Beyond Françafrique

The foundation, reorientation and reorganisation of France's Africa politics

KARL SÖRENSON

FOI, Swedish Defence Research Agency, is a mainly assignment-funded agency under the Ministry of Defence. The core activities are research, method and technology development, as well as studies conducted in the interests of Swedish defence and the safety and security of society. The organisation employs approximately 1000 personnel of whom about 800 are scientists. This makes FOI Sweden's largest research institute. FOI gives its customers access to leading-edge expertise in a large number of fields such as security policy studies, defence and security related analyses, the assessment of various types of threat, systems for control and management of crises, protection against and management of hazardous substances, IT security and the potential offered by new sensors.

FOI
Swedish Defence Research Agency
Defence Analysis
SE-164 90 Stockholm

Phone: +46 8 55 50 30 00
Fax: +46 8 55 50 31 00

www.foi.se

FOI-R--2553--SE
ISSN 1650-1942

User report
July 2008

Defence Analysis

Karl Sörenson

Beyond Françafrique

The foundation, reorientation and reorganisation of France's Africa politics

Title	Beyond Françafrique -The foundation, reorientation and reorganisation of France's Africa politics.
Rapportnr/Report no	FOI-R--2553--SE
Rapporttyp Report Type	Användarrapport User report
Månad/Month	Juli/July
Utgivningsår/Year	2008
Antal sidor/Pages	76 p
ISSN	ISSN 1650-1942
Kund/Customer	Försvarsdepartementet/Ministry of Defence
Forskningsområde Programme area	1. Analys av säkerhet och sårbarhet 1. Security, safety and vulnerability analysis
Delområde Subcategory	11 Forskning för regeringens behov 11 Policy Support to the Government.
Projektnr/Project no	A12018
Godkänd av/Approved by	Jan-Erik Rendahl

FOI, Totalförsvarets Forskningsinstitut
Avdelningen för Försvarsanalys

164 90 Stockholm

FOI, Swedish Defence Research Agency
Division of Defence Analysis

SE-164 90 Stockholm

Sammanfattning

Denna rapport analyserar de fransk-afrikanska relationerna ur en säkerhets- och försvarspolitisk synvinkel. Rapporten fokuserar på om Frankrikes president Sarkozy föreslagna *”rupture”* (brytning) med tidigare fransk afrikapolitik är trovärdig mot bakgrund av Frankrikes tidigare politik i Afrika. För att förstå denna historiska relation identifierar rapporten fyra historiska faser i den fransk-afrikanska relationen; det Franska Imperiet, den Franska Unionen, den kortlivade Franska Gemenskapen samt dagens nätverksstruktur vilken omfattar franska och afrikanska politiska ledare, tjänstemän, officerare och affärsmän.

Imperieperioden etablerade fransk överhöghet i Nord-, Väst- och Centralafrika och lade grunden till de fransk-afrikanska handelsförbindelserna, samtidigt som den introducerade franska institutioner och fransk kultur i Afrika. Den fransk-afrikanska relationen stärktes delvis av andra världskriget, och efterlämnade Frankrike med en historisk skuld till Afrika. Unionen försökte i huvudsak överbrygga efterkrigstidens afrikanska krav på större autonomi samtidigt som den sökte bevara fransk överhöghet. Den Franska Gemenskapen, upplöst efter endast två år, var Frankrikes sista försök att formellt behålla den koloniala kopplingen. Efter Gemenskapen var president de Gaulle snabb att etablera en nära relation med de flesta frankofona ledarna. Nätverket skapat av de Gaulle stärktes genom utbildning och gemensam socialisering mellan Frankrike och de frankofona staterna i Afrika. Efterföljande franska presidenter upprätthöll nätverkstrukturen som kom att dominera den fransk-afrikanska relationen och Frankrike behöll sin närvaro i Afrika. Nätverksstrukturen upprätthölls av politiskt samarbete och handel, men också genom att Frankrike agerade som garant för afrikansk stabilitet genom bilaterala försvarsavtal och militära interventioner. Interventionerna blev med tiden allt svårare för Frankrike att motivera och tvingade slutligen fram omfattande reformer i den franska afrikapolitiken.

Sarkozys försök att omarbeta den nuvarande franska Afrika policyn återfinns i detta historiska sammanhang. Hittills verkar Sarkozy tänka sig ett mer löst sammanhållet nätverk mellan Frankrike och afrikanska ledare, men som tillskillnad från tidigare även innefattar icke traditionella franska partners i Afrika som Libyen och Sydafrika. Denna mer multilaterala ansatts reflekteras också i Frankrikes försök att övergå från bilaterala förbindelser till ett närmre samarbete med EU, AU och FN i Afrika. Denna nya, mer multilaterala övergång kan dock kompliceras av det ofta komplexa fransk-afrikanska förhållandet.

Nyckelord: Frankrike, Afrika, kolonisation, Algeriet kriget, militära interventioner, försvarsavtal, Françafrique, Sarkozy, EU-ordförandeskap, EURO-RECAMP

Summary

This report analyses the French-African relationship from a security and defence political point of view. The report focuses on whether French President Sarkozy's proposed *'rupture'* (break) with past French African politics is credible given France's past politics in Africa. To understand this historical relationship the report identifies four historical phases in the French-African relationship; the French Empire, the French Union, the short lived French Community and today's network structure which encompasses French and African political leaders, civil-servants, officers, and businessmen.

The Imperial period established French rule in the North, West and Central Africa and laid the ground for French-African trade relations as well as introducing French institutions and culture in Africa. The French-African relationship was in part strengthened by the African support to France during the Second World War, which left France with a historical debt to Africa. The Union primarily tried to bridge the post-war call for greater autonomy from the African states while safeguarding French supremacy. The French Community, dissolved after only two years, was the last attempt by France to formally keep the colonial connection. After the end of the Community, President de Gaulle was quick to establish a close relationship with most of the Francophone political leaders. The network instigated by the Gaulle was strengthened through education and common socialisation between the elites of metropolitan France and those of the Francophone African states. Subsequent French presidents upheld the network structure that came to dominate the French-African relationship and France continued its presence in Africa. The network structure was upheld by political liaisons and trade, but also by France acting as a guarantor for African stability by bilateral defence agreements and through military interventions. The interventions became increasingly difficult to motivate and eventually necessitated serious reforms in French-Africa politics.

Sarkozy's attempt to rearrange the current French Africa policy is situated within this historical context. So far Sarkozy seems to envisage a more loosely coupled network between France and African leaders, but which encompasses non-traditional French African partners like Libya and South Africa. This more multilateral approach is also reflected in France's attempt to move away from the bilateral dealings of the past to work closer together with the EU, AU and the UN in Africa. However, the new multilateral transition might be complicated by the earlier, often complex French-African relationship.

Keywords: France, Africa, colonisation, Algerian War, military Interventions, defence agreements, Françafrique, Sarkozy, EU-Presidency, EURO-RECAMP

Table of Contents

1 Introduction

French President Nicolas Sarkozy, while on what was arguably his most important state visit to date related to Africa, asserted to the South African Parliament that French *"defence agreements must reflect Africa of today and not yesterday"*. France is to reduce its general military presence in Africa and replace it with a new sort of relationship where, for instance, *"defence agreements between France and African countries must be made public in their entirety*".[1] In this spirit, France will reduce its military presence to a few stationary bases that will serve not only France but possibly also the EU and the AU for peace operations. Implicit in this change is an indication that Africa must take greater responsibility for its own security, but that France would be willing to continue to assist in this endeavour. An economic assistance programme would therefore be launched that would consist of a growth package, a risk fund, and private sector support. In his speech, President Sarkozy outlined how parts of his politics vis-à-vis Africa were to undergo the same *'rupture',* or break with the past, as many of his domestic policy revisions.

Sarkozy's proposed break with earlier Africa politics is only partly due to a perceived political need to revise France's relations with Africa, an often-controversial part of French foreign policy. In today's France there is also a need to overhaul the French economy in general, and *la rupture* must be understood within this larger context. However, that President Sarkozy actually will manage to change France's long and complicated relationship with Africa is of course by no means certain. One thing that vouches for a real possibility of a change is that Sarkozy has considerably less political and personal attachments to Africa than previous Presidents of the Fifth Republic.

Some of the emerging changes cannot only be attributed to Sarkozy. Both the reduction of troops stationed in Africa as well as the orientation towards the UN and the EU can be traced to earlier presidents, such as Jacques Chirac.

It is one thing to announce a break with the past and quite another to implement it. French presidents preceding Sarkozy have also proclaimed their will to reform the French-African relationship; Giscard d'Estaing and Mitterrand have in the past made similar statements. Prime Ministers like Lionel Jospin have also made serious efforts to change the French Africa policy. Where the ambition to make a serious change has been sincere, it has nevertheless proved a difficult task. The political, economic and military ties between Africa and France have a long

[1] International Herald Tribune (28/02/2008) *"France to Overhaul policies toward Africa"* http://www.iht.com/articles/2008/02/28/africa/france.php

history. In order to understand Sarkozy's current policies and ambitions, as well as his possibilities to implement them, it is of great importance to study France's history in Africa.

The redirection in policy has also led France to take many of its initiatives concerning Africa to the European Union and the United Nations. Hence, even though it is diminishing its own presence in Africa, France is trying to increase the presence of the European Union. Since many EU members lack an active Africa policy and are poorly informed of the day-to-day politics in the Francophone Africa, this has created a new situation within the EU. Member states previously unaccustomed to African geopolitics now actively have to relate to French initiatives concerning Africa.

1.1 Aim and Scope

The aim of this report is to understand whether French President Sarkozy's proposed *'rupture'* (break) with past French African politics is credible against given France's past politics in Africa. To do this, the report tries to identify key events in the French-African relationship in the belief that some of the incentives dominating present behaviour partly have their explanation in, or are connected to, these key events. To understand the historical relationship between France and Africa the report identifies four historical eras, or stages in the French-African relationship (i-iv);

i. The Imperial period established French rule in the North, West and Central Africa and laid the ground for French-African trade relations as well as introducing French institutions and culture in Africa. The French-African relationship was in part strengthened by the African support to France during the Second World War, which left France with a historical debt to Africa.

ii. The French Union that succeeded the French Empire primarily tried to bridge the post-war call for greater autonomy from the African states while safeguarding French supremacy.

iii. The French Community, dissolved after only two years, was the last attempt by France to formally keep the colonial connection.

iv. After the end of the Community, President de Gaulle was quick to establish a close relationship with most of the Francophone political leaders. The network instigated by the Gaulle was strengthened through education and common socialisation between the elites of metropolitan France and those of the Francophone African states. Subsequent French

presidents upheld the network structure that came to dominate the French-African relationship and France continued its presence in Africa. The network structure was upheld by political liaisons and trade, but also by France acting as a guarantor for African stability by bilateral defence agreements and through military interventions. The interventions became increasingly difficult to motivate and eventually necessitated serious reforms in French-Africa politics.

Sarkozy's attempt to rearrange the current French Africa policy is situated within this historical context. The report formulates three main assertions about contemporary French Africa politics (v-vii);

v. Sarkozy seems to envisage a more loosely coupled network between France and African leaders, but which encompasses non-traditional French African partners like Libya and South Africa.

vi. This more multilateral approach is also reflected in France's attempt to move away from the bilateral dealings of the past to work closer together with the EU, AU and the UN in Africa.

vii. The new multilateral transition might be complicated by the earlier, often complex, French-African relationship.

In addition the report also discusses the different political relationship France has with the Maghreb and Sub-Saharan Africa. While Maghreb often has been a driver of political change (also in France itself), Sub-Saharan Africa has mostly been a recipient of French policy decisions. Today, the former is directly linked to national security, whereas the latter is of interest from a more general French security and defence point of view.

France's long and often complicated history in Africa seldom receives close attention in the contemporary Anglophone debate. While the political developments in countries like Kenya, Somalia and Zimbabwe are subject to both media attention as well as a considerable amount of research, the political problems in Francophone Africa rarely surface. Conversely, in France Anglophone Africa is equally absent in the public debate and research. This report is meant to provide a general overview of the development of French security and defence politics in Africa. The underlying idea is that, once this has been established, it will facilitate more in-depth analysis, as well as give the issues the underlying context they deserve.

1.2 Method

Contemporary articles and research often allude to several important events as drivers, or at least as indicators, without actually explaining what these events are or putting them into context. In contrast, this report seeks to give depth to the analysis by adding the historical context in which the current changes have their roots or are taking place. As a consequence, this report is divided into a historical part and a contemporary part. While the historical part focuses on key events, the contemporary part has a thematic structure in order to give a more detailed account of current French Africa politics. This is done in order to systematically connect historical events to current security and defence political developments, while attaining a higher degree of detail.

In the historical part, the paper relies on academic literature and scientific journals. For the more recent developments in French African politics, the report also uses newspaper articles, official French reports and memos, and reports and memos from African, European and American think tanks.

Complimentary to the written material on the subject, interviews have been conducted with analysts, political advisors, political officers, and military advisors concerned with French-African relations in the defence and security realm. These interviews, conducted in May 2008, took place in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, at the EU Council and Commissions Office, the Institute for Security Studies (ISS), the French Embassy and the AU Peace and Security Directorate on 13-16 May, and in Paris, France, at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Defence, as well as at the Swedish Embassy in Paris on 19-23 May.

1.3 Limitations

This report approaches the French-African relationship from a defence and security point of view. Hence, it by no means constitutes a complete account of the French-African relationship. A regrettable, albeit necessary, limitation is that the economic perspective is not treated in this report if not to exemplify a particular issue. Further, the report does not discuss the French colonial project in Asia and the Americas. Although important similarities exist, these too have been discarded. It is the author's hope that the reader bears this in mind when reading the report.

1.4 Acknowledgements

The author would like to extend his sincere gratitude to all the people who agreed to meet to be interviewed by him, thus providing the foundation for this report.

There are also a number of people whose insightful comments have been crucial during the writing process. The author wishes to thank Daniel Wolvén at the Embassy of Sweden in Paris, Yann Benétreau-Dupin at Sorbonne, Paris 1, and Peter Haldén and Robert Egnell at the Swedish Defence Research Agency, FOI.

Finally, the author wishes to thank his project manager Markus Derblom, FOI, whose patience and assistance this report owes its existence to.

2 The Republic's Scramble for Africa

The French-African relationship has been ongoing for around 350 years, but it was first in the 1880s that Africa as a continent moved onto France's political agenda. The relationship has taken many forms, many of which have often been violent. In spite of this, France has always made sure that it enjoys a special status with its former colonies.

2.1 A New Political Ambition

The reasons for France's initial colonial ambitions are not unlike those that have been reoccurring throughout France's relationship with Africa. The expansionist drive came from a combination of mercantile interests and political ambitions, all taking place in close competition with the other dominating powers of the time – Great Britain and Spain. Although Africa was not an immediate priority, trading posts were created as early as 1624 in what is today Senegal. The importance of these trading posts grew along with increasing commerce, especially during the slave trade. They would also prove of strategic value for the second round of colonisation. [2]

During the 17th century, France continued its expansion but was during this period focusing more on the Americas. The Seven Years' War (1756-1763), which involved several of the European powers, principally France and Great Britain, proved disastrous for France.[3] Not only did France lose several of its most valuable colonies, but the war bankrupted the French State. Competition with Great Britain came to a quick halt when the French Revolution broke out in 1789. The Revolution's declaration on human rights was the first *official declaration* by a state. Under the First Republic, five years after the Revolution, the abolition of slavery was announced, making France the first country to do so.[4]

The tumultuous years of the Revolution and the ensuing Reign of Terror (1793-1794) further reduced France's colonial possessions. Some of these were reclaimed by Napoleon, who also reintroduced the slavery, in 1804. In an attempt

[2] France had already established minor territories in North Africa in the 12th and 13th centuries in connection with the Crusades. During the seventh crusade, France also invaded Egypt in 1249 and occupied the Nile Delta for a year. Although the medieval societies did not seem to think of these possessions as colonies, it is de facto the first "colonial behaviour". Saint Lois is reportedly the only French head of State that has died in a colony; he died in Tunis in 1270.

[3] The Seven Years' pitted Great Britain, its colonies, the British East India Company, Brunswick-Lüneburg, Prussia, Ireland and Portugal against France, its colonies, the French East India Company, Austria, Russia, Sweden and later also Spain.

