

The collaborators of Charles de Gaulle at the Matignon and Elysee

*Ioana Panagoreț**

* Universitatea "Valahia" din Targoviste, Centrul Teritorial pentru Învățământ la distanță – Alexandria, Str.1 Mai, nr.107, Jud. Teleorman, E-mail: ioana_panagoret@yahoo.com

Abstract: The collaborators of Charles de Gaulle at the Matignon and Elysee. Leading figure of French and European policy, especially during the period he was as president of France, Charles de Gaulle created the Gaullist current liability which has given its name, and addressed the social, economic and political problems taking attitude in their evolution them. Founder of the V Republic, the general was able to choose employees that were part of his entourage, an entourage of otherwise quite limited in choosing the collaborators, both at the Elysée and Matignon, de Gaulle returned to the first people who knew him, he worked with and which they felt devotion and discretion, qualities that he appreciated first.

Key words: collaborators, entourage, Matignon, Elysée, cabinet

The divisions in the bosom of the National Assembly of the Fourth Republic and also the lack of authority, made it unable to solve the problems it had to face, namely : the crisis in Algeria, budget balance, government instability, dissatisfaction of the army ,the police and the public, other difficulties which grew from day to day.

As early as May 13, 1958, the Fourth Republic was in agony. Day of June 1, 1958 marks the end of this agony and the National Assembly recognizes its helplessness investing General de Gaulle with 309 votes for and 224 against, the Chairman of the Board. Thus, de Gaulle became the last president of the Council of the Fourth Republic, which the Republic leaves his legacy through the voice of the National Assembly full powers, meaning doubling of special powers in Algeria but also constitutional powers. To entrust the Council's presidency to General De Gaulle's, was equivalent to a revolution, because the full power was in fact the conversion system required and the establishment of a new regime.

How De Gaulle had never hidden his intention to establish a new regime, without waiting, he launched a vast program that included: a draft

constitution, economic measures, launching Community assertion of independence and more. Thus, installed since the beginning of June at the Hotel Matignon, de Gaulle had to restore democracy, a state power.

To meet and address this new challenge, the new President of the Council has surrounded by about 10 employees, whose careers, how were they recruited and what functions have aroused the interest of many questions among historians and others. This paper tries to find some answers in this respect by making an exhaustive study of the General Charles de Gaulle entourage during June 1958-27 April 1969.

For this were considered first ministers and has tried to analyze the influence of figures such as that of Michel Debré, who had no official government functions, but could in certain circumstances to influence the President Council.

The sources used here are the memories, the press and biographical dictionares and testimonies of several collaborators. This study is narrower, the entourage of General de Gaulle was portrayed here in its narrower sense, ie the 20 cabinet members from

Matignon whose nomination appeared in the Official Journal.

We add here two of the most influential members of the Secretariat General for Algerian Affairs, attached to the Council presidency, MM. René and Bernard Tricot which, although they were working on the streets Lille can be regarded as some direct employees of General de Gaulle of the extent of the problem Algeria. Analysis of a very different team than many, our urges caution, especially when you know how greedy was general in his entourage at the Elysée and more on one of the Matignon.

It is clear that the first general returned to the people who knew, how worked with and which they felt devotion and discretion, qualities that by saying his collaborators, we consider first.

Since the events of May 13, General de Gaulle had a small private staff working on Solferino street, consisting of MM. Olivier Guichard and Jacques Foccart, which ceased to work with him all the time "crossing the desert", who were joined by Pierre Lefranc, who knew the General since the war. In late May, finding the revolt in Corsica, General de Gaulle asked Pompidou, the teacher pay in the State Council, CEO of Rothschild Bank, to constitute the Council President's Office.

This small team was quickly increased by the arrival of other "old" in the RPF (French People's Assembly) who were asked the Pompidou and Olivier Guichard, namely MM. Raymond Labelle, Jacques Richard, MM. Philippe Ragueneau, comrades in the Liberation Movement, and René Ribière, a personal friend of Olivier Guichard.

The place of "loyal" in the Cabinet totalitate "political friends" of the General, formed the essential core of the Cabinet, 14 members of a total of 22 were close to General in one time or another in his career. Thus, of the 22 Cabinet members, 14 were very close to General, 7 were from the period 1940-1944, 3 in the period 1944-1946 (GPRF), 9 in the period 1947-1953 (RPF) and 3 in the period 1953-1958.

