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FRANCE DURING THE FOURTH REPUBLIC: POLITICAL PARTIES AND THE POLITICAL SYSTEM

Abstract

In the historical context, the political parties of France underwent significant changes during the Fourth Republic. This was due to the reorganisations of the main political parties. Thus, in 1945-1946, three parties emerged at once: the Republican Party of Freedom, the Independent Republicans, and the Republican Group of Social and Peasant Action (later merging into the party of the National Centre of Independents and Peasants (NCSC)). The electoral behaviour of political parties also influenced the party system of the Fourth Republic. The purpose of the study is to analyze the transformation of the French party system during the Fourth Republic, identify the causes of its instability, as well as determine the impact of the reorganization of political parties, electoral behavior of voters and political alliances on the functioning of parliamentary democracy and the strengthening of executive power. Artificially created political alliances and the politicking of political party leaders led to the collapse of government coalitions at the first crisis of domestic or foreign policy. The obvious discrediting of the regime in the most diverse strata of French society was in the hands of those political forces that fought to limit parliamentary democracy and strengthen executive power (Gaullism). The creation of various committees and commissions under the Government helped bring civil servants closer to representatives of the private sector and form the so-called technobureaucracy. Thus, the unstable party system of the Fourth Republic manifested itself in the instability of the cabinets.

Keywords: IV Republic, political parties, political system, electorate, Gaullism, crisis.

Introduction

The absence of a dominant party characterised one feature of The Fourth Republic's party system. Unscrupulous party coalitions were formed (for example, the creation of a "third force" coalition that included the Socialist Party of France (fr: Parti socialiste de France, PSdF), the Republican People's Movement (fr: Mouvement républicain populaire, MRP), and radical parties). The need for a political compromise between the political parties has once again put the "articulated" centrist parties, the Democratic and Socialist Union of Resistance (fr. Union démocratique et socialiste de la Résistance, UDSR), and radical parties. For example, the Gaullist party, founded in April 1947, collected 35% of the vote in the municipal elections, and only 4.4% in the 1956 parliamentary elections. The so-called Pujadist party, the Union for the Protection of Shopkeepers and Artisans, was formed in 1953. The parliamentary version of this organisation, the Union of the French Brotherhood, formed in 1956, collected 11.6% of the vote in the 1956 parliamentary elections but soon disbanded [1].

According to French experts, the causes of electoral metamorphoses were rooted in socio-economic and political processes caused by the development of MMC (State Monopoly Capitalism).

At the same time, the very type of government officials was changing: the classic civil servant was being replaced by technocrats who saw their mission as actively modernising economic and social structures. An example of the strengthening of executive power in France during this period was the adoption of the law of August 17, 1948, which granted the Government the right to issue decrees amending previous legislation on taxes and social insurance, as well as

the legal status of civil servants and staff of state-owned enterprises. As M.M. Narinsky rightly points out, the monopolistic circles were not yet psychologically ready for such a wide-ranging government intervention in social relations; they did not sufficiently realise that, ultimately, it was carried out in the interests of the entire system.

During the Fourth Republic, the tendency to reorganise political parties was particularly evident, especially in the first years after the country's liberation.

In the French political system as a whole, the transformation of political parties was expressed socially by a turn towards reformist ideas. It was also shaped by the social stratification of French society, driven by accelerated industrial development and the rise of the MMC.

It should also be noted that the crisis of the traditional ("old middle strata") was accompanied by the rise of the so-called new middle strata (technical, managerial, and engineering personnel in the private and public sectors of the economy, scientific and technical workers, teachers, officials).

The "New averages" in terms of their social status were diverse in socio-psychological and ideological-political terms. This, in turn, led to a bipolarization of their political orientation.

For example, there was a noticeable tendency among the top "cadres" to support right-wing parties. At the same time, a significant number of teachers, primarily in elementary and secondary schools, sympathised with leftist parties and their programs.

