

The Reflection of the Far-Right Rise on French Foreign Policy

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Abstract: The presence of far-right parties in the French political system is not a new or temporary phenomenon, as its roots date back to the nineteenth century and re-emerged in 1953 with the emergence of the Boujad movement, as these parties continued to rise and played a significant role in the political arena internally and externally through the success rates in the legislative, local and European elections, this reflects the crisis of many issues in France. The continued rise of these parties now represents a crisis for the current French regime because it is adopting political counter-programs, particularly regarding the refugee file.

The continued rise of these parties is also a threat to the European Union, which is the most popular and successful model of the idea of international and regional organizations because of their desire to leave the European Union, as happened in Britain. The study will focus on the impact of the rise of far-right parties on French foreign policy.

Keywords: Far-Right, French Foreign Policy, Refugees, European Union.

Introduction

The presence of far-right parties in many European political systems is not a new phenomenon, as it took control of Europe between the two world wars, and fascism and Nazism were among the causes that led to the war¹. Currently, the emergence of the far-right in Europe is one of the most important political phenomena; However, the level of phenomenon varies from country to country; there are many features and characteristics shared by extremist parties, most notably anti-foreigners, rejection of immigration, hostility to Islam and Muslims in what is known as the phenomenon of Islamophobia, and the rise of his nationalist ideology, all features that are referred to when talking about a far right-wing program in addition to defending the national identity and historical traditions².

The concept of Islamization of Europe has been associated with the far-right, which means that Muslims have penetrated European societies and increased their influence, posing a threat to European identity and culture, thus explicitly opposing far-right parties to Islam and Muslim immigrants to European countries. The French National Front is the first party to use Islamophobia in election campaigns, adopting racist policies against Muslims and restricting their freedoms and rights, such as refusing to build mosques and other Islamic institutions.³

The study focuses on the French situation because France has seen escalations of far right-wing parties, became very popular were able to attract supporters, won a large number of seats in the French parliament and increased their capacity in French society until they became presidential candidates in 2017 and 2022.

In the 2007 presidential election, Marie Le Pen was the right-wing candidate with an anti-immigration and anti-immigrant

1 Yemeni Atef, rise of far-right parties in Europe: studying the state of France in the period "1984-2017", **Arab Democratic Center**, August 19, 2019.(accessed3111212021)

<https://democraticac.de/?p=62037>

2 Rabah Zaghouni, Islamophobia and the rise of the extreme right in Europe, Susio Cultural Approach, **Arab Future Center**, March 2014, p. 122.

3 Ibid.

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orientation, while in the 2022 presidential election, Arc Zamor, the most passionate right-wing candidate, called for the restoration of France and the strong rejection of immigration and Islam, is, therefore, one of the most vulnerable member states in the European Union to the rise of far-right parties because of the popular base enjoyed by the far-right party unlike other European countries such as Germany, which has been increasingly rising to the far right but on the level of parliamentary seats. France's far-right has reached the nomination for head of state.

Because of the weight of the far-right party in France, it affects the formation of state policy, and since foreign policy is an extension of the domestic politics of states, the rise of the far-right in France with its racist ideas will therefore reflect on the formulation of French foreign policy and this will be addressed in the study.

The study's **central question** is: "How has the rise of the far-right been reflected in French foreign policy?"

The main question is derived from several **sub-questions**:

How have far-right parties evolved in France?

What are the factors influencing the rise of French far-right parties?

What are the political and ideological orientations of the French far-right?

What are the implications of the height of the far-right on French foreign policy?

The importance of the study lies in the efforts of far right-wing parties to impose themselves and their agenda on European society in general and French in particular and to change the economic, social, and political conditions rejecting the idea of integration in Europe, where the social and economic problems experienced in Europe were attributed to these reasons: immigration and Islam and hence the choice of the subject as an area of research.

The study aims to illustrate the impact of the rise of far-right parties in France on French foreign policy.

The study will use **the descriptive-analytical methodology**, which is based on explaining the rise of far-right parties in France and identifying the reasons for this rise, in addition to describing the implications of this ascent and its reflection on French foreign policy on several issues by collecting metadata on the reality of the height of the French far-right to analyze and interpret these data.

The study will be divided as follows:

First point: The rise of the far-right in France

Second point: Implications of the height of the far-right on French foreign policy.

First point:

The size of the far-right in France

Initially, it should be noted that there is no explicit agreement among researchers on a definition of the far-right or far-right parties. However, there is agreement among researchers on a range of characteristics and features shared by far-right parties.⁴

The far-right can be defined as: "A group of political movements, organizations, and parties, defending reactionary ideas and values in all political, socio-social and cultural spheres, based on nationalism, conservative and traditional ideas and concepts, driven to the fullest or fascist ideologies."⁵

Far-right parties are a party group because they refer to a set of homogeneous and coherent intellectual perspectives that can be ideological for these far-right parties.⁶

This ideology states that states must be inhabited by members of the original group (the nation), and that non-indigenous elements (whether people or ideas) are a fundamental threat to the homogeneous national state,⁷ their speeches focus on many principles adopted by far-right parties such as anti-foreigners, rejection of multiculturalism and opposition to immigration, especially those coming from countries of the world. Third, because it causes the unemployment rates to increase for Europeans, thus the hostility of the far-right parties to immigrants and to liberal democracy is mainly due to the belief of these parties in extreme nationalism and unionist racial culture,⁸ so we find that the systems in Place in Europe the more they support liberal democracy, the more these parties oppose it, because the far-right parties support

⁴ Jens Rydgren, Immigration Sceptic, Xenophobes or Racists? Radical Right-Wing voting in six West European Countries, **European Journal of political Research**, Vol147, July 2008, p739

⁵ Jilali Bechlagm, Algerian-French relations under far-right policies 2002-2010, **master thesis**, Abybacar Belkaid University, Tlemcen: Faculty of Law and Political Science, 2011/2010, p. 106.

