

**An Afrocentric Critique of France's foreign policy towards Africa: Case Study
of South Africa, 2009-2019**

By

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Dissertation submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

in

International Politics

in the

Faculty of Humanities

(School of Social Sciences)

of the

University of Limpopo

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2021

Declaration

I ***Florence Ramasela Sethole***, declare that **An Afrocentric Critique of France's foreign policy towards Africa: Case Study of South Africa, 2009-2019** is my own work and that all sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

.....

Signature

.....

Date

Acknowledgements

Firstly, I would like to give thanks to the almighty God and my ancestors for giving me the strength to finish this Research. Without them I would not have come this far.

Secondly to my supervisor Ms LT Legodi and Co-Supervisor Prof K B Shai, thank you for your guidance, words of encouragement, constructive criticism, and patience. Without your mentorship I would not have made it this far.

Thirdly to my family, Parents Piet and Nancy Sethole, sisters Grace, queen, Sarah and Vele, my brothers Prince, Johannes and Sam, thank you for your prayers and being my biggest supporters when it came to my studies. Your presence in my life is fully appreciated.

Lastly to Makhura Lerato, Nkoana Kgadi and Abel Semosa, thank you for your academic reviews, criticism, words of encouragement and pushing me to become the best version of myself.

Abstract

The relations between France and South Africa dates to +-330 years ago but the year that France renounced its diplomatic collaboration with South Africa was in 1981. Then in 1994 following the new democratic dispensation in South Africa, France started normalising its diplomatic relations with the new government. By the end of 1994 South Africa had France as its 14th biggest trading partner with a total trade of R3712 millions. Moving from that, the central question grappled within this research is that is the relations between France and South Africa a win-win or win-lose one? This research argues that is it a win-lose as France is the one that continues to benefit more compared to South Africa on various partnership which will be discussed further in the research. With regards to the theoretical framework, Afrocentricity was deemed suited as it gives Africans the platform to view issues through African experiences and perspective. The latter should also be understood within the context that a lot of literature on the topic at hand has been written using Eurocentric perceptive thus this research utilised Afrocentricity. Methodologically, this research will be solely relaying on secondary materials such as journal articles, newspapers as well as policy briefs and reports.

Keywords: France, South Africa, Afrocentricity, Foreign Policy, Africa

List of abbreviations

ANC	African National Congress
AU	African Union
AFD	Agency Francaise de development
CETA	Construction Education Training Authority
CEO	Chief executive officer
CFA	Communaute Financiere en Afrique
CSDf	Civil Society Development Fund
CSR	Cooperate Social Responsibly
CSP	Concentrating Solar thermal power
ENA	Ecole Nationale d'Administartion
EU	European Union
EDP	Electricite den France
FSACCI	French African Chamber of Commerce and industry
F'SATI	French South African Institute of technology
FSASEC	French South Africa Schneider Electric Training Centre
G8	Group of eight
GDP	Gross Domestic product
ICT	Information and Communications technology
IFAS	Institut Francais in South Africa
IFRE	French Research institute Abroad
MNC'S	Multinational Corporations
NGO	Non- Governmental Organisation
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation

NSG	National School of Government
OIF	Organisation of La Franco phonie
OECD	Organisation for economic Co-operation and Development
PLMCC	Product Lifestyle Management Competency Centre
PRASA	Passenger Rail Agency of South Africa
SCAC	Cooperation Cultural Action Service
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SEDA	Sustainable economic development assessment.
TCA	Thematic Content Analysis
TREC	Turfloop Research and Ethics Committee
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UN	United Nations

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Chapter 1: BACKGROUND AND MOTIVATION OF THE STUDY

1.1 Background

South African history has for many years (+- 330 years) involved the immigrants from France. From the first arrival of the Huguenots in 1671 to the Dutch French occupation of the Cape Colony between the years 1781-1784 (d'Albis, 2020). Concurrently, to the involvement of France in the Anglo-Boer War, also referred to as the South African War (1899-1902). The relations between France and South Africa are often interpreted as the diplomatic collaborations between the two countries that go way back to between the years 1961-1974 as France was then, the African Continent biggest supplier of weaponry (Moukambi, 2008).

France ended its diplomatic relations with South Africa in 1981, and it was only then that the African National Congress (ANC) gained full recognition in Paris. Through the efforts of then-French Prime Minister Fabius Laurent, France joined the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) and European Union (EU) country allies in 1985 to press for the imposition of economic sanctions against South Africa's apartheid system (Kelly, 1985). It was soon after the pressured apartheid regime released Nelson Mandela (First democratically elected President of South Africa) in February 1990. As the apartheid regime was pressured to negotiate a settlement with the ANC, France began the normalization of its diplomatic relations with South Africa, particularly after the general elections of 1994 (DIRCO 2019). Then the exchange State visit of François Maurice Mitterrand (Former French President) on the 04th of July 1994 was pronounced the first French government official trip to South Africa by one of the heads of State of the Western countries after the democratic elections. It was during this French State visit that the two-presidents (Mitterrand and Mandela) decided to involve the two countries in strategic partnerships (Krieger 2014).

Towards the end of the year 1994, South Africa had France as its 14th biggest trading partner with a total trade of about 3 billion (Giralt & Ngubentombi, 2004). By the year 2003, the percentage of trade off increased with 45.6% escorted by France making it to the 6th place biggest trading partner (Giralt & Ngubentombi, 2004). The latter has made South Africa a Sub-Saharan African country to be the leading outlet for the

companies of France. In the year 2003, Thabo Mbeki (former South African President) had paid France a visit four times, In January, Mbeki attended the inter-Ivorian agreements conference in Paris. In February, Mbeki participated in the Africa-France summit and in May, attended the Group of Eight (G8) enlarged Summit dialogue and lastly, in November, Mbeki was on an official State visit (Giralt & Ngubentombi, 2004).

In line with the European Commission in South Africa, since the early 2000s, the significant sectors of the development cooperation between South Africa and France are in the science and technology development, human resource development, and culture together with concessional credit facilities. This cooperation has taken the form of the tutoring of the specialized personnel and professional staff using seminars conducted by French experts, invitations or scholarships to France, joint creation of brand-new structures and exchanges in university master's Degrees. To add, and specialized training centers. Other projects including the likes of the extensive €350 million government programme to make certain household linkages to drinkable water and networks were implemented between the years 2001-2004 (Giralt & Ngubentombi, 2004).

After the implementation of the extensive €350 million government programme, France and South Africa have since become key partners in the emerging dialogue involving the significant contemporary problems including the likes of the Middle East conflict, Iraq war, fight against proliferation and terrorism and the way in which to make certain a development that is shared, sustainable and also equitable (France Diplomatie, 2019).

2. RESEARCH PROBLEM

Melly and Darracq (2013), Siradag (2014), Robert (2013), Coertzen (2011) and Moncrieff (2012) have written about the topic at hand. However, the existing literature of knowledge on the topic at hand is largely written from Euro-American perspectives and or theoretical frameworks. The information already gathered shows that African perspectives still lack on the subject matter. The reality of this assertion is found in the fact that the existing views and/ perspectives are not anchored on African values due to the employment of Eurocentric perspectives that are influenced extensively by Euro-American value systems of culture and experiences. The practise of the latter has a tendency of creating false impressions that the concepts, ideas, and theories that are

postulated by Africans have no significant place in the analysis of the foreign policy of France towards Africa and international politics scholarship. Thus, Afrocentricity theory has been chosen for this study to incorporate African perspectives regarding the topic at hand.

3. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

3.1. Aim

The aim of this study is to employ Afrocentricity as a theoretical and contextual lens to critique France's foreign policy towards Africa: case study of South Africa, 2009-2019.

3.2. Objectives

- To explore France-South Africa relations within the context of France's foreign policy in Africa?
- To analyse the pillars of France's foreign Policy towards South Africa?
- To examine the key drivers of France's engagement with South Africa?
- To scrutinize the strategic partnerships of France-South Africa relations?
- To evaluate the economic partnerships of France-South Africa relations?

4. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In research, there are two main research paradigms which are as follows: quantitative and qualitative approaches. For this study, qualitative research approach will be used. The choice for use of qualitative research approach was based on its ability to generate a rich data (Raphala 2017). In addition to that, it should be noted that qualitative approach in this study involves the use of only secondary sources. Thus, this study followed a qualitative approach in the form of a desktop research.

4.1. Research Design

The researcher employs a case study design because of its ability and relevancy to understand and analyse the case under review. Furthermore, this design has a potential to explore in detail France's foreign policy towards Africa: Case study of South Africa from the standpoint of Afrocentricity.

4.2. Data collection

Only secondary materials were used such as research reports, official and policy documents, published articles, political magazines, statements, newspapers, and documents appraisal of books.

4.3. Sampling

The researcher used purposive sampling as best understood to be one of the favourite sampling techniques in qualitative studies that relies on non-probability and selective sampling of relevant and most necessary documents and published works for the sole purpose of investigating what is being studied (Babbie, 2010). This method was solely chosen because of its ability to incorporate material that will be of relevancy to the study and that will contain characteristics of the objectives of the study.

4.4. Data Analysis

Thematic Content Analysis (TCA) is explained as the outline explanation of any qualitative collected information. In this case, the researcher opted to use Microsoft word and its tools to employ TCA relevantly and well. According to Anderson (2017), TCA should be applied with all its steps. It should also be noted that only secondary materials were used in this research report such as articles, reports, and books. Firstly, the researcher depicted the thematic content of other texts by pointing out common themes in the collected data for analysis purpose. Second, the researcher combined and distilled from the collected data, a list of common themes to give an explanation to the collective voices in all texts. Third, the researcher created and engaged the common themes' names from the real texts to combine them in a manner that shows the texts in their entirety. Fourth, the researcher engaged in the explanation of themes keeping such at a minimum level. Fifth, the researchers' feelings and thoughts were side-lined and became irrelevant to the interpretation of this data. Last, the researcher urged to reserve the explanation of the meaning of these themes in a later discussion in the entire research report (Anderson 2017).

4.5. Quality Criteria

4.5.1 Credibility

Credibility comprises of two components which are namely: expertise and trustworthiness (Raphala 2017). The reason for credibility is to ensure that the results are believable. Therefore, the researcher analysed the collected data in a way in which its integrity will not be compromised.

4.5.2 Confirmability

Confirmability is defined as the neutrality of the collected data to check the possible compatibility amongst the two variables on the relevancy of the collected data, accuracy and meaning (Raphala, 2017). Therefore, the researcher intends to use data triangulation to ensure confirmability.

4.5.3 Dependability

Dependability involves the explanation of how the research will be dependable because of the data collection, analysis, and the interpretation of the main idea (Rapanyane and Sethole 2020b). Therefore, the researcher adopted data triangulation to ensure dependability.

5. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

As a new evolving topic in International Relations, this study stands to immensely contribute towards the existing body of knowledge on matters of foreign policy particularly as it relates to the foreign policy of France towards Africa: case study of South Africa. Second and most important, future researchers who are interested in France's Africa policy will have a steppingstone in the complete understanding of how France has been engaging Africa over time.

6. ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

6.1 Permission to conduct the study

The researcher has submitted a detailed proposal of intended research to a process of peer review to various structures at the University of Limpopo including Turfloop Research and Ethics Committee (TREC). Consequently, an ethical clearance certificate was granted. In addition, the researcher abided by the laws and policies of the institution, and the ethical codes of the profession. This ensured the ethical standards of the institution are maintained.

6.2 Plagiarism

In the execution of this study, the researcher was committed to avoiding the use of ideas and writings of others as her own. To avoid plagiarism, the researcher used in-text references and includes all used and quoted sources at the reference list.

The next chapter will be a Review on the existing body of knowledge on the topic at hand and Theoretical framework.

Chapter 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This part seeks to review the existing body of knowledge on the subject at matter which is the Foreign Policy relations of France towards Africa: Case study of South Africa. In Addition to that, the researcher explored the limitations and results which other researchers came across on the same topic. The existing body of knowledge will serve as a direction for the current research. Nevertheless, it can also be noted that the subject matter at hand received very little attention from various scholars. Therefore, the above mentioned served as one of the motivations to explore the current research. Therefore, the following scholarly works were revisited as part of the literature review Melly and Darracq (2013), Siradag (2014), Robert (2013), Coertzen (2011), Moncrieff (2012), Goldstein and Pevehouse (2011), Shai (2016), Franzier (2019), Goldstein and Pevehouse (2011), Legodi and Shai (2019), Asante (2009), Asante (1989) and Reviere (2001).

2.2 Conceptual Framework

2.2.1 Foreign Policy

Goldstein and Pevehouse (2011:76) define foreign Policy as “the strategy that a government uses in its interactions in the international arena”. Again, Goldstein and Pevehouse (2011) further states that foreign policy is a way of a country to protect its national interests at the international level. Shai (2016) states that foreign policy involves how a state conducts its coordination and international relations matters. On the other hand, Frazier (2019) explains foreign policy as a country’s way of protecting its domestic as well as international interests and use its foreign policy to weigh the extent that country will interact with non-state as well as state participants. It is said that foreign policy and diplomacy are used interchangeably , in the sense that foreign policy relies heavily on diplomacy as learders of various states come together and partake in negotiations with world leaders with the main intention of preventing conflict amongst nation states (Franzier, 2019).

2.3 A critical review of Knowledge gaps about this study

The following section will be interrogating the existing body of knowledge on the subject matter. Basically, giving a summary then writing the gaps which are found within the body of knowledge which already exists within the subject matter at hand.

The section will be focusing on the two relations which are: France –Africa Relations and France-South Africa Relations.

2.3.1 France-Africa Relations

Melly and Darracq (2013) wrote an article titled “*A new way to Engage? French Policy in Africa from Sarkozy to Hollande*”. In the article Melly and Darracq state that the France holds a very high level of influence in sub-Saharan Africa that it cannot command anywhere else in the world. Furthermore, Melly and Darracq (2013) articulate that the officials of French authorities attempted to set up dialogues on Africa with emerging powers more specially China and this policy proved to bring about success under Sarkozy and continued under Hollande. Despite that, Melly and Darracq (2013) did not explore the broader analysis of France’s Foreign Policy in Africa which include the likes of pillars and key drivers. This gap in knowledge production has left the researcher in question and ultimately the need for addressing this.

Siradag (2014) wrote an article titled “*Understanding French Foreign and Security Policy towards Africa: Pragmatism or Altruism*”. Siradag states that France has got very deep political, historical, and economic relations with Africa, which dates to the 17th century. In addition to that Siradag argues that France has maintained its political and economic relations with its former colonies. Moreover, France has a strategic security which is unique with African countries. Again, he states that France assisted Africa with military more than 50 times since the year 1960. Even though France has unique strategic security partnership with African Countries, it did not specify all these strategic and economic partnerships, particularly as it relates to South Africa. Thus, leaving a gap for the researcher to address it.

2.3.2 France-South Africa Relations

In his online occasional paper, titled “France in South Africa” Robert (2013) has outlined the French-south Africa historical relations. In context, Robert has deliberated on the strategic partnership that prevails between France and South Africa and has extended a hand in outlining how France and South Africa’s common vision on security issues. Beside his insight into the latter, he has broadened the paper’s conversation on the cooperation and cultural action department, agence francaise de development, French institute of South Africa, alliance, francaise in Southern Africa, alliance

française in southern Africa, campus France, research institutions, French south African training centres and French schools in South Africa which South Africa continues to enjoy with France. However, Robert has failed to outline the pillars of France's engagement with South Africa as well as the key drivers of France's engagement with South Africa.

