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10. Transformation of the political and legal system of France

The scientific work characterizes the historical prerequisites for the formation of modern vectors of French foreign policy, as well as the main directions of the implementation of foreign policy since 1991. At the same time, the approach of temporal differentiation and subject analysis was used, which was carried out in accordance with the periods of the reign of French presidents and in relation to the key geopolitical directions of foreign policy - European, Atlantic, Middle Eastern, African.

First of all, the topicality of the topic is due to the fact that the French Republic is one of the leading actors in the arena of international relations. Currently, world politics cannot be imagined without her active participation. The state carries out active international activities, has authority in the settlement of conflict issues, is a nuclear power, a permanent member of the UN Security Council, and is a member of NATO. It should be noted that in the conditions of modern realities and threats, its foreign policy is of particular interest.

Secondly, after the Second World War, the concept of "greatness", proclaimed by S. de Gaulle as the goal of France's foreign policy course, enabled the country to adapt to the harsh conditions of the bipolar system, to find its place in the system of the balance of power during the years of the "Cold War". In the conditions of the post-bipolar world, France continues to claim the role of the dominant state of Europe. In this regard, the topicality of the topic is due to the country's special role in the European Union. Today, the European Union is one of the main actors in international relations.

Thirdly, for domestic researchers, the topic is of particular interest, since France is one of Ukraine's key partners in Europe. Multifaceted cooperation in the fields of politics, economy, culture and humanitarian exchanges has been established between the countries. The established relationship between Ukraine and France with the development of European integration is the most significant: since the beginning of the 1990s, France, as a member of the EU, acts not only as a partner of Ukraine, but also, to some extent, as a mediator between Ukraine and the European Union. Bilateral

Ukrainian-French relations acquire special political significance in modern conditions of war.

10.1 Content and directions of French foreign policy from the end of the Cold War to 2007

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, France, like other participants in international relations, was in search of a foreign policy strategy capable of providing the country with a prominent role in the creation of a new system of international relations. With this in mind, within the framework of this unit, we decided to examine in detail the evolution of French foreign policy in the post-bipolar world. In this context, the foreign policy of France can be divided into two periods:

1. Foreign policy during the reign of F. Mitterrand (1991-1995);
2. Foreign policy of President J. Chirac (1995-2007).

Foreign policy under F. Mitterrand. After the disintegration of the Warsaw Pact and the disappearance of the "Soviet threat", France did not want to dissolve in the general mass of countries that in one way or another are objects of American policy. This position was reflected in the program document "Un nouvel horizon pour la France et le socialisme" ("New horizons for France and socialism"), which reflects new foreign policy orientations. As E. Obichkina points out, the idea was to "displace" the USA from Europe [555, p. 216]. According to F. Mitterrand, this could be done by creating a single Europe. This concept was named "Europe-state" [559].

In the early 1990s, F. Mitterrand proposed to create an autonomous European defense by 2000, but this idea did not receive development, since in May 1991, at a meeting of 15 NATO defense ministers, it was decided to create a NATO Rapid Reaction Force and a strike corps of 16 multinational divisions. Thus, the prerequisites were created for the transformation of NATO into the military basis of European security.

Another vector of French policy was the struggle to increase the importance of the Western European Union (WEU) as the "European pillar of NATO." Thus, the

Franco-German corps included military personnel from Belgium, Luxembourg, and Spain in order to turn it into a corps [540].

The policy of France in relation to the countries of the Middle East. As for the Middle East vector, on August 2, 1990, Iraq invaded Kuwait, which put French diplomacy in a difficult position. On the one hand, the status of a permanent member of the UN Security Council and Atlantic solidarity dictated the need to jointly repel the aggressor. In this case, the future of independent politics in the Middle East was called into question. On the other hand, neutrality and, as a result, maintaining one's own policy in this direction. Despite the fact that from the first moments of the crisis, the French president considered the first option unacceptable, in September 1990 he confirmed the country's readiness to participate in the operation to liberate Kuwait [555, p. 231-233].

Under the leadership of the Pentagon, France took part in Operation Desert Storm. In this regard, US leadership in the region has significantly strengthened. The laurels of the Middle East settlement went to America. As noted by V. Shadurskyi, in the future, France lost its influence in the resolution of the Arab-Israeli conflict. French (European) diplomacy was effectively excluded from this process. Thanks to the efforts of the US State Department, the Agreement between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization was signed (September 19, 1993). Thus, the Near and Middle East became the main area of interests of the Americans.

