

УДК 321

Ахмад Муляди, Бирюков С.В.

# ШАРЛЬ ДЕ ГОЛЛЬ И СУХАРТО: СРАВНИТЕЛЬНОЕ ИССЛЕДОВАНИЕ ДВУХ ПОЛИТИЧЕСКИХ РЕЖИМОВ

## Аннотация

В исследовании анализируется, как режимы Сухарто (по-индонезийски: Orde Baru) в Индонезии и Шарля де Голля (Пятая республика, или по-французски: La Cinquième République) во Франции осуществляли свою власть, основываясь на типологии политического режима, разработанной Вольфгангом Меркелем. Используемая методология является качественной и индуктивной, путем непосредственного сравнения их друг с другом (непосредственное использование метода сравнительного случая).

В результате проведенного исследования выявляется общее и особенное в режимах Сухарто и де Голля. Оба режима характеризуются некоторыми общими чертами авторитарного режима, такими как обладание обширной властью в руках президента в ущерб другим важным демократическим институтам, включая парламент. Режимы де Голля и Сухарто по своему характеру были персоналистскими (лидерскими), мобилизационными, модернизационными, нацеленными на политико-идеологическую консолидацию, создание новых политических

институтов и развитие экономики. Различия между ними также заметны, например, подход, который они использовали по отношению к своим оппонентам. В данном случае Сухарто, как правило, был более репрессивным, нежели режим де Голля. Кроме того, де Голль продемонстрировал свою приверженность демократическим ценностям, формально организовав референдумы. В конечном итоге, невозможность превращения режима де Голля в последовательную автократию, в отличие от превратившегося в автократический режим Сухарто, показывает различие траекторий и возможностей политического развития Франции и Индонезии в период после Второй Мировой войны.

**Ключевые слова:** Ордо Бару, Пятая Республика, Сухарто, Шарль де Голль, политический режим, авторитарность, демократия, власть, демократические ценности, Вторая Мировая война.

**Конфликт интересов:** авторы заявляют об отсутствии конфликта интересов.

**Источник финансирования:** данная работа не имела источников финансирования.

**Для цитирования:** Ахмад Муляди, Бирюков С.В. Шарль де Голь и Сухарто: сравнительное исследование двух политических режимов // Вестник общественных и гуманитарных наук. 2022. Т. 3. № 3. С. 23–35.

Статья поступила в редакцию 13.08.2022 г.

## POLITICAL SCIENCE

Ahmad Mulyadi, Biryukov S.V.

# CHARLES DE GAULLE AND SUHARTO: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF TWO POLITICAL REGIMES

## Abstract

The study analyses how the regimes of Suharto (In Indonesian: *Orde Baru*) in Indonesia and Charles de Gaulle (The Fifth Republic, or in French: *La Cinquième République*) in France exercised their power, based on the typology of political regime designed by Wolfgang Merkel. The methodology used is qualitative and inductive by comparing them directly head-to-head (straight comparative case method).

As a result of the conducted research, the general and special in the modes of Suharto and de Gaulle are revealed, there are similarities and differences. Both regimes are character-

ized by some common features of an authoritarian regime, such as the possession of extensive power in the hands of the president to the detriment of other important democratic institutions, including parliament. The regimes of de Gaulle and Suharto by their nature were personalistic (leadership), mobilization, modernization, aimed at political and ideological consolidation, the creation of new political institutions and the development of the economy. The differences between them are also noticeable, for example, the approach they used towards their opponents. In this case, Suharto, as a rule, was more repressive than the de Gaulle regime. In addi-

**For citation:** Ahmad Mulyazhi, Biryukov S.V. Charles de Gaulle and Suharto: a comparative study of two Political Regimes // Humanities and social sciences bulletin. 2022. Vol. 3. No. 3. P. 23–35.

tion, de Gaulle demonstrated his commitment to democratic values by formally organizing referendums. Ultimately, the impossibility of turning the de Gaulle regime into a consistent autocracy, in contrast to the Suharto regime that turned into an autocratic one, shows the difference in the trajectories and possibilities of the political development of France and Indonesia in the period after World War II.

The multivariance of the development of societies and states in a state of "transformational crisis" in the countries of the Second and Third worlds is not only a practical, but also a scientific and theoretical problem. The well-known instability of institutions, imperfection and imperfection of legislation, the difficulty of taking into account and fully coordinating the interests of diverse social (socio-professional) strata make the development of such societies during periods of "protracted transition" nonlinear and unpredictable. A possible way out of the state of constantly prolonged crisis and degradation of such societies is the establishment of one or another version of an authoritarian regime with an emphasis on the idea of national greatness – which, in addition to temporary stabilization, can with high probability put such a country in a state of unpredictability with the multiplication of already existing risks. At the same time, the logic of the formation and functioning of authoritarian regimes in countries undergoing large-scale transformations are not linear and strongly depend on the specifics of the political systems going through the process of transformation of countries. A scientific political analysis of the attempt to establish (institutionalize) an authoritarian regime in post-war Western and non-Western societies by the case study method in the context of large-scale transformations that took place in these societies after World War II seems to the author to be an urgent scientific task, since the very possibility of assessing the prospects of authoritarianism as a phenomenon in the context of solving such regimes depends on the results and consequences of this attempt. tasks of stabilization and modernization of the respective societies. The authors of the article aim to assess the features and consequences of the establishment of authoritarian (quasi-authoritarian) regimes in the cases of France and Indonesia in the 1960s and 70s.

Many analyses about Charles de Gaulle focused on France's foreign policy of France during his presidency in the Fifth Republic (1958-1969). They analysed Charles de Gaulle's vision and political approach in relation to other international political actors such as Germany, England, USA, European Union and NATO. These de Gaulle authors are many, such as Andrew Moravcsik, Mathieu Segers and Allice Pannier.

Other writings appeared in the form of biography, for example by Volker Hentschel and Jean Lacouture. In the book entitled *Charles de Gaulle, eine kurze Geschichte seines Leb-*

**Keywords:** Ordo Baru, the Fifth Republic, Suharto, Charles de Gaulle, political regime, authoritarianism, democracy, power, democratic values, World War II.

#### Conflict of interest

None declared.

#### Source of financing

There was no funding for this project.

ens[12], Hentschel described Charles de Gaulle as a strong visionary military general and politician who sought to restore French power and regain the France's prestige and greatness of France in the international scene. Therefore, de Gaulle needed a new constitution capable of giving significant powers to the elected president of France. Eventually, de Gaulle was able to make it happen: he became the French leader (president) with much greater authority and power compared to the previous French leaders, especially those in the Fourth and Third Republics.

Some authors, such as Sergey Biryukov [5] and Gutorov [10], considered de Gaulle's regime the authoritarian one. This is due to the way de Gaulle exercised his extensive political power, which contradicts some values of democracy.

What happened in France also happened in some other countries. One of these is Indonesia, particularly during the New Order or *Orde Baru* (1966 – 1998). Many Indonesian scholars, such as Salim Haji Said [19] and Denny JA [13] considered this regime as an authoritarian regime. They argued that the way Suharto ruled the country was far from democratic.

