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U.S.A. & France: I Love You ~ Neither Do I

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I LOVE YOU – NOR DO I

More than 200 years of ties that bind – or break.
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France & U.S.
The superpowers breed a love-hate relationship

More than two centuries ago, several Founding Fathers journeyed across the water to learn what they could from the French about developing a new kind of democracy. Years later, a French aristocrat came to visit the fledgling nation and returned home to write "Democracy in America." In time, France gave us our pre-eminent symbol of freedom - the statue in New York Harbor, the one that has welcomed millions looking for hope and a new life. We fought side by side in the trenches of World War I, were allies in the struggle to purge the Nazi shadow and shared a common history in Southeast Asia. In fact, she is the only major ally we’ve never been at war with.

But somewhere between the collapse of the World Trade Center towers and Saddam’s statue, a nasty fault line developed in this historical relationship. On both sides of the water, fingers were pointed and voices raised, often angry and harsh. The French were ingrates, cowards, wine snobs who preferred leisurely lunches to the hard work of spreading democracy and freedom. Americans were crass, arrogant, my-way-or-the-highway cowboys who preferred to shoot first and ask questions later. How did this happen? Why? Who was to blame? What did it all mean? Where is it headed and what are the solutions? After all, would Franklin and de Toqueville, Marshal Foch and Blackjack Pershing, Roosevelt and de Gaulle have been content to eat Freedom Fries?

In the fall of 2004, 10 University of Nebraska-Lincoln journalism students boarded a plane in Omaha and flew to Paris, searching for the answers. They had researched the complex past and turbulent present for months. For two weeks, from the Muslim neighborhoods of St. Denis in the north to a city connected to the Osage Indians in the south, they used notebooks and TV cameras to conduct marathon interview sessions. Working 12- to 14-hour days, the students queried American expatriates, African waiters, Syrian journalists, French filmmakers, writers, historians, feminist authors, American pastors, international religion writers, culture experts, tourism and foreign affairs officials, Euro-Disney executives, U.S. Embassy person-

In the end, they learned a good many things. They discovered, much to their surprise, that although it is true the French are no fans of President Bush and his foreign policies, many still retain a fondness and admiration for America and Americans. They also learned that many French still recall the exhilaration of seeing American troops liberating their villages 60 years ago. They learned, too, that many of the people they met are saddened by the current chill in the long-standing alliance and hope it’s only temporary, at best.

And by the time their plane landed back in Omaha, the students had learned something else: That global ignorance of other people and cultures will be a high price to pay in the small-er, interrelated world they will inherit.

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The famous Eiffel Tower lights up Paris at night.
ties that bind – or break.

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Sixty-nine years have weakened her French voice. Wilted her delicate hands. But Mimi Dardis’ eyes still are green beacons, now in a sea of wrinkles. And her memory is sharp. She won’t forget. She can’t. As she sits in a Paris hotel dining room, savoring a croissant, she remembers her first glimpse of red, white and blue:

AUGUST 1944: Hitler’s army is hustling back to Germany, eliminating as many Frenchmen as it can along the way. The Nazis gun down 52 in Robert-Espagne, a nearby village. Then they come to her town. They lock her father – coming home from the fields for lunch – and 81 neighbors in the town hall. The girl hides in the woods.

A lawyer in town gets an idea: a wine cellar. He offers a bottle to a gun-toting German, who takes one swig, then another. The soldier gives the bottle to a buddy. Morning comes, and the 82 prisoners are still breathing. The Germans leave quietly, hurriedly fleeing the oncoming advance. Two days later, the Americans arrive. The 9-year-old girl with the green eyes stands with her father on a narrow blacktop road. She raises her hand and waves to the soldiers.

Fifty-seven years and two weeks later – Sept. 12, 2001 – the headline in a French newspaper: “We are All Americans.” A New York woman opens a note slipped under her Paris apartment door from a downstairs stranger:

Your friend, Claude

Yet eighteen months later:

“You know, the French remind me a little bit of an aging actress of the 1940s who was still trying to dine out on her looks but doesn’t have the face for it.”

— U.S. Sen. John McCain

In Bordeaux, France, a replica of the Statue of Liberty is torched and a plaque honoring American victims of the Sept. 11, 2001, tragedy is vandalized.

“I would call the French scumbags, but that, of course, would be a disservice to bags filled with scum. I say we invade Iraq, then invade Chirac.”

— Comedian Dennis Miller

Demonstrators in Paris smash the front window of a McDonald’s.

“We can stand here like the French, or we can do something about it.”

— Marge Simpson

Coca-Cola products in glass bottles are common sights at cafes in Paris.
It seems the relationship between France and the United States could not be more complex.

An internationally unpopular war and the diplomatic scars following the Iraqi invasion have shaken the French and left them to wonder about the America they used to know. The America with whom they shared values of liberty and morality. They see a shifting, complex world in which the globe’s sole superpower decided to go it alone – using its military and economic might to force others into line.

“Future historians studying the decline and fall of America will mark this as the time the tide began to turn – toward a mean-spirited mediocrity in place of a noble beacon,” Theodore Sorensen, a University of Nebraska-Lincoln graduate and former adviser and speechwriter for President Kennedy, said in a commencement speech at New School University in New York in 2004. “We are increasingly alone in a dangerous world in which the globe’s sole superpower decided to go it alone – using its military and economic might to force others into line.”

“Our model of friendship and individualism says, ‘If you’re my friend, you’ll go along with me. You owe that to me because you’re my friend.’” said University of Nebraska-Lincoln French Professor Jordan Stump.

“Our attitude is, ‘If you’re my friend and I disagree with you, I’m going to tell you. I owe that to you because I’m your friend.’

One late night, a group of young French Americans consider that they are at war and that their national security is at stake.”

which millions who once respected us now hate us.

On this side of the Atlantic, just as many are outraged that America’s oldest ally abandoned ship at the most critical moment; after all, they say, democratic assertion is the only way to maintain a Western way of life in a world rife with terrorism.

The United States and France, longtime allies, have bucked and bantered for 225 years, but never has one raised a sword against the other. France held the ribbon at America’s opening ceremony; supporting an unlikely uprising against the English king. More than a century later, U.S. Gen. John Pershing, a Nebraskan, and his army broke a trench stalemate during World War I, ending bloodshed forever.

The friendship of two nations, the common experience and love of liberty may dissolve, leaving both nations with a sense of loss.

“It seems the relationship between France and the United States could not be more complex. An internationally unpopular war and the diplomatic scars following the Iraqi invasion have shaken the French and left them to wonder about the America they used to know. The America with whom they shared values of liberty and morality. They see a shifting, complex world in which the globe’s sole superpower decided to go it alone – using its military and economic might to force others into line.”

“My hope … is that if we disagree, let’s disagree without being disagreeable.”

John-David Levitte, French ambassador to the United States

Husbands of high school sweethearts. Mothers of other green-eyed little girls. Sons and daughters of proud grandfathers. They jumped out of windows. They burned alive. They suffocated in a cloud of dust on Sept. 11, 2001. And we watched; we saw it live right there in our La-Z-Boys.

America and France mourned together when Islamic jihadists punctured the concrete pillars of the American spirit. That scene resonated in every café and skyscraper from the lakes of Minnesota to the hills of Tennessee, pumping the United States with a dose of nationalistic adrenaline. In the months that followed, emotion and faith superseded analysis. Strangers rallied to wave flags and sing songs.

The beat sounds familiar.

“Africa immigrants, dark black to light brown, flood a communist Parisian suburb on a cloudy afternoon. Two women wearing silk purple dresses stroll by a restaurant serving Moroccan couscous. An open air market sells bananas from Suriname and Cameroon. Dead chickens – not yet decapitated – hang from hooks at eye level.

French watched from a distance, mourning and sympathetic at first, but skeptical as time passed. Its people didn’t expect U.S. global policy to suddenly shift, nor did it anticipate that Americans who publicly questioned foreign policy would be tagged “unpatriotic.”

“America reminds them of a Nazi rally,” said Thomas Fuller, an International Herald Tribune reporter who grew up in New York.

When French President Jacques Chirac led resistance to President Bush’s Iraqi plans in March 2003 by calling for more weapons inspections, he was more than taking a political stand. He was, in many Americans’ minds, casting himself as the villain in the hit summer blockbuster, inhibiting Bush’s ability to protect Francis Scott Key’s sacred love. He was trampling on the melodies of Irving Berlin and Lee Greenwood. He was ignoring the fallen towers.

“Americans consider that they are at war and that their national security is at stake.”

said Justin Vaise, a scholar at the Brookings Institute, during a 2003 panel discussion in Washington, D.C. “For them it’s not just a foreign policy disagreement; it’s a national offense.”

The United States refused to wait while the cautious little brother stuttered and stumbled. People worried anything less than decisive action might offer the evildoers one more morning to attack.

“The use of troops to defend America must never be subject to a veto by countries like France,” Bush said in a rally on Oct. 1, 2004. “The president’s job is not to take an international poll; the president’s job is to defend America.”

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Where have I heard this?
Botta botta, botta botta. A teenager in
of course: Destiny’s Child singing “Bootylicious.”

“Quarrels in France strengthen a love affair; in America they end it.”

— The Paris Diary of Ned Rorem, American author and composer

Iraq ripped open a wound in the Franco-American relationship, but the cut originates in ideological differences molded decades ago. A Frenchman leaned on the state for health care and jobs; an American prefers to attain power individually, invest it and die with $1 million in the bank. One has endured the worst of war, the other thinks battlefield victory is inevitable. One values thought and reflection, the other innovation and industry.

France looks at the United States and may see other stereotypes - excitement and vitality, Johnny Depp and Bill Gates. It also sees a nation kick-started by the persecution of Native Americans and slaves. It sees urban minorities dwelling in poverty while Wal-Mart booms and a death penalty that violates human decency. The French observe environmental habits that treat Earth like a trash can and politicians who incorporate God’s blessings into speeches as though they are part of the national lexicon. They see gun-protecting cowboys in a country where the lead story on the nightly news is another homicide, and they see flag-waving citizens who sing of freedom while holding prisoners in Cuba without trial.

The American image is Abu Ghraib and wiretaps, Halliburton and Christian crusades, the foolish kid who swung his baseball bat at the hornet’s nest because he didn’t know better.

Still, America manifests itself each day on Paris streets. Lines form under Col. Sanders for a bumper sticker that says, “Bomb Saddam Hussein? Because he hates America, he loves mistresses and wears a beret. He is French, people.”

— Gertrude Stein

An American reporter in Paris sips a glass of red wine at one of thousands of Parisian cafes just like this one. He reflects on New York -- the vitality of it, the rush, the pulse. He doesn’t feel that here.

Reviews.

“Paris is frozen in time.”

***

They poured French wine into sewers. They boycotted French perfume and cheese. They made bumper stickers that said, “Bomb France.” At the congressional cafeteria, they renamed french fries, “freedom fries.” And that was just the beginning:

“You know why the French don’t want to bomb Saddam Hussein? Because he hates America, he loves mistresses and wears a beret. He is French, people.”

— Conan O’Brien

“Going to war without France is like going deer hunting without your accordion.”

— Norman Schwartzkopf

Ginny Brown, a Republican congressman from Florida, suggested digging up the graves at Normandy: “The remains of our brave servicemen should be buried in patriotic soil.

America looks at France and sees romance and beauty, Champagne and cheese. It also sees a country that couldn’t protect itself — the United States had to save the day — against German occupiers and one that was too indecisive to halt ethnic cleansing in Kosovo. Yet it didn’t hesitate to colonize and torture Algerians 50 years ago. Didn’t hesitate to aid Saddam for its own business purposes before this latest war.

Americans may stereotype the French as smelly, arrogant snobs who live in an 18th century world where they still rule Europe. They would rather critique Voltaire than make an honest day’s wages. They’re lazy anti-Semites who pay too many taxes and deny a fair chance for everyone. Do you really think a poor black girl born into a racist town in the most racist of regions during a tumultuous historic period could rise all the way to the presidency of state — in France? They’re hypocrites who preach liberty and equality for all — as long as you’re not wearing a veil, or a Turk begging for entry into the European Union.

and the Golden Arches, Street billboards and subway tunnel posters market “The Terminal” and “The Bourne Supremacy” and “The Notebook.” A Muslim woman wears a veil on her head and a Hard Rock Café T-shirt on her back. Frenchmen dressed as Native Americans dance and sing at amusement parks. The happenings on Wall Street and Pennsylvania Avenue, Rodeo Drive and Broadway make the nightly news.

It’s most true in politics. Read American presidential approval ratings in Le Monde or see a flier for a debate on U.S. politics. Walk by a Shakespeare and Co. bookstore. The smile in the window, not Chirac’s or Blair’s: It’s Bill Clinton’s.

“America is my country, and Paris is my hometown.”

— Gertrude Stein

An American reporter in Paris sips a glass of red wine at one of thousands of Parisian cafes just like this one. He reflects on New York — the vitality of it, the rush, the pulse. He doesn’t feel that here.
not in a country that has turned its back on the U.S. and on the memory of Americans who fought and died there.”

The anti-French sentiment coming out of the states after March 2003 miffed the French.

“We don’t want to be a slave of America,” said Francis Geffard, acquisitions editor for North American manuscripts for Albin Michel, a prestigious French publishing house. “France has a different vision of the world. ... We do not want to be following orders. We want to be free to think what we want to think.”

Here’s what the French think: More than half – 53 percent – said one reason the United States went to Iraq was to “dominate the world,” according to a 2004 Pew Research Center poll. Fifty-seven percent said the United States has exaggerated the terrorist threat. Based on the Iraq war, 78 percent were less confident that the United States wants to promote democracy, a number that surpassed countries such as Turkey (73 percent), Morocco (66 percent) and Jordan (56 percent).

Le Figaro, a large Paris newspaper, published a poll in July 2004 stating that 88 percent of the French would vote for John Kerry if they could participate in the 2004 U.S. election.

The basis of French defiance dates back to the Enlightenment. Reason is the most important thing, “the only thing that counts” in France, said UNL Professor Stump. It’s stronger than faith. It’s stronger than political alliances. And personal accountability requires the French to voice opinions.

Americans might ignore personal disagreements of thought, or conceal them to avoid offending someone, but the French believe in a moral responsibility to voice their disagreements. Consensus in French society signals apathy, not cohesion, said Frenchman Philippe Rochefort, whose wife grew up in Iowa.

Religious differences have only widened the Atlantic chasm. The Enlightenment disassembled what was a staunch Catholic society. Now the French value secularism. They don’t invoke God in political speeches. They don’t print God on money. They don’t allow religious freedom in public schools. Most have little concept of how and why religion affects foreign policy, or how Americans can rely on faith and divine intervention. They don’t understand how an American president could act on a personal moral duty to spread democracy without listening to detractors.

Florence Douat, a Muslim journalist who grew up in Syria and lives in Paris, flew to a conference in Chicago last summer. On the plane, she sat next to an American woman. The two started talking politics, and the American said she was a Bush supporter. Her reason: “He loves God.”

For many Americans, 40 percent of whom say they attend church once a week, compared with 5 percent in France, it’s as good a reason to support a president as any. Elect a man who fights for the best interest of the Almighty, and the country will be safe. But Douat was puzzled, as are many French. It was dangerous for Bush, she said, to act on perceived Christian doctrines when so many affected by his actions don’t hold those beliefs. That spiritual conflict between the two nations has significantly increased since Sorensen’s time in the White House.

“In my day, conflicts were over political and economic ideology, not religion,” Sorensen said.

“Your mistake is wanting to reduce the world to your measure, whereas, by increasing your knowledge of things, you will find your knowledge of yourself increased.”

Today’s disputes don’t involve communist dictators or impenetrable armies. Nevertheless, Sorensen said, they require unity.

“Most of the problems, whether we’re talking about terrorism, AIDS, environmental problems, refugee migrations, those can be approached only on a global basis,” Sorensen said. “That’s the only way they’re ever going to be solved. The United States by itself will never end terrorism. For that matter, it’s quite clear the United States by itself will never end the mess in Iraq. We need countries like France.”

James Renschler, a former U.S. ambassador who displays pictures in his living room of handshakes with Presidents Carter and Reagan, worries that American pride will hinder its safety.

“The moment you have an (former Attorney General John) Ashcroft, saying we can do these things alone, it’s nonsense,” Renschler said. “We can’t do this stuff alone. We’re going to need the cooperation of countries where these (terrorist) groups are coming through, where they’re hidden.”

Sorensen said America’s renewed isolationism since Sept. 11, 2001, places the country on a dangerous path. Especially, he said, because Americans’ interest in foreign relations has diminished in recent decades. French historian Andre Kaspi, who teaches French-American relations at the Sorbonne, agreed.

“I don’t want to be nasty, but I think that history is not very well-known in the U.S.,” Kaspi said.

The U.S. attitude, according to Sorensen, is one of exceptionalism: “We’re the only ones who know what’s going on. We’re the only ones who’ve ever been attacked, which

“TOO MUCH TENSION BETWEEN MISS LIBERTY AND THE EIFFEL TOWER. / IT’S ABOUT TIME WE ALL MADE UP AT SOME BIG HAPPY HOUR. / I THINK THE WORLD NEEDS A DRINK.”

Terri Clark, country singer

“QUARRELS IN FRANCE STRENGTHEN A LOVE AFFAIR, IN AMERICA THEY END IT.”

The Paris Diary of Ned Rorem, American author and composer
of course is not true. But because we’re as powerful as we are, we can do what we want. ... I can understand why people in other countries feel that the U.S. is not as sensitive as they are to the dangers of war and the importance of diplomacy.”

The French response to Iraq was fear and paranoia, cynicism and nervousness. They’ve seen the worst of war. World conflicts have erupted in their cities and countryside. Colonial wars in Algeria and Indochina have damaged the French psyche. Mimi Dardis, the girl in the French village whose father avoided murder thanks to a wine cellar, the petite 69-year-old who married an American and moved to America in 1958, understands French concerns.

“I think they would rather try to settle things peacefully than go to war,” said Dardis, who lives in Toms River, N.J. “It’s something you never forget.”

Said Professor Stump: “What Bush did essentially was to put into motion their worst nightmares of American imperialism, which is, ‘If we decide we don’t like somebody, we will kill them and there’s nothing anybody can do about it.’ They greatly fear, rightly, I think, the notion of a country with unlimited weapons ... and a willingness to use them in defiance of international opinion. For them, that is a nightmare scenario.”

***

“We’ll always have Paris.”

— Humphrey Bogart to Ingrid Bergman, “Casablanca”

If God in all his glory were to select one site for a church from all the cities in all the world, it just might be here, atop a steep hillside where mankind’s accomplishments of the past centuries rest in the glow of a Paris night, a beacon under a star-lit sky far as green eyes can see.

Below Sacre Coeur in the distance lie structures older than Napoleon quartering Monet and Van Gogh, the Mona Lisa and Venus de Milo; brick streets in whose cracks dwell revolution’s seeds, which sprouted and inspired a people across an ocean to rise up against that generation’s imperial power; bridges that Franklin and Jefferson and Wilson and Kennedy crossed while forming American ideas still discussed on these very steps on this very evening.

The heat from a late summer day has passed. The sun has set. The cathedral gates have closed and all is quiet but for a potpourri of accents and dialects from corners of the globe.

A 47-year-old stockbroker arrives for the late mass. He misses it by a few minutes. Instead of heading home, he stops and peers over the city he loves. He hears a foreign tongue and offers help in pointing out landmarks. Those two towers, that’s Notre Dame. Just over the ridge looms the Eiffel Tower.

He takes a deep breath. A long silence. He never tires of this place, where one can forget about debts and betrayal, the U.N. and WMDs, yesterday and tomorrow. A long silence.

He looks out at Paris and beyond.

“Imagine, for five minutes, a world without America,” he says. “It would be a real mess.”
The American Revolutionary War was the beginning of a friendship like no other for the French and Americans. That friendship, filtered through more than two centuries, is a blend of fact and fiction.

The two countries have always been allies, and they’ve had their share of spats — have never been at war but have been close.

“For France, it’s similar to being with a big brother that drives you crazy all the time,” French historian Rene Maurice said.

At times, the United States and France are friends and allies, symbolized in what began as a gift and has become the most notable image of American ideals: the Statue of Liberty.

Both countries embraced democratic ideals in the 18th century, France threw off an aristocracy, and though it stumbled with the Bonapartes, it regained its senses to become a republic. America threw off its colonial aristocracy in a bloody war and was founded on principles of liberty and equality. During the 18th century, Thomas Jefferson traveled to France to learn the Enlightenment ideas that formed the basis of democracy. Decades later, Alexis de Tocqueville visited America to study how those ideas could be implemented. Generations later, both countries fought in two World Wars to defend them.

But at times, the relationship has been characterized by tension and misunderstanding. After French support secured American independence, debts and trade treaties caused a rift. After each World War, during which both nations cooperated to help secure victory, they disagreed about how to rebuild. Between 1945 and the 1960s, a strong French socialist party strained the transatlantic relationship, and the United States’ Cold War mentality led it to repeat mistakes in France’s former colony, Vietnam. As the 21st century dawned, the “little brother” disapproved as its comrade invaded Iraq.

“It’s been a combination of friendship and alliance on one side and rivalry and antagonism on the other,” said Lloyd Ambrosius, a history professor at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln. “Both countries think that their perspective should become the universal view. That can create some rivalry, but the two perspectives are actually pretty similar.”

Andre Kaspi, a professor of American history at the Sorbonne, said: “It’s always the same alternative between the French and
TIMELINE

1525 — Italian Giovanni da Varazano, sent by King Francis I, explores America's eastern coast and discovers New York Harbor, where a bridge still bears his name.

1541 — Jacques Cartier founds Charlesbourg-Royal, the first French settlement in the New World.

1755-1763 — Thousands of French-speaking Acadians migrate from Canada to Louisiana, flying British rule.

1763 — At the end of the French and Indian War (known in Europe as the Seven Years War), France cedes Louisiana to Spain and Canada to Britain.

JULY 4, 1776 — The United States formally declares its independence from Britain.

JUNE 1777 — The Marquis de Lafayette arrives in America to volunteer under George Washington, who becomes his lifelong friend. Because of his family's influence on the French king, he is appointed a general.

OCTOBER 1777 — The revolutionaries are victorious at Saratoga, a triumph that will help convince France to support the cause with men and money.

FEB. 6, 1778 — The Treaty of Commerce and Friendship and the Treaty of Alliance are signed in Paris. With the former, France becomes the first nation to recognize the rebel United States. The latter forms a military alliance against Britain.