⁶ Sophie ,Meunier ,Globalization and Europeanization :A Challenge to French Politics, **French Politics**, 2004.(accessed3111212021)
<https://link.springer.com/article/10.1057/palgrave.fp.8200056>

⁷ Cas, Mudde ,**PoPulist Radical Right Parties in Europe**, New York, Cambridge University Press, 2007, pp 501-502

⁸ Zainab Majdhi, the impact of the global financial crisis on the rise of far-right parties in Europe (2009-2014), **master thesis**, Cairo University, faculty of economics and political science, 2016.

unionist democracy.⁹

Despite the similarity between the far-right parties and fascists and Nazism in terms of legends and slogans launched by these parties for these parties to feel strong, but these parties are escalating in a new era with issues that did not exist before.¹⁰

The most important ideas that far-right parties believe in:

Hostility to migration and hostility to foreigners.

Faith in nationalism and the desire to leave the European Union.

Opposition to globalization.

Belief in neoliberalism with emphasis on state responsibility (Chauvinism Welfare)

Populist democracy

National Front Party:

Founded in 1972 by Jean-Marie Le Pen, the party was founded on behalf of the National Front for French Unity party, which brought together all the right-wingers and integrated them into a single crucible under the shadow of one party. His ideology was not much different from those other far-right parties, which were based on anti-Semitic, Arab immigrants, especially Muslims, and claimed that those ideas were to protect their identity, using racist and hostile language towards them.¹¹

The party was based on a fan base, mostly business people and some of the bourgeois class in French society. The party won many consecutive successes in the legislative elections, winning 90% of urban constituencies and winning 10% of the vote within each in 1986-1988.¹²

From 1988 to 1998, the party was able to achieve a number of successes in addition to creating a kind of even relative stability in the votes, not less than 15% from the 1988 presidential elections to the 2002 presidential elections, in which it was so successful that it even advanced over the Socialist Party. In addition to his tremendous progress in other elections, he did not stop at the limit of the presidential election.¹³

Referring to legislative and local elections, in 1993, he won many legislative votes but, unfortunately did not enable him to obtain parliamentary representation. Then in 1997 and the year immediately after, His successes have followed both in the local elections in which he has been swept and attracted many votes, in addition to being able to get many seats allocated to him in regional councils.¹⁴

The success of this party during Le Pen's leadership, his votes and his high popularity could be traced back to many factors. In addition to the subjective factors of Le Pen's personality and his attractive speeches, several other factors can be pointed out: the most important of which is to meet the interests of the people at a time when other parties have neglected these issues, and they wanted to appear as the defender of the French people against those risks that arise (mainly the presence of immigrants), hence the increased hatred of foreigners, especially Arab Muslims. This helped create feelings among the French people that converged with the rhetoric of the far right. There is also another factor due to the presence of certain parties that have been denounced, accused of acting contrary to the interests of the people, and busy with traditional policies that did not receive their attention.¹⁵

At the time, the National Front party was focusing its platform on those fundamental issues that concerned French society, resulting in their reluctance and attitude towards other currents, as a result of national discourses. He expressed his desire to establish legal principles in the State, which was stipulated in Le Pen's 1973 electoral program entitled "Defending the French", followed by his 1984 electoral platform, which had a strong popular slogan, in which the French people paid the most importance to care (the French first), which gave priority to the French people, and thus included methods such as protecting them both culturally (French identity) themselves or making them priority in their priority. Access to all services provided by the State, from all forms of social welfare services, housing, and employment opportunities. Also, this protectionist program has not only stood up to domestic threats, but has expressed its willingness

⁹ Cas,Mudde ,op.cit,pp156.

¹⁰ Diethelm, prowe , Classic Fascism And the New Radical Right in Western Europe :comparisons and Contrasts, **Contemporary European History**,Vol.3, November 1994,pp289-313.

¹¹Hanan Al-Yousfi, "**The Rise of the Right in France: Growing Up and Roots**", (Extremist Ideology, Political Currents, French Politics, France), Riyadh: Al Bayan Magazine, Saudi Arabia - Arab Center for Human studies in Cairo, 2018, p. 133.

¹² Gilles Ivaldi,"Overview of extreme right parties in France", **Hal open science**, 2002,p2.

¹³Nonna Mayer, "**The radical right in France**", **the oxford handbook radical right**, Oxford university press, 2019. P5.(accessed may 25,2021) <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/231948844.pdf>

¹⁴ Gilles Ivaldi, Op.Cit, p2

¹⁵ Nonna Mayer, Op.Cit, p7.

to confront those external ones.¹⁶

Within the party, there were no internal divisions over power balances, and this division emerged in controversies and attempts to merge with other currents. At first, when the party did not appear in its current extreme form, and was somewhat moderate, it helped many cadres join the National Front, including Brno Megret, Ivan Plot, Jean-Yves Le Gallo and others, but then when there was a shift in Le Pen's directions and they realized that it was arbitrary, they felt it would be better to reject le Pen's hardline approach. Some therefore preferred to secede from the party and form another current, so that it would be more conservative than le Pen's hardline movement. Megrit was not alone in rejecting it, so all those who rejected Le Pen's authoritarian policy joined the Megrit movement.¹⁷

This rivalry and the victory achieved by Megrit, which has lasted since 1988 for more than ten years, this separation occurred for two reasons, first of all the desire of Megrit to ally with the conservative right-wing movement and the second, which is the one that ignited the fuse when Le Pen announced his reluctance to run In the 1999 European Parliament elections, he even trades his wife and nominates her instead of Megrit, and soon called for his separation from the party and the establishment of the national movement, thus joining many critics of Le Pen's policy, influenced by the conservative right, At the time, it was seen as a retreat and a threat to Le Pen's force, which was not facing the period by winning two streams, including The Megret Movement. Megritte was careful not to use racist words, and spoke of cultural differences in the state but without the use of Le Pen's ad-language, aiming to address a wider audience.¹⁸

The post-secession elections, in the party congress elections, were clearly declining, with the number of members falling by a significant margin compared to the 1997 elections. Nevertheless, it was expected to see a strong decline in the presidential election, but it was not much affected, but an improvement over what Le Pen had achieved in 1995, some of which were due to his electoral platform, which had solicited the right-wing public. But he began to decline again in the next legislative and presidential elections of 2007.¹⁹