[4] Behrens, C.B.A (1976) *"The Ancient Régime"*, Thames and Hudson, London, England, p. 155

to expand the French territorial claims overseas, Napoleon invaded Egypt[5] already in 1798, during the end of the Jacobin rule. However, the campaign was short-lived and the French Army was a year later (1799) forced to retreat from Egypt.[6]

Slavery was again outlawed in 1815 and this time the law was enforced. However, the concept of slavery had not yet played out its part. European colonisers frequently justified the 'Scramble for Africa', as the phenomena of the European competition for African soil later came to be known, with the argument that it was necessary to hinder Arab-slave traders. The European population also seemed to be quite sensitive to the 'anti-slavery argument'.[7]

In the 1860s France was in control of Algeria and some smaller territories in Senegal.[8] Africa was getting more and more attention but the real race for Africa between the European states had not yet begun, although King Léopold II of Belgium was entertaining plans for a Belgian colony. With the help of the British explorer Henry Morton Stanley, he found this colony in the Congo. French explorer Count Pierre de Brazza, like Stanley, was also finding his way up the Congo River. The news of the discoveries started to gain attention in the European press. Little by little, interest for Africa was increasing. In the following years the pace quickened, and the 'Scramble for Africa' had begun. Where Stanley was buying up land for the holding company that was controlled by King Léopold, de Brazza was buying and claiming land in the name of France. And, while King Léopold had to find ways to privately recruit for his colonial ambitions, France, now also in competition with Great Britain and Germany, mobilised.

During the Berlin conference and congress in 1884-85, African border issues and trade agreements were discussed between the European powers, but they did not ultimately stipulate the division of Africa. Nevertheless, the scramble continued and, in terms of land, France eventually emerged as the winner. Its territories included what today is Algeria, Tunis and parts of Morocco in the North, Senegal, Mauritania, Mali, Niger, Burkina Faso and Côte d'Ivoire in the west, and Chad, the Central African Republic (CAR), Gabon and Republic of Congo (RC) in Central Africa. On the horn of Africa, in today's Djibouti, France established French Somalia. But the idea of an Empire reaching from the west coast to the east coast was too great a temptation. In 1898 France pressed further

[5] Egypt was at the time part of the Ottoman Empire.
[6] Esdaile, C. (2007) *"Napoleon's Wars – An international History 1803-1815"* Penguin, London, UK, p. 69
[7] Hochschild, A. (1998) *"King Leopold's Ghost",* Macmillan, London, UK, p. 86
[8] For more on the colonisation of Algeria, see page 27.

into British Sudan. The push reached as far as Kodoko, more known as Fashoda, where it collided with the interests of Great Britain. A military conflict between the two colonial powers seemed unavoidable, but after the realisation that it had been cut off and outnumbered, France stood down.[9]

In France, the anti-slavery argument was incorporated into another argument for the conquest of Africa - the idea of the republic. Compared to the British, who mostly focused on the economic aspects of the colonies, or the Spanish, who, at least nominally, incorporated a strong sense of Christendom into their conquests, France sought to establish the republic in their colonies and territories. In the 1880s the French Third Republic rested constitutionally on the ideals of the revolution, consisting of free citizens – not subjects – and a secular state. But, as with Great Britain and Spain, the project of colonisation was carried out by the state. France's colonial organisation was modelled after the French state's structure and many of the state institutions were also eventually established in the colonial territories.

These territories were arranged into a strict hierarchy starting with the President of the Third Republic, followed by the Colonial Ministry, to the Governor Generals (e.g. for French West Africa), the Territorial Governors (e.g. for Senegal), down to the community level. For the territories that participated in the French endeavours, the status of so called *communes d' indigènes* (indigenous communes) was extended. To facilitate the process of extracting raw materials from its colonies and territories, France devised a system of forced labour, a legal framework known as *régime du sabre* (rule by the sword). With this in place France could commence its quest for raw materials, principally rubber, cacao, coffee, peanuts, gold and diamonds.

Over the next two decades the French colonial project grew and the colonial areas came to mirror the French state. With the First World War and the ensuing Versailles Peace Treaty (1918), France and Britain split the German colonies in Africa between them. France gained Cameroon and Togo.

In retrospect, it is of interest that the countries participating in the scramble for Africa often had relatively vague ideas of what to do with the territories. For Britain, Germany and France, several territories were of no real use. French Chad and British Sudan proved difficult to claim, and were of limited economic value. Instead, the scramble should be understood within the context of larger political power struggles in Europe and the quest for relative power.

[9] Ibid. p. 86

France's colonies and territories in Africa in 1918

It is difficult to imagine today how the French colonisation of Africa and the starkly contrasting ideals of the French Revolution with human rights, democracy and the abolition of slavery were part of the same coherent political system. However, in Europe during the 19th and 20th centuries the emphasis seems to have been less on the qualities of democracy and human rights and more on the system that they were manifested in, i.e. civilisation. The concept of what makes a 'civilisation' is of course quite vague, but for important liberal thinkers like John Stewart Mill and Alexis de Tocqueville it was an argument for both the taking and keeping of colonies. The issue of what measures were morally permissible for a state to take with other cultures or people seems also to have been viewed differently in the 19th century. For instance, de Tocqueville was an early critic of American slavery, but upon his return from a trip to Algeria also wrote of the necessity to legally separate European settlers in the colonies from the indigenous population – something France later did with the so called code politique et économique.

For the French, however, it would eventually prove difficult to advocate the importance of the hegemony of the Republic at the same time as it withheld its core values from the indigenous people of its colonies.

3 A Historical Debt

The Second World War substantially changed France's view of Africa. France formally surrendered to Nazi Germany on 25 June 1940. In the armistice, France was split into two parts. A southern part, under the leadership of Marshal Pétain, who took over the newly formed government in Bordeaux, and a northern part which remained under German occupation. In the armistice, the colonies were mentioned only twice. In the first article of the treaty it was simply stipulated that all hostile activities in French colonies, protectorates and countries under French mandate were to cease immediately. In article 8, it was imposed that all French war ships were to be disarmed with the exception of those that would be instrumental to safeguard the French colonies. Furthermore, all colonies would remain in Marshal Pétain's southern unoccupied zone with its new settlement in Vichy. The idea behind this division was primarily that the British would have to declare war on the Vichy government if they were to try to move into the French colonies.[10]

3.1 The Second World War

General Charles de Gaulle had been appointed under-secretary of defence in the last month of the French/British attempt to stop the German offensive through Belgium. General de Gaulle had tried to reorganise France's defence and to persuade the British to send reinforcements. When defeat was at hand, General de Gaulle escaped to England. With the support of British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, de Gaulle set out to reorganise what was left of France's defence outside of France and to continue the war against Germany under the movement *France Libre*, Free France. To continue the war and gain political leverage with Winston Churchill for Free France, de Gaulle realised he had to convince French forces in unoccupied territories to continue the fight. This was not an easy task; the Vichy government had quickly replaced the only two generals of some importance who did not accept the armistice – General Catroux General Governor of Indochina[11] and General Legentillhomme commanding the French forces in French Somalia[12] - had been quickly replaced by the Vichy government.[13]

[10] Bouche D. (1991) *« Histoire de la colonisation française– Tome second »*, Fayard, Paris, France, p. 349-350
[11] Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam
[12] Djibouti parts of Somaliland
[13] Roussel, E. (2002) *« De Gaulle, I. 1890-1945" »*, Gallimard Paris, France, p. 197

Thus, convincing the French forces stationed in the French colonies and protectorates to side with Free France was in theory like trying to convince the forces of Vichy France. However, there was one important difference. While the Navy and Air Force stood under the direct control of the Minister of Defence, the Army's soldiers in the colonies and protectorates stood under the control of the local authority. In addition, while the Navy and Air Force were not allowed to leave their bases, the Army still was involved in maintaining law and order. Not since the Scramble for Africa had the French objectives in Africa been so clear – to draft as many soldiers as possible.

Despite heavy degradation due to German attacks, much of France's defence capability was still relatively intact. Hence, it was imperative for the British that remaining capability was either neutralised or, if possible, assigned to the British war effort. Of vital strategic importance was the French naval detachment anchored at Mers el-Kébir, outside Oran controlled by the Vichy government. On the morning of 3 June 1940, Admiral Somerville issued an ultimatum to the French commanding officer of the Oran fleet to follow the British to a safe harbour or have his fleet sunk. The French refused to comply and a couple of minutes after the deadline, the British opened fire, resulting in the death of 1,297 French sailors and leaving over 300 wounded. The entire fleet was sunk and the first attempt to get a substantial French detachment to join the British war effort had thus failed.[14]

However, if North Africa was lost, the vast French Sub-Saharan Colonial Empire still lay open. Free France and the British had been in negotiations with Chad since 5 July 1940. On 26 August, Félix Éboué, the first black African to be appointed Governor in a French colony, declared Chad's allegiance with Free France. What made Éboué decide in favour of Free France was probably not only altruism. With Nigeria as the principal recipient of its products, and with British Sudan in the east, Éboué had good reasons to side with Free France and the British. The next day Duala, Cameroon, followed suite and sided with Free France. Brazzaville, French Congo, joined on 28 August. The governor in Libreville, Gabon, had also announced that Gabon would join, but the Commandant of a small naval detachment declared his loyalty to Vichy, whereupon the Governor withdrew his declaration of allegiance. Major Leclerc, who had arrived on 27 August 1940 with a small delegation from London to oversee the transition, commenced an operation against the Gabon's Vichy troops. Leclerc prevailed and Gabon joined Free France on 10 November.[15]

[14] Stålberg, K. (2004) *"De Gaulle – Generalen som var Frankrike"*, Nordstedts Förlag, Stockholm, Sverige, p.96
[15] Bouche D. (1991) p. 357-359

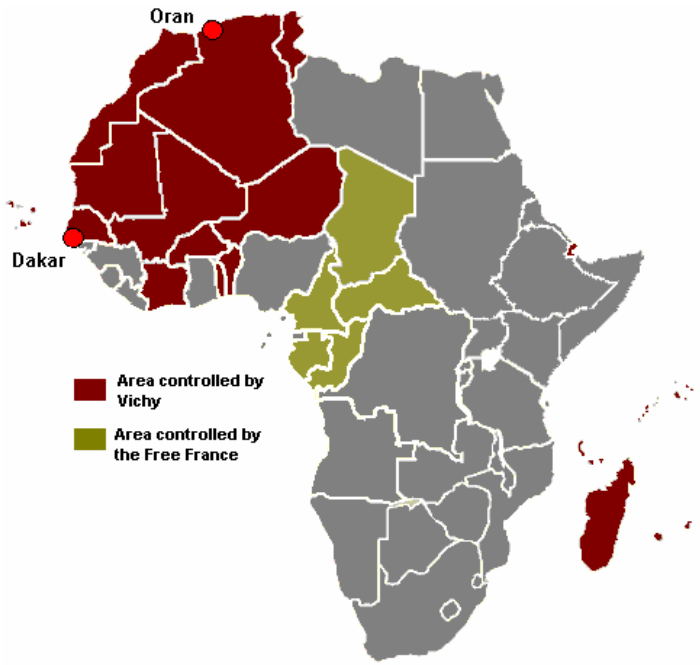
This meant that Free France suddenly had territories, soldiers and a radio station free from the shifting benevolence of Churchill and the BBC. On a visit to Chad, French Congo and Cameroon, de Gaulle and Free France created the new *Comité de Défense de l'Empire,* The Committee for the Defence of the Empire.[16]

Of highest strategic priority for the Allies of the French African colonies was Dakar, the principal city of French West Africa.[17] A similar operation to the one in Mers el-Kébir had already left the French battle cruiser *Richelieu* heavily damaged in the Dakar harbour. A second operation, *Menace*, was devised to take control over Dakar by arriving with an overwhelming naval battle group and compelling Dakar to surrender. On 23 September the operation was launched, but the battle group was not as overwhelming as expected, and upon its arrival a heavy fog covered what was meant to be a show of force. When the fog lifted, the battle group came directly under fire from the Richelieu and the coastal battery and had to retreat. A third attempt to land was also rebuffed. [18]

Operation Menace had failed and with it some of the Allies' confidence in de Gaulle's ability to mobilise the French territories. To compound matters further for de Gaulle and Free France, President Roosevelt preferred good relations with Vichy's government over de Gaulle, which made it even harder for Free France to establish a political platform. Both in Great Britain and USA, de Gaulle's relentless position that the war against Germany had to continue nevertheless seems to have been quite popular, often more so than in Whitehall and the White House. Every victory brought about by Free France's forces was therefore of immense importance to de Gaulle, since it to put pressure on Roosevelt to support the Free France and not the Vichy Government.[19]

[16] The Committee for the Defence of the Empire would later, in Algiers on 3 June 1943, be reorganised to *Comité français de Libération National* (CFLN), the French Committee for National Liberation, which only a year later would become *Gouvernement provisoire de la République française* (GPRF), the Provisory Government of the French Republic.
[17] Benin, Côte d'Ivoire, Guinea, Mali, Mauritania, Niger and Senegal
[18] Bouche, D. (1991) p. 358-359
[19] Stålberg, K. (2004) p. 96

The Division between the French territories 1942



One of the most important events in the support of de Gaulle and Free France was the Battle of Bir Hakeim in the Libyan Desert. This military outpost was defended by a battalion of 3,700 men from Free France, legionnaires and draftees from the colonial territories all under the leadership of General Koenig. When the British 8th Army Corps was retreating from General Rommel's advance, Bir Hakeim came under attack from German and Italian troops. The French held Bir Hakeim for 16 days until they got the go-ahead from British General Richie that the retreat had been successful and that they could attempt a breakout, which was also successful. The forces of Free France received a lot of positive media attention, strengthening de Gaulle and Free France's political position.

However, the French colonies in Africa were not divided for long. On 8 November 1942, the Allies commenced operation *'Torch'* to take Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia. Roosevelt had expressively forbidden Free France to participate in this undertaking. The Americans had also found a more suitable leader to replace de Gaulle, General Giraud. Only after difficult negotiations, which basically lasted until the end of the war, could de Gaulle and Free France assume responsibility for the *Métropole* as well as all her colonies, territories and protectorates.

During this time, French troops drafted from the colonies participated in the fighting – on both sides. But how involved did the indigenous people actually feel? How strong was their bond to de Gaulle or Marshal Pétain? It is unlikely that very many of the fighting soldiers from France's Empire had any idea of the difference between Free France and Vichy. Radios were uncommon and the occupation of France had mostly gone by unnoticed, save for perhaps in the capitals and their ministries. However, even if the indigenous people only had a vague idea of the stakes, it stopped neither Marshal Pétain nor General de Gaulle from giving speeches in which they used the fact that they had indigenous people from the colonies on their side as a proof of the righteousness of their cause.[20]

It is difficult to deny that the colonial forces were important to Free France. Early in 1940 there were about 10,000 French soldiers, sailors and airmen stationed in England that were at Free France's disposal. For every colony that joined, the number of French officers and French soldiers multiplied, but the real numbers lay in the indigenous forces. In 1942 the forces of Free France consisted of 70,000 men, of which a majority were indigenous people from Central Africa. When the North African forces were integrated with the forces of Free France, they added 80,000 French soldiers that had been under General Giraud's command. By mobilising the *colons* [short for *colonisateurs*], the indigenous French in Algeria, 176,500 were added, plus an additional 233,000 volunteers from Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia. About 20,000 French who had fled through Spain also joined up in North Africa. This meant that in 1943 Free France consisted of 560,000 men, of which about 300,000 were indigenous to North, West and Central Africa and other French colonies around the globe.[21]

How did the Second World War change France's relationship with its colonies? In one way, it did not change anything. Directly after the war the colonies more or less fell back to what they had been before, with a couple of exceptions such as Syria and Lebanon. On the other hand, the war changed everything. France and Great Britain were no longer world powers. In the French territories there was an awareness of the fact that what France had accomplished during the war could not easily have been done without its colonies and the indigenous African soldiers. What before the war had been more or less response-driven politics, in which the objectives often seem to have been made in reference to the competing colonial powers, the relationship now attained its own proper political domain. This new political role would prove to be permanent.

[20] Bouche, D. (1991) p. 364
[21] Ibid. p. 372

France was in debt to its colonies. The triumphs celebrated by Free France had largely been due to the willingness of some of its colonies to actively partake in the fighting. It was also the colonies that had given Free France the necessary leverage to be included in the Allied planning at all. De Gaulle was also quick to recognise that the colonies must play a different role than before the war.

