Таким образом, подводя итоги проведенного исследования можно говорить о том, что вопрос парламентаризма в российской практике был напрямую связан с необходимостью демократизации государственного строя. При этом если необходимость отказа от монархии признавалась всеми, то конкретная форма государственного устройства, к которой необходимо осуществлять переход, оставалась на протяжении длительного периода времени дискуссионной.

Сторонники традиционных форм полагали, что необходимо освободить российское государство от бюрократизма, усилить власть посредством поддержки дворянства и на основе существующей системы государственного устройства сформировать новую систему «правового самодержавия». Но в тоже время к началу 20 века под влиянием происходящих социально-политических процессов данные идеи ушли «на задний план» как устаревшие и не соответствующие потребностям российского общества.

По этой причине в качестве своеобразного компромиссного варианта можно рассматривать вариант либеральных проектов государственного переустройства России. Идеал правового государства, выдвинутый влиятельными либеральными партиями, требовал значительных реформ и возможность постепенного их осуществления.

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Paul Biya's geopolitical monitoring on Twitter

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Abstract

This article is a contribution to the analysis of the issues surrounding the change of paradigm in the political communication of the Cameroonian president Paul Biya and his preferred modality of speaking through Twitter. Our central aim throughout this article is to explain Paul Biya's new rhetoric, which includes the soft power, in order to appear as a "modern", "responsible", and "conciliator" head of state, according to the Cameroonian socio-political context. Social media has driving forces for political communication change of Paul Biya. It is also a way for him to break the usual silence by reducing the distrust and criticism that his governance is already arousing on the national and international scene. This paradigmatic communicational mutation is brought about by much more deeply rooted geopolitical forces.

Key words: Paul Biya-Cameroon-Communication-Social Media- Twitter-Geopolitic

A number of scientific studies in literature employs Twitter aiming, for example, to de-bureaucratize the organization of government communications [20], to examine its role in developing social trust [25] and its effects on government reliability and to predict election results [14]. The use of Twitter can be considered as the biggest innovation of Paul Biya's presidency not only for the current context but in his presidency's history too. His aim is to come out with the issue and present himself in a way which is fascinating enough to grab the attention of the targeted audience [17]. His tweets feed contains various different topics and content.

Cameroonian socio-political context and the change in Biya's communication paradigm

The transformative effect of social media on today's global political scene receives a great deal of attention [6]. In order to understand the impact of social media, one must first understand the geopolitical dynamics and trends at play across the country [6]. Cameroon has enjoyed relative stability for most of its existence. This has helped preserve some aspects of the state which are no longer in existence in other African states. Furthermore, it has been said that Cameroon's stability has turned to stagnation [15]. Nowadays, it is confronted with enormous security challenges provoked by political instability in neighboring countries on the one hand, the unjustified attacks of the Islamist sect Boko Haram and miscellaneous socio-political Anglophone Cameroon claims on the other hand. The consequences of this late situation include the increase of violence, the death of numerous innocent Cameroonians among whom women and children, forced and massive movements of populations, the destruction of whole villages, the slowing down of activities, permanent psychosis and fear [26]. These political turbulence and revolutionary activity allow Paul Biya to monitor communications and respond to any plans being made in this direction.

Many scholars tend to present president Paul Biya as a head of state who hardly communicates. They argue that silence as posture and signature of power participates in a strategy of staging presidential communication [21]. Gervais Mbarga argued that in more than 30 years of Biya's power, one would count on the fingers of one hand his formal press conferences, major interviews. Only a few broken media interventions, often after returning from an official trip, break this diet [18]. In this 21st century, the relationships between public opinion, public space and the private sphere are diluted and become more complex with the evolution of mentalities and especially technological progress. At the same time, the markers of the exercise of power adapt to said evolution in order to embrace the modalities of polysemic communication action. According to Michel Roger Emvona, "*Paul Biya knows how to adapt to time*" [9]. This attests that the facts of communication, in politics, constitute a formidable revealer of the state of a society [5].

Media used to communicate with broader audience was also limited to traditional media of communication such as newspapers, television and radio that were used to deliver information. Alongside with traditional media, social media provides alternative avenue for political communications, make it more direct and interactive. Using social media, members of the public can now be easier to target public officials and politicians to convey their aspiration, idea and criticism over political issues and agendas. Social media are defined as "*a group of internet-based applications that build on the ideological and technological foundations of Web 2.0 that allow the creation and exchange of user-generated content*" [10]. Social media became a tool of political communication in the Cameroonian public sphere. There are very useful in emergency situations and governments increasingly have social media accounts for these purposes [13]. In such situations, incoming information posted to social media as events unfold may increase knowledge of the situation and reach a wider population [16].

The use of Twitter by African heads of state dates from the end of 2013 and president Paul Biya of Cameroon, a bilingual country (two official languages: English and French), is among those who have seen their accounts "certified" [12]. Therefore, it can be easy to understand why president Paul Biya, instructed his government to invest these tools to be able

to communicate with Cameroonians. And he didn't just educate his collaborators, since he has himself a regularly updated Twitter and Facebook account. His institutional twitter account was created for this purpose : @PaulBiya [11]. Biya's tweets have mostly hit the headlines for their positively used to make major policy announcements. He shows his proactivity and reactivity by clearly defining his audience and his objectives. For example, he announced his speech, on February 10, 2020, on the occasion of the celebration of the youth day that is celebrated on February 11, in these terms :

«Follow my address to the Youth at 8 p.m. on radio, television and the social media».

#PaulBiya #BiyaSpeech #YouthDay #Cameroon#february102020 [22].

He also acts promptly during emergency situations, as it will be shown later. His tweets have also become the preferred channel for digital diplomacy. According to Jacques Fame Ndongo, "*Paul Biya has a vision, his age doesn't matter*" [23], and to use Michel Roger Emvana's terminology, he is "*tied to modernity*" [9]. Twitter becomes for Paul Biya a great tool that removes boundaries and allows him to give information in real time :

«The day of Monday, February 10, 2020 is declared a holiday and non-working throughout the territory of the Republic of Cameroon».

#PaulBiya#Cameroon#February072020 [22].

Specialist in social networks, Chedjou Kamdem notes that Paul Biya has moved from an essentially institutional communication, posts on the reception of hosts, publication of decrees, to outings closer to the concerns of the people. He thinks that, even if the community of the head of state on social networks is not large, those who follow him take screenshots which they share almost systematically, thus boosting the reading of his messages. Many internet users who don't subscribe to the president's page are aware of his posts on a daily basis [24]. The target of the presidential messages is the people, these actually only reach a minority of people who follow them on digital platforms. He has barely 420,000 Twitter followers, and 870,000 people follow him on Facebook [3]. In addition to the fact that its followers are mainly grouped in large cities, which makes the impact of these messages minimal, the penetration rate of social networks hardly exceeds 14% in the country [1]. Are they "*active or passive followers*"? Are they "*patriot Internet users*"? So, the capacity of social media to significantly affect wider geopolitics of Cameroon has been, and remains, fairly limited. Internet usage levels are lower in Cameroon.

Cameroon's 2018 presidential election

The war for the electorate 2.0 was a reality during the presidential election in October 2018. The statistics on social networks of the leaders of the main presidential candidates have demonstrated enough that the latter have integrated digital communication into their strategy [2]. This active presence of politicians on social media not only changes the image of politics, but also profoundly changes the web. Twitter is extensively used for the dissemination of politically relevant information. Twitter increases the effectiveness and efficiency of political campaign. Political campaign using social media can be more effective and efficient in targeting potential electorates. Empirical examples have shown that Twitter can be used for political campaign and support the offline campaign strategy. One example of successful Twitter use is in the 2018 Cameroon presidential election [2]. In addition Twitter in political communication plays important role in bringing politicians closer to their electorates. Dissimilar with traditional media, Twitter allows politicians and their audience to directly communicate. This communication can take place everywhere at different time and different agendas.

In Cameroon, for instance Paul Biya indicates in the tweet announcing his candidacy:

«Dear Compatriots in Cameroon & the Diaspora, Aware of the challenges we must take up together to ensure a more united, stable & prosperous Cameroon, I am willing to respond positively to your overwhelming calls. I will stand as Your Candidate in the upcoming presidential election»

#PaulBiya#Cameroon#237Vote#July132019 [22].

This means that Paul Biya had perfectly understood the issue of using social networks. He therefore knew how to adapt to the evolution of society with all its azimuth changes. Jacques Fame Ndongho admits: *"President Paul Biya is a modern, even futuristic president. This is why he chose this path which is increasingly used by the great people of this world"* [23]. The candidate of the Cameroonian People's Democratic Movement (CPDM) has become a "guest star" on social networks. He had 329 K followers on Twitter and 858,470 on his Facebook page before his presidential candidacy in October 2018 was announced [3]. It is just as ubiquitous on social networks that are increasingly part of the political universe and profoundly change the way of communicating policies. This is all the more understandable since social networks have the advantage of being fairly dynamic, accessible everywhere and at any time. Indeed, it has been observed in recent years that the nature of the political exercise has changed in Cameroon. Television, billboards, radio, print media, these media were constantly used by politicians. They still are but to lesser proportions. Today, Twitter, Messenger, Whatsapp, Facebook, etc. seem to hold no secrets for politicians who use these means to communicate with potential voters. However, Baba Wame points out, *"there are still leaders of political parties in Cameroon who do not have an email address; let's not talk about social media accounts"* [24].