There continued to be some kind of stability until Le Pen expressed his non-candidacy, and his daughter Marianne Le Pen announced her candidacy and launched her 2010 campaign for the leadership of the party and won, her goal from the beginning was to improve the party's perception, to improve the party's relationship with all sides and at all levels, to attract all French society to her and not just the right-wing society and to address the issues that concern him, and wanted to modify her father's policy by expanding the base of its popularity, by making her statements not include anti-Semitic language that was Le Pen shouts at her, removing all those feelings and speeches against them, as they are the main threats to French identity and nationalism, as well as other issues that the party fears, such as globalization and the dangers of European integration, to their culture. As for running for president in 2012, since her campaign was announced, she saw the need to run, and she had already persuaded a large number of members and voted for her, and her electoral platform was full of issues of interest to the French people, including france's economy and the migration crisis, as well as other issues. But she did not win that election. She repeated this and ran in the 2017 presidential election, at which time her public base was wide, which was what qualified her to enter the runoff with President Macron but lost to him but because he swept the votes to support him from all sides.²⁰

The rise of far-right parties:

The 2019 EU elections were one of the largest polling in Europe since the EU was founded in 1979, with turnout in the European Parliament elections at about 50% compared to 43% in the 2014 elections.

Far-right parties in Europe came to exceed all expectations and win more than 100 seats.

Far-right parties in France, Italy, Britain and Hungary led by Marine Le Pen's National Front in France topped President Emmanuel Macron's party with about 24% of the vote. Matteo Salvini's League party, Italy's interior minister, took first place with about 30%, and Nigel Farage's anti-EU Brexit party in Britain also won about 30%, and Hungarian populist Prime Minister Viktor Orban's Fidesz party won an overwhelming victory. With 56% of the vote, it was able to improve its positions in several countries, most notably Germany, where the far-right Alternative party was able to increase its share of the vote by about 11%.²¹

The results of the European Parliament elections in May 2014 also saw a strong rise for far-right parties, with far-right parties taking first place in France, Britain and Denmark, with the National Front party in France winning 24.86% of the

¹⁶ Ibid, p7.

¹⁷ Gilles Ivaldi, Op. Cit, p3 .

¹⁸ Nonna Mayer, Op.Cit, p p7-8.

¹⁹ Ibid, p8.

²⁰ Hanan Al-Yousfi, Op.cit, p. 135-137.

²¹ Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the European Council, the European Economic and Social Committee, **Report on the 2019 elections to the European Parliament**, European Commission, Brussels, 19.6.2020COM (2020) 252 final. (Accessed January 25, 2020)

https://ec.europa.eu/info/sites/default/files/com_2020_252_en_0.pdf

total vote, while the UK Independence Party (UKIP) won 26.77% and the Danish People's Party (DANISH PEOPLE'S Party) with 26.6%. In Hungary, the far-right Jobbik party came in second with 14.67% of the vote, Austria, Finland and Greece the far-right parties finished third, with the Austrian Freedom Party FPÖ winning 19.72% of the vote and Finland's True Finns with 12.9% of the vote, and in Greece the Golden Dawn Golden Dawn party won 9.38%.²²

This rise prompts far-right parties to question the causes and factors that led to it.

Economic and political factors for the rise of the French far-right

Various factors and circumstances have combined that led to the emergence of the far-right movement in France in the 1980s. It can be said that one of the most important factors that contributed to the rise of the french far-right forces is the case of immigrants who flocked to Europe in general and France in particular, whether legally or illegally, and their enemies have increased over the past years due to the factors and conditions surrounding Europe and the Arab Spring revolutions.²³

Consequently, the factors of the rise of the French far right can be divided into economic and political factors:

First: economic factors:

There are many economic factors that contributed to the rise of French far parties, including:

• **The rapid modernization of French society:**

This modernization has been linked to an increase in production and a proliferation of technology that has led to the increase in jobs requiring individuals with a degree of specialization, skill and education, while the demand for unskilled jobs in production and organization has declined, creating class duplication based on the marginalization of unskilled workers and young people without education.²⁴

• **Economic impact of the immigration issue:**

The number of immigrants occupying lower jobs in France has increased, this problem has been compounded by the increase in the number of illegal immigrants and The French governments have not taken decisive measures to stop this illegal asylum, which has contributed to increase the risk to the country and its cultural identity, especially since immigrants from third world countries have a culture, lifestyle and traditions that differ from French society.²⁵

• **The economic impact of increasing the crime rate:**

Crime rates and the number of thefts have increased and the sense of insecurity has increased inside France, and some diseases have spread, organized gangs have been formed, resulting in instability and insecurity. Accordingly, the French far right has been able to link the increase in the number of immigrants and their deteriorating economic conditions with the threat of national identity and French culture, and through this it was able to make progress in French society and attracted large numbers of the National Front and its slogans, and this was linked to the decline of supporters of other political parties in France.²⁶

• **Global financial crisis:**

The global financial crisis in 2008 led to an increase in the unemployment rate and the economic recession, and with the increase in the number of immigrants, Europeans linked the high unemployment rate to the presence of immigrants as their own teachers in their jobs, especially if the immigrants were Muslims, so the global financial crisis led to the remarkable rise of the hard-right movement in France and in many European countries and increased their popularity in particular, and they raised the slogan of the French first and wanted to restrict the immigrants, Hostility against foreigners has increased.²⁷

• **The speed of European economic integration:**

It has raised concerns about the threat of French cultural privacy, as well as the challenges facing the European Union in terms of economic, particularly after the financial crisis that affected the whole world in 2008, which contributed to the transformation of many Europeans in general and the French in particular towards the consolidation of the far right represented by the National Front party.²⁸

Second: political factors:

The political factors that led to the remarkable progress of the far-right parties in France varied, including:

²² Daphne Halikiopoulou, Sofia Vasilopoulou, Support for the Far Right in the 2014 European Parliament Elections: A Comparative Perspective, **The Political Quarterly**, Vol 85, No. 3,(2014. October), p285.