African vector of French politics. Characterizing the African vector, we note that in the early 1990s, the French presence in this region increased. In 1989, after the assassination of President Abalakh, the French military landed in Comoros. In 1990, an anti-government uprising began in Gabon. Considering this, France had to strengthen its presence in this area. In 1991, French paratroopers provided evacuation in Zaire, in the same year, the French had to deploy military forces in Djibouti, as the Afar rebellion began there. In 1990-1993, France participated in the settlement of the conflict in Rwanda. However, in 1994, the country had to abandon independent actions in favor of international ones. In 1992-1994, the French participated in the "Restore Hope" peacekeeping operation [528]. E.O. Obichkina notes that the powerlessness of

France was also manifested in the Algeria issue (1988-1995). Thus, by the end of F. Mitterrand's reign, France had largely lost its former greatness in the "protected zone".

Along with military aid, French policy in Africa included economic aid. The debt of African states continued to grow, so in January 1994 a decision was made to devalue the franc of the Franco-African Community by 50% [563]. In October 1995, at the General Assembly of the IMF, France agreed to subordinate state aid to African countries to the requirements of the fund and the bodies of the international monetary system of Bretton Woods [518]. This dealt a serious blow to the Franco-African partnership.

Summing up the above, we can conclude that the foreign policy course during Mitterrand's reign is characterized by continuity. The main directions, as before, are European, African, transatlantic and Middle Eastern. The priority directions are European, transatlantic, aid to developing countries. After the collapse of the Warsaw Pact and the disappearance of the "Soviet threat", the French Republic tried to "oust" the USA from Europe, but the activities to achieve this goal were largely unsuccessful. The results in the African direction were also disappointing. By the end of the head of state's rule, the country loses its former influence in the "protected zone". This was facilitated by the expansion of other states and the change of sentiment in the French political class. Policy towards Moscow is characterized by pragmatism.

It is appropriate to say that F. Mitterrand's foreign policy faced serious criticism. The tendency to condemn the foreign policy course is particularly characteristic of the mid-1990s. F. Bozo, S. Cohen in their writings, among the causes of unsuccessful foreign policy, single out - multilateralism of policy, limited funds.

Foreign policy during the administration of Zh. Chirac (1995-2007). In 1995, Zh. Shirak, the leader of the party United in Support of the Republic (OPR) was elected to the post of president. NO. Pupykin notes that Chirac's coming to power is not just a change of power. Now, after a break of almost a quarter of a century, the Gaullists have returned to power. In his election campaign, Jacques Chirac often referred to the ideological legacy of General de Gaulle, who relied on such postulates as the

independence and greatness of France, a privileged partnership with the USSR, anti-Americanism, and the construction of independent deterrent forces [559].

The new president faced the task of adapting France's foreign policy to a changing world. The new president decided to establish himself on the international scene immediately, announcing new approaches in foreign policy: strengthening the military presence in Bosnia, including the forces of separation; lifting of the moratorium on nuclear tests (1992). However, the analysis of the sources shows that the foreign policy course of the French Republic during the reign of Chirac was characterized by the following: protection of national independence, continuation of European construction and ambitions for a world role. The analysis of documents devoted to the foreign policy of the period of "coexistence" of President J. Chirac and the cabinet of L. Jospin allows us to highlight the following priorities of France's foreign policy course:

- formation of a positive image of France in the international arena;
- active participation in the construction of a "constructive multipolar world".

Transatlantic route. The American policy of J. Chirac followed the former pragmatic approaches in this direction. Y. Vedrin, upon assuming the post of Minister of Foreign Affairs, confirmed the fidelity of this position: "France should, without ambition, recognize the leadership of the United States on the world stage after the end of the Cold War [536, p. 121-123].

Chinese direction. Relations with China played an important role in Chirac's global strategy against the United States. It is no accident that the "White Paper on Defense" of 1994 took into account the threat from China [560].

During the reign of J. Chirac, profitable supply contracts were signed, moreover, France undertook to triple its trade presence in Asia. After the Kosovo crisis, another important area of French interest in China emerged. This is political cooperation on global issues within the circle of permanent members of the UN Security Council [538].