Speaking of the political origins of cabinet members and fidelity to General de Gaulle, one can say that the total of all the different periods is higher than the corresponding figure of 14, some persons were close to General during several periods: such was in the RPF, Olivier Guichard, then head general's office during the "crossing the desert". In time of war were detained some members of the cabinet, some of whom were either French free or members of the resist, or companions to Liberation. Obviously this concerned

the adherence to the actions and ideas of General de Gaulle and not a physical presence with him.

When referring to the RPF category, given those who have exercised such functions among Assembly as Beaulaincourt and Pompidou, who were one head of office and other private secretary general during this period. Majority of the employees (about half of them) were part of the "Gaullist crucible" of the RPF, along with the General during this period.

So, is not a chance if the Matignon is found a former secretary of the RPF, Jacques Focard, a general secretary of the National Council of RPF Jacques Richard and a national secretary of the youth and students, Pierre Lefranc.

According with the General de Gaulle collaborators opinion, one of the most important problems of that time was reform of the state, that of institutions and political problems arising therefore. Otherwise, the "political" businesses have been treated under the leadership of Olivier Guichard him having a huge task to track the establishment of mechanisms of state, put a bridge between the new state and political class to explain to people what is happening.

The Fifth Republic operated by prefects of the Fourth Republic, as was concerned politicians, freedom was restricted and those voters were now taking real decisions. To create a political force that it supports the General, the team led by Olivier Guichard, who was part of MM. Jacques Foccart, Pierre Lefranc, Jacques René Ribière and Richard, took part in the creation of UNR in October 1958.

Strictly institutional problems have been attributed to Raymond's Janot Secretary General of the Council of State. He knew Georges Pompidou, who naturally asked him to become a technical adviser in charge of constitutional and social issues. Thus M. Janot has come to coordinate preparatory work of the new constitution in collaboration with M. Debré.

If we make a first analysis of the features common to most members of the cabinet appear two fundamental points: a community of generation that more than half of general employees are between 35-44 years, and an academic home on the following: National School of Administration-1; Polytechnic-1, Ecole Normale Supérieure-3, 5 Military School, School of Literary Studies-1, 1 Commercial School, Legal Studies and Political-9; Without higher education-1.

There is a clear predominance of political and legal studies, almost half the cabinet members are

The collaborators of Charles de Gaulle at the Matignon and Elysee

former students of the School of Political Sciences. By studying more closely during their university, you realize that more than half have more degrees, overlapping license law and political science letters representing the most common formation.

In addition to the homogeneity of age, taking into account the last occupation exercised before entering the Cabinet had found the following structure: Council of State-2; Inspector Finance-2; Corp. prefectural-1, Diplomacy-2, other senior officials-2, University - 1; other officials-1, Officer-3, members of ministerial cabinets-2, members of the cabinet of General de Gaulle-3, Private sector-3.

When a collaborator pursue two occupations simultaneously, was considered one that seemed to justify his best recruit. Poverty of this statistic structure do not prove richness of a career as that of G. Pompidou, which foat successively professor, teacher at the Court of Accounts of the State Council, dir.gen. Rothschild Bank..

In such a cabinet must appear clearly, however, the share of senior civil servants, because almost half the members are part of them but very relative numerical importance of the officials and not masking their influence. Indeed, the most important functions of the Cabinet, those of director and deputy director and the chief of cabinet are held by those who are not officials.

Therefore it should be noted that the first senior officials are elected to resolve most technical problems (although they were in many respects and political) on the other hand those who are not officials (already familiar with the political problems) were called to deal with files less technical and organizational functions and to exercise leadership even within the cabinet.

Although the era of political conjuncture was exceptional, the team at Matignon could not get rid of certain unwritten rules of formation of ministerial cabinets, namely that every office has his press service, charge its relationship with parliament. The cabinet press service was thus entrusted to specialists in media and information issues, Philippe Ragueneau, former head of the press service of RPF and Simone Servais coming from UN and G. Pompidou had asked to join the general's office.