Both Charles de Gaulle and Suharto governed their countries in different contexts. De Gaulle ran his regime under the semi-presidential system, while Suharto under the presidential system. Nevertheless, they have the same origin, namely the military one. Both were also considered heroes of their countries before assuming the presidency. But Suharto led Indonesia much longer than de Gaulle led France in the Fifth Republic. So, what makes them different and similar? The author argue that it is related to the different degrees of the authoritarianism they applied in the politics.

To answer the research question systematically, we must first compare them to each other. This comparison will give us the answer to whether they are authoritarian or not. This comparison will eventually help us to identify more precisely the differences and the similarities more specifically between these regimes.

There are some options of typology from different authors about this topic. One of the best known is the typology by Juan J. Linz. But this typology is relatively not well systematized. Another political scientist, Wolfgang Merkel [17], has developed another typology of political regime which is, in my view, relatively more systematic. Therefore, this typology will be used as a standard or parameter when comparing

or analysing some points in both regimes, namely: genesis of the two regimes, their ideology, institutional structure, legal constitutional foundation, political practices, and the result of their activities.

The object of research is the political regimes of Charles de Gaulle in France (1958-1969) and M. Suharto (1965-1998) in Indonesia.

The subject of research is common and special in social foundations, goals, objectives and strategies between the regimes of Charles de Gaulle in France (1958-1969) and M. Suharto (1965-1998) in Indonesia.

The purpose of research is to identify the common and special in the genesis, development and functioning of the modes of Charles de Gaulle in France (1958-1969) and M. Suharto (1965-1998) in Indonesia.

This research will use straight comparative case method (inductive comparison). Using this method, I will directly compare the five points above between Charles de Gaulle and that of Suharto. So, the structure of this article starts with the introduction, then the main content, namely the comparison and the analysis of both regimes, and finally the conclusion.

Table 1: Characteristics of democratic and autocratic systems according to Merkel [17].

	Autocracy		Democracy	
	Totalitarian regime	Authoritarian regime	Defected democracy	Embedded democracy
<b>Legitimacy of power</b>	Worldview (ideology)	Mentality	Popular sovereignty	Popular sovereignty
<b>Access to power</b>	Closed (instead of universal suffrage, acclamatory plebiscites)	Restrictive (possibly the right to vote, but without or with only limited pluralistic free and fair elections)	Opened (universal suffrage)	Opened (universal suffrage)
<b>Claim to power</b>	Unlimited (total)	Extensive	Limited (legally defined, but violated borders)	Limited (legally defined and guaranteed limit)
<b>Monopoly of power</b>	Leader/political party (not legitimized by democratic elections and democratic constitution)	Leader/oligarchy (not or under circumstances only partially legitimized by elections)	Authorities legitimized by elections and a democratic constitution, but under circumstances restricted by veto powers	Authorities legitimized by elections and a democratic constitution
<b>Structure of power</b>	Monistic	Semi pluralistic	Pluralistic	Pluralistic
<b>Way of domination</b>	Arbitrarily repressive, terroristic	Arbitrarily repressive	Based on damaged rule of law	Based on rule of law

## Genesis

### French case

Charles de Gaulle's regime is the first government in the Fifth Republic of France. Therefore, to understand the origin of this regime, we need to understand the reason for the emergence of the Fifth Republic.

The Fifth Republic was the result of the struggle of de Gaulle and his supporters who were dissatisfied with the leadership of the Fourth Republic. The leadership of the Fourth Republic was considered a failure in rebuilding the French nation, which was in deep crisis after World War II.

The fundamental problem of the Fourth Republic, in de Gaulle's opinion was its political system. The Fourth Republic was an unstable government that did not allow the executive branch to function optimally. The Constitution of the Fourth Republic is believed to have significantly restricted

the executive branch authority, while the legislative branch had dominant power. This regime was a typical parliamentary system, but with a strong tendency towards internal division between right and left. This resulted in unstable regime and weak leadership by the executives.

In 1946, when de Gaulle was Prime Minister of the Provisional Government, he tried to solve this problem by proposing a new constitution that would allow the executive branch to work more optimally. This proposal was rejected by Parliament [10]. Therefore, he decided to resign from the government.

A few years later, de Gaulle benefited from the critical situation in Algeria. Algeria was already fully integrated into France at that time. The number of white French population in Algeria were much higher than in any other French colonial territory. Thus, the increasing political crisis in Algeria be-

came a serious problem for the central government in Paris. This crisis had also divided the French people, who were already in crisis, politically, socially, and economically.

The Fourth Republic was not capable enough to handle this multi-crisis. General Charles de Gaulle, still influential in the French military, attempted to ease the tension of the Algerian crisis. His efforts were successful. Since then, he had more control over French army in Algeria, which was politically divided before de Gaulle's intervention. With this contribution in Algeria, de Gaulle was once again able to assert himself as a French saviour.

As a result, de Gaulle and his supporters, mainly from the military, asked the French President to change the composition of the French government especially for the post of Prime Minister and to create a special phase of governance (transitional phase). This coup d'état finally succeeded. De Gaulle was once again elected as the new Prime Minister. Then, he initiated the referendum for the new constitution of 1958 [12]. After this referendum, de Gaulle was elected president by an electoral college in 1959 [22].

The 1958 Constitution became the beginning of the new French Republic, namely the Fifth Republic. With this new constitution, the executive branch, particularly the president, has significant powers at the expense of the parliament. Then, in 1962, another referendum was organized for the direct election of the French president by the people. The majority of the people voted for direct presidential election. Since then, France left the parliamentary system, and started adopting a semi presidential system with General Charles de Gaulle as its first powerful president [12].

### Indonesian case

The regime of Suharto (in Indonesian: *Soeharto*), also often called as the New Order regime (in Indonesian: *Orde Baru*), is a regime that arose after the defeat of the 30 September Movement (in Indonesian: *Gerakan 30 September/G30S*). Therefore, to understand the emergence of this regime, we need to understand the G30S.

The G30S is the movement led by some politicians who had the mission to prevent another movement called the Movement of Generals. They accused some generals, especially those in the army, of having intention to stage a coup d'état to remove Soekarno. The G30S leaders then kidnapped these generals and conducted chaotic movements throughout September and October 1965 with their crucial day on September 30, 1965. Soekarno himself never stated that he had ordered anyone to perform this movement.

Suharto, who was the head of Kopkamtib [*Author's note: Kopkamtib is the abbreviation of Komando Pemulihan Keamanan dan Ketertiban (Commando for Mission of National Recovery and Order)*]. It was one of the most powerful military institutions in Indonesia, both during Soekarno's and Suharto's presidencies.] at that time, took an initiative to coun-

ter the G30S to save the national security. Supported by some other politicians and military figures, Suharto was finally successful in fighting G30S in October 1965. Despite this, the turbulent situation caused by G30S was still visible. Most people were traumatized, the national economy was still weak, the national security in general was not yet stable and socio-political situation was still fragile.