Materials and methods of research

The historiographical analysis is based on the study of the works of French, Russian, and domestic researchers, as well as individual works of the Anglo-Saxon school and authors of the CIS. On this issue, the author adhered to the problem-country principle.

First of all, to solve the tasks set in the work, it was necessary to study the main stages of the Great French Revolution and the transformation of the political system.

The historiography of the Great French Revolution has always attracted the attention of both French and foreign authors. The works of French authors played the most critical role in solving the problem devoted to political ideas, as evidenced by the study of political science. The Great French Revolution continues to interest scientists and historians, reflecting on the acute socio-political problems of the past and present. Such are the works of A. Sobul [2], A. Olivier [3] and M. Abensour [4] are devoted to the consideration of the socio-economic and socio-political systems of one of the significant political giants of the Saint-Just revolution.

Among the diverse aspects of the problems of the Great French Revolution, the constitutional structure and transformation of the political system deserve attention first. Well-known works in this direction were the fundamental works of French researchers M. Prelo [5], J. Peto [6], Fr. La Sosau [7].

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

The next aspect of the problems concerns the study of social strata during the revolution. The impact of the French Revolution on the situation of various social strata was studied in many ways, including the problems of France's socio-economic development. A significant contribution to its development was made by works on economic history, in particular on the history of industrialisation at the end of the 18th and the first half of the 19th centuries.

The rich 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 and calling for honouring the memory of Louis XVI and the counterrevolutionary Vendean rebels. Traditionalism remains the social philosophy of the suppressed majority of modern French monarchists. For example, a significant contribution to the theoretical development of the idea of monarchism, rooted in the writings of E. Burke, J. de Maistre, and L. de Bonald, was made by S. Morras.

Of great importance in the development of theoretical and methodological aspects of the study of the evolution of the French political system are works devoted to the political history of

France during the period of the Third, Fourth and Fifth Republics, among which are the works of French authors Fr. Gaugué, N. Copin and others.

The following authors are relevant to the history and political parties of the Fourth Republic of France: M. Ts. Arzakanyan [8], A. V. Revyakin, P. Yu. Uvarov [9], Vincent Boulet [10], E. V. Kashkin [11], N. N. Molchanov [12], J. J. Chevallier and others [13].

Among Kazakh authors, the works of Zh. O. Ibrashev [14], K. I. Baizakova [15], A.M. Duzenov [16], K.N. Makasheva [17], T. V. Suleeva [18], N. Zh. Danenev [19], S. S. Lukpanova [20], S. Zh. Sapanov [21], and others are noteworthy.

Results and their discussion

The first attempt to combine reformist propaganda with mass consciousness was made by the Catholic party of the Republican People's Movement (fr. Mouvement républicain populaire, MRP), a large Christian Democratic party formed in 1944.

The party was founded on a religious basis and the main slogans of the new party were "protection of the family" and "protection of personal freedoms", which fit into the Catholic tradition. By choosing the type of organization of a mass party, the leaders of the MCI got their hands on an impressive army of activists and party members - about 200 thousand people [22]. But by the end of the 1950s, as the results of parliamentary and other elections show, with the Catholic faith still playing a significant role, especially its external ceremonial side, in the lives of many French people, the overall influence of the Catholic Church on their political behavior was steadily declining. The MRP has not been able to transform into a large Christian Democratic party, as in other Western European countries, such as the HDP in Italy or the CDU in Germany.

The second major political party that took a course towards reformism was the RPF party (fr: Rassemblement du peuple français, RPF). The Union of the French People is the right-wing conservative Party of the Fourth Republic. Gaullist party.

In General, de Gaulle's political concept gave the head of state a key role, who was also a symbol of the nation. The essence of a strong state was outlined in his Bayeux speech (1946). Charles de Gaulle also criticised the introduction of the American model of republican government in France. Thus, General de Gaulle's political views were subordinated to one main goal: turning France into a strong power. Therefore, ideas about France's international role occupied a very important place in his political concept.