The war also meant that two other powers had emerged – USA and the Soviet Union – and neither agreed, at least on paper, with the idea of keeping colonies. General de Gaulle's experiences with the USA and the Soviet Union were also marked by the world war. The reluctance of Americans to clearly take his and the Free France side during the war probably contributed to his need to keep the African territories close since he knew that they provided France with additional influence. This orientation would be incorporated with de Gaulle's larger idea of a union for mainland Europe.

After the war, it was imperative for France to keep its close connection to Africa. The war had shown that Africa had both a strategic as well as a political role. In addition to the disapproval of the USA and the Soviet Union to the colonies, there had already been calls for decolonisation in the newly formed United Nations, as well as in some territories, notably British India. Also, similar desires were being articulated in some of the French colonies and territories such as Indochina, Tunisia, Morocco and Algeria. To avoid a potential division between France *Métropolitaine* and its African territories, the *Union Française* was approved on 13 October 1946. The Third Republic gave way to the Fourth after the world war and the Empire was now replaced with a Union.

3.2 Holding on

To avoid foreign criticism for holding on to its colonies, it appears that France made sure that the French Union would have a discrete role in the French-African relationship. To this end, the Union was not stressed as an important French foreign political undertaking. France also tried to give the Union a platform that was more democratically appealing than the former Empire, by allowing the active, albeit not equal, participation in political life of the people from the colonies and territories. In the beginning, the members of the Union, or at least their political leaders, also seemed quite pleased with the project and participated actively; e.g. when formulating the articles of the Union charter, the

French had help from a young Senegalese, Léopold Sédar Senghor, who translated some of the texts and helped give it its discrete outline.[22]

Léopold Sédar Senghor had been educated in Paris and fought with the French troops during the war, but he was not unique. The turmoil of the war had introduced a generation of Africans to the French Empire. Félix Houphouët-Boigny, a medical doctor who came from a prosperous family in Côte d'Ivoire, also had strong connections to France. Both Senghor and Houphouët-Boigny ran for office after the war and became important political figures in French West Africa. Senghor and Houphouët-Boigny were well acquainted with France and the French system. They both realised the potential of a close collaboration and remained staunch supporters of the French Union. They were both skilful politicians and were probably also sceptical about the alternative to the reform programmes - independence. The situation in North Africa had quickly deteriorating and it was apparent that the French were not going to give up their colonies without resistance.

If the immediate post-war era had meant a questioning of the presence of other colonial powers, e.g., Great Britain and Belgium, for France it seems partly to have strengthened its relationship with the Sub-Saharan territories. That France was able to remain close to its former colonies was partly due to the support from leaders like Senghor and Houphouët-Boigny, who seemed to have prioritised economic growth and political reform over autonomy and independence.[23]

Post-war French West Africa prospered. Exports steadily increased between the years 1950-1956, and France guaranteed both a quota and a price floor for increasingly popular products such as coffee, cocoa and peanuts. France also gave large subsidies, invested in infrastructure and education, and launched military training programmes. However, the most successful of the West African Countries, Côte d'Ivoire, noted that it received only a fifth of what it paid to the French West African federation. As a consequence, Houphouët-Boigny wanted Ivoirian independence from French West Africa, the part of the Union to which Côte d'Ivoire belonged. Still, he underlined that he wanted to stay in the French Union. To counter a potential secession from the Union, France initiated extensive programmes in education, infrastructure and administration.[24]

[22] Meredith M. (2005) *"The State of Africa – A History of Fifty Years of Independence"*, Simon & Schuster, London, UK, p. 60-61

[23] The dual identities were of course not entirely easy to handle. In response the intellectual Léopold Sédar Senghor developed a philosophical concept, *la négritude*, which dealt with the identity of the "French black man".

[24] Meredith M. (2005) p. 63-64

Both Senegal and Côte d'Ivoire had well-connected leaders and were rich in raw materials compared to other parts of French West and Equatorial Africa. Senghor and Houphouët-Boigny belonged to an elite who admired and identified with the French system. Their whole-hearted support must also have strengthened France in its belief in the Union. This development of a personal connection both to France and its political leaders was to continue to dominate political life in the former French parts of Africa.

3.3 The End of a Union

In light of the demise of the *Union Française*, de Gaulle realised that if the Sub-Saharan states were not to share the fate of Indochina, which had violently seceded, something had to be done. A *Communauté Française* (French Community) was proposed together with a referendum for the Union members where they could chose between joining the proposed community or becoming independent. In September 1958 all of the Union's African members except Guinea[25] voted for membership.[26]

Whether the Community actually changed much for its member states remains questionable. France still decided foreign political and defence matters, but the authority of the local governments increased. However, a mere two years after the Community was approved, the African leaders began to demand greater autonomy. Senghor had now also changed his mind and was instead seeking a union with Mali. The only person still in support of the Community was Houphouët-Boigny. Cameroon and Togo, two trust territories administered by France under the UN Mandate, and eleven members of the Community demanded their independence. On 1 August 1960 Dahomey (Benin) became independent, soon followed by Niger, Upper Volta (Burkina-Faso), Côte d'Ivoire, Chad, Central African Republic, French Congo (Republic of Congo), Gabon and Senegal. Mali and Mauritania gained independence later the same year.[27]

[25] As a consequence of the No vote, all French aid programmes were immediately withdrawn from Guinea and all French administrators left the country, eventually leading to its leader, Ahmed Sékou Touré, seeking external help from the Soviet Union instead.
[26] Arnold, G. (2005) *"Africa – A Modern History"* Atlantic Books, London, UK, p. 40-43
[27] Ibid. p. 44

Domestically, the constitutional change to the Fifth Republic also meant that foreign political decisions now rested with the president. This would be of particular importance to Sub-Saharan Africa since many of the most vital decisions concerning the safety and security of the African states were to be handled by the President. Many of the French presidents were also to develop a personal relationship to Africa and its leaders.

4 The Maghreb connection

North Africa, and especially Algeria, has always played a central role in French-African policy. In contrast to Sub-Saharan Africa, where events often have been dictated by France, Maghreb has been a driver of change in its own right.

4.1 The Annexation and Independence of the Maghreb

In the 1830s, Algeria was part of the Ottoman Empire but with some degree of independence. The Algerian coast was to a considerable extent run by pirates that disrupted the trade routes. The United States, Great Britain and the Netherlands all carried out punitive expeditions because of the piracy, though without any lasting results. King Charles X of France announced a blockade of Algeria that lasted three years, which had little effect. The next step was an attempt to conquer Algeria. On 31 January, French troops landed on the Algerian beaches, thereby marking the beginning of the second round of colonisation. In 1848, after difficult opposition, France controlled most of Algeria.[28]

The Algerian population seems never to have approved of the French presence. In 1858 a rebellion broke out which was eventually quelled by France, but violence kept erupting during the French administration in Algeria. Many Algerians immigrated to France – an estimated one million between 1918 and 1939.

Unlike some West African territories, both Morocco and Tunisia started to push for independence immediately after the Second World War. Neither Morocco nor Tunisia was colonies or territories of France, but protectorates, which meant that France had to rule through proxy leaders. The French may have misjudged the benevolence of the Sultan of Morocco, Mohammad ben Youssef. After the war, ben Youssef took his compatriots' side against France and the French community. The French retaliated in 1953 by exiling ben Youssef, replacing him with his uncle. This did not help the French cause, since it resulted in a unification of the different political groups behind the exiled Sultan to demand independence.

Tunisia had been claimed by France in 1881, but was occupied by Germany during the war until France and the Allies reclaimed it in 1943. The Tunisian lawyer Habib Bourguiba was, like Léopold Senghor, educated in Paris. But

[28] Priestly, H. I. (1966) *"France Overseas : Study of Modern Imperialism"*, Frank Cass & Co Ltd, London, UK, p. 26-28

unlike Senghor, he chose a life in opposition to France. Arrested and imprisoned by the French on numerous occasions for dissident activities, he fled in 1945 to Egypt to try to muster Arab support. When this failed, he returned in 1949 and managed to convince the newly elected French Government to concede to a reform programme granting greater autonomy. The programme quickly deteriorated under pressure from the *colons*. In 1952 Bourguiba was again incarcerated, which caused a moral outcry in the nationalistic movement of Tunisia and sparked civil unrest. When the left coalition won the parliament elections in 1954, the new Prime Minister, Pierre Mendes-France, granted independence to both Tunisia and Morocco.

France had given up. Both Morocco and Tunisia gained their independence in March 1956. The French had, however, ulterior motives for their acceptance. In the balance lay the far greater question of a French Algeria.

4.2 The Algerian War

During the Second World War the tensions between the *pieds-noir,* as the French living in Algeria were called, and the indigenous Algerian population were temporarily put on hold. On 8 May 1945, indigenous Muslim Algerians were marching in celebration of the end of the Second World War in the village Sétif. The celebrations deteriorated and the marchers clashed violently with the gendarmerie. The violence continued in and around Sétif resulting in the death of around a hundred *pieds-noirs*. The French Armed Forces' reprisals were massive, not only in Sétif but around the Algerian countryside. It is not known exactly how many indigenous Algerians were killed, but figures as high as 40,000 have been proposed although the French administration at the time only admitted to 1,500.[29]

The minor administrational adjustments France instigated did by no means satisfy the growing demands for Algerian independence, but for 9 years the situation was relatively calm. On 1 November 1954, a series of coordinated attacks struck strategic places across Algeria. The newly formed *Front de liberation national* (FLN), The National Liberation Front, had set off the chain of events that would lead to the end of French Algeria. The attacks took the French administration, as well as the French-Algerian minority, completely by surprise. Under the surface, Algeria was no longer the same - the demography of the population had completely changed. Of the 9 million living in Algeria at the

[29] Droz B. & Lever E. (1991) *« Histoire de la guerre d'Algérie »*, Éditions de Seuil, Paris, France, p. 32

time, 8 million were indigenous Algerians who lacked the right to vote, employment as well as education. The Algerians, who in the Assembly had tried to promote changes to the current situation, could do little against the lobby groups of the *colons* and the general concern over the French war in Indochina.

The French administration reacted to the attacks with force; mass arrests followed and villages were subject to collective punishment. In 1955, FLN changed its tactics by actively targeting civilians and killed 71 civilians in one day in the small costal town of Philippeville. The situation had undeniably escalated and the French response was massive. In outrage, the Army and vigilante groups randomly targeted Muslims. French sources report that 1,273 Muslims died, 12,000 according to FLN, in the days following the Philippeville massacre. The army also increased its presence in Algeria to 100,000 men.[30]

The escalation continued as FLN stepped up its actions. In the following year, Prime Minister Guy Mollet agreed to increase the army presence in Algeria to 500,000, expanding conscription time to 3 years, calling in reservists and extending special powers to the French Armed Forces. But what did the French government want? That FLN wanted a self-determining state with a right to vote, an Algerian Algeria, *'Algérie algérienne'*, was clear. But the French government was hesitant to declare that the pursuit of a French Algeria, *'Algérie française'* was the right cause. At the same time, it refused to be blackmailed by the FLN and the vocal demands from the *colons*. As the fighting continued, the government was eventually caught in an escalation process. The last Algerian reformists in the French Assembly, such as Ferhat Abbas, conceded their seats in Parliament when it became obvious that there was no middle ground.[31]

During this time, the French military was becoming increasingly important. Not only was it in charge of what today would be described as counter-insurgency and counter-terrorism actions on a massive scale, but it was also gaining increasingly political power. The failure in Indochina and the perceived weak governments under the Fourth Republic raised concerns in parts of the military command that Algeria would follow the same path as Indochina. The military was eagerly supported by the *colons*, which feared the consequences of a French military withdrawal.

The Algerian Governor General Robert Lacoste found it increasingly difficult to control the situation. The FLN was stepping up its actions and the army's response was hardening. Robert Lacoste saw no alternative but to forfeit his powers to the military leadership. General Massu, a veteran from the Second

[30] Meredith M. (2005) p. 48
[31] Droz B. & Lever E. (1991) p. 82-83

World War, arrived with four paratroop regiments, setting up checkpoints, sealing off parts of the city and conducting mass arrests. Algiers had become the battleground for the struggle between French and Algerian Algeria. General Massu's tactics seemed to prevail; the number of attacks diminished when arms caches and bomb laboratories were discovered and destroyed. Barbed wire and electric fences were also stretched around Algeria in order to prevent the use of Morocco and Tunisia for bases by the pressed FLN. But the frequent use of torture and the large number of detained Algerians started to concern the general public in France. It has been estimated that at least 3,000 Algerians disappeared during this time.[32]

Many French intellectuals questioned the motives for keeping Algeria French. If a territory chose not to be a part of the French Union, it would be contradictory to the ideals of the French Republic to not grant it this right. The idea of the French Empire had been pitted against the ideals of the Republic. Under the pressure of the general public, Guy Mollet's government fell in 1957, but no successor could be found. For three weeks, France, in a state of crisis, was without a government. The following government fell after only five months in power. Finally, a third government took office under the leadership of Prime Minister Pierre Pflimlin in April 1958. Pflimlin announced that he would initiate talks with FLN. The military leadership was outraged and General Raoul Salan, commander of the Algerian forces, handed in a formal protest against the Government's indecisiveness regarding the management of the crisis.

On 13 May, Algiers was closed and a general strike was declared in memory of three French conscripts that the FLN recently had executed. During the protests, a mob led by French-Algerian students stormed the governmental offices. With the reluctant support of General Massu, the students formed a so-called *committee for public safety*, which was meant to work as an interim government. In Paris Prime Minister Pflimlin responded to the mob-rule by imposing a blockade on Algeria.[33]

The complexity of the Algerian conflict is manifested by its many stakeholders: the FLN, who sought independence, the *colons,* who insisted on Algeria being a part of France, metropolitan France, which often was divided in terms of what policy should be pursued, and the French Armed Forces, which were torn between obedience to the orders from Paris and the fear of Algeria becoming another Indochina. One possible point of unification – at least for the *colons*, the military and some members of Parliament – was the now retired General Charles

[32] Meredith M. (2005) p. 55
[33] Droz B. & Lever E. (1991) p. 169-171

de Gaulle. De Gaulle, who had withdrawn to work on his biography, was persuaded to come back to political life. The return of de Gaulle was a complicated fusion of a number of political initiatives, in part by de Gaulle himself. But, along with the increasing political divisions, the popularity of de Gaulle seemed to have grown.[34]

Rumours started to spread that the French Army would stage a coup in Paris. These rumours were further inflamed when a company of paratroopers landed in Corsica and without resistance established a similar committee for public safety as the one in Algiers. The coup alerted everyone to the seriousness of the escalating crisis. On 1 June 1958, after the reluctant consent of Prime Minister Pflimlin and on invitation by President Coty, Charles de Gaulle assumed the office as President. By amending the constitution to give the President of the Republic extraordinary power in special circumstances, de Gaulle became the first president of the Fifth Republic on 21 December 1958. De Gaulle directly banned all participation in committees for public safety. He reinstituted a civilian government in Algeria and started a welfare programme for the Arab population.

The situation in Algeria was still desperate. De Gaulle's reform programme had changed little, except infuriating the French in Algeria who felt neglected by his politics. Several assassination attempts were made on de Gaulle, and the French police arrested extreme rightwing supporters of the French-Algerian cause. On 24 January 1960, armed students raised barricades around the University area with the tacit support of the Generals Maurice Challe, Edmound Jouhad, Raoul Salan and André Zeller. The coup in Algiers was a fact. The antiriot police, who had been called in, came under fire and shot back. Fourteen were killed and 200 wounded. However, the paratroopers, who had also been called in, did not intervene.[35]

There was no turning back and de Gaulle offered Algeria total independence. After long negotiations with FLN and a referendum that was overwhelmingly for a free Algeria, de Gaulle declared Algeria an independent state on 3 July 1962.

Algeria – the catalyst of France's role in Africa and its most important colony – had been lost. The conflict had taken nearly 500,000 lives. Many Algerians and over one million French Algerians had fled to France to escape the retaliatory attacks of the FLN. France was shaken to its core. Two principal French territories, Algeria and Indochina, had been lost within one decade.