The increasing use of Twitter by Paul Biya influences the flow of information in times of likely conflicts or crises, like the call to boycott the double polls of February 07, 2020 by the political opponent Maurice Kamto and the armed English-speaking separatist groups. Once again, he was able to transform the speed of information flow through Twitter during this period of apparent social unrest. His tweet after leaving the polling station apparently influenced the behavior of political authorities and the public during the poll which took place in peace and serenity. He said :

«I have accomplished my duty as a citizen and I am happy about it. I take this opportunity to ask all my compatriots to do their duty by going to the vote, contrary to calls for boycotts by certain small political parties».

#PaulBiya#Cameroun#237Vote#February092020 [22].

Cameroon's emergency situations

Social media tools, especially Facebook and Twitter, are taking an ever growing part in disaster response [7]. Social media during disasters and emergencies is now being adopted by governments as an integral tool for disaster management. The utilization of social media for communicating during emergencies was initiated by Paul Biya.

In recent years, Paul Biya has regularly used Twitter to send either messages of condolence or comfort to his counterparts following a disaster or drama in their countries, or congratulations on the occasion of the celebration of their national holiday [19]. It has made it its main communication tool and disseminates messages calling for a sacred union to thwart any attempt to "destabilize" Cameroon. For instance, he said :

"We have only one homeland. It is our duty to defend it and lead it, all together, on the paths of greatness and prosperity for all".

#PaulBiya#Cameroun#April222019 [22].

This tweet attests to the fact that he publishes on themes as varied as the values that underpin living together, the defense of the homeland, the specificity of Cameroonian democracy, the expression of freedoms, the value of work, etc. In this regard, he wrote:

"Freedom must serve just causes. You can express yourself perfectly without setting up barricades, without destroying, without ransacking. Above all, you must beware of the deceptive songs of the ominous birds, these illusion merchants whose only project is destabilization".

#PaulBiya#Cameroun#Cameroon#OneAndIndivisible#ProudCameroonian#May022019 [22].

In addition, he sends messages of condolence to the bereaved families in the context of the war against Boko Haram, the socio-political crisis in the English-speaking regions, the increase in crime in the country, the latest of which is that addressed to close to the math

teacher Tchakounté, killed by his student on January 14, 2020 in Yaoundé. This tweet dates from January 31, 2020:

"My Wife and I learned with great emotion, the brutal death in the exercise of his profession, of Mr. Boris Kévin #NJOMI TCHAKOUNTE, a young conscientious teacher full of enthusiasm. We would like to extend to our loved ones, Our sincere condolences "

#PaulBiya#January312020 [22].

The contribution of Twitter is multifaceted for Paul Biya. It allows him to win hearts and minds through compassion, influence the audience, communicate and act quickly in a crisis. In addition to being a fast and efficient channel of political communication, it also offers him the opportunity to escape any supposed collusion on the part of the media. Another added value is that his political communications via Twitter are likely to be shared by mainstream media and to generate buzz. Nevertheless, and probably for ideological reasons, some Cameroonians react with a certain criticism to the investment of Web 2.0 by Paul Biya. According to Alice Nkom of Women and Songs voters : *"So tweets won't change anything, when there are hundreds and thousands of deaths. We are very happy that today the world has heard us where he turned a deaf ear. He has no compassion for his people"* [1]. The web is thus threatened by the considerable scope of targeted disinformation allowing certain internet users to present radically different, even contradictory, messages to different groups of people. And Paul Biya reacts in a tweet to convince in this regard:

"Democratization must not generate hatred, demagoguery, rifts that corrupt and disrupt the social climate. Democracy is critical thinking, not criticism for criticism"

#PaulBiya#Cameroon #Cameroon#OneAndIndivisible#ProudCameroonian#April292019. [22].