Our study does not include an analysis of the mechanisms for implementing Charles de Gaulle's foreign policy, but it seems necessary to touch on some fundamentals of foreign policy doctrine. DeGaulle's political philosophy of a "strong state" is of particular importance from this perspective. Only a strong state can pursue an independent foreign policy.

He personally led the RPF, which immediately embarked on mass membership and the creation of a wide network of grassroots organisations. General de Gaulle, describing his relationship with the RPF, said: "I personally founded RPF and personally manage it" [23].

The political party's extremely centralised nature was evident at all levels, including the local level. The greatest attention was paid to the activities of the first structure, called "Working Action" (JSC). The reformist propaganda of left-wing Gaullism was led by M. Debre, L. Vallon, R. Captain, R. Jacquet, and others. The left-wing Gaullists created work cells directly at the enterprises. The purpose of such cells was to weaken the Communist Party's position. At the same time, according to French experts, the Gaullist Leftists made a significant contribution to the development of the draft Constitution of the Fifth Republic [24].

In general, according to the social base, the RPF ranked between the "independents" and the MPR, yet it was closer to the latter. Sociological studies have shown that the Gaullist electorate was formed in 1947-1948 largely from voters of other political parties. For example, in the late 1940s, the Catholic party lost its reformist character and influence in the country, with 44% of its electorate choosing to support the RPF.

"We have inherited from the left their desire for social progress; from the right, what they have repeatedly proved is nobility and national tradition" [25].

It should be noted that the authority of General de Gaulle attracted a significant number of French people to him. But already in the early 50s, RPF entered a period of deep crisis. In our opinion, the main reasons for the RPF's defeat were the following factors: General de Gaulle and his party were ahead of their time in a certain sense; the Gaullist ideology was too statist for its time; the wariness of representatives of monopolistic capital; the lack of a broad electorate (for example, the slogan of a "strong" state was positively assessed by 33%, negatively by 46%). But at the same time, it was during these years that the future backbone was formed, based on which the Union for the Defense of the New Republic (Union for the New Republic (fr. L'Union pour la nouvelle Republique, UNR) was created in 1958, a Gaullist political party in France created by supporters of General Charles de Gaulle, who returned He came to power after the crisis of May 1958.

Conservative movements and conservative parties occupied a special place in the party system of the Fourth Republic. Among them are the so-called "independent" and centrist parties. The main conservative force in France at this stage was the movement of "independents" (Republican Party of Freedom (PRL)). The leaders of this party included J. Laniel, P. Jacquinot, and A. Charpentier. It was a kind of right-wing coalition party. In 1946, another right-wing group was created under the name "Independent Republicans".

The same position was held by the Republican Group of Social and Peasant Action (RGSKD), established in 1946. The social base of the new party consisted of artisans, small traders and peasants. According to French experts, as the political weight of the "independents" increased, their tendency towards unification grew. In 1948, the National Centre for Independents and Peasants of the NCSC (French: Centre national des indépendants et paysans, CNIP) was formed, which included the PRL and Independent Republicans, and in 1951, they were joined by the RGSKD and the Democratic Union of Independents.

According to sociological data, in the 1950s, the NCNC was the main party of the right forces in France. The share of the right-wing in the NCNC electorate was the highest (53%) [26].

No Government of the Fourth Republic has ever dissolved Parliament prematurely. Moreover, in the past, during the 70 years of the existence of the Third Republic, the early dissolution of Parliament was carried out only once, in 1877 – by the President of the Republic, Marshal McMahon, and had the character of a covert coup attempt, which ended unsuccessfully, by the way, because the Republicans won the elections again.