[34] Stålberg, K. (2004) p. 371
[35] Roussel, E. (2002) *« De Gaulle, II. 1946-1970" »*, p. 216-223

4.3 The Lost Decade

After its independence, Algeria was run like a one-party state by the FLN, first under the leadership of Ahmed Ben Bella, then, after a coup, by Colonel Houari Boumédienne. The devastation after the war and the undermining of the Algerian economy that followed the French withdrawal left Algeria in a difficult position. FLN exercised a stern control. Political life, unions and enterprises were all part of the state apparatus, which was heavily influenced by a socialistic economic idea of nationalisation mixed with a search for Arab identity. By the late 1980s, the FLN hegemony became increasingly complicated. A Berber uprising, claiming the same rights as the Arab population, and the increasing Islamisation of the political debate forced FLN to separate the party from the state.

Open elections were held in 1992, but when *Front Islamique du Salut* (FIS), a group with an Islamic agenda, had won the overwhelming majority in the parliament in the first round of elections there was a coup. A group of Army officers belonging to the so-called *Hizb Franca* (the party of France) assumed power. Hizb Franca wanted an improved relationship with France and to put a stop to the Islamic expansion in Algeria. The new leader, Khaled Nezzar, cancelled the second round of elections and clamped down on FIS supporters.[36]

When violence erupted, the officers behind the coup declared marshal law, banned FIS, forced President Chadli to resign, and formed a *Haut Comité d'État*. FIS responded with violence targeting civil servants, officers, police and anyone associated with the state. In response, the army formed special commandos to hunt down FIS supporters. In the meantime, another Islamic faction was formed: the *Groupe Islamique Armé* (GIA). The GIA spurred on the violence, also targeting foreigners and civilians who did not behave according to their idea of the interpretation of the *Sharia* laws. It is estimated that by 1994 30,000 people had been killed in the fighting.[37]

The GIA as well as the FIS received much of its support from groups living in France. To tackle the situation, the Algerian government re-established its relationship with France to be able to persuade the French to clamp down on the support. In response and to stop France from acting against its supply line, the GIA hijacked an Air France plane from Algiers bound for Paris in 1994. The GIA had plans to crash the plane into a tall building, like the Tour Montparnasse or the Eiffel Tower. But, the plan failed and French gendarmes could storm the

[36] Joffé, G. (1997) *"Maghribi Islam and Islam in Maghrib"* in Westerlund, D. & Evers Rosander (ed.) *"African Islam and Islam in Africa – Encounter between Sufis and Islamists"* Hurst & Company, London, UK, p. 76-77

[37] Meredith M. (2005) p. 458

plane. During 1995, Paris experienced a series of bombings in its Metro, perpetrated by the GIA.

Islamist attacks in France 1995[38]

When	Where
Paris, 27 July 1995	Gas container explosion killing 8 and injuring 119, at Saint-Michel railway station
26 August 1995	Explosives apprehended by the police before detonation on an express train between Paris-Lyon
Paris, 17 August 1995	Bomb explosion on Avenue Friedland, injuring 17
Paris, 3 September 1995	Four injured by an explosion on Boulevard Richard-Lenoir
Paris, 4 September 1995	Explosives apprehended by the police before detonation near a market in 13th Arrondissement
Rhône,7 September 1995	Car bomb explosion in front of a Jewish school, injuring 14
Paris, 6 October 1995	Bomb explosion at Maison-Blanche metro station
Paris, 17 October 1995	A bomb explosion between the railway stations Musée-d'Orsay and Saint-Michel, injuring 30

After extensive police work, French law-enforcement agencies managed to apprehend the perpetrators of the bombings, among them Khaled Kelkal, who was shot dead in connection with his attempted arrest. France had again experienced domestic violence because of its relation to Algeria.[39]

In 1998, a splinter group of the GIA formed the *Group Salafiste pour la prédication et le combat* (GSPC), which also actively pursued a violent agenda. By 1999, a new President had been elected with the approval of the Army President Abdelaziz Bouteflika. An estimated 100,000 people lost their lives during the 1990s. In 2006, members of both the GIA and the GSPC formed *tanziim al-*

[38] Le Figaro (22/10/2007) *« Chronologie: 1995, la France frappé par les attentats islamistes »* http://www.lefigaro.fr/actualites/2007/10/01/01001-20071001ARTWWW90494-chronologie_la_france_frappee_par_les_attentats_islamistes.php

[39] New York Times (01/10/1995) *"Dead Bomb Suspect's Ties Still a Mystery in France"* http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=990CE3DD1E31F932A35753C1A963958260

qaeda bilbilad al-maghreb al-islamii (al-Qaeda organisation in the Islamic Maghreb, a.k.a the Al-Qaeda in the Maghreb or AQIM).[40]

Violence has formed France's relationship with North Africa, especially Algeria - the invasion in 1830, the bloody uprisings, and the culmination in the 1960s with Algeria's violent road to independence. When the French-Algerian relations were re-established, it was because of the violence inflicted by the Islamic groups. Algeria has always played a key role in the Maghreb, and still does; its complicated relationship with Morocco and Libya, the growth of domestic Islamism, which spread to its neighbours, and the difficult relationship between the Arab population and ethnic minorities, the *Tuareg* and *Kabilyan* people, remain unsolved.[41]

The three million Muslims living in France and the considerable economic interests that France has in Algeria has forced the two nations to actively relate to one another. The French-Algerian relationship has improved, but remains sensitive. Although essential to both France and Algeria, the collaboration in security matters between the two governments is still handled discretely.

France was the first European country to come face to face with militant Islamism. The violence during the 1990s is also one reason why France did not see the attacks of 9-11 as a major shift on the world political scene, but rather as an intensification of the Islamist cause. Terrorism is still regarded as the most immediate threat to France, and as a consequence France's counter- terrorism (CT) endeavours have also been given significant attention in the French security and defence policies.

[40] Damidez, N. & Sörenson, K. (2008) *"Terrorattackerna i Algeriet och Al Qaedas framväxt i Nordafrika"*, FOI Memo 2330, p. 2

[41] Faria, F. & Vasconcelos, A. (1996) *"Security in Northern Africa: Ambiguity and Reality"*, Institute for Security Studies, Chaillot Papers no. 25, p. 40

5 Cold War Considerations

After the Second World War, and later with the end of the Union and the Community, France was still eager to continue its strong relationship with the African states. This feeling was mutual among many of the African leaders, not only Senghor and Houphouët-Boigny. For de Gaulle, France stood for something different than the Anglo-Saxon world and the Eastern block. This was a policy he also practised at home, breaking with NATO and pursuing a French nuclear weapons capability. For de Gaulle, it was Europe – mainland Europe – that was the alternative to the two blocks, although he always regarded France as a part of the West.[42]

It seems, however, like some of de Gaulle's reasons for keeping Africa close were more sentimental. The many Africans who had given their lives for Free France meant that France was indebted to Africa and if this meant independence, then so be it. But above all, de Gaulle seems to have been a realist who saw the changing tide and the strong drive that lay in national independence. Perhaps de Gaulle was even unusually well equipped to understand the importance of the nationalistic sentiment; he, too, had fought to free a nation.

5.1 Stability over Democracy

The guiding doctrine for de Gaulle seems to have been to secure domestic and regional stability in Africa. If a state or a region was in risk of deterioration, France would guarantee the continuity of stability partly because France still had the responsibility of a historical debt to the African states and partly because no one else would have been up to the task. The strategy de Gaulle adopted to achieve stability was to continue the strong support for the African territories. The common currency, *Communauté financière d'Afrique* (CFA) with France as a guarantor, was kept. France also continued several of the programmes that had been initiated under the Community: military advisors were dispatched, defence deals were struck and French garrisons were kept. With this strategy, de Gaulle also aimed to safeguard against a Soviet influence. Many of the countries still were dependent on some form of support. The Soviet influence that had been established in Guinea after the French sortie and its expanding interest in Belgian Congo would not be allowed to happen again. During the 1960s, France's mili-

[42] Stålberg, K. (2004) p. 471

tary presence was also immense; 58,000 men and the French intelligence service operated a well-established network in Africa.[43]

Through the Ministry of Cooperation, which administered the foreign aid to the *Département et territoires d'outre-mer,* (Dom-Tom), and the so-called *Cellule Africaine* (Africa Cell) in the Élysée Palace, a network grew encompassing French and African politicians, civil-servants, officers, and businessmen and African leaders. This elitist network would over the years grow and intensify. This complex relationship between France and Francophone Africa came eventually to be known as *Françafrique*.

One of the personalities often associated with Françafrique was Jaques Foccart, who had been one of de Gaulle's closest men during the Algerian crisis. Foccart's personal contacts with African leaders were for many years a corner stone in French-African relations. Foccart had also been in charge of creating the Ministry of Cooperation, which previously had been administered by the Ministry of Overseas. Simply known as *Monsieur Afrique,* it was also on Foccart's watch that France came to expand its interests in Africa, most notably in the former Belgian colonies Zaire and Ruanda-Uurundi[44]. When de Gaulle left office in 1968, Foccart stayed on to serve another term under President Pompidou.

The first request for France to intervene in an African country was refused. In 1963, President Abbé Fulbert Youlou in Congo-Brazzaville announced that he would impose a one-party system. Demonstrations, strikes and riots erupted in protest to Youlou's plans. Youlou, who did not have the military on his side, asked President de Gaulle to intervene. De Gaulle refused and Youlou had to resign.[45]

Youlou's ambition to impose a one-party system was not unique. Several other African leaders had done the same with considerably less resistance than Youlou. Senghor as well as Houphouët-Boigny also created one-party systems. Normally this went over without objections since the systems were negotiated together with the opposition, which was offered governmental positions in exchange for cooperation. At the time, few people criticised the undemocratic regimes that started to appear in the mid-1960s around Africa. These leaders later became significant burdens for their populations, as well as for France whose role would increasingly be that of the interventionist.[46]

[43] GRIP (1997) *« La France Militaire et l'Afrique »*, Bruxelles, p. 20
[44] Democratic Republic of Congo, Rwanda and Burundi
[45] Arnold, G. (2005) p. 127
[46] Meredith M. (2005) p. 166-169

5.2 An Age of Interventions

During their transition from the French Community to independence, most African states made some kind of defence arrangement with France. With CAR, Chad, Congo-Brazzaville and Madagascar, there was a mutual defence agreement in case of foreign aggression, meaning that if France was attacked, CAR, Chad, Congo-Brazzaville and Madagascar would come to its defence, just as France would come to theirs. The deals with Gabon and Senegal were not as inclusive. Senegal and Togo were free to call on France but France had the right to refuse. To Niger, Dahomey (Benin) and Côte d'Ivoire, France promised military aid and assistance in times of crisis. Upper Volta took a more cautious route and only promised to help the French Army logistically. The Mauritanian and Togo defences were completely linked to the French. In order to safeguard a discrete French presence in Africa, none of these defence deals were made public.[47]

In the early days of African independence, the distinction between technical military assistance, defence agreements and interventions seems to have been blurred. In 1968, President de Gaulle reluctantly approved of operation *'Bison'* to push back the rebellion in Chad. In 1972, when the French army did roll back a rebellion that was supported by Libya in Chad, it was not completely clear which of the different parts of the agreements were to be called upon. The technical military aid and assistance was intended to work between the governments, and the defence pact was designed to protect against foreign interference. During the presidency of George Pompidou, 3,000 French soldiers were eventually sent and engaged the rebel group *Front de Libération Nationale du Tchad*. The operation was a success. Not only could Paris claim the victory for having ousted a rebellion, but, as compensation to Libya for having taken the side of Chad, Pompidou also negotiated a defence agreement that entailed the Libyan purchase of some Mirage planes.[48]

From the African independence era in the early 1960s to the first term of President Sarkozy, France has intervened in African states on around 30 occasions – an average of about once every 15 months. The list (below) is, however, by no means a complete account. It is not unlikely that smaller interventions, e.g. intelligence operations, have been made but simply kept secret. The nature of the operations has undergone several changes over the years. Some of the early interventions undertaken by France aimed to stop various regional

[47] GRIP (1997) p. 117
[48] Wauthier C. (1995) *« Quatre Présidents et l'Afrique – De Gaulle, Pompidou, Giscard d'Estaing, Mitterrand »* Seuil, Paris, p. 214-215

political problems that a country could not handle, for example in Mauritania in 1977 when the separatist group *Polisario Front*, which opposed the division of Spanish West Sahara between Morocco and Mauritania, launched several attacks into Mauritania. In a response to liberate the French engineers that Polisario had taken hostage and to protect the iron ore mining in the town of Zouerate, France launched operation *'Lamantin'*. French paratroopers and surveillance aircrafts tracked the group's movements and air strikes were ordered.[49]

The operations increasingly corresponded with the political and ideological struggles of the Cold War. In 1978, as Angolan insurgents supported by the Soviet Union crossed the border into Zaire, French and Belgian troops intervened (also known as the operations *'Bonite'* and *'Léopard'*).

In CAR, Jean Bédel-Bokassa, a decorated veteran from the Second World War and the Indochina War, had come to power in a coup in 1965 when he seized power from his cousin David Dacko. Bédel-Bokassa soon became known to the world for his extravagances; he declared himself president, kept most governmental portfolios for himself and even sported a harem. Politically he had flirted with both communism and Islam, but seemed to always have had a strong sense of allegiance to France. In 1979, Bokassa, who by now had declared himself Emperor, had imposed a decree that all school children were to wear expensive school-uniforms sold only in retail shops belonging to his family. Protests ensued, which were met with force. About 100 school children were killed. The international community was outraged and on 20 September 1979, when Bokassa was on a trip to Libya, France launched operation *'Baracuda'*. Intelligence officers from *Service de documentation extérieure et de contre-espionnage* (SDECE)[50] and special forces backed up by detachments from Gabon and Chad moved in and reinstated Dacko. Jacques Foccard called it "France's last colonial expedition".[51]

French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing was severely criticised, not so much for the operation *per se*, but rather for having supported Bokassa in the first place. From left and right it was felt that Baracuda was meant to cover up the earlier French involvement as much as to dethrone a dictator. The operation also posed a moral dilemma to the world. Was it right to unilaterally oust a dictator? The most popular answer seemed to be yes, but with the amendment that one ought not prop up leaders like Bokassa in the first place.

[49] GRIP (1997) p. 123
[50] Now *Direction général de la sécurité extérieure* (DGSE)
[51] GRIP (1997) p. 117
[51] Wauthier C. (1995) p. 309-312

Under President Francois Mitterrand, who had been highly critical of Giscard d'Estaing's Africa policy, France continued its military interventions. This time it was in support of sitting presidents - in 1986 in Togo to support the sitting President Eyadema and in 1990 in Gabon to protect French citizens and support President Omar Bongo. It was also during the presidency of Mitterrand that one of the most criticised interventions was to take place, Operation *Turquoise*.

French Military Interventions from 1969 to present

Name of Operation	**Where**	**When**
1. Operation Bison	Chad	1969-1972
2. Operation Lamantin	Mauritania	1977
3. Operation Tacaud	Chad	1978
4. Operations Bonite & Léopard	Zaire	May 1978
5. Operation Baracuda	CAR	September 1979
6. Operation Manta	Chad	June 1983-November 1984
7. Operation	Togo	1986
8. Operation Epervier	Chad	February 1986-
9. Operation Oside	Comoros Islands	1989
10. Operation Requin	Gabon	May- June 1990
11. Operation Noroît	Rwanda	October 1990-December 1993
12. Operation Verdier	Benin	1991
13. Operation Godoria	Djibouti	May- June 1991
14. Operation Baumier	Zaire	September-November 1991
15. Operation Addax	Angola	1992
16. Operation Iskoutir	Djibouti	December 1992-Mars 1993
17. Operation Simbleau	Sierra Leone	May 1992
18. Operation Oryx	Somalia	December 1992-Mars 1993
19. Operation UNOSOM II	Somalia	1993
20. Operation Balata	Cameroon	February-September 1994
21. Operation Amaryllis	Rwanda	April 1994
22. Operation Turquoise	Zaire & Rwanda	June-August 1994
23. Operation Azalée	Comoros Islands	October 1994
24. Operation Almandin 1 & 2	CAR	1996-1997
25. Operation Pélican	Congo-Brazzaville	Mars 1997
26. Operation Pélican 2 & 3	Congo-Brazzaville	June 1997
27. Operation Licorne	Côte d'Ivoire	September 2002-
28. Operation EUFOR Artémis	Democratic Republic of Congo	June-July 2003
29. Operation EUFOR DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo	April 2006-December 2006
30.Operation EUFOR Chad	Chad	February 2008-

Of the many interventions France has made in Africa, it can be noted that no less than six have been made in Chad. These operations have all been large scale, consisting of several thousand French troops. This is almost entirely due to the Chad-Libyan conflict that was more or less ongoing up to the mid-1990s. The potential incompleteness of this list can also be evidenced in the few interventions made in the Comoros Islands. The two showed in the table above are the official interventions. However, they began already in 1975, and although the first intervention was carried out by mercenaries, led by the infamous Gilbert Bourgeaud (more known as Bob Denard) and his *les affreux* (the terrible ones), it had the silent consent of France. The newly installed President Ahmed Abdallah was however overthrown by President Ali Solili. Solili took a confrontational approach to France and the other Comoros Islands, like French Mayotte. Bob Denard returned, President Solili was forced down and Abdallah was reinstated. President Abdallah was subsequently shot dead under suspicious circumstances and the situation deteriorated. This is when France launched operation *'Oside'* to evacuate French nationals, among them Bob Denard. Denard then reappeared on the scene for a fourth time to overthrow President Said Mohammed Djohar, but this time France intervened and arrested Denard. Elections could be held and Denard was charged in Paris.[52]

During the 1990s France intervened in Africa no less than 19 times. This is mainly due to what has been labelled as Africa's World War, or the second Congo War, and its spill-over effects on neighbouring CAR, the Republic of Congo, Burundi and Rwanda.