In this unstable situation, Suharto used political advantage to put pressure on President Soekarno. This attempt was supported by Suharto's followers, particularly the military. Eventually this attempt was successful in forcing Soekarno to surrender most of his power and authority to Suharto through a Presidential Decree namely Decree of 11 March in 1966 (in Indonesian: *Surat Perintah Sebelas Maret* or abbreviated as *Supersemar*) [19].

After gaining more authority and power through the presidential decree, Suharto proposed to organize a special session of the National Assembly (*Sidang Istimewa MPR*). Then, the National Assembly considered Soekarno incapable to be President and decided to elect Suharto as his successor. Since then, Suharto became the first powerful president in the new regime, called *Rezim Orde Baru* (the New Order Regime) [8]. Flanagan and Southwood [9] classify the series of Suharto attempts from October (against G30S) until his inauguration as president as a coup d'état.

### Comparison and analyse

From two cases above, we can see that both regimes were created by the military generals who took advantage of the unstable national situation. Both Presidents (de Gaulle and Suharto) claimed to be the saviours of their countries. Then, backed by military, they put intense pressure on their presidents to gain significant political power. Thus, the model they developed in the process of power transition was the same. A coup d'état that did not take its complete form. It is because the high pressure supported by military forces was already sufficient.

According to Adam [1], one of the characteristics of authoritarian regimes is the way they used for the political power which is usually through coup d'état. In this sense, both de Gaulle and Suharto can be included in this category. However, as already mentioned in the first part of this article, the parameter used in the analyse is the typology from Merkel that does not include the coup d'état as the character of the authoritarian regimes. So, until this point, we cannot classify them yet. Nevertheless, this knowledge of their genesis can help us to better understand the context of both regimes.

## Ideology

### French case

To understand the ideology of Charles de Gaulle's regime, we need first to understand Charles de Gaulle's background. This is because the political vision of de Gaulle's regime

was mainly influenced by the vision of its creator, General Charles de Gaulle.

Charles de Gaulle was born in Lille, in northern France near the Franco-Belgian border. Then, he grew up in Paris and studied in a military school. After graduating from the military school, he was active in French army (infantry regiment) and involved in some most crucial events in the world history, such as World War I and World War II.

During the World War I, he was taken prisoner by the German and lived as a prisoner of war in Bavaria in southern Germany for about three years. During this captivity, he often read the books about philosophy, history, and politics [12, p. 21]. According to Williams [24, p. 16], Charles Peguy was one of the figures who influenced de Gaulle's political vision. From him de Gaulle learned the meaning and concept of nationalism, historically associated with the term *Le Grandeur de la France* [24].

During World War II, de Gaulle is a central figure in the French liberation movement. He led this movement from London and finally managed to defeat the German army with help of alliances, primarily the USA, USSR, and England.

During his struggle against Nazi Germany, de Gaulle showed a tenacious and strong character not to give up the French nation and territory. At this time, his followers called themselves Gaullists, and the Gaulle's political idea is known as Gaullism.

According to Winock [16, p. 158], there are three characteristics of post war Gaullism. First, it aims to restore the greatness of France (in French: *le grandeur de la France*). The second is Bonapartist tradition, related to the authoritarian organizational structure and the central importance of a charismatic personality. The third is related to the Jacobean legacy of the French Revolution, with its social reform and centralist component. From these three characteristics, Charles de Gaulle, as French President, developed a new mentality that would later become known as Gaullism, guiding all his politics and regime.

### Indonesian case

In Indonesia, Suharto as the new president was consistent with Democracy of Pancasila [Author's note: *Pancasila: Five pillars which were the legal foundation of Indonesia since its independence in 1945*] as the national ideology, adopted since Indonesia's proclamation of independence in 1945. Hence, Suharto did not create a new ideology during his presidency. Nevertheless, Suharto created a new mentality by developing a new interpretation of Pancasila. This interpretation is based on guidelines he made for his interest [14, p. 110-111]. These guidelines were named *Pedoman Penghayatan dan Pengamalan Pancasila* or P4 (In English: Guidelines for Comprehension and Application of Pancasila). Through this new interpretation, Suharto tried to be an authoritarian president whose control over political institutions and Indonesian citizens significantly increased beyond the values of democ-

racies, such as the principles of liberty and equality. Any effort at interpretation outside P4 is labelled anti-Pancasila [14].

Then Suharto also reinforced a particular mentality for ABRI [Author's note: *ABRI is the acronym of Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia*]. (Indonesian Military Unit). This is associated with dual function of the military (*dwi fungsi ABRI*). This was created in the era of Soekarno's presidency but strengthened by Suharto during his presidency.

With this *dwi fungsi ABRI*, the military had the responsibility of ensuring national security from both internal and external threats. Then, the area of military's task was expanded to other areas such as politics and other social activities. In this way, Suharto would secure and expand his claim to power. In the Suharto's era, many governors and mayors were also from military. In this way, every political decision at the regional level could be directly controlled by Suharto. In other words, centralizing power in his hand the power in his hands as president.

### Comparison and Analyse

Both Charles de Gaulle and Suharto adopted a new mentality rather than a new ideology. De Gaulle used Gaullism as the regime's mentality, while Suharto used a new interpretation of Pancasila (P4) as the mentality.

Gaullism is a mentality heavily influenced by the concept of Bonapartism. According to Biryukov [5], The Bonapartism itself is a typical authoritarian form, which has strong independent executive power, universal suffrage and strong plebiscite elements and the extra ordinary political role of the military. Besides, the Gaullism is associated with the Jacobean spirit, which emphasizes the importance of centralizing power [16, p. 158].

In fact, the mentality embodied in the new interpretation of Pancasila (P4) has some convergences with the Gaullism. For example, both emphasizes the superiority of the executive branch. Both also tended to centralize most power to the President.

However, the extent of authoritarianism in both mentalities is not the same. For instance, although de Gaulle is a politician with strong military background, he never tried to make a military domination in many areas of civil life as Suharto did with his concept of *dwi fungsi ABRI*.

Based on Merkel's typology, both de Gaulle's and Suharto's regimes are categorized as authoritarian regimes. Both have a new mentality to impose on society. And with these mentalities, they sought to claim extensive power and to centralize power in the hands of the President.

## Institutional Structure

### French case

The institutional structure of France has changed drastically since the application of the constitution of 1958 and the reform of 1962. The most notable change in structure can be seen in the distribution of power.



Prior to the application of the 1958 Constitution, the power of President is insignificant. The President held a symbolic rather than a governmental position. The government function was distributed to the prime minister. But the prime minister is heavily dependent on parliament. Therefore, the level of quality and stability of government was strongly determined by the level of stability and solidity of parliament.

After the application of the constitution of 1958, power is more distributed to the executive, especially the President, at the expense of parliament. The fathers of the constitution of 1958, General Charles de Gaulle and his Prime Minister Charles Debre, wanted to limit the influence of political parties on French politics. They therefore had to limit the powers of parliament. This is also the reason why the role of political parties in the Fifth Republic is much weaker compared to many other western democratic countries [21].