In the article titled, "The Huguenots of South Africa in history and religious identity", Coertzen (2011) elaborates on the views which are about the Huguenots of South Africa in the history books for the period before 1988 and after. In this 2011 article, Coertzen analyses the relevant historical data about the establishment of the religious identity and heritage of the Huguenots. The opinions that are expressed in this article are fundamentally or principally those of the Pierre Simond, John Calvin, Gideon le Grand and Jeanne Marie Due Pres who are the early French men. Besides the latter, Coertzen has catapulted that in the discussion of this historically important French men figures in South Africa, people should not forget the role played by these men who have shaped the religious identities of those first and latter Huguenots. However, the article did not explore the strategic partnership of France-SA relations.

Moncrieff (2012) in the article titled "French relations with Sub-Saharan Africa under President Sarkozy" uses a conspiracy theory to explore the Sarkozy's reform programme by examining the reform of the French military prevalence in Africa. In this paper, though attention has been placed on the francophone Africans of both popular and elite levels. Despite that, the paper did not evaluate the economic partnership of France-South Africa Relations which will serve as one of the objectives of the Research

2.4 Theoretical Perceptive

The following theories (Marxism, Realism, and Idealism) are few of those that most scholars have used to analyse the topic at hand. Therefore, this section will highlight the differences between these theories and the limitations of these theories used and show the relevance of the theory chosen.

2.4.1 Marxism

Marx (1859:14) articulates that "Marxism is a socioeconomic analysis method that combines a materialist interpretation of historical development with a dialectical perspective to comprehend class relations and social conflict". It is based on the work

of German philosophers Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in the nineteenth century. There is now no single definitive Marxist theory because Marxism has evolved over time into many branches and schools of thought (Marx, 1859). The study of Marx's capitalism was founded on a materialist and dialectical philosophy. Interaction and changes are brought into prominence and emphasized in dialectics by being seen as vital components of whatever institutions and processes are changing and interacting (Marx, 1859).

2.4.2 Realism

On the other hand, Realism is defined as “the representation of reality. It rejects imaginative idealization in favour of a close observation of outward appearances. As such, realism in its broad sense has comprised many artistic currents in different civilizations” (Donna, 2014:23). It mainly began in the early twentieth century and it also has been prevalent in the arts at many periods and is in large part a matter of technique and training as well as the avoidance of stylization. Lastly, it is arguing that Realists believe that reality exists independent of the human mind, thus stating that the reality is the world of physical objects (Champflueury, 1857).

2.4.3 Idealism

It is described as metaphysical theories that hold that "reality" is distinct from human cognition, which is mentally constituted or somehow linked to ideas in some way. Its main focus is on conscious mental reasoning. Plato, the father of idealism, created the phrase in his classic book, *The Republic*, circa 400 years BC (LeoNora, 1999). Plato believed that there are two worlds: the spiritual or mental world, which is everlasting, and the world of experience, which is constantly changing, flawed, and disordered, as seen through sight, scent, feeling, and sound. The duality of mind and body is a term used to describe this separation (LeoNora, 1999).

2.5 Role of the theory: Afrocentricity

This research employs Afrocentricity as theory which is better explained by Asante (2003). This theory of Afrocentricity remains a philosophical theory that can furnish scholars with unique perspective in the international relations and the analysis of France's Africa policy (Asante 1989). The adoption of this theory in this research is informed by the need to generate unorthodox orientation to information extremely dissimilar to the Euro-American world views which produce themselves as the

conventional theories such as Liberalism, Realism and Marxism. The latter mentioned theories have been explained as the principal theories in the analysis of international relations and they are influenced by the Euro-American cultural value systems as well as the experiences of the Americans and Europeans about the concept of politics at both international and domestic levels.

Whilst the adoption and the utility of these conventional theories cannot easily be dismissed in the analysis of international relations and foreign policy, they are very much irrelevant and best limited in the comprehension of the phenomena outside the western value system (Legodi and Shai 2019). Leaning heavily on the latter, the researcher has opted to use Afrocentricity together with its analytic elements to explore France's foreign Policy towards Africa: case study of South Africa. This is done in the quest of seeking relocation and not subjecting the researcher of this study to the periphery. This will in such a way be done in this study as the researcher will be pursuing being part and parcel of the significant core in the analysis of the collected data on France's Africa policy. It is important to also incorporate the views of Reviere (2001) who has argued that those who employ Afrocentricity have a potential in providing a new theoretical and epistemological approach, and they present a brand-new research paradigm, criticism, interpretation, and acquisition of knowledge (Reviere 2001).

Having said this, it remains instructive for all the readers to take note of the fact that the adoption of this theory in this study follows a need to ensure that problems that bare on Africa ought to unapologetically be found in the studies that are conducted in Africa, based on the culture, values and history of Africans and should be operationalised in the way in which the African interests are placed at the forefront (Asante 2003). The theory's infusion in this study serves to also bring about an epistemic justice to the subject of this study as it will contribute towards the unmuting of the voices of the previously marginalised nations of African people.

2.6 The difference between Afrocentricity, Realism, Idealism and Marx

The difference between the four mentioned is that Afrocentricity focuses on using African ideas and views to understand various issues and to be able to analyse various issues, basically putting African People at the standpoint of giving solutions to various research problems. While realism focuses on the reality in the sense that it states things as they are. Basically, doing away with imaginary things as its focus is on things that are happening in the real life and writes them as they are. On the other hand, Marxism provides an understanding on the various social conflicts that are existing within the international arena and the world as whole as well as explaining the cause of those conflicts and providing social classes as the main source of those social conflict which exists. Again, idealism focuses on the aspect that there are two worlds whereby the first one is being the spiritual or mental world which is eternal and then the world of experienced through sight, through smell, states and sound that is forever changing, imperfect and disorderly. Thus, arguing that “reality” is in some way different from human understanding that is in some sense mentally constituted or otherwise connected to ideas.

2.7 Why Afrocentricity was best suited for this study

In the international arena, Afrocentricity has not been given a fair chance as African views and ideas have not been considered with regards to analysing African problems or perhaps locating solutions to African problems. Therefore, since this research revolves the African continent which perspective is best to use if not Afrocentricity itself. Thus, using African views to find African solutions. Again, this theory of Afrocentricity remains a philosophical theory that can furnish scholars with unique perspective in the international relations and the analysis of France’s Africa policy. Theories such as realism, liberalism and Marxism are heavily based on euro centric views and ideas. Therefore, leaning heavily on the latter, the researcher has opted to use Afrocentricity together with its analytic elements to explore France’s foreign Policy towards Africa: case study of South Africa. This is done in the quest of seeking relocation and not subjecting the researcher of this study to the periphery. This will in such a way be done in this study as the researcher will be pursuing being part and parcel of the significant core in the analysis of the collected data on France’s Africa policy. It is important to also incorporate the views of Reviere (2001) who has argued

that those who employ Afrocentricity have a potential in providing a new theoretical and epistemological approach, and they present a brand-new research paradigm, criticism, interpretation, and acquisition of knowledge (Reviere 2001).

2.8 Conclusion

It can be noted that the relations between France-Africa goes way back, and it has had its perks. In addition, France has got very deep political, historical, and economic relations with Africa, which dates to the 17th century and France holds a very high level of influence in sub-Saharan Africa that it cannot command anywhere else in the world. Nevertheless, the chapter discussed the gaps on the existing body of knowledge on the subject matter. Again, differentiating various perspectives and again giving a clear understanding of Afrocentricity Perspective and reasons behind it being the chosen theory for the study.

The next chapter explores France-South Africa relations within the context of France's foreign policy in Africa.

Chapter 3: An exploration of France-South Africa relations within the context of France's foreign policy in Africa

3.1 Introduction

Relations between France and Africa started in the 17th century with the main intention of enhancing partnerships between Africa and France Businesses to create new forms of cooperation. This chapter explores the relations of France and South Africa within the context of Africa. It does so by giving a broad background of Africa-France relations and the one of South Africa-France relations. Adding to that, it also explains the engagements between France and Africa in retrospect and lastly explain France's General Foreign Policy towards Africa.