OCTOBER 1781 — British Gen. Charles Lord Cornwallis surrenders at Yorktown, after Revolutionary troops besiege his army and French ships block efforts to supply them.

SEPT. 3, 1783 — The Treaty of Paris officially ends the American Revolutionary War.

MAY 1789 — The French Revolution begins when members of the Third Estate call for a constitution.

AUGUST 26, 1789 — France's national assembly approves the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen, which the Marquis de Lafayette wrote with the help of Declaration of Independence author Thomas Jefferson.

1791 — French immigrant Pierre Charles L'Enfant, a major in the American army, designs Washington D.C.

DECEMBER 1796 — In his farewell speech, Washington warns against allying with any European power. This isolationist stance, which Jefferson called "non-entanglement," rules American foreign policy for 150 years.

OCTOBER 1797 — President Adams appoints three ministers to negotiate a new treaty with France and end three years of cool relations caused by renewed relations between the U.S. and Britain. But a scandal arises when foreign minister Charles Maurice Talleyrand demands a $250,000 bribe for himself and a $12 million loan for France.

1798-1800 — Hostilities play out on the high seas during the Quasi War, also known as The Undeclared War.

OCTOBER 3, 1800 — The Treaty of Mortefontaine ends three years of unofficial conflict between France and the United States. It is known as The Quasi War or The Undeclared War.

DECEMBER 20, 1803 — France sells the Louisiana territory to the United States for $80 million francs, doubling the young country's size.

1812-1815 — War of 1812.

DECEMBER 7, 1835 — U.S. President Andrew Jackson demands France honor a treaty to pay $25 million for damage America. They love one another, they share the same values, but by the way, they are not always on the same wavelength."

A VERY LONG FRIENDSHIP

During the American Revolution, a pattern was established that has endured for 229 years. When rumblings of unrest began reverberating across the Atlantic in the mid-18th century, France was anything but a disinterested party. The French and British already shared a long history of war, having fought on North American soil between 1754 and 1763 in the conflict known as the French and Indian War. The first skirmishes of that war saw a 22-year-old colonel named George Washington surrender to the French near what is now Pittsburgh and take his men back to Virginia. Only a decade of peace separated that conflict and France's alliance with the new nation.

"It's considered that Americans won their independence with a little help from France, but it was totally the other way around," said Jacques de Trentinian, a French businessman whose passion for early Franco-American history has led him to think the founding fathers would not have succeeded without Gallic help.

The key to victory was naval power, he said, and both the French and Americans knew it. After suffering defeat by British hands in 1763, Louis XVI made it a policy to strengthen his navy. By the time Benjamin Franklin and Pierre Augustin Caron Beaumarchais began lobbying the king for support, the French fleet was ready, Trentinian said.

And so came the decisive Battle of Yorktown, which would prove to be the last significant fighting between the belligerents. In October 1781, French ships blocked access to Yorktown, allowing no aid to reach British troops, while Washington and a French general, Comte de Rochambeau, besieged them on land. British Gen. Charles Lord Cornwallis surrendered after two weeks. With independence won, however, the friendship between the two allies quickly soured. The new nation provided no support during the French Revolutionary war of 1789 and, because Britain controlled the Atlantic, it traded more with its former enemy than the new French Republic. Having served as savior and independence advocate shortly before, France resented the alliance between the cousins in heritage and language, Kaspi said. Between 1798 and 1800, skirmishes between private ships amounted to an undeclared war. Anomosity about the United States' war debts to France lasted until the 1830s.

"We almost went to a war, but we didn't after all," Trentinian said.

A MOST BENEFICIAL PURCHASE AND GIFT

In 1800, about the same time the Treaty of Morfontaine ended trade hostilities by establishing the United States as a neutral nation, Spain ceded the Louisiana Territory to France. Napoleon Bonaparte had acquired the expanse between the Mississippi River and the Rocky Mountains in hopes of expanding his empire. But by 1803, a slave revolt in Haiti and an impending war with England diverted his attention.

Americans had long known of and desired the trade potential of the Mississippi River as well as the economic potential in its great drainage, including Port of New Orleans, which had become critical to the new country's trade. Jefferson, now president, made an offer of as much as $10 million in 1803 for New Orleans and southern parts of what is now Alabama and Mississippi. Instead, Jefferson's representatives spent $15 million for all 828,000 square miles of Louisiana Territory. This deal, which became known as the Louisiana Purchase, doubled the size of the country for just 4 cents an acre. For the rest of the 19th century, Franco-American relations remained amicable and uncomplicated.

That paved the way for hundreds of American doctors and surgeons to visit France to learn amputation techniques perfected during the Napoleonic wars, said French historian Rene Maurice, who specializes in American expatriates in France.

"FOR FRANCE, IT’S SIMILAR TO BEING WITH A BIG BROTHER THAT DRIVES YOU CRAZY ALL THE TIME.”

French historian Rene Maurice
And more than 400 American architects went to study the classic styles rampant in Paris and adapt them to formulate their own technique. Painters, too, came in droves to learn the basics of brushstrokes and color to apply to their own art.

Going the other direction, Alexis de Tocqueville crossed the Atlantic to study democracy in the United States, deeming it the way of the future.

And the most enduring, recognizable symbol of Franco-American relations was born in this era as well: the Statue of Liberty. Conceived in 1865 as a gift to honor the two countries’ commitment to liberty, it was dedicated in 1886.

Over time, however, the statue has lost its French association in the minds of most Americans, Ambrosius said. “It was a very nice gesture of Franco-American friendship,” but “as a long-term gesture of friendship it’s maybe not working so well right now.”

**AN ALLIANCE STRONGER THAN WAR OR PEACE**

In the 20th century, the cycle continued. As World War I progressed without a favorable outlook, France and Britain tried to court American favor. The French succeeded by using all their cultural advantages, presenting themselves as a charming, refined sister republic being victimized, said Mark Meigs, an American who teaches American studies and history at the University of Paris VII.

Both fought Germany but for different reasons, he said. The United States thought it was fighting for democracy; France sought revenge. It wanted its territory back.

The conflicting motivations caused another falling out after the war’s end. President Woodrow Wilson thought France should cease taking colonies, leave Germany alone and repay its debts to the United States.

But the French were uninterested in listening, Meigs said. They had suffered terribly while Americans did their best to avoid the Great War. The Allies lost a million men in the 32 months before the U.S. knights in shining armor arrived from across the Atlantic. And following the Armistice, they felt entitled to some of the spoils of war. They also felt Germany should repay the European allies, especially the French, before giving anything to an upstart nation that had lost so little and was now trying to dictate the terms of the Armistice.

Twenty years later, history repeated itself. Again, Germany overran France, forming a puppet government at Vichy. Four years later, after surviving the horrors of the D-Day invasion at Calais, U.S. soldiers liberated France on their way to Germany and victory. And yet again, teamwork was beset by hurt feelings.

The United States resented France for not liberating itself, Meigs said, and the French began to pretend that they had done just that, exaggerating the extent of resistance to the Nazi regime. And to the French, the Marshall Plan for U.S. aid in reconstructing Europe looked a lot like the imperialism they’d been scolded for not so long ago, French historian Kaspi said.

**A SHARED QUAGMIRE**

After the war ended, the great colonial powers of Europe began to break up, and Communist forces pushed for revolution in the former colonies. France lost its colonial foothold in Vietnam after being mauled by the Viet Minh guerrillas at the pivotal battle of Dien Bien Phu. The French were forced to withdraw, and the United States moved in to defend against communism—and made parallel mistakes in practicing traditional warfare and ignoring the Vietnamese people’s wishes.

“The United States is not at all happy when France withdraws from Vietnam because they like having the battle fought,” said Pete Maslowski, a UNL professor who specializes in military history. “It’s easier to spend money (backing France) than spend lives.”

French President Charles De Gaulle saw his U.S. counterparts traveling the same path in the same country—one whose citizens were tired of outside interference. His speech in Cambodia on Sept. 1, 1966, called for a negotiated peace settlement.

caused during the Napoleonic Wars. By authorizing the payment, France acknowledging that the United States deserved the same respect as a European power.

1835 — Alexis de Tocqueville publishes Democracy in America.

1863 — Napoleon III suggests the American Civil War come to a close with the Confederacy remaining separate. Congress responds by resolving that such suggestions be considered unfriendly acts.

**OCTOBER 28, 1886** — The Statue of Liberty is unveiled. Three years later, a bronze replica is erected in Paris.

**AUGUST 3, 1914** — The first World War begins in Europe, President Woodrow Wilson serves as a neutral mediator.

**APRIL 6, 1917** — Submarine warfare and the Zimmerman telegram prompt Congress to vote to enter the war.

**NOVEMBER 1918** — President Wilson becomes the first president to leave the country during his term, spending six months in Paris to help construct the Treaty of Versailles.

**MAY 20-21, 1927** — Charles Lindbergh flies from New York to Paris, becoming the first man to cross the Atlantic flying a plane solo.

**AUGUST 27, 1928** — The United States and France sign the Kellogg-Briand Act with six other nations, renouncing war as an instrument of national policy. The treaty is promptly ignored.

**JUNE 1940** — Defeated by Germany, France establishes a fascist regime at Vichy.

**DECEMBER 7, 1941** — The Japanese attack Pearl Harbor, bringing the United States into World War II.

**JUNE 6, 1944** — D-Day. More than two million Allied soldiers storm French beaches on their way to end World War II.

**APRIL 4, 1949** — The North Atlantic Treaty once again formally establishes France and the United States as allies.

1954 — President Eisenhower refuses to intervene at Dien Bien Phu, the battle that ends French colonial power in Vietnam.

1956 — France, Britain and Israel successfully attack Egypt. Eisenhower forges them to withdraw.

**DECEMBER 1958** — Charles de Gaulle is elected president of France.

**OCTOBER 22, 1962** — President Kennedy sends a representative to inform President Charles de Gaulle of the impending Cuban Missile Crisis. When offered surveillance photos of the missiles in question, de Gaulle declined to see them, saying he trusts the American president.

**SEPTEMBER 1, 1966** — French President Charles de Gaulle delivers a speech in Cambodia, advising the U.S. to seek a negotiated peace settlement in Vietnam.

1990-1991 — France, the United States and others form a coalition to liberate Kuwait from Iraqi occupation.

**SEPTEMBER 11, 2001** — More than 3,000 die in terrorist attacks on several United States landmarks. French President Jacques Chirac expresses support for the American people, as do countless others on the streets of Paris.

**MARCH 2003** — France opposes the second United States-led invasion of Iraq.


The Arc de Triomphe du Carrousel in the historical Champs-Elysée district is a popular tourist site. The Arc was originally built by Napoleon I as a monument to the very similar Arc of Constantine in Rome.
“In France’s view, if it is unthinkable that the American war apparatus will be annihilated on the spot, there is, on the other hand, no chance that the peoples of Asia will subject themselves to the law of the foreigner who comes from the other shores of the Pacific, whatever his intentions, however powerful his weapons.”

He was correct, said Jacques Portes, professor of American history at the University of Paris VIII, but the U.S. presidents directing the war wouldn’t accept advice from a “lesser” country. “It was not so difficult to say that the U.S. was going wrong because it was apparent,” he said.

Throughout the Soviet-American Cold War, France was deeply divided. Those on the right agreed with U.S. efforts to contain communism, Portes said. But a strong Socialist party won followers by calling the strategy another form of American imperialism.

However, during the Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962, DeGaulle, when asked by representatives for the Kennedy administration to inspect the U-2 photos that were proof of the Russian missiles in Cuba, shook his head and was said to have told the representatives, “Non!” If President Kennedy said they were there, then he, De Gaulle, needed no further evidence. After all, DeGaulle had a long memory. He knew who had defeated the Germans.

In 1991, the end of the Cold War meant the end of any incentive to join the U.S. side, Sorbonne Professor Kaspi said. If there’s no large, menacing enemy, there’s no longer a need to ally against it.

“The French feel more free to manifest their independence, to show their independence and to say very clearly that they don’t support what the U.S. is doing, especially in Iraq,” he said.

**AN ETERNAL ALLIANCE FORGED IN TERRIBLE HOURS**

Kaspi has what he calls a pure wish for post-Iraq affairs.

“It’s not the first crisis in Franco-American relations,” he said. “We have had several before, and after the crisis we have a reconciliation. So I hope the U.S. and France will find a middle ground to reconcile and love each other.”

He’s not sure that will happen, however – particularly as long as George Bush and Jacques Chirac remain in power.

But this French president, like De Gaulle before him, at least professes the value in holding tight to his country’s oldest friend. At the ceremony commemorating the 60th anniversary of the D-Day landing in June 2004, Chirac’s comments addressing Bush included several nods to the 229-year relationship:

“Our two nations have never ceased to share a common love of liberty and law, of justice and democracy... From the plains of Yorktown to the beaches of Normandy, in the suffering of those global conflicts that have rent the past century, our two countries, our two peoples, have stood shoulder to shoulder in the brotherhood of spilled blood, in defense of a certain conception of mankind... This friendship remains intact to this day; confident, exigent, founded in mutual respect. America is our eternal ally, and that alliance and solidarity are all the stronger for having been forged in those terrible hours.”

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*The Sacre Coeur basilica in the Montmarte district is seen through the clock window of the d’Orsay Museum.*

*photo by ALYSSA SCHUKAR*
Hoops with heart

Love of children transcends Muslim-Christian divide

By DIRK CHATELAIN

ST. DENIS, FRANCE —

“Kids,” as the kids call him, sits at a sidewalk cafe in the shadow of a 12th-century basilica on a sunny late-summer afternoon.

A new, white Nebraska basketball T-shirt hangs from black shoulders that have narrowed considerably since he last dunked in the Coliseum, since he left Lincoln, Neb., and the winter winds of the North American heartland, since he said goodbye to the rural Texas mother to whom he had made a solemn promise.

Down the cobblestone street from where he sits, a large woman in a purple dashiki buys bananas from Cameroon. A Moroccan waiter serves steaming platters of couscous. Everywhere, men in white meander to the mosque, their long cotton robes revealing the depths of their devotion from a block away.

It’s been two years and a lifetime of violence since the kids in this Paris suburb began acting peculiar around him and he sensed their discomfort. Finally, an 8-year-old Algerian boy confronted him on the playground with a simple syllogism: Mom and Dad say all Americans hate us. You’re American, Leroy. Why do you hate us?

“Ahhh, that’s just politics, man. You can’t mix politics with friendship.”

Leroy Chalk, who once picked cotton in an East Texas hamlet and record-breaking rebounds off Big 8 backboards, folds his 6-foot-9 frame, extends his meathook hands, picking the boy up like a loose ball in the keyhole.

“I love you.”

Leroy Chalk, who grew up dreaming about the Celtics and the Lakers, spent a lifetime using basketball as a vehicle to get to places he’d never been. To Nebraska, where he quickly became a crowd favorite. To Europe, where he played professionally in Belgium and France for 17 years. To St. Denis, and the kids — children of poor Muslim immigrants from their North African homeland.

Leroy Chalk might have moved back...
“AHHH, THAT’S JUST POLITICS, MAN. YOU CAN’T MIX POLITICS WITH FRIENDSHIP.”

Leroy Chalk, expatriot and former NU basketball player on Americans hating the French

home but for that summer night 25 years ago when he lost the one whom he owed everything. He still thinks about her when he teaches preschoolers English — ball, red, car, bear. When he teaches his basketball teams the bounce pass and the pick and roll. He smiles when he walks onto a playground, and his eyes meet an 8-year-old boy’s.

“What I remember is everyone loved Leroy, no matter where he went,” said Cliff Moller, a teammate for four years at NU who now lives in Alexandria, La. “He has the personality where he can fit in anywhere.”

He drives under the public housing projects that soar 13 stories into the blue, past one of the schools where he teaches physical education. Red light. There was a drive-by shooting a year ago at this restaurant on the corner. Cops don’t even bother with the drug dealers and thieves anymore. When a camera crew wants to shoot a documentary, they call in Leroy to keep the peace.

He pounds his fist against the steering wheel, once, twice, thrice. Beep, beep, beep. They call in Leroy to keep the peace.

“Hey!” he shouts at five boys on the corner. They wave.

Thirteen years ago, he came to St. Denis, a communist and predominantly Muslim community. He wanted to start a professional basketball franchise. The communists didn’t go for it. Didn’t want to favor one kid over the next. So he got a job with the schools. She always valued teaching above all else.

He walks inside the school, past a newspaper photo of Mike Tyson pasted to the window — “They like guys like that. He kicks ass.” Into a gymnasium. It’s Friday afternoon. Girls run and scream and throw balls into soccer nets.

How many hours of his 55 years has he spent in gyms like these? Thousands? Tens of thousands?

Glenn Potter, a former Nebraska basketball assistant who now coaches at Brigham Young-Hawaii, remembers the gym in Big Sandy, Texas. A rickety old building that creaked when Chalk stamped his size 16 on the floor coming down from a dunk. If Big Sandy scored 50 points on that floor, Leroy had 30. But it was a Southern town during the Civil Rights movement and desegregation and few let him forget it.

One game his teammates stopped passing him the ball. Once, the football team went out to eat. The restaurant owner told the black kids they’d have to sit in the back.

He grew up the only boy in the house. His father drove an oil pipe truck through Texas and Louisiana and Mississippi and came home only on weekends. Leroy wondered where he’d been.

He always told his mom he was going to get out. When a cousin died in Houston, Leroy, who was in grade school, wanted to go to the funeral. He didn’t care so much about the cousin; he just wanted to see the big city. He wrote down the name of every town they drove through on that 220-mile journey.

Henderson … Lufkin … Livingston … Kingwood.

Leroy was in high school when his dad got sick with tuberculosis and had to quit trucking. The boy got a job at a dairy farm. He milked cows before school and after. Sports remained his outlet. She used to yell at him when he’d play football with his sisters and he’d “go Butkus on them.”

Coach Potter showed up at a track meet in the spring of ’67, Leroy’s senior season, and watched the tallest boy on the field throw the shot and run the 880. He went to the old gym and watched Chalk jump and run and dunk. His arms hung to his kneecaps.

When Potter pulled up to the farmhouse seven miles outside Big Sandy in his fancy rental car, she fed him fried chicken, black-eyed peas and cornbread. She begged Leroy to stay close to home, then relented.

Wichita…Concordia…Hebron…York

At Nebraska, Chalk almost didn’t make it his freshman year. And not because the weather was “so cold it hurt.” The schoolwork hurt more. He stuck with it, though—if he quit, he’d never be able to look her in the eye again.

Flossie Mae Hayes grew up in rural Texas and dropped out of high school to get married. She had five kids in nine years and expected them to get As. She dreamed they’d all go to college.

“I didn’t care about no school; I was going to the pros,” Chalk says.

After her husband got sick, she left home at 4 a.m. every day to clean the town doctor’s house. On Christmas morning, she’d cook dinner at home, drive to Doc’s house, cook, clean, then come back home in time for presents. She always made certain Leroy had a good pair of basketball shoes. Cost half a month’s wages.

She drove to Lincoln just once to see him play. It was during his sophomore year. He begged Coach to put him in.

“You wouldn’t see Leroy outside practice without two or three people at his side. They just wanted to be in his presence,” Moller said. “He had a little crew, what they’d call a posse nowadays, white people from Nebraska that just sought him out. They drew some sort of energy from him.”

He picks up a rubber ball, litters up to a girl half his height and throws it into the net. He smiles. Pats her on the head. In one of his classes, he’s got 24 kids from 14 countries. And none see why that’s an issue. A Chinese boy doesn’t look at a Tunisian girl and think about 9/11. A Portuguese girl doesn’t look at a Jewish boy and think about Israel.

But Chalk can’t control what happens when they get home. Still, he sees change.
Ten years ago, these Muslim girls wouldn't be wearing shorts. They wouldn't be playing sports in an after-school program. It's a male-dominated society, and girls in St. Denis get raped and abused for leaving their veils in the dresser drawer.

"That's like going outside with no clothes on; it's a big deal," Chalk says.

But because of the school programs that Chalk helps coordinate, his boss, a Muslim man from the Ivory Coast, says the girls don't view Westernization as evil.

Then there are those in school who said 9/11 wasn't, either.

The ideas that America professes aren't welcome in the homes of many of Chalk's students. Democracy? "They don't want no democracy," he says. Oppression of women? "Women accept it; it doesn't bother them. It doesn't bother them. It's a part of democracy," he says. Oppression of women? "They don't want no oppression of women," he says. "Women are happy. They're happy." He smiles. "Women are happy." He smiles.

He arrived at school at 10 a.m. on weekdays and the kids stop recess to say "Bonjour". Little girls want to give him a kiss. The boys want to hold his hand.

As they run off to play, Chalk asks himself the question: Where will they be in 10 years? Will some be suicide bombers? Will they be peaceful? Will they hate America and the West that tries to force them to conform to a set of values different than those they hear at home? He's seen kids he considered friends suddenly change.

"They're wearing the long dress-looking things and the thing on their heads. I saw two or three the other day I knew.

As far as me working with the kids, they might be terrorists, too. But it's hard for me to see kids like that. You can't classify people on who's good and who's bad. You can't look at people and say, 'I hate all Arabs.' You know? There's a lot of good ones, too. I don't think I hate any of 'em. I know? There's a lot of good ones, too. I know.

They're just kids as far as I'm concerned."

He's in a different gym now, this time barking orders to his high school basketball team. se dépecher, un, deux, trois. The slow southern drawl remains. He gives his whistle a quick blow. Tweet.

The kids circle and sit at his feet on a rubber floor. Most won't play after Chalk is finished with them. Not the kid in the McGrady jersey. Not the one in the Webber jersey and Nike shoes and baggy shorts. But they know where Chalk has been.

They know about the Celtics, the franchise that drafted Leroy after he grabbed a school-record 782 rebounds in three seasons (1969-71) at Nebraska — Venson Hamilton finally broke it in 1999. Chalk says he would've scored more points, but the NCAA outlawed dunking before his freshman year.

"I worked on so much dunk material. Man, I had so much, Wooooo. I would dunk on my mother if she got in the way. And I get to school and we couldn't even dunk. So I think that's what really kept me out of the pros. You just try to finger roll: guys were throwing that stuff back into the stands, you know?"

After the Celtics cut him in '71, Chalk signed with a Belgian team in '72.

Brussels…Senef…Cambrai…Paris

He was MVP of the league in '74, often compiling 30 points and 30 rebounds a night.

"I will never forget, one game in the European Cup, I had the ball, like three seconds left, in the corner, fake, this guy gives me baseline, and I come under the thing and I throw it, Bam, a really hard dunk like that, you know? And the referee said I stepped out of bounds. And we lose the game."