After the reform of 1962, the President, like Parliament, is directly elected by the people. Then, the government led by his prime minister is accountable to parliament. According to Maurice Duverger [21, p. 70], this French model can be classified as a semi-presidential system.

According to Knapp and Wright [15] the central power of the Fifth Republic's semi presidential system is concentrated in the hands of President and Prime Minister (France's dual executive). However, the President is much more powerful than the Prime Minister because the constitution of 1958 gives the President some special powers, such as the full control of the country when the country is under serious threat (article 16). The President also has the right to call a referendum (article 11) and is mentioned as the constitutional guarantor (article 5). In relation with prime minister, the president can appoint the prime minister (article 8). The prime minis-

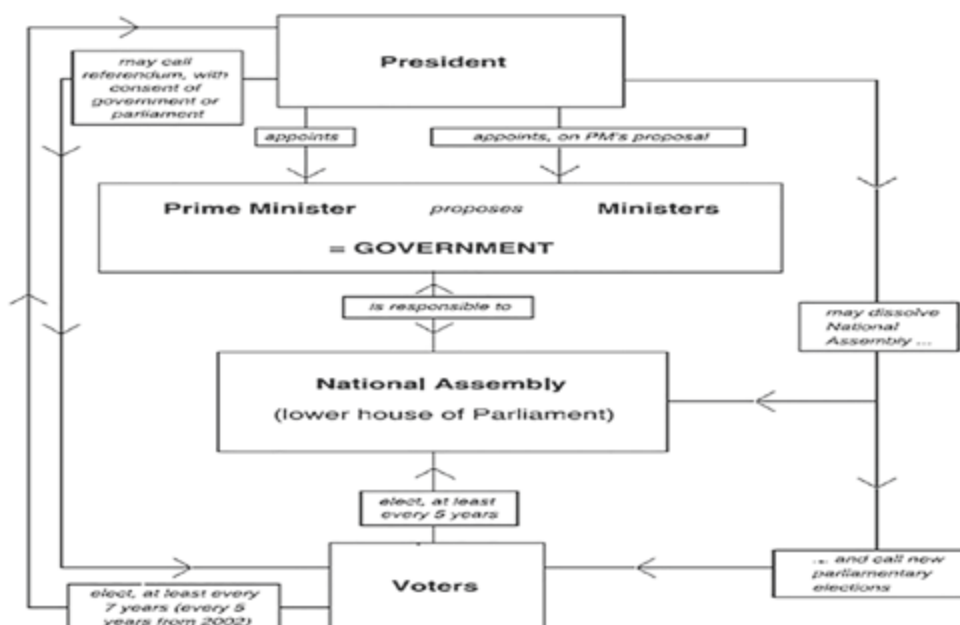
ter is responsible to the parliament, but the president can dissolve the parliament (article 12). In the case of the president has the majority in parliament, the president automatically doesn't need the cohabitation with opponent political parties for the position of prime minister. In this situation, the president will have a complete control of whole government, not only in the areas of foreign policies and defence which are already reserved for the president.

With these many privileges for the president, British experts of French politics, Knapp and Wright, call the French political system as republican monarch. Far from being confined to Chaban's *domaine réservé*, presidential policymaking could be expanded to any sector. It combines many of the powers of the American presidential system (a secure term of office, and for seven years not four[Author's note: Since 2002: for 5 years]) and the British prime minister (a stable parliamentary of majority, and the right to dissolve), the French president appeared as more powerful than any Western leader [15].

Then, the last component of *trias politica*, the judiciary, occupies a clearly subordinate position based on Jacobin tradition of the state. According to Jacobin tradition, the nation and its representatives have been mandated by the people through universal suffrage to make and to unmake the laws which enables them to take precedence of judiciary. Hence, the task of judiciary is merely to administer the law. This means, the competition of power in French tradition excludes the judiciary which is not elected directly by the people [15].

The highest French judiciary which is constitutional council (*conseil constitutionnel*) consists of nine members. The President of the Republic and the Presidents of National Assembly and Senate each appoint three members of the Constitutional Council [21].

Table 2: The institutional structure of the Fifth Republic. Source : [15].



Another important aspect of institutional structure of the Fifth Republic is the centralization of power. As discussed in the previous part of this article, the Jacobin tradition is strongly visible in the Fifth Republic. Thus, the centralisation of power in Paris is an important feature of the regime of the Fifth Republic, especially during De Gaulle's presidency.

### Indonesian case

The institutional structure of the New Order Regime was characterized by the central role of the President. President Suharto had control over all areas of the executive branch, both internal and external affairs.

The President was elected by MPR (*Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat*) or People's Consultative Assembly. The majority of MPR's members were elected by the President himself [3, p. 49]. As a result, Suharto was able to hold the presidency for more than 30 years, longer than almost all other authoritarian regimes in the last half of 20<sup>th</sup> century.

The president was both the head of government and head of state. Structurally, the second most important executive position was the vice president. Constitutionally, the Vice President could assist the President both in domestic and external affairs. The Vice President was also elected by MPR with the approval of the President.

In practice, President dominated almost all political decisions. The Vice President had no significant role and could function optimally in the case of the absence of the President.

The Government Cabinet was designed entirely by the President. Most of them came from the dominant political party under Suharto's leadership, namely Golkar (Golongan Karya). According to the constitution, the governmental process was supervised by the Parliament. But it did not work well because most members of Parliament were from Suharto's Golkar political party [3, p. 50]. Furthermore, Suharto's position became even stronger with the active participation of military in Parliament, where they have their own seats. Thus, the position of the president in Indonesia during the New Order era was stronger than many other presidents in the countries with presidential systems, especially in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

As for the position of the judiciary, the judiciary system in Indonesia during the New Order was designed to be subordinate to the powerful President. This was because most high positions in the judiciary were chosen by the President's approval.

### Comparison and Analyse

The institutional structure of Charles de Gaulle's regime was generally based on authoritarian character on the one hand and a democratic character on the other. The authoritarian character was reflected in the extensive power of the President. Meanwhile the democratic character was visible in the electoral system where the people elected their president

through opened universal suffrage. Within the framework of the informal structural institution, de Gaulle also gave other political parties relatively fair competition.

The case of Suharto's regime was different. All sides of the institutional structure were dominated by authoritarian characteristics. Beside the extensive power of the President, there was no fair universal suffrage. The President has manipulated the system of universal suffrage for his own interest. For example, limiting the number of political parties based on unfair regulation and competition.

There were only three political parties namely Golkar, PPP and PDI. With the *dwi fungsi* ABRI, Golkar became the only option for the people of military background. Furthermore, the military which was Suharto's main supporter, already had its own seats in Parliament [20]. With this model, Suharto's political party (Golkar) always won universal suffrage.

If we see the Merkel's typology, we can conclude that de Gaulle's regime can be categorized into both an authoritarian and a democratic political regime. It is authoritarian because of the monopoly of power which was concentrated in the hands of President. It is democratic because the President was elected by opened universal suffrage.