The early dissolution of the National Assembly in 1955 was an act of the right-wing parties that were part of the Faure government. They were in a hurry to get to the polls amid growing discontent in the country. They hoped to turn their discontent with reactionary politics into discontent with the republican bourgeois-democratic system. Although the dissolution of the Assembly was formally legal, the procedure was unusual: having been defeated in Parliament, the government appealed to voters over the Assembly's head. The right-wingers hoped that the split of the left-wing parties and the isolation of the Communists would bring them victory under the current electoral law.

However, the calculation proved to be untenable. The majority of voters saw the elections as the last chance to really change the policy of the Fourth Republic, and the electoral law did not help the initiators of the Assembly's dissolution. The electoral law is one of the most cunning and flexible types of political weapons, especially in a country like France, to maintain its dominant position in Parliament. In an effort to adapt the constitution for long-term use in the interests of "stability", the ruling circles change the electoral law much more often, depending on the specific situation of the class struggle.

During the Third Republic, the electoral law was changed four times. The Fourth Republic managed to significantly change the 1946 electoral law only once. The 1946 law that elected the

first National Assembly was, in those circumstances, as far as can be said, a law of "fair struggle." In each electoral district, which coincided mainly with the department's borders (except for some densely populated departments divided into districts), several deputies were elected (the department's population determined the number and could not be less than two). Each party that participated in the elections in this district put forward a list of its deputies corresponding to the number of seats from this district. The seats were distributed in proportion to each party's vote total, even if one party would have had an absolute majority in the district.

Under such a system, the percentage of votes each party received nationwide in the elections corresponded approximately to the percentage of seats it won in the National Assembly. On the eve of the 1951 elections, at the height of the Cold War, the National Assembly changed this law. The ruling classes were no longer afraid of the bloc of leftist parties: the leaders of the Socialist Party (SFIO) pursued an anti-communist policy in close cooperation with most bourgeois parties, up to the extreme right. Under these conditions, two significant changes were made to the 1946 Law: first, if one of the party lists in an electoral district receives an absolute majority of votes, it takes all the deputy seats. Secondly, and this was especially important, in each electoral district, two or more parties could announce the "twinning" of their lists, and then the sum of votes cast for all the "twinned" lists was taken as the number of votes cast for one list. Thus, having an absolute majority of votes, the "allied" lists took all the deputy seats and divided them among themselves; and, lacking an absolute majority, they still benefited from calculating the "largest average".

But in the 1956 elections, the mechanism of the 1951 electoral law "did not work," resulting in an unexpected misfire. Before the elections, the internal political situation in France was somewhat similar to that before the 1936 elections, which led to the Popular Front's victory. The PCF proposed to the SFIO an electoral bloc ("twinning" of candidate lists in accordance with the current electoral law), emphasizing the closeness of positions on specific social issues (salary increases, social security, protection of the interests of the peasantry) and the possibility of convergence on certain foreign policy issues (the policy of negotiations in North Africa, disarmament, peaceful coexistence).

The vote results were unexpected for the ruling political groups. The Communists collected 5,454,589 votes, 544,042 more votes than in 1951. But since 2,346,407 more voters participated in voting in 1956 than in 1951, the percentage of votes they received remained the same (25.89% in 1951 and 25.59% in 1956). The Socialists collected 435,814 more votes than in 1951. (3 180656 votes), and retained the same percentage (14.47% in 1951 and 14.92% in 1956). Radicals (splintered groups together) They collected 13.5% of the vote (11.13% in 1951), the "MPP party" - 11.34% (12.5% in 1951), the "moderates" - 14.48% (12.83% in 1951). The degollists suffered a catastrophic defeat, rare in French parliamentary history. Acting under the label of "social Republicans", they collected 4.45% (21.75% in 1951), i.e. less than a quarter of the votes of the previous elections. Most of their votes went to the Pujadists, who participated in the elections for the first time and collected 11.5% of the vote. Other Degollev votes went to the "moderates" and other right-wing groups [27]. Communists, socialists and radicals together collected more than 54% of the vote, and with other small leftist groups, more than 56%, i.e., they had an absolute majority of voters. There was no doubt that an objective possibility existed of creating a government like the Popular Front. This terrible ghost really stood before the French big bourgeoisie. The remaining party groups in the National Assembly had the following composition: RZHR - 14 deputies, MPP - 73, social Republicans (degollevtsy) - 21, "independents" - 83, "peasant" party (affiliated to "independents") - 12, pujadiets - 52, non-members of groups (individual right-wing deputies) - 6, "independent overseas territories" (motley a group of deputies from the colonies, who usually voted with various groups, from socialists to the right) - 10. Here we come to the issue of the political parties that participated in the last parliamentary elections of the Fourth Republic.