²³Reinas Navi, rise of the extreme right causes and repercussions: analytical study, **Arab Democratic Center**, May 2017, p. 11-20. (accessed3111212021) <https://democraticac.de/?p=62037>

²⁴ Huda Gamal Abdel Nasser, rise of the extreme right in France in the 1980s, **international politics**, vol 118, October 1994, p. 10.

²⁵Ibid, p4.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Reinas Navi,Op.cit, p11-20.

²⁸ Ibid, p29.

• **The collapse of the Soviet Union:**

The collapse of the Soviet Union contributed to the rise of the far-right movement, where states under the banner of the Union before its collapse began to return to their ethnic origins and this contributed to the emergence of nationalism among Europeans, where the separatist obsession became the focus of the rise of conservative radical currents.²⁹

• **The weakness of traditional right-wing parties:**

Traditional right-wing parties are unable to offer alternatives and proposals for the problems that afflict France, so the French national front has been able to install its ability to provide an alternative and solutions to the problems suffered by French society, the most important of which is the issue of immigration, where the far right has adopted the solution of this problem by excluding immigrants outside France and returning to their country of origin, which would provide many employment opportunities for the French.³⁰

• **Party speeches:**

In their speech, far-right parties carry a range of ideas on new issues that attract supporters, including that ethnic pluralism in Western society will lead to a threat to French identity, which is caused by immigration, and therefore work to exclude immigrants outside the borders of France and return to their original homeland, as reflected in the French far-right discourse, as well as the failure of traditional parties to respond to new issues compared to the far right, which puts these issues at the forefront of their political agenda.³¹

• **Arab Spring revolutions:**

The Arab region witnessed in 2011 the so-called Revolutions of the Arab Spring, which led to crises in Syria, Libya and Yemen and the establishment of "Isis" in 2014, which led to instability and deteriorating economic conditions, which contributed to the increase of migration and asylum in Europe in general and France in particular, and the instability in the Arab countries contributed to increasing fears of the transmission of this situation to the Western countries and therefore supported the currents of the far right.

• **Trump's populist speech after his victory in the U.S. presidential election:**

Trump's populist speech after his 2016 presidential election victory poses a threat to the existing system that is at stake facing the U.S.-U.S. relationship with other countries. Trump has made it clear that NAFTA is the worst trade agreement in history;³² trump's policies are escalating the far right, rejecting globalization, immigrants and refugees and withdrawing from major agreements.

• **Terrorism:**

The United States witnessed the events of September 11, 2001, which resulted in the declaration of war on terror by the United States of America and some Western countries, which in 2015 witnessed multiple terrorist attacks led by France, where Paris witnessed two terrorist attacks and led to the killing of a large number of French personnel, which reinforced the popularity of far-right currents in all of Europe, not only at home in France.

The far right links terrorist operations to the rise of the Islamophobia phenomenon and considers that all the crises in Europe are caused by the rising number of Arab immigrants, especially Muslims.³³

The rise of the far right movement is due not only to its self-strength and its ability to offer alternatives that traditional right-wing parties are unable to offer, but also to the need within the moderate right and moderate left in France. The factors that contributed to this rise are many of them and the economic issue, which was the issue of immigration, the high unemployment rate, the increase in crime and the number of thefts, in addition to the phenomenon of Islamophobia, which Europeans consider the main cause of any European crisis. The French desire to protect the cultural identity and customs of the French traditions.³⁴

The political factors were the weakness of traditional parties, terrorism, the collapse of the Soviet Union, the Arab Spring revolutions, as well as Trump's victory in the US presidential election.

Second point:

The reflection of the rise of the far right on French foreign policy:

But the rise of the far right led by Jean-Marie Le Pen in the French political arena since 2002, and the return of political and media debate on immigration, security and identity in France, have had a major impact on the formation of French public policies in general and French foreign policy in particular.

Political and ideological orientations of the far right:

²⁹Qwiu Bouhnyeh, European right-wing currents, separatist conflicts, refugee confrontation, *international politics*, Vol 208, April 2017, p. 102-105.

³⁰Reinas Navi, Op.cit, p. 29.

³¹ Zainab Majdy, Op.cit, p. 5.

³² Magdi Sobhi, protectionism and the rise of economic nationalism, *international politics*, Vol 208, April 2017, p. 6-12.

³³ Reinas Navi, Op.cit, p29.

³⁴ Zainab Majdy, Op.cit, p. 5.

This requirement highlights the political orientations of the far right, by introducing the intellectual foundations of ideology, and the political discourse of the National Front as a model for the far right, with a focus on those policies that reflect on French foreign policy.

First: The intellectual and philosophical reference of the National Front:

The French National Front's view of the outside world and international relations is based on a set of ideological ideas and beliefs, which we summarize as follows:

(1) International relations are strong relationships:

The National Front views the outside world as a space for power struggle, and the international arena is prey to permanent chaos and conflicts between states involved in this chaos.³⁵ The philosophical basis of the French National Front's view is the theory of the English philosopher Thomas Hobbs in his book *The Leviathan*, in which the latter considers man to be evil in nature, so he tends to take into account with his peers, and that the normal state that precedes the legal organization of society is a state of permanent conflict, where violence is the only means of managing human relations.

In international law, national front leaders believe that it is based on utopian criteria, which assume only good and evil exist, under the rule of power relations. Accordingly, international law cannot be applied to state law. They therefore call for non-interference in the internal affairs of States and call for France's withdrawal from international criminal trials and NATO, which, in their view, contains much injustice and tyranny. They describe the resolutions and actions of the United Nations as political conspiracies, because they are taken behind the dark scenes, without transparency. So the leaders of the National Front have been taking great advantage of the conspiracy theory as a common denominator among far-right ideologies since the end of the 19th century.³⁶

(2) The dialectic of the enemy and the friend in the thought of the National Front:

The ideological basis of the National Front in defining the enemy is based on the analysis provided by the legal jurist Carl Smith, who believes that identifying the enemy and friend with sovereignty and independence is vital for all states in the fear of disappearing or accepting dependency on other states imposed on them"³⁷ and the enemy for Carl Smith, the other, a foreigner with whom a solution to consideration cannot be reached under general rules. Far-right leaders always identify their enemies at the domestic level as well as at the external level, organize their battles and mobilize their political agendas against these enemies. During the cold war, the external enemy of the far right was the Soviet Union and its communist regime. Leaders of the French National Front described communism as the bloodiest monster of German Nazism and condemned all the criminal acts of the Soviet Union in Afghanistan and Cambodia.