Meanwhile, Suharto's regime is based on the Merkel's typology of an authoritarian regime. Firstly, it is because Suharto as President monopolised power. Secondly, it is due to the restrictive universal suffrage (possibly the right to vote, but without or with only limited pluralistic free and fair elections).

Based on the structure of power, Suharto can then be classified as authoritarian because his regime applied a semi-pluralistic model of structural power, while de Gaulle's regime applied a pluralistic model which means democratic.

## Legal and constitutional foundation

### French case

The legal and constitutional foundation of the Fifth Republic is the constitution of 1958. This constitution is based on some values that we can also see partly in the constitution of 1791 of the French Revolution, such as the principle of indivisibility, laicity and democracy.

In terms of the political and governmental system, it was designed to give the maximum power to the executive at the expense of parliament. It also emphasizes the importance of centralizing power to prevent the division of the French people. As for the principle of democracy, Concerning the principle of democracy, it is applied in universal suffrage for the election of the President and the members of Parliament.

### Indonesian case

UUD 1945 (Constitution of 1945) is the constitutional and legal foundation of Indonesia during the New Order. Besides, Indonesian state has Pancasila as its philosophy. Many val-

ues in both UUD and Pancasila correspond with the values of democracy: like the principle of the justice, social welfare and the equality, especially after some amendments in the era of *Reformasi* (after the regime of *Orde Baru* ended). Some of these amendments are concerning the universal suffrage for the election of the president and the head of local government such as the governor and mayor.

Pancasila as a national philosophy has not changed to this day. Before it was officialised by the State, it was called *Piagam Jakarta* with some minor differences. Then, the final text named Pancasila (Five Pillars) is always the same since the proclamation of Indonesian Independence on August 17, 1945.

During the presidency of Suharto, Pancasila was used as a unique philosophy for all political parties and other social and political organisations. Therefore, Suharto made a new interpretation of Pancasila, which was the unique interpretation recognised by Suharto's regime. All attempts to make a different interpretation were considered as anti-Pancasila by the regime and the consequence can be a repressive [2, p. 309-312].

### Comparison and analyse

Constitution of 1958 is controversial because it emphasizes the distribution of extensive power to the executive branch, particularly the President. This constitution is also debatable because it cannot resolve the classical problem of French politics which is deep division between left and right. The constitution can last longer than its predecessor, but it cannot prevent the systemic crisis of French national politics.

Based on Merkel's typology from Merkel, this constitution can be classified as a constitution for authoritarian regime. Firstly, because it supports the monopoly of power by the president. Secondly, it also reduces the role of Parliament and political parties in French political life.

If compare the constitution of UUD 1945 during the regime of Suharto (before amendments in the era of Reformation) with the constitution of 1958 (after the reform of 1962), we can see that the first one is less democratic than the second one. The first one did not guarantee people's full freedom in relation to the political parties they chose to support. It was also less democratic because it didn't allow people to elect their president according to their preference. In France during the de Gaulle's regime in the Fifth Republic (after the reform of 1962), the French people could elect the President via opened universal suffrage. Meanwhile in Indonesia under Suharto's presidency, the president was elected by the MPR, the majority of whose members were elected by the president himself.

If we use Merkel's typology, it is evident that UUD 1945 (before amendment in the era of Reformation) tended to support authoritarian regimes, since it did not provide for opened universal suffrage and did not prevent the monopoly of polit-

ical power by the president.

Concerning the constitution of 1958, it is democratic on the one hand and non-democratic on the other. It is democratic for its provision regarding opened universal suffrage (after the reform of 1962). But it is also non-democratic or authoritarian because it does not prevent the president to have extensive claim of power and to monopoly the power at the expense of parliament.

## Practices

### French case

The most notable practice of de Gaulle's regime was generally divided into three main sectors: economics, defence and technology, and foreign affairs. According to the constitution, foreign affairs and defence are *domaines réservés* for the President. The rest should be given to prime ministers and his cabinet.

In the field of defence and technology, de Gaulle strengthened France's military capacity and independence by developing nuclear power and weapon. Since then, France has become the most powerful nuclear power in Europe (outside the Uni-Soviet). France also developed high tech military weapons on a large scale. De Gaulle would build France with military superiority and at the same time with huge capacity of export in this domain.

Then, France withdrew from the command structure of NATO. In de Gaulle's view, France's active participation US-led organisation such as NATO would weaken France's independent position on the international stage [16, p. 196-197].

In the domain of foreign policy, de Gaulle, decided to give Algeria full independence after a referendum that he proposed to the French citizen. The decision to give Algeria full freedom is one of the Gaulle's most important foreign policies. As already known, Algeria had been an integral part of France for long time and its economic, social, and political contribution to France was significant.

Another important foreign policy decision made by de Gaulle is the alliance of *Franco-Allemand*. This alliance was very central in the foreign policy under de Gaulle. With this alliance, de Gaulle wanted to reduce the political, economic, and military influence of the Anglo-Saxon countries over France [16, p. 194]. This political move was consistent with the concept of de Gaullism, whose mission is to restore the greatness and prestige of independent France on the international stage.

After the *Franco-Allemand* alliance, de Gaulle's most important foreign policy is the establishment of EEC (European Economic Community). This European construction included France, Germany, Italy, and Benelux countries. De Gaulle hoped that the EEC would improve the French economy and reduce the influence of Anglo-Saxon countries over French economy. Therefore, de Gaulle insisted on excluding Eng-



land from this European organisation [16, p. 197].

In the concept of Gaullism, foreign and domestic policies are strongly intertwined. For example, to restore the greatness of France, France needs a strong economy. And to improve the French economy, France needs to build a common market within the framework of the ECC.

After a few years under de Gaulle's presidency, the French economy, especially its export capacity, increased significantly. In that category, France was in the third position, only behind USA, Germany, and Japan [16]. De Gaulle saw this as positive outcome of his economic model of dirigisme. Dirigisme is the model in which the state intervenes extensively in economic affairs. In this model, the state deals with economic matters from a political point of view and interest. Some authors considered this model an authoritarian model because it is not good for the liberal market system.

### Indonesian case

In Indonesia, Suharto fully controlled all areas of leadership. All his policies were based on the concept of *Pembangunan* (development)[11]. This concept of the development combined with the mentality of P4 became his legitimization to claim and to exercise extensive political power in many important areas such as politics, economic, socio culture, military and foreign policy.

In the political sphere, Suharto built a dominant political party which is Golkar (*Golongan Karya*). This party won all universal suffrage. This political party was designed to give Suharto majority seats in Parliament. In the first phases, the military generals dominated most strategical positions, but the most powerful person in this party remained Suharto.

In the sociocultural sphere, Suharto restricted the establishment of social and cultural organisations. When permitted, their functions and activities were severely restricted and monitored by the government. In short, it was typical repressive approach that Suharto used in this domain [14].

In the economic sector, Suharto was successful in term of nominal GDP. Indonesian economic increased significantly for some periods. But this positive resulted lasted only until 1980s. In 1990s, the number of unemployed increased significantly, the inflation was inevitable, and the people started to question the economic policies of the president which according to some authors, gave maximal benefit only to certain people around Suharto.