Headline the next morning: the King lost the crown and the victory.

He didn't realize until he came to Europe that his name in French, Le Roi, means "The King". He laughs when he hears the kids say it. Chalk signed with a French team in '77, retired in '90, and has lived in Paris ever since.

He misses American basketball – the Husker T-shirt was a gift from American friends, as were three boxes of Hamburger Helper he requested. He misses his sisters in Texas. But the allure of Paris, a girlfriend and an 18-year-old daughter make it hard to leave.

Besides, home wouldn't have been the same. Hadn't been since he came home that summer of '79.

She had been sick the year before but was doing well now. One June day, he spent the whole afternoon with her. They drove to Tyler in her new black Ford LTD. They shopped. They talked about the sisters, all of whom have graduated college -- three went on to be teachers. Instead of going out with buddies, he took her to church.

"We had a lovely day."

They came home that night and she went to bed. See you in the mornin'. He sat down in front of the TV. Fifteen minutes passed. He heard Dad holler from the bedroom. He ran to her side. Tried to bring her back. She was 54.

Just seven summers before, he had returned to Nebraska after a year of pro ball to finish his degree in political science and history.

"WHAT I REMEMBER IS EVERYONE LOVED LEROY, NO MATTER WHERE HE WENT. HE HAS THE PERSONALITY WHERE HE CAN FIT IN ANYWHERE."

Cliff Moller, Chalk's teammate for four years at NU
There is never any ending to Paris and the memory of each person who has lived in it differs from that of any other. We always returned to it no matter who we were or how it was changed or with what difficulties... Paris was always worth it and you received return for whatever you brought to it.

ERNEST HEMINGWAY, "A MOVEABLE FEAST"

Eff Steiner, a Web site creator and full-blown U.S. expatriate, arrives in Paris on an early morning train, a two-hour ride from Dijon and a tame adventure compared to the one that brought him to France seven years ago.

“I find it boring to go back to the U.S. because I understand it,” Steiner says frankly, stealing into one of the countless outdoor cafes that line Paris streets. A light breeze sends a few fallen leaves fluttering across the pavement as light splinters through trees making the colorful transition to fall.

Though not as well-known as other haunts made famous by U.S. writers in the 1920s, this small cafe still can draw out an honest conversation to the faint clinking of stirring spoons.

“So some of the thrill is living in another culture and trying to understand it,” said Steiner, a 38-year-old former cabinet-maker originally from Los Angeles.

Whether he realizes it, Steiner is part of a new wave of American expatriates. That is to say, they don’t belong to any wave at all.

Americans now coming to live in France defy the trends that had marked their earlier presence in the country, said French historian Rene Maurice, whose book “Americans in Paris,” chronicles the lives and careers of Benjamin Franklin, Henry James and Gertrude Stein, among others.

Americans have come to France since before the United States was born. When the country struggled for independence, intellectuals such as Franklin asked the French for help against the British. Later, U.S. doctors came in search of the newest medical technology, artists for inspiration and ex-soldiers for an education.

“Today, there are as many reasons for coming to France as there are Americans who are coming,” Maurice said.

However, statistics on the number of Americans living in France over time are difficult to obtain; the U.S. State Department does not generally track Americans who travel overseas, and

By Rachael Servalli

France draws expatriates for many reasons

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France’s immigration office began keeping such statistics in a single agency a little more than a year ago. Even Philip Auerbach, president of the Paris-based Association of Americans Resident Overseas, said the group struggles to find an official number.

Auerbach, an American whose family has called both countries home for five generations, said accurate numbers are even harder to find because many Americans who live in France are reluctant to establish official residency for fear their income could be taxed twice.

“For that reason, they don’t exactly rush out to be counted,” he said.

The U.S. State Department, however, estimates there were 101,750 Americans in France in 2000, about 35,000 of whom lived in Paris, Auerbach said. The numbers in all likelihood have not changed much.

Even in the wake of the Iraq war, he said, the numbers remain stable, in part, because anti-American sentiment, if there is any, is not palpable; the French, he said, understand the difference between individual Americans and the actions of the U.S. government.

Maurice’s research points to four distinct waves of Americans that have come to France. The first came because they needed France. Hostilities with England, including the American Revolution and the War of 1812 when the British torched the White House, left a bad taste in the mouths of many.

“For a long time, Americans didn’t want to go to England, so they came to France,” he said.

So France became the country of choice for the new nation to be educated, including about 450 doctors who came to learn about amputation, which the French perfected during the Napoleonic Wars from 1805 to 1815.

The second wave, including about 600 architects and 800 painters between 1860 and 1914, also came for education, to learn their craft the French or European way.

The third wave, perhaps the most famous and complicated, came shortly after the end of World War I. Maurice describes this group as one searching for freedom. It included lesbians, blacks and jazz musicians of color who were not accepted by mainstream America, among them Josephine Baker, Eugene Bullard, Chester Himes and Richard Wright.

Paris, as the world’s intellectual and artistic capital, was an obvious choice for these Americans, who often came to the city on the verge of a personal, familial or creative crisis. They came to Paris looking for a moment of rest or to be productive with their art, he said.

Also included in that group were many great American writers — F. Scott Fitzgerald, John Dos Passos, Hemingway and ee cummings — called the “Lost Generation” by Stein, who coined the phrase because of their post-World War I disillusionment. Many were ambulance drivers in the war, an experience that is said to have given them a detached sense of seeing that carried over into their writing.

“They came to stay. They installed themselves,” Maurice said of the famous artists who lived in Paris, a city on the verge of a personal, familial or creative crisis. They came to Paris looking for a moment of rest or to be productive with their art.

Many are simply trying to meet other Americans, strangers connecting with other strangers in a strange land. Some are looking for bilingual schools for their children, have questions about politics or taxes, or just need help negotiating the French “love affair with paperwork.” Quickie, Las Vegas-style weddings, they soon learn, are nonexistent in France.

Still others are looking for a taste of home — American style.

“If it’s a night game, you won’t be able to watch it in a bar, since it’ll be around 1 or 2 a.m. here,” wrote one person on the site to an American looking for a place to watch a Boston Red Sox baseball game. “If it’s a day game, try the Moosehead bar (at) rue des Quatre Vents in the Odeon neigh-

“TODAY, THERE ARE AS MANY REASONS FOR COMING TO FRANCE AS THERE ARE AMERICANS WHO ARE COMING.”

Rene Maurice, French historian and author of “Americans in Paris”
"THEY’RE VERY MUCH INTO THE STICK. WHEN THE INSTRUCTOR SAYS NOTHING, THAT’S GOOD."

Jeff Steiner, an American in France on the rigors of obtaining a French driver’s license

bourhood. Call them beforehand to make sure."

While most site visitors are concerned about learning the language, getting a driver’s license can be even more difficult. Steiner includes a link to information about studying for the test in English, though that is only half the battle.

A license can take up to six months to earn and costs between $700 and $1,200, depending on how many times a learner has to repeat the test, he said. Repeating the test several times is not uncommon, and a student driver can spend up to nine hours a day in a car with an instructor. Combined with the draconian style of French instruction and a minimum 20-hour pre-test, he said, the process can be downright frightening for an American.

“They’re very much into the stick. When the instructor says nothing, that’s good. It took me three months because I had already had an (American) license. I honestly thought I might not get it.”

Despite the sometimes difficult details of living in France, famous Americans still come to the country to be inspired and tell stories of their modern experiences there. The enigmatic French sensibility seems to be a favorite topic.

Author and New Yorker writer David Gopnik spent five years in Paris in the mid-1990s with his wife and son. Though he had dreamed of living in the country since he was a child, the French mentality toward everyday problems still had the potential of sending him, figuratively at least, over the edge.

“There are at least three moments a month when you are ready to leap across the counter or a front seat to strangle someone,” he writes in his 2000 book “Paris to the Moon.” For example, “the woman at France Telecom who won’t give you the fax ribbons . . . there on the counter in front of her because she can’t find them on the computer inventory.”

David Sedaris, an essayist perhaps best known for his musings about life and Paris on National Public Radio, said in a radio interview that part of the appeal of living in Paris is the mystique. Once he figures it out, he said, he’ll probably go live somewhere else. His favorite stores are the ones where people aren’t mean to him when he speaks French. And after two years of living mere blocks away from the Louvre, Sedaris said he has never once stepped inside the famous museum.

“Why go inside the only place in Paris where you can’t smoke?” he balks.

Harriet Welty, a U.S. author and former journalist, married a French man and has lived in France since the early 1970s. A native of Shenandoah, Iowa, Welty said the sometimes brusque French style of interacting motivated her early on to improve her language skills.

“One of the reasons I learned French was because I wanted to learn how to give it back,” Welty said. “French society is one of confrontation. What’s interesting is to get your ideas on the table and shake things up. To the French, someone being nice and agreeable is the most boring person on earth.”

Indeed, events – especially the attack on the World Trade Center and the American invasion of Iraq – have led to many lively French discussions on the issue, in the process illuminating differences between how Americans and the French discuss it.

Welty, who visits the United States about once a year, said people back home are more likely to avoid talking politics.

“It’s frightening that people are censoring themselves,” she said.

French friends don’t treat her differently, however, even though most think President Bush erred in striking Iraq preemptively. On a basic level, the French love Americans, she said. Even a reporter friend, who was asked by an editor to dig up a story about hate crimes against Americans in France, came up empty-handed.

“There was nothing to report. It’s a figment of people’s imaginations that something has changed,” she said. “On the contrary, it was (French President) Chirac who was the first leader to extend his condolences after Sept. 11.”

Lisa Davidson’s experiences as an American in Paris for more than 20 years seem to validate that belief. The American freelance writer and translator married a U.S. artist, Ralph Petty, who came to the country to find his creative center.

The couple live in Montreuil, a suburb on the east side of Paris. As more artists discover the area’s charm and diversity, property values have begun rising in the lower-class, immigrant neighborhood. Despite the Muslim population in the neighborhood, Davidson said, no one had lashed out against the couple.

“In fact, there was a great outpouring right after the attacks,” she said. “Friends who knew we were American called to check on us and make sure we were OK.”

The two have no plans to return to America. In fact, the benefits of socialized healthcare in France and rising health care costs in the United States combined with the couple’s existing medical conditions, including Petty’s arrhythmic heart, would make moving back impossible, they said.

And while Petty agrees with Maurice that Paris, as an artistic center, was considered a has-been by the time he moved there in the 1970s, the city still has the ambiance and qualities that continue to attract Americans.

Cafés, for instance, which pull at passers-by every few paces in Paris, still are bustling with intellectual and artistic exchange. Some Americans find the muted commercialism refreshing or enjoy being with people who understand what it feels like to live in a vulnerable country.

Being away, however, doesn’t mean Americans don’t care about what happens to America. Newspaper reports told contradictory stories of overseas voters being both ignored and courted by U.S. presidential candidates.

Auerbach, whose 31-year-old organization AARO is a watchdog for rights of overseas Americans, said the group has had trouble getting ballots in for several years, and for more than a decade, AARO fought for representation in Washington. Many Americans living in France were scared about what Bush would do with four more years, he said, and they were more eager than in past elections to get their votes in despite feeling invisible.

“We are proud to be American,” he said. “We maintain our identities, but our home is here.”
He’s looking for the right place.
An Indian leads the way, a pipe in one hand, a flute in the other.
They don’t speak, but in the distance, the sound of drums and chanting.
They pass a tree — but it’s not right.
They pass a stone — but it’s not right.
Finally, they get to a place between two large rocks.
This is it.
Without a word, he sits down. He’s home.

Jean Michel, a 37-year-old French musician and martial arts instructor, has had this dream since 1997. He searched for the dream’s meaning for years. Last summer, he found it in a South Dakota prison.

His quest for meaning brought him face-to-face with a people he had known until then only through movies – and dreams.

“I found out the story we see in the movies was mostly made up,” he said. “I’ve never been to a place with that kind of power.”

In truth, the American Indian, both as a symbol of a better future and as a relic of the past, has preoccupied the French mind from Jesuit missionaries and French philosophers to Buffalo Bill Cody and 20th century filmmakers.

Centuries ago, Age of Enlightenment philosophers used the Indian’s natural lifestyle to criticize French monarchy. Then, Jean-Jacques Rousseau’s description of the “noble savage” excited French imaginations. Today, that excitement still is reflected in French enthusiasts who live and dress like Indians.

Yet the French interest in Indians also seems somewhat contradictory to how the French have treated the indigenous people they’ve colonized in other parts of the world. As one French journalist put it, it is easy to romanticize what is far away.

Even in 18th-century America, French fur traders sold Indians into slavery but also married Indian women as a way to gain favor with tribes.

All in all, from French comic books to films about Indians, the French obsession with the Indian seems born of many motives.

The Indian represents freedom and resistance, values seminal to a people who have fought for centuries against their own invaders. It is a love affair forged by war and, at times, reinforced by a common enemy — the United States.

“They represent freedom, beauty, a perfect way of life, adventure, the art of living with nature, respect,” said Slim Batteux, a French author and musician.

FROM THE WILDERNESS TO THE OLD WORLD

Religion brought the French and the Indian together.

Jesuit missionaries writing of the red man living within the American wilderness gave the French their first images of the Indian and ignited French minds.

Later, French fur traders followed the
Jesuits into the American wilderness, leaving an indelible mark on the Indian.

Intermarriage between French fur traders and Indians was common in the frontier and resulted in many Indians today having French last names. Among the Ojibwe tribe, at least one-third of tribal members have French last names, said Anton Treuer, an Ojibwe language and culture professor at Bemidji State University in Minnesota.

“I would say that most Ojibwe people have some French ancestor,” said Treuer, an Ojibwe tribal member.

French fur traders also took part in an extensive trade of Indian slaves in the lower Mississippi Valley 200 years ago. Warring tribes, like the Osage and Pawnee, gave many of their prisoners to the French to serve as slaves, said John Wunder, a University of Nebraska-Lincoln history professor.

The French term for slave at that time was “pani,” a version of the tribal name “Pawnee,” he said.

“Just as there was African duplicity in the African slave trade, there was Indian duplicity in the Indian slave trade,” he said.

Indian slaves were taken to French colonies in the Caribbean and then to France. Some stayed in New Orleans, where the trade was centered. Britain and Spain also took part in the trade, Wunder said.

During the Age of Enlightenment in 18th century France, philosophers like Rousseau and Michel de Montaigne exalted the American wilderness and its native inhabitants as a way to further their ideological revolt against French monarchy. They saw the Indian as the antithesis of French opulence and aristocracy, said David Jordan, a French history professor at the University of Illinois-Chicago.

Rousseau was the first writer to use the term “noble savage,” a romantic notion of American Indians as an honorable warrior society living in harmony with nature while fighting to hang on to their dying way of life, he said.

The French love affair with Indians was cemented by Indian alliances during the French and Indian War (1756-1763), in which France fought against the British and American colonials. When France lost that war, their Indian allies were forced to make peace with the victors.

After 1803, when Napoleon finally sold Louisiana to the United States, the French and Indians had less opportunity to engage each other politically. Their relationship became more personal and singular.

Explorers who captured Indians gave the French their first real glimpse of the noble savage. Later, tribes like the Iroquois, Iowa and Pawnee sent delegations to visit French leaders. Among those visitors was the Lakota holy man Black Elk, who visited France in the 1880s as a performer in Buffalo Bill Cody’s Wild West Show.

Cody brought Indians to France as performers reenacting their traditional lifestyles. The impression left by his show reverberates today as Indians and American cowboys continue to reenact the Old West in Euro Disney’s Wild West Show near Paris.

Francis Geffard, an editor for a French publishing company, said the original Wild West Show was especially popular among French living in overcrowded cities.

“It was like showing freedom to people who had been in jail for a long time,” he said.
PLAYING INDIAN

Today, the story begins in black and white.

The American westerns of the mid-20th century have shaped much of the modern French image of the Indian. But not in the way John Wayne had in mind.

French children cheer for the Indians, the underdogs, the bad guys. And when they play cowboys and Indians – a game as central to the French childhood as to the American – French children fight about who gets to be the Indian. Ironically, for much of the 20th century, American Indian children preferred to play the cowboys.

A recent example of the French love affair with Indians can be seen in the September 2004 issue of National Geographic.

In America, that month's issue featured as its main story an article about global warming. In France, the main story in the same issue was about Indiens D’Amerique, which appeared as a secondary story in the American issue.

Indians have also been portrayed in French comic strips – a popular hobby for French children and adults and, often, a first taste of Indian culture and history for many French people. Comic strips, however, tend to be simplistic in their portrayal of Indians, showing them as bloodthirsty or simple-minded.

Batteux, the author of a book about the Lakota language, said he became interested in Indian culture while growing up near a U.S. military base northeast of Paris. Theaters near the base often showed westerns, and Batteux would watch them, silently cheering for the Indians.

Sitting at a café across from the Moulin Rouge in Paris, Batteux could have passed for an Indian with his long black hair, bear claw necklace and Custer's Last Stand T-shirt. He said many French still think Indians live in tipis and hunt buffalo.

"They don't know what it's like over there so they just live in the past," he said.

Meanwhile, Claire David-Tartane, a French documentary filmmaker, is trying to fight the stereotypes of Indians as warriors stuck in the past.

"A lot of people talk about history," she said, sitting in her office across the street from the picturesque Pare Lachais Cemetery in Paris. "So I'm not going to do it."

Her films have included a documentary about modern Indian cowboys and a film about Crow Indians leaving their homes to join Euro Disney's Wild West Show.

She said it's difficult to make money from movies about contemporary American Indian life as the French would rather watch historical films about Indians.

At least one recent film about modern Indians was popular in France, David-Tartane said. The movie "Smoke Signals" by native author Sherman Alexie and native director Chris Eyre was a hit with French audiences.

Rather than the pursuit of money, she said, her primary motivation is to help Indians in their struggle to maintain their culture and identity.

"We have to be strong, but not all the time. Indians have to be strong all the time."

THE ORIGINS OF THE FASCINATION

Growing up in cities devoid of nature, French people have long treasured the sense of freedom and natural harmony they see as
inherent in Indian culture.

The Indian is seen as a rebel to what some French see as a common enemy – U.S. greed and capitalism. Their sympathy for Indians arises also from the connection they see between Indian resistance and their own resistance to foreign oppressors.

But their love of the Indian seems to serve another purpose – as a way to love America and yet oppose the American.

French journalist Philippe Grangereau, who has written articles about Indians for the left-leaning Paris newspaper Liberation, sees a pattern in the French obsession with Indians, a pattern that threatens to dispel notions of brotherhood between the two.

As a former foreign correspondent, Grangereau spent extended periods of time in places such as China, Cambodia and Afghanistan. In his travels, he observed similar patterns of people glorifying indigenous people half the world away while neglecting people critical of Indians for not continuing to live today as they did centuries ago.

He said he has also been concerned with stories of French Indianists hosting native sweat lodge ceremonies – a purifying religious ceremony practiced by many tribes of the American Great Plains. The sweat lodge, he said, is meant to be conducted by Indians for Indians. Even more disturbing, he said, are tales of Indianists who have their bodies surgically altered to replicate the scarring caused by Indian religious rituals.

In one such ritual, the Sundance, native men pierce their chests with sharp sticks attached to ropes that are tied to trees. They pull the sticks from their bodies by rushing away from the tree. Nielsen said some Indianists have gone so far as to have scars surgically cut into their chests to mimic the scarring caused by the piercing ritual.

Editor Geffard, who has long had an interest in Indian culture and history, said Indianists see a pattern in the French obsession with its colonies in Africa and New Guinea. He cited the destructive effects of France’s own colonial endeavors on indigenous people throughout the world, including its colonies in Africa and New Guinea in South America, as an example of this romantic neglect.

“Indian lovers can do more damage than Indian haters,” said Chad Nielsen, a non-Indian from South Dakota who is a tribally recognized bead worker.

Nielsen, who was raised by a Yankton Sioux man, has visited France many times in search of new markets for his beadwork. He said he has often been troubled by French people critical of Indians for not continuing to live today as they did centuries ago.

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Editor Geffard, who has long had an interest in Indian culture and history, said Indianists represent only a small portion of French people who are interested in native culture. He described Indianists as misguided people struggling with their own identity problems.

“These people are able to see the Indians but not able to see the people who are the Indians,” he said.

As a result, they often refuse to accept that Indians no longer hunt buffalo or ride horses, except perhaps for recreation, he said.

Francoise Perriot, a French author who has written books about Indian horses and children’s books about Indians, said she is unable to understand why some French would try to adopt Indian culture as their own. The French have their own culture, she said.

Born in Vietnam to a French soldier and a Vietnamese mother, Perriot’s dark skin did not stop her from being mistaken for an Indian while traveling in the American West, she said.

It is a ritual that involves a medicine man leading a person to a place where that person is then expected to stay without food or water for four days and four nights while praying and singing.

As he prepared to leave the prison, a Lakota inmate who had sung during the powwow stopped Michel. The man was frightened and anxious to speak to him.

“He told me he only exists when people hear him sing,” Michel said.

The inmate invited him back.

Michel said he plans to return to the prison, not only to help the prisoner but also to help himself remember that he exists.

“WE HAVE TO BE STRONG, BUT NOT ALL THE TIME. INDIANS HAVE TO BE STRONG ALL THE TIME.”

Claire David-Tartane, a French documentary filmmaker

their own native populations, he said.

He cited the destructive effects of France’s own colonial endeavors on indigenous people throughout the world, including its colonies in Africa and New Guinea in South America, as an example of this romantic neglect.

“The further you are from the Indians, the more you like them,” he said.

In recent decades, the French fascination with Indians appears to have taken a darker manifestation with the rise of French “Indianists,” enthusiasts of Indian culture and history who go so far as to dress and live like Indians, if only for a day.

It is this phenomenon – this blind devotion to the historical image of a warrior people – that most troubles Indians themselves.

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he old bull rider loves this part.

From a seat in the audience, Willie Littlechild – a 60-year-old Canadian Indian – watches intently as Sitting Bull brandishes his staff and shouts in Lakota to the warriors below.

The warriors sing and dance around a fire in the center of the arena, kicking up a cloud of dust that blankets them in shadow.

Behind them, six snorting buffalo rumble from the canyon and begin rolling in the dirt. The warriors give chase, herding the lumbering animals in circles.

Soon, Annie Oakley, six-guns blazing, thunders into the arena followed by the hard-charging, flamboyantly attired Buffalo Bill Cody.

Littlechild, an attorney in town on business, can't help but laugh.

Only in the Wild West.
Only in Paris.