Jacques Richard, was charged in relation to Parliament offices Fouchet and gentlemen Palewtschi received the Parliamentary Affairs and Raymond Labelle, a graduate of Ecole Normale, gather necessary documents General de Gaulle's speech. Pierre Lefranc,

who exercised the function of organizing the RPF was appointed Chief of Cabinet and as such organize press conferences, rallies, movements of the President of the Council, receptions and correspondence has been entrusted by Xavier Beaulaincourt, which occupies 10 years private secretariat of General de Gaulle. Thus, the Matignon office in June 1958, despite an undeniable originality due to its political homogeneity and the importance of certain records, was not different in fundamental structure of other ministerial offices.

Functions and people on the functions

One of the striking evolution of ministerial offices is to increase the role of Director of Cabinet. From this point of view, the role of the Matignon in June 1958, is the exception that proves the rule, G. Pompidou is called as "superminister".

He also has indulged himself to focus on the role para - ministerial that it held in 1958. He is the chair really all cabinet meetings and received most often by ministers. It is true that the professor, senior officials, the banker was more than any other able to drive just as good economic and financial sector and that of constitutional affairs. In this way managed to print the function of an important cabinet director rarely achieved. General was clearly a higher prestige and power than a normal head of government. Issues of importance to consider giving it a concern at that time, particularly the issue of Algeria, possession throughout France, the revision of the constitution, made the role of Director of Cabinet is certainly more important than one would have to be normal.

Special personality herself through its Director of Cabinet, the team at Matignon is noted and the style of labor relations between employees: these men have worked together with General often during RPF, knew and shared the same belief. Inevitably, these personal friends concluded with years before, created a climate of understanding and cohesion at work.

Olivier Guichard's statement that they would own a majority of colleagues: "Monday was really extraordinary. The head of the government a little unusual, Matignon was a kind of commando. I was 38 years and worked directly with the two men that I admire most: De Gaulle and Pompidou.", clearly reveals that a climate flip hierarchical rules and labor relations gave greater flexibility. At the end of this analysis results that the structure and composition of the cabinet of General de Gaulle at Matignon was not fundamentally original. Moreover we advanced even if they fall in a

straight line on the general course of the ministerial cabinets. Also recruiting people is similar to what will be the Elysée: General de Gaulle when he could not choose himself, he controlled the applications that "agent or recruited" and he proposes. The specificity of these team it has to do with the personality of the first President of the Council and exceptional powers available to him. Through this fact, his associates were faced with some greater responsibilities than usual. This goes very special and the importance that Georges Pompidou has managed to give to the position of Director of Cabinet.

Besides, political homogeneity is one of the essential characteristics of this entourage. The fidelity to the General explains not only the entry of such people in the Office of the Matignon, but their departure because half of them will continue to operate as the Elysee. Finally we must note in the cohesion of the circle of faithful grouped around General de Gaulle, is one of the key differences to what will be later, different teams at Elysée will be formed, more hierarchical and less flexible.

De Gaulle's entourage at the Elysée (January 1959-1969)

Whatever the chosen-term was: collaborator, advisor, entourage-interest should be directed to the people who stood by the first president of the Fifth Republic and General de Gaulle on the Service named Presidents of the Republic.

In January 1959, General de Gaulle is elected president of the Republic and will be installed at the Elysee. Very important for this period is his entourage and we mention here the existence of three different general secretariat. From 8 January 1959 till 12 January 1962, Secretary General of the Presidency of the Republic is Geoffroi Courcel. It is one of the "faithful": the plane that was supposed to lead to de Gaulle in London in 1940 and was first head of cabinet. Time its presence at the General Secretariat meets Algerian phase. After 4 years of a hard struggle, de Gaulle, despite many obstacles and resistance, is getting to impose his political decision and to give independence to Algeria.

From February 1963 to June 1967 succeed Etienne Burin des Rozières. He is also an ambassador of the general and is corresponding to the exhibition and searching for General de Gaulle's foreign policy: independence affirmed to the United States, the policy

of detente with the East, cooperation with Third Countries, European construction. Bernard Tricot, which had to be the last general secretary of De Gaulle at the Elysee State Counselor at the request of the General has directed his efforts on domestic issues: regional reform, transformation of the University, participation of workers in enterprises, etc.