The direction of the Middle East. Characterizing the foreign policy of France in the indicated direction, we note that for J. Chirac this direction, as before, remains one

of the key ones. Chirac, being the continuation of the Gaullist policy in this region, inherited both the benefits of the support of the Arab countries and the consequences of strained relations with Israel. As E. Osypov notes, France traditionally paid a lot of attention to the Mediterranean policy, a component of which was privileged relations with Arab countries. Israel, with whom Gaullist France often has relations, became an involuntary victim of such a policy there were very serious disagreements, especially under presidents de Gaulle and Pompidou. Considering this, the French president faced a difficult task - to improve bilateral cooperation with Israel, while maintaining the previous level of contacts with the Arab world [557].

After the tragic terrorist attack in the USA (September 11, 2001), the French Republic participated in NATO military operations in Afghanistan. In the Iraqi campaign, in contrast to the events of the beginning of 1990, when France turned out to be an opponent of the USA and did not take part in military operations.

European direction. First of all, it should be noted that the issue of the European Union increasingly became an integral part of not only the foreign, but also the internal policy of France, as this issue was relevant in all political campaigns conducted in the country. On October 2, 1997, the Amsterdam Treaty of the updated text of the main Treaty on the European Council was signed in Amsterdam. On May 1, 1999, the agreement entered into force, thereby giving a powerful impetus to the process of development of the foreign policy individuality of the Union.

Regarding European security and defense, Chirac put forward an initiative to create an autonomous "military European house" within the NATO structure. Based on this strategy, Paris announced its intention to return to the Alliance, putting forward the terms of its return. However, in December 1997, negotiations between the alliance and France were interrupted. On December 4, 1998, the Franco-British declaration on European defense was signed. According to the declaration, the EU should play a "full role in the international arena".

In general, the position of President J. Chirac and the cabinet of L. Jospin regarding European integration was aimed at solving the following tasks:

- introduction and strengthening of the single European currency (euro) (January 2002);
- reform of the existing institutions of the European Union and its expansion;
- creation of a European security system.

In 2005, the French rejected the project of a single European Constitution in a referendum. The main reason is the common European population's misunderstanding of the significance of the global European project and the attitude towards a unified Europe as an "abstract and complex" mechanism that "brings more inconveniences than benefits". The vote was also influenced by the absence in the preamble of the Constitution of a passage about the "Christian roots" of Europe, which created the possibility of Turkey's acceptance into the EU in the future. This painful issue for European society affected the results of the referendum, although Chirac himself was sympathetic to Turkey's acceptance into a single Europe.

As for the relations between France and Germany, during the reign of J. Chirac, privileged relations between the states were preserved. According to the provisions of the Elysée Treaty (1963), official meetings of the heads of state were held twice a year, informal meetings - about 20 times. Meetings of parliamentarians of both states were held annually. There were also close trade and economic ties between the countries [555].

African direction. The government of L. Jospin made it clear that France intended to pay more attention to the African region, since at that time the presence of the United States in Africa had expanded significantly, therefore, in the light of the modernization of African policy, measures were taken to simplify the visa regime, the Ministry of Defense began a reform of the doctrine for the countries of Africa the continent The African policy of the socialist government was based on two principles:

- non-interference in any aspect of the activities of African countries;
- encouraging the establishment of a legal state and good governance of the country: "no interference, no indifference."

It should be added that special attention was paid to the issue of influence on Africa through the education of the African elite in French educational institutions. The gradual reduction of the French military presence on the continent begins.

2. The essence and priorities of the transformation of France's foreign policy course in 2007-2022.

In this subsection, by analogy with the previous one, the foreign policy of France can be divided into periods:

- foreign policy of N. Sarkozy (2007-2012);
- foreign policy of President F. Hollande (2012-2017);
- foreign policy of E. Macron (2017 - until today).

Foreign policy of France during the reign of N. Sarkozy (2007-2012). Elected in 2007, N. Sarkozy came to power with the idea of radical reform and modernization of the Fifth Republic. M. Weiss explains these aspirations to the president's desire to realize the idea of rapidly raising the country's prestige on the world stage [535]. In this regard, the reaction of the electronic version of the newspaper "Le Monde", which during the first two years of N. Sarkozy's presidency, noted in a special table the degree of fulfillment of the pre-election promises of the head of state [564].