3.2 France Africa Relations

3.2.1 Broad Background of the relations between France-Africa

Historical, political, and economic relations between Africa and France dates to 17th century and France continues to have its political and economic relations with its former colonies even after the independence of the former colonised (Cooper, 2016). Moreover, France still to this date has intense partnership in strategic security with countries in Africa and still intervenes in terms of assisting African states with military assistance when its needed. France holds a very high status in terms of economic and political power in the world. Moving from that, the interests of France in Africa started in the 17th century with the establishment of a trade (Shearer, 2020). The Berlin Conference served as a huge turning point historically for the beginning of new imperialism in Africa and European colonialism. Moreover, the Conference enabled colonial powers to defend their severe colonialism in Africa. The main intention of the colonial Policy of France was to exploit the resources in Africa. In the year 1939, France founded its own monetary system which is known as a "Franc Zone" with the main intention of growing its political and economic influence over Africa (Kwet, 2019).

For over a century and half, France sustained a colonial empire which stretched from Maghreb through the western and Central sub-Saharan regions. Even though direct rule ended in the early 1960's. The French effect on its previous colonies continued. France has managed to sustain a hegemonic foothold in the Francophone Africa, with

the main intention of serving its interest over time (Arnold, 2017). In the year 1980 many French presidential candidates have been announcing plans to put an end to the franc Afrique. But according to Ian Taylor, professor of African politics at St. Andrews University in Scotland “the promise of a new beginning between France and the francophone states has turned into a mere ritual.” He further states that “They come out with statements, and they want to change it. But after a couple of years, they realize that the business interests and the kind of political interests are still very strong and there is no real will on either side to fundamentally re-balance the relationship” (Taylor , 2017:15).

The CFA (Communaute financière en Afrique) is a currency used by 14 African countries. The CFA franc positions for the following two various currencies which are as follows: The Central African CFA Franc and the West African CFA rate with the Euro. Both the CFA franc and west African CFA have an exchange rate which is fixed with the Euro currency (Schwalbe, 2020). Nevertheless, France decided to take full ownership of the currency and the financial policies of its former colonies in Africa. The Devalue of the CFA franc in the year 1994 caused some intense issues in Franco-African relations which led to the damage of Franco-Africa monetary cooperation (Taylor, 2019).

Equally, France’s relations with sub-Saharan Africa have undergone significant changes since the election of Former French President Nicolas Sarkozy in May 2011. Some of the changes has led to decisions which were made in Paris regarding the policy whilst other changes form part of an evolution in Africa and Africa’s commercial and strategic position in the world affairs (Bağce and Demir, 2017). Even though France’s former colonies are celebrating over 60 years of independence, France continues to hold a huge influence on the former colonies. France decided to introduce a Presidential regime in which all the power and territories is in the hands of the head of state and did away with the parliamentary system in countries such as Ivory Coast (Bağce and Demir , 2017).

According to Bond (2013), the foreign policy of France on Africa was mainly based on inequality and racism during the colonialism period. Bond further states that the French prominent leaders played a huge role in splitting Africa. Moreover, Bond (2013:23) further articulates that:

France divided Africa as “Franco-phone”; England partitioned it as “Anglophone”; Portugal split it as “lu-sophone”. While England ruled and colonized Africa with its policy of indirect rule implemented by local chiefs and tribal leaders, France ruled from the metropole in a policy of direct rule. France preferred a centralized policy to colonize Africa, and thus French colonial policy towards Africa was more destructive, more brutal, and less tolerant of African culture and traditions. French military power played the most important role in colonizing Africa. France remained one of the most significant colonial powers in Africa until its colonies gained their independence by the 1960s.

3.2.2 France’s Africa engagement in Retrospect

For France to preserve its interests in the African continent, it interfered militarily 20 times in various states in Africa between the years 1963 and 1983. Additionally, the most fundamental feature of the post-colonial Policy of France towards Africa was that France disseminated dependency relations with different countries in Africa politically and economically (Rothchild and Chazan, 2019). Moreover, France created an international Organisation of La Francophonie (OIF) to strengthen economic, historical, and political relations with most of its former colonies. The main mandate of the OIF is to bring all heads of States and governments of member states together and organise Francophonie summits every two years (Massie and Morin, 2013). It can be noted that the OIF have indeed played a very crucial role in maintaining a relationship between various Francophone African countries. The OIF also includes the Military technical assistance agreements, arms sale, Défense agreements, training of African Commanders and establishing military bases in Francophone countries (Spowage, 2019).

By the year 1990, France had set up military bases in strategic countries such as Senegal, Gabon, the Ivory Coast, Djibouti, Senegal, the Central African Republic and Cameroon and stationed troops at 22 African States. Nevertheless, it is stated that the military forces of France did not engage in any conflicts or wars. But their main role was to shield countries which had a defence agreement with France in case of external and internal threats (Siridag, 2014). The Security of France had mainly two aims which were to shield the Governments of African states that they had an agreement with, in

case of external threats and to shield “Friendly governments” against internal aggression to protect French political and economic interests. Thus, France did play a huge role in establishing national armies of its former colonial states in Africa after independence (Donaldson, 2018).

One of the conditions which were agreed on with regards to the Défense agreements made between France and its former colonies were that France will have to provide its own security if any internal or external threats arises. Despite that, the agreements fully states that France would get involved militarily if mainly requested by the African Countries. It can be noted that between the year 1960 and 1963 France has intervened 12 times in some of the African states (Cooper, 2016). Furthermore, Cooper (2016:24) states that “Défense agreements between both sides provided special conditions for France. For instance, African states were only allowed to sell their raw materials to France and were restricted from selling them to third parties. Con-traditions could be found in French African policy”. Moving from that, the Défense agreements have enabled the military staff of France to work as military consultant in the arms of African Countries and train military personnel of the host states (Shearer, 2020).

3.3 France-South Africa Relations

3.3.1 Broad Background of the relations between France-South Africa

Immigrants from France have played a significant role in South African history for over 330 years (Leftwich, 1976). Concurrently, through Boer foreign volunteers like George Henri Anne-Marie Victor de Villebois-Mareuil who fought on the side of the South African Republic in the Anglo-Boer War, also known as the South African War (1899-1902), France became involved in the Anglo-Boer War, also known as the South African War (Kennedy and Holdridge, 2020). Following that, in 1981, France terminated its diplomatic relations with South Africa. Then Paris spoke about the ANC's office and battle (Whytock, 2015). Furthermore, in 1985, under the leadership of then-French Prime Minister Fabius Laurent, France joined forces with the UN Security Council and EU country allies to press for the imposition of economic sanctions against South Africa's apartheid system (Alabama, 2016). It occurred shortly after Nelson Mandela (South Africa's first democratically elected black president) was released under duress by the apartheid state in February 1990. France began normalizing diplomatic relations with South Africa as the apartheid state was pressed

to negotiate a solution with the ANC, particularly following the general elections of 1994. (Harshe, 2019).

Furthermore, according to Gordon (2018:22), “in the mid-1994, there was an exchange state visit of François Maurice Mitterrand, the former French President, to the Government of South Africa, wherein (Mitterrand and Mandela) determined to involve the two nations in strategic partnerships” . Nevertheless, According to Zhijun (2018), towards the end of the year 1994, South Africa had France as its 14th biggest trading partner with a total trade of about 3 billion and 712 million. By 2003, the percentage of trade off had climbed by 455.6 percent, putting France in sixth place as the most important trading partner. As a result of this, South Africa, a Sub-Saharan African country, has become the primary outlet for French businesses. Former South African President Thabo Mbeki visited France four times in the year 2003. Mbeki attended a summit in Paris in January 2003 on inter-Ivorian agreements (Bond, 2016). Mbeki attended the Africa-France summit in February, the G8 expanded Summit debate in May, and finally, a formal state visit to South Africa in November (Tony and Cumming, 2011).

According to the European Commission in South Africa, key areas of development cooperation between South Africa and France have been science and technology development, human resource development, and culture, as well as concessional loan facilities, since the early 2000s (Maguire and Pearton, 2000). This collaboration has taken the shape of specialist personnel and professional staff coaching through seminars led by French experts, invitations or scholarships to France, cooperative establishment of new organizations, and master's degree exchanges (Richard, 2018). Additionally, there are specialist training centers. To add, and specialized training centers. Other projects including the likes of the extensive €350 million government programme to make certain household linkages to drinkable water and networks was implemented between the years 2001-2004 (Network, 2014).