The mode of recruitment and selection of persons

The general did not rule never publicly at his entourage. Once HE spoke of his entourage tangentially qualifying it "less numerous but of quality. Neither this silence or that the founder of the Republic will personally choose not only his closest associates, should not mask vigilant attention which he manifests for these problems. Even for employees of "second degree" which were his advisers techniques, the General had supervised election and no appointment was made without his examination in advanced which candidate is proposed, and without hesitation he removed those who did not meet his requirements.

Which were the General requirements?
-he wanted to dispose of all the employees before he can fully rely on, wanted to have people committed, independent of the external and absolute discretion.
-he wanted people to have experience in managing a business of State, a good knowledge of administrative gears, people of rigorous thinking and a clear and concise style.
- he wanted transparent, did not want employees with originality and reputation known ideas which they represented, but men who were by themselves.

To understand the type of man who was able to satisfy requirements, you must study separately vacancy type and rank the importance of this post. This dual distinction is fundamental. General entourage was not a collegial body, no organized structure where the spokes of the wheel system, where each of the collaborators have equal access to the President. It was a formal organization type, hierarchical, where only 3 men had daily access to the General: Secretary General of the Presidency, Director of Cabinet and Secretary General of the Presidency of the Republic for the Community and the African and Malagasy Affairs (4 men if we also consider the Chief of Private Staff).

The other advisers communicated only indirectly with the Head of State by notes submitted by one of the heads. In addition, the internal structure was relatively closed and the division of tasks between different advisers clearly defined. Hierarchy and

The collaborators of Charles de Gaulle at the Matignon and Elysee

specialization led to the choice of people with profiles of different careers, as was the case, in particular, the General Secretariat, the body which also concerns us the most by the importance of its role and by the number of his colleagues who were called here (7 of the General collaborators have served in this structure.

The general secretariat of the Presidency of the Republic included about 15 employees (of about 22 who formed the entourage of the President), was the political-administrative component of the Elysée providing the link between the presidency and what was called general state, ie government and its ministerial departaments. The General Secretariat sought through his work: to inform the General of any major government activities, to explain it in advance to all cases in which he had to rule, giving it if necessary, and some suggestions, to timely warn of any difficulty arising in one sector of national life, to verify if the implementation of these decisions was consistent with the instructions they had given, to provide quick answers to his questions.

The Secretary-General was surrounded by a team of 4 advisers, each of whom was instructed to follow the activity of one or more ministries, grouped where appropriate in sectors: diplomatic, economic and financial sector, the social affairs, education and national scientific research and a last sector with vast powers that covered legal issues, relations with the Secretary General of the Government and its Parliamentary Assembly (for further discussions and sessions) and other local problems like, Paris and its surroundings, etc.

Each of the 4 advisers had for the time and the importance of the sector, one or more responsible business.

In terms of choice of individuals to be included the rule was almost always - for specialist advisers-senior officials in the main field of activity of the sector and are in a band are aged between 35 - 45 years. People approaching peak of their careers or very young were not taken, but people arrived in the middle of their career, already having a solid experience.

Thus, the diplomatic sector was assigned to a career diplomat, he himself assisted by one or two young officers from the quay d'Orsay. As a responsible economic and financial sector, the rule was to be recruited an finance inspector. He was assisted in general, at least by one mine engineer, responsible for

following the work of technical ministries (industry, equipment, plan, etc.).

The legal and constitutional responsibility of the industry has been entrusted to a master of the Court of Auditors to the Council of State. Among those 3 or 4 in charge of mission at its disposal, there is at least one member of the Court of Auditors (responsible for relations with this great body), a magistrate (to follow judicial affairs, amnesty or pardon) and a young under - perfect.