It is difficult to measure the psychological effect the frequency of the military interventions has had on political and military leaders in the Francophone Africa. It seems likely that the many interventions created a climate where most African leaders in the former French territories and their opposition had to calculate with the possibility of a French intervention; either for them or against them, willingly or unwillingly. Indeed, the absence or withholding of an intervention might have been as important decision as the actual launching of one.

[52] The Independent (16/10/2007) *"Obituary Bob Denard – Mercenary operating in Africa"* http://www.independent.co.uk/news/obituaries/bob-denard-396988.html

5.3 Turquoise – Beginning of a Policy Change

As mentioned earlier, France took a keen interest in the former Belgian colonies Burundi, Zaire and Rwanda. In 1974, France had made a defence arrangement with Zaire's President Joséf Désiré Mobutu and a similar deal was struck with Rwandan President Juvénal Habyarimana.[53]

One of the many mistakes that France made early on in Rwanda was that it had not sufficiently understood how deep ethnicity was rooted in Rwandan society. For decades, the Rwandan political elite, the Hutu-people, was underpinning the idea that the Tutsi minority was an inferior race that threatened the Hutu existence. In an earlier conflict between the Hutus and the Tutsis, several hundreds of thousands of Tutsis had fled to neighbouring Uganda, where some of these refugees formed the *Rwandan Popular Front* (RPF). On 30 September 1990, the RPF crossed the border from Uganda into Rwanda. The Rwandan President Habyarimana demanded French assistance. In response the French launched operation *'Noroït'*. The situation calmed down, only to escalate in neighbouring Burundi. Burundi was, somewhat simplified, the inversion of the Rwandan problem. In Burundi the Tutsi had maintained political control and actively discriminated against the Hutus. However, what was generally called a free and fair election in Burundi, a Hutu president was chosen in June 1993. The newly elected President, Melchior Ndadaye, initiated a reconciliation programme but was killed by Tutsi extremist only months after taking office. Violence erupted and 300,000 Burundian Hutus fled to neighbouring Rwanda.[54]

Meanwhile, Rwandan President Habyarimana was being pressured to give up his one-party system, which led to the Arusha Peace Accord with the RPF in 1992. In response to what was viewed as 'soft' politics vis-à-vis the Tutsi RPF, an extremist party and a militia, the *interahamwe,* were formed. On 6 April 1994, after having attended a UN summit, President Habyarimana was killed when his plane was shot down flying back to Kigali. The Rwandan radio broadcasted the news blaming the Tutsis and Hutu reformers, whereupon the massacre of the Tutsis began. The small, understaffed and ill-equipped UN missions *United Nations Assistance Mission in Rwanda* (UNAMIR) that had been deployed to oversee the implementation of the Arusha agreement could do little to stop the killings, which escalated. France launched operation *Amaryllis* to evacuate expatriates. The world watched in horror, but the international community did not

[53] GRIP (1997) p. 118
[54] Meredith M. (2005) p. 494-498

manage to act. France opposed a Belgian intervention. The US, with Somalia fresh in its memory, also declined. Finally, France began operation *Turquoise*. It is today still unclear what directives the commander of the operation had been given by Paris. Were they in accordance with the international community's ambition to stop the genocide or were they designed to protect French-Rwandan interests? Or perhaps both? It is clear, however, that the French operation sent all the wrong signals to the interahamwe and the Rwandan Armed Forces, which viewed the French arrival as sign that France would help them fight the RPF. The RPF, in turn, viewed the French intervention with great scepticism.

The French response to the Rwandan genocide has instigated much controversy. Some say that France was partly responsible for the genocide because it supported Habyarimana and then launched an intervention which partly spurred the *génocidères*. General Dallaire, the Force Commander of the UN contingency, adds to the critique that several of the French officers that participated in operation Turquoise had previously worked as military advisors to the Rwandan Army.[55] It has also been pointed out that Francois Mitterrand, his son Jean-Christophe, who during this time was operating the African Cell at Élysée Palace, as well as UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali all had personal relationships with Habyarimana, and that they rather than admitting their initial error of judgement allowed an already terrible situation to get worse. It is estimated that 800,000 people lost their lives during the 100 days of the genocide in Rwanda. Furthermore, Hutus fleeing the RPF offensive caused the conflict to spill over into neighbouring Zaire.[56]

The Rwandan genocide and France's role in it were, and still are, widely debated in France as well as Francophone Africa. Before the French presidential elections in 2007, an appeal was launched from civil society organisations in Francophone Africa to the two presidential candidates Ségolène Royal and Nikolas Sarkozy. A letter from the civil society organisations demanded that France acknowledge its responsibility in Rwanda and make all of its defence arrangements with African states public.[57]

That the French public only learned about the intervention through the media and that many of the French soldiers participating in the operation were ill-briefed and unprepared for the shocking situation on the ground also remain issues in France. From the African independence in 1960 to the beginning of the 1990s the French-Africa relation has changed. The once ever-present French state had little

[55] Dallaire, R. (2004) *"Shake Hands with the Devil"*, Avalon, New York, USA, p. 426-454
[56] Meredith M. (2005) p. 523
[57] Société civil africaine (03/2007) *« Pour une autre politique de la France en Afrique »* Politique Africaine no. 105, p. 143

by little been replaced by interest groups. The elitist network between French and African dignitaries had come to dominate the relationship, leaving people in France as well as Africa with only a vague idea of the actual level of French-African relations.

Operation Turquoise has come to represent the clandestine dealing between France and Africa, which explains why France's involvement in Rwanda is still a sensitive matter in both France and Francophone Africa.

6 Positive Progression?

The Rwandan genocide and the complicated part France played before and during the genocide accentuated France's past politics in Africa. Although the formal structures of the Empire, the Union and the Community since long had been abandoned, it is clear that the network structure that had assumed played a central role in the French-African relationship. In addition, France's long presence in Africa, in combination with the institutions created by France, had also shaped the African states as well as their political traditions, thereby forging the network structure. However, because of this close relationship, Africa had also participated in shaping parts of France's politics and institutions. The Maghreb region's push for independence even caused a constitutional change – from the Fourth to the Fifth Republic.

While the situation in Maghreb on several occasions had necessitated a French response, the Sub-Saharan Africa's complicated political situation presented a different picture. Unlike the Maghreb states, which had made a political point of not being close to France, the Sub-Saharan African leaders kept the connection to France alive. The renewal of the bilateral defence agreements also ensured a formal, albeit vague, liaison with France. However, the defence agreements were just one part of French-African network which encompassed liaisons on several levels of society and stretched from the military and the public sector to the bilateral trade relations. Parallel to the frequent interventions, France pursued a less controversial policy of cooperation and foreign aid. France was, and still is, an active member of the international community and a staunch supporter of the UN. During Francois Mitterrand's presidency, France also steered much of its foreign aid to democratic development. This initiative, in spite of its good intentions, was however overshadowed by the complicated French-African relationship which seemed to have culminated in Operation Turquoise.

In 1995, Jacques Chirac was elected President of France. Next to de Gaulle, Chirac might be the French president with the most personal relationship to Africa. One of Chirac's first actions was to reinstate the then 84-year-old Jacques Foccart as his Africa advisor. The policy on interventions was partly amended during Jacques Chirac's term as President. To accept political responsibility for African peace and stability and at the same time concede that the bilateral intervention policy had failed, France launched the *Renforcement des Capacités Africaines de Maintien de la Paix* (RECAMP) in 1997. RECAMP was an extensive programme designed to train on voluntary basis African states in basic

peacekeeping – i.e. to develop African capacity to deal with its problems on its own.[58]

In addition, the formerly strong CFA experienced a 50% devaluation in 1994 when France stopped guaranteeing the previously fixed rate. At the same time, France began to trade with non-traditional African states such as Kenya, South Africa and Nigeria. The devaluation and the new trade policy contributed to the changes in the French-African relations since they economically undercut the special relationship between France and its former colonies while strengthening the relationships with other African states.[59]

Meanwhile, the UN had a new Secretary-General – Kofi Annan. The UN modus operandi in peace operations underwent a massive overhaul to correct some of its shortcomings.[60]

Also, in 2001, the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) had been reformed into the African Union (AU), with a new and more far-reaching political ambition. The turbulence in West Africa during the civil wars of Sierra Leone and Liberia had also prompted the development of *Economic Community of West African States* (ECOWAS), the largest regional organisation in Africa to date. Both the AU and ECOWAS were in the process of developing the political capabilities necessary to respond themselves in times of crises.

The political signals from Paris were clear – unilateral French interventions would now cease. However, in 1999, the situation deteriorated again in one of France's oldest and most loyal African partners, Côte d'Ivoire. After the death of Houphouët-Boigny in 1993, President Bédié took over power for six years until he was overthrown in a coup. In Ivorian elections, only people with both parents born in Côte d'Ivoire were eligible to run for office, most importantly disqualifying one of the more popular candidates, Alasane Ouattara, from Burkina-Faso. Because of the earlier economic stability in Côte d'Ivoire, many West Africans from neighbouring countries were living and working in Côte d'Ivoire. The disqualification of the Muslim Ouattara angered many of the minorities, especially in the predominantly Muslim north. The situation escalated and in 2002 the army launched a mutiny. In the unrest that ensued, 12,000 people fled Abidjan. In neighbouring Liberia, Charles Taylor took the opportunity to support the *Mouvement populaire ivoirien du Grand Ouest* (MPIGO) and the *Mouvement pour la justice et la paix* (MJP) rebel factions. An allegiance between the western

[58] For a detailed discussion on RECAMP and EURO-RECAMP, see page 63.
[59] Kroslak, D. (2004) *"France's Policy towards Africa – Continuity or Change?"* from Taylor, I. & Williams, P. (2004) *"Africa in International Politics – External Involvement on the Continent"*, Routledge, Oxon, UK, p. 71
[60] GA & SC (2000-08-21) A/55/305-S/2000/809

and northern factions led to the formation of the *Forces nouvelles* (FN), which pushed down from the north. [61] France airlifted about 20,000 people out of Côte d'Ivoire and launched operation *Licorne,* which co-deployed with the *United Nations Operations in Côte d'Ivoire* (UNOCI). Sitting President Laurent Gbagbo was initially supportive of a French intervention, but later changed his mind when the French also included FN in the negotiations. In one key incident, Ivorian aircrafts bombed French military positions, killing nine and wounding 37 French soldiers. President Chirac ordered the Ivorian Air Force destroyed and the ensuing bomb raid left none of the Ivorian aircrafts intact.[62]

The sudden violence, which had directly targeted French nationals, came as a surprise to France. The forceful manner in which France responded caused a stir in the French media. Although Chirac had initiated reforms in the French-African relation, Chirac was maybe more than any other French president relying on the old French-African network. Thus the attempts by France to reform its Africa policy seems to have had less of an effect than intended.

[61] ICG (2006) *« Côte d'Ivoire: la paix comme option »*, Rapport Afrique No. 109,
[62] Arnold, G. (2005) p. 873-880

7 Breaking with the past?

Sarkozy's attempt to rearrange the current French Africa policy is situated within this historical context. The historical section of this report helps us to understand today's policies, and what can we expect from the French EU presidency. So far Sarkozy seems to envisage a more loosely coupled network between France and African leaders, but which encompasses non-traditional French African partners like Libya and South Africa. This more multilateral approach is also reflected in France's attempt to move away from the bilateral dealings of the past to work closer together with the EU, AU and the UN in Africa. However, the new multi-lateral transition might be complicated by the earlier, often complex French-African relationship.

In an effort to continue the contemporary analysis, this section of the report, unlike the historical section, is thematic. This has been done to provide a more in-depth analysis of contemporary French- African politics.

7.1 Elysée – Centre of French-African Gravity

President Nicolas Sarkozy has displayed an innovative approach to foreign policy issues. His appointment of Bernhard Kouchner, founder of *Médecins sans frontières* and *Médecins du monde*, former minister to Mitterrand and member of *Parti Socialiste* (PS, Socialist Party), raised a number of eyebrows. If this is to be interpreted as a pro-intervention stance, is, however, more uncertain since Kouchner might not have been Sarkozy's first choice. Allegedly, Hubert Védrine, Lionel Jospin's Foreign Minister (also PS), was also asked. The stark contrast between Védrine and Kouchner was the subject of debate since Kouchner built a career on positive interventions and a liberal view on foreign relations while Védrine supported silent diplomacy and favoured bilateralism. Thus, it seems that Sarkozy chose the one he felt was best suited to represent his foreign policies in general.[63] Moreover, two of Kouchner's ministers have their political home within or in connection to the Socialist Party; Jean-Pierre Jouyet is a personal friend of two leading figures within PS, Francois Holland and Ségolène Royal, and Jean-Marie Bockel is a member of PS. The exception is Senegalese-born Rama Yade. She has been placed in charge of the human rights portfolio and comes from Sarkozy's own party, *Union pour un mouvement populaire* (UMP).

[63] Liberation (16/052007) *« Kouchner vivre de bord le Quai »* http://www.liberation.fr/actualite/politiques/254091.FR.php

Jean-Marie Bockel was given responsibility for the Africa portfolio and quickly ran into difficulties in the midst of reorganising France's foreign politics vis-à-vis Africa. After announcing that the era of Françafrique was over, and adding that certain African leaders should stop wasting foreign aid funds, he was quickly accused by a number of the presidents of the 'old guard' – Paul Biya (Cameroun), Denis Sassou N'Guesso (Congo) and Omar Bongo (Gabon) – for not knowing his place. Shortly after the incident Sarkozy replaced Bockel with Alain Joyandet. The new minister's first visit was not surprisingly to Gabon.[64]

In addition, Sarkozy has dismantled the Africa Cell. This cell was a special Élysée constellation that managed much of France's Africa policy. This task is now subsumed by the *Conseil de sécurité nationale* (National Security Council, CSN) that handles all homeland security, foreign policy, civil and military defence, and intelligence coordination. Head of the CSN is Jean-David Lewitt, long time foreign policy 'confidant' of Nicolas Sarkozy. [65]

Hence, it appears that although important structural changes have been made and it now seems like the security issue in Africa will be incorporated into a general political structure, the central role of Palace Élysée will remain – if not intensify. However, it seems unlikely that the CSN will exercise the same profound influence in African affairs as the now dismantled Africa Cell once did. This is partly due to the structure of the CSN, which is too all-inclusive to devote the same attention to African affairs as the Africa Cell. More importantly, the Africa Cell played a unique role in connecting the Élysée with the Françafrique elites in a way that the CSN will not likely be able to replicate. The question is rather how strong of a hold the CSN will take on the security polities that it is set to control.

