

IRSTI 11.09.91
UDK 94 (574)

DOI 10.47649/vau.2021.v62.i3.03

S. Sapanov¹ , Sh. Nagimov² , K. Zhumabayeva³ , A. Abdulov⁴ 

^{1,2,4}Kh. Dosmukhamedova Atyrau university
Atyrau, 060011, Kazakhstan
e-mail: cefosh1@gmail.com

³Al-Farabi Kazakh National University"
Almaty, 050040, Kazakhstan
e-mail: zhumabaeva1995@list.ru

HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE PARTY – POLITICAL SYSTEM OF FRANCE

Abstract. France is one of the most active states in the international arena today. Belonging to a select circle of "grandeurs" of European and world politics of the XVIII-XX centuries, it strives to maintain the rank of a power with global responsibility in a changing world. The French experience of the historical development of the party-political system is considered the most successful and dynamic, worthy of serving as a beacon for many countries. The problems of formation and functioning of the party-political system of society is one of the most interesting and relevant in modern science. Practically no humanitarian and social discipline is complete today without studying this complex process, which is an integral part of political society. The most interesting in this regard is the appeal to the history of France, the study of the transformation of the party-political system in the context of European integration, which affects political processes.

The article examines the issues of historiography of the party-political system of France in the context of European integration, the transformation of the party-political system in France and the French model of party-political construction.

Key words: France, integration, transformation, party system, political processes.

Introduction. The values proclaimed by the great French enlighteners have become universal and are rightfully considered the foundation of modern democracy. They caused such a wide response that they largely inspired the national liberation movements in the XIX century, and later embodied in the "Universal Declaration of Human Rights" adopted by the United Nations on December 10, 1948. And the Great French Revolution can be regarded with sufficient reason as the beginning of the modern era. At the same time, the revolution in France itself was part of a broad movement that began before 1789, and affected many European countries, as well as North America.

In the context of the new geopolitical configuration, European integration is an objective component of the development of international relations, an important part of the world political system that influences the processes of international development and the party-political system itself, therefore, the study of the influence of this phenomenon on the formation, development and evolution of the French political system has both scientific and political-applied significance.

In the new conditions of the modern development of the world community, the interdependence and interdependence of the interests of foreign and domestic policies of states is growing. Regional integration processes are accelerating. The key role in this process is played by studies of public administration and the influence of the party-political system on various social subsystems. There is an urgent need to improve the multilateral mechanisms for the reorganization of the party system and the modernization of the political system. The issues of political modernization and improvement of the party system are also important for Kazakhstan.

Today, the post-Soviet space is in a state of permanent reform. During this time, some existing illusions about the speedy and painless construction of a democratic, legal, social state with a market economy, the highest value of which is a person, have been dispelled.

In this context, a significant role is played by awareness of the essence of the transformation of the

party-political system in the context of strengthening integration processes to develop an adequate strategy. Difficulties in the implementation of modernization lead to the compromise of the democratic idea and the loss of its attractiveness. In this regard, the scientific relevance of the operationalization of the democratic paradigm of the development of the political process is increasing.

The study of the experience of French political parties in defending the interests of citizens and the political activity of voters is interesting for the formation of a new system of political parties in Kazakhstan in the conditions of democratization of society and does not lose relevance, but also acquires additional meaning nowadays.

Material and methods of research. Fundamental in theoretical and methodological terms are conceptual developments in relation to political systems and political parties.

The methodological and theoretical basis of the work was the scientific theories of Russian, Kazakh and foreign schools of research that study the interaction of social processes of domestic and foreign policy.

In the course of the research, the authors were guided by general methodological principles that allowed a scientific and objective approach to the study of the tasks set, among which should be mentioned: a system-structural approach, general historical methods of cognition, such as the principle of historicism, objectivity, the principle of historical unity, comparative historical method, methods of synthesis and analysis, empirical research, personal factor, institutional and structural-functional analysis.

The historiographical analysis of the subject of the work is based on the study of French works. On this issue, the author adhered to the problematic principle. First of all, in order to solve the tasks set in the work, it was necessary to study the main stages of the Great French Revolution and the evolution of the party and political system of France.

Results and their discussion. The historiography of the formation of the party-political system in France and their role in the dynamics of systemic transformations in France have been investigated;

- studied the French model of party-political construction of the Fourth and Fifth Republics in France and the reorganization of political parties;

- analyzed the main work of the institutionalization of the Fifth Republic and the impact of Western European integration on the party-political system of France.