In this sense, the National Front supported the dictatorships in Latin America and the racist regime in South Africa, and saw the United States of America at the time as the only global force capable of countering the Soviet threat. But after the fall of the Berlin Wall and the socialist camp, the US ally also became a new enemy by the beginning of the 1990s.³⁸ The United States of America has been accused of crimes against humanity after the embargo on Iraq in 1991.³⁹

(3) National and ethnic dimensions of nations:

The National Front derives its view of the outside world from the concept of the natural law of human existence, which surrounds man from birth, through his affiliation with various central groups. From family to nation through municipality and province. The nation in the political thought of the National Front is the largest circle of human gatherings, says Charles Moras, founder of the French Labour Movement.⁴⁰ This natural link between man and his nation explains the existence of that national canal (national spirit) that drives human groups to express their existence by establishing their political entities. The leaders of the National Front also explain the explosion of the Soviet Union and the former Yugoslavia, with the emergence of the national motives of these groups and minorities and their yearning for national independence, even speaking in the wake of the collapse of the Soviet Union about the so-called awakening of nations.

The French National Front believes that the mobilization force of nations stems from the interaction of history and culture, which establishes its ethnic dimensions. Each nation has its own identity and is transmitted to it by inheritance, as confirmed by Jean-Marie Le Pen when he identifies the French as heirs to a great material, cultural, artistic, social, legal heritage. This is formed through action and the sacrifices of previous generations.⁴¹ In this context, the leaders of the

35 Balent, Magali, « La vision du monde du front national : Quel devenir après le départ de J.M.Le.Pen », Note de recherche n°15.jan2011•CEVIPOF et CNRS, Sciencespo, p.2. . (accessed Jan 25,2022)

http://www.cevipof.com/fichier/p_publication/729/publication_pdf_cevipof.

36 Ibid.

37 Jilali Bechlagm, Op.cit, p110.

38 Balent, Magali, op.cit, p2-3.

39Jilali Bechlagm, Op.cit, p110.

40 Balent, Magali, op.cit, p2-3.

41 Jilali Bechlagm, Op.cit,p111.

National Front interpret African canals as ethnic conflicts and call for the replanning of African borders on the basis of the ethnic boundaries of the human groups living in Africa. This poses a serious threat to the sovereignty of States, particularly those with diverse races and communities.

(4) The concept of national sovereignty:

Many far-right factions are considered to be phenomena of regionalization and globalization, a dangerous phenomenon that threatens the nation's entity. Jean-Marie Le Pen, leader of the National Front, put globalization and regionalism at the center of his attention and programs for years 2007, 2002, 1993, attacking the new international order and economic globalization, criticizing France's status as an American protectorate, calling for the liberation of France from American hegemony, and supporting France's economic protection policies on agricultural products.⁴²

In the light of writer wieldy's opinion, the far-right's economic orientations are those policies based on the rejection of liberal taxes, anti-globalization and America, opposition to market freedom, strong hostility to European integration and France's participation in the unification of the European currency. According to the National Front, the European Union is a blueprint for the slow death of French sovereignty and calls for the liberation of France from the constraints of the Maastricht Treaty and all conventions on European integration, in order to become a model of the independence and national sovereignty of other European nations. In his platform and election speech for the 2002 presidencies, Jean-Marie Le Pen called for France's withdrawal from the European Union⁴³ and promised to make it his first priority if he won the election. But polls have shown that the vast majority of voters do not support this trend.⁴⁴

The National Front sees international and regional organizations and blocs, such as the European Union, the United Nations, NATO, the World Trade Organization, ...etc. It is a threat to the French nation and its identity, the subject of the nation is at the heart of the political discourse of the far right. In the literature of the National Front, the French nation extends its roots deep into history, through its traditional values and ethnic elements, which over time have formed an entity whose image and nature can be distorted by foreign values, and through groups and their cultural, linguistic, religious and behavioral influences. This means in the last analysis hostility towards foreigners and immigrants from different cultures from French culture.⁴⁵

Second: The political culture of the National Front:

The political culture of the far right is represented in Europe in general, and in France in particular with the following ideological ideas and perceptions:

(1) Anti-communism and anti-Samiism:

In multi-party Western regimes, fascist and extremist parties are working to collapse the liberal system of absolute regimes and governments, representing the far right. At the far left are communist parties seeking to wrest state power. In the center are pro-democracy parties. In this type of system, both the far right and the far left seek to persuade other parties to overthrow governments with a free liberal orientation. Therefore, communist parties to ally with fascist parties do not hesitate to vote together in parliament, if the number of votes is sufficient to bring down liberal governments.⁴⁶ Communist parties also act as tools in the hands of the proletariat to strike at bourgeois domination, while fascist parties are the instrument of the bourgeois class in maintaining power and preventing it from falling into the hands of the proletariat.

As for the French far right, anti-communism has been the main theme of its policy for almost a century. In the 1980s and winning the presidency of France in 1981, the main enemy of the right in general, and the far right in particular, was the communist regime, and after the election of socialist candidate François Mitterrand as President of France, many people thought that the Soviet Red Army would enter Paris. The far right accused the ruling right-wing movement of relaxing in front of the communist movement.⁴⁷

Anti-Semitism in France was rooted in German anti-Naziism towards Jews, and dreyfus, the Jewish officer of the French army under the Vichy Government, betrayed him. And the horror towards national ideology during the Second World War. After the emergence of global Zionism and the establishment of the State of Israel in Palestine, hostility shifted from Semitism to Zionism.

(2) Anti-immigrants and Islam:

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Jean-Marie Le Pen is not the only one calling for France's withdrawal from the European Union, but there are many French party leaders and politicians such as Charles Pasqua.

⁴⁴ Hansworth Paul, « The extreme right in France: the rise and rise of J.M.Le.Pen's Front National", in *Représentation*, Vol.40, N°.02, 2004, p. 106.

⁴⁵ Jilali Bechlagm, Op.cit, p112.

⁴⁶ Sin Abdelhamid Ahmed, Rashwan, *political parties, interest groups and pressure: a study in political sociology*. Alexandria Book Center, Egypt, 2008, p. 22.

⁴⁷ Jilali Bechlagm, Op.cit, p113.

The decline of communism and the collapse of the Soviet Union and the socialist camp at the end of the 1980s had a major impact on changing the concepts of security and threat at the theoretical and applied level. The concepts of communism and fascism have become a thing of the past, and opposition to communism has become futile in the political field. . The far right had to find a new enemy, so that immigrants would find the best alternative. Criticism of immigrants, Islam and Muslims quickly shifted, as the majority of immigrants in France were Arabs and Muslims from Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia.

The wave of racism and mutual hatred has increased with the increasing wave of violence, Islamic extremism and international terrorism. Alain De Benoist said: "The emergence of the phenomenon of violence and Islamic extremism was the result of the decline and weakness of national and secular forces in the Middle East and North Africa, as well as the result of U.S. policies biased toward Israel, toward the Palestinian issue and the Arab-Israeli conflict. For Catholic Christians, this hypothesis is mainly due to the historical conflict between Christianity and Islam, developed by Samuel Huntington in his theory of the clash of civilizations.⁴⁸ Thus, the French far right is quicker to find a link between Moroccan immigrants and the image of Islam distorted by the Western media and the terrorism of radical Islamist movements.⁴⁹

The concept of the enemy has shifted from the communist threat to the threat of Islamic terrorism, which has turned into a culture of fear, illusion and imagination, and in the eyes of the French and the extreme European, that immigrant has become a real threat to national and human security.

The wave of fear and hatred for Algerians increased after the arrest of the electoral process and the outbreak of the security and political crisis in Algeria and North African countries in the early 1990s, with economic, social and security implications for France and the countries of the Northern Mediterranean. The waves of migration of all kinds, both legitimate and illegal, have increased, and their problems have worsened within France and the countries of Southern Mediterranean Europe.

Sleeper terrorist cells have also been active in France, Spain, Britain and Germany, threatening the national security of these countries and all of Europe.

These events have made the French National Front include immigration as a key theme in its political agenda. As Marcus sees it, the issue of migration is the womb in which all national front policies,⁵⁰ including security, education, culture, employment, social services, are born... etc.

In this sense, the National Front focuses on the concept of national preference, in the sense of giving priority to French citizens in terms of employment, social services, assistance, compensation and privileges. A foreign migrant has the right to work and live in France if he pays his taxes.

This policy was evident in the National Front program in 1993, 2001 and 2007 and led to increased waves of violence and racism, but some writers such as Alain Bihl believe that these waves of violence and racism were directed against the National Front.⁵¹ This is a circumvention of the truth of some writers and press pens.

(3) Glorifying France's colonial policy:

The far-right's vision of French colonial politics in past centuries is based on the participation of many of its militants in the French colonial army, many of whom belong to the secret military organization and the French extremist front of Algeria. Its theoretical reference is based on its vision of the outside world, international relations as mentioned above, as well as its vision of war and power. Jean-Marie Le Pen is the great incubator of the emergence of nations. In his view, war was a tool for maintaining independence. It is believed that peoples and nations are like living organisms, in the event of spread, expansion and reproduction, or in a state of decline and decrease. "If we don't look for superiority and expansion, we will retreat, as there is no civilization without a permanent will to expand and spread," said Bruno Meguete, the second-in-line figure in the National Front before his defection.⁵² This sentiment reflects the profound influence of fascism on the thought of the National Front, which can be observed through the vocabulary used by Jean-Marie Le Pen in his political speeches, where he describes his militants as political soldiers (Soldats politiques), a term that was widely used during the German Nazi era. As a former military man who participated in the French colonial army during the Algerian war of liberation, Le Pen regards the military as the elite of the nation, symbolizing unity, greatness and power. Therefore, he leaves no opportunity to miss until his comrades in arms, who have sacrificed everything for the

48 Adler, Frank, « On the French Right-New and Old" , Interview with Alain De Benoist, translated by Marie H elene Adler, in Paris le 11/01/2003,p.117 (accessed Jan2,2022)

www.alaindebenoist.com

49 Jilali Bechlagm, Op.cit, p114.

50 Paul, Hansworth, Op.cit, p.105.

51Ibid, 106.

52 Bruno, Megret, " l'imp ratif de puissance", Identit , n 14, sept-oct1991, p.9

greatness and strength of the French nation, he says.⁵³

In this sense, the militants of the National Front in particular, and the far-right movement in general, view French colonialism in past centuries as a natural state that falls within the objectives of maintaining and strengthening power, and within the framework of the French civilizational expansion of the world.

Today, the National Front sees the search for force as a challenge to the French nation, and therefore makes it the key to its foreign policy agenda. The strategy of force advocated and glorified by the Front led the State to look at all diplomatic and military means to ensure its national interests, to move away from moral values in foreign policy and to work to strengthen the military and financial capabilities of the French Defense Forces.

Third: The role of the far right in French foreign policy-making:

The steady and noticeable rise of right-wing currents in France raises many questions about the nature of the foreign policy that these currents will adopt in light of the refugee crises pressing Europe, the nature of the balances and the map of political alliances that these currents will contribute to their formation with the countries of the region.

