

Elements of delegative democracy in the political structure of Charles de Gaulle's political regime in France

Научный руководитель – Бирюков Сергей Владимирович

Mulyadi Ahmad

Postgraduate

Национальный исследовательский Томский государственный университет, Исторический факультет, Томск, Россия

E-mail: mulyadi85a@gmail.com

Delegative democracy according to Merkel is one of the forms of defective democracy. In this form, there is no balance of power between the three main institutions, namely the executive, the legislature, and the judiciary. The executive dominates political power, so that the mechanism of checks and balances is disturbed. The executive, usually led by the president, bypasses parliament, and influences the judiciary, so that the balance of power is unilaterally established in favor of the president [6, p. 223-224].

O'Donnell mentions no less than five characteristics of delegative democracy. The first is the primary role of the president as the embodiment of the nation and the guardian of the national interest. The second is the paternal figure of the president who takes care of the whole nation. In this sense, the president is supported by a political movement that claims to represent the interests of the entire nation. Third, the president's accountability to other institutions such as parliament is not fully manifested, as the president has been given full authority or has been entrusted with the exercise of power by the people. Fourth, the president forms the majority in the general elections to reinforce the myth of legitimate delegation. Fifth, the political mechanism is strongly individualistic [7, p. 59-61].

In the political regime of Charles de Gaulle in France, we can also find some characteristics of delegative democracy. The first is persistent efforts to strengthen the executive to the detriment of other institutions, especially parliament. De Gaulle since the beginning of his political career persisted in his desire for a new constitution that would give the president dominant power. His desire for such a constitution was finally realized after the Algerian crisis of 1958 when he was elected the first president of the Fifth Republic with a constitution that he had drafted, namely the 1958 constitution [1]. With this constitution, the president has many political privileges, such as the right to elect and dismiss the prime minister, dissolve parliament, hold a referendum bypassing the parliament, and issue a decree. In addition, the President has full control over French foreign and defense policies [5, p. 175-179].

The second is personalization of power. The personalization of power in de Gaulle's regime was visible as this regime was formed under the concept of Gaullism, which emphasized the charisma of its leader. Unlike other French presidents of the Fifth Republic, de Gaulle used his strong charisma as the savior of France during World War II and the Algerian crisis to influence the French people [1].

This personalization of power had another consequence, namely an exaggerated control of the government. The political process under de Gaulle's leadership functioned mostly not based on a complete system of government but based on the decision of its leader. Therefore, it is understandable that Michel Debre considered de Gaulle's regime as a republican monarchy [3].

The third is the use of plebiscites. Long before Charles de Gaulle, two French emperors had already made use of it, namely Napoleon Bonaparte and Louis Napoleon Bonaparte. Both emperors used it as a political instrument to gain legitimacy of political power. Charles de

Gaule then followed Napoleon's strategy. De Gaulle even succeeded in anchoring the plebiscite in the 1958 constitution [4].

The fourth is the claim to represent the nation and to transcend political divisions. Charles de Gaulle tried to build a political image as the only Frenchman capable of saving France. He saw himself as being beyond the political divide between right and left. He claimed to represent the entire French people. According to some French historians, this is one of the characteristics of Gaullism, a political mentality that de Gaulle developed since the Second World War [2, p. 136-138].

One of de Gaulle's strategies to distinguish himself as the guardian of the French nation was the founding of the French political movement of *La France Libre*. This political movement was founded after the armistice between the French army and the German army in 1940. This organization sought to unite all French people regardless of their political views and to unite them to resist the German occupation and the dictatorial regime of Vichy [1]. A further effort to present the image of a universal French savior was also evident when he founded the *Rassemblement du Peuple Francais* in 1947 [1]. This political organization was founded after his resignation from the Provisional Executive Government to gain the political support of the French people. This organization was basically a political party, but he avoided the use of the word party to convey the image of the universality of his movement.

In summary, Charles de Gaulle's regime tended to delegative democracy for several reasons. Firstly, it sought to strengthen the executive at the expense of other institutions. Second, the regime, especially its leader, had a strong character of personalization of power. Thirdly, the regime used the plebiscite as an instrument to achieve its political goals by bypassing parliament. And finally, its leader often claimed to represent the nation and the entire French people.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Arzakanyan M. De Goll' o Gollisty, na puti k blasti / M. Arzakanyan, Moscow: Vsshaya shkola, 1990. 236 p.
2. Biryukov S., Mulyadi A. Gollizm: mnogogrannost' politicheskogo fenomena (pozitsiya nekotorykh frantsuzskikh avtorov) // Etnosotsium. 2022. № 12 (174). P. 136–151.
3. Clift B. The Fifth Republic at fifty: the changing face of French politics and political economy // Modern & Contemporary France. 2008. № 4 (16). P. 383–398.
4. Knapp A., Wright V. The Government and Politics of France / A. Knapp, V. Wright, Ebook fifth edition-e изд., London: Routledge, 2006. 557 p.
5. Lüsebrink H.-J. Frankreich. Wirtschaft, Gesellschaft, Politik, Kultur, Mentalitäten / H.-J. Lüsebrink, Ebook-e изд., Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 2018. 264 p.
6. Merkel W. Vergleich politischer Systeme: Demokratien und Autokratien под ред. M. G. Schmidt, F. Wolf, S. Wurster, Wiesbaden: Springer VS, 2013. P. 207–236.
7. O'Donell G. A. Delegative democracy // Journal of Democracy. 1994. № 1 (5). P. 55–69.