According to Cameroon Anglophone crisis, it is clear that Paul Biya uses social media (in addition to traditional media) to engage with citizens during this conflict. Today, violent extremist groups in Africa use Twitter, Facebook, You Tube and other social media channels to broadcast their messages inspire followers, and recruit new fighters to unprecedented levels [8]. These forums offer distinct advantages in that they enable terrorists to attract individuals to a cause as well as creating a mechanism to coordinate attacks [30]. These media forums have become the new institutions of radicalization and terrorism. Currently, more traditional models are utilized that look at concepts such as psychological warfare, propaganda, indoctrination and data mining [29]. Furthermore, narratives are viewed as an important aspect of seduction for radicalization [17]. To ensure the strength of an effective response to this crisis, social media is one tool that contributes to it. According to Paul Biya's tweet :

«At the onset of the crisis (N-W and S-W), I requested the Government to engage in a constructive dialogue with English-speaking teachers and lawyers to seek solutions to their demands. The Government took many actions following the dialogue, even going beyond the initial demands. Others are ongoing or in the pipeline».

#PaulBiya #BiyaSpeech #Cameroon #NewYear2018 [22].

Generally, when Paul Biya did tweet, it appeared to try to inform public opinion, framing military action against activists as attempts to restore peace and security, and also to try to dispel 'fake news' and false rumours. Furthermore, Paul Biya has the power to shut down internet services altogether as he did in the Anglophone regions to disrupt online radicalization.

The term "digital diplomacy" (commonly known as "Twiplomacy") was first defined in 2001 [28]. Ilan Manor defined it as the growing influence of information technology and social media on diplomats, government institutions, foreign ministries and the public [27]. Twitter, in particular, has become a diplomatic barometer; a tool for analyzing and forecasting international relations [28]. If private communications are always privileged between leaders and government, some of them begin to maintain a dialogue in public on social networks. The presence of smaller countries on social media can also give them a greater voice on the international scene [27]. *"People have migrated to social networks, where they share everything: their experiences and their emotions, positive and negative. Institutions and*

governments must now do the same" [28]. Major political decisions to tackle Anglophone crisis are viewed as controversial or quasi-legal by some foreign powers such as the United State. However, president Biya's digital communication strategy has probably pushed the international community to pay more attention to the Cameroonian socio-political context. His conciliatory and peaceful character also probably deconstructed certain negative prejudices concerning his regime. In this regard, he wrote:

«The Major National Dialogue which has just ended in Yaoundé has given you the opportunity to reaffirm once again your attachment to peace and harmony in your country, as well as to the unity and progress of that -this. I would like to thank you»

#CmrDialogue#Cameroun#October042019 [22].

Paul Biya is trying to increase his political weight, attract foreign investment, or tourists, and most importantly to reach a wider audience. It therefore seems rather inconceivable for a state not to be present on social networks. Coming from another generation of head of state, Paul Biya also proves that he can skillfully use social media to promote the image of a modern, peaceful, open and welcoming Cameroon. The incredible potential of Twitter to massively and instantly promote the values of Cameroon by Paul Biya requires compassion for its counterparts following the disasters affecting their countries. For example :

«Following the disappearance of Mr. Daniel Arap Moi, I extend my sincere condolences to His Excellency Uhuru Kenyatta, as well as to his family, the government and the people of Kenya»

#PaulBiya #Cameroun#February072020 [22].

This is proof that the use of digital media in the conduct of foreign policy has become an essential communication tool of diplomacy for States. it is true that the widespread use of social networks by heads of state raises the question of the limit to the exercise of digital diplomacy. According to specialists in this practice, States tend to develop more and more a communication strategy which is akin to marketing rather than diplomacy [27].

The aim of this article was to demonstrate and evaluate the active political communication of Paul Biya on Twitter. To achieve this objective, it is clear that the motives behind this strategic communication are crucial for the transmission of messages to target groups and the general population, whose signals of internal disunity and new security challenges are frequent. Because of its geographic location, its multi-ethnic and multi-faith population, Paul Biya opted for a geopolitical watch on Twitter, with a view to strengthening national unity and preserving peace and the stability of peace. Reason why his Twitter's account seems to be used more as a marketing tool, because he is still campaigning and wants to sell a product : « the Cameroon of great opportunities ». This is what seems to justify its multiple charming operations. The power of social networking site Twitter is that it connects people globally and brings citizen closer to their leader [4]. However, it can be deplored the impossibility of real interactivity with his followers who ask him a ton of unanswered questions. This attitude just meets the point of view of Michel Roger Emvana, who argued that : *«president Biya does not vary from strategies and techniques of governance. He remains a complex president whom the people see more than he hears and who governs with a hood "and who" is not who he appears to be»* [9]. Social media in general and Twitter in particular are no longer just an afterthought but an essential communication tool for Paul Biya to govern.

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