Sarkozy has no real personal relationship to Africa. Nevertheless, Sarkozy has already been quite active in his dealing with Africa. He was, for instance, quick to assert that *"France has not forgotten the African blood spilled for its liberty"*[66], alluding to France's historical debt to Africa after the Second World War. He has also continued on Chirac's route of reform, moving away from the

[64] Nouvel Observateur (07/062008) *« Prémiere visite en Afrique pour Alain Joyandet »* http://tempsreel.nouvelobs.com/actualites/international/afrique/20080410.OBS8993/premiere_visite_en_afrique_pour_alain_joyandet.html?idfx=RSS_international

[65] Major, C & Mölling, C. (2007) "Sarkozy's Brave New World: France's Foreign Security and Defence Policy" European Security Review no. 35

[66] Spiegel Online (11/04/2008) *"Eternal Plight: France in Search of a New Africa Policy"* http://www.spiegel.de/international/world/0,1518,546796,00.html

traditional French sphere in Africa by seeking new partners such as Libya and South Africa, two of the more influential states in Africa.[67]

Thus, it seems like Sarkozy wants to capitalise on France's unique relationship with Africa by expanding its network of partners, while at the same time loosening ties to traditional African friends and opening the door for the EU member states to take part in this new relationship. This idea seems to stretch across most areas in France's Africa politics, from economic dealings to defence matters, with the possible exception of its counter-terrorism policy.

7.2 French Africa Doctrine?

Insofar as there is a doctrine for French defence and security policy solely concerning Africa, it is possible to divide it into four domains:[68]

i. Commitment to existing defence agreements,
ii. Legitimacy through the UN, EU, AU, but also bilaterally,
iii. African leadership in African crises, and
iv. Multinational approach with a clear strategy with well defined objectives.

The move from bilateralism to a more multilateral approach initiated by Chirac may be difficult for France to sustain, mainly due to the already existing defence agreements between France and African states. Two of France's policies are contradictory – the honouring of defence agreements (i.) and multilateralism (ii.) (iv.). Up until now, France has solved this potential dilemma by being very active in the Security Council and making sure to obtain UN Security Council Resolutions in its most recent interventions. In Côte d'Ivoire in 2002 and Chad in 2008, France was the driving force behind the operations, obtaining a Security Council Resolution, planning the operations and providing troops. France is also a generous donor to the UN system, and one of the countries that has the most troops involved in peacekeeping operations.[69]

Compared to ten years ago, French Africa policy is now more clearly linked to a general concept of safety, security and development. France is also stressing that this policy be directed towards 'fragile states'. For France, a fragile state is typically an African state that is grappling with tensions between Islamism and another form of religion and/or questions of land in combination with a weak

[67] allAfric.com (03/03/2008) *"Africa: France Promotes New Relationship with Continent"* http://allafrica.com/stories/200803030014.html?page=2
[68] Wedin, L. (2007) "Frankrikes syn på Afrika ur ett ESFP perspektiv", FHS
[69] Ministère de la Défense (2008) *« Défense et sécurité nationale – Le livre blanc »*, La documentation Française, p. 23

government.[70] To successfully deal with these states, there is a need for a common European approach. France has a clear ambition to harmonise the different aspects of its defence and security policy concerning Africa. These aspects could be divided into five (1-5) areas:

1. Military interventions
2. Military presence
3. Bilateral defence agreements
4. Counter-terrorism & border issues
5. General development

7.3 Military Interventions & Military Presence

> *"It is unthinkable that [the] French Army should be drawn into domestic conflicts"*[71]

- President Nicolas Sarkozy

Throughout the French government, it has been made clear that France still has a responsibility towards its former colonies with regard to domestic stability. But, it has also been underlined that French intervention will not ensure stability from a long-term perspective .[72] At the same time, the African states and regional organisations (such as ECOWAS and the AU) are still unable to conduct peace operations effectively on their own. The problems the AU is having mustering enough troops in Darfur and Somalia is perceived in the Élysée, Quai d'Orsay and the Defence Ministry as clear evidence of its prevailing deficiencies.[73] France therefore wants to see that Europe, within the ESDP framework, retains a capability to intervene in times of crisis. The ESDP serves as the common link between France and the other member states. The Battle Groups are, in the French view, a step in the right direction, but the problems experienced by EUFOR in Chad/CAR indicate that the capability/political will within the EU may well be insufficient.[74]

Unilateral French intervention is officially no longer on the agenda. President Sarkozy allegedly did not allow French troops to intervene when the Chadian

[70] France's Policy Paper 2008 on Fragile States
[71] International Helard Tribune (28/02/2008) *"France to Overhaul policies toward Africa"* http://www.iht.com/articles/2008/02/28/africa/france.php
[72] Interviews at Quai d'Orsey (2008-05-18 - 2008-05-23)
[73] Interviews; Paris, France (date)
[74] E.g. tactical air-lift as EUFOR had to turn to Russia for helicopters. S. Exc. Ambassador M. Joël De Zorzi (04/06/2008) French Institute

capital N'Djamena was attacked by Sudan supported rebels.[75] Nevertheless, France currently has two ongoing operations in Africa, *Épervier* in Chad and *Licorne* in Côte d'Ivoire. Épervier underscores the changes in French policy; it co-exists with the European Union's Mission to Chad/CAR to which France contributes 2,100 of the total force strength of 3,500 troops. Épervier, which has been posted in Chad since 1986, originally helped oust the Libyan supported rebellion and now supports the Chadian Armed Forces with education, logistics and intelligence.

As mentioned previously, France is revising its military presence in Africa by reducing the number of permanent military bases. At the moment, France has troops stationed at permanent bases in Dakar, Libreville and Djibouti. These bases are to remain, while the bases in Chad and Côte d'Ivoire are to be dismantled once the operations in these countries are finished. The actual timing of the reductions will be dependent on the security situation in these countries, and it should be noted that the base of *Épervier* has been present in Chad since 1986. [76]

Additionally, France has bases in Mayotte and La Réunion (in the Indian Ocean), which strictly speaking are not African bases since they are on French soil. An important shift in policy is that the French bases are to be opened to other EU members, like the base in Djibouti where Germany has stationed a Naval Wing for maritime surveillance. The justification for keeping the bases is to maintain a French and European capability to operate throughout Africa in different types of peace support operations. The base in Senegal is meant to have the capability to cover all of West Africa, while the base in Gabon covers Central Africa, and the Djibouti base covers East Africa and the Horn. Southern Africa is covered from the French base on La Réunion in the Indian Ocean. North Africa does not require bases in Africa as it can be covered from military bases in southern France and Corsica.

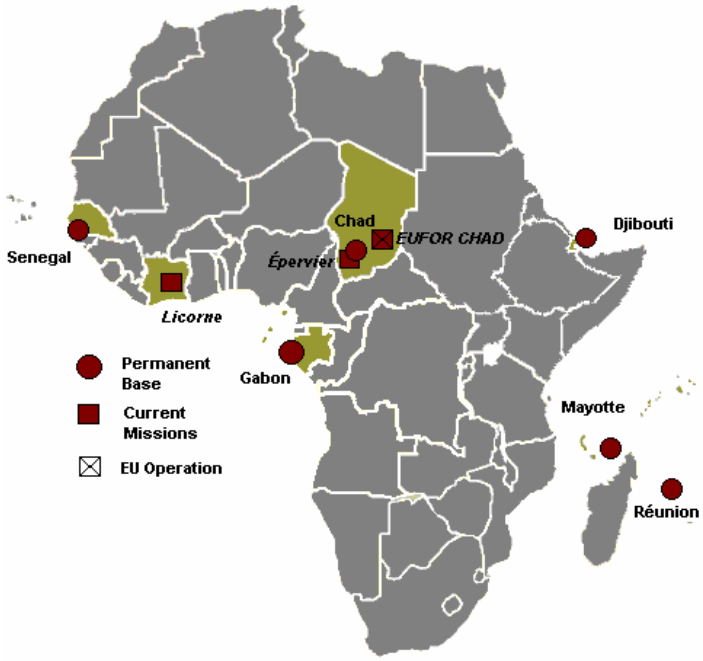
It is no accident that these are the bases that France has chosen to keep. The French-Senegalese connection is still important for France. Apart from its strategically suitable position for reaching into West Africa, the base in Senegal also serves to support maritime and naval operations in the Atlantic. Gabon is another one of France's oldest allies on the continent. In addition, France has economic interests in both Senegal and Gabon, and there are an approximately 100,000

[75] International Herald Tribune (28/02/2008) *"France to Overhaul policies toward Africa"* http://www.iht.com/articles/2008/02/28/africa/france.php
[76] BBC (15/01/2008)*"French make serious move into Gulf"* http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/7189481.stm

French citizens living there. The location of the Djibouti base serves an important purpose of safeguarding the route in and out of the Suez Canal.

With bases in Dakar, Libreville, Djibouti, Réunion, French Guyana, Martinique and the newly proposed base in Abu Dhabi, France will continue its military presence around the globe.

Present French Bases and Operations



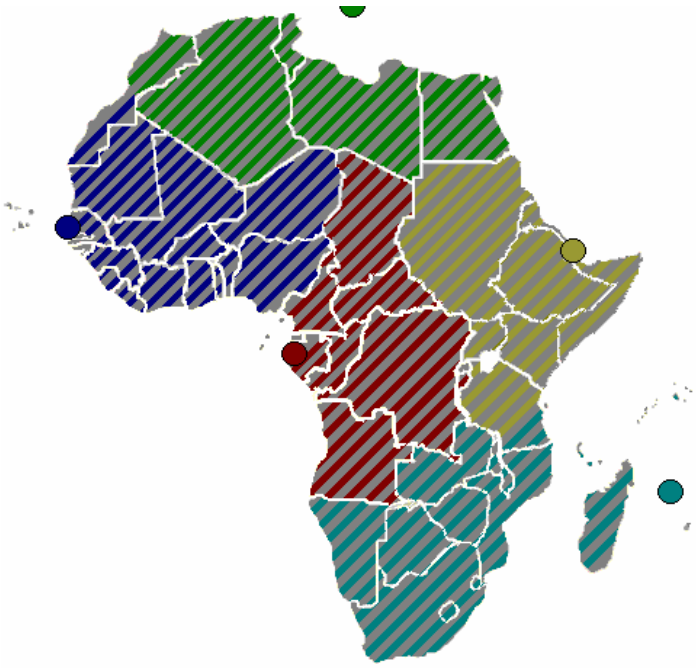
French Forces in Africa 2008[77]

Country	Troop strength
Senegal	**Dakar (1,150)** - 1 Infantry Battalion - 1 Transport Aircraft - 1 Naval Patrol Aircraft - 1 Helicopter
Gabon	**Libreville (850)** - 1 Infantry Battalion - 2 Transport Aircrafts - 6 Helicopters
Côte d'Ivoire	**Operation Licorne (1,850)** (September 2002-)
Chad	**Opertaion Éperivier (1,250)** (February 1986-) - 6 Fighter Jets - 2 Transport Aircraft 1 Infantry Company **Operation EUFOR (1,550)** (February 2008) - 1 Support Base - 1 Tactical Group
Mayotte	**Mayotte (350)** - 2 Patrol boats - 1 Infantry Detachment - 300 Gendarmes
Djibouti	**Djibouti (2.900)** - 2 Regiments - 1 Transport Aircraft - 10 Fighter Jets - 10 Helicopters - 1 Naval Patrol Aircraft

[77] Ministère de la Défense (2008) *« Défense et sécurité nationale – Le livre blanc »*, La documentation Française, p. 158

Country	Troop strength
Réunion	**Réunion (4,000)** - 1 Paratroop Regiment - 2 Frigates - 2 Patrol Boats - 2 Transport Aircraft - 2 Helicopters - 1,050 Gendarmes - 1,050 Service Militaire Adopté
	Total troop numbers: 13,900

Future French bases and their potential reach



All areas are approximations of the base most likely to be used.

7.4 Bilateral Defence Agreements

"[…Our defence agreements] must rest on the strategic interests of France and its partners"[78]

- President Nicolas Sarkozy

President Sarkozy has announced that the bilateral defence agreements are also up for scrutiny. Many of them are old and would most likely have been renegotiated regardless of *la rupture*. In their place, it seems that France envisions the sort of defence deal recently struck with Libya in 2007, which was formulated more along the lines of a business agreement. It should, however, be noted that the defence agreements are the most controversial part of France's defence policy in Africa and that several of them are still classified.[79] (See list below)

France's active Bilateral Defence Agreements with African states[80]

Country	Date	Type of Agreement
Cameroon	21 February 1974	- Defence Agreement - Military Cooperation Agreement - Logistic Aid Agreement
Chad	15 August 1960	- Defence Agreement
Comoro Islands	10 November 1978	- Defence Equipment Agreement
Côte d'Ivoire	24 April 1960	- Defence Agreement - Technical Assistance Agreement
Djibouti	27 June 1977	- Military Cooperation Agreement - Air Defence Agreement
Gabon	17 August 1960	- Defence Agreement
Republic of Congo	15 August 1960	- Defence Agreement
Senegal	29 March 1974	- Defence Equipment Agreement
Togo	10 July 1973	- Defence Agreement

France has had extensive defence agreements with Benin, Burkina-Faso, Burundi, Cameroon, CAR, Equatorial Guinea, Guinea-Conakry, Madagascar, Mali, Maurice, Mauritania, Niger, Republic of Congo, Rwanda, Seychelles and

[78] The South African (2008-02-29) *"New Era for Afrika, France"* http://www.southafrica.info/news/international/france-290208.htm

[79] International Media Forum (29/02/2008) *"France seeks new entente on defence"* http://www.internationalmediaforumsa.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=blogsection&id=1&Itemid=64&limit=9&limitstart=36

[80] Ministère de la Défense (2008) *« Défense et sécurité nationale – Le livre blanc »*, La documentation Française, p. 167-168 & GRIP (1997) p. 115-116

Zaire. However, the active defence agreements are with CAR, Cameroon, Chad, Djibouti, Gabon, Côte d'Ivoire, Republic of Congo, Senegal and Togo, as indicated by the chart. That France will continue its defence agreements with Senegal, Gabon and Djibouti is clear from its present reorganisation of bases. It is also likely that France will continue to cooperate with CAR, Cameroon, Chad and the Republic of Congo, which are all traditionally close allies to France and have pro-French governments. In these cases, the more important change will therefore be the nature of the defence agreements. It should also be noted that the Forces Agreement, like the ones in Chad and Côte d'Ivoire, are not part of these particular agreements. In the outer circle of French influence in Africa – Angola, Benin, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Côte d'Ivoire, Democratic Republic of Congo, Mali, Mauritania, Niger and Togo – it is more uncertain if the defence arrangements will remain at all, and if they are renewed, what the nature of these agreements will be. An extreme example is Rwanda, which cut its diplomatic ties with France in 2007.[81]

Clearly, French military presence and the nature and multitude of the bilateral defence agreements are undergoing important changes. The following section looks at one of France's programmes to replace the traditional military presence and defence agreements.

7.5 Counter-Terrorism

> *"[…] who could believe that if tomorrow, or after tomorrow, a Taliban type regime was established in one of your countries in North Africa, that Europe and France could feel secure?"*

- President Nicolas Sarkozy[82]

In a speech in June 2008 outlining the French defence policy, Sarkozy nominated terrorism as the most serious threat to France. Although Sarkozy announced massive budget cuts for the armed forces, he also promised to double the budget for intelligence technology, such as satellites and drones. In addition, Sarkozy introduced a programme for re-educating 10,000 officers to become a part of the intelligence community.[83]

[81] Ibid. 156
[82] Reuters (28/04/2008) *"Sarkozy praises Tunisia terror fight"* http://africa.reuters.com/wire/news/usnAMA856361.html
[83] BBC (17/06/2008) *"French defence to counter terror"* http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/7458650.stm

France's counter-terrorism policy is not as orientated towards multilateralism as the French defence policy.[84] France links CT efforts more directly to national security than it does its military dealings with Sub-Saharan Africa. France's policy is that terrorism cannot be fought with military means and its bases do not appear to play a central role in how France acts in CT-related matters.