Since 1947, "anti-communism," as the official doctrine of the political parties of the Fourth Republic, has marked a political divide between the Marxist–Leninist Party of the working class, the French Communist Party, on the one hand, and the leading elite of the other major parties in France, on the other. Of course, this did not mean that only the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie were members of these parties or voted for them. The opponents of the Communists united 3/4 of the votes of French voters, i.e. their clientele also included the working strata of the city and countryside.

The party system of the Fourth Republic became a direct function of the development of the class struggle in the country. If, in England and the USA after the Second World War, each new sharp turn required the adaptation of the old parties, then in France, the severity of the political struggle and the weakness of the state required the ruling class to create new parties with each turn and to restructure the entire party system. The crisis of the Fourth Republic was clearly evident on the international stage. This is the Anglo-French adventure in Egypt, the Hungarian events of 1956. On May 21, 1957, the Government of Guy Mollet, the longest-serving government of the Fourth Republic, resigned... Thus, during the last year of the Fourth Republic, three governments were replaced, and the government crises lasted a total of about three months. But by this time, the colonial war in Algeria was becoming increasingly important in the broader crisis of the Fourth Republic. In the last years of the Fourth Republic, it left a special imprint on its entire domestic political life.

Conclusion

Conclusion: At the same time, the party system of the Fourth Republic has undergone significant changes. This was due to the reorganisations of the main political parties. In 1945-1946, three parties emerged at once: the Republican Freedom Party and the Independent Republicans. The Republican Group of Social and Peasant Action (Later they merged into the Party of the National Center of Independents and Peasants (NCSC). The electoral behavior of political parties also influenced the party system of the Fourth Republic.

For example, the Gaullist party, founded in April 1947, collected 35% of the vote in the municipal elections, and only 4.4% in the 1956 parliamentary elections. The so-called Pujadist party, the Union for the Protection of Merchants and Artisans (UDCA), formed in 1953, garnered 11.6% of the vote in the 1956 parliamentary elections, but soon disbanded.

According to French experts, the causes of electoral metamorphoses were rooted in socio-economic and political processes caused by the development of artificially monopolistic capitalism. One feature of the Fourth Republic's party system was the absence of a dominant party. Unscrupulous party coalitions were formed (for example, the creation of a "third force" coalition that included the Socialist Party (SFIO), the MPR, and radical parties). The need for a political compromise between the parties has once again brought the "articulated" centrist parties (the Democratic Socialist Union of Resistance (UDSR) and radical parties) to the forefront.

Thus, the unstable party system of the Fourth Republic manifested itself in the unsteadiness of the cabinets of ministers. Thus, an analysis of the party system of the Fourth Republic showed that France was on its way to creating a new political system and transforming the entire party system, and that the era of parliamentary parties and the party system as a whole was clearly ending. The idea of a strong state became the basis of the new political system in France. It is a basic element of the French political system and political power. The political struggle is primarily a struggle for the masses. Especially in France, where each party is trying to expand its influence, win more votes through such a flexible system, adapt to a society in constant motion, to the ebb and flow of discontent across its various strata, and to changing moods and views driven by economic and political factors. The party system of the Fourth Republic became a direct function of the development of the class struggle in the country. If, in England and the USA after the Second World War, each new sharp turn required the adaptation of the old parties, then in France, the

severity of the political struggle and the weakness of the state required the ruling class to create new parties with each turn, thereby rebuilding the entire party system.