1. Historiography of the Great French Revolution

The study of the Great French Revolution has always attracted the attention of both French and foreign authors. The most important importance in solving the problem were the works of French authors devoted to political ideas, a vivid evidence of which is the study of the political history of the Germanic-Romance problem. The Germanic-Romance question in French historiography was born as an integral part of the ideological preparation of the Great French Revolution of the late XVIII century. The struggle between Germanic and Roman principles in French historiography is a clear illustration of the political role of historical science. This issue acquired particular importance during the Bourbon Restoration (1815-1830), when France again faced the issue of power. It was during these years that such luminaries of French historical science as O. Thierry and F. Guizot appeared on the political stage. The Germanic-Romance question was posed by one of the greatest French historians of this period, Fustel de Coulanges.

The Great French Revolution still arouses the interest of both scientists and all people interested in history, reflecting on the acute socio-political problems of the past and present. Thus, the works of A. Sobul [1], A. Olivier [2] and M. Abansur [3] are devoted to the consideration of the systems of socio-economic and socio-political views of one of the major political giants of the Saint-Just revolution.

Saint-Just adhered to the theory of natural law, according to which society and the state must correspond to human nature, i.e. those qualities that do not depend on social conditions. J.J. Rousseau,

S.L. Montesquieu, and Mably played a huge role in the formation of his political philosophy. Saint-Just advocated an egalitarian social ideal.

Of all the diverse aspects of the problems of the Great French Revolution, the problem of the constitutional structure and transformation of the political system deserves attention first of all. Well-known works in this direction were the fundamental works of French researchers M. Prelo [4], J. Peto [5], Chevalier [6], Fr. La Sosau [7], M. Morabito [8], etc.

These works examine in detail the evolution of political regimes in France, from 1789 to the Fifth Republic in 1958.

The richest historical heritage of the Great French Revolution largely determines the appearance of today's France. Right-wing and far-right political parties continue to operate in the country, challenging democratic values, calling for honoring the memory of Louis XVI, the counter-revolutionary rebels of the Vendéans. The social philosophy of the overwhelming majority of modern French monarchists continues to be traditionalism. As the liberal French political scientist J.-K. notes. The teaching of the monarchists is based on the perpetuation of the natural order and its regulating mechanisms. This leads to the concept of a political and social order, which is legitimate in itself due to natural and historical reasons.

In general, the direct influence of the political events of the late XVIII- early XIX centuries on the situation of various factions, groups, social strata was often unpredictable.

2. Historiography of the political history of France during the Third and Fourth Republics

Of great importance in the development of theoretical and methodological aspects of the study of the evolution of the French political system are the works devoted to the political history of France during the Third and Fourth Republics, among which are the works of French authors Fr. Gogol [9], S. Sur [10], N. Copan [11] and others.

Among the main directions of French historiography, works devoted to the problems of the formation of state power and political parties and their role in the dynamics of systemic transformations are of significant historiographical value. One of the first works can be called Zh. Chatelain, A. Thibaudet, J. Touchard, M. Duverger.

According to them, the political system and state power in France have always shown great strength.

The party-political system of society refers to social systems that interact with each other, as well as with natural systems, forming complex macro-socio ecosystems. They develop according to statistical laws and trends, and according to dynamic laws. According to some experts, the political system is a real mechanism for the formation and functioning of power in society, which includes the "state", as well as parties, mass media, political associations and associations, various political entities (groups and individuals) and their relationships, political consciousness and culture, political norms.

When considering the party-political system of France, we focus on some initial provisions that have theoretical and methodological significance. One of such provisions is that the political system is considered as a relatively independent and self-regulating social organism immersed in the social environment and responding to external impulses (signals). Being a subsystem of a more general social system, the political system is not absorbed by the environment, but has boundaries separating it from the environment. In this context, the problem of party-political construction is analyzed by a well-known specialist, political scientist M. Duverger.

Among the modern French authors who popularize the role of France in the pan-European construction and are of scientific value from the point of view of the influence of integration processes on the party-political system, one can name the works of historians J. A. Sutou, J. Wayan, S. Goulard, B. Olivi, J.-D. Durand and P. Gioll [12].

