. Incorporate into the charter of the European Central Bank the aim of growth and employment; create a government of the euro zone.**

**90. Raise living standards and social protection in all European countries through a social chapter.**

**91. Negotiate an institutional treaty, subject to a referendum, so that Europe can function more efficiently and democratically.**

**92. Initiate with our European partners an initiative for an international peace and security conference on the Middle East.**

Guaranteeing the security of France

**93. Equip our armed forces in the to reflect the new risks with which we are confronted. Our capacity for nuclear dissuasion must be maintained.**

**94. Build our defence effort in the context of a European security policy,** with cooperation in matters of research, innovation and equipment. The aim is at one and the same time to reinforce our security and rationalise our expenditure.

A France working for world peace

**95. Control globalisation by working for greater efficiency and openness in the controlling regulatory mechanisms:** introduce at the World Trade Organisation a scale of norms which balance commercial measures with respect for social and environmental norms; radically reform the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank to make them tools in the service of human development; institute a tax on financial transactions similar to the Tobin tax.

**96. Review our overseas aid policy: move to a real co-development policy favouring concrete projects in direct association the beneficiaries.**

**97. Re-launch the process of Euro-Mediterranean cooperation**

Immigration

**98. Establish a visa that allows multiple return journeys for several years, so that the migratory flows coincide with the real needs of the labour market.**

**99. Re-establish the 10 year rule that allows the regularisation of papers of illegal immigrants.**

**100. Regularise the position of illegal immigrants according to criteria based on the length of time they have been in France: the schooling of their children, and the possession or the promise of an employment contract.**

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<sup>1</sup> SRU – it requires, amongst other things, towns with less than 20% of council housing to take steps to provide more. It is unpopular with many mayors on the right.

<sup>2</sup> A reference to Sarkozy's scheme to favour overtime with lower taxes

<sup>3</sup> With less initial job protection

<sup>4</sup> *emplois tremplins* – spring board jobs

<sup>5</sup> Educational priority areas in disadvantaged areas

<sup>6</sup> Health cover for the uninsured introduced by the Jospin government

<sup>7</sup> Offices where citizens can get legal advice free

<sup>8</sup> The judges governing body

<sup>9</sup> The anti discrimination organisation

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