* * *

The original Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show spanned nearly 30 years, traveled the United States and toured Europe four times, playing to more than a million people in 1885 alone. The show's success left an enduring mark on its audiences, carving the image of the warlike Plains Indian into countless minds.

Yet William Frederick Cody – a onetime frontiersman turned showman – ensured the success of the western melodramas in which he performed.

It was as an actor that William Frederick Cody first realized the ability real frontiersmen had in attracting audiences to Old West re-enactments.

His own reputation as a former Army scout and railroad contract hunter ensured the success of the western melodramas in which he performed.

So, when his Wild West, Rocky Mountain and Prairie Exhibition premiered at the Omaha fairgrounds on May 17, 1883, Cody brought along his show Indians.

The show's first season, which included 36 Pawnee from Oklahoma Indian Territory, featured bareback pony races, stagecoach attacks, shooting exhibitions and buffalo roping. But the first season was barely profitable, and Cody struggled to break even.

That would change in 1885, when Cody hired the Hunkpapa Lakota holy man Sitting Bull, the last of the Sioux
Army scout who earned his moniker as a railroad contract hunter – is often demonized as an opportunist who exploited Indians too poor to find other employment. But many, including the show’s contemporary Indian performers, see him as a friend to the Indian, someone who helped the red man celebrate and even preserve his culture.

Others criticize the show’s current Indian performers for helping Disney perpetuate stereotypes.

“It’s a way of letting people know about Native Americans – this is what they think, but it is reinforcing stereotypes,” said Marie-Claude Strigler, an economics professor at the Sorbonne University in Paris who has written books about Indian history and culture.

The show’s most recent reincarnation began in 1992 at Disneyland Paris, where cowboys and Indians re-enact the Old West in a dusty indoor arena surrounded by gift shops and Mickey Mouse and Little Mermaid theme park rides.

With seating for 1,000, the show plays seven days, twice a night, and features stagecoach attacks, gunfights, shooting demonstrations, equestrian displays and a three-course meal. An average adult seat goes for 53 Euros, or about $71.

The show is one of a kind within the Disney global empire. And, while its promoters hesitate to explain why Disney has not duplicated the show elsewhere, that the show has played to more than 6 million people in 12 years has justified its existence in France to company officials.

“I think it calls to our childhood when we played cowboys and Indians,” Disneyland Paris spokesman Pieter Boterman said.

But, like its predecessor, not everyone views the newest manifestation in a benign light.

Some say that Disney too often fails to address problems encountered by its Indian performers -- excessive drinking and poor work habits – preferring to fire them and send them home instead. Boterman said Disney has fired Indian performers for poor work habits but insisted the company does not neglect its performers.

An independent French filmmaker, who made a 2002 movie about two Crow Indian performers in the show, says otherwise.

“It’s a big, big change for them,” said Claire David-Tartane of the show’s Indian performers. “They are not prepared for that.”

Kevin Mustus and Kevin Dust are two Indian performers who remain in Disney’s Wild West Show.

Mustus, a 34-year-old member of the Stoney Tribe of Canada, sees the show as a way for him to teach others about the traditional lifestyles of native people, even if the show primarily focuses on Plains tribes. He also sees it as a way to escape the prejudice he said he experienced living in Canada.

“We have a voice over here where we would be shut down in the states (and Canada),” he said.

Here, the two Indians are stars.

The glint of fame can be seen in their eyes and in the adoration of their audiences. Mustus and Dust – a 41-year-old Crow Indian – are routinely offered companionship by women audience members and courted by Indian enthusiasts throughout Europe to participate in tribal reenactments.
As cowboy and Indian performers rehearsed in the arena behind him, Dust – wearing the buckskin pants and feathered war bonnet of his character, Sitting Bull – described the show’s allure.

“Some days you come out here, and they’re all screaming,” he said, motioning to the rows of empty seats, “Even now, after I’ve been here four and a half years, I still get a buzz off that.”

Yet the glare of the spotlight also has weighed heavily on his mind.

Dust is openly critical of the show’s lack of respect for historical accuracy. Sitting Bull was an enemy of the Crow, a fact not lost on Dust, who said he has studied the Hunkpapa leader’s life and insists on speaking the chief’s native Lakota during performances.

While the show still features non-Indians playing Indians, the cast now includes at least nine “real” Indian performers, he said. However, Disney seems reluctant to hire additional Indian actors, establishing standards of employment unattainable by most Indians, he said.

Dust doesn’t discount the economic opportunity the show provides him or the chance it has given him to educate others about Indians. If the show does anything, he said, it teaches audiences that Indians survived the cavalry’s onslaught.

“We’re still here,” he said. “We’re still proud, and we still exist.”

When describing working conditions, Dust takes a much different tone.

He said the show’s cowboy and Indian performers often fight, and Indian performers are frequently sent home, unable to keep up with the show’s tough work schedule. Indian performers get lost in their newfound stardom, losing sight of their work responsibilities, Dust said.

He cited the case of an Indian performer killed in a fight after a show in August 2003. According to the Associated Press, Levi Palmer – a 27-year-old Cheyenne River Sioux Indian – got in a fight with a German colleague in a parking lot near the Wild West Show arena.

He died several hours after being struck and hitting his head on the ground.

Palmer had joined the Wild West Show two years before his death, his uncle, Ronn Eagle Chasing, said. He was a skilled rodeo performer before traveling to France, he said.

“I always told him he was too wild for the West and too west for the movies,” he said.

The fight that killed Palmer started when two colleagues began arguing with him about how he was treating a group of women with whom he had been drinking, Eagle Chasing said.

While he mourns his nephew’s death, he has come to accept it.

“He was a stuntman,” he said. “That’s what he grew up to do.”

Now the show’s promoters force Indian performers, but not cowboys, to undergo random breathalyzers before shows to see if they’ve been drinking.

The decision proved lucrative for Cody. That year the show played to more than a million people in 40 cities in the United States and Canada, earning Cody more than $100,000 in profit. Sitting Bull’s employment with the show, meanwhile, cemented Cody’s use of the Sioux as his main source for Indian performers.

With their feathered headdresses, buckskin and history of warfare with the U.S. government, the Sioux had long captured the imaginations of Americans and Europeans. Their appearance in Cody’s show ensured their image would be the one that helped define all Indians.

However, some also hold Cody personally responsible for the fixed image of the Indian in popular culture as a relic of the past – noble, savage, unchanging.

For his part, Cody said that he was educating the public about the life and cultures of Indians through his show, as well as giving the Indian a means of transition into a new and strange world. In 1889, the show’s Indian performers were paid $25 to $90 a month, salaries few Indians could hope to acquire elsewhere.

Several decades later, the Great Depression brought with it the Wild West Show’s demise. But the tradition of Indians playing Indians continues today as native actors recreate their traditional lifestyles in movies like Last of the Mohicans and Dances With Wolves. Yet the show’s legacy is perhaps best seen in the pageantry of the powwow, a popular form of cultural entertainment in which Indians dance in a circle dressed in brightly colored regalia.

As for Cody’s moral legacy, the debate continues.

In The Oxford History of the American West, author Anne M. Butler writes that Cody’s show Indians colorfully demonstrated capitalism’s marginalizing effect on native peoples. Unable to find other means of employment, Indians sought out the only jobs they could find – as entertainers. Opportunities for the Indian in the 20th century rarely broadened and usually focused on a willingness to “play” Indian, Butler wrote.

L.G. Moses, author of Wild West Shows and the Images of American Indians, disagrees, saying that playing Indian was also a way for the Indian to preserve his culture and history through decades of forced assimilation.

“‘Playing’ Indian could also be viewed as defiance,” he wrote.
whether they've been drinking, Dust said. But such efforts only incite anger among Indian performers, who feel they are being singled out.

“When you say no to a little kid, they're going to go right off and do it,” he said.

Disney needs to provide alternative forms of recreation for its Indian performers, who work long hours and often use drinking as a way to let off steam, he said.

“They have to get creative,” he said. “They're our bosses.”

Disneyland spokesman Boterman declined comment on Palmer's death but acknowledged the show has had problems with performers fighting.

An August 2004 Associated Press article quoted Paris judicial officials as saying the 27-year-old German who hit Palmer was detained but later released while being investigated for “fatal blows leading to unintentional death.”

Meanwhile, Boterman agreed that Disney has struggled with historical accuracy, often choosing to hire non-Indians adept at riding and acting rather than unqualified Indian performers to fill Indian roles. Like any business, Disney must weigh issues like historical accuracy with show quality, he said.

At the same time, the company has done its best to provide its Indian performers the tools to succeed, often asking veteran Indian performers to look after newer hires, he said. But Disney must weigh the profitability of employing performers who do not show up for work, he said.

“It's not like we have them come, and then we leave them alone,” he said.

* * *

She wanted to tell a modern tale of two Indians coming to the old world to relive the Old West. Instead, filmmaker David-Tartane found a tale as old as civilization itself.

David-Tartane had always been interested in Indians. But she disliked the historical representations of Indian life the French seemed to so enjoy.

Indians, she thought, are just as alive and their cultures as vibrant today as they once were. When she heard of Disney's Wild West Show, she saw it as a chance to bridge this historical gap by telling the story of a modern relationship between the French and Indian.

“I wanted to show how Indians are making lives for themselves in France,” she said.

She found her subjects in two Crow Indians, Garret and Jimenio, who had been recruited to join the Wild West Show in 2002. Her film, As the Crow Flies, documented their struggles to break free from the constraints of reservation life and build new lives in France.

The two men, having lived for so long with too little opportunity, found themselves faced with tough decisions, David-Tartane said.

Garret, the older of the two, especially struggled with the decision, weighing coming to France with leaving his poverty-stricken wife and two children. He left home only to return guilt-stricken four months later.

“He was between two worlds,” David-Tartane said. “He wanted to stay here. He wanted to change his life.”

Jimenio stayed and, as of September 2004,
remained an Indian performer in the show.

In shooting the movie, David-Tartane said she was saddened to see how Disney insulates its Indian performers, preventing them from becoming independent. At Disneyland, Indian performers are provided housing and sizeable salaries. Their bills are paid, and they need not learn to provide for themselves, she said.

With so little responsibility, they revert to their reservation lifestyles, which too often included excessive drinking and failing to show up for work, she said. She compares the culture of dependence at Disney with that of Indian reservations in America.

But David-Tartane stops short of pointing too harsh a finger at Disney, which she said has created this culture of dependence mostly out of ignorance.

“Disney is not here to babysit,” she said. “I don’t think Disney understood where they are from.”

Disney officials disagree that the company fails its Indian performers.

Indians join the show because they respect the level of horsemanship it demands and can earn enough to live reasonably well, Boterman said. They also enjoy educating others about Indian history and culture.

The Wild West Show has given its Indian performers opportunities few knew before, he said. The show has also given them the chance to see the rest of the world.

“I think it widens their life experience,” he said.

* * *

The glow of the arena’s lights now bathes performers in red as Willie Littlechild finishes his plate of barbecue chicken. When Sitting Bull shouts to the warriors from his clifftop perch, the Canadian attorney joins the audience in a hearty round of applause.

It is an ironic scene – a modern Indian watching traditional Indians performing in a French arena.

For Littlechild, the Wild West Show is an occasion he rarely misses when in Paris. The Canadian native-rights advocate said he admires the way the Indian performers respect cultural traditions in their performances.

“It’s a real treat,” he said. “The audience has a strong reaction from seeing real Indians come out.”
The Osage of Montauban

Natives’ chance encounter leads to an enduring relationship

By KEVIN ABOUREZK

They must have been cold the day they crossed the bridge. And hungry.

For more than two years, they had wandered Germany, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland and Italy. A proud people, they now begged strangers for food and money.

Only months before, they were royalty. They had met King Charles X and been admired guests of French aristocracy and theocracy.

Eventually abandoned by their French guide, the six Osage had been forced to separate into two groups to make their way home. Hearing of their plight, a bishop named Dubourg had summoned these last three to southern France.

It was late November 1829 when the three Osage finally arrived in Montauban, a small village near the Spanish border.

As they walked across the tall brick bridge leading into town, they prayed silently for better fortunes.

* * *

Although their two nations’ shared history spans more than 330 years, it wasn’t until the three Osage arrived in 1829 that the French of Montauban and the Osage of Oklahoma saw their own relationship become something more than historical.

In fact, if not for the kindness and generosity of the Montauban people and their bishop, the three destitute Osage might never have made it home.

“We were lucky to find this historical event,” Massip said. “In France, most of the people like Native Americans.”

Like the Osage, the people of Montauban have their own language and customs, different from the predominant French culture. They are Occitanian; their language is Occitan, a language derived from Latin. They live in the southern third of France, a land settled by the Romans.

“WE FEEL THEY ARE VERY PROUD. THEY ARE HEROES. I THINK THE PEOPLE HERE ADMIRE THE OSAGE FOR THOSE REASONS.”

Jean-Claude Drouilhet

THE HISTORY

The journey began with deceit.

In 1827, David Delauney – a Frenchman who wasn’t a soldier – dressed himself in a U.S. Army uniform to get some Osage Indians to travel with him to France. There, he planned to profit from them through exhibitions.

With the help of a former French interpreter to the tribe, he convinced 12 Osage to make the trip across the “big water.” But after the expedition’s raft wrecked near St. Louis, six Osage abandoned the journey. The other six followed Delauney to France.

They included: Little Chief, 36; Little Chief’s wife, Hawk Woman, 19; Sacred Sun, 18; Black Bird, possibly husband of Sacred Sun; Big Soldier, 45; and a man called Minckchatahoo.

When they arrived at Le Havre on July 27, 1827, they captured France’s attention, filling the streets with people. They could scarcely leave the vessel to get to their hotel. Wearing blue frockcoats and red trade blankets, the Osage were greeted as “Missourian Majesties,” as one newspaper account described them.

At a theater, they sat by the governor, and Little Chief spoke to the crowd: “My brothers, the good things done for us by the French people have entered through my eyes to my heart.”

They were later taken to Paris to meet King Charles X.

On Nov. 5, 1827, the New Orleans Courier reported the Osage had been introduced at court, “caressed at diplomatic dinners, admired at operas, and in short distinguished as the lions of the day.”

French vendors sold dolls dressed in Indian regalia and bronze paperweights of the Osage visitors. French bakers took the opportunity to sell spiced bread in the shape of Indian figures.

Authors wrote articles and books about the Osage’s history and culture. And French women seemed fascinated with the Osage men, as Big Soldier later commented he had been married three times in France.

The French commented on how the
THE CONNECTIONS:

The connection the Osage have with Montauban is but one of many the tribe has with the French.

Nearly half the tribe’s people have French names — like Revard, Boulanger and Prudom, said Leonard Maker, an Osage tribal planner. French fur traders, among the first to meet the Osage, often married Indian women, he said.

“We’ve had a long and beneficial relationship to the French,” he said.

Many Osage believe themselves descended from three Osage stranded in Montauban. Those descendants have been among the most interested in commemorating their ancestors’ journey to Montauban, said Archie Mason, a retired Osage educator in Tulsa, Okla.

Mason first traveled to France 10 years ago and has returned twice. He said he is impressed with the Occitanians’ knowledge of the Osage.

He sees his tribe’s friendship with the people of Montauban as a continuation of a 175-year tradition: “It’s still a very living piece of history, though it happened a century ago,”

He said he has great respect for the Occitaniens’ efforts to preserve their culture and language and sees their history as similar to his tribe’s. Both have fought invaders. Both have lost but continue the fight in other ways, he said.

By celebrating their past with the Occitanians, the Osage remember their own ancestors, Mason said.

When he first crossed the bridge into Montauban, he thought of what the three Osage who crossed before him endured during nearly three years of wandering France homeless.

“I really had a deep sense of remembrance,” he said. “I hope my children can walk across the bridge too.”

earlier than the rest of France.

To preserve their distinct culture, Occitanians have fought for centuries against invaders, including the French from the north. It wasn’t until the 14th century that France took dominion over the southern lands.

For those of Occitania, the Osage reflect their own history of la résistance, their spirit of rebellion. The Osage, too, long have struggled to preserve their language and culture, and fought futilely against invaders.

They also share a respect for history. Some Occitanians even consider themselves the Indians of southern France and trace their origins to early modern man — Cro-Magnon.

Both are environmentally minded.

Their relationship highlights the interest the French historically have had with Indians. It is an interest dating to the first meeting between the French and Indians in the Great Lakes Region in the 16th century. It has often been a tumultuous friendship, as illustrated in the Osages’ experience of being abandoned in the French wilderness in 1829.

Today, the story begins with Drouilhet, whose interest in Indians as a child inspired him to renew his town’s relationship with the Osage.

“We feel they are very proud,” he said. “They are heroes. I think the people here admire the Osage for those reasons.”

* * *

Two men and two women sat before a traditional Occitanian dinner of stuffed goose neck, pig’s liver and duck meat.

They placed their drinks on wooden coasters inscribed with the words: “The Sooner State – Oklahoma.” Photos and paintings of Indians adorned the walls.

Osage restrained from drinking alcohol and venerated old age. The Osage would routinely greet elderly people they passed in the streets with: “Hau, my father (mother).”

They didn’t seem to know Delauney was charging the public to see them. At an event in which Little Chief, the Osage leader, traveled in a balloon, Delauney charged an entrance fee of five francs.

The Osage journey began to unravel at this time, as Sacred Sun lamented not being able to give birth to her baby back in Louisiana. At the same time, Delauney was going into debt and was being sued by a woman whose husband he had failed to repay 9,000 francs.

French enthusiasm toward the Indians also began to wane. Soon, the Osage were wandering Europe as their guide tried to avoid creditors.

On Feb. 10, 1828, in Belgium, Sacred Sun gave birth to twin daughters, one of whom she gave up for adoption. The baby later died in the care of her French guardians.

The Osage were seen in Amsterdam and Berlin.

Delauney eventually abandoned them in Fribourg, Breslau.

The Osage made their way to Munich, where newspapers made their plight known to the public. Roused to sympathy, French aristocrats and religious figures again heaped gifts and money upon them.

But to return home, the Osage had to divide into two parties.

The first consisted of Black Bird, Minckchatahoooh and Sacred Sun, who were placed on a boat at Bordeaux in April 1830. Minckchatahoooh died of smallpox on the return trip.

The others — Little Chief, Hawk Woman and Big Soldier — were summoned to southern France, where a bishop who had learned of their plight vowed to help them.

Bishop DuBourg of Montauban had known the Osage people as a mission-pastor in Missouri years earlier before returning to France to become a bishop. The Osage stayed in Montauban a little more than a week.

With DuBourg’s help and the aid of the Bishop of Toulouse, the three remaining Osage boarded a boat at Bordeaux and sailed to New York in April 1830.

They were home.
The dinner conversation veered across many subjects, including the French distaste for President Bush and their love for the Osage people.

Gerard Massip, who sat at the dinner table, is president of the Oklahoma-Occitania Association, a group formed to commemorate the relationship between the Osage and Occitanian people.

He sees this friendship as a way to keep history alive and learn from each other. He said he has learned much from the Osage, including the importance of preserving the Earth for future generations.

“We try not to imitate, but we try to think about what we are going to leave our people,” he said in French through his English-speaking wife.

The first group of Osage returned to Montauban in 1991. Although only three had been invited, 43 showed up on the Osage’s doorsteps. The people of Montauban eagerly welcomed them, Drouilhet said.

Like their ancestors, they were the toast of the town and even got to meet Jacques Chirac, then mayor of Paris. Some Osage have returned as many as three times since.

In 1992, the people of Montauban hosted members of several Oklahoma tribes.

The following year, 37 Montauban people went to Oklahoma.

Their friendship has been commemorated through plaques in Montauban as well as in a metal sculpture – Le Rond Des Osages – located at a busy roundabout intersection. A similar metal sculpture built of three colorful, geometric pieces is located in Pawhuska, Okla., home of the Osage. The towns became sister cities in 1999.

The people of Montauban even donated a small parcel of land to the Osage in 1992 and have donated 11 parcels of land to various tribes since.

Founded in 1989 by Drouilhet, the Oklahoma-Occitania Association now has about 250 members from throughout France.

Among them is Marie-Claude Strigler, a professor of economics at the prestigious Sorbonne University in Paris.

As a college student and later as a professor, she studied the Navajo for several years, writing books about tribal economic development and religious practices. Two years ago, she was invited to speak about Navajo medicine to an Indian conference in Montauban.

While there, she learned of the town’s friendship with the Osage and decided to join the association as a way to fight stereotypes many French have of Indians.

“Some people say, ‘Oh, do they still exist?’” she said.

Inside a grandiose tea room within the historic Montauban City Hall, Drouilhet joins a small group of city leaders sipping tea from delicate porcelain cups and eating gourmet chocolates. Nearby, a table is covered with the bronze bust of an Indian and photos from the Osage visits.

This is where the three Osage were brought when they arrived in 1829. A neogothic wedding chapel in the City Hall has been preserved and probably was seen in a similar condition by the Osage 175 years ago.

Marie-Pierre Pouch sits in the tea room, wrapped in an Indian shawl she received from the Osage as a gift.

The Indians’ respect for nature has greatly influenced the French, Pouch said. Like many tribes, the Osage believe in preserving nature for the next generations, a concept that influenced France’s decision to create a government department for sustainable development, she said.

“The way the Osage think about the Earth – it is very important,” she said.

As one of 13 vice mayors of Montauban, Pouch first visited the Osage in 2002. In 2001, she was unable to make a scheduled visit to Oklahoma, as was everyone else from Montauban because of the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks.

She is hopeful French and American differences can be overcome and sees her town’s Osage friendship as a way to bridge current political gaps.

“It’s a beginning,” she said.

Marie Therese Debaig, an English teacher in Montauban’s schools, has seen firsthand the effect the Osage’s visits have had. Before the town’s relationship with the tribe was renewed in 1991, many of her students thought Indians still lived in tipis and wore feathered war bonnets.

“Very often they don’t know anything about Indians,” she said.

Even before discovering his town’s history with the Osage, Drouilhet was an avid enthusiast of Indian culture and history.

His rural home is filled with Indian art prints, photos of Indians he’s met and collections of articles from his Osage visits.

His office den walls are covered with Indian gifts he’s received, including a Kiowa lance and an Osage hand drum.

He said he’s been to the United States nine times, seen an Indian Sundance on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation and been to several powwows. He’s even been given an Indian name, Forest Oak, a tree that symbolizes resistance in France.

Drouilhet holds great pride in his people’s history. This is the land of D’Artagnan, the French general immortalized by Alexandre Dumas in his classic novel “The Three Musketeers.”

In his own way, Drouilhet carries on his ancestor’s rebellious legacy.

In September 2004, he joined 1,000 others in a protest against genetically modified corn held near Montauban. Before police ended the rally with tear gas and concussion grenades, Drouilhet spoke to those gathered about the Indian practice of respecting nature without changing it.

“We have not the long hair but the same spirit,” he said.
they shuffle in slowly, Nikons and knapsacks in tow.

The rookies fumble with handfuls of crumpled euros; the veterans fork over the colorful currency with no hesitation.

Moments later, they emerge from the dim hallway of the most important museum in the world and stop in their tracks: mouths agape, breaths whisked away by the blinding enormity of the surrounding space.

They are in the Louvre, the 1.6 million-square-foot home to more than 30,000 of the world’s finest pieces of art.

To their left, the Greek antiquities. To the right, 5th through 19th century French sculptures. Up a short flight of marble steps lives Mona Lisa, her smile never altered by their echoed voices. A downstairs neighbor, the Vénus de Milo, poses frozen under a beam of natural light.

They frequently pause, transfixed by the wonders around them.

“I’ll always remember how I felt the first time,” said Helen Zieger, a teacher from San Francisco. “Everything from college art history classes came rushing back to me. I was in awe that I was seeing the most famous art in the world.”

They are tourists in Paris, carrying with them emotions, traditions and attitudes.

And most importantly, money. Lots of money.

In 2003, 75 million tourists made France the world’s No. 1 tourist destination, according to the French Ministry of Tourism. Nearly 2.4 million were from the United States.

And as they pay for daily meals at sidewalk cafes, hotels, admission to museums and Eiffel Tower-shaped trinkets, the euros roll in — more than $4 billion from Americans alone in tourism revenue in 2003.

But experts say this $36.6 billion tourism industry — which produces about 7 percent of France’s gross domestic product — suffered a 31 percent decline in American tourists from 2001 to 2003. Chief causes included a weak U.S. dollar, increased terrorist activity and sour relationships over Iraq.

Americans, it seemed, were staying home, said Thierry Terrier, a French Ministry of Tourism official in charge of European and international affairs.

“The recent changes in tourism are sometimes hard to measure because they’re on an unusual scale — emotion,” he said.

TERROR’S IMPACT DEBATED

In early fall 2001, tourism in France was a healthy industry. The country had been the top tourist destination in the world for 12 years.

Then came Sept. 11.

At 9:49 a.m. EST, the Federal Aviation Administration halted all aircraft takeoffs in the United States. An hour later, no landings were allowed.

The pattern continued around the world, and although flights resumed within days, the international climate had shifted.

Visitor tallies plunged not only in France but also across Europe. French tourism officials say the number of U.S. tourists in France plummeted from 3.5 million in 2001 (most of whom arrived before Sept. 11) to 2.4 million in 2003.

They disagree, however, about the long-term effects of the terrorist attacks on tourism.

“9/11 had a dramatic effect on tourism in
“Sometimes, French people can be rogues – the policeman at the airport, the man who drives the taxi to your hotel.”

Thierry Terrier, French tourism counselor

Perhaps the most important factor has been the euro, which surged in value against the dollar in 2004, and has steadily risen since summer 2001.

“If something had the most important effect on tourism, it was the depreciation of the mighty dollar,” Terrier said.

In 1999, he explained, $100 would pay for a Paris hotel room. Now it would take $140 to stay in the same room.

Many factors caused the euro’s rise in value, namely an increased demand for the currency, said Scott Fues, professor of international economics at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln.

Among U.S. tourists, the demand for euros primarily comes from the upper-middle class.

“People who come from America have enough means to have a good stay in France,” Terrier said. “It’s not cheap to cross the Atlantic.”

Indeed, The Economist recently rated Paris as the world’s third-most expensive city, trailing only Tokyo and Osaka.

Kristopher Morehead, a tourist and music teacher from Hastings, Neb., said extra planning could ease the financial burden of a Paris vacation.

“It’s really not bad if you take the time to plan what you want to see and do,” Morehead said. “Besides, even if Paris costs more than a typical vacation, it’s completely worth it.”

**NATION’S RELATIONS CAUSE DROP IN TOURISM**

Beyond terrorism and a strengthening euro, a third reason for the slump: Franco-American relations have become increasingly strained since the United States invaded Iraq.

The political differences led to a spasm of “France-bashing” among some Americans, spurred by some politicians.

“Extreme words and attitudes have been heard and demonstrated on both sides of the Atlantic,” French tourism counselor Terrier said. And those extreme thoughts have affected the financial relationship between France and America.

“We know people said, ‘I will not spend my money in France.'”

Americans were not the only ones to think twice about France as a vacation spot in the wake of the Iraq war.

Colette Mandin, a tourist from Edmonton, Alberta, Canada, wasn’t sure whether she should continue with her scheduled tour of Paris.

“Being from North America, I really didn’t know how we’d be received,” Mandin said. As it turned out, she said, her stay in Paris was excellent.

Americans who regularly visit France, however, are not likely to worry about these emotional factors and are not as likely to have negative feelings toward the country.

“The Americans who typically travel here know what they’re getting into,” Terrier said. “They are familiar with the differences between our countries.”

For seasoned travelers, as well as for the French, the relationship between the two countries remained fairly positive, economics minister White said.

“The negative feelings are still more of an American phenomenon,” he said. “Some people just have an ‘us-and-them’ attitude, and that attitude never really translated over to France.”

Morehead, who traveled to France during the summer following the Sept. 11 attacks, said he would never let politics spoil his travel plans.

“I love traveling. I love languages. I love new experiences. Any time that I can be a part of something I’ve never seen or experienced before, I’ll do it.”

**U.S. TOURISTS RETURNING**

Though exchange rates, political squabbles and fears have caused some to rethink their travel plans, officials have said more Americans are returning to France.

In the first half of 2004, for example, 13.5 percent more Americans checked into Paris’ hotels compared with the same period in 2003.

Despite the upswing, U.S. tourism is still below what it was in 2001. Although France is still the top tourist destination, tourism officials said they are working hard to make their country a better travel destination.

“Sometimes, French people can be rogues – the policeman at the airport, the man who drives the taxi to your hotel,” Terrier said. “The French have to work on receiving people and travelers better.”

As she stood in the Musée d’Orsay, one of the world’s pre-eminent museums, Zieger, the tourist from San Francisco, remembered why she decided to forego her apprehension about another French vacation.

She saw original works by all the French masters — Monet, Degas, Renoir — then stopped to watch the rain from a sheltered balcony. Through the sheets of precipitation she could see Sacré Coeur, a cathedral that dominates the Montmartre hillside. Despite the less-than-perfect conditions, Zieger could still see the 19th century basilica’s collection of domes.

“See that?” she said, pointing to the ivory edifice. “That’s why I came back. Right now, nothing else matters.”

France for exactly two months – no more,” Terrier said.

He attributed this to one reason: the adaptability of the tourism industry.

“Tourism (reacts) to crisis differently than any other economy,” he said. “9/11 was a shock, mainly because of the freeze on aviation. But by Christmas, the situation had stabilized.”

Other officials see the terrorism effects as more severe.

Thomas White, minister of economic affairs at the U.S. Embassy in Paris, said tourism has suffered a sharp, lasting downturn since Sept. 11.

“Tourism was hurt very badly because of 9/11 and the resulting fear of travel,” he said.

**EURO’S RISE MATCHES TOURISM’S FALL**

Unbeknownst to many a non-tourist, another underlying reason for the precipitous U.S. tourism decline had little to do with Sept. 11 or terrorist attacks.

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Stirring creativity

Paris remains a magnet for artists, musicians and author

By Erin Hilsabeck

To many, it’s the fine arts capital of the world.

The city’s eminent museums dot the captivating landscape, and musicians, some struggling to make it big, perform at crowded subway stops. Avant-garde shows draw the young and trendy, eager to get in on new waves of visual art.

Today, the epicenter of the fine arts world is a fusion of old and new, masters and apprentices. It is the place for budding Renoirs to see and be seen, for someday-Truffauts to join the Who’s Who of the creative culture, for classical pianists to perform in sold-out concert halls.

This place could be Paris. But it could also be New York City, Berlin or a handful of other metropolitan cities.

While hundreds of artists once flocked to Paris to improve their craft and be part of a community, they simply have far more choices now. Technological advancements have made communication between artists and dealers, filmmakers and audiences, far more convenient.

But even though Paris is no longer the center of the musical, artistic and cinematic communities, those who study these cultures think the City of Light remains a treasure of cultural history and appreciation.

“Paris is still a very attractive city for artists,” said Jean-Baptiste Cuzin, France’s minister of culture. “It’s possible for artists to be successful here, but it’s not the only place to go.”

René Barilleaux, deputy director of programs and a curator at the Mississippi Museum of Art, said the art world is simply smaller than it used to be.

“Everything now is instantaneous,” Barilleaux said. “People at art sales take pictures with their cell phones, so who knows where the collectors are? Geography is a different thing these days. It’s almost like you can be anywhere at any time.”

A MECCA YEARS IN THE MAKING

Long before the days of high-dollar art dealing via cellular phones in downtown Manhattan, there was Paris. Its growth as a cultural Mecca didn’t happen overnight. Hundreds of years of art-loving kings and cardinals spawned the growth of the city’s creative population.
“Paris has a long history of kings and aristocracy that patronized the arts, and those who were dedicated to making Paris the seat of great art made sure museums were created, paintings commissioned, conservatories established, and so on,” said Anne Quinney, professor of French language at the University of Mississippi.

During the mid-17th century, the art world in Paris would have less to do with specific artists and more to do with the system. Beginning with King Louis XIV in 1638, France had one thing few other countries had: governmental support of the arts.

“Paris became so important because — shocking idea — the arts were state-supported,” said Wendy Katz, professor of art history at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln.

In 1648, Louis XIV created one of the world’s most prestigious art schools — the Academy of Painting and Sculpture. Originally, he did it to guarantee that a pool of artists would always be available to decorate palaces, Katz said.

The Ecole des Beaux-Arts, established during Napoleon’s reign, later replaced Louis’ Academy. It focused on classical arts — like those found in Greek and Roman sculpture — and emphasized drawing before all other art forms.

Many students intensely studied, hoping to improve their chances of being accepted to the Ecole. Teachers set up private studios and trained the students.

Caroline Mathieux is chief curator at the Museé d’Orsay, Paris’ museum that showcases impressionist artists. She said the growth of artistic appreciation changed Paris, thus Europe and the world.

“Art helped Paris to become a modern capital,” she said. “It truly transformed the medieval city.”

By 1874, the Parisian art world comprised three bodies that coexisted symbiotically. At the top was the celebrated Ecole, steeped in tradition and wary of new and innovative movements. Second were the small, independent ateliers — artists’ specialized shops — and their apprentices, who were not part of the Ecole. Third was the annual Paris Salon, the art show at which everyone wanted to succeed.

“(The Salon) was the main way to sell art and win a name,” Katz said.

The 1874 Salon proved to be a highly important event that influenced artists for decades.

That year, a group of artists, calling themselves the “Societe Anonyme des Artistes, Peintres, Sculpteurs, Graveurs” — roughly, “Artists, Painters, Sculptors, Engravers, Inc.” — opened an exhibition independent of the official Salon. Conspicuously absent was Edouard Manet, the recognized leader of avant-garde artists. Manet never participated in any of the group’s eight exhibitions, but his bold style and modern subjects inspired younger artists, who came to be known as the “impressionists.”

Not only did the Salon and offshoot shows influence current and future artists, this state-run system affected Paris at large.
“Art criticism and art itself had increased in political and public importance,” Katz said.

Over time, art and music, and later cinema, became part of the public forum. And these cultures weren’t only for the prominent and wealthy — anyone could participate.

“It seems that there is no class distinction when it comes to appreciating culture,” University of Mississippi professor Quinney said. “There is even a law that insists that theaters reserve a section of space for students, the unemployed, etc., who can’t pay full price to be able to see a ballet or a film, so that everyone has the opportunity to appreciate artistic endeavors.”

IMPRESSIONISM PUTS PARIS ON THE MAP

The foundation that began in the 17th and 18th centuries would help create a fertile creative community. After the first Impressionism exhibit at the Salon, several artists came to the forefront of artistic society — Claude Monet, Edgar Degas and Pierre-Auguste Renoir. Their revolutionary use of color drew immeasurable attention to the French capital.

“Many people said, ‘We have to see what they’re doing in Paris,’” museum curator Mathieux said. “During the Impressionist movement, it was a changing world, and Paris was at the center of it.”

Impressionism was, and is, a term not limited to visual art. The movement spread to music in 1894, when French composer Claude Debussy wrote “Prélude à l’Après-Midi d’Une Faune,” or “The Afternoon of a Faun.” His music, and that of composers like Maurice Ravel, was characterized by a focus on tone color.

The same artistic and musical innovation occurring in Paris soon spread to the budding art of film. In 1895, Auguste and Louis Lumiere screened the first moving picture of workers leaving a factory. Many historians today mark this as the official birth of cinema.

During the next few years, filmmakers all

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**Top:** Arts Historian Christian Garoscio stands in a hall of the d’Orsay Museum.

**Middle:** Edgar Degas’s sculpture “Little Dancer” is owned by the d’Orsay Museum, which is known around the world for its extensive collection of impressionist work.

**Bottom:** The d’Orsay Museum is located in the former Gare d’Orsay train station.
over the world started experimenting with the new medium, and France’s George Méliès was highly influential with the first science-fiction film, “Le Voyage dans la Lune,” or “A Trip to the Moon.”

Later, modern film theory was born with the French magazine Cahiers du Cinéma. In the 1950s, the magazine’s critics began to make films themselves, creating what would be known as the French New Wave. Films like François Truffaut’s “The 400 Blows” and Jean-Luc Godard’s “Breathless” embodied existentialism and new technology.

Today, however, French cinema is at a crossroads. Sixty percent of the films shown in France are American, although French films are increasingly popular in America. Without a Hollywood-type industry so close by, independent French films are stronger than their American counterparts.

“Whereas in the U.S., independent cinema and so-called ‘art’ films don’t reach the whole population, in France, the ‘art film’ is the mainstream,” Quinney said. “Alongside movies like ‘Lord of the Rings’ you find in theaters the homegrown, low-budget, and I’d like to say more philosophical, French film.”

PARIS NO LONGER ARTISTIC HUB

Today, with increasing globalization and the growth of other large cities — and therefore the growth of other strong artistic communities — Paris has become less and less of a consistent destination for the artistically minded.

In Europe, Berlin is becoming an important destination for artists and musicians, French Culture Minister Cuzin said.

“Tens of thousands of artists are going there now,” he said.

Mathieux agreed.

“The Germans are doing great things,” she said. “They strive for creation and innovation.”

For independent multimedia artist Eva Newton, who was born in Canada and who has spent time in several countries, the United States is where the hip, young, trendy artists go to get noticed.

“From my experience, there’s more happening in New York,” she said. “More people, more galleries, more critics. New York is the forerunner for professional, high-end sales.”

For the French-born, however, Paris is still the cheapest, closest and most obvious place to begin, or continue, a career.

“In France, Paris is the only city where you can make a business with music because of its centralized music industry,” said Jean Michel, an independent French musician.

As they did centuries ago, artists still form small communities in which like-minded artists can work together and share resources.

“Most of our friends are artists, painters,” said Ralph Petty, an art professor and jazz musician who lives in Paris. “It happens naturally as a community develops.”

But no matter where an artist lives, making a living is hard, Newton said. Generally, artists have to develop their work over time though a slowly built reputation, she said.

“The art world isn’t like it used to be, say, in the days of Monet and Renoir. Now, it’s all about money and what (an artist’s) name is; who they know,” Newton said. “Many artists I know are actually graphic artists and can only afford to be ‘real’ artists on the side.”

To those without comfortable financial means, however, this brings a double-edged paintbrush.

“To be accepted as a fine artist and to be taken seriously, you can’t be a graphic artist.”

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Caroline Mathieux glances out her office window on the second floor of the Musée d’Orsay, home of the world’s finest collection of Impressionist art. Across the street, the Seine carries floating restaurants full of sightseers. On the other side of the river is the massive Louvre.

Despite packed hallways in both museums, Mathieux knows most of Paris’ art patrons are tourists, not artists. The days of Renoir and Degas, Ravel and Godard, are over, although Impressionist masters live on inside the d’Orsay.

She knows Paris is no longer the city to which artists flock.

“One country has to be at the top,” she said. “Perhaps one day we’ll be there again.”
Twenty-two bibliophiles sit elbow-to-elbow in rickety chairs, fanning themselves or just sweating quietly in the evening heat of a Paris summer. Rows of books blanket the four walls, so heavy they bow the wooden shelves with the weight of hardbound spines and yellowed pages.

A young man sits in front of the broad, open window and reads his writing, a jumble of words that hang in the balmy air, where the fat, faded books and Bohemian-looking audience soak them up, like the millions of words spoken and written in this place before.

Through the open window Notre Dame looms, and French voices drift up from the streets below.

Earlier, on a different street, in a different place and time, the small gathering at Shakespeare & Company would not have been so small.

"On summer evenings there would be up to 500 people on the streets between these stores, talking and exchanging ideas. It must have been extraordinary," Rene Maurice, Franco-American historian, said of the famous bookstore.

It was the early years, after owner Sylvia

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"IT WAS THE PERFECT REFUGE."

Peter Ford, chief of European correspondence for the Christian Science Monitor

Joan Rush finds a quiet space in an upstairs room of the Shakespeare & Company bookstore, which opened in 1951 and has been a home to many famous American authors, like Henry Miller and Ernest Hemingway, seeking solace in Paris. Today, English speakers use the store, located in the heart of Paris near Notre-Dame, as a gathering place.

By LAURA SCHREIER

Book lovers keep legendary Paris store alive

By LAURA SCHREIER

Shakespeare & Co.
Beach opened her doors in 1919 at 8, rue de Dupuytren. The New England minister’s daughter had lived in France as a teenager — she’d come back for love of French literature. Now, she had a pile of second-hand books from other shops and the advice of her friends. She had little money and no experience. But somehow, Shakespeare & Company was a legend almost from the beginning.

In a city with literary-minded U.S. expatriates but few U.S. literary outlets, the shop was a dream example of supply and demand, with remarkable results. Here was the gathering place, a Who’s Who list of 1920s literature — F. Scott Fitzgerald, Gertrude Stein, Ernest Hemingway, Ezra Pound, Alice B. Toklas, D.H. Lawrence. Her memoirs, “Shakespeare & Company,” would sound like pretentious name-dropping if not written so earnestly.

She writes how she published James Joyce’s “Ulysses” — her first attempt at publishing — when English-speaking printers refused because of the book’s “lewd content.” She kept the store afloat during the economic squeeze of the 1930s but managed to welcome Katherine Anne Porter, Henry Miller and “that lovely Japanese-looking friend of his,” Anais Nin, to her shop on occasion.

Maurice said Beach thought of Shakespeare & Company as a modest endeavor, a “little library” that just happened to be a hub of the major players in the Lost Generation.

Legend though it was, a worldwide depression and world war stamped out the shop’s celebrity; Beach closed her doors in 1941.

But 10 years later another bookshop owner remembered his friend Sylvia Beach’s success and knew he could rekindle some of that old allure.

George Whitman opened his Shakespeare & Company at 37, rue de la Boucherie. He used the second floor for literary gatherings, like Beach before him. And like the original store, the soon-to-be big names followed.

Whitman was another expatriate, a war veteran who lived in a Paris hotel. He loved books, would let them pile up on his floor and would lend them to his neighbors every now and again. The borrowing tradition

“ON SUMMER EVENINGS THERE WOULD BE UP TO 500 PEOPLE ON THE STREETS BETWEEN THESE STORES, TALKING AND EXCHANGING IDEAS. IT MUST HAVE BEEN EXTRAORDINARY.”

Rene Maurice, Franco-American historian

Katia Bourlatskaia reads outside Shakespeare & Company near the Left Bank of the Seine River.
evolved into another bookstore, and the Shakespeare & Company legend came back to life. It played host to another raft of disencharmed U.S. writers who roamed Paris and, again, somehow ended up under the familiar Shakespeare sign.

A close look at pictures stuck on the shop’s walls show Ferlinghetti and other beat poets standing with a younger George Whitman. Sylvia Whitman, George’s daughter and current manager, rattles off stories of her father’s old acquaintances. He’ll mention William Burroughs — “(they) were never friends because he was always on drugs” and Allen Ginsberg — didn’t like poetry readings, so he’d strip and read his poetry naked, just to distract the audience. Gregory Corso and Lawrence Ferlinghetti were known to stick around, too.

But Ginsberg brought his Kaddish back to New York, Ferlinghetti took his Coney Island of the Mind to San Francisco. That heydey ended, as Sylvia Beach’s had years before.

When Peter Ford wandered through the shop more than a decade later, the only literary giants he saw were those in frames, han back later to shut down the store. With help from carpenters and her landlady, Beach packed up her books, dismantled her shelves, painted over her well-known door sign and was gone in two hours.

“Did the Germans come to confiscate Shakespeare & Company’s goods? If so, they never found the shop,” Beach wrote.

“Eventually, they did come fetch the proprietor of Shakespeare and Company.”

The Nazis never got Beach’s beloved shop, but they did get her. After six months in an internment camp, Beach was released, but her little bookstore, as far as she was concerned, was closed for good.

Today, another Sylvia breezes through the new shop, greeting customers and corralling employees.

“It’s like a train station sometimes,” said the petite blonde in a delicate British accent, sitting down at a cluttered table in her family’s quarters above the shop. Sylvia Whitman, named after her father’s friend Sylvia Beach, returned to her native Paris a couple of years ago to run Shakespeare and Company for her aging father. She instituted a credit card system, but other than that, she runs the shop much the same.

The regular groups that gather might be a bit smaller, but Whitman’s working on it. She hosted a three-day literary festival in August 2004 that brought in about 20 writers and hundreds of visitors. And old friend Ferlinghetti visited later that year, in late September.

Today’s Shakespeare & Company is a different location and management than the fabled Lost Generation’s headquarters. But the name is enough to bring in wanderers like Jeffry Diteman, one of six writers-in-residence at the shop.

“You feel like you’re participating in something,” said Diteman, a 24-year-old writer traveling through Europe.

“In theory, you’re only supposed to stay for a week,” he said. “But if people help, are kind and agreeable, they can stay a little longer.”

Diteman was on his ninth day working at the shop, pulling duty behind the cash register for an hour a day in exchange for a cot and a meal or two.

Six others room at a time, sleeping on beds tucked among crammed shelves. It’s a revolving-door boarding house for wandering writers who need a place to stay.