One of the first decisions by President Sarkozy was to appoint a personal friend within the domestic security community, Bernard Squarcini, as head of *Direction de la Surveillance du Territoire* (DST) with the mandate to integrate the general security service, *Renseignement Généraux* (RG), with the DST. The idea was criticised by Sarkozy's own Minister of Interior and former Minister of Defence, Michèle Alliot-Marie, who disapproved of the proposed merger. However, from 1 July the merger between the two agencies will take effect thus creating the *Direction centrale du renseignements intérieur* (DCRI). [85]

Multilaterally, France has pushed for enhanced EU cooperation with the AU's CT coordination centre, *Centre Africaine d'études et de recherche sur le terrorisme* (CAERT). CAERT is, however, one of the weaker parts of the Peace and Security Directorate within the AU, suffering from a lack of sufficient funds and resources as well as from a sceptical view of CT coordination at an international level.[86]

The bilateral cooperation between France and the African governments, especially Algeria, Morocco, Mauritania and Tunisia, is considerable, albeit discrete. When four French tourists were killed in Mauritania on 27 December 2007, they were apprehended in Guinea-Bissau, indicating that the French CT arrangement is far-reaching when needed.[87]

7.6 Trade & Immigration

In 2005, French imports from Africa accounted for USD 22 billion, or 5% of France's total imports. Trade with Africa is strategically important for France, involving oil from Gabon, gas from Algeria and uranium from Niger. The esti-

[84] Although France is active within the EU framework of CT coordination, CT issues are by tradition generally more about bilateral coordination than multilateralism.

[85] The Independent (29/06/2007)*"Sarkozy makes bid to take personal charge of the secret service"* http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/sarkozy-makes-bid-to-take-personal-charge-of-the-secret-services-455190.html

[86] Norell, M. Sörenson, K. & Damidez, N. (2008) *"Afrikanska utmaningar – Perspektiv på EU, AU och FN:s säkerhetspolitiska arbete"*, FOI-R—2487—SE p. 39-41

[87] International Herald Tribune (10/04/2008) *"Mauritanian police say master mind behind Christmas Eve killings of French tourists arrested"* http://www.iht.com/articles/ap/2008/04/10/africa/AF-GEN-Mauritania-Tourist-Killings.php

mated 240,000 French citizens living in Africa are to a large degree also involved in this international trade. Even more important are French exports to Africa, which reached USD 27 billion in 2005.[88]

France's collaboration with Maghreb countries has lately dominated its trade relations. France has recently made far-reaching deals with Morocco, Libya and Tunisia and has sought partnership with Algeria in nuclear energy development. Moreover, French industries like *Gas de France* and *Air France* have important economic interests in Africa. *Airbus* recently signed a deal with Tunisia worth USD 1.57 billion. Due to the strong links between France and Mediterranean Africa, President Sarkozy has also launched the idea of a *Union for the Mediterranean*. Sarkozy is well connected with the business interests of France. His personal friend, the billionaire investor Vincent Bollaré, controls Bouygues Group – an investment company with vast economic interests Africa.[89]

The most complicated part of the French-African trade relationship is the EU's trade barriers on agricultural products, of which France is a staunch supporter, but which seriously hamper general growth in Africa and the agricultural industry in particular. Extreme poverty and high unemployment rates over the years have contributed to an increased migration rate from African countries to France. It is estimated that there are approximately 500,000 *sans-papiers* (without papers and residential approval) currently residing in France. President Sarkozy has pledged to deal with illegal immigration, which has meant that forced expulsion from France has increased.[90]

Sarkozy is not insensitive to the fact that the increased immigration has been caused by the economic situation in Africa, and there is a link to the vast development aid programme launched in Africa to promote economic growth and boost employment. The programme, coordinated by the *Groupe Agence Française de Développement* (French Development Agency), consists of three parts: a EUR 250 million investment fund for economic growth in Africa, a EUR 250 million risk fund for small African companies in need of financing, and a EUR 2 billion commitment over five years to help develop the African private

[88] Reuters (28/04/2008) "Sarkozy praises Tunisia terror fight" http://africa.reuters.com/wire/news/usnAMA856361.html
[89] Reuters (28/04/2008) *"Sarkozy praises Tunisia terror fight"* http://africa.reuters.com/wire/news/usnAMA856361.html
[90] Spiegel Online (11/04/2008) *"Eternal Plight: France in Search of a New Africa Policy"* http://www.spiegel.de/international/world/0,1518,546796,00.html

sector. Together with other programmes, this brings the overall French commitment to EUR 10 billion for investments in development. [91]

7.7 EU Presidency

Since the Second World War, a strong and united Europe has been one of France's core policies. The battles and the occupation from the First, but especially the Second, World War had disastrous consequences, not only for France, but for Europe as a whole. For France it was therefore imperative that it never again have to use its armies to defend the hexagon. The idea of a strong and united Europe with France as one of its principal leaders has therefore been central to French strategic thinking since the end of the Second World War. Consequently, many of the initiatives for a European community, especially concerning defence, have been initiated by France. France has also proved to be one of the principal states for the development of the EU project. [92]

During the French EU Presidency, the second half of 2008, France has prioritised four areas which it will focus on:

i. Energy,
ii. Border Issues,
iii. Defence, and
iv. Agricultural reform.[93]

Because of the 'No' vote to the ratification of the Lisbon agreement in the Irish referendum on 12 June 2008, the priorities above risk taking second place after further discussions on the future of the Union. However, European borders, EU's common defence and agricultural reforms as well as all energy policy all concern Africa.

The energy issue (i) is an important question with implications beyond the EU member states. The French endeavour to export nuclear energy to Africa, as well as France's domestic import of African oil and gas is situated within this context.

The issue of migration (ii) was prioritised by Sarkozy already when he was Minister of the Interior. The question of *les sans papiers* has for a long time been

[91] The South African (2008-02-29) *"New Era for Afrika, France"* http://www.southafrica.info/news/international/france-290208.htm
[92] Wedin, L. (2007) " *Marianne och Athena – Franskt militärt tänkande från 1700-talet till idag"*, Försvarshögskolan, Stockholm, Sverige, p. 243-245
[93] S. Exc. Ambassador M. Joël De Zorzi (04/06/2008) French Institute

a complicated question in French domestic politics and it primarily concerns the African migration.[94]

Concerning defence matters (iii), France considers it unacceptable that the EU currently has such limited capabilities to conduct serious peace operations, and that it, in one example, must rely on Russia for helicopters in even a limited operation in Chad. A policy frequently underlined by France is that the EU must be able to act autonomously in times of crises. The larger question is of course if Europe will take a place next to the USA as a major military actor. Regardless, the French position is that basic EU capacity must at any rate be established, world player or not. The current situation underscores all too clearly the need to do something about fundamental EU capabilities in the defence sector.[95]

The most controversial of the four priority issues is, of course, the agricultural reforms (iv). The complicated trade agreements between the EU and Africa, the EU customs borders on agricultural products and its own subventions to EU domestic agriculture are very complex topics, where France, at least in the past, has been criticised for a taking a protectionist stance.[96]

With regard to African security, which is one this report's focal points, it is the questions associated with point (iii), defence, which will concern us here. The defence discussion concerning Africa that France intends to bring up during its EU presidency mainly involves capability, the AU's as well as the EU's. The so-called *African-EU partnership* consists of five priorities that France will continue to focus on during its presidency: [97]

1. The strategic plan for Africa (the EU strategy for Africa)
2. Close cooperation with the AU
3. Strengthening of African Peace Capacity
4. Improvements to the financing of African peacekeeping
5. EU stabilisation action in Africa

Until 2005, the EU framework for the security policy in Africa rested principally on three EU decisions. The EU common position on prevention, management and resolution of conflicts in Africa, adopted on 12 April 2005, stipulates cooperation with the AU. The ESDP action plan was adopted on 16 November

[94] Ibid.
[95] M. Boissy, Delegation for Strategic Affairs, *"Presentation on the French EU presidency"*, Swedish Coin Cabinet (07/05/2008), Stockholm, Sweden
[96] S. Exc. Ambassador M. Joël De Zorzi (04/06/2008) French Institute
[97] M. Boissy, Delegation for Strategic Affairs, *"Presentation on the French EU presidency"*, Swedish Coin Cabinet (07/05/2008), Stockholm, Sweden

2004 by the AU Peace and Security Council.[98] In the EU strategy for Africa, *The EU and Africa: towards a strategic partnership?*, it is stated that the EU is to assist the AU in building the African Standby Force (ASF) and provide support to African military and civilian operations, stop the circulation of small arms and aid it in the struggle against terrorism.[99]

The EU strategic plan for Africa (1), must according to France, better identify the gaps in the African peace and security capacity. The French position is that it is clear that the AU has clear deficiencies concerning both strategic and tactical air-lift. So far, individual member states of the EU together with NATO can facilitate the strategic and tactical lift, but the EU partly lacks this capability. Hence, France advocates that the European Defence Agency (EDA) continues its development so that it eventually will encompass such capabilities.[100]

In connection to African peace and security issues, points (3) and (5), as well as the strategic plan for Africa (1) it is, according to France, the lack of training and equipment for the African Standby Forces (ASF), which is the most serious short-coming. A part of the remedy lies within the EURO-RECAMP concept that the AU is the recipient of.[101]

Further, France considers the development of EU capability in the area of *Security Sector Reform* (SSR) to be of vital importance. SSR encapsulates, according to France, many of the capabilities most needed in Africa. As a concept, SSR has the additional advantage that several of the smaller EU member states, which are stronger in the civilian aspects of peace and security matters, might be more willing to participate. The development of SSR capabilities would also benefit the EURO-RECAMP concept.[102]

France also wishes to start a discussion on EU capability in peace operations in the field to investigate if a closer cooperation between EU member states is possible. According to France, the interoperability of EU forces is key for all peace initiatives the Union endeavours to take on. One idea is the creation of a military ERASMUS. The military ERASMUS is meant to be an officer exchange programme between different defence academies, similar to the existing

[98] It includes more technical recommendations such as the provision of technical advice, sending a EU liaison officer to the AU, accounts from the AU officers that have undergone training by the EU, expert teams responsible for the support of the planning of operations, and EU training of AU personnel in DDR programmes.
[99] Niagalé Bagayoko, Centre d'analyse stratégique (2007) *"The EU and the Member states :the African capabilities building programmes"* (US-CREST)
[100] Interview (22/05/2008) Ministry of Defence, Paris, France
[101] For more on EURO-RECAMP, see page 63.
[102] M. Boissy, Delegation for Strategic Affairs, *"Presentation on the French EU presidency"*, Swedish Coin Cabinet (07/05/2008), Stockholm, Sweden

exchange programme between universities within the EU. This question does not directly concern Africa, but it is nevertheless important since better cooperation within the EU also will benefit the interaction with the African forces. France is also open to the idea that the states that wish to participate in such a programme could join now, and states that need more time to decide on this matter could join later.[103]

Point (2) and point (4), on the French priority list concern the EU-AU relation. There is, according to France, a mismatch between the EU's initiatives and the AU capability of absorbing these initiatives. This is partly due to the large EU bureaucracy and the small AU bureaucracy. An important step, according to France, is the joint EU Commission and Council office in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, since it is streamlining, at least a part of the EU-AU liaisons. France would therefore like to open up for a discussion about how the EU initiatives and fiscal contributions to the AU can be further centralised. The AU itself would also benefit from developing better capabilities in crises management. Parts of this capability development falls within the EURO-RECAMP realm.[104]

France has underlined that it primarily wants an open discussion about these 5 issues, probably because France is aware that it will take more than one EU presidential term to come to some formalised decisions on these matters.

The French EU-Presidency agenda for EU-AU cooperation suggests that Sarkozy and France are serious about engaging the EU in African peace and security related matters. The initiative also harmonises with Sarkozy's approach to move away from the bilateral French-African relations of the past to work closer together with the EU, AU and UN in Africa.

7.8 RECAMP – From Programme to Concept

"Africa must take on its own security issues and problems"[105]

- President Nicolas Sarkozy

As mentioned earlier, France took the initiative to the *Renforcement des Capacités Africaines de Maintien de la Paix* RECAMP programme partly as a response to the failure of Operation Turquoise in Rwanda. However, the reorganisation of the French Armed Forces from a conscript system to a professional defence force also contributed to the changes both in Africa and

[103] Interview (22/05/2008) Ministry of Defence, Paris, France
[104] Interview (21/05/2008) Ministry of Defence, Paris, France
[105] International Herald Tribune (28/02/2008) *"France to Overhaul policies toward Africa"* http://www.iht.com/articles/2008/02/28/africa/france.php

elsewhere. Additionally, African forces had shown that they had increased their capability to at least partly intervene themselves, like in Sierra Leone 1997.

The original idea of RECAMP was to enhance capacity and transfer responsibility for African security to the Africans by training on a voluntary basis the African armed forces in peacekeeping. The programme rested on four principles: *Multilateralism* – partnership between the donor countries and the African participants, *Openness* – all African countries are welcome to participate, *Transparency* – the participants' actions as well as financial contributions are made public, and *Standby Basis* – the programme was not intended to change the military balance and the framework has also remained non-permanent.[106]

The programme consisted of three main components: *Individual Peacekeeping Training*, which aimed at educating the soldier in basic peacekeeping practises, *Field Peacekeeping Training*, where larger units were trained, and *Equipment*, consisting of depots located in Dakar, Libreville and Djibouti, with equipment to equip three standard UN battalions. An additional component is the so-called 'train the trainer' programme, which is supposed to enable the African recipients to conduct training in their respective countries as well.

The RECAMP programme quickly ran into difficulties. The first battalion, which was set up for the intervention in Guinea-Bissau in 1999 and consisted of troops from Benin, Gambia, Niger and Togo, had severe operational deficiencies. When the RECAMP programme was applied again to the training of Senegalese and Moroccan forces that were to participate in MONUC in 2000-2001, the programme seemed to have overcome some of its major difficulties. However, unlike Benin, Gambia, Niger and Togo, both Senegal and Morocco have had extensive experience in peacekeeping operations. It is therefore unclear whether the later success can be attributed to the RECAMP programme or the previous experience and competence of the troops. France also had difficulties in providing the equipment and strategic logistics stipulated by the programme.[107]

In addition, RECAMP was neither properly coordinated with the regional African organisations such as ECOWAS, SADC and the AU, nor the larger international community. This created a structural gap between the organisations involved on a political level and the countries participating in the RECAMP programmes. The programme's limited connection to civilian actors on national, regional as well as international levels resulted in insufficient awareness of RECAMP as a tool outside the military domain.

[106] United Nations (1998) *"French Armed Forces & RECAMP"* http://www.un.int/france/frame_anglais/france_and_un/france_and_peacekeeping/recamp_eng.htm
[107] Interview, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia (11/05/2008)

RECAMP was cumbersome for France and from the outset France had been seeking financial partners. Early on it was discussed whether to approach the UK and the US or the AU and the EU as donor partners. Following a typical Gaullist line, President Chirac made it clear that he wanted a partnership solution for RECAMP orientated towards EU and AU. Besides a general preference for Europe, by 2005 the AU's political importance meant that if the concept of RECAMP was to get due attention, the AU simply had to be included. The EU's relationship to the AU was by this time also well established, thus a solution with the UK and USA that excluded the EU and AU seems not to have made sense to France. Choosing the EU and the AU also meant that the AU could be integrated into the RECAMP structure to benefit from the training.[108]

By changing the basic premises of RECAMP, the programme was re-designed to use a broader approach to peacekeeping by involving civilian actors on different levels ranging from strategy to troop training at the tactical level. Important elements were added, such as strengthening the regional organisations' head-quarters and training civil servants on negotiating Mandates, *Rules of Engagement* (RoE), and *Status of Forces Agreements* (SOFA). This conceptual approach seemed to better meet the demands on building African capacity.

With the AU as a clear recipient of the concept and the EU Council as guarantor and financer, the concept was renamed to EURO RECAMP. With the new framework, France suggested that the EU should take ownership of the RECAMP concept since it not only corresponded well with the EU priorities, but already was a developed programme with existing structures and means. Thus, President Sarkozy's ambition to involve the EU members is by no means new.

Today, EURO RECAMP is one of the key benchmark processes for the ASF. Preparations are being made for an exercise in 2010 that primarily targets the East African Brigade of *Inter-Governmental Authority on Development* (IGAD), since this is the only Regional brigade that has not participated in the RECAMP concept.[109]

The transformation from RECAMP to EURO RECAMP serves France's purposes well, since it reduces the costs of capacity-building for France. It also provides legitimacy for the French military presence in Africa. Most importantly,

[108] Niagalé Bagayoko, Centre d'analyse stratégique (2007) *"The EU and the Member states :the African capabilities building programmes"* (US-CREST)
[109] Institute for Strategic Studies in Africa (2007) *"Assessing the African Peace and Security Architecture"* http://www.iss.co.za/index.php?link_id=29&slink_id=5379&link_type=12&slink_type=12&tmpl_id=3

the programme, if successfully executed, can provide increased African stability, something France still feels partly responsible for.