Among the long-term goals of his diplomacy, Sarkozy included, first of all, ensuring the security and independence of France. At the same time, ensuring the security of France is inseparable from the security of European partners. The goals of foreign policy were also to give a new impetus to the process of European integration, restore friendly relations with the USA, create a union of Mediterranean countries, and intensify cooperation with Africa [554].

European vector. During the years of N. Sarkozy's rule, France's European policy received a new impetus. It is not by chance that the French Foreign Ministry was renamed the Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs. After N. Sarkozy assumed the post of the president of the republic, the "return of France to Europe" was put forward as a priority task. Sarkozy took a clear position regarding two cardinal issues, without the solution of which the EU's exit from the impasse was deliberately excluded. First, a compromise between the principles of supranational federation and interstate

confederation. Secondly, the need to clearly define the limits of further expansion of the EU.

Thanks to the unprecedented political activity of the newly elected president, it was possible to conclude the Lisbon Treaty by the end of 2007, which brought the EU out of the institutional crisis. True, the rosy picture of the French plan to "reset" the EU was spoiled by the failure of the referendum in Ireland, which, however, did not stop the dynamics of "European construction". On December 1, 2009, a new treaty was signed in Lisbon that corresponded to Sarkozy's initial program [538].

An important event for France's European policy was to become the country's presidency of the European Union from July 1 to December 31, 2008 [548, p. 192]. The main priorities of the French presidency (the general defense and security policy, the "Energy-Climate" package, immigration regulation, the unity of the agricultural policy) were united by the idea of Europe, which must protect its citizens from the threats and challenges of globalization. Thus, N. Sarkozy successfully combined foreign and domestic policy, finding a kind of balance between Eurosceptics and Eurooptimists in France [564]. However, the overall result of the French presidency did not live up to expectations, as the need to adopt anti-crisis measures affected the country's financial capabilities, limiting the political effectiveness of France's European policy as a whole, including its so-called fundamental structure – the Paris-Berlin tandem. In such conditions, France's leadership in the Paris-Berlin tandem, and therefore in the European Union as a whole, was called into question [535].

It should be noted that France's status as a key EU player was established during the events in South Ossetia in August 2008 and during the global financial crisis. Sarkozy's mediation mission (the Medvedev-Sarkozy plan for the settlement of the Georgian-South Ossetian conflict) was perceived for some time as a political success not only for the President of France personally, but also for the EU as a whole.

Transatlantic vector. One of the important moments of French foreign policy under N. Sarkozy was the "reset" of relations with the USA. As S. Fedorov points out, the nickname "Sarko-American" was attached to the president, because during the reign of N. Sarkozy, the foreign policy course shifted in the direction of Atlanticism.

Sarkozy explains these aspirations with the desire to end the "systemic anti-Americanism" characteristic, in his opinion, of France in recent decades. It should be noted that during that period, France managed to bring relations with the USA to a new, higher level.

The president began the process of improving relations with America by returning France to the military staff structures of the NATO joint command (April 2009). Thus, he interrupted the absence of the Fifth Republic in the military organization of the North Atlantic Alliance, which had been ongoing since 1966, and changed one of the fundamental principles of Holism. For its part, America welcomed the return of the French to the alliance, withdrawing its former objections to a European defense identity and agreeing to give France the command of the ATC in Norfolk, which caused the need for joint operations, as well as the need to create a new command occupied by Europeans on a first-come, first-served basis. regional headquarters of the alliance in Lisbon. Sarkozy's main motives in his search for closer interaction with the United States were pragmatic in nature.

HELL. Bogaturov and V.V. Averkov note that a closer Franco-American interaction has emerged only in the Middle East. The French Minister of Foreign Affairs visited Baghdad, supporting Obama's decision to determine the terms of withdrawal of the American contingent from Iraq. Similar gestures were made in Afghanistan. The parallelism of both countries' approaches to Middle Eastern affairs was most evident in connection with the problems of Lebanon - the traditional sphere of French influence in the region [514, p. 294].