Darracq and Melly (2013) state that after the implementation of the extensive €350 million government programme, France and South Africa have since become key partners in the emerging dialogue involving the significant contemporary problems including the likes of the Middle East conflict, Iraq war, fight against proliferation and terrorism and the way in which to make certain a development that is shared,

sustainable and equitable. Moreover, South Africa and France are sharing a common vision on issues of the defence and strategic security (Kothari, Demaria and Acosta, 2014). Additionally, in 1998 there was a defence cooperation that was implemented in accordance with an agreement that focused on maritime security in the Indian Ocean, exchange of expertise, defence industry partnerships and air-landing training (Dockery, 2006). The combat against the drugs is a good example of the contemporary times of South Africa and France Police cooperation, with a conference that dealt with precursor chemicals that took place in 2013 in South Africa. This cooperation includes technical cooperation that deals with large range of actions including crime investigation, border policing and elite unit capacities (Brown, 2013). Lastly, it should also be noted that engagement in this article is used interchangeably with foreign policy.

3.3.2 France's South Africa engagement in Retrospect

As from 2015, France became South Africa's 9th biggest importer. It is stated that in Pretoria (administrative capital city of South Africa), there is fully operational French embassy and South Africa's embassy in France is in Paris which is fully operating (Gomez, 2018). Gomez (2018) further articulates that France continues to have strong social, cultural and political ties with South Africa wherein some ties guarantees France access to the markets and natural resources in South Africa. This comes to show that France's ties with SADC (Southern African Development Community) is selfish, imperial and neo colonial in nature, particularly when it comes to accessing the natural resources of South Africa. Butts and Thomas (2019) argue that South Africa is useful to France because of economic reasons and Butts and Thomas further state that French industries depend heavily on South Africa for the importation of minerals such as chromium and Manganese which are important for the aeronautics of France and also the production of weapons. In support of the above, Rodrik (2011) verbalizes that France holds a very strong level of influence in South Africa that everywhere else in the world cannot command. Nevertheless, France is still viewed as the main key source of military, financial (Network, 2014). Therefore, what can be taken from the mentioned is that South Africa still depend heavily on France for most of assistance and that gives France the power to exploit South Africa economically or either way if conditions command (Richard, 2018).

3.4 France's General Foreign Policy towards Africa

Developing an individual relationship with the Francophone leaders was one of the most vital strategies of the French Foreign Policy in Africa. To improve the Bilateral relations with France, all the Francophone heads of African states became members of the French Parliament. Additionally, Africa was important to France in terms of Political, strategic, and economic interests during the cold war era (Moncrieff, 2012). To enhance its power, France lengthened its sphere of influence over Africa. Raw materials such as bauxite, phosphates, manganese, copper, cobalt, uranium were one of the things that France was highly dependent upon Africa on. Therefore, the mentioned raw materials from Africa are important for the functioning and developing of French high-technology industries, nuclear energy, weaponry, and aeronautics (Network, 2014).

From the year 2007 until 2012 when Nicolas Sarkozy served as the Former President of France (Dorick, 2015). Sarkozy established new methods which will assist with persevering its strategic, political, and economic interests over Africa. Sarkozy mainly focused on various new concepts like security, peace, the rule of law, democratization, stability, and economic partnership to consolidate its relations with Africa (Ostermann, 2018). The policy of France towards Africa shifted from unilateralism to multilateralism. Through International Institutions such as the AU (African Union), NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organisation), EU and UN (United Nations) France started to involve Africa Militarily so and the main mandate of these institutions were to sustain security and peace, protect the displaced persons in the refugee camps and improve the Humanitarian situation in Africa.

In 2012 Francois Hollande was elected as the new president of France (Recchia and Tardy, 2020). Hollande first came to Senegal, Africa in October 2012 and during his visit, he stressed Human rights, democracy and the principle of mutual respect will play a vital role in strengthening relations between France and Africa. According to Melly and Darracq (2013 :130) state that "The French president geographical proximity, the human factor and economic and energy relations have been the most important factors influencing French policy in Africa. While, the predecessor of Holland who is Sarkozy Nicholas, stressed that France should decrease the number of French military bases in Africa and change its relations with Francophone Africa".

3.5 Conclusion

The Background of the relations between France and Africa were discussed in a broader view as well as those of France and South Africa. Moreover, it can be noted that the French military bases in Africa have been playing an important role in protecting the French strategic and economic interests in the African Continent. It is also evident that Africa will never lose its vitality in terms of strategy for France and most importantly will apply the policy of France in Africa. Additionally, the French industries depend heavily on South Africa for the importation of minerals while South Africa still depend heavily on France for most of assistance and that gives France the power to exploit South Africa economically.

The next chapter discusses the Pillars of France's foreign Policy towards Africa: Case study of South Africa.

CHAPTER 4: Pillars of France's foreign Policy towards Africa: Case study of South Africa

4.1 Introduction

The pillars of France's foreign policy towards Africa: Case study of South Africa are one of the most important aspects that keep the relationship between France and South Africa going. The following are various pillars that are grappled with regards to the relations between France and South Africa Promoting Defence and strategic security, Promoting Economic development and Supporting Civil Society and they will be discussed in a broader view in this chapter.

4.2. Promoting Defence and strategic security

According to Stahl (2018) there is high level of conversations between South Africa and France which are strengthened by visits from Ministers and heads of states which are regularly. The most recent interaction where political issues were discussed took place on the 28th of February 2019 in the city of Pretoria (Kalabamu, 2019). There have been presidential visits to South Africa by the Former Presidents of France and Visit to France by the Former South African presidents over the years as well. Moving from that, in 2008 Former President Sarkozy visited South Africa while in 2011 former President Jacob Zuma visited France. Additionally, in 2013 Former president Hollande in October and December visited South Africa together with the minister of Foreign Affairs and then in 2016 July there was also a visit by Former President Jacob Zuma to France. It can be noted that the mentioned visits between the former Presidents of the two states were to discuss the relations between the two and finding ways to strengthen it (Stahl, 2018).

According to Anshan (2016), ministers from both states have visited each other over the years. Laurent Fabius, France's Minister of Foreign Affairs, visited South Africa in 2015. Then, in 2016, Minister of State for Foreign Trade, Tourism, and French Nationals Abroad Matthias Fekl visited South Africa, followed by Minister of Economy and Finance Michel Sapin in 2017. Ministers of the Economy and Finance visited South Africa once again in 2017. In 2017, economic and financial ministers returned to South Africa. In addition, Ms Nosiviwe Mapisa-Nqakula, former South African Minister of Defence (11 November commemorations and Paris Peace Forum) and Rob Davies, former South African Minister of Trade, and Industry (Vivatechnology) paid

visits to France in 2018, as well as Nicolas Hulot, former Minister for the Ecological and Inclusive Transition, who paid a visit to South Africa. The close relations and process of bilateral cooperation in many sectors (science and technology, higher education, transportation, energy, and culture) were confirmed during the visit of former Minister of Europe and Foreign Affairs Jean-Yves Le Drian to South Africa in 2019, as six agreements or memorandums were signed (Anshan, 2016).

Promoting Defence and strategic security is one of the common visions that France and South Africa share. According to Vogeslang (2011) in the year 1998, there was a defence cooperation that was implemented in accordance with an agreement that focused on maritime security in the Indian Ocean, exchange of expertise, defence industry partnerships and air-landing training. In addition, the cooperation mentioned above also included the combat against the drugs which is a good example of the contemporary times of South Africa and France Police cooperation, with a conference that dealt with precursor chemicals that took place in 2013 in South Africa (Rapanyane 2020). Moreover, the cooperation mentioned also includes technical cooperation that deals with large range of actions including crime investigation, border policing and elite unit capacities (Smith, 2013).