If the Whitmans have a free slot and you seem like a decent character, you’re in.

The tradition is an old one — Sylvia Whitman said Beach used to keep a cot for Joyce to sleep off his hangovers. And George Whitman, while encouraging a literary atmosphere, also knows firsthand how helpful the odd boarding house can be — he crisscrossed the United States on the railways during the Great Depression, “traveled across America without one cent,” as he said.

Boarders come to absorb the history and atmosphere. Everyone who stays under its roof knows Shakespeare & Company is more shrine than anything else.

“To see (George) the guy who’s bossing me around, in a picture with Ginsberg and Ferlinghetti — it’s amazing,” Diteman said.

“I’D LIKE TO GET BACK (TO SHAKESPEARE & COMPANY) FOR AN AFTERNOON, IT WOULD REMIND ME OF SIMPLER DAYS.”

Peter Ford, chief of European correspondence for the Christian Science Monitor

ing next to the shelves. But Ford, then a street performer fresh out of school in England, loved to duck into the shop for a quiet afternoon. Now chief of European correspondence for the Christian Science Monitor and Paris resident, Ford still remembers how he loved the ethos of the place. It was an intellectual sanctuary where he could sit in his favorite corner, undisturbed, and read all day if he liked.

“It was the perfect refuge,” he said.

Ford’s refuge hadn’t always been so free of trouble from the outside world.

When the original Shakespeare & Company closed, it was only after Beach saw the city hemorrhage refugees until just 250,000 Parisians remained. The U.S. Embassy tried to pry her away, told her to go home — she wouldn’t. Until one day a high-ranking Nazi official stopped, and, in perfect English, requested her last copy of Joyce’s “Finnegan’s Wake,” sitting in the window.

Beach took the significant risk of angering a Nazi officer and refused to sell. The officer, red-faced and shouting, informed her he’d be
A quick tour of the City of Lights

**Top:** Parisians shop at magazine racks sprinkled on the corners of blocks throughout the city.

**Bottom:** Pedestrians enjoy the path along the Seine River in the heart of Paris.
A musician plays the accordion between stops on the Paris Metro.
Two lovers kiss on a rainy Paris afternoon.
**TOP LEFT:** A man walks into a Parisian restaurant.

**TOP RIGHT:** In the early hours of a September morning, a group of partiers sing and talk outside a convenience shop in Paris.

**LEFT:** A hand strums the wrought iron of a fence in Paris.
Pascap Robichon, left, and Floriane Violard enjoy champagne at a rooftop wedding reception.

Bruno Chateignier serves food at a wedding reception in a high-rise apartment building in Paris.
It seems, appropriately enough, like a casting call for MTV’s “The Real World.”

There’s the pickup-driving Texan with cowboy boots and slow drawl, the high heels-wearing New York businesswoman obsessed with ambition and money. The angry black man from the ghetto and the shiftless layabout who spends his day with TV and McDonald’s. The lying, sneering politician and the “media victim” who blindly follows him.

These are the American stock characters – ones the French see every day.

It’s a baffling mix of images and ideas, pictured in movies, on TV news reports, through the radio that blares out of car stereos across Paris and over Rue Saint-Denis clothing shops. On Gap ads in the Metro stops featuring Sarah Jessica Parker and Lenny Kravitz. In the giant portions of KFC buckets of fried chicken, consumed within view of medieval cathedral Saint-Eustache in the Les Halles district.

Linda de Nazelle, a Seattle native who has lived the past 40 years in Paris, said the French combine images from news sources and pop culture, often emerging with a contradictory view of America and Americans. We’re a nation of sweet children, wanting to have fun and smile at strangers. But we’re also the big bully in town – something news reports from Iraq have amplified, she said.

“Our image is undergoing a major transition right now,” she said; it now seems more frightening than fun.

The French suffer from inner turmoil when it comes to Americans, starting especially during past decades when U.S. media and products were making their way to Europe. The ever-rising number of U.S. images cast over the world only compounds that complicated image.

The TV sitcom “Friends,” for example, is huge in France, said Ellen Hampton, an American who teaches English in Paris. The idea of a carefree lifestyle is evident as the cast sips coffee and talks about work but rarely seems to actually go there.

But U.S. pop culture images can blend with real-life politics in a much more brooding way, de Nazelle said.

A popular sketch show on French television, “Les Guignols de l’Info,” features puppet parodies of major world leaders or personifications of countries. America is represented by “Commander Sylvestre” – Sylvester Stallone, a

As of 1993, the French government has imposed a law that at least 40 percent of French TV and radio programs must be of French language and origin. Another 20 percent can be European, and the remaining 40 percent is open to other continents. Other European countries have similar restrictions, but France’s is the most stringent.

Source: Isabelle Mariani, government spokeswoman

An employee at Ruffnecks walks among rap lyrics and American rap labels.
Sylvester Stallone just sort of squashed the rest of the world through military or business,” she said. “(He) has a very sinister character on this program.”

But the French, while incensed at images of Iraqi violence on their televisions, can’t let go of that belief in the land of the free, in a place of opportunity and hope.

“I like America,” said Noemie H., a dental student who didn’t want her last name used. “But,” she heaved a sigh of exasperation, almost anger, and gestured with both hands, “I don’t like America.

“Here you have the best technologies, you are the first in everything. But I don’t understand some of the things you do,” she said, referring mostly to the war in Iraq.

Jean-Baptiste Cuzin, the French minister of culture, said that because U.S. pop culture is so common, those who absorb it create a one-dimensional picture of a complex country.

“(French) society is very open to America,” he said, “but you still have a minority, a very tiny minority of the population who knows something about America, who have traveled to America, who speak English. And it means everybody is confronted with an American reality but without the possibility to get directly in touch with it,” he said.

And that filtered American reality isn’t hard to find – 60 percent of movies in France are American, and 40 percent of the music sold is too, Cuzin said.

Caroline Georges, a 22-year-old student from Paris, gets her views of the United States from news reports and documentaries, but she and her classmates also cite miscellaneous TV shows – Hit spy drama “Alias,” 1970s classic “Starsky and Hutch” and even small-screen duds like “Parker Lewis Can’t Lose,” a mid-1990s sitcom that lasted one season.

Georges and her classmates might have formed some key stock characters, but Cuzin said that group represents the most informed of their generation – college-educated, with access to dozens of media outlets and more interaction with foreigners.

Others, the poor and the less educated, have much less interaction with both the media and real-live Americans. Consequently, there’s a much narrower view of U.S. society, he said.

For example: some cable channels show the newer and best in American entertainment, like “Sex and the City” or “Six Feet Under” – two of Cuzin’s favorites. But those who have only regular TV access get reruns of “Dallas” and “Santa Barbara.”

“They are not really representative of the creativity of American society today,” he said.

Noemie said she saw a similar situation in her own age group.

So many teenagers wear Levis, Diesel shirts, Nike shoes, she said. They listen to Ja Rule, R. Kelly, Sean Combs, and think America is one big ghetto or one big party.

“(They think) what they see in the movies is how America is,” she said.

U.S. Influence Dates Back Decades

In the loosest terms, Buffalo Bill’s Wild West Show’s European tour could count as the first wave of U.S. popular culture, said Richard F. Kuisel, history professor at Georgetown University in Washington, D.C. But the biggest indicators started in the early 20th century: movies in the 1920s, McDonald’s in the 1970s, Disney in the 1990s.
From a French perspective, it probably is a gradual process — they just see it seeping in,” he said.

That seeping process also has set off a varied reaction among the French. In the post-WWII American culture influx, the French intelligentsia watched with alarm at what they thought was an invasion from a mass-produced, emotionless society.

Pop culture juggernaut Coca-Cola was particularly worrisome, gaining popularity when wine producers faced economic difficulties.

In “Seducing the French: the Dilemma of Americanization,” Kuisel wrote that when U.S. soldiers went overseas during World War II, the Coca-Cola bottling company made sure they had Coke in hand. And when the company started establishing bottling plants in Europe during the 1940s, including Marseilles, the business expansion met a political uproar.

The French Communist Party and leftist intelligentsia, along with wine and juice companies, fought against the burgeoning U.S. presence. As U.S. business bought out shares of French companies and U.S. products became more and more common, these groups eyed the seeping process also has set off a varied reaction among the French. In the post-WWII American culture influx, the French intelligentsia watched with alarm at what they thought was an invasion from a mass-produced, emotionless society.

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Kuisel wrote that some groups, particularly the rival drink companies, accused Coca-Cola of putting secret addictive chemicals in Coke; others claimed false advertising because the drink formula didn’t include coca leaves.

Despite the furor, the company’s hold overseas grew, and other U.S. products and popular media gradually followed in fits and starts.

Jacques Saint-Laurent, a Paris policeman, grew up in the 1970s in a generation fascinated with the “American cowboy.” Sitting at a bar in Paris, Saint-Laurent pulled a pack of Marlboros out of his jacket and reminisced about John Wayne movies and the decade’s obsession with Harley Davidsons.

“See?” said Melissa Weese, his U.S. girlfriend, as she motioned to his denim jacket. “He still wears Levis.”

De Nazelle, meanwhile, said she’s watched American trends become more visible with the passing decades. For her, it’s not a bad thing.

“I used to regret not having a McDonald’s to have a quick, easy meal — now they’re everywhere,” she said.

U.S. MEDIA HAVE ECONOMIC EDGE

The World War II-era leftists weren’t the only voices of protest during the decades of escalating American pop culture.

In 1993, due to pressure from TV and radio production groups, the Conseil Supérieur de l’Audiovisuel, roughly the French equivalent of the Federal Communications Commission, ruled that each television and radio station in France must broadcast at least 40 percent French programs or music. At least another 20 percent must be European, with the remaining 40 percent open to other countries, usually America or Japan.

Isabelle Mariani, the agency’s international relations representative, said such laws are not to stifle non-French media, but to give French programs a chance against America’s economic advantages.

“The rule is expensive because French programs are expensive,” Mariani said. “But the French prefer to see French (TV and radio programs).”

Jane Weiner, a U.S. documentary filmmaker and current Paris resident, said America’s media marketing machine is able to sell programs cheaply all over the world. U.S. movies, television and music dominate the world market because the United States has the economic advantages, Weiner said, not necessarily because the world prefers U.S. media.

“The jokes don’t translate well, the culture doesn’t translate well,” she said, but the shows get mileage because they sell for less.

Conversely, French programs are expensive to make, Mariani said. If the quotas weren’t in place, many providers would run cheaper but less popular U.S. programs to turn a larger profit.

It gives the French people their top-rated shows and gives the productions a more level playing field, she said.

But not all interventions have been government-sanctioned. A few guerrilla attacks against U.S. mass-produced culture have stood out. Most notable is that of José Bové, a sheep farmer who led nine other farmers to “dismantle” a McDonald’s construction site in 1999. He led other protests against corporate American influences and French policies that favor corporations of any kind.

As the TV keeps coming, the businesses keep investing, the means of communication get faster and more numerous, the source gets hazier. But the effects stay visible.

De Nazelle said she’s seen other changes since moving to Paris, other signs of home creeping in. People wear jeans to the opera. Suing companies or the government for personal injury, a trademark U.S. pastime, is more common, ditto for oversized SUV’s. Due to a leap in childhood obesity during the past 10 years, the French government outlawed vending machines in schools as of July 30, 2004.

The Paris Opera house, with monumental statues and neo-classical columns, sits just up the street from a McDonald’s and a Pizza Hut. Both see much traffic.

To some, like Culture Minister Cuzin, the combination is almost second nature for most of the younger generation.

“You may have someone spending the week in Paris, watching “Sex and the City” on the TV with a hamburger and going shopping in the Levis store, but then spending the weekend in (the country) with the same recipes that their grandmother may have had 60 years ago,” Cuzin said. “It’s not a big concern because it’s a way of life.”

“I LIKE AMERICA. BUT, I DON’T LIKE AMERICA.”

Noemie H., a dental student who didn’t want her last name used
Small-screen society

TV blends French programs and social values with old U.S. shows

By Rachael Sera Villa

A sultry brunette teases her belly button with the tip of a spoon. The camera slowly pulls up, and soon naked breasts appear across French television screens from Paris to Marseilles.

The come-on: yogurt.

“I was kind of shocked,” said Aaron Franco, a 25-year-old University of Nebraska-Lincoln advertising graduate. “They can be a little risqué.”

Franco, who saw the commercial while visiting France in summer 2004, said bare breasts and bottoms often appear in French ads for everything from health food to hand lotion, a promotional tactic that would never fly on U.S. television—just ask Janet Jackson.

“The media is a very strong power,” said Florence Jammot, who evaluates programs for public channel France 2. “It’s a dictatorship. You can seduce the people very easily.”

Yet the most profound of their shared TV attitudes is a basic, fundamental one: The enjoyment of a simple laugh, often generated by American creative minds. Indeed, some French acknowledge that Americans write some types of shows better than they do, leading to the immense popularity in France of shows like the futuristic classic “Star Trek.”

“Nowadays, TV makes shows which are human zoos in which they lock up individuals in order to give them up to their peers’ voyeurism,” Gérard Mermet wrote in his book Francoscopie 2003. “The difference is that circuses used to show people who were extraordinary because of their physical or mental characteristics while the people on (today’s reality) TV are portrayed as ‘normal.’”

This concern carries over into other areas as French families increasingly worry not only about what their children are watching but also how much. More and more studies show that too much television can contribute to several problems in children, including a U.S. study released earlier this year linking an
attention-deficit-like disorder with children who watch too much television. With evidence like that, the fears of many French parents differ little from the fears Americans have for their children.

The French particularly worry about their children’s obesity, which has risen 17 percent in the past 20 years. According to a recent study by the Health and Education Ministries, nearly 1 in 5 10- and 11-year-olds in France is obese. The primary suspect: a combined effect of a U.S.-style fast-food diet and increased junk food advertisements directed at children. The lobby against advertising sweets during children’s programming is strong as children. The lobby against advertising sweets during children’s programming is strong as parents struggle to reverse the trend. And this summer, 8,000 vending machines, a mainstay in the economies of many American public schools, were banned from French ones.

Violence, another concern to French parents, and nudity may generally be accepted on French television, but measures are in place to protect children from excessive exposure to it. The Conseil Supérieur de l’Audiovisuel, France’s version of the Federal Communications Commission, restricts content that can be shown when children are likely to be watching, said Isabelle Mariani, the agency’s international relations representative. In addition, the agency voted in March 2003 to adopt several measures, such as locking systems and broadcast time restrictions, to further protect children from pornographic programs.

“Stations can be sanctioned,” Mariani said, “and it can be expensive.”

The medium in France has itself faced changes since it was privatized in 1987. The popularity of paid cable and satellite channels has exploded. In 2001, for example, 4.6 million households subscribed to cable or satellite television as opposed to 950,000 in 1993, according to French sociologist Mermet. Currently, 7.8 million households subscribe to some form of paid TV package.

These numbers are important to Mariani and her colleagues as they seek the best way to regulate the industry and update television services to French viewers, 96 percent of whom have at least one television in their home. Unlike in the United States, those households are taxed about $150 a year for having a television, one of the ways the French government covers the cost of public programming.

Nudity, another stark contrast to the U.S. norm, retains a matter-of-fact presence on French television. Celine Herin, the French wife of U.S. advertising designer Franco, said she grew up with images of nude women on television, a sight viewed by most French as normal.

“It’s not shocking,” she said of the yogurt commercial, “Yogurt is good for your body, so they show your body. (Being offended) didn’t even occur to me because I’m so used to it.”

Her view seems to be in line with those in charge of delivering French programming. Although Americans and the French agree on many issues of television content, said ARTE sales director Fréjacques, the French attitude toward nudity on television is decidedly more, well, French.

“I think there’s a respect of passion here that makes it OK,” she said of the strong sexual overtones in advertising and programming. Naked body parts are viewed more casually in France than in some other cultures, she said. Still, French channel programmers do try to avoid gratuitous nudity and sex. “It’s a question of context, whether nudity has a role.”

By contrast, CBS, the network that aired Jackson’s famous “wardrobe malfunction,” was slapped with a record $550,000 fine in September 2004 for violating television decency laws, a charge it continues to fight. More than 500,000 viewers – another record – complained to the FCC about the incident.

“A fine for showing breasts is unthinkable in France,” wrote Geoff Hare, a French media expert at the University of Newcastle in England. “There is a regulatory body whose members are named by the political authorities, and they do have the right to revoke the license or give fines, but this would be more likely to concern the unequal access of political parties, or the broadcasting of racist material or revisionist views on the Holocaust.”

Other television differences are more subtle, including how the respective audiences appreciate television shows. The French tend to care more about the historical context of a given production and are more “media literate,” said Weiner, the U.S. documentary producer based in Paris.

“In America, people care about the stars in a film,” Weiner said, “But in France, they care about who directed it and what he made before. The French don’t care about the story but rather how it was made.”

Even French television looks different. Commercials are shown once an hour in eight- to 12-minute blocks. Dead air space takes the place of where commercials would be in U.S. shows. More newsy documentaries fulfill the French appetite for such programs. And weathermen can be seen dressing down, way down, in jeans and untucked shirts.

Meanwhile, the acceptance of nudity in France probably won’t change anytime soon and neither will U.S. audiences’ resistance to it. The Jackson incident might have led many ABC affiliates to nix showing “Saving Private Ryan” on Veterans Day for fear the movie’s language and violence might provoke FCC sanctions. A few nights later, ABC tried to hype Monday Night Football and its hit series Desperate Housewives with a pre-game skit that featured the long, bare back of actress Nicollette Sheridan as she disrobed in an NFL locker room. The promo instantly provoked another spasm of public outrage and a quick apology from ABC, owned by The Walt Disney Co.

Said an angry FCC Chairman Michael Powell: “I wonder if Walt Disney would be proud.”

To say nothing of Pollyanna’s reaction to French yogurt.

**FAST FACTS:**

- France has its own version of “Who Wants to be a Millionaire?” “Star Search” and “The Real World.”
- The percentage of French households with color TVs went from 44 percent in 1980 to 93 percent in 2001.
- Households in France with at least one TV pay an annual fee of about $130, which goes to help support public television programs.

"A fine for showing breasts is unthinkable in France," wrote Geoff Hare, a French media expert at the University of Newcastle in England. "There is a regulatory body whose members are named by the political authorities, and they do have the right to revoke the license or give fines, but this would be more likely to concern the unequal access of political parties, or the broadcasting of racist material or revisionist views on the Holocaust."

Other television differences are more subtle, including how the respective audiences appreciate television shows. The French tend to care more about the historical context of a given production and are more "media literate," said Weiner, the U.S. documentary producer based in Paris.

"In America, people care about the stars in a film," Weiner said. "But in France, they care about who directed it and what he made before. The French don’t care about the story but rather how it was made."

Even French television looks different. Commercials are shown once an hour in eight- to 12-minute blocks. Dead air space takes the place of where commercials would be in U.S. shows. More newsy documentaries fulfill the French appetite for such programs. And weathermen can be seen dressing down, way down, in jeans and untucked shirts.

Meanwhile, the acceptance of nudity in France probably won't change anytime soon and neither will U.S. audiences' resistance to it. The Jackson incident might have led many ABC affiliates to nix showing "Saving Private Ryan" on Veterans Day for fear the movie's language and violence might provoke FCC sanctions. A few nights later, ABC tried to hype Monday Night Football and its hit series Desperate Housewives with a pre-game skit that featured the long, bare back of actress Nicollette Sheridan as she disrobed in an NFL locker room. The promo instantly provoked another spasm of public outrage and a quick apology from ABC, owned by The Walt Disney Co.

Said an angry FCC Chairman Michael Powell: "I wonder if Walt Disney would be proud."

To say nothing of Pollyanna's reaction to French yogurt.
A 15-year-old girl starts each morning kneeling on the floor, facing Mecca.

Then she dons a black sweater, downs a bowl of oatmeal and ducks out the door, carrying her backpack a few blocks to school.

Because of the silky patterned scarf framing her face, what happens next depends on where that school is.

In Lincoln, Neb., she would make a quick stop at her locker before heading to an 8 a.m. history class.

In Paris, she would have to do something else first: remove the veil.

In March 2004, France’s Assemblée Nationale overwhelmingly voted to ban Muslim veils and other ostentatious religious symbols from public schools, prominently placing the nation’s ideal of a secular society in stark contrast with America’s concept of religious freedom.

In France, where freedom is measured on a societal level, multiculturalism means ignoring differences and using only one label for everyone: French. In the United States, where freedom is focused on individuals, multiculturalism means celebrating those differences and using many labels: African American, Irish-American, Jewish-American, Native American.

The distinction between the two nations comes down to how each views separation of church and state.

Outside the Hotel de Ville on Wednesday, Sept. 6, supporters stand around messages written in several languages to imprisoned French journalists Christian Chesnot and Georges Malbrunot. The abductors threatened to kill the men if the forbidding outward religious symbols, including Muslim veils, was not revoked.

Practicing Muslims like Florence Douat are stuck in the middle of the veil debate.

She was born in Paris but raised in Syria “to have the culture that my father and my mother had.” At 17, she faced the choice: enroll in a Syrian university, attend the American University in Beirut, stay with family while studying at the University of Houston – or move to Paris alone.

She chose the latter, but first she made a pilgrimage to Mecca, which all Muslims must do at least once.

Returning from the belief-affirming trip is a common time for young women to begin wearing a veil, the 31-year-old journalist said. And that’s the end of the story for now.
French schools are financed by the state and thus are part of the public sphere, so religion has no place there, said Christophe Vigneau, a law professor at the Sorbonne.

Forbidding religious symbols is not an infringement on students’ or teachers’ freedom, he said. It’s a way of protecting it — preventing anyone from promoting his or her beliefs in that neutral space and ensuring that everyone is on a level playing field.

“The logic behind the law is that equality means for people to be equal, especially when they are at school,” Vigneau said. “To make people equal within the same area, it’s better not to show your religion.”

U.S. law steers the other direction; equality means people can wear their religion on their sleeve. And if they’re denied that right, they can fight for it, like one Omaha woman is because the staff at a public pool refused her entry because she wore a veil.

In France, the ban hasn’t inspired much controversy, although some see it as an attempt to restrict Europe’s largest Muslim population. One group plans to challenge the law in front of the European Union Court of Human Rights, but generally most French support it.

That might be because the French see the veil as more fanatical political statement than religious symbol, said Brian Lepard, a University of Nebraska law professor who studies international human rights. And that idea is encouraged by widespread controversy about whether women should be required to wear the veil, he said. Some argue that no such rule is set forth in the Koran, the holy book of Islam.

In essence, French officials are trying to provide an orderly, neutral environment for education, he said. The same motivation drives policies that ban hats, restrict teachers from wearing religious garb or regulate curriculum.

“Frankly, this is not too dissimilar from positions taken by U.S. education authorities at various times,” he said.

HISTORY OF CHURCH, STATE SEPARATION

Regardless of today’s logic, the roots of secularism run deep in France.

During the revolution of 1789, the state clashed with a Catholic religion that had long dominated government and society. The struggle continued until 1905, when the legislature passed “la loi sur la laïcité,” defining the country’s separation of church and state.

The law says: “The state does not recognize, nor pay wages of nor fund any religion.”

In the minds of many French, that law effectively banned all religion from public schools. However, less than a century after it was written, the government decided to clarify, enacting the new law as it faced a Muslim population that numbered 6 million and is growing. About 60 percent of the 200,000 immigrants entering France each year are Muslims from Northern Africa, said Blandine Kriegel, president of the High Council on Integration.

Technically, the law is even-handed because it targets all symbols, including Jewish yarmulkes, Sikh turbans and large Christian crosses, said UNL law professor Anna W. Shavers, who teaches a seminar on international gender issues.

The timing raises eyebrows, however.

“Some people say that’s really just being kind to them, that they’re really among us at Muslims,” she said.

THE LAW

The law passed by France’s Assemblee Nationale in March 2004 says: “In public elementary schools, junior high schools and high schools, students are prohibited from wearing signs or attire through which they exhibit conspicuously a religious affiliation. Note that the internal regulations (of the schools) require disciplinary procedures to be preceded by a dialogue with the student.”

French children who do not wish to comply with the law are required to make educational arrangements until the age of 16. One of those options is to attend a private, religious school subsidized by the government. However, there are few Muslim schools to begin with, and none meet the curriculum standards to receive government funds.

“Why now?” is an interesting question, said Kriegel, one of President Jacques Chirac’s closest advisers on immigration issues.

As a woman of a certain age, she said, she simply couldn’t remember it coming up when she was a student. Fewer Muslim women wore veils then; the practice has increased as fundamentalism has grown.

Indeed, the question didn’t surface until 1989, when France’s highest court, the Conseil d’Etat, ruled that conspicuous religious symbols should not be banned. Instead, negotiations should allow for secularist ideals to be adapted to each student’s situation.

That policy of negotiation and individual schools’ authority still stands. But the expulsions began in late October 2004, about a month and a half after the ban took effect.

LAW RAISES OTHER ISSUES

There are more motivations behind the law.

If French public schools allow Muslim girls to wear veils in the classroom, they’ll have to recognize other religious tenets, Kriegel said.

And therein lies a problem. Providing separate gym facilities for the sexes and overlooking different conceptions of health care — failing to send children to necessary medical appointments, for example, or refusing to let male doctors tend to girls — could prove a threat to public safety.

Also, the ban protects kids who don’t yet know what they want to be, said Ghislaine Hudson, a suburban high school principal who served on the committee that drafted the law.

Kriegel and others agreed. Muslim women are often forced to wear the veil by their brothers, fathers or communities. Clustered in the poor suburbs of Paris, she said, most immigrant women are treated as they would be in Islamic countries, rather than with the more egalitarian standards of France.

Thus, proponents argue that the law is also a tool for integrating an estimated 10 percent of the population made up by relatively new Muslim immigrants.

And school is the first important venue for assimilation and indoctrination into the French system, Vigneau said.

“School is the place where you start to understand each other, despite differences,” he said. “We don’t think the school is where you should try to differentiate from each other.”

MUSLIM SUPPORT

At the start of the 2003-04 school year, about 2,000 girls wore veils, said Marc Rolland, an international affairs officer in France’s Ministry of Education. By the time the law went into effect in September, only 200 refused to remove the head covering.

That drop, as well as the general harmony regarding the law, was likely caused in part by something that happened Aug. 20, just before classes were scheduled to begin – the kidnapping of two French journalists in Iraq.

The Islamic militants who held Christian Chesnot and Georges Malbrunot captive for four months at the end of 2004 initially demanded that France abandon the law. Later, requests expanded to include a $5 million ransom, truce with Osama bin Laden and a promise of no more involvement in Iraq.

Almost immediately, Muslim leaders from both within France’s borders and outside them continue on fifty-four
what she did.

But three days before leaving for Paris, Douat’s father told her to choose between her new symbol of faith and the City of Light. In Arab countries, he said, women wear the veil because it protects them from exposure to the harsh, sinful outside world. But in a country where Muslims are a minority, wearing it does the opposite. The practice makes them a target, singles them out. It becomes unnecessary.

“To be sure that you’re Muslim doesn’t mean that you put on the veil,” Douat said. “It is in your head and your heart.”

Fourteen years later, she still lives in Paris, married to a French man and mother to a 3-year-old son.

Douat, who writes for seven French and Arab publications, agrees that veils should not be present in public schools. Children can’t objectively learn about French civilization, she said, if their outward appearance and actions proclaim, “I’m not French, I’m Muslim overall.”

But there are better means to that end than a sweeping law that she said is “putting water in the windmill of Islamists.” Negotiating on a case-by-case basis is more beneficial because it fosters understanding about how that girl feels, she said.

“There is not enough veil-wearing to make a law, or there are not enough cross- or David Star-wearing to make a law. They took a case of 1 percent and made it for 100 percent,” Douat said, adding that the law came about because of politicians’ squabbles.

And so she’s stuck, wedged between the French who think the ban prevents discrimination and the Muslims who think it prohibits expression.

“We never see people like me. We only see the men who kill sheep on the street,” she said, referring to sacrifices made after the monthlong fast of Ramadan.
That idea harkens to centuries of royal efforts to unite the culturally diverse nation, said French businessman Philippe Rochefort.

“We are prohibiting the Islamic veil to protect you from being different,” he said.

It’s a shame such a law is necessary, but a lot of problems can arise, said Mylene Sauvage, an executive assistant in Paris.

Although everyone should have the right to practice his or her religion, they must also respect a country’s traditions and beliefs, she said. If she visited a Muslim country, she wouldn’t pack short skirts; she’d wear pants.

Philippe Errera, the head of a government-sponsored foreign policy think tank, said he saw no connection between the law and fear of terrorism.

“There’s no law banning veils,” he said. “There’s a law banning ostensible religious affiliation.”

Sorbonne history Professor Andre Kaspi insisted that nationalism had nothing to do with the issue but called the law a defense of France’s values. He acknowledged that while Islamic fundamentalists are a menace to society, “in reality, the Jews or Christians do not pose any problem.”

**U.S., FRENCH LAWS SIMILAR**

The language of France’s 1905 law strikes a familiar note for Americans: “Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise there-of.”

Though France’s tradition of secularism is undeniably old, the U.S. concept of religious freedom is even older, stemming from the nation’s very beginnings, inspired by Protestants fleeing persecution by a state-sanctioned church.

“We might have learned some things early on from the French about the basic republican principles, but we’re a lot further ahead when it comes to religious freedom,” said Bassel El-Kasaby, an Omaha lawyer who has watched the issue with interest.

Not that the United States is perfect, and he knows it.

Two summers ago, his client Lubna Hussein was twice refused entry into one of Omaha’s public swimming pools because she wore long sleeves and a headscarf, as she believes is required by her Muslim faith.

Because of her complaint, the city amended its pool dress code last summer to allow exceptions if an individual applied up to five days in advance. But El-Kasaby said the change isn’t enough, and he has filed a federal lawsuit.

Other Americans familiar with the French ban echoed El-Kasaby’s assessment.

Greg Turner, a Seattle pastor who finished a 14-month stint at the American Church in Paris last fall, said despite the law’s close alignment with established French thought, its timing clearly shows racist motives.

Unlike the United States, France basically doesn’t accept diversity, he said. All differences are submerged.

“None of our leaders would ever think of building anything like that,” Turner said. Instead, they would allow veils as long as they weren’t causing a disruption and might offer teachers classes on Islam to foster understanding.

Shavers agreed.

“They are restricting a private person’s ability, and we don’t go anywhere near that far,” she said. “That’s so much against our notion of religious freedom, at least right now I don’t see that it would happen here.”

**NO EASY ANSWERS**

So where is the girl in the patterned scarf better off?

On one side of the Atlantic, she can compute algebra equations, critique Shakespeare and conduct chemistry experiments with her hair firmly covered.

Maybe she likes it that way, maybe not. Maybe she doesn’t want to wear the silky scarf, maybe she does it only because her father insists.

Or maybe she’s afraid; some girls have been brutally raped or killed for not wearing the veil.

On the other side of the Atlantic, the aspiring scholar can only attend a public school bareheaded.

Maybe she likes it that way, maybe not. Maybe the fabric framing her face makes her feel closer to God – not just when she’s on her knees, facing Mecca, but all day long.
Here’s a place where city lights glimmer brightest, where tourists walk the sidewalks outside four-star hotels, where the stores look more New York than Paris.

But a stroll down the Boulevard Champs-Elysee instills fear in some French. Dark-skinned pickpockets, they say, loiter on that boulevard, waiting for the moment when a fancy purse or fur coat can be so easily attained it would be a crime not to.

It didn’t used to be that way. Ever-changing French demographics and the struggle to integrate Muslims into their proud society have influenced the way many French now view the world. Along the way, the French have been forced to reassess what it means to be French.

Around them, European borders evaporate into a multicultural stratosphere. The European Union takes shape. Algerians once colonized by the French ask for equality.

“We are not used to a multicultural society; we are not the United States,” said Andre Kaspi, a history professor at the Sorbonne.

Many worry that booming immigrant birth rates coupled with an aging French population will quickly and forever alter France. Meanwhile, a frustrated young Muslim generation weighs how to gain influence in a nation that doesn’t feel like home.

About 6 million Muslims – 8 percent to 10 percent of the population – reside in France, constituting the largest Muslim population in Europe. The majority, most of whom were born in France, trace their ancestry to Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia.

By 2025, the Muslim percentage could be as high as 25 percent. By 2050, some French think it could push 50 percent.

Combine those numbers with France’s Jewish population, the largest in Europe, and France fears its streets one day will look more like Jerusalem than Paris, more Middle East than French.

Those fears manifest themselves on election day. Jean-Marie Le Pen, 76, the right-wing National Front leader, has been active in politics since 1956. He’s run for president in the multi-party state several times. But never before has he appealed to so many French as in 2002.

Le Pen finished second to President Jacques Chirac, claiming 18 percent of a runoff vote. Le Pen’s platform, in part, included a return to the old France. Before girls started wearing veils to school.

A time when France worried about British warships, not foreigners on the Champs-Elysees.

“They’ve sent their people away for centuries, and they don’t know how to do it the other way around,” said Thomas Fuller, a New York native and Paris-based reporter for the International Herald Tribune.

* * *

Driving south from De Gaulle International Airport, the first glimpse of Paris isn’t Notre Dame or the Eiffel Tower but vertical slums. Laundry hangs out windows. Teenagers deal drugs on the streets below.

These public housing projects were built after World War II for immigrants hired to help rebuild France. The idea, Muslim journalist Florence Douat said, was that those immigrants would make some money and go home. Most never left.

In the generations that followed, those neighborhoods have bred crime and poverty as unemployment in immigrant communities soared. As Arab TV became the prime news source and Western viewpoints – French viewpoints – disappeared.

Douat, a 28-year-old from Syria who has lived in Paris for nine years, said many Muslims don’t feel French. It’s not like the United States, she said, where heritage is celebrated. On her side of the Atlantic, immigrants are expected to forget their homeland when they relocate to France.

But such a transformation isn’t practical, she says. So immigrants plant one foot in their homeland and one in France, unsure of which culture to embrace.

“They are in no-man’s land,” Douat said.

Meanwhile, many older citizens who witnessed German occupation, who read the newspaper accounts from the Indochina and Algerian colonial wars, resist the thought of Muslim immigration, the thought that new neighbors don’t know about Voltaire and De Gaulle.

The secular French government desires to assimilate Muslim immigrants into society. Teach them the language. Find them jobs. Encourage them to see themselves as French, not North African or Moroccan.

French republicanism refuses to recognize residents on the basis of race or ethnicity. It refuses to allow different cultures to separate from each other. That idea assumes immigrants will adopt the French culture and traditions, something in which

**By DIRK CHATELAIN**

*The French capital has become a haven for immigrants*

A woman wearing a veil walks through a neighborhood market in the Montparnasse district.
many Muslims have little interest.

“It’s become much more difficult to be French in France,” says University of Nebraska-Lincoln history Professor James Le Sueur, who has lived in France and studied the French-Algerian relationship. “France is having a hard time coming to terms with the multiple levels of identity people carry around with them.”

Le Sueur said people in the modern world come and go from country to country. The early 1900s nationalism, when a Frenchman and a Dane and a Turk could never be confused, has faded from reality.

With the rise of the European Union and Muslim immigration and religion in government, many French, he said, witness an unwanted change.

Kaspi, the history professor at one of France’s most prestigious universities, said his country has never seen itself as a nation of immigrants. Those who traditionally call France home possess the same language and culture as their grandparents, their grandparents’ parents and so on.

But that was in past centuries when France was an imperial power whose people immigrated to colonies in North Africa and abroad. Now, he said, the colonial period has ended, and those French pockets are sending people back home.

UNL French Professor Jordan Stump has friends in France who disdain what their old hometowns have become—more Arab than French. They wish the immigrants could relinquish their ancestral cultures and become French. To Stump, that sounds racist. Not to his French friends.

France is partially blinded by its arrogance, Le Sueur said.

“What makes it particularly bad is that at the same time France is pretending to be a great society, with great institutions and respects for the rights of man, and women, it still has what I consider a racist double standard here,” Le Sueur said. “It’s not allowing people the right of freedom of expression and religion.”

There is not one Muslim mayor in France. There are no Muslims in French parliament.

Like Latinos attempting to integrate into U.S. society, most French Muslims face a tangible barrier that other European immigrants don’t: their skin color. A long-time native of Paris can walk along the Seine and immediately identify an Algerian, a Turk, a Syrian. The source of conflict, however, often isn’t race but religion.

As the web of poverty strangles North African descendants in cities like Nice and Strasbourg and St. Denis, those outsiders find communion in the strictest interpretations of the Koran. They see that their parents’ means of integration failed and seek another way, a religiously fundamental approach.

As second- and third-generation French immigrants turn to a more conservative brand of Islam, incidents of anti-Semitism increase.

In 2001, extremists painted on the wall of a Marseille school: “Death to the Jews” and “ BIN Laden will conquer.” In March 2002, coordinated attacks resulted in several damaged synagogues. In 2004, anti-Semitic vandals made headlines even on the streets of Paris with, among other things, swastika graffiti.

“We’ve got Israel and Palestine playing out just down the block,” said author Harriet Welty, an American who lives in Paris.

Muslim clergymen do little to assuage the violence. Since 2001, France has expelled dozens for preaching wife-beating and other acts at odds with the French state.

Nicolas Sarkozy, the former finance minister who intends to run for president in 2007, has recommended changing the separation of church and state doctrine, a basic tenet of French policy, so the state can, among other things, pay for construction of new mosques. He has created an Islamic Council that gives Muslims a seat at the political table.

If France doesn’t consider changing its basic tenets of secularism, Sarkozy fears, Arab nations like Saudi Arabia will increasingly finance and influence French Muslims.

“What we should be afraid of is Islam gone astray, garage Islam, basement Islam, underground Islam,” Sarkozy was quoted as saying in 2002. “It is not the Islam of the mosques, open to the light of day.”

Assimilation remains the French objective. In December, Dominique de Villepin, French interior minister, announced his plan to train Muslim imams in French language and civic studies. More than a third of the 1,200 prayer leaders don’t speak French, Villepin said, “which is unacceptable for our republic.”

He proposed courses at universities like the Sorbonne that would teach aspiring Muslim preachers French ways.

“In France,” he said, “we must have French imams speaking French.”

“YOU NEVER SEE PEOPLE LIKE ME. YOU ONLY SEE THE MEN WHO KILL THEIR SHEEP IN THE STREET. SO OLD PEOPLE THINK WE’RE ALL SAVAGES.”

Florence Douat, Muslim journalist

“IT’S BECOME MUCH MORE DIFFICULT TO BE FRENCH IN FRANCE. FRANCE IS HAVING A HARD TIME COMING TO TERMS WITH THE MULTIPLE LEVELS OF IDENTITY PEOPLE CARRY AROUND WITH THEM.”

James Le Sueur, University of Nebraska-Lincoln history professor
Women’s rights

Although French laws mandate equality, society doesn’t always practice it

By Patti VanNoy

Jocelyn Gecker did a double take.

It wasn’t because the woman was beautiful or scantily clad — she was both. It was because the Associated Press reporter encountered the racy pinup model in an unexpected place: her office.

Photographers at the AP Paris Bureau posted the life-size cutout as a gag — and it was a knee-slapper to the French staffers, who all wanted their faces pasted onto it.

But Gecker and her U.S. co-workers weren’t laughing. Instead, they marveled at the blatant difference between their homeland and adopted home. While nary a French eye blinked at the cardboard prop, it would be deemed inappropriate in nearly any U.S. workplace.

Is this sexual harassment or the face of post-feminist equality? By U.S. standards, it’s undoubtedly the former. But in France, where Gecker said “everyone assumes the boss is sleeping with the secretary and laughs about it,” sexual harassment isn’t a key component of women’s rights. Instead, it’s a laughable example of U.S. extremism.

“Feminism?” said Edith Kunz, author of “Fatale: How French Women Do It.” French women have always had power. “French think, ‘why bother?’”

That doesn’t mean gender equality is undervalued; the French simply think the fight for women’s rights is over and done with, obsolete, finished. And not without reason, perhaps. In France, for example:

Contraception and abortion are legal — and free.

A new law mandates that nearly all elected government positions be filled by equal numbers of men and women.

A woman has served as prime minister, a much higher rank than the United States can boast.

A law requiring equality in the workplace was passed more than 20 years ago. America’s somewhat broader version, the Equal Rights Amendment, has never been ratified.

“Most people who are not involved in such feminist movements think that more or less the most important (work) is done,” said Dominique Audouze, international coordinator for Mouvement Francais pour le Planning Familial, a member of the International Planned Parenthood Federation.

But France still has its problems, she said. Among them:

Women earn 25 percent less than men, roughly the same as in the United States.

Domestic violence is still a taboo subject, but it affects about 10 percent of women.

Immigrant women clustered in suburbs face pressure from religious extremists as well as poverty and discrimination.

Though a law has prohibited sexual harassment since 1992, it is still widely ignored.

Although French laws emphasize equality, said Sophie Del-Corso, international affairs coordinator for the Ministry of Parity and Professional Equality, they aren’t always translated into the real world.

WOMEN IN HIGH PLACES

Gender equality is an old, pervasive idea in France, perhaps manifested most visibly in the country’s own self-image.

The United States is symbolized in the gnarled, white-bearded Uncle Sam. But the place of honor in French courts and town halls, as well as on stamps, coins and bank notes, has belonged to Marianne since the late 18th century. The contrast between the two figures is jarring. The Republic’s female form is a knockout, periodically remodeled after beautiful French faces including movie star Catherine Deneuve and supermodel Laeticia Casta.

Though this may seem like an important difference to an American eye, Audouze said Marianne doesn’t really mean anything — she’s just “part of the landscape.”


“Marianne is, unfortunately, more symbolic than actual, a female face and body often exploited for sexual purposes,” said the senior scholar at Stanford University’s Institute for Research on Women and Gender.

But that’s not to say history hasn’t played an important part in women’s status today. In fact, powerful French voices began advocating gender equality at least as early as the 18th century, Yalom said.

And for several centuries before that, women had played noteworthy roles in many monumental French events.

Kunz wrote about several of those “piquant, spicy” women who “control(led) their country with a clandestine power whether that power is accomplished legally, intellectually, psychologically, or in the boudoir.”
BE VIGILANT BECAUSE A STEP BACK HAPPENING IN THE UNITED STATES OF WHAT CAN HAPPEN.”

Josef Audouze, president of Mouvement Francais le Planning Familial

Saint Genevieve, for example, fought off Attila the Hun in 451 A.D. and Joan of Arc battled the English in 1430. Eleanor of Aquitaine led a 12th century crusade and then left Louis VII for England’s Henry II.

Catherine de Medici, called the most powerful woman of the 16th century, had five French kings in her direct sphere of influence; husband Henri II; sons Francois II, Charles IX and Henri III; and son-in-law Henri IV.

“(These women) were so confident with their power. They didn’t have to march about it or even really discuss it too much. They just knew they had power,” said Kunz, an American who splits her time between Paris and Phoenix.

In recent history, women have taken on more official roles as ministers, senators and other government officials, especially since a 1999 law required half the candidates listed on ballots to be women. Though 50-50 parity has not been reached, the proportion of women elected has improved for many local and regional councils, but the national parliament’s two houses remained at 10.9 percent and 12.3 percent women in March 2003.

The highest-ranking woman to serve in the French government, Edith Cresson, trumps Madeleine Albright or Condoleezza Rice, both U.S. secretaries of state. Cresson was prime minister for 10 months in 1991 and 1992. According to a 1999 Time magazine article, however, ineffectual leadership and record low poll ratings marked her tenure.

This probably contributes to many doubts about whether France is ready for a woman president.

“Now, I don’t think so,” said Joelle Janse Marec, chief of gynecology and obstetrics at the Hertford British Hospital on the outskirts of Paris. She compared the question to another issue that has been in the news of late. “I don’t think we could have a Jewish president. So... I don’t know.’’

ONE STEP FORWARD, ONE STEP BACK

Marec was a “hard” feminist straight out of medical school 20 years ago.

At the time, there were no women professors – so she never even entertained the idea of teaching. But she became one of the first women head doctors in Paris, and she’s happy with her accomplishments.

Marec still calls herself a feminist, “but a soft one,” because it’s much easier now. Now, for instance, there are plenty of women medical professors.

“I don’t think (my children) will suffer for being a woman or a man,” she said.

Audouze provided another example. Although abortion has been legal for nearly four decades and contraception for almost four, they have not always been accessible – and are still not, in some cases, she said.

Some pharmacists refuse to dispense emergency contraception to young people, and for a long time, many doctors wouldn’t perform abortions – not because they opposed it but because it wasn’t profitable. The state-set price didn’t change for 15 years, Audouze said, until doctors were actually losing money on the procedure.

Also, she said, abortions used to be legal only in the first 10 weeks after conception, and women seeking to terminate a pregnancy had to undergo an interview and waiting period. Now, there’s no requirement to report a reason for seeking the procedure up to 12 weeks into the pregnancy.

The French laws are also subject to the same sideways jabs that the U.S. Supreme Court’s Roe v. Wade decision has endured in the past few years. When the parliament was debating road safety last year, one member tried to tag on a provision that drivers who caused fatal accidents in which a pregnant woman died could be charged in both the woman’s and the fetus’s deaths, Audouze said.

“We feel like we always have to be vigilant because a step back can happen, and for us what is happening in the United States is a good example of what can happen,” she said.

TO BE CONTINUED . . .

Though women’s rights are good in France, they’re not idyllic, said Francoise Gaspard, a professor at Paris’s École des Hautes Études and a member of the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women.

And feminism definitely isn’t finished.

“They said the same thing before the birth of the movement in favor of parity, that everything had been won,” she said. “It seems to me that today there are a number of equality movements, but they have problems coming together and finding a mobilizing theme.

“A right is one thing. Reality is often complex.”
In 1849, Victor Hugo sat down to compose a draft at No. 6 on the Place des Vosges. He was between writing two novels, “The Hunchback of Notre-Dame” and “Les Miserables.”

But this day, Hugo didn't work on a novel. Instead, he wrote a speech characterizing the political future of his home. “A day will come when all the nations of this continent, without losing their distinct qualities or their glorious individuality, will fuse together in a higher unity and form the European brotherhood,” he said later that year to the Peace Congress in Paris.

One hundred years later, this Frenchman's dream of a united Europe began to fully materialize. Shortly after World War II, six countries – Belgium, West Germany, Luxembourg, France, Italy and the Netherlands – formed a loose alliance known as the European Coal and Steel Community.

What would soon become known as the European Union grew in power during the next several decades, as did a country across the Atlantic – the United States.

And as the world's largest superpower grew, the international clout of France, once a dominant empire, appeared to dwindle. “Yes, France’s power in the world is decreasing,” said David Forsythe, a University of Nebraska-Lincoln political science professor who specializes in international relations.

Decreasing in the world, yes. But not in the European Union.

In the 25-member European Union, France – and neighbor Germany – is at the helm of a growing body of solidarity. To many political strategists and politicians, its push for European Union growth is an attempt to balance the power of the United States.

“France has been long concerned about its declining position in the world,” Forsythe said. “They are very much in favor of a place to exercise leadership – the European Union.”

Native Frenchman Philip Rochefort agreed. “The major challenge right now is Europe,” he said. “Since we're one-seventh of Europe, we have lots of chances to be successful.”

**POWER GROWS OVER CENTURIES**

France's power did not accumulate overnight; rather, it was centuries of battles, leaders and laws that created the country's current status.

It was Napoleon Bonaparte's militaristic concept of power that radically altered France's position in the world and its relationships with other nations. “Napoleon set about conquering most of Europe,” said James Le Sueur, University of Nebraska-Lincoln professor of modern France and European colonialism. "He brought a new kind of constitution that changed political constructs and the notions of military power."

Some historians say Napoleon's regime set the foundation for modern France: a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council, the third-greatest nuclear power in the world, the fourth-most powerful economy and a leading member of the European Union.

But whether power means military might, cultural prestige or stockpiled nuclear weapons, Le Sueur said few can deny the impact of the medium-sized country on the world's historical scene. “Historically, most European countries looked to France for revolutionary behavior and how to solidify the rights of man,” he said.

**NEW TENSIONS WITH IRAQ WAR**

Although global power is a constant struggle, the level of tension reached a new
height just before the Iraq war began in March 2003.

The Bush administration urged members of the United Nations Security Council to pass tough new resolutions requiring Iraq to end its weapons program.

At a Sept. 15, 2002, meeting with Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi at Camp David, Bush said Iraqi President Saddam Hussein had broken every pledge he made to the United Nations since Iraq was defeated after invading Kuwait in 1990.

Bush called on the United Nations “to show some backbone and resolve as we confront the challenges of the 21st century.” He warned the United Nations General Assembly in fall 2002 that if Iraq didn’t honor the resolutions within weeks, the United States would act.

Iraq didn’t, so the United States went to war.

Since the build-up, France has remained a primary opponent of the United States’ one-sided approach to the war in Iraq.

“The U.S. under Bush Junior is on a very unilateral path,” said James Cohen, a political science professor at the Université de Paris VIII. “(This) means that considerations of international law and international cooperation, even with traditional allies, goes out the window when this current group of leaders – Bush plus Cheney plus the neoconservatives – think the U.S. should ‘act.’

“French leaders, practically all of them, are convinced that this is a very dangerous path for the entire world.”

For the French, perhaps more frustrating than the war itself was the United States’ defiance of United Nations policy. To them, the United Nations, and especially the Security Council, is not an organization to ignore or marginalize.

France’s role in the United Nations Security Council is important to the country, Forsythe said.

“If France is not powerful in the Security Council, they can’t try to influence the United States,” he said.

To many, when the United States took a unilateral approach to Iraq, the Security Council lost power.

“But France is in favor of reforming the United Nations to make it a stronger body with more capacity to enforce international law,” Cohen said.

This left countries around the world with a choice: either back the United States or don’t.

“They can either get on the bandwagon and cozy up to the one superpower, the one hyper-power in the world, or they can try to counter-balance it,” Forsythe said.

According to Forsythe, two main kinds of global power exist: dominant power, in which a country gets what it wants by coercion, and hegemonic power, in which a country gets what it wants by discussion.

“France likes the latter,” he said, whereas the United States has made the war in Iraq an example of coercive power.

“The U.S. has conventional military power that no states can challenge,” Forsythe said. “On the other hand, politics is also psychological. We need the cooperation of France and other countries.”

These highly different views of diplomacy affect how France, Europe and the United States handle international conflict.

The European Union’s ongoing negotiations regarding Iran’s nuclear ambition show a stark contrast from the United States’ invasion of Iraq. The lasting success of the negotiations, however, is debatable.

Still, this is not a simple task.

“Because the U.S. wields an abundance of economic and military power, some powerful states are hesitant to stray too far from U.S. interests,” Marquardt said.

But as Turkey, Romania, Croatia and Bulgaria move toward membership, an end to the European Union’s growth is not yet in sight.

As an organization of nations with only peace and prosperity in mind, Europe – led by France – is on its way to a realization of Victor Hugo’s vision.

“A day will come,” Hugo said, “when there will be no other battlefields than those of the mind – open marketplaces for ideas.”
“But Claude,” said Pierre, reclining at the café table, “how can we go back to work? It’s only three o’clock. Lunch break has barely begun!”

“Oh, true, Pierre. You are right.” Claude took another drag of his Gauloise, pouring more Bordeaux into his glass.

“It has been a hard day,” Pierre sighed. “I had a meeting this morning that lasted nearly an hour!”

“Sacre Bleu! It cannot be. And so soon after our monthlong vacations!”

Pierre and Claude don’t exist. But the foundations of the caricature do – ones that U.S. working stiffs hunched in cubicles might openly envy:

French employees, on average, work 1,431 hours a year to Americans’ 1,792.

They get generous pensions, vacations and health insurance coverage.

And their government, most notably, had mandated a 35-hour work week.

Throw in a long lunch and a languid demeanor, and voila: an Eden-like picture of easygoing French working life.

But some signs say it might not be long before Pierre and Claude are forced to bid a fond adieu to the good old days.

Economically, the French face an array of problems and issues to stay competitive in an increasingly global market. One in which the French way of doing things no longer invites the kind of investment it once did.

Among the nation’s most pressing concerns:

• High labor costs, production costs and corporate taxes that have spawned a flood of outsourcing to Asia and Eastern Europe.

As of March, the controversial 35-hour work week was effectively abolished, as the National Assembly voted to allow employers to negotiate for more hours and higher pay. The reason? Proponents argued that France must stay competitive in the global market.

But not everyone thinks these concerns have created a desperate situation.

Edith Coron, a Parisian journalist and cultural consultant for expatriates, said France retains a number of qualities attractive to foreign investors: a highly skilled labor market, a central location in Europe and first-rate communications and transportation systems.

“Foreign investors are not always keen (to bring jobs to France), but France does attract certain types,” she said. “It’s not a major issue.”

And the 35-hour work week?

It was a good thing, Coron said. It improved quality of life for those it affected, such as middle managers, who could take more time off, she said.

Don’t forget, Coron said, France has the world’s fifth-largest economy. A country doesn’t
achieve that ranking without working "damn hard."

Besides, the number of hours worked doesn't necessarily equal the amount of work accomplished, said Thomas White, minister of economics for the U.S. Embassy in Paris.

"The French productivity levels are some of the highest in the world," he said. "They just don't work as many hours."

Although businesses often agree that France has such benefits, they aren't always enough to make everyone stick around.

Several companies, such as Italian car company Klaxon, and Siemens AG of Germany, recently shut down operations in France, laying off hundreds of French employees and relocating them. Their destinations: The Czech Republic and India, respectively.

White said French labor is expensive, and protective laws create a mountain of red tape if an employer wants to fire someone.

So hiring is a big decision, White said, because employees aren't easily terminated.

"It makes people very loath to create new jobs," he said.

Meanwhile, when employment-hungry eastern European countries joined the European Union in May 2004, companies took notice; some, like Siemens, up and moved.

And with workers come much-beloved benefits.

"Continental Western Europe has very generous public sector benefits that go well beyond the dream of what any American would expect," White said. "It's become, in a sense, a crisis for Europe."

The crisis in this case is an aging French population. When the average age increases, it means more healthcare benefits, more pension expenditures and less money in the national till.

"When we look at Social Security in the U.S., it really pales in comparison to what Europe is facing," White said.

While giving generous employee benefits can be viewed as a potential problem, those who do without pose a different kind of challenge.

France has a steady 10 percent unemployment rate, and has for years. To entice companies to hire new employees, the government decreed a 35-hour limit to the work week. The reasoning: If employees cannot work as long, companies must hire new workers to boost production levels.

But for a law that was supposed to be nationwide, it's not difficult to find exceptions.

The service industry, for example.

"Thirty-five hours a week is impossible to apply," said Thierry Ternier, an official with the French ministry of tourism.

Government limitations such as the 35-hour work week law can't apply to the tourism industry, Terrier said. If Germany works harder, France has to keep up; a businessman can't afford to take on new employees just to keep afloat.

Outdoor market vendors like Dominique Grousard, a butcher, work six days a week, 12 to 14 hours a day. Laboring over piles of red, wet meat on a Saturday morning, Grousard shrugged: "To stay competitive, you have to work a lot."

Many business owners and managers did apply the 35-hour work week rule to their employees, but they weren't happy about it, said James Rentschler, a former U.S. ambassador to Malta who now lives in Paris.

"(Managers and owners), to a person, just bitch and moan," he said. "Those extra employees mean higher tax burdens because of the benefits required for each additional employee.

The unemployed are a burden, but then again, so are the employed, he said.

In July 2004, the American Chamber of Commerce in Paris conducted a survey of 71 U.S. executives whose companies had French locations. The survey showed that most agreed with journalist Coron on France's strengths as a business location -- but it also reflected the concerns of both White and Rentschler.

For example, more than 95 percent of these executives saw geography and infrastructure as strengths. But the same percentage agreed that the red tape involved in hiring and firing, as well as procedures for other business deals, was a decided weakness.

One executive said: "Taxes on salaried personnel and businesses weigh heavily on investment."

Another said: "Social climate, norms and legislation are real constraints."

In measuring which regions were competitors for France's jobs and investments, a little more than 20 percent of executives cited Asia, up from about 8 percent in a 2000 survey. That year, about 9 percent had listed Eastern Europe as a competitive location; in 2004 that percentage was about 18.

Rentschler, the former Maltese ambassador, said France needs to loosen up labor laws and restrictions. Companies aren't going to flock to a country where so much of the business operation is government-controlled, especially when it comes to labor laws.

"It's almost patently obvious if you don't have a welcoming environment for foreign investment, you're not going to have foreign investment," he said.

To some Americans living in France, other workplace differences also are patently obvious.

"The weekends are much more sacred here," said Pam, whose husband has been working in Paris for the past two years. "(My husband) went in to work the first couple of Saturdays before he realized the office was closed."

Pam, who didn't want her last name used, began to understand the phrase: "In America they live to work, in Europe they work to live.

But even what Pam is seeing may be a watered-down version of traditional French working life, and some expect that life to keep changing.

The caricature of the lethargic French employee has a basis in actual work differences between France and America, but the numbers behind that stereotype may be fading in light of global competition.

Even now, as Rentschler reflects on his decades in Paris, he sees patterns.

When he first came to Paris as a student in the 1950s, the city shut down in August as Parissiens fled to the countryside for monthlong vacations.

"There used to be a kind of folklore to Paris during August," Rentschler said. "One relied on rumors to find the restaurant or dry cleaners that were still open; there was camaraderie among those left behind. But not any more."

A growing number of workers are realizing that their country's protective labor laws are strong, but they aren't an all-powerful weapon against layoffs, he said. More employees are cutting their lunch breaks and increasing their hours, knowing that the harder worker will have better job security.

So now, he said, "There's this harried look, this bumping of elbows at the bistro."

It's a cultural shift that has begun, but one that needs to go farther if France is to retain its status as an economic powerhouse.

"France must come to terms with it," Rentschler said.

Claudine sipped the last of her water as Luc gave a final handshake to their departing client.

"That went well," she said, getting up from the café table. "It took forever to negotiate with Rumors to find the restaurant or dry cleaners that were still open; there was camaraderie among those left behind. But not any more."

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Claudine sipped the last of her water as Luc gave a final handshake to their departing client.

"That went well," she said, getting up from the café table. "It took forever to negotiate with him, though."

"True," said Luc, snapping his briefcase and adjusting his tie. "But worth it, I think. We can't afford to lose that one."

"Now it's just a matter of tweaking the PowerPoint, and we should be done," said Claudine, waving to two acquaintances smoking Gauloise and drinking their Bordeaux.

She and her associate exchanged an amused glance as they headed back to the office.
The space gap

Ambitious French space agency can’t match NASA’s funding

By Rachael Seravali

Of course Jean-Jacques Favier remembers hearing the news on April 12, 1961. A Russian cosmonaut had flown into space, a first in the history of mankind.

It was the French boy’s 11th birthday.

“I’ve been interested (in space exploration) since I was a little boy,” said the now 55-year-old director of strategy and advanced concepts at the French space agency CNES. “But at that time, I never thought I could be a part of it.”

In 1996, he became only the third French astronaut to fly aboard NASA’s space shuttle, a picture-perfect example of what collaboration between the United States and French space programs could be. The event capped four decades of cooperation between the two agencies, including an exchange of vital space technology in the 1960s and mutual scientific efforts to learn more about the Earth that continue to this day.

But that picture recently has gone from clear to cloudy, ignited largely by the Iraq war, which has torn the two countries apart politically and threatened the relationship between their respective space programs.

As the global political landscape has changed, so, too, has France’s new role. As France seeks to disentangle itself from dependence on U.S. space technology, it has developed ambitious plans for future space exploration that are increasingly focused on strengthening the European community at the expense of its ties to the U.S.

“There is a long-standing tradition of cooperation of CNES with NASA, but bilateral cooperation between the two agencies has gone cold,” said John Logsdon, director of the Space Policy Institute at George Washington University.

In late 2003, for example, NASA rejected a French offer to provide surface sensors for a future Mars project, a decision some said was political payback for France’s vocal opposition to President Bush’s decision to invade Iraq. NASA officials reportedly insist, however, that the decision was purely a practical one to avoid another in a series of failed international space collaborations between NASA and other countries.

But there’s no denying that NASA, with its superiority in many areas of space technology, has a special place in the hearts of those who were there at CNES’s inception.

“I’ve always said that CNES is a son of NASA,” said Jacques Blamont, CNES’s first director of science and technology when the agency began in 1962. “We’ve always kept close ties.”

Roger Launius, former head historian at NASA from 1990 to 2002, said that much like the political relationship between France and the United States, the space alliance has gone up and down the goodwill spectrum. Since early in the history of space exploration efforts, France often has publicly denounced the United States for dominating international space endeavors, an attitude Launius understands.

“The relationship comes and goes according to their respective priorities and interests,” Launius said. “It’s gone back and forth for years. The French really believe that the rest of the world should bow down before them. It has to do with their national ego. It’s every bit as big as that of the U.S.”

Still, the United States has reached out. Like many countries, France struggled during the Cold War to develop a missile-launching system to deter aggressors. After many failed attempts with its European neighbors, France decided to go it alone under Charles de Gaulle.

Two months after de Gaulle created CNES, Blamont met with representatives of NASA in March 1962. He was told the U.S. government was unwilling to help France with its weapons development but would
instead help the country develop its space program.

In a 90-minute conversation with President Kennedy’s scientific adviser, Blamont arranged for 12 French scientists to train at NASA’s Goddard Space Flight Center for one year, a major coup without which Blamont said the French space program literally could not have gotten off the ground.

“It was a major space technology transfer. My boss said I was responsible for starting CNES,” Blamont said, laughing. “This was a fantastic boost.”

Though Blamont said he never voted for de Gaulle, he admired the nationalist leader for believing enough in science to create the program.

“I don’t think NASA consciously invited in any other country quite like it did when it invited France to intern at Goddard,” Logsdon said. And despite some setbacks, the relationship between the two agencies has yielded mutual benefits.

For example, the TOPEX/POSEIDON mission, Earth-orbiting instruments developed jointly by NASA and CNES in 1992, has monitored global waters and other geographic features for the past 11 years to determine ocean circulation, climate change and sea levels.

And the Cassini-Huygens satellite, a joint effort between NASA and the European Space Agency, went into orbit around Saturn in summer 2004 and contains 14 French experiments.

Meanwhile, Favier, the French astronaut, has fond memories of his one and only flight on NASA's space shuttle. First and foremost a materials scientist, Favier is trained specifically to test how crystals grow in the absence of gravity.

His 1996 flight aboard the Columbia lasted 17 days and remains the longest flight in shuttle history. Favier, a payload specialist, remembers a busy mission with 14-hour days and many tasks, including 15 of his own crystal-growing experiments.

But he still cherishes two experiences: looking at Earth through the shuttle window and enjoying the weightlessness of space.

“I remember floating around, feeling very light,” he said. “I was very lucky on board because about half of astronauts get sick in space. I didn’t.”

Those were good days, said Favier, who returned to France with his wife and four children at the end of 1996. But the relationship has had its share of setbacks since.

Columbia was the second shuttle lost from the six-shuttle fleet when it broke apart re-entering the Earth’s atmosphere on Feb. 1, 2003.

“That was just terrible when I heard,” he said. “I knew the crew very well.”

Around that time, relations between the two countries began to break down, especially with tensions mounting in early 2003 as the United States grew closer to invading Iraq. Though U.S. officials gave other reasons for the breakdown, international collaboration on Mars exploration, in the works since 1998, also began to unravel.

But political disagreements between the countries' leaders, Favier said, haven't ruined the professionalism of French and U.S. space scientists, who continue to discuss science and technology without political undertones.

“Politics didn’t affect so much the way of working with my American colleagues because we try to stay far away from politics on the job,” he said. “The person-to-person relations are good. Even if we don’t share the same thinking, we work together well. The problem comes when you talk about the future.”

In a Jan. 14, 2004, address, President Bush spoke of an increased human presence in space, including returning to the moon by 2020 in preparation for human exploration of Mars. But only two sentences of the president’s 19-minute speech acknowledged the possible contributions of other countries.

“The good news is that Bush announced an ambitious new program for space exploration,” Favier said. “The bad news is that he’s presenting the new vision as led only by the U.S. It’s clear that what people are defining is an American definition of exploration. This is, of course, not the way we are thinking. We would like more autonomy with the situation, but when they block you whatever the investment, it’s painful for us.”

And while CNES and the European Space Agency don’t have the same means for space research as NASA, Favier said, they do the best they can to lend financial support to their projects. CNES’s $2 billion budget looks tiny next to NASA’s $15 billion. But France has footed 8.3 percent of the International Space Station bill, and by contributing 40 percent of ESA’s budget, CNES has a leading role in that agency.

But France also recognizes the political implications of having a healthy space program, said Logsdon, which means fewer bilateral agreements between CNES and NASA is acceptable if it means Europe will be stronger.

“Just listen to France when its leaders talk about an alternative center to global power,” he said. “Space capability is a part of that. Both of us recognize that there’s a link between space capability and prestige, power and standing in the world. We undertake these projects not just for science but for political reasons, too.”

Even Blamont, CNES’s first director of research, said the agency had outlined its usefulness in the wake of ESAs creation.

“Now we have the European Union,” he said. “Everything has changed.”

In addition, “CNES has ambitions similar to our own,” Logsdon said. “They are a natural leader of modern technology in Europe and they've applied that point of view to its space program so they can become independent of the United States.”

So Europe continues to move toward independence with Galileo, a global navigation satellite system scheduled to launch early in 2005. And Aurora, ESA's own Mars exploration program, is carrying on, complete with plans to send manned missions to the red planet that predated Bush’s January Mars announcement.

In November, NASA hosted representatives of several space agencies to start discussing ways to collaborate on Mars exploration, testing the openness to yet another U.S. vision for the future of space travel.

“There is a willingness to join the effort and to cooperate internationally, but the U.S. is moving rather quickly and saying that countries have to cooperate on U.S. terms,” Logsdon said. “Whether this is acceptable remains to be seen.”
U.S.A. & FRANCE:
I LOVE YOU – NEITHER DO I

More than 200 years of ties that bind – or break.

Marjorie Philpoteno skates with friends outside of the Louvre Museum.

PHOTO BY ALYSSA SCHUKAR
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In 1885, Gilbert M. Hitchcock founded the Omaha Evening World newspaper. Four years later, by purchasing the Omaha Morning Herald and combining it with the Evening World, Hitchcock launched the Omaha World-Herald.

Gilbert Hitchcock died in 1934 and Martha Hitchcock took up her husband’s torch. In 1944 she established the Gilbert M. and Martha H. Hitchcock Foundation to honor her husband’s memory. She died in 1962 and left $5 million to the Hitchcock Foundation. In 1975 the foundation’s board decided to support the journalism graduate program.

Hitchcock Foundation dollars help both graduate students and faculty by providing fellowships for graduate students and seed money for professional projects by faculty. It is and has been the goal of the Hitchcock Foundation to educate graduate students and keep them within the territory serviced by the Omaha World-Herald.

Neely Kountze, the Hitchcocks’ great-nephew, is currently president of the Hitchcock Foundation.