However, in this period there were also objective, tactical differences between the countries. For example, in 2009, the Parisian newspaper "Le Monde" wrote that since the summer of 2009, a clear discrepancy has appeared in the public discourse of Nicolas Sarkozy and Barack Obama regarding the Islamic Republic of Iran [547]. Paris also did not support the concept of a "nuclear-free world" proposed by B. Obama. France did not show much enthusiasm for American plans to create an anti-missile defense system within NATO (2010).

Relations with the countries of the southern and eastern Mediterranean / the former "third world" (Africa, Asia, Latin America). In the course of his election campaign, N. Sarkozy relentlessly denounced the practice of secret diplomacy, clientelism, and support for corrupt dictatorial regimes flourishing under his predecessors, in particular Shirak, promising fundamental changes. With this in mind, on May 6, 2007, he made a "fraternal appeal" to all Africans, offering help in the fight against hunger, disease, poverty and wars. The start of the new African policy was the Mediterranean Union project. The author of this project was Henri Genault, a personal adviser to N. Sarkozy. Initially, this union was supposed to unite coastal countries, become a regional organization with permanent institutions, similar to the structures of the EU. However, colleagues in the EU, led by Germany, saw in the initiative of the French president a threat of splitting the European Union into regional unification, as well as France's attempt to strengthen its position in the area of its traditional influence, moreover, at the expense of the EU. "New Europe" was also not enthusiastic about the French idea, fearing the reorientation of the political vector of the Union from the eastern to the southern direction. As a result, the French project was quite negatively perceived. All EU countries joined the new union, and its official name was changed, emphasizing its connection with the Barcelona Process.

Due to the aggravation of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, the Union for the Mediterranean did not really work, although it was premature to talk about its collapse. Not only the EU and France were interested in the organization, but primarily the countries of the southern shore of the Mediterranean Sea. Given the geopolitical and economic importance of the region, the project of French diplomacy is a win-win move, a kind of preparation for the future.

On July 24, 2017, an agreement on cooperation in the field of nuclear energy use for peaceful purposes was signed in the capital of Libya (Tripoli). Representatives of France and Libya participated in the signing of the agreement. However, France's attempt to strengthen its influence in the southern Mediterranean, rapprochement with Gaddafi was defeated: the chain reaction of revolutions that shook the Arab world did not bypass Libya either. The results of the policy in sub-Saharan Africa turned out to

be ambiguous. In 2007, the Minister of Foreign Affairs B. Kushner visited Mali, Chad and Sudan. The main task is to end mass terror against the residents of the Sudanese province of Darfur. The minister was followed by the president himself, who paid an official visit to Senegal and Gabon. It was about the relationship between economic cooperation and the contractual regulation of migrations. In 2009, the president of Gabon, Omar, died. His son Ali took the place of the head of state. Now tropical sub-Saharan Africa has returned to the times of absolute priority for France's economic and strategic interests. Against this background, on July 28, 2009, Sarkozy speaks at the University of Dakar (Senegal). The main goal is to alleviate the disappointment of Africans regarding the promises of democratization. However, given the mentality of Africans, the difficult situation in their economy, political chaos and a series of bloody conflicts, Sarkozy's speech was perceived as a tactical mistake. Moreover, the head of state was accused of having a bad attitude towards African culture, lobbying the interests of French business circles, and so on.

It should be noted that the evidence that this criticism is not without grounds was the lukewarm response to the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the declaration of independence by the French-speaking countries of Tropical Africa. Despite the fact that the parade of military units of Tropical Africa and the concert took place in France (July 14, 2010), N. Sarkozy decided to abandon the declaration of 2010 as the year of Africa [536, p. 126].

Relations with Asian countries; France-China. In November 2007, the French president, accompanied by a group of representatives of French business circles, paid a visit to China. The result of this visit was the signing of major contracts. It should be noted that two more such visits took place after this trip. While offering China its investments and high technologies, the French leadership was aware that France's capabilities were far behind those of the USA, Japan and Germany in terms of the volume of trade with the People's Republic of China. Therefore, Paris sought to initiate the development of cooperation between Beijing and the EU, using, in particular, its presidency of the European Union in the second half of 2008.