There is no doubt that the terrorist events that have hit the European continent in the past have created a fertile environment for the growth of these currents, particularly in terms of their view of migrants, particularly those from conflict zones in the Middle East, which has led these various currents to agree that migrants threaten European nationalism through the Islamization of Europe, threatening European ideas based on secularism and the separation of religion from the State, in addition to abusing the advantages of the welfare state (such as subsidy and other forms), according to far-right thought.⁵⁴

In France in particular, the National Front (FN) controlled 11 local councils in local elections in December 2015, winning 25% of the vote in the European Parliament elections in May 2014, and winning 27% of the vote in the December 2015 regional elections.⁵⁵

Marine Le Pen, leader of the National Front party, also participated in the presidential election held on April 23, 2017, and Ark Zamor will participate in the presidential elections scheduled for May 2022, which may give him an important opportunity to win the presidential election, which reflects **on French foreign policy as follows:**

French foreign policy towards large countries:

If the far right reaches power, French foreign policy will be closer to the Russian side and further away from the U.S. side, where the far right expressed surprise that the United States launched military strikes on the Syrian regime after the Khan Sheikhoun chemical attack.⁵⁶ It seems that if the far right had reached the presidency, it would have dealt with the Russians effectively, which would be negative for the European Union and other countries opposed to the Syrian regime. The French far right also prefers to cooperate with allies such as Russia, which respects the need to protect identity, and does not prefer to cooperate with countries that support openness such as Germany and the United States of America, as openness threatens both independence and identity.⁵⁷

French foreign policy towards The Middle East:

The far right sees Islam as a threat to France because it threatens French culture and fabric, and has demanded that the Muslim Brotherhood be banned from entering the country, and that the hijab and "burkini" be banned in public.

With regard to migrants, he took a firm stand on the issue of migrants and called for a systematic suspension of immigration to France, as well as a tightening of asylum and reunification procedures, and a club for the expulsion of foreigners who committed crimes in France.⁵⁸

With regard to the position of the far-right Qatar Ferry that we must stop Qatar's external support for terrorists, which means that the far right intends to reconsider the nature of its relationship with the Arabian Gulf, particularly since it has called for rapprochement with the Russians and Iranians on issues in the region.

⁵³ Balent, Magali, op.cit, p2-3.

⁵⁴ Ian Bremmer, These 5 Facts Explain the Worrying Rise of Europe's Far-Right, Time, October 15, 2015, (accessed Jan12,2022) : <http://goo.gl/qg81Ba>

⁵⁵ Nicolas Bouzou, What's behind the rise of the far right in France?, Foundation for Economic Education, September 12, 2016, (accessed Jan17,2022) : <https://goo.gl/6qhQIK>

⁵⁶ Robert pratta, Le Pen criticizes Trump over missile attacks on Syria, arabic.sputniknews, 7April2017. (accessed Jan19,2022) <https://arabic.sputniknews.com/20170407>

⁵⁷Manuel Lafont Rapnouil and Jeremy Shapiro, Marine Le Pen's Bait-and-Switch Foreign Policy, Foreign Policy, April 19, 2017. (accessed Jan15,2022) <https://foreignpolicy.com/2017/04/19/marine-le-pens-bait-and-switch-foreign-policy/>

⁵⁸ For the French elections and their impact on domestic and foreign policy, analytical report, **Jusoor Center for Studies**, May 9, 2017. (accessed Jan15,2022)

<https://www.jusoor.co/details/The-French-Elections-Internal-and-external-policy-impacts/271/ar>

The Syrian crisis: The position of the French right-wing currents on the Syrian conflict is directly linked to the increasing influx of refugees to France, which shows a clear tendency for the continuation of the Assad regime, because it believes that its continuation, while halting material and military support for Syrian internal opposition currents, may provide an opportunity for a political settlement that would return Syrian refugees to their territory.

This coincides with the support of this current for cooperation with Russia, and the call for rapprochement with Russian President Vladimir Putin in order to find a way out of the Syrian crisis,⁵⁹ which may indicate under the control of the right-wing movement France the possibility of a deal between the European Union and Russia that would lift sanctions on the latter in exchange for pressure on the Assad regime to calm the situation in Syria, allowing the return of refugees and ridding Europe of that burden, especially with the rejection of the majority of right-wing parties For military intervention in Syria, not to consider it a solution on the table.⁶⁰

On the other hand, the French far right stressed that the survival of the head of the Syrian regime Bashar al-Assad is the best alternative to ISIS in Syria, and that it must work with him in the fight against terrorism, and considered that France's severing of diplomatic relations with the Syrian regime was a serious mistake.

Arab-Israeli conflict: The French far right is pro-Israel, believing that the threats to both Israeli and European security stem from Islam, and that they are fighting the same war, leading to the need for Europe to support Israel.⁶¹

Relationship with Iran: The issue of French relations with Iran presents a dilemma for the continent's rising right-wing movement. At a time when this current needs Iran to settle the Syrian crisis, which contributes to stopping the flow of refugees to Europe, on the other hand, the right-wing movement fears that future developments in the Middle East will lead to a large-scale war because of Iran's nuclear program,⁶² which could negatively affect European security.

The French right-wing movement may therefore seek to maintain balanced relations with Iran to ensure Iranian energy support, and on the other hand pressure not to be exposed to the nuclear deal to ensure that no further security tensions in the region affect European security directly linked to security in the Middle East.

Relationship with Turkey: The French far right rejects Turkey's accession to the European Union.

French foreign policy towards African countries:

The far right believes that Africa and francophone countries will be their primary international priority to protect French interests, while France's colonization of African countries has been positive. France's far-right foreign policy will maintain French influence in this region.⁶³

French foreign policy EU and international organizations:

The far right has criticized EU institutions and accused them of being behind all the problems in France. He said that he would not accept that France's future was in the hands of European officials and that he wanted France to regain its sovereignty and that its fate in the Brussels offices would not be discussed by a "technocratic" who, in his words, had nothing to do with reality, refusing to live in the same scenario as Greece, Spain and Portugal, rejecting EU policies that destroyed France's economy and imposed foreign workers on them while French workers suffered from unemployment.

France must remain France and not change its identity, so illegal immigration must be stopped, legal immigration reduced and multicultural politics advocated by political parties and EU officials must be stopped.⁶⁴

The far right rejects international institutions in all their forms (EU-NATO and THE UN) because they limit French independence and weaken France.⁶⁵

Accordingly, French far right's platform largely consists of a list of international regimes and institutions from which they want to withdraw: NATO's integrated command, the Schengen Area, the Eurozone, the EU, and various free trade agreements. They have a principled objection to multilateral groups such as the World Trade Organization and the G-20, because in her view only the people of a nation "are able to decide what is right for them."⁶⁶

⁵⁹Leonid Ragozin, "Putin's Hand Grows Stronger as Right-Wing Parties Advance in Europe", **Bloomberg**, March 15, 2016.(accessed Jan11,2022) :

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⁶⁰ Susi Dennison & Dina Pardijs, "The world according to Europe's insurgent parties: Putin, migration and people power", **European council on foreign relations**, June 23, 2016.(accessed Jan8,2022) : <https://goo.gl/VKDTEK>

⁶¹ Yehuda Ben-Hur Levy, "The Undiplomats: Right-wing populists and their foreign policies", (Center for European reform, August 2015), p6. (accessed Jan21,2022) : <https://goo.gl/3WaoIg>

⁶² HOMAS BURROWS, "Trump's Iran stance could threaten a WORLD WAR and the destruction of Israel, warns Tehran as it cautions the Donald against 'provoking' them in the Middle East", DailyMail, December 12, 2016.(accessed Jan22,2022) : <https://goo.gl/3tJpK>

⁶³ Manuel Lavon Rapnwell & Jeremy Shapiro, Op.cit.

⁶⁴ Taher Hani, Marine Le Pen carry the EU all the "problems" of France, France24, May 1, 2014.(accessed Jan22,2022) <https://www.france24.com>

⁶⁵Manuel Lavon Rapnwell & Jeremy Shapiro, Op.cit.

⁶⁶ Manuel Lavon Rapnwell & Jeremy Shapiro, Op.cit.

Conclusion

The European far right began its roots in France in response to the famous French Revolution in 1789, where the revolution wiped out the monarchy but did not eliminate the principles espoused by the right where it is based on ethnic or national discrimination and considers that human beings are not equal but there are better individuals than others, the rise of the far right in France and the rest of the European countries in the 1980s became a particularly remarkable phenomenon and their political success over more than ten years proved that the far right is not visible Temporary, even the phenomenon of its roots deep in French and European political history as a whole, and there are no indications of the disappearance of the far right in the near future.

Although French elections are usually unfavorable to extremist candidates, Le Pen set a record in 1988, winning 14.4 percent of the total votes cast, indicating that the far right has become an active element of French politics, despite the electoral decline in the late 1980s of the French National Front, but remained the most important right-wing grouping in the European community.

Various factors and circumstances have combined that led to the emergence of the far-right movement in France in the 1980s, and arguably one of the most important factors that contributed to the rise of the French far-right forces is the issue of immigrants who flocked to Europe in general and France in particular, whether legally or illegally, and their enemies have increased over the past years due to factors and conditions surrounding Europe.

There are economic and political factors that contributed to this rise and economic factors, including the issue of immigration, the high unemployment rate, the increase in crime and the number of thefts, in addition to the phenomenon of Islamophobia, which Europeans consider the main cause of any European crisis, and the desire of the French to protect the cultural identity and French customs and traditions, while the political factors were the weakness of traditional parties, terrorism, the collapse of the Soviet Union, and the Arab spring revolutions, In addition to Trump's victory in the U.S. presidential election.

Although Marie Le Pen did not win the 2017 French presidential election, the far right won and made significant progress, reflected in the number of votes cast by the far right. Thus, we find that more rise of the far right in Europe, and gaining strong ground in the coming period, with the possibility of passing strict laws against Arab immigrants coming to Europe, through the exploitation of the far right in Europe for terrorist attacks such as the attack on the newspaper Charlie Hebdo in 2015, which resulted in the death of a number of people and injured others.

The victory achieved by the National Front party, despite the loss of its candidate Mary Le Pen, is due to the policies adopted by the far right, particularly in the problem of unemployment, which is a priority of the far right, where Le Pen announced in her election program that she intends to apply "national priority at work" if she reaches the Elyse Palace, where it aims to give precedence in employment to the French and then in the second place immigrants residing in France legally and formally and must respond to certain conditions and rules In order to continue living in France so that they do not place a burden on the finances of the French state.

The French far right has been able to address the citizens in a way that emphasizes the need to preserve the national identity, distinguishes the far right between ego and the other and succeeded in portraying itself as the defender of French culture and identity, while the traditional right-wing and left-wing parties that relied on globalization and integration and reduced cultural privacy failed, resulting in the attraction of a large number of individuals to the speech of the far right, which calls for the protection of national and cultural identity and rejection of integration and hostility to immigrants and especially Muslims as the source of crises As the unemployment rate has increased, in addition to the fact that immigrants are a major source of terrorism and instability throughout the European continent, the far right has achieved a broad public base and become an important actor in the French political arena.

From the above we find that the French far right is the most important right-wing group in the European community, and there are no indications of the disappearance of the far right in the near future, but is expected to take place further rise of the far right not only in France but in many European countries, because it was able to gain a strong ground during the previous period and the far right has a large number of supporters, In addition to being an active element on the European political arena in general and French in particular.

Hence, it can be said that there is a set of results in the study:

- The European arena has been undergoing transformations at various levels, including the rise of far-right parties that have exploited the general climate and the vagaries of the internal environment of traditional political parties that are still looking for solutions to accumulated problems in European security, the economy and migration issues.
 - The rise of radical Yemen poses a threat to the EU's economic and political interests, which are subject to ties and balances with the major powers, because these parties adopt their own political and economic visions different from the rest of the political parties between the center right and the center left, which may put them in a confrontation and clash with all political forces in order to strengthen their position within the political map.
 - The rise of the French far right will prompt the reshaping of the map of political alliances in the region and a radical change in French foreign policy.

- Through the ideology of the far-right National Front, its three pillars of French foreign policy - independence, identity and order - yield something new and quite different for France and its partners.
- The French far right explicitly rejects the idea of the Western camp to which France must belong, or the global model that the West must impose on the rest of the world.
- Insists that it is the only "realism" that is, he alone seeks to promote French interests rather than the "fictitious" political visions of previous governments on issues such as Turkey's attempt to join the European Union, free trade, or humanitarian intervention in the Middle East.
- Calls for a foreign policy for the average man against the betrayal of the elite class, which cares little about "real" France.

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