



ABSTRACT

French today are governed by a constitution which was adopted on 28 September 1958 by a vote of all adult inhabitants of France, including Algeria, and the French Union, in a national referendum. The decision to conduct the referendum was taken by General de Gaulle's government on 26 August 1958. Nationwide propaganda was conducted for and against the constitution by 23 approved political parties and groups, and in the result the constitution as submitted to the voters by the government was approved by an overwhelming majority. It is equally of note that in the

POLITICAL PARTY SYSTEM IN FRANCE: LESSONS FOR NIGERIA IN THE CONTEXT 2023 GENERAL ELECTIONS

DR. OKOLO CHRISTOPHER CHUCK

Department Of General Studies, School General Studies, Federal Polytechnic Bauchi, PMB 0231 Bauchi, Bauchi State.

Introduction

After the Second World War General de Gaulle criticized the 4th Republic very severely as “republic of parties”. When he returned to power in 1958 he drafted a constitution that gave France a constitutional status. Hence for the first time since the French Revolution and after 13 successive constitutions political parties were officially cited in the country's supreme law. Such arrangement with parties that dominated the French political life in 1958 appears in the article 4 of the constitution of 4th October 1958 (5th republic). Since then parties and political groups have been contributing to the expression of suffrage to create themselves and exercise their activities freely but they are mandated to respect the principles of the national sovereignty and democracy.

The constitutional status does not confer to these parties a new and fundamental role in French politics. Parties already enjoyed legal personality, they could go to court and they could buy properties, even real estate. As far back as 1958 no legal dispositions were regulating the financing of political parties.

Since the French revolution the structure of political life changed very frequently as the competition for power became between two or more opposing groups. Competition between conservative and progressive groups was not based on two organized or distinct parties. During the 3rd and 4th republics many parties successfully won elections, particularly, the Radical Party founded in 1901.

Political life was characterized by instability in government. Most of the existing parties in France today were founded in recent years. The most recent is the Union for a Popular Majority (UMP) created in 2005.



politics of France since the French Revolution of 1789 there has hardly been any form of political consensus, an ability to agree on the fundamentals of her political system. Multiple parties is the key to the understanding of French politics. It explains the short-lived, weak coalition cabinets, the dominance of the legislature over the executive, and the practical necessity under which cabinets were placed to win votes by granting favors to individual deputies. The paper examines the French as against the Nigeria system and concludes that Nigeria can learn from the French in terms of ideological formation, political party and membership structure, gender targeting and state funding of political parties.

Keywords: France, Nigeria, Political party System, Constitutional development

The French political life is breaking up into 12 important political parties with two of them being more important than the others, the Socialist Party and the Union for Popular Movement (UMP). However, none of these parties can win without the other. It is as a result of the number of parties in the country that alliances are inevitable.

Since 1965, French political life has been dominated by election for the presidency of the republic. This is the most important of all elections because the French president enjoys a very important historical stability in office. It is worthy of note that France produced 8 presidents in almost 60 years. That is an average of 7.5 years per president. They include:

- i. General de Gaulle (1958 – 1969)
- ii. George Pompidon (1969 – 1974)
- iii. Valery Giscard d’Estaing (1974 – 1981)
- iv. Francois Mitterand (1991 – 1995)
- v. Jacques Chirac (1995 – 2007)
- vi. Nicholas Sarhozy (2007 – 2012)
- vii. Francois Hollande (2012 – 2017), and
- viii. Emmanuel Macron (2017 – Date).

The new challenge of the parties in France is to create a political party with European standards. Since the preoccupation of the parties is to compete for power, they have to acquire European status which will enable them to strike a relationship with parties in other European countries in the Euro Zone. The adoption of the 2003 European regulation of political party activities has been a most important event in the development of the political party system in France. The regulation governs the political parties in the European Union.

CONCEPTUAL CLARIFICATION

France

France is a country located in Western Europe and shares borders with Andorra, Spain, Monaco, Italy, Switzerland, Germany, Luxembourg and Belgium. In 1957 France joined West Germany and other European nations to form the European Economic Community (EEC), now known as the European Union.



The total land area of France is 547,557 square km and its population is 65,239,022. The country has an average age of 41.4 years (U.N, 2018). The official language of France is French and it is spoken in many countries around the world.

Political Party

The European Union defined Political party as an association of citizens pursuing political objectives. It is established in each member state in accordance with the legal order of at least one member state (E.U, 2003).

In the same vein, Duverger (2001) sees political party as key organization for getting social and political results. This is achieved by aggregating several different interest groups into a stable alliance that is stronger and more purposeful than any single interest group on its own. Every political party represents a combination of such interest groups.

Thus political party can be defined as a group of citizens more or less organized, who act as a political unit and who by use of their voting power aim to control political power to carry out their general policies.

TYPES OF POLITICAL PARTIES

One – Party System

This is a political system where only one party is legally recognized to perform party political functions. Any attempt to form rival political movement is considered an act of treason or conspiracy against the state. Examples of countries with one-party system are Cuba, North Korea and China.

Two – Party System

This is a political system in which two major political parties exist. This is obtainable in ethnically and culturally heterogeneous societies. It may also include countries in which all or nearly all elected officials belong to one or the only two parties, and third parties rarely win any seat in the legislature. Examples of such countries are U.S.A, Malta, Jamaica, etc.

Multi – Party System

This is a political system where two or more political parties exist in a country. The parties are usually not of equal strength but they provide diverse choices for the electorate even though they may not always survive serious economic and political difficulties. Such parties are usually open to various political alliances for survival and recognition. Nigeria, France, Germany, Switzerland, Australia, Belgium, Mexico, Tunisia, Ireland, Netherlands, Norway, etc, are examples.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

FOUNDATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF FRENCH POLITICAL PARTY SYSTEM

The freedom of partisan relations is not a recent development in France. The French political history is replete with political groups which were born at different periods, then fizzled out. Monarchies and empires ascended to power during most of France's 16th century. Political repression was a common reality until the early 3rd republic. It was only then that gradually parties



could be legally recognized and were able to organize. However, the main progress was the adoption of the law of 1st July 1901 about the freedom of association. This was the basic principle which gave parties freedom to organize. During the 16th century French political life was made up of unorganized and unstable political groups where the sole purpose was to support political leaders.

The various antagonistic regimes frequently born and toppled by wars and revolutions did not allow the growth of a real democratic political life. Apart from the July 1901 law of association, the emergence of great political doctrines and ideologies like socialism coupled with agitations of workers and the consciousness of the ruling class of the possibility of a revolution, led to the recognition of trade unionism. These two events were crucial for the development of political parties in France. The freedom to create political parties was regulated by the law of 1st July 1901 which stipulated the contract of association. The following conditions are stipulated in the contract:

- i. Individuals cannot create political parties alone. The status of an association implies at least a “president”, a “treasurer”, and in most cases a “secretary”.
- ii. The group must sign the deed of association
- iii. Should they venture into politics, a special association will be created with full legal existence and a legal personality published in an official monitor.
- iv. Formal conditions like, the first constructive general meeting of the members, a first meeting of the board, nomination of the president and treasurer.
- v. Should the association desire to benefit from public financing of political campaigns getting a licensing from the national commission on account of campaigning and financing is a necessary step. Such license may be withdrawn by the commission.
- vi. The association’s goal will be only organizing and financing a political party.
- vii. It shall have a dedicated account and define its own constituency (national, regional, departmental, communal, etc.) to exercise its activities.
- viii. Party membership is free, but membership fees are encouraged by a tax law as such fees are deducted from taxable income up to a certain amount which is fully determined by the parties.
- ix. Membership fees have to be distinguished from donations which exceed the amount of membership fees decided by the party leadership.
- x. It is significant to note that no government official can refuse to register an association as long as it meets the condition and its goals are not illegal.

Nevertheless, this freedom is limited by the following conditions:

The parties must respect public order and democracy there shall be no form of financing from local governments, bodies or public institutions, any material or financial help from a foreign state or any foreign-based legal entity. Parties must respect the men/women parity in national candidacies.

Role of Political Parties in French Politics

Political parties in France have four main functions:

- i. To elaborate a programme and build an adequate organization where every party has to attempt to structure the public opinion and to educate the citizens
- ii. To initiate political debate



- iii. To select the political elites and professionals who will govern by assigning the party nominations to them for elections.
- iv. Ideology formation – this is closely organized system of beliefs, values and ideas, forming the basis of an economic, social and political philosophy or programme. It is by this that the parties are identified by the electorate.

FEATURES OF FRENCH PARTY SYSTEM

According to Blondel and Godfrey (1974), the French party system is unique in the western world and probably in the world. This is essentially as a result of the nature and character of French political system. The paper will examine 9 features of the French party system.

1. Multi-party System

The French operate a multi-party system like Nigeria, India, Germany, Norway, etc. There are six major parties in France and several smaller ones which contest elections and play important role in the political life of the country.

The French are known to be very attached to their parties of choice and hold tightly to their ideology. It is for this reason that the political atmosphere is usually more tensed during electioneering in France than Britain and America. However, in recent years political cross-carpeting has been common.

2. Existence of Regional Parties

Political parties in France differ in strength, followership and financial capability. Hence they are not all national parties. In France there are regional, departmental and communal parties. The regional parties include, the CPNT: Hunt, Fish, Nature Party (Traditional rural values), The MEI: Independent Ecological Movement Party (Green Politics, Centrism, Anti-nuclear), NPA: New Anti-Capitalist Party (Anti-capitalism, democratic socialism, eco-socialism, alter-globalisation), etc. Some of the major nationwide parties include, REM: La Republique En Marche!, LR: The Republicans, PS: Socialist Party, MoDem: Democratic Movement, FI: La France Insoumis, PCF: French Communist Party, RN: National Rally, MR: Radical Movement, FED: Democratic European Force, The National Front (FN), etc.

3. Dependence on Party Leadership

The political parties in France rely almost entirely on the personality of the leader for popular support. The party structure is therefore controlled by the leader who provides inspiration and source of party unity among the members.

4. Leftist and Rightist Parties

Most of the French political parties can be categorized into two ideological groups, *Leftists* and *Rightists*. The *rightists* favour liberalization of the economy, with a little bit of state assistance to small and uneconomical producers – the Central Democratic Group and the Conservative party belongs to the *right*. The *left* which include the Communist and the Socialist Party on the other hand advocate state control of the instruments of production and distribution.

TABLE 1: Major parties and their ideological leaning in France:

| Political party | Ideology |
|--------------------------------------|---------------|
| National front (FN) | Extreme Right |
| Union for the French Democracy (UMF) | The Centre |
| The social Party (PS) | The Left |
| The French Communist Party (PCF) | The left |



| | |
|---|--------------|
| The movement for France | The Right |
| Revolutionary Communist League (LCR) | Extreme Left |
| The Union for a Popular Majority (UMP) | The right |

5. Immigration Politics

The issue of immigration and its effects on the political life in the European countries has been studied by many scholars. Immigration has often been singled out as one of the most important reasons for the rise of the radical right parties in Western Europe. Terry Givens notes that the (radical right) parties relate unemployment and problems with the law and order to immigration (Givens 2000).

The presence of foreigners and the necessity of “fighting off” or at the very least avoiding any future influx is a major reason for the National Front. A corner stone of its agenda is “France for the French” slogan and policies associated with ending further immigration and making it increasingly harder for the foreigners already in France to get the citizenship.

Politics of immigration has become an increasingly sensitive issue in France for all parties across political spectrum. It is true that immigration has been brought into the political debate by the National Front when it surfaced as an important political force in 1980s. However, since then all major political parties have been forced to engage with the National Front on this issue in order to keep their constituencies (Webster 1997).

The Socialist Party which had always been pro-immigration now has to balance between immigration and the desire of the electorate.

6. Organizational Diversity

The organization and policies of different political parties show a great deal of diversity. Some of the parties exhibit extensive consideration to political principles and doctrines while others have no agreed principles or coherent policies. For example, the leftist parties are more organized parties while the right wing parties have no permanent organizations outside the Assembly.

The organized leftist parties are well disciplined parties and thus formulate their policies at the national level party congresses attended by delegates representing local federations and in the meetings of parliamentary groups. The right wing groups are constantly changing parties. Their ideology and principles are not definite. Their parliamentary group takes every decision.

7. The Practice of Parliamentary Groups

Ogg and Zink (2015) note that after the elections, the members of the parliament come together to form parliamentary groups. Each parliamentary group contains members from different political parties. Members often defect from one parliamentary group to another. These frequent shifts have no recourse to the will of the electorates. Representations and recognition is given to these parliamentary groups in the commission of the parliament.

8. Constitutional Recognition of the Role of the Parties

Unlike the American constitution which is totally silent about the role of political parties, the French Constitution accepts the role of parties and political groups. Art. 4. reads: “Parties and political groups play a part in the exercise of the right to vote. The right to form parties and



their freedom of action are unrestricted. They must respect the principles of national sovereignty and of democracy”, (Constitution of France, 1958).

9. Political Defection and Frequent Changes

As it is the practice in India and Nigeria, political defections prevail in the French party system. The members of one political party frequently defects to another. This is basically because most political parties in France share similar ideologies. However, this is not so in the case of Nigeria where defections to other political parties are mostly based on other considerations, like political positions and benefits. According to Pickles (2000), “French parties come and go in bewildering numbers, sometimes within a very short time”.

FINANCING OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN FRANCE

Funding is an essential aspect of political party activity all over the democratic world. The laws guiding funding may differ from country to country but the objective is generally to enable the parties to function effectively by offering some form of assistance to provide a more level playing ground for the all the parties.

In France, the funding of political parties has been regulated by the 1988 law. Four major principles currently govern funding of political parties. In this arrangement funding is essentially from public sources and political parties’ accounts. Businesses are not allowed to make contributions and campaign spending is restricted.

1. Private Funding

With respect to private funding, only individuals are allowed to make contributions. The Act of 1995 on political party funding prohibits businesses from funding political parties and from taking part in the election campaigns of one or more candidates through direct contribution. With this Act, political party membership fees are in the same category as contribution; and tax breaks are at par with those contributions to public interest bodies and workers.

2. Contribution from the Public Purse

The most important change the Act has brought to political party funding in France is that the public funding has become political parties’ main source of funding. This is in two parts: Based on representation of political parties in election and parliament; For parties to have candidates running in a set number of constituencies, the initial part of the contribution from the public fund is distributed on the basis of the outcome of legislative elections. In 1990 it was set at 75 constituencies, but was reduced to 50 in 1993; Proportion of the number of parliament members. In this case they must be registered members of the political party concerned. To avoid abuse, the Act on the prevention of corruption and transparency of public affairs and procedure of 1995 stipulates that this part of contribution can only be granted political groups who have a set number of candidates running in the legislative elections. The Act of 1995 makes it possible for political parties who emerge after the legislative elections to receive a lump sum contribution from the public fund. To benefit from the contribution political parties must receive during a 12-month period, contributions from at least ten thousand people (including a minimum of 500 elected representatives), totaling at least €150,000.(Brenchon, 2005).



However, contributions from the public purse have reduced considerably since political parties do not comply with the Act of June 2000 which grants equal access of women and men to elected offices and positions.

MONITORING POLITICAL PARTY FUNDING IN FRANCE

To ensure transparency two Commissions were established to monitor and regulate funding of political parties:

- i. The *National Campaign Accounting and Political Funding Commission* (NCAPFC), by the Act of 15 January 1990. It is responsible for monitoring political party accounts and for publishing them in the official journal (French Embassy, 2000).
- ii. The *Commission for Financial Transparency in Political Life* by the Act of 1998. It checks to ensure that elected representatives have not gained wealth in an irregular way as a result of the political offices they occupy (French Embassy, 2000).

France's electoral code provides for control and supervision mechanism intended to clarify the source of political financing and limit spending. These principles include:

- i. The introduction of limits on electoral spending;
- ii. Limitations followed by prohibition of donations from Corporations and other legal persons, and a ceiling on individuals donation to candidates (€4,600 a year per person and election) and for political parties €7,500 a year;
- iii. Direct public financing of candidates and political parties;
- iv. Indirect financing of candidates and political parties through tax exemptions for donation and party member's dues;

Operation of the Commission

After examining campaign rules, the commission deliberates and reaches a collegial decision. It may adopt the following decisions:

- i. Approve the campaign account of the party or candidates;
- ii. Approve the account after amendment, in particular where the candidate's spending includes items that are not of electoral nature;
- iii. Reject accounts in the case of failure to comply with a substantive formality required by law (failure to have account audited, donations received from a corporation or other persons, debit balance on account, exceeding spending limits);
- iv. The Commission can also take official note of the candidate's failure to lodge an account or lodge it within the required period of time.

Candidate's obligation to the Commission

To avoid sanctions the candidates are expected to perform the following obligations amongst others:

- i. Appoint financial proxy (an individual or financial association) and declares his agent to the prefecture at the beginning of the election campaign. The proxy is expected to open a single bank account, providing full record of all payments and receipts;



- ii. Not exceeding the spending limits applicable to the election concerned;
- iii. Have their accounts certified by a qualified auditor unless they do not have any reportable payments or receipts;
- iv. Provide full documentation of receipts and payments to the commission.

Consequences of Commission's Decisions

Rejection of account, failure to lodge accounts or failure to lodge them by the deadline deprives the candidate of any entitlement they may have for reimbursement, and entails, except in the case of presidential election, the automatic submission of the case to the court of competence for the election, which may be the Conseil Constitutionnel, Conseil d'Etat or the Administrative Tribunal. The court may declare the candidate at fault ineligible for public office for one to three years or for one or all elections in this time or order their removal from office if they have been elected. A decision to require an amendment to the account may lead to reduction of the expenses reimbursed.

Candidates may appeal against the decisions of the commission through an application for reconsideration or by taking action before the Administrative Tribunal in Paris. In the case of presidential elections the candidate may appeal against the commission's decision to the Conseil Constitutionnel, which may then confirm, amend or overrule the decision. The penalty of ineligibility is not applicable if a candidate's account for presidential election is rejected (French Embassy, 2000)

CHALLENGES OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN FRANCE

Like every democracy and political party system the practice of the French system has been faced with the following challenges:

Ideological Problems

The French political system propelled by the political parties is froth with status quo ideologies. Their primary objective is to defend and rationalize the existing social order. The French are usually glued to political party ideology whether such ideologies are obsolete or not. For example, the Socialist and Communist parties in France are still holding on to tenets of those economic relations even after the cold war.

Weakening Political Structures

Political parties no longer control political life or political debate in France. The parties are now in competition with new structures which do not always have the vocation to compete with them in election contests. The citizens have developed apathy because of their general perception of the futility of political activities. The electorates are cynic with respect to politics and political activity. They believe that politics is a dirty business, politicians are not to be trusted, and that political participation is futile (Albert, J. 1996).

Weakening Membership Structure

Another weakness in the French political party system is in its membership structure. Most parties tend to increase their membership artificially. According to Blondel (1974), no party announces the



real number of its members, which is disturbing. This is to attract increase in state funding. He describes membership of French parties as that of “clubs representatives and notables and not much less of real political militants”. However, the citizen’s feel estranged or alienated from the politics and government of his country (Rush and Althof, 1999).

LESSONS FOR NIGERIA

There are lessons to be drawn from the French political party system that will help to stabilize the multi-party system in Nigeria. The following lessons are discernable for Nigeria:

- i. It is imperative that with over 60 registered political parties in Nigeria, conditions for coalition or alignment is highly potent. The French politics with similar system as Nigeria has consistently aligned with one other party in order to win elections and form a government. This has reduced the tendency for absolute dominance of any political party. This happened in 2013 when five political parties aligned themselves to produce the Progressive People’s Congress (A.P.C) which eventually ousted the People’s Democratic Party (PDP) in 2015. PDP formed a coalition of 38 political parties ahead of the 2019 general elections.
- ii. Nigeria can learn from the policies and agencies put in place by the French to monitor campaign and election spending. This happens to be an area where corruption can be checked and excessive display of wealth during elections prevented. It is instructive that no political party in Nigeria has been able to declare how much it spent for neither the 2015 election nor the source of their funding. The Independent Electoral Commission (INEC) has expressed concern over the use of money to induce the electorate in the recent Ekiti state governorship election (Premium Times July 2018). This has further given credence to the need for serious monitoring agencies like those of the French.
- iii. The system of funding of political parties by the state in France is good for Nigerian democracy. State funding has implications for accountability and reduction of corruption in the system. It will equally empower smaller political parties and give them voices among the bigger and more prosperous ones.
- iv. Gender-targeted public funding has helped France to promote female participation in politics. Gender inequality in the political process remains a major problem in Nigeria. Overcoming the obstacle to achieving gender equality in politics will require action in many areas. Financial obstacles are often identified as a major factor. Women often have less access to the resources needed to successfully seek a party nomination or stand in an election, and political parties tend to nominate men to winnable positions so that they can benefit from the resources which are at their disposal. It is instructive that of the 469 members of the National Assembly in Nigeria, only 21 are women (Inter Parliamentary Union). In France female representation in Lower House rose from 155(12.3%) in 2001 to 223 (36.8%) in 2017 out of the 577 members of parliament, and the Senate, from 10.3% in 2010 to 30% in 2017 (Senate (France)-wikipedia).

The objective is to encourage more women to venture into politics, get elected to offices and, in the long run, gender inequality in the political process is reduced and political decision-making more gender-sensitive. Many countries around the world practice gender-targeted funding, including, France, Italy, Haiti, Croatia, Portugal, Albania, Chile, Ukrain, etc. (Bjarnegard and Zetterberg, 2016a).



CONCLUSION

Every democracy was built over time and the experience within the period brings the country to a point of adjustment to meet with current challenges. This is typical of the American democratic system which though not the oldest in the world, has survived 215 years. The French democracy has grown steadily but not without problems. From the time of the monarchies, and the empires when absolutism was in practice to the 4th and the 5th republics, political parties have become increasingly relevant in the political development of France.

The role of De Gaulle in the development of French constitution of 1958 which recognized the role of political parties complemented the attempt of 1901 which set up the conditions for political party funding. It is in the light of this that multi-party democracy developed, and today there are several political parties with ideological divide which is mainly to the right and the left. This is defining the direction of French political development.

Membership and immigration issues have also become sensitive. The dwindling membership of political parties is a rising concern for French democracy just as immigration is helping to redefine social, economic and political relations in the country. As observed already in this paper, the National Front has changed the narrative on immigration and made it a general subject for all the political parties irrespective of ideological leaning.

The effect of the gender-targeted funding of political parties has been highlighted. By providing financial assistance to encourage women to go into politics the gap between the genders is reducing over the years and may equal before the middle of the century. This and the aspect of funding and monitoring of political campaign and election are lessons which Nigeria can learn from to further develop and strengthen her political party system.

REFERENCES

- Albert, J. (1996). *Twenty Years of Political Life In France* (ed.): d'Organization, Paris.
- Blondel, J. (1974). *An Introduction to Comparative Government*: Weidenfield and Nicolson.
- Blondel, J and E.D. Godfrey (1974). *The Government of France*. Thomas Cromwell, New York.
- Brechon, P. (2005). *Political Patterns in France*.(Ed.): Documentation Francaise.
- Bjarnegard, E and P, Zetterberg. "Political parties and gender Quota Implementation: The Role of bureaucratized Candidate Selection Process", *Comparative Politics*, 48/3 (2016a), 393-417.
- Constitution of France, 1958, Amended 2008.
- Debard, T. (2005). *An Equitable Political Representation* (ed.). L'Harmattan.
- Duverger, M (2001). *Party Politics and Pressure Groups: A Comparative Introduction*. London, French Embassy in the U.K (2000). *Political Party Funding in France*. <http://www.ambafrance-uk.org/politics-political-party-funding.html>.
- Givens, T.E (2000). In Yeugenia Shvet. *Senior Thesis*, Department of Politics: New York University. April 2004.
- Inter Parliamentary Union (2015) (www.ipu.org.)
- Official Journal of the European Union. 15.11. 2003.L297/1.
- Ogg, F. A. and Zink, H. (2015). *Modern Foreign Governments*. <http://archive.or/details/in.ernet.dli.2015.125748>.
- Pickles, D.(2000). *The Government and Politics of France*. <http://books.google.com.ng/books?isbn=046755402>
- Premium Times News Paper, Nigeria 18 July 2018.
- Rush, M. and Althof, P. (1999). *An Introduction to Political Sociology*: Nelson, London
- Senate(France)_wikipedia. [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/senate_\(France\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/senate_(France))



TIMBOU-AFRICA ACADEMIC PUBLICATIONS
FEB., 2023 EDITIONS, INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF:
SOCIAL SCIENCE RES. & ANTHROPOLOGY VOL. 12

Webster, Paul. "French Greens' Immigration Fury". The Guardian. 23 August 1997; 1 Periodicals. ProQuest. NYU's Bobst Lib., New York NY. 26 March, 2003.