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THE INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL IMPLEMENTATION FACTORS OF ISLAMIC DIRECTION OF FRENCH FOREIGN POLICY

The article aims to analyze the importance of internal and external factors that contribute to the formation of the Islamic direction of the French foreign policy. The importance of these factors affects the success of the French policy. The waves of migration, integration of Muslims into the French society, accepting French norms and traditions are the future of the French Republic. At the same time, with an active community of Muslims, France carries out the policy of active intervention in the Arab world. All these factors are perceived by France as their own interest and the country pays little attention to the problems in an international medium in general.

Key words: *multiculturalism, migration, Muslims, Islam, France, Francophonie, a humanitarian operation, a military operation.*

During the twentieth and twenty-first centuries French political life is closely connected with the Arabic region. After granting independence to the French colonies in North Africa and the Middle East, France launched a new policy to preserve its influence in the region. This was due to both internal and external factors. Nowadays France is home to Europe's largest Muslim community. Due to different objective reasons, their number continues to increase, and consequently increases the level of participation of Muslims in the political life of France, begs the question of recognition of Islam at the state level, the integration policy of Muslim immigrants undergoes changes. The French government supports the Arab region in the form of investment, debt cancellation, cultural and educational programs. France is the initiator and an accomplice of peacekeeping and military operations in the region. All these factors contribute to strengthening France's position on the international arena and explain the circumstances that cause the Islamic vector of its foreign policy.

The analysis of internal and external determinants of the Islamic direction of France's external policy intends to clarify such problems as justification the place of Islamic policy in the French external strategy, definition of internal and external factors that influence the formation of Islamic policy of France.

Let us consider the conditions of formation of each factor. The internal factors should include the migration of Muslims, which subsequently resulted in a separate migration policy, family reunion policy, a raise of the question of Islam recognition at the state level. Another controversial issue was the policy of integrating Muslim immigrants into the French society, guaranteeing their rights and freedoms, and, consequently, the future within the state.

Migration. Migration of Muslims to France began before the First World War. Because of the strikes of local workers of the factories that produced oil and sugar in the port, the owners were looking for the workforce outside the Mediterranean Sea area. Being content with non-qualified staff, the main demands of the employers were obedience and diligence. Thus, more than 2000 Berber workers worked in Marseilles in 1912, and in 1914 they formed half of the workforce in some companies [14, p. 15]. During the World War I the population of French colonies and protectorates was used as military forces. Algeria has sent 173,000 men, 25 thousand of which were killed, 12 thousand of 56 thousand Tunisians have not returned home. During the interwar period, about 119,000 young Algerians arrived to France to work at factories. They may be considered the first wave of immigrants [3]. The stages of immigration in the 1950s and 1970s have been associated with labor shortages. Another factor which causes the increased migration is the attempt of civilians to escape to the European continent from internal conflicts and wars. The largest migration was provoked in the 1970-s by the revolution in Iran and a number of revolutions, which are known as The Arab Spring in 2011-2012.

The law of 1872 forbids the population census based on race or religion. Thus, it is impossible to determine the exact number of Muslims in France. This principle was reaffirmed in a law passed on 6 January 1978 (Article 8) which states that "It is forbidden to collect or process data of a personal

nature related to racial or ethnic origins as well as political, philosophic or religious opinions” [4]. The most frequent estimations are of a Muslim population ranging between 3.5 and 5 million, so they would therefore represent around 6 to 8.5 percent of the population of France [14, p. 11].

The policy of multiculturalism. When the first Muslims came to France, the government hoped that they would soon return home. However, the immigrants began to build their families and homes and plan their future in France. If the first immigrants came as workers and tried to assimilate with the French community, the next generation began to put their own demands associated with ritual needs. This concerned daily prayers at the workplace, making working arrangements to enable the observance of Ramadan, wearing the hijab, and halal dietary requirements. The Muslim community has expressed a desire to have their own graveyards, which finally confirmed that they are not planning to return to their motherland.

As a reaction to internal conflicts in society, the government launched a policy of multiculturalism. Thus, under the pressure of migration processes, the European policy and globalization processes Multiculturalism in France has acquired some legitimacy quite recently. Multiculturalism facilitated the growth and development of local cultures in the patrimony of national culture [16].