Other nations such as Belgium, Greece, Portugal and Spain have also responded positively to the introduction of EURO RECAMP. The UK has in general been positive but it voiced initial concern about the idea of permanent weapon depots with military hardware stationed on African soil. Germany, Austria, Netherlands, the Czech Republic and Slovakia made it clear that they would have preferred a financial approach to the AU's peace and security work. However, after its approval, the EU and its member states have actively been working with EURO RECAMP concept in Africa.

A major difficulty for EURO RECAMP resides with the fact that AU's bureaucracy is limited and ill-equipped to handle to the massive EU administrative apparatus. Parallel to working with EU, the AU is also pursuing other programmes with the USA and NATO – actors that are also seeking an increased role in Africa, and particularly in relation with the AU. Although they are all important projects for the AU, the understaffed AU bureaucracy has had clear difficulties in dealing with them.[110]

[110] Interview (13/05/2008) Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

8 Conclusions

In an effort to move beyond *Francafricque*, President Nicolas Sarkozy seems to envision a new French-African relationship with a more loosely coupled network structure than that associated with Françafrique. A relationship where clandestine bilateral dealings based on political connections are replaced by open multilateral relations built on mutual economic interests. To accomplish such a break, he has already made several changes and is reinforcing some initiatives launched by his predecessors.

With the appointment of ministers with well-known humanitarian ideals, such as Kouchner, the removal of old structures like the Africa Cell, the commenced transformation of secret bilateral defence agreements to open multilateral concepts, the reduction in bases and troops stationed in Africa, and the search for a strategic partnership if a situation would necessitate a military intervention, some changes have already been implemented. The need to reform the French public sector might also partly work to Sarkozy's advantage. The military bases, the constant interventions and military arrangements France has with Africa are heavy budgetary posts to bear. At the moment it seems like the budget reforms are giving Sarkozy clear leverage to also implement a break with France's past Africa politics.

Multilateral concepts such as EURO RECAMP and interventions such as EUFOR Chad indicate were France is heading. The reorientation from bilateralism to multilateralism concerning African security has the important advantage for France that they provide both political legitimacy as well as a mechanism for sharing financial burdens.

An additional factor that might facilitate Sarkozy's efforts to overhaul the French-African relationship is that he has no real personal relationship to Africa.

The impediments to change are nevertheless present. The historical relationship and the debt from the Second World War still influence the French-African relationship. Sarkozy himself has made it clear that he considers France indebted to Africa for its efforts on France's behalf during the Second World War. African leaders like Paul Biya, Omar Bongo and Denis Sassou N'Guesso have in the past shown that they know how to apply the right sort of pressure on France to assure that it remains an ally when furthering their own political ambitions, as in the case with Bockel. These relations are also crucial to France since African leaders such as Bongo are still very influential within the African community.

Although the multilateral approach is now eagerly sought by France, the fact remains that some bilateral defence agreements still exist and it is France's

explicit policy to honour such agreements. This presents France with a complicated problem, since the multilateral approach might be compromised by a bilateral call for intervention. For Chad, France managed to bridge this complication through the proposition that the EU send a force under a clear UN mandate. France eventually provided the bulk of the force and was the driving force behind the mandate, but this pattern may not be easy to repeat in future situations.

If the multilateral approach will remain a French policy, the legitimacy of the UN is indispensable to France. France will therefore continue to support the UN system as it has in the past. While the UN is the only organisation that can ensure international legitimacy, the AU is currently indispensable for regional legitimacy. France is also an active donor to the AU and has been supportive of the AU peace and security efforts. African political leaders like Bongo, Déby and N'Guesso are important AU connections to France, just as they use their connections to France as leverage for initiatives within the AU. To ensure good standing within the African community Sarkozy has also tried, with some success, to expand France's allies in Africa by seeking partners outside the traditional realm, for example with South Africa's Thabo Mbeki.

The biggest challenge for France is to convince the EU to more actively engage in African politics. Where member states like Spain, Italy, Portugal and Great Britain might be sympathetic to actively engaging in Africa politics, they seem to remain disengaged to the parts they perceive as traditional French domains. Germany, France's closest ally in the EU, is by tradition sceptical about far-reaching initiatives, especially interventions. Similarly, the East European states seem to remain unconvinced about the EU being an actor on the African arena. Many of them have no relationship to Africa and several of them even lack embassies on African soil. So far, the support France has received for actively engaging in African peace and security issues has come from a small clique among the smaller EU nations, like Austria, Ireland, Finland and Sweden. Sweden has already participated in two French-lead interventions in Africa, Artémis in DRC and EUFOR in Chad. If these countries are to remain supporters of France, and if others will join, France needs to convince the EU of the merits of active engagement in African politics.

The mere fact that France has had a complicated past in Africa might also be enough for some potential partners to steer clear of permanent partnerships with France in African matters. The EU's limited capability might in itself be a constraining factor for a multilateral intervention, where France once again might feel compelled to unilaterally provide the components necessary to make this happen. It is also for this reason that EURO RECAMP is crucial to France.

The status of Maghreb is an additional anomaly in France's efforts in multi-lateralism. Maghreb has repeatedly shown that its political status has a direct bearing on France's national security. There is also no other European country that has such a close connection to Maghreb, and especially with Algeria, as France. The threat of terrorism and consequences of uncontrolled immigration have also been clearly identified by Sarkozy as the two most prioritised foreign policy areas, and although multilateralism is mentioned, it is clear that France also follows a unilateral approach in these regards.

Finally, the existence of the network of Françafrique is greater than any one French administration. The decisions and actions of the Francophone African leaders have been as important for the development and maintenance of the encompassing network structure as the French. How intertwined and extensive this relationship is, has been proved time upon time again. The close cultural, economical and military links between France and Africa are unlikely to completely disappear, even if Sarkozy's break succeeds. Unlike empires, unions and communities, which can be dissolved formally, the strength of a network is that it is informal and by nature vague in its structure. Every attempt to dismantle a network must therefore be sought with both conviction and patience.

If it is truly Sarkozy's ambition to dismantle the network structure, time might be on his side. Even if he is not successful in his attempts to rearrange the French-African relations, the network of Françafrique might gradually wither by itself. The African political elite that once sustained the network may increasingly be replaced by others who did not go to French universities or serve with the French forces. For the younger generations of Africans, France may well become just another European country in Africa, something France was made aware of in parts of the new political leadership in Côte d'Ivoire. The next generation of French presidents, to which Sarkozy belongs, might like Sarkozy also not want to be associated with Françafrique.

The French conviction to dismantle the network of Françafrique is on the other hand more questionable. Although structural changes that could facilitate a new and different relationship to Africa are being made, the old connections still ensure a certain degree of French influence. So far there seems to be no difference in France's strive to remain influential in Africa. In fact, some of the old connections might prove crucial to France in creating this sought-after new relationship with Africa. The question is thus not if, but rather how this remade relationship will be. Françafrique might be withering, but the French African connection remains.

Abbreviations

AU	African Union
AQIM	Al-Qaeda in the Maghreb
CAERT	Centre Africaine d'Études et de Recherche sur le Terrorisme
CAR	Central African Republic
CFA	Communauté financière d'Afrique
CSN	Conseil de sécurité nationale
CT	Counter-Terrorism
Dom-Tom	Département et territoires d'outre-mer
DPKO	Department of Peace Keeping Operations
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
DCRI	Direction centrale du renseignement intérieur
DSGE	Direction Général de la Sécurité Extérieure
DST	Direction de la Surveillance du Territoire
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
FIS	Front Islamique du Salut
FLN	Front de libération nationale
FN	Forces Nouvelles
GSPC	Group Salafiste pour la prédication et le combat
GIA	Groupe Islamique Armé
IGAD	Inter-Governmental Authority on Development
JMAC	Joint Military Analyses Cell
JOC	Joint Operation Cell
MPIGO	Mouvement populaire ivoirien du Grand Ouest
MJP	Mouvement pour la justice et la paix
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
PS	Parti Socialiste

RECAMP	Renforcement des Capacités Africaines de Maintien de la Paix
RG	Renseignement Généraux
RoE	Rules of Engagement
RPF	Rwandan Popular Front
SADC	South African Development Community
SDECE	Service de Documentation Extérieure et de Contre-Espionnage
SOFA	Status of Forces Agreements
SSR	Security Sector Reforms
UMP	Union pour un mouvement populaire
UNAMIR	United Nations Assistance Mission in Rwanda
UNOCI	United Nations Operations in Côte d'Ivoire
UNOSOM	United Nations Operations in Somalia
UNPROFOR	United Nations Protection Force

References

Literature

Arnold, G. (2005) *"Africa – A Modern History"* Atlantic Books, London, UK

Behrens, C.B.A (1976) *"The Ancient Régime"*, Thames and Hudson, London, England

Bouche, D. (1991) *« Histoire de la colonisation française– Tome second »*, Fayard, Paris, France

Brunschwig, H (1971) *« Le partage de l'Afrique noire »,* Champs Flammarion, Paris, France

Dallaire, R. (2004) *"Shake Hands with the Devil"*, Avalon, New York, USA

Droz B. & Lever E. (1991) *« Histoire de la guerre d'Algérie »*, Éditions de Seuil, Paris, France

Esdaile, C. (2007) *"Napoleon's Wars – An international History 1803-1815"* Penguin, London, UK

Faria, F. & Vasconcelos, A. (1996) *"Security in Northern Africa: Ambiguity and Reality"*, Institute for Security Studies, Chaillot Papers no. 25, Alecon France

Glaser, A. & Smith, S. (2006) *« Comment la France a perdu l'Afrique »*, Calman-Lévy, Paris, France

Hochschild, A. (1998) *"King Leopold's Ghost"*, Macmillan, London, UK

Meredith M. (2005) *"The State of Africa – A History of Fifty Years of Independence"*, Simon & Schuster, London, UK

Pluchon, P. (1991) *« Histoire de la colonisation française– Tome premier »*, Fayard, Paris, France

Priestly, H. I. (1966) *"France Overseas: Study of Modern Imperialism"*, Frank Cass & Co Ltd, London, UK

Roussel, E. (2002) *« De Gaulle, I. 1890-1945" »*, Gallimard, Paris, France

Roussel, E. (2002) *« De Gaulle, II. 1946-1970" »*, Gallimard, Paris, France

Stålberg, K. (2004) *"De Gaulle – Generalen som var Frankrike"*, Nordstedts Förlag, Stockholm

Kroslak, D. (2004) *"France's Policy towards Africa – Continuity or Change?"* from Taylor, I. & Williams, P. ed. (2004) *"Africa in International Politics – External Involvement on the Continent"*, Routledge, Oxon, UK

Vandewalle, D. (2006) *"A History of Modern Libya"*, Cambridge University Press, UK

Wedin, L. (2007) " *Marianne och Athena – Franskt militärt tänkande från 1700-talet till idag"*, Försvarshögskolan, Stockholm, Sverige

Westerlund, D. & Evers Rosander (ed.) (1997) "African Islam and Islam in Africa – Encounter between Sufis and Islamists" Hurst & Company, London: Joffé, G. "Maghribi Islam and Islam in Maghrib", Hurst & Company, London , UK

Wauthier C. (1995) *« Quatre Présidents et l'Afrique – De Gaulle, Pompidou, Giscard d'Estaing, Mitterand »* Seuil, Paris, France

Articles

allAfric.com (03/03/2008) "Africa: France Promotes New Relationship with Continent" *http://allafrica.com/stories/200803030014.html?page=2*

BBC (15/01/2008) *"French make serious move into Gulf"* http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/7189481.stm

BBC (17/06/2008) *"French defence to counter terror"* http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/7458650.stm

Griffin, C. (2007) *"French Military Interventions in Africa*", International Studies Association

International Herald Tribune (10/04/2008) *"Mauritanian police say master mind behind Christmas Eve killings of French tourists arrested"* http://www.iht.com/articles/ap/2008/04/10/africa/AF-GEN-Mauritania-Tourist-Killings.php

International Herald Tribune (28/02/2008) *"France to Overhaul policies toward Africa"* http://www.iht.com/articles/2008/02/28/africa/france.php

International Media Forum (29/02/2008) *"France seeks new entente on defence"* http://www.internationalmediaforumsa.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=blogsection&id=1&Itemid=64&limit=9&limitstart=36

Lafourcade, J-C. (2008) *« Turquoise, une opération nécessaire, une mission délicat »*, Défense nationale et sécurité collective

Le Figaro (22/10/2007) *« Chronologie: 1995, la France frappé par les attentats islamistes »* http://www.lefigaro.fr/actualites/2007/10/01/01001-20071001ARTWWW90494-chronologie_la_france_frappee_par_les_attentats_islamistes.php

Liberation (16/05/2007) *« Kouchner vivre de bord le Quai »* http://www.liberation.fr/actualite/politiques/254091.FR.php

Major, C & Mölling, C. (2007) "Sarkozy's Brave New World: France's Foreign Security and Defence Policy" European Security Review no. 35

New York Times (01/10/1995) *"Dead Bomb Suspect's Ties Still a Mystery in France"* http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=990CE3DD1E31F932A35753C1A963958260

Nouvel Observateur (07/062008) *« Prémiere visite en Afrique pour Alain Joyandet »* http://tempsreel.nouvelobs.com/actualites/international/afrique/20080410.OBS8993/premiere_visite_en_afrique_pour_alain_joyandet.html?idfx=RSS_international

Reuters (05/09/2007) "*Africans still seething over Sarkozy's speech"* http://africa.reuters.com/wire/news/usnL05130346.html

Reuters (28/04/2008) *"Sarkozy praises Tunisia terror fight"* http://africa.reuters.com/wire/news/usnAMA856361.html

Société Civil Africaine (2007) *« Pour une autre politique de la France en Afrique »* Politique Africaine, no. 105, Karthala, Paris

Spiegel Online (11/04/2008) *"Eternal Plight: France in Search of a New Africa Policy"* http://www.spiegel.de/international/world/0,1518,546796,00.html

The Independent (16/10/2007) *"Obituary Bob Denard – Mercenary operating in Africa"* http://www.independent.co.uk/news/obituaries/bob-denard-396988.html

The Independent (29/06/2007)*"Sarkozy makes bid to take personal charge of the secret service"* http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/sarkozy-makes-bid-to-take-personal-charge-of-the-secret-services-455190.html

The South African (2008-02-29) *"New Era for Africa, France"* http://www.southafrica.info/news/international/france-290208.htm

Official Documents

Bagayoko N. (2007) “The EU and the Member states: the African capabilities building programs” Centre d’analyse stratégique (US-CREST)

Damidez, N. & Sörenson, K. (2008) ”Terrorattackerna i Algeriet och Al Qaedas framväxt i Nordafrika”, FOI Memo 2330

France’s Policy Paper (2008) *“On Fragile States”*

GRIP (1997) *« La France Militaire et l’Afrique »*, Bruxelles

ICG (2006) « *Côte d’Ivoire: la paix comme option »*, Rapport Afrique No. 109

Institute for Strategic Studies in Africa (2007) *“Assessing the African Peace and Security Architecture”* http://www.iss.co.za/index.php?link_id=29&slink_id=5379&link_type=12&slink_type=12&tmpl_id=3

Ministère de la Défense (2008) *« Défense et sécurité nationale – Le livre blanc »*, La documentation Française

Norell, M, Sörenson, K & Damidez, N. (2008) ”Afrikanska utmaningar – Perspektiv på EU, AU och FN:s säkerhetspolitisk arbete”, FOI-R—2487—SE, p. 39-41

United Nations General Assembly & Security Council (2000-08-21) A/55/305-S/2000/809

United Nations (1998) *“French Armed Forces & RECAMP”* http://www.un.int/france/frame_anglais/france_and_un/france_and_peacekeeping/recamp_eng.htm

Wedin, L. (2007) ”Frankrikes syn på Afrika ur ett ESFP perspektiv”, FHS

Interviews

Interviews have been conducted with analysts, political advisors, political officers, and military advisors concerned with French- African relations in the defence and security realm. These interviews were conducted:

EU Council and Commissions Office Addis Ababa, Ethiopia,

Institute for Security Studies (ISS), Addis Ababa, Ethiopia,

French Embassy, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia,

AU Peace and Security Directorate, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, between 13th to the 16th of May

Ministry of Defence, Paris, France

Swedish Embassy in Paris, France

between the 19th to 23rd of May.