However, during 2008, Franco-Chinese relations experienced a crisis. This was caused by the clashes of positions in Africa. The Franco-Chinese conflict over the human rights issue became even more acute in connection with the riots of the indigenous population in Tibet, and then in Xinjiang, severely suppressed by the Chinese authorities. Taking this into account, Beijing postponed the next EU-China summit, scheduled for December 1, 2008, until the end of the French presidency, and the Chinese media launched a hostile campaign against Paris. Only after 2 years, the relations between the states were normalized [536, p. 129].

France-India. No less actively, Sarkozy sought to develop cooperation with another "emerging" giant of Asia - India. In 2009, a preliminary agreement was reached between the French group "Areva" and the Indian Atomic Energy Corporation on the participation of Paris in the implementation of a large-scale program for the construction of 20 nuclear power plants. At the same time, there were negotiations about equipping the Indian Air Force with French Mirage and Rafale fighter-bombers. In 2008 and 2010, Sarkozy visited India. As a result, French companies were promised an order for the construction of two power units as part of the nuclear energy development program in India.

Foreign policy of France during the reign of F. Hollande. On January 22, 2012, Hollande presented his campaign program "Change is now. My 60 promises to France", in which only 7 points are devoted to foreign policy aspects. This disparity is explained by the consequences of the financial and economic crisis of 2008. The above seven points are devoted to the importance of strengthening France's position on the world stage and the need to withdraw troops. However, the threats and challenges facing French society and the world forced the Commander-in-Chief to review/change the emphasis in some foreign policy vectors, which was reflected in the "White Paper on Defense and National Security" published by the French government on April 29, 2013. The "White Book" affects relations along the NATO-EU-France axis, where the first two actors, according to the doctrine, are elements of the unified security system of the Fifth Republic.

European direction. After winning the elections in May 2012, the leader of the French Socialists, Francois Hollande, initially made it clear that he intended to more actively seek to strengthen the country's role in the Alliance, but after coming to power, the new president actually continued his predecessor's policy towards the USA and NATO in the highest state post. A. Kurdryavtsev notes that, characterizing the further development of the EU, F. Hollande said that, first of all, the countries of the Eurozone are doomed to closer and more complex cooperation. Secondly, the future "government of the euro zone" should be concerned with the solution of the economic problems of the European Union. However, the last elections to the European Parliament in France on May 25, 2014 showed that anti-integration sentiments flourished in the country [536]. It should be noted that with the coming to power of F. Hollande, economic transformations were carried out in the field of European construction, the capabilities of the European Investment Bank (EIB) were expanded, and "Eurobonds" were put into effect. Characterizing Franco-German relations, we should note that there were serious differences between them, as the French president adhered to left-wing views, and the German chancellor represented the center-right forces. However, France and Germany needed the support of partnership relations. Events in Ukraine became a new impetus for relations. Both countries coordinated their positions in relations with the new Ukrainian government, including regarding sanctions against Russia. Moreover, the countries began to make joint visits to the CIS countries (Moldova, Georgia).

France's relations with Great Britain were on a different level. F. Hollande met several times with the prime ministers of the country. The agenda of these meetings included: economic crisis, bilateral relations, international problems, security and defense problems. The joint actions of France and Great Britain in the war with Libya also became an example of close cooperation in the military sphere. Both countries acted as a united front, putting forward joint draft resolutions in the UN Security Council regarding Syria and demanding the lifting of the embargo on the supply of arms by the European Union countries to the Syrian opposition [511].

Atlantic direction. Characterizing the Atlantic direction, we note that in December 2012, the French president agreed with the US on the withdrawal of troops

from Afghanistan. Moreover, F. Hollande supported the position of B. Obama regarding the decision to exit Europe from the crisis. K. Zuyeva says that in February 2014 F. Hollande visited the USA. Evaluating the results of the visit, the president emphasized that relations between the two countries have reached an "exceptional level of closeness and trust." F. Hollande also met with US Secretary of State John Kerry. During this meeting, a joint position on the problems of Mali and Syria was developed.

France and the countries of Africa and the Middle East. F. Hollande, who succeeded Sarkozy as president, continued the policy of his predecessor and demonstrated a serious interest in strengthening French positions, both on the African continent and in the Middle East. In 2013, an authorized operation of French troops "Serval" took place against the insurgent Tuareg and radical Islamist groups in the north of Mali. In addition to the military operations in Mali, on December 6, 2013, France launched the "Sangaris" operation in the Central African Republic in accordance with UN Security Council resolution 2134 [555, p. 204].