In the national education, recruitment was less homogenous and vary in accordance with the concerns of the moment. Choosing scientists-mathematician Pierre Lelong, and biologist Guy Camus, in the first years of the Republic will illustrate the focus on General de Gaulle on reorganization of scientific and technical research grant. The scientists present will not be repeated since 1964 and will follow the path Jacques Narbonne, a professor in words before leaving the scene of an advisor to state, that of Marcel Pinet. Appointment of Marcel Pinet break in practice established a certain extent, because Mr Pinet apparently has no experience in national education (of these 4 men only Narbonne and Pinet have had a collaborator, a young graduate of Normal School, specialized in letter, Mr Sebastien Lost) Secretary General, "owner" of this team teach a different profile. Being at a higher age, approaching 50 years, was placed above the highest ranking public administrative functions, and was moreover, known to General de Gaulle, whom he served in the past. The first two people who held this post were Geoffroi de Courcel and Etienne Burin de Rousiers, both diplomats. Lord Courcel was Permanent Representative of France to the UN when the General called him in 1959 with. This high official who's never belonged RPF was still "the first of Gaullist". He was in the plane that was taking to London the one who was not yet "man of the June 18". He was head of the Office of General in 1940, before becoming in 1943 onwards his deputy director. When the war ended, Mr de Courcel continued his career in administration and held several positions of high responsibility, including that of Director General of Moroccan and Tunisian Foreign Minister in 1954, the Permanent Secretary General of National Defense in 1955 . When in February 1962, General will appoint him the French ambassador in Britain, he will suggest Mr Etien Burin des Rousiers the name of his successor. He was still the order of the

Head of the Free French in 1943, before he was appointed in 1945 as Adviser at the Office of the Head of the Provisional Government. After the departure of General in 1946, Mr. Burin des Rusiers, he held several diplomatic posts in France and abroad, from that of Secretary of the Sarre, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to that of the French ambassador in Poland, going through the same France's consul general in Milan.

Mr Bernard Tricot, who followed, traces a little the profile of his predecessors, first through his membership of the Council of State. When he arrived at the Algerian independence in 1962, the General sent him with Christian Fouchet, appointed High Commissioner of Republic of Algeria. Upon returning to France, Lord Tricot became secretary general for the administration of the armed forces, position which he will occupy until the summer of 1967. The General called him than again beside him, this time to make him number one for the General Secretariat of the Republic.

Freshly arrived in the entourage of General and without any of the experiences undergone historical Gaullisme Mr Tricot is the only known technical adviser who knew such a fulminant climb to the "ladder of General trust." To recruit members of the General Secretariat for Community and African Affairs Madagascar he uses the same principles of pre-selection, namely appeal to some men who have a well defined career profile. Thus, he calls on Raymond Janot, as secretary general.

Mr Janot, who was a member of the State Council at Matignon in 1958, the General counsel in constitutional issues, had occupied in 1951-1952 economic adviser functions of High Commissioner of France in Indochina and in 1952-1955 was one of ministerial offices responsible for relations with the associates.

Among technical advisors were Charles Bonfils, Governor of overseas France, Jean-Pierre Dannaud, which has been in post for years in Indochina and in Morocco, Alain Plantey-master of the Court of Cassation at the State Council and who was a member of the Cabinet Minister of France overseas, René Journiac, magistrate that has carried much of his career in Africa, after which the mission entrusted to the Secretariat of the Community and then to Cabinet Minister Georges Pompidou with problems of Africa and overseas departments of justice.

It is noted that in general, were chosen men who had a history of fighters in the resistance

movement, Jacques Focart, first Secretary General for African and Malagasy Affairs Community and the only that makes it less of these people by the fact that he was official but still had experience in the territories beyond seas. Mister Focart was yet since the creation RPF's one of the leaders of this movement and for several years, advisor to the French Union and in charge of overseas territories.

Compared with the established practice so far, to the extent that there was never a professional match between the function and origin of people the elected office of General de Gaulle was no exception.

Thus, he appealed to university Narbonne to deal with audiences and the general's travels, while he was recruiting from the diplomatic corps, Pérola Gilbert and Pierre Louis Blanc, to handle press relations. Even the director's office was when a diplomat as was the case of René Brouillet and Xavier Daufresne de Chevalerie, when a member of the State, in person of Geoges Galichon.

Note that these elections are losing their coherence if we take into consideration that director's office was assisted by his associates as critical task to prepare the general's travels, to keep audiences contract, to maintain relations with press and hold receptions to the Elysee, to put the General in contact with all those who were important person in society, personalities from politics, the universities, the arts, letters, etc..