In the military sector, Suharto strengthened the role of ABRI (*Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia*) to secure his position as president. With *dwi fungsi* ABRI, Suharto managed to integrate the military into other aspects of life such as politics, economics, socio-cultural life. The military was Suharto's main supporter until the 1980s. After that, the military tended to change its political direction. The military started to be less dependent on Suharto. As a result, Suharto sought to build a new base of his supporters mainly from ci-

vilian people, such as the moderate Muslim scholars and the technocrats [19].

In the foreign policy, Suharto adopted a pro-West policy. Most foreign investors in Indonesia came from the West, such as USA, Germany, and Japan[Author's note: *Japan is geographically located in the East, but economically and politically considered as part of the West because of its liberal policies*]. Besides, Indonesia under Suharto's regime was also highly dependent into other western institutions such as IMF and World Bank. The economic tendency toward liberal economy with high foreign investment needs solid national economic system which needs stability of national political situation. In the end, Indonesia was not strong enough to compete in the global and capital system [18]. Internal economic and political situation was instable, the number of unemployed increased significantly and everywhere people urged the president to step down, to resign from his position.

Another important event in the foreign affairs of Indonesia under Suharto's presidency is the integration of Timor Timur into Indonesian state. Some scholars consider this policy authoritarian because Suharto used military force to annex Timor Timur.

### Comparison and Analyse

The practice of political power in the Fifth Republic of Charles de Gaulle in the economic field is characterised by high intervention of the state or dirigisme. The concept of dirigisme itself originated from the model of *colbertisme*, named after the French minister of the finance in the era of Louis XVI [16]. This model is an authoritarian character because it limited the freedom of some important actors in the free market, such as the investors and the owner of multinational companies.

In the case of Suharto, according to some authors, some of his policies were considered as corrupted. Suharto gave privilege to his families in the expense of public priorities.

In the socio-political area, Charles de Gaulle's regime was relatively strict but still democratic. He did not like a repressive approach towards his political opponents or anyone who had different idea or opinion. He was a general with a scholarly mentality who prioritized rational thought and dialogue to solve socio-political problems.

Meanwhile, Suharto often employed repressive approaches to confront his political opponents. He also restricted socio-political activities, particularly until the 1980s. Suharto also founded a dominant political party and designed an unfair system of universal suffrage as already explained in the previous part of this article.

In the military, de Gaulle tried to secure the dependent position of France on the international scene and improve its capacity through the development of high-tech military weapons. Meanwhile Suharto used the military for his political interest, such as through *dwi fungsi* ABRI.

So, based on the comparison above, we can classify de Gaulle as typically patriotic but also authoritarian. It is because his dirigisme policy in the economy was not in accordance with the principle of freedom, which according to the typology from Merkel means the monopoly of power in the hands of the president.

Meanwhile, Suharto's economic policy was corrupted due to its unfair distribution which is associated with the monopoly of this sector by his family. In this case, he can be categorised as an authoritarian leader who has abused his power.

In the area of foreign affairs, de Gaulle and Suharto had contradictory policies each other. De Gaulle tried to defend national interest in various areas such as military, economy and politics. Therefore, Gaulle tried to limit cooperation with the USA and England that he considered important to maintain France's independent position. This policy was integral to the concept of Gaullism to restore France's greatness and the greatness and independent position of France on the international scene.

Meanwhile, Suharto tried to build strong economic cooperation with the West, particularly USA, Germany, and Japan. This policy was merely based on economic calculation considering that USA, Germany, and Japan were in that time the biggest economy in the world. In my view, from this point, we cannot conclude whether they are authoritarian or democratic.

The paradox between de Gaulle and Suharto in foreign policy is also visible in the case of Algeria and Timor Timur. De Gaulle proposed the referendum regarding the independence of Algeria. After majority of French voted for independence, de Gaulle decided to give full independence to Algeria. Meanwhile, Suharto used military forces to annexe Timor Timur. In this case, based on Merkel's typology, we can categorize Suharto as an authoritarian regime who used repressive means.

## Result of their activities

### French case

One of the most remarkable results of political activities of de Gaulle's regime is a massive demonstration in Paris in May 1968. This crisis described social, political, and economic situation in France after a decade under Charles de Gaulle's leadership.

French society is historically quite identical to such a protest movement. Usually, they do it when they are not satisfied with the political and economic situation. According to Lüsebrink[16], in French tradition, it was the intelligentsia who usually became the architect of such movement.

The intelligentsia, represented mainly by the students, had initiated the movement in response to their dissatisfaction with the education system France, which they found too rigid, centralised and based on authoritarian hierarchy [4].

Hence, they urged the government to make a radical reform.

Then, this movement developed rapidly after the people from the unions of the working class joint them on the street. They wanted a better minimum wage, open-scale negotiations on pay and better health care system [7].

De Gaulle thought that he needed a reform to improve the socio-political and economic situation in France. He also promised to resign from the presidency if this referendum was not supported by French people.

The result of referendum showed that majority of French people did not support the reform. Therefore, General de Gaulle must fulfil his promise to leave his presidency and he did it in 1969 [12].

### Indonesian case

In Indonesia there was also a large protest movement in Mai, but in 1998 or forty years after the massive protest movement in Paris. Like the protest in Paris, it was initiated by students dissatisfied with the socio-political and economic situation in Indonesia.

The crisis also took place during the great economic crisis in Southeast Asia. During this period, the value of the national currency of Indonesia (rupiah) fell significantly. Unemployment was everywhere, the price of basic necessities increased uncontrollably, and the corruption in the government became more acute [6, p. 26-27].

Then, this student's effort was followed by other groups such as people from unions of working class and social activists. Like the students, they all urged the president to step down. They accused Suharto's regime of an authoritarian regime. They also asked a reform to end the crisis.

Since then, Suharto was politically not good. He got high pressure to resign everywhere. This pressure came not only from the protesters on the street, but also social activist, religious activists, and politicians and many other professions [23]. Even many military generals that were formerly the supporters of Suharto, turned their position be against him [19].

Faced with this critical situation, Suharto finally decided to resign. His minister of technology, BJ Habibie, replaced him and the era of *Orde Baru* which lasted almost 32 years finally came to an end.

### Comparison and analyse

Both protest movements in France and in Indonesia were people's response to the socio-political and economic crisis. Both protesters called for a reform to end the crisis and improve their social, political and economic quality of life. Both also accused their government of an authoritarian regime.

The difference between them lies in the way their presidents responded it. In France, de Gaulle's approach was relatively more moderate, while in Indonesia, Suharto was relatively more repressive. In Indonesia, this demonstration costed very expensive: some students even died after a clash between the protesters and the security personnel.

If we analysed it with Merkel's typology, we can say that the repressive way adopted by Suharto is an authoritarian characteristic. Meanwhile the decision of de Gaulle to be more cooperative with students is typical of a democratic leader. Besides, de Gaulle's decision to propose a referendum and to resign after losing the referendum is consistent with the value of democracy.