The demands of Muslims in education sphere, which included the separation of boys and girls, and wearing religious clothing caused most controversy. The Minister of Education forbade the wearing of any ostentatious symbols, which explicitly included the headscarf. In 2003 President J. Chirac appointed a national Commission, chaired by Bernard Stasi, to consider the issue. The Stasi Commission recommended to ban of wearing of conspicuous religious symbols at state schools, and a law to this effect was passed with an overwhelming majority by the Parliament in February 2004 [10].

In February, 2011 President N. Sarkozy declared the fail of the multiculturalism policy. The French national community does not want to change its lifestyle. It was said that the French value their traditions and expect immigrants to adopt them. The French respect all religions, but don't want their vivid manifestation [7]. Thus, the Muslim immigrants couldn't become a part of the French society and the policy of assimilation has not proved itself in France.

State's recognition of Islam. Since 1990 each French government has set about trying to create a national Muslim council that would be a corporate representative of the Muslim community in France and the official body standing between the government and the Muslims. It would be the state's recognition of Islam, comparable in some respects to its recognition of the Catholic Church, Protestant churches and the Jewish Consistory. After at least three abortive attempts by previous Interior Ministers of France, Nicolas Sarkozy inaugurated the Conseil Français du Culte Musulman in 2003 [10].

The internal conditions for forming the Islamic direction of the French policy are mainly aimed at the formation a favorable climate in the French society as well as close relationships with the Arab continent. In foreign policy, France uses the tools of influence in economics, culture and education. Another kind of policy is the presence and intervention of the French government and military to solve internal conflicts.

Economic development. In the economic sphere France began to actively involve the EU in the Euro-African partnership. It is the first donor of the European Development Fund and constantly initiates the international assistance to poor countries, including debt cancellation. In 1989 France canceled the debts of the poorest countries totaling 16 billion francs [2, p. 41]. In 1999 at a summit in Cologne on offer of J. Chirac the Member Group of Eight has written off the debt of twenty-three poorest countries in the amount of 53 billion dollars during the initial amount of debt of 74 billion dollars [1, p. 87]. In addition to fighting the poverty and the gap between the rich North and the poor South, France shows a gesture of good will and strives to maintain a positive image in the former colonies. However, these steps do not reduce the criticism of the French army in military operations and do not hinder its active intervention in the internal sovereignty of other states.

Francophonie. In 1995, the UN Secretary General M. Boutros-Ghali (M. Boutros-Ghali) wrote in his article that the Francophonie was born from the desire to feel like Frenchman [9]. After the

decolonization, in February 1965, the head of Tunisia Habib Bourguiba proposed to create a French-speaking community in the region, which, in his opinion, had to enrich the cultural heritage of Africa. In 1970, 18 countries have joined the movement, and in 2004 it consisted of 56 states and governments [8].

At the initial stages the Francophonie was formed to preserve and promote the French language and culture. However, its purpose is gradually expanding. Nowadays the Francophonie aims to protect peace, democracy and human rights, development of the French language and culture, basic education, vocational and technical education, higher education and research. For example, in 2004 France has allocated 882 million euro, which made up 87 percent of the total budget for financing of French schools and cultural organizations [9].

Francophonie is often called “soft power”. The peaceful spread of the French culture is a stable instrument of foreign policy of France. French is the official language of many African countries, one of the six official and one of the two working languages of the UN and one of the two official languages of the International Court in the Hague [15]. The close cooperation with the African region ensures that France gets support of the French position during the voting in international organizations, protection or “non-public” support of France during its intervention into internal policy of the Arab States, confirms France’s status of a powerful state. Using the poverty of the region, the “peaceful” imposition of Francophonie finds support within the society, because educational programs are aimed at increasing public enlightenment and commitment to France.

Participation in the humanitarian and military operations. At the turn of 20th-21st centuries France was actively pursuing humanitarian and military intervention. The planetary influence of France also means the military participation in Africa. By the beginning of 1995 France had endeared a nine thousand military contingent there. The French military had to promote political stability and to ensure security of the European population of the former French colonies. At first France managed on its own. In 1989 French troops landed at the Comoros after the assassination of President Abdallah, in 1990 speaking in defense of the Gabon government against insurgents, in 1991 carried out the evacuation of the Europeans during the riots in Zaire [1, p. 87]. France suffered the first international accusation because of the military intervention after the genocide in Rwanda in 1993-1994. France then cooperated with President Zh. Habiarimana who had completely usurped power and had not taken any action to protect the Tutsi ethnic group. After the failure of the “Turkish operations” France withdrew its troops. During the genocide more than eight hundred thousand Tutsis were killed [13]. The French could not single-handedly resolve the conflict, which was partially caused by the consequences of their colonial policy.

Thus, the actions of France in Afghanistan, Côte d'Ivoire, Libya, Mali have affected the conceptual views of the country's leadership, which has taken the position of active intervention in foreign conflicts under the guise of protecting national interests [5]. Already having a bad experience of military intervention in the past, France has decided to get allies. For the legitimacy of military action in Libya, France did not only achieve the acceptance on 17 March 2011 by UN Security Council Resolution 1973, using violent suppression of peaceful protests against the country's leader M. Kaddafi as an excuse, but also got the support of the Arab countries [12]. On March 19th the President of France called an emergency meeting of the Union of Arab leaders in Paris for the immediate approval of deploying the army airplanes and suspension of M. Kaddafi's attack on Benghazi, the establishment of no-fly zone in Libya. French fighters launched an attack before the end of the meeting [11, p. 4]. Such a move suggests the idea that France was in any way trying to legalize the military intervention in Libya and bring the situation under personal control.

France provides the legal justification of the military intervention in the military doctrine, expanding the sphere of influence and strategic objectives. Under the guise of humanitarian aid, France carries out the military intervention into the internal sovereignty and the changes of political regimes. It uses the international law as a way of legitimizing its actions, and in order to avoid international criticism. Supporting the military intervention under the pressure of France, international law loses its authority and creates discord in international relations.

Foreign Policy means much more to France than it does to other states. French rulers paid much attention to military victories, external affairs and political manoeuvres in order to achieve national interests, while paying less attention to domestic policy. In a sense, France is hostage to its policies and implementation factors determined by it. The internal and external factors require France to constantly monitor internal crises and social conflicts. It's difficult for government to control immigration of the Muslims, to integrate them into the society and guarantee the safety of its own citizens. France spends considerable resources on preservation of influence outside the state. Financing Educational and Cultural programs in the Arab region contributes to its positive image. However, French participation in military operations often causes condemnation of the international community. France is playing a dangerous game and it could be a leader only while holding all the levers of power.

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Малиновська Н. В. Внутрішні та зовнішні чинники реалізації ісламського спрямування зовнішньої політики Франції

У статті зроблена спроба проаналізувати важливість внутрішніх і зовнішніх факторів, які сприяють формуванню ісламського спрямування зовнішньої політики Франції. Важливість цих чинників впливає на успіх французької політики. Хвилі міграції, інтеграція мусульман у французьке суспільство, прийняття французьких норм і традицій є майбутнім Французької Республіки. У той же час Франція проводить політику втручання в арабському світі. Всі ці фактори Франція сприймає, як свою власну зацікавленість і звертає мало уваги на проблеми в міжнародному середовищі в цілому.

Ключові слова: мультикультуралізм, іммігранти, мусульмани, іслам, Франція, франкофонія, гуманітарна операція, військова операція.

Малиновская Н. В. Внутренние и внешние факторы реализации исламского направления внешней политики Франции

В статье предпринята попытка проанализировать важность внутренних и внешних факторов, которые способствуют формированию исламского направления внешней политики Франции. Важность этих факторов влияет на успех французской политики. Волны миграции, интеграция мусульман во французское общество, принятие французских норм и традиций являются будущим Французской Республики. В то же время Франция проводит политику вмешательства в арабском мире. Все эти факторы Франция воспринимает, как свою собственную заинтересованность и обращает мало внимания на проблемы в международном мире в целом.

Ключевые слова: мультикультурализм, иммигранты, мусульмане, ислам, Франция, франкофония, гуманитарная операция, военная операция.