Next, it is necessary to say that Hollande indicated his attitude to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. He spoke in favor of the resumption of dialogue between the Palestinians and the Israelis in order to develop the conditions for the creation of a Palestinian state. The French supported the Palestinians in the issue of recognition of the Palestinian National Autonomy as an observer state in the UN and provided them with a small amount of financial assistance.

A clear continuity with Sarkozy's policy can also be seen in the approaches to the internal political conflict in Syria. Shortly after the election of Hollande, France spoke at the UN Security Council for the adoption of sanctions against Syria and for obtaining a mandate to carry out "legal measures" to fight the government of Bashar Assad [555, p. 208].

France–China. The new French president has shown serious interest in strengthening ties with China. Showing his characteristic pragmatism, he, unlike Sarkozy, does not raise issues that are painful for the Chinese leadership about violations of the principles of democracy and human rights. On April 24-25, 2013, the French president visited Beijing. As a result of the negotiations, a number of major

economic agreements were concluded in the fields of aviation, space, agriculture, and tourism. The continuation of the development of Franco-Chinese relations was the official three-day visit of the President of the People's Republic of China Xi Jinping to Paris at the end of March 2014 [556].

Foreign policy of France under E. Macron. On August 29-31, 2017, President E. Macron confirmed the continuity of the foreign policy course of his predecessors. According to the observation of the French author F. Charillon, the foreign policy of modern France is prone to the dichotomy of "breaks" and continuity, because from the first days of his mandate, the new leader began to demonstrate certain stylistic innovations, adapting the traditional approach to making state decisions "for himself".

European vector. First of all, it should be noted that E. Macron came to the post of president together with a major European project: strengthening the French-German alliance, EU reform, transformation of labor relations within Europe and moderate protectionism in relation to French manufacturers. It should be noted that in 2016, on the eve of the election campaign, E. Macron's program book "Revolution" was published with a description of his European project, so it is not surprising that the basis of France's foreign policy course is a major consolidation with the European Union.

Without claiming to be a comprehensive, comprehensive study of E. Macron's program, let's analyze his main ideas designed to reform the EU. Guided by the desire to preserve and develop the EU, the president intends to promote the "multi-speed development" plan. This plan envisages "different-speed" development and strengthening of cooperation between the member states of the eurozone during their transfer of additional powers to the supranational level of the EU. At the same time, the scale of the problems to be solved is so significant that questions about the details, terms and scope of the future reorganization of the EU in many respects remain open.

Macron also pays attention to migration policy within the EU. The President proposes to strengthen the cooperation of the EU countries in this area: to strengthen the security of the EU borders, to increase the capacity of the EU border agency, to

create a special European police force to expel illegal immigrants from the territory of the EU countries and the European Asylum Agency [529, p. 34].

Within the framework of European policy, the French leader pays special attention to Franco-German cooperation, as this cooperation remains the engine of European construction. To give additional impetus to these ties and to mark the 55th anniversary of the Elysée Treaty in January 2018, the French president proposed to sign the new Elysée Treaty in a solemn setting. The contract was signed a year later.

It should be noted that the signing of the agreement caused criticism within France. Thus, a member of the National Assembly, one of the leaders of the right, Marie Le Pen demanded the convocation of the Constitutional Council in connection with the signing of the Franco-German treaty, which, in her opinion, does not correspond to the basic law of France. She believes that the treaty "encroaches on the sovereignty of states", effectively "sharing France's seat in the Security Council" and establishing "joint governance in Alsace".

Among other ideas of E. Macron, aimed at the development of the Franco-German partnership, is the creation of a joint Innovation Agency, as well as the completion of the harmonization of the French and German corporate taxation systems within the next four years. Macron believes that this experience can gradually be extended to all the countries of the European Union with the strengthening of control by the central EU bodies over the implementation of these general rules.

It should be noted that Macron intended to develop ties with other European Union countries, first of all, with the countries of the southern flank, which suffered from the fiscal austerity policy of Germany during the debt crisis of 2010. There was also the traditional desire of Paris to balance the course for close cooperation with Berlin through the intensification of relations with Greece, Italy, Spain, and Portugal. Thus, France seeks to slightly loosen the mutual "hug" with Berlin in order to have freedom of maneuver in Europe.