Yet most of these tasks were demanding less specialized than a great physical resistance and total devotion to the person of the President.

The General did not want to have a thick press service and neither information problems specialists, so only the general's first release was a responsible journalist, Mr. Jean Chauveau, former responsible for the "Assembly", the main body of the press. RPF site.

His successors were some officials, namely some diplomats. It seems that the general has chosen some diplomats because as a journalist, no matter how fair he would have been likely to yield to a sense of confraternity and would have been too talkative with his interlocutors on the other side of the barricade. Another explanation would be that for the General, diplomats were better qualified than other officials in this mission that consists, in his view, the "remain silent" or that in the light of travels that general was preparing to make abroad, a diplomat was useful.

The collaborators of Charles de Gaulle at the Matignon and Elysee

More simplified was the choice of the protocol responsible at the Elysee because it was designated as the service protocol from the key of Orsay. Membership of the Cabinet in the early years of the Fifth Republic was marked by a high proportion of those who were long Gaullist, starting with René Brouillet (the only cabinet director elected by the General directly), Mr Pierre Lefranc, how was second of Mr. Bouillet, who was charged in the same time to follow the field of information issues. There were also too old Gaullist, as Xavier de Beaulaincourt, yet the general's private secretary in 1947 and Couve Jean Raimond Labelle.

Over the years, the presence of such men among the Cabinet has declined, leaving the place of young and unknown officials of the General. We can conclude this analysis without keeping in mind that political mini - cell, private by live independently, responsible for following along with General de Gaulle's political activity of the majority.

Founder of the Fifth Republic was less interested in what they called "political politics" and he certainly wanted to be an arbiter above party and a guarantor of the Constitution. De Gaulle also knew that he could not completely ignore political parties that they had the power to refuse to vote to override the laws and government.

Even if he leaves the prime minister care to maintain the cohesion of the majority, to arbitrate disagreements and decide investiture, the General was attentive that there was no slippage and despised the fact of appointments to key posts in particular follow the party majority.

Starting with January 1959, the General had an associate attached to the General Secretariat of the Elysée, which informed him about adventures of political and maintaining personal contacts with various representatives of the majority of that the General could not or would not want to see. It has to be mentioned that this was not the exclusive contributor task, the secretary general and director of the office having multiple opportunities to maintain contact with the political class. In this post, in a first period, they succeeded two men: Mr Olivier Guichard and Pierre

Lefranc, who was a member of the Cabinet before replacing Mr Guichard. When Mr Lefranc entourage left the Elysée in 1963, Mr. Jacques Foccart, from his post of general secretary for the Community and the African and Malagasy Affairs, has continued this mission and related information. What these men predisposes them to the post of "political advisor" was the knowledge they had on the people close to General, knowledge gained over their past experience in breast RPF (Guichard was head of the Office of General in 1951, and Lefranc was general secretary of youth and students of the RPF.). So what they refer equally to this delicate task, as the diplomas counted less than the art of maneuver silence was commitment that they gave him to the human on June 18. Mr Guichard and Foccart, were part (and Mr. Xavier and Beaulaincourt and Colonel Bonneval) of this team that the General kept with him during a desert crossing and to integrate it at the same time as Mr. Lefranc in his entourage at Matignon, in June 1958.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Bloch-Lainé F., 1976, *Profession: Fonctionnaire*, Seuil, Paris.
- Dulong C., 1974, *La vie quotidienne à l'Elysée du temps de Charles de Gaulle*, Hachette Littérature, Paris.
- Gaulle Ch. de, 1970 *Mémoires d'espoir*, Le Renouveau, Plon, Paris.
- Labelle R., Pompidou G., 1951, *La France sera la France. Ce que veut Charles de Gaulle*, RPF, Paris.
- Olivier Guichard O., 1975, *Un chemin tranquille*, Flammarion .
- Panagoreț I., 2009, *Gaullismul și poziția Franței în procesul construcției europene*, Edit. Bibliotheca, Târgoviște.
- Pilleul G., 1979, *L'anturage et de Gaulle*, Colectia espoir, Plon, Paris.
- Rouanet P., 1969, *Pompidou*, Grasset, Paris;
- Tricot B., 1972, *Les sentiers de la paix*, Plon, Paris.