## CONCLUSION

Based on the analyses and comparisons above, we can conclude that authoritarian regime can take whether partial form or complete form. In the case of Charles de Gaulle, the authoritarianism took partial form, such as in economic policy and some of his political decisions regarding centralisation of administrative power. The authoritarian characteristic is also visible in the draft of new constitution he architected in 1958 which is associated with the extensive power of the president in detriment of the parliament. In some other sides, de Gaulle showed some democratic characteristics such as his decisions to propose the referendums and his cooperative approach towards a huge demonstration on Mai 1968.

Meanwhile, Suharto's regime is based on the typology from Merkel is much more authoritarian than de Gaulle's regime. His repressive approach against the opponents, his extensive claim and monopoly of power, his design in organising universal suffrage and his semi pluralistic structure of power are some examples of his authoritarianism. That is why Suharto's regime lasted much longer than de Gaulle's regime, even probably longer than all authoritarian regimes that ever existed in the second half of 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Thus, we can state the following similarities between the regimes of Suharto and de Gaulle:

1. Both regimes established a new political order aimed at overcoming the crisis of the previous government.

General Suharto's "New Order". Establishing the "new order", the general began with the formation of a new political structure of the state. It is noteworthy that Suharto and his entourage did not destroy the foundations of the former political and ideological structures. The General remained committed to the 1945 Constitution and its ideological basis. The main ideological basis of the new course, as well as under the previous regime, were the principles of "Punch power" and the philosophy of Marhaenism, which turned out to be very convenient for the organization and functioning of the authoritarian regime.

2. Establishment of a presidential-type republic with elements of the state-administrative unification.

Suharto established a presidential-type unitary republic with the broadest powers of the head of state - which de Gaulle did in France, who achieved the adoption in 1958 of a new Constitution that consolidated the model of a mixed (semi-presidential) republic, with the actual withdrawal of the figure of the President of the Republic beyond the sys-

tem of checks and balances. The 1958 Constitution radically changed the governance of France, its state-administrative system. A republic of presidential type of government was established in the country. According to the new basic law in France, the prerogatives of the executive branch (the President and the Government) have been significantly expanded at the expense of the legislative branch (Parliament).

3. Strengthening the role of the institution of the state, state regulation of political life.

One of the main tasks set by the new government was to regulate political life in the country even more strictly and limit it to the framework of state ideology and politics. That is why the main pillar of the government was the army, which under Suharto began to play a decisive role in state policy. The concept of the "dual function" of the armed forces was officially adopted, the essence of which was that the army became the leading political force in all spheres of public life. The tendency to statistize socio-political life manifested itself in France under Charles de Gaulle, which caused discontent among part of the elite and a wide range of socio-political forces, resulting in the events of 1968-1969. There was no militarization of politics under de Gaulle, at the same time, the general's authority as a military and leader of the French Resistance became one of the foundations of the political regime he was building.

4. The desire to limit the influence of the political opposition.

It is no coincidence that there was no legal opposition and freedom of the press in Indonesia until 1998. The stability of the state was created by General Suharto by dictatorial methods of suppressing any dissent – President de Gaulle tried to limit elements of political and ideological pluralism in France, which caused quite widespread public discontent.

5. Creation of political parties and movements supporting the "new deal".

Supporters of the "new order" have moved on to the search for political support in the country and for this purpose have chosen one of the most massive organizations in Indonesia as their object. Efforts were made to strengthen and expand the pro-Government Golkar group (Joint Secretariat of Functional Groups). It was established in 1964 among civilians, mainly trade unions, to provide assistance and support to the military. The organization was created in accordance with the official concept of the absence of classes in Indonesia. It was argued that in the country there are only groups of people endowed with a particular social function. Based on this, the Secretariat was not officially called a political party.

Under Suharto, Golkar turned into a powerful political party, a kind of support front for the "new order", a pillar of the military and the government. The backbone of Golkar began to be the "Union of Reserve Officers" and the "Corps of Civil Servants", uniting officials of local administrations. In addition, the Secretariat included professional, cooperative, youth, women's and other organizations. De Gaulle became the founder of a powerful Gaullist movement in France,

which gained a powerful mass base and the support of a significant segment of the country's political elite, which turned him into an influential political force in France, which retains its influence to this day ("Republicans").

In 1947, de Gaulle founded the political organization "The Union of the French People". Its main goal was proclaimed the struggle for the abolition of the Constitution of 1946 and the conquest of power by parliamentary means to carry out a radical reform of the French state system. The general and his supporters then failed to achieve their goal. In 1953, de Gaulle dissolved the Association of the French People and withdrew from political activity.

6. Liberalization of the economy in order to ensure its dynamic development.

In 1967, the "Law on Foreign Capital Investments" was adopted in the field of economic development, which provided large benefits to foreign investors of capital. Foreign investors were exempt from taxes, received the right to transfer profits abroad, etc. In turn, the modernization of the French economy, which began under de Gaulle, provided the country with prosperity for several decades.

7. The economic boom as a consequence of the relative stabilization of political systems.

Following the stabilization of the economy at the turn of the 70-80s, an economic boom began, which lasted until the end of the 90s. Indonesia has become the world's leading producer of rare non-ferrous metals: tin, nickel and copper. The development of large copper deposits, the extraction of nickel ore and bauxite with the help of foreign companies proceeded at a rapid pace. The economic transformation that began under de Gaulle formed the basis of the "Glorious Thirtieth Anniversary", which provided France with several years of high-quality socio-economic development and comfortable living conditions.

8. Modernization of the national economy.

In the late 70s– early 80s, a new stage in economic development began. There has been a reorientation in the economy towards the production and output of manufacturing goods. The country's dependence on petrodollars has decreased. New industries developed on the basis of their own raw material base. The textile and chemical industries began to develop rapidly, followed by electronics and radio engineering, automotive and aviation industries.

9. Successes in the economic field.

The successes in the economy in the period of the 70s - 80s, of course, are indisputable. GNP growth was quite high and amounted to 7.5% annually in the mid-90s. It is no coincidence that Sukarno was called the "father of development" in Indonesia and abroad. Indonesia, in terms of its development, has approached the countries that are called the "four dragons" (Hong Kong, Singapore, Taiwan, South Korea). The country has turned from an agrarian-raw-material country into an agrarian-industrial power, and in terms of the size of the national income of the population has taken a place

among developing countries with an average level of development. The reforms that began under de Gaulle contributed to the re-industrialization of France and allowed it to avoid plunging into the "inertial phase" into which it entered later.

10. Persistent problems in development.

At the same time, the underwater reefs and difficulties of the Indonesian economy persisted in Indonesia: the predominance of raw materials export specialization, a constant passive balance in foreign trade, weak infrastructure and, finally, strong dependence on external debt, which absorbed about a third of Indonesia's total exports. You can add to this the constant increase in spending on the army and the looting of the country by the Suharto clan. The economy, even in conditions of rapid development, was accompanied by negative processes that led to an economic crisis, and in politics – to political cataclysms that entailed new changes in the state. De Gaulle's reforms, in turn, were hampered by the revealed inefficiency of the French state, its bureaucracy, and the defects of the national political system.

11. Reproduction of the established political regime

In May 1998, the People's Consultative Congress re-elected Suharto President for a sixth five-year term. Nothing foreshadowed political battles. The system of elections was such that, in any scenario of political forces, the president ensured victory for himself. Out of 500 deputies, 358 seats belonged to Golkar, and another 100 seats were appointed by the president himself. In his turn, President de Gaulle failed to implement a full-fledged corporatization of French politics, although there was a certain trend in this direction. While in office, de Gaulle used in practice all the most important prerogatives of the president. In April 1961, during the "revolt of the generals" in Algeria, he imposed a state of emergency in the country. In November 1962, when, for the only time in the history of the Fifth Republic, the "resolution of censure" gathered an absolute majority of votes in the lower house of Parliament, the President dissolved the National Assembly. This happened after de Gaulle decided, bypassing parliament, to submit to a general referendum the most important amendment to the constitution, according to which the president of the republic was to be elected by universal suffrage.

Then, from the analyses and comparisons, we can also conclude that there are some features of the authoritarian regime of 20<sup>th</sup> century. Firstly, they are usually initiated by military high officer, for example the general such as the cases of Suharto in Indonesia and Charles de Gaulle in France. They took benefit of the critical situation in his country. By this way, they can legitimate them as the national heroes and saviours and then claim his legitimization for the power.

Besides, from the perspective of time, we may also say that the authoritarianism of the 20th century is characterized by the strong involvement and influence of the military. Both Suharto and de Gaulle used their supporters from military as their primary instrument in the first process to the power.

## Источники и литература / Sources and references

- Adam H. Bausteine der Politik / H. Adam, Heidelberg: VS Verlag, 2007. 400 c.
- Ali A. S. Negara Pancasila : jalan kemaslahatan berbangsa / A. S. Ali, Jakarta: Penerbit Pustaka LP3ES, 2009. 329 c.
- Anggara S. Sistem Politik Indonesia / S. Anggara, Bandung: Penerbit Pustaka Setia, 2013. 364 c.
- Beneton P., Touchard J. Les interpretations de la crise de mai-juin 1968 // Revue Francaise de Science Politique. 1970. № 20 (3). С. 503–544.
- Biryukov S. Yuzef Pylsudskyy: Sluchay bonapartyzma // Agentstvo Politicheskikh Novostey. 2015. Доступно по: <https://www.apn.ru/publications/article33369.htm>. Ссылка активна на 15.02.2022.
- Bourchier D., Hadiz V. R. Pemikiran Sosial Politik Indonesia Periode 1965-1999 / D. Bourchier, V. R. Hadiz, Jakarta: Pustaka Utama Grafiti, 2006. 433 c.
- Chirac J., Barre J.-L. My Life in Politics / J. Chirac, J.-L. Barre, London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012. 352 c.
- Elson R. Suharto. Sebuah Biografi Politik / R. Elson, Jakarta: Pustaka Minda Utama, 2005. 718 c.
- Flanagan P., Southwood J. Teror Orde Baru / P. Flanagan, J. Southwood, Jakarta: Komunitas Bambu, 2013. 368 c.
- Gutorov V. A. Gollizm i sovremennaya rossiya. Utrata ili obretenie traditsii? // Cyber Leninka. 2005. Доступно по: <https://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/gollizm-i-sovremennaya-rossiya-utrata-ili-obretenie-traditsii>. Ссылка активна на 14.02.2022.
- Hadi S. Strategi Pembangunan Mahathir & Soeharto / S. Hadi, Jakarta: Pelangi Cendekia, 2005. 408 c.
- Hentschel V. Charles de Gaulle. Eine kurze Geschichte seines Lebens (1890-1970) / V. Hentschel, Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag AG, 2016. 262 c.
- J.A D. Jatuhnya Soeharto dan Transisi Demokrasi Indonesia / D. J.A, Ebook-е изд., Jakarta: Inspirasi.co, 2006. 125 c.
- Kasenda P. Soeharto. Bagaimana Ia Bisa Melanggengkan Kekuasaan Selama 32 Tahun? / P. Kasenda, Jakarta: Penerbit Buku Kompas, 2013. 276 c.
- Knapp A., Wright V. The Government and Politics of France / A. Knapp, V. Wright, Fifth Edition-е изд., London: Routledge, 2006. 535 c.
- Lüsebrink H.-J. Frankreich. Wirtschaft, Gesellschaft, Politik, Kultur, Mentalitäten / H.-J. Lüsebrink, Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 2018. 263 c.
- Merkel W. Vergleich politischer Systeme: Demokratien und Autokratien под ред. М. G. Schmidt, F. Wolf, S. Wurster, Wiesbaden: Springer VS, 2013. С. 207–236.
- Raillon F. Politik dan Ideologi Mahasiswa Indonesia / F. Raillon, Jakarta: LP3ES, 1985. 361 c.
- Said S. H. Menyaksikan 30 Tahun Pemerintahan Otoriter Soeharto / S. H. Said, Bandung: Penerbit Mizan, 2016. 289 c.
- Santoso P. B. Birokrasi Pemerintah Orde Baru / P. B. Santoso, Jakarta: PT Raja Grafindo Persada, 1993. 168 c.
- Schild J., Uterwedde H. Frankreich. Politik, Wirtschaft, Gesellschaft / J. Schild, H. Uterwedde, Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2006. 315 c.
- Siaroff A. Comparative European Party Systems / A. Siaroff, New York: Garland Publishing Inc, 2000. 484 c.
- Suparno B. A. Reformasi dan Runtuhnya Soeharto / B. A. Suparno, Jakarta: Penerbit Buku Kompas, 2012. 238 c.
- Williams A. Charles de Gaulle: The Warrior as Statesman // Global Society. 2018. С. 1-14.

### Информация об авторах:

**Ахмад Муляди**, аспирант кафедры политологии Томского государственного университета. Республика Индонезия. E-mail: [vanmulyadi85@gmail.com](mailto:vanmulyadi85@gmail.com).

**Бирюков Сергей Владимирович**, д.полит.н., профессор кафедры истории Кемеровского государственного медицинского университета. E-mail: [birs.07@mail.ru](mailto:birs.07@mail.ru).

**Вклад авторов:** авторы в равной степени участвовали в подготовке и написании статьи.

### Authors information:

**Ahmad Mulyadi**, Postgraduate student of the Department of Political Science of Tomsk State University, Republic of Indonesia. E-mail: [vanmulyadi85@gmail.com](mailto:vanmulyadi85@gmail.com).

**Biryukov Sergey Vladimirovich**, Advanced Doctor in Political science, Full Professor Department of history of Kemerovo state medical University. E-mail: [birs.07@mail.ru](mailto:birs.07@mail.ru).

**Contribution of the authors:** the authors were equally involved in the preparation and writing of the article.