4.3 Promoting Economic development

France is South Africa's tenth largest supplier while on the other hand France is a major investor in South Africa with a stock of roughly around €2.5 billion, and this figure keeps growing time to time (Geda, 2018). The bilateral economic relationship between France and South Africa is based on an equal partnership. In 2018 South African exports to France were €1.4 billion and French exports in South Africa rose to €1.6 billion (Phaleng, 2020). Klaus, (2016 : 17) states that "The bilateral relationship also benefits from the more than 370 French companies established in South Africa (including 29 CAC40 listed companies) that represent 37,000 jobs and total revenue of €8.5 billion, covering almost all industrial and service sectors and fully respecting the rules imposed by local authorities on local content (for example, 65% in the transport sector) and positive discrimination (employment, training)". Moreover, the businesses contribute to the industrialization of the South Africa, in that way it enables South Africa to slowly progress especially with the weak education system (Klaus, 2016).

Promoting Economic development is one of the most fundamental pillars of the relations between France and South Africa. Additionally, South Africa is one of the big players in the SADC and the AU. Therefore, it being a high player gives it the liberty to have influence in most of the decisions which are taken with regards to the continent of Africa. Thus, France's hold on South Africa also in a way gives France the liberty to also have an indirect sway of influence in the strategic and economic decisions at the regional and most probably at the Continental level. On the other hand, France forms part of the permanent members of the UNSC (Thierry and KOOPS , 2014). In the year 2017, South Africa and France had a mutual agreement that the relations between the two should bring about increased economic and trade relations (Cabrera, 2018). The latter was discussed at a meeting which was held in Cape Town by the then minister of Trade and Industry Minister Rob Davies and French Ambassador to South Africa, Christophe Farnaud. Based on Putzier (2017: 4), the then minister of Trade and Industry Minister Rob Davies said that "Strengthening of relations between the South African and French businesses on composites and advanced manufacturing in general will create opportunities for both countries. Advanced manufacturing is viewed as a sector for future economic growth."

Putzier (2017) also added that, what South Africa would want to see happen is to observe technical and investments collaboration in composite applications. Thus, the South Africa – France Joint Economic Commission (SA – France JEC) was used to oversee the whole process of economic relations between the two countries. Hence, huge exports of South Africa to France currently includes the following: machinery, aircrafts, automobiles, and vehicles while France's imports include electronic equipment, vaccines for human use and turbo jets. To complement the latter, Meredith (2007) states that there are about 300 France companies which are present in South Africa and making an impact in the local economy of South Africa. He further states that, France flooding South Africa with its companies can be a con for south Africa in the sense that now South african similar/ companies with the same operations will suffer as French companies will now be put as first priority. Thus, stating also that France's intention in South Africa are egoistic.

4.4 Supporting Civil Society

France's collaboration with South Africa spans a wide range of fields, including research, academics, culture, science, health, and linguistics. The stated cooperation's major goal is to aid South Africa's development (Nembhard, 2014). The Cooperation Cultural Action Service (SCAC) at the Embassy (Pretoria), the Institut Français in South Africa (IFAS), and the 14 Alliances Françaises (the main ones located in South Africa's largest cities: Pretoria, Johannesburg, Cape Town, Durban, and Port Elizabeth) and the 14 Alliances Françaises (the main ones located in South Africa's largest cities: Pretoria, Johannesburg, Cape Town, Durban, and Port Elizabeth) and the 14 Alliances Françaises (the (Roseanna and Albertus ,2020). In addition, the French Institute of South Africa (IFAS) continues to be a vital partner of major South African festivals in sectors such as the visual arts, music, dance, film, and literature. Furthermore, there is a significant presence of French state bodies in the research field, as well as a French Research Institute Abroad (IFRE). Several solidarity funds (Solidarity Fund for Creative Civil Society Initiatives and Priority Solidarity Fund) have been established to support innovative research projects in a variety of fields, including human rights, local governance, and agriculture. In the cities of Johannesburg, Pretoria, and Canton, the network also comprises two French lycées with almost 1,500 pupils (Chinenye, 2014).

In the realm of science, France has surpassed South Africa as the country's fourth largest partner. South Africa continues to be a fundamental strand of French collaboration, meeting both the aims of our attractiveness strategy and the demands of the country. There are French programs and bilateral training centres, including three training centers for research and innovation, in particular two vocational training centers: the French South African Schneider Electric Training Center (F'SASEC), a center of excellence set up by the Ministry of National Education in the area of energy developed with the Schneider Electric company, and the French South African Schneider Electric Training Center (F'SASEC), a centre of excellence set up by the Ministry of National Education in the area of energy developed with the Schneider Electric company, and the French South African Schneider Electric (Kamalyanc and Egorova, 2020).

One of the most essential cornerstones of South Africa-France ties is support for civil society. The French embassy is also believed to be engaging with South African non-

governmental organizations (NGOs) through the civic Society Development Fund (CSDF), which has financed around 30 initiatives in the last ten years (Awada, 2016). In addition, France has aided South Africa's development through long-term partnerships, such as the collaboration between the Western Cape Province and the Bourgogne Region in the field of agricultural professional training.2018). Awada (2016) further claims that French corporations are particularly engaged in the sphere of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) through leading initiatives in the environment and education (Ducastel and Anseeuw, 2018). The latter is best understood considering France's creation of research institutes, French South African training centers, and French schools in the country. Almost 6000 South African students are granted the opportunity to study in France every year (Byrne, Du Pleassis, Philip, Measey and Robertson, 2020).

4.5 Conclusion

Pillars of the relations between France and South Africa were discussed in detail in the chapter and the most important issues pertaining the pillars were also discussed in a broader view as well. Nevertheless, what can be noted is that as much as France has bought South Africa great initiatives which range from education, science, and economy. It is also evident that because South Africa holds a huge influence in the economic and strategic decisions of the African Continent. Thus, France's hold on South Africa also gives France the liberty to in a way have an indirect influence on the decisions taken by South Africa regarding the African Continent which alternatively ends up benefitting France in the long run. Again, the issue of France flooding South Africa with its companies disadvantages South African businesses which render the same services as now France businesses will be given special preference.

The next chapter examines the key drivers of France's engagement with South Africa

Chapter 5: Examination of the key drivers of France's engagement with South Africa

5.1 Introduction

France's engagement with South Africa is driven by various key drivers which range from Investment, Mineral Resources, Commercial Interests and French Development. Without these key drivers, it would have been difficult for France to engage with South Africa as there would be nothing of interest in South Africa for it. Thus, this chapter will be examining the following key drivers in a broader view.

5.2. Key drivers of France-South Africa engagement

5.2.1 Investment drivers

France has invested 1 billion in South Africa that it will be strictly for promoting sustainable and integrated urban development, supporting infrastructure development, strengthening higher education, research, and skills development (Tavares, 2016). Moreover, in the year 2002, France became the 9th biggest outside investor in South Africa whereby it invested almost US\$448 million into the economy of South Africa (Thakur, 2013). Currently, an amount of 160 subsidiaries of France exists in South Africa and there is also an amount of 300 industries that are managed and even controlled by the French businesspeople and are established in Cape Town and Gauteng. Consequently, the latter clearly shows that France seeks to possess or be the commander of most of the establishments or businesses in South Africa (Bezuidenhout, 2018).

5.2.2 Mineral Resources

It can be mentioned that Mineral Resources in South Africa serves as one of the most fundamental key drivers of France in pursuing relations with South Africa, As South Africa contains large amounts of different minerals which range from gold, diamonds, iron ore, manganese, chromium, uranium, platinum, copper, titanium, silver, and beryllium (Elias, Ayuk, & Paul, 2020). Adding to that, the Multi-National Corporations (MNC's) of France depend heavily on South Africa for the imports of minerals such as chromium and Manganese which are important for the aeronautics of France and also the production of weapons. South Africa has exported to France goods worth US\$719.6 million in the year of 2019 (Moeti, 2005) .

France uses a huge sum of money in maintaining its significant role in South Africa as a major player. As development aid that France gives South Africa does not come cheap neither is interventions of military. Furthermore, France is encountering its own domestic issues hence it finds it difficult to finance operations not only in South Africa but also in Africa as a whole (Elias, Ayuk, & Paul, 2020).