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ФРАНЦИЯДА ТӨРТІНШІ РЕСПУБЛИКА ТҰСЫНДАҒЫ САЯСИ ПАРТИЯЛАРДЫ ҚАЙТА ҚҰРУ

Андатпа

Франциядағы саяси партиялар Төртінші Республика кезінде елеулі өзгерістерге ұшырады. Бұл негізгі саяси партиялардың қайта құрылуымен байланысты болды. Францияда 1945-1946 жж. бірден үш партия құрылады. Олар: Республикалық еркіндік партиясы; Тәуелсіз республикашылар; Республикалық әлеуметтік-шаруа әрекеті тобы (Кейіннен олар тәуелсіздер мен шаруалардың ұлттық орталығына біріккен). Зерттеудің мақсаты-төртінші республика кезеңіндегі Францияның партиялық жүйесінің өзгеруін талдау, оның тұрақсыздығының себептерін анықтау, сондай-ақ саяси партиялардың қайта құрылуының, сайлаушылар мен саяси альянстардың сайлаушылық мінез-құлқының парламенттік демократияның жұмыс істеуіне және атқарушы биліктің күшеюіне әсерін анықтау. Төртінші Республиканың партиялық жүйесінің трансформациялануына саяси партиялардың электоралдық қызметі өзінше әсер етті. Жасанды түрде құрылған саяси партиялардың одақтары мен саяси партия жетекшілерінің саяси популизмі Франциядағы үкіметтік коалицияларының ішкі және сыртқы дағдарыстар жағдайында тез ыдырауына әкеліп жатты. Саяси жүйенің дағдарысы парламенттік демократияны шектеу және атқарушы билікті күшейту үшін күрескен саяси күштер үшін тиімді болды (голлизм). Сонымен бірге үкімет жанынан әртүрлі комитеттер мен комиссиялардың құрылуы мемлекеттік қызметшілер мен жеке сектор өкілдерінің жақындасуына және «технобюрократтық» жүйесінің қалыптасуына ықпал етті.

Негізгі сөздер: IV Республика, саяси партиялар, саяси жүйе, электорат, голлизм, дағдарыс.

РЕОРГАНИЗАЦИЯ ПОЛИТИЧЕСКИХ ПАРТИЙ ВО ФРАНЦИИ В ПЕРИОД ЧЕТВЕРТОЙ РЕСПУБЛИКИ

Аннотация

Политические партии Франции перетерпели существенные изменения в период IV Республики. Это было связано с реорганизацией основных политических партий. Так, в 1945-1946 гг. возникают сразу три партии: Республиканская партия свободы; Независимые республиканцы; Республиканская группа социального и крестьянского действия (в дальнейшем они объединились в партию Национального центра независимых и крестьян (НЦНК)). На партийную систему IV Республики оказывало воздействие также электоральное поведение избирателей. Целью исследования является анализ трансформации партийной системы Франции в период Четвёртой республики, выявление причин её нестабильности, а также определение влияния реорганизации политических партий, электорального поведения избирателей и политических альянсов на функционирование парламентской демократии и усиление исполнительной власти. Искусственно создававшиеся политические альянсы, политиканство политических лидеров партий приводили к тому, что правительственные коалиции распадались при первом же кризисе внутренней или внешней политики. Очевидная дискредитация режима в самых различных слоях французского общества была на руку тем политическим силам, которые вели борьбу за ограничение парламентской демократии и усилению исполнительной власти (голлизм). Создание при правительстве различных комитетов и комиссий способствовало сближению государственных служащих с представителями частного сектора и образованию так называемой технобюрократии. Тем самым неустойчивая партийная система Четвертой республики проявлялась в нетвердости кабинетов министров.

Ключевые слова: IV Республика, политические партии, политическая система, электорат, голлизм, кризис.

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