According to the results of the session of the European Council on June 22, 2017, E. Macron and his partners decided to establish the European Defense Fund with a budget of 590 million euros until 2020, and later - 1.5 billion euros. The participation

of the European Investment Bank in the work of the fund was welcomed. EU countries announced the launch of permanent and structured cooperation of an inclusive nature, it was decided to deploy permanent "tactical groups" of military personnel of EU countries. Finally, the parties agreed to strengthen the procedure for entry and exit from the EU for the purpose of internal security and the fight against terrorism. All these measures corresponded to E. Macron's program [511].

Transatlantic dialogue. The nature of relations with the United States was indicated by E. Macron even during his pre-election speeches. And later, in an interview with TF1 in October 2017, he emphasized that the USA is not just a partner, but also an ally of France [544].

In this direction, the French leader made a move that is not the most typical for French foreign policy - he showed himself as Washington's main European interlocutor. Indeed, the communication between the French and American leaders was outwardly quite friendly, which was evident during the trip of D. Trump to Paris on July 13-14, 2017 and the state visit of E. Macron to the USA on April 23-25, 2018. Various gestures were supposed to demonstrate that the president of the Fifth Republic seems to have a special influence on the master of the White House, forcing him to listen to himself.

In practice, it turned out that the benefit from these "special relations" is not as much as E. Macron would like. So, for example, he had to change his original position on the Iran nuclear deal. France stops keeping America within the framework of the status quo, offers to conclude some additional agreement, taking into account the opinion of Washington. Macron and Trump also took different positions on the issue of another nuclear program - the North Korean one. Both leaders acknowledge the dangers posed by North Korea's agenda. It should also be noted that after the visit to America, the heads of state did not report any major negotiating victories either on the issue of tariffs on steel and aluminum, or on issues of climate change. However, no one doubts the strength of the military-political alliance on both sides of the Atlantic, so France is counting on the support of American diplomacy in Africa (the Sahel region), the Indian and Pacific oceans [565].

It should also be noted that France participates in the anti-terrorist coalition led by the United States. At the same time, the French president expressed his solidarity with the existing anti-Russian campaign in the USA on the question of the Kremlin's possible interference in the US presidential elections. Macron said that France also suffered from similar interference.

France and countries of the Middle East and Africa. In recent years, Macron's most tangible foreign policy success is his intervention in the political crisis in Lebanon. The President personally conducted negotiations in Saudi Arabia and offered Lebanese Prime Minister Saad Hariri a way out of the political impasse [534].

However, E. Macron's actions in 2019 at least did not strengthen the position of Paris in the Middle East (or even weakened them again). France has not yet become a separate player in Syria, still preferring an alliance with the United States and Great Britain (tested once again in April 2018). The help of the Kurdish militia in Manbij worsened the already difficult relations with Turkey. The proposal to resume negotiations on the Iran nuclear deal did not find Tehran's understanding.

Characterizing France's relations with former colonies, especially African ones, we note that they are extremely difficult. Macron aims to work on expanding the mandate of French troops in Africa so that there is an opportunity to deal with disarmament issues.

Conclusions. Thus, the principles, directions and content of the transformation of French foreign policy after the end of the "Cold War" were revealed. The main goal of French geopolitics is to ensure the status of a great power with limited resources. The foreign policy of France is strongly connected with the ideas that originated under S. de Gaulle. "Hollism" as a political philosophy was supposed to provide Paris with a prominent place in Europe, the status of an influential partner among other powerful states and unite the French people.

Also, during the work, the main foreign policy trends of modern France were outlined and an attempt was made to forecast its future actions. For modern France, the main thing is the process of Western European integration. Paris increasingly relies on cooperation with EU partners and plays an active role in the European integration

process. Participation in European construction is traditionally one of the main priorities of French foreign policy. EU countries are the main foreign economic partners of France, ahead of the USA and China. Now more than ever, France is connected to its EU partners, and this interdependence has reached an unprecedented level. When solving all major issues, Paris relies more and more on the European Union, which allows it not only to claim a special place in Europe, but also to strengthen its positions in other foreign policy directions.