5.2.3 Commercial interests

Even though France's influence on the African Continent is decreasing, Raphala (2017) still argues that France has significant Commercial interests in Africa. Since colonialism, France's commercial interests in Africa have been categorized into three categories: rent seeking, strategic, and expansive. When it comes to finding a place to rent, French businesses have profited from the increase which come from the years of security and support provided by France's close ties with African Countries. Agriculture on plantations, infrastructure, public utilities, and timber have all played key roles (Waddell, 2017). Much of this was formalized shortly after independence in the form of trade agreements and other protection mechanisms. As a result of international accords and the strengthening of European integration, these procedures deteriorated. Thus, French enterprises became more reliant on informal diplomatic help (Waddell, 2017).

Formal procedures such as the Franc Zone, on the other hand, continue to favour French enterprises or allow informal influence to function more successfully until now (Waddell ,2017). By lowering transaction costs and decreasing the risks connected with currency swings, it has offered French companies and investors a major advantage over their potential competitors. The dominance of French banks in the Franc Zone, which controls 70% of the zone's banking activities, exemplifies this. Companies in France benefit from a variety of advantages, which vary depending on the country (Bummer, 2014).

Formal governmental support, language and culture, a similar commercial legislation, as well as a large development aid presence in Africa and the benefits of a lengthy presence in the region, all play a role. Many French corporations have been able to achieve extremely large profits due to low levels of competition (Raphala, 2017). With regards to the strategic aspect, oil and uranium continue to play a vital role to France (Waddell, 2017). Even before the recent inauguration of the enormous new mine in

Imouraren which is in Niger, the French nuclear power giant Areva acquired roughly 40% of its uranium supplies from Niger. Despite losing its monopoly over the country's uranium business in 2007, the uranium business managed to maintain a significant market share during heated discussions with then-President Mamadou Tandja (Puigmal, 2018).

According to Zhang (2017), the French were also able to assure that these plans would not be harmed by the coup that toppled the then-President Mamadou Tandja two years later. Other countries, such as the Central African Republic, are being investigated by the corporation. Africa continues to be strategically important for France's oil supplies. However, there has been a long-term move from Francophone nations like Gabon and Congo-Brazzaville to Nigeria (where French presence is rising) (which is France's fifth-largest oil supplier and where it tails the third-largest oil industry). Overall, Africa accounts for 35 percent of Total's production, making it France's largest oil business by a significant margin.

From assistance for Biafran rebels to corrupt dealings with the Angolan state, la Fran Afrique's significant participation in the African oil market has long been a driving force behind many of the country's underhanded political actions and shady economic operations. Finally, a variety of significant French corporations seeking to grab markets are part of the wide French commercial interests. Typically, such businesses grew out of a haven in Francophone Africa, but now have a sizable presence on their home continent (Zhang, 2017).

The late 1980s economic crisis, which had a significant impact on Francophone Africa, prompted France to hunt for markets elsewhere in Africa, even though they benefited from the crisis's privatizations. Companies like Air France and Orange, a mobile phone firm, are examples of such businesses (Moncrieff, 2012). Bolloré, an infrastructure business, is quickly extending its business across Africa. It will not be expelling arrival company in 2011. Euro RSCG, a communications company owned by Bolloré, assisted Guinean President Alpha Condé during his recent election victory (a role it previously performed, if less successfully, for Laurent Gbagbo in Côte d'Ivoire) (Moncrieff, 2012).

The company that was terminated from the contract is pursuing legal action Bolloré has a monopoly position in the West African port industry, which includes Lagos, Nigeria, and Tema, Ghana, as well as nearly other Francophone African ports.

Another French powerhouse, Bouygues, is growing thanks to a strong base in public utilities (Zhang, 2017). In October 2005, France signed a 15-year contract to manage Côte d'Ivoire's water and electricity networks, and the Bouygues family who are a diversified industrial group with a strong corporate culture in France, are building a stake in the country's offshore gas reserves. Bouygues family is at the vanguard of a solid commercial partnership with South Africa. It has an interest in the Gautrain project, highways, stadiums, and power generating (which it shares with Alstom, a French corporation). The French nuclear sector continues to court South Africa; Areva's director, Anne Lauvergeon, served on Former President Mbeki's International Investment Council (Moncrieff, 2012).

However, due to South Africa's decision to focus on coal-fired power generation, no big new transactions have resulted. Former President Sarkozy, who made no attempt to conceal his pro-business stance in general, portrayed himself as a loyal ally of the French presence in Africa. He had personal relationships to the owners of both companies and is close to some of the important players (Christiansen, 2016). Former President Sarkozy has been accompanied by strong corporate delegations on his trip to Angola and South Africa in particular. To completely comprehend France's commercial position in Africa, it is necessary to analyse both its relative strength in Francophone Africa, where it enjoys the benefits outlined, and its relative weakness in other African countries, where they must compete in a different context (CodjoLassoua & Hopperbc, 2016).

5.2.4 French development

According to Donfack (2015), French development funding has been focused on Sub-Saharan Africa. According to the latest numbers from the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), despite minor fluctuations, the area continues to absorb French government aid. On recent years, aid has been concentrated in three areas: education (a traditional subject of French aid) and health which accounts for 20% of current spending in France) and debt relief. The latter became a significant portion of French aid in the late 1980s but has subsequently decreased as Francophone African economies have recovered and debt relief has been granted (Decalo, 2018).

Whether technically through help related to commercial contracts or informally since the 'untying' of French help, French aid has been one of the support mechanisms for French business activity on the continent. Former French President Sarkozy had stated that he aimed to employ aid to achieve this goal, both in Francophone Africa and elsewhere. Following the forms of 1998, the French aid institutions are still quite complex (Cumming, 2013). A percentage of aid is controlled by the foreign ministry, particularly in the areas of culture and education. However, the AFD (Agence Française de Développement), a technical French aid agency, has maintained its position. It is involved in the financing of infrastructure projects and has shifted its focus away from African states. The AFD presently raises and spends the most money in Sub-Saharan Africa, primarily in South Africa, where it focuses on social services and the encouragement of small and medium businesses (DeLancey, Delancey, & Mbuh, 2019)

The precise relationship between French development aid and the AFD, on the other hand, is complicated. In more developed economies, the AFD functions as a development bank, disbursing loans rather than grants and functioning as a conduit for funds from other organizations (Moncrieff, 2012). Only a portion of AFD funding counts as official development aid in these countries. The AFD is a bank that is owned by the French government and makes money in places like South Africa. Moreover, it is still largely concentrated in Francophone Africa in terms of aid and people (Habraken, Schulpen, & Huyse, 2014).

5.3 Conclusion

It can be noted that the key drivers of France's foreign Policy towards South Africa are quite Complex. Also, that France has bought about quite several initiatives specifically education wise in South Africa, which continues to uplift South Africans but at the same time there is so much that France has gained from Africa especially minerals wise and Business wise. Thus, it can be concluded that France is looking out for its best interests in every relation it involves itself in.

The next chapter examines the strategic partnerships of France-South Africa relations.

Chapter 6: An examination of the strategic partnerships of France-South Africa relations

6.1 Introduction

The previous chapter explored France's engagement with South Africa focusing on the following key drivers: Mineral Resources, Commercial Interests and French Development. While on that note, this chapter examines the strategic partnership of France, focusing centrally on to how the partnership has evolved over time since 1996. It gives an overview of all that transpired overtime with regards to the strategic partnership between France and South Africa.