At the end of the XIX - beginning of the XX centuries. in France, the trend towards the organizational strengthening of party structures and parliamentary factions, the strengthening of the role of the party apparatus and the development of extra-parliamentary forms of activity became obvious. There is also a clear separation of the two camps and the bipolarization of the electorate. Among French researchers specializing in this field, the works of Fr. Gogel [13].

The review of political regimes and party building in France after the Second World War, the experience of the creation of the Fourth and Fifth Republics and the political history of France are presented in the works of both French and foreign authors. French researchers pay special attention to the problem of the constitutional development of France during this period. As you know, after the Second World War, the Fourth Republic was established in France. A characteristic feature of the Constitution of the Fourth Republic (1946) was that it was drawn up on the principles of political liberalism. In this spirit, the study of the history of the Fourth Republic is considered by such authors as R.-A. Simon, J. Jeorzhel, M. Zhalu, P. Mikel [14], etc.

With the establishment of the Fourth Republic, criticism of the political system and political stability also intensified. Both representatives of the right-wing opposition and left-wing parties spoke from critical positions. Among them, the political views of the founders of the Gaullist movement stand apart. First of all, it is Sh himself. de Gaulle, M. Debre, R. Kapitan [15], etc.

3. History of France after World War II and the institutionalization of the Fifth Republic

Basically, the entire post-war history of France developed under the sign of the rivalry of two main political doctrines – Gaullist and socialist. The phenomenon of Gaulism in French historiography has been the subject of hundreds of studies. The historiography of Gaullism can be conditionally divided into several areas: works directly devoted to the personality of Sh. the Gaullist movement; the political regime of the Fifth Republic; the analysis of the political views of General de Gaulle; the constitutional doctrine of Gaulism; the ideological origins of Gaulism; political institutions; the party views of Sh. de Gaulle et al.

Among the huge number of studies should be mentioned the works of such French authors as J. Touchard, Fr.- G. Dreyfus, J. Lacouture, L. Noel, R. Repair [16] and many others.

These authors consider Gaullism as a political trend, turn to the ideological origins of Gaullism and the constitutional doctrine of Gaullism. In addition, there are a number of works on the history of the political regime of the Fifth Republic itself. According to them, the political system and state power in France during the period of the Fifth Republic have always shown great strength and were distinguished by political stability.

Along with studying the peculiarities of the political system in France after World War II, an important direction in studying this problem is to consider the issue of the reorganization of political parties during the Fourth and Fifth Republics and electoral behavior.

According to French experts, the causes of electoral metamorphoses were rooted in socio-economic and political processes caused by the development of state monopolistic capitalism.

In historiography of France after World War II, the central place is occupied by the institutionalization of the Fifth Republic, the influence of political parties and European integration on the evolution of the political system. As is known, in contrast to the classical parliamentary republic (the exclusive regime of parties), General de Gaulle proposed the principle of direct democracy, in which not elections to representative bodies were put forward, but referendums and direct and general elections of the President of the republic, which are a way of "direct communication" of the executive power with the nation. At the same time, the head of state, as the highest embodiment of executive power, would be endowed with great powers and would not depend on Parliament. According to de Gaulle, the executive power should be minimally dependent on the legislative. In this direction, one can note solid monographs

and studies by French authors such as M. Duverger, F. Ardan, D. Mouse, P. Pacte, O. Duhamel, D. Rousseau [17] and many others.

For the concept of the essence of the political regime of the Fifth Republic, of course, the memoirs and memoirs of General de Gaulle himself are of paramount interest. Sh. de Gaulle advocated the universality of French civilization and the greatness of the French nation in the specific conditions of the 40-60s of the twentieth century, actively promoted the idea of a strong France, lost during the Second World War. Through the prism of political parties, de Gaulle considered the functioning of the state and national unity. To narrow-party interests, he opposed the philosophy of Gaulism, which personified "the whole of France."

The state is dying from a lack of power or even from a lack of awareness of its responsibility by the authorities.

Conclusion.

This article attempts a holistic study of the French historiography of the evolution of the party-political system of France. At the same time, the very formulation of the question carries new aspects that indicate the transformation of the party and political system of France in the new conditions of European integration.

The article analyzes the definition of the role of integration processes in continental Europe, and its impact on the party and political system of France and the formation of a new political culture. The most important point in the work is the systematization of the latest data and specific studies in this direction.

References

- 1 Soboul A. Un manuscript inedit de Saint-just. De la Natur, de l'Etat civil, de la Cite ou les Regles de Independence du Gouvernement // AHRF. – 1951. – P.321-359.
- 2 Ollivier A. Saint-just et la force des choses. – Paris, 1966. – P. 672-673.
- 3 Abensour M. La philosophie politique de Saint-just. Problematique et cadres sociaux // AHRF. – 1966. – P. 47/
- 4 Prelot M., Lescyuet G. Histoire des idées politiques. – Paris: Dalloz, 1980. – 812 p.
- 5 Petot J. Les grandes étapes du régime républicain français. (1789-1969). Etude d'Histoire politique et constitutionnelle. – Paris: Cijas, 1970. – 842 p.
- 6 Chevallier J.-J., Conac G. Histoire des institution et des régime politique de la France de 1789 à nos jours. – Paris, 1991. – 320 p.
- 7 La Saussay Pr. de L'héritage institutionnel français (1789-1958). – Paris: Hachette, 1992. – 156 p.
- 8 Morabito M. Bourmaud D. Histoire constitutionnelle et politique de la France. – Paris: Montchrestien, 1992. – 458 p.
- 9 Gogel Fr. La politique en France. – Paris: Armand Colin, 1980. – 300 p.
- 10 Sur S. La vie politique en France sous la V République. – Paris: Montchrestien, 1982. – 185 p.
- 11 Copin N. La vie politique française: le président, le gouvernement, le parlement et les partis. – Paris, 1978. – 195 p.
- 12 Olivi B. L'Europe difficile. Histoire de la Communauté européenne. – Paris, 1998. – 420 p.; Durand J.-D. Christiiche Demokialiciini riu'opaische Intégration // Hisrorisch-Politische Mitteilngcn. Archiv fur Christlich-Demokratische Politik. –Paris, 1994. - S. 155-182.
- 13 Goguel F. La politigues des parties sous la III-ieme republique. – Paris, 1964. – 200 p.; Gogel Fr. Les institutions politique de la France. – Paris: JEP, 1959. – 128 p.
- 14 Simon P.-H. De la République: Essai sur la future constitution de la France. – Paris: Plon, 1945. – 191p.; Georgel J. La révision constitutionnelle. La IV-e République à la recherche d'une politique gouvernementale. – Rennes, 1959. – 348 p. ;Jallut M. Où va la République? La France à la recherche de sa constitution. – Paris, 1967. – 341 p.; Miquel P. La IV République. Hommes et pouvoir. – Paris: Bordas, 1972. – 158 p.
- 15 Gaulle Ch.de. Doctrine politique. Recueil de déclaration et textes authentique. – Paris: Ed. du Rocher, 1992. – 226 p.; Debré M. Le problème constitutionnel français // Cahiers politique. – 1944. – N.8. – P. 16. Capitant R. Carré de Malberg et le régime parlementaire // Relation des journée d' Etudes en l'honneur de Carré de Malberg. – Paris, 1956. – P. 142-153.;

16 Touchard J. Histoire des idées politiques. – Paris: PUF, 1971. – Vol.2. – 865 p.; Dreyfus Fr.-G. De Gaulle et le gaullisme. – Paris: PUF, 1982. – 326 p.; Lacouture J. De Gaulle. – Paris: Seuil, 1969. – 256 p.; Lacouture J. De Gaulle, une certaine idée de la République // Espoir. – 1987. – N60. – P. 46-50.; Noel L. Comprendre de Gaulle. – Paris: Pion, 1972. – 120 p.; Noel L. De Gaulle et les débuts de la V-e République. 1958-1965. – Paris: Plon, 1976. – 312p.; Rémond R. La droite en France de la Première Restauration à la V République. – Paris: Aubier, 1968. – Vol.1-2. – P. 286.

17 Duverger M. La V République. – Paris: PUF, 1968. – 132 p.; Ardant Ph. Institution politique et droit constitutionnel. – Paris: LGDJ, 1992. – 260 p.; Ardant Ph. Institution politique et droit constitutionnel. – Paris: LGDJ, 1992. – 600 p.; Maus D. Institutions politiques français. – Paris: Masson, 1990. – 286 p.; Pactet P. Institutions politiques. Droit constitutionnel. – Paris: Masson, 1991. – 380 p.; Duhamel O. De Gaulle-Mitterand. La masque et la trace. – Paris: Flammarion, 1991. – P. 43-61.; Rousseau D. Droit constitutionnel et institution politique. La V République. – Paris: Eyrolles, 1992. – 194 p.

ИСТОРИОГРАФИЯ ПАРТИЙНО–ПОЛИТИЧЕСКОЙ СИСТЕМЫ ФРАНЦИИ

Аннотация. Франция сегодня является одним из наиболее активных государств на международной арене. Принадлежит к избранному кругу «грандов» европейской и мировой политики XVIII-XX веков, она стремится сохранить ранг державы с мировой ответственностью в меняющемся мире. Французский опыт исторического развития партийно-политической системы считается наиболее успешным и динамичным, достойным служить маяком для многих стран. Проблемы формирования и функционирования партийно-политической системы общества является одной из самых интересных и актуальных в современной науке. Практически ни одна гуманитарная и социальная дисциплина не обходится сегодня без изучения этого сложного процесса, являющегося составной частью политического общества. Наиболее интересным в этом плане является обращение к истории Франции, изучению трансформации партийно-политической системы в условиях европейской интеграции, которое влияет на политические процессы.

В статье изучены вопросы историографии партийно-политической системы Франции в условиях европейской интеграции, трансформация партийно-политической системы во Франции и французская модель партийно-политического строительства.

Ключевые слова: Франция, интеграция, трансформация, партийная система, политические процессы.

ФРАНЦИЯНЫҢ ПАРТИЯЛЫҚ-САЯСИ ЖҮЙЕСІНІҢ ТАРИХНАМАСЫ

Аннотация. Франция бүгінде халықаралық сахнадағы беделді мемлекеттердің бірі болып табылады. XVIII-XX ғасырлардағы еуропалық және әлемдік саясаттың «грандтарының» шеңберіне жатады. Франция өзгеріп жатқан әлемде әлемдік жауапкершілікпен билік дәрежесін сақтауға тырысады.

Францияның партиялық-саяси жүйесінің тарихи даму тәжірибесі көптеген елдер үшін тәжірибе бола алады. Қоғамның партиялық-саяси жүйесінің қалыптасуы мен даму проблемалары қазіргі ғылымдағы өзекті мәселелердің бірі болып табылады. Іс жүзінде бірде-бір гуманитарлық және әлеуметтік пән саяси қоғамның ажырамас бөлігі болып табылатын осы күрделі процесті зерттеусіз қалдырмайды. Бұл тұрғыда Франция тарихы, саяси – партиялық жүйесі, саяси үрдістер және Еуропалық интеграция үрдістерінің елдің партиялық-саяси жүйеге әсері маңызды. Мақалада еуропалық интеграция жағдайындағы Францияның партиялық-саяси жүйесінің, Франциядағы партиялық-саяси жүйесінің трансформациясы және франциялық моделі мәселелерінің тарихнамасы зерттелген.

Негізгі сөздер: Франция, интеграция, трансформация, партиялық жүйе, саяси процестер.

Information about the authors:

Saipulla Sapanov, Director of the Research Institute “History, Archeology and Ethnology of the Caspian region named after H.B. Tabyldiyev”, Kh. Dosmukhamedova Atyrau university, Doctor of Historical Sciences, ass. professor, Atyrau, Kazakhstan, e-mail: cefosh1@gmail.com, <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0469-1254>

Shakhman Nagimov, Candidate of Pedagogical Sciences, ass. professor, Department of History of Kazakhstan and the World NAO Kh. Dosmukhamedova Atyrau university, Atyrau, Kazakhstan, e-mail: waxman45@mail.ru, <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7664-4115>

Kamshat Zhumabaeva, Master of Pedagogical Sciences, Department of Pedagogy and Educational Management, NAO "Al-Farabi Kazakh National University", Almaty, Kazakhstan, e-mail: zhumabaeva1995@list.ru <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9199-763X>

Aisad Abdulov, Research Institute "History, Archeology and Ethnology of the Caspian region named after H. B. Tabyldiyev", researcher Kh. Dosmukhamedova Atyrau university, Master of Humanities Atyrau, Kazakhstan, e-mail: aisad12@mail.ru, <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3919-5533>