6.2 Strategic partnership of France-South Africa relations.

During a visit to France in 1996, the then-President of the Republic of South Africa (RSA) Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela sent a plain and simple message to French business CEOs (Chief executive officers) and to executives that "do not leave us alone referring to South Africans, he added, and help us achieve our objectives" (Gumede, 2008: 23). In 2016, the bilateral trade is worth €3 billion per year, and 370 French enterprises have set up shops in South Africa, employing over 65,000 people (Gumede, 2008). Moving from that, the current President of RSA Cyril Ramaphosa articulated that SA and France will stand together, as both countries have been in partnership for more than 20 years, also adding that because of the outbreak of Covid19, there might be difficulties along the way (Combs, Belka, Niyazi, & Corradini, 2020). The South African government assisted France in organizing flights for France's officials during the lockdown, while the French government and companies assisted SA hospitals and communities with managing the Virus (Gaudillière, Beaudevin, & C, 2020).

In the face of the pandemic, both of SA and France remain dedicated to international cooperation. During the Group of Twenty (G20) which is an important multilateral forum for global economic cooperation meeting in March 2021, SA and France launched the international access to Covid-19 Tools Accelerator (Act-A) initiative, a game-changing global collaboration to accelerate the development, production, and equitable access to Covid-19 tests, treatments, and vaccines, ensuring that they become global public goods (Agwu, 2021). Ramaphosa and President Emmanuel

Macron launched an initiative in April 2021 that included 16 other African and European heads of state and government signing a declaration vowing to take extraordinary measures to aid the African continent in its fight against the pandemic (Agwu, 2021).

February (2020) argues that it is critical to remember what France and SA stand for during these tough times and that he feels that SA and France are two such nations that are civilised. Adding that SA is committed to protecting its countrymen against the pandemic at all costs. Moreover, SA stands for providing for its people with the resources they need to pursue their dreams (February, 2020). On the hand, it is argued that tightening ties between SA and France, forming new alliances, and expanding cooperation will enable both countries to recover more quickly and emerge stronger together (Stuenkel, 2017). “I am absolutely dedicated to expanding cooperative projects between Europe and the African continent, as well as improving our bilateral partnership” stated by Ramaphosa. Ramaphosa's recently announced economic recovery plan, which focuses on infrastructure and energy, might pave the way for even more hopeful moves forward in our economic cooperation (Veron & Ciommo, 2020). While President of France Emmanuel macron states that French firms are prepared to participate in the upcoming public tenders and share their skills and experience in public-private partnerships as well as long-term financial and management plans (Farquharson & escombe, 2011).

According to Degryse (2016), France and South Africa can take its collaboration even further by collaborating on new projects in the domains of energy, transportation, and technology with European and African partners. The two countries may engage with business leaders and entrepreneurs at Digital Lab Africa, a collaborative effort headed by the SA Innovation hub Tshimologong Precinct. Also, SA government should meet with digital industry professionals, French-South African incubators, and French Tech project leaders (Degryse, 2016). In 2017 Macron made an objective plain in Ouagadougou saying that: we seek an ever-closer economic collaboration between equals across the African continent. Of course, South Africa occupies a unique position in our strategy since it is a land of hope and opportunity. After all, in the fields of education, new technologies, culture, industry, and security concerns, we already work closely together and have developed successful collaboration (Degryse, 2016).

For stability, sustainability, and economic progress, SA is a critical stakeholder. France and South Africa are committed to the same values of equality, human rights, and multilateralism. In terms of the Paris Accord, France has a common goal of combating climate change, protecting biodiversity, and creating a better future for our children. The relationship between France and South Africa has reached a new level. It is not about forgetting or ignoring our shared history; it is about building on what we've already accomplished and reaching for even greater heights (Assembly, 2015).

Following the 8th South Africa-France Forum for Political Dialogue, the two countries resolved to expand bilateral ties (8th FPD). Lindiwe Sisulu, Former Minister of International Relations and Cooperation, and her French counterpart, Jean-Yves le Drian, co-chaired the meeting in Tshwane. It was the first time the forum was chaired by a minister (Assembly, 2015). "During the meeting, the two Ministers expressed the Republic of South Africa and the Republic of France's commitment to regular, structured bilateral meetings at ministerial level; defend the democratic values which they share and promote strong multilateralism," said DIRCO in a statement. The Ministers also decided to strengthen cooperation within the G20 and the United Nations Security Council, where South Africa will serve as a non-permanent member for the years 2019 and 2020 (Satake & Hemmings, 2018).

Nixon, Lee, Bhutta, Blanchard, & Haddad (2018 : 14) articulates that under France's G7 presidency, the Ministers also committed to combat global inequality in partnership with Africa, as well as to continue to support the Paris Climate Agreement and the common vision on the environment and human rights. A variety of bilateral interactions and collaboration were agreed upon by the Minister, including:

- (1) Consistent dialogue and discourse on Africa's peace, security, and development issues;
- (2) Strengthen the African Union's, European Union's, and United Nations' working relationships to support peacekeeping, security, governance, and democracy promotion in Africa;
- (3) Strengthening collaboration in the Indian Ocean and continuing to explore France's position in the Indian Ocean Rim Association;
- (4) Finalize plans for the 2019 Ministerial Joint Economic Commission to strengthen trade and investment partnerships in South Africa;
- (4) Finish the execution of the South Africa-France Partnership

Dent (2006: 15) states that During the forum in 2020, the Ministers signed new agreements, namely the:

(1) Framework Agreement between the South African National Space Agency and the Centre National d'Etudes Spatiales in Space Cooperation; (2) Agreement on Cooperation in the Field of Basic Education; (3) Declaration of Intent on Establishing a Co-funded Scholarship for Masters and PhD Students; (4) Credit Facility Agreement between the Industrial Development Corporation of South Africa Limited (IDC) and Agence Française de Development (AFD); (4) Credit Facility Agreement between the Industrial Development Corporation of South Africa Limited (IDC) and Agence Française de development (AFD); (5) Financing Agreement between the Industrial Development Corporation of South Africa Limited and Agence Française de development; (6) Memorandum of Understanding between La Réunion National Park (PNR) and South African National Parks (SANParks); (7) Cooperation Protocol between the Association pour le Centre de ressources et d'appui sur le risque requin à La Réunion (ACRAR) of the French Republic and the KwaZulu-Natal Sharks Board of the Republic of South Africa.

Dent (2006) states that the following areas were agreed upon by Ministers of Both countries to explore joint exploration in; Health Cooperation; Transport Cooperation; Basic Education Cooperation; Basic Education Cooperation; AFD development support to South Africa and Public service capacity development notably between the National School of Government (NSG) and Ecole Nationale d'Administration (ENA). On the 28th of May 2021, Ramaphosa hosted his counterpart Emmanuel Macron on a State Visit at the Union Buildings in Pretoria. President Macron's first visit to South Africa is at the invitation of Ramaphosa (Agwu, 2021). The visit was aimed at strengthening the strategic partnership between the two countries, which is substantiated by several bilateral agreements in various areas of cooperation (Agwu,2021).

The two countries are committed to advocating for world peace and security,

strengthening multilateral and regional cooperation, and responding to climate change. Presidents Emmanuel Macron to South Africa beginning of 2021 focused on issues pertaining to the global response to Covid-19 and the economic, health, research, and manufacturing responses to the current pandemic and beyond (Carayannis & Weiss, 2021). The leaders discussed the expansion of mutually beneficial trade and investment opportunities. The visit was aimed at deepening bilateral cooperation within the framework of the strategic partnership between South Africa and France and within the framework of existing bilateral agreements (source here for diversification). South Africa is France's largest trading partner in Africa while France is South Africa's second-largest trading partner. Approximately 400 French companies are represented in South Africa. During the 2019 South Africa Investment Conference, French companies pledged R20 billions of investments into South Africa (David, 2019).

The engagement between Macron and Ramaphosa also aims to deepen understanding regarding multilateral and global issues of mutual concern, such as the need for reform of the United Nations Security Council. The leaders discussed the establishment of a predictable framework of cooperation between Africa and the UN and its agencies on ensuring peace and security on the African continent (Agwu,2021). France is a major investor in South Africa and a significant development partner. During the 2019 South Africa Investment Conference, French companies pledged R20 billions of investments into the country (Calland, 2013).

Climate change, as well as peace and security on the African continent, were discussed by the leaders. The problems that were discussed included the global response to COVID-19, as well as economic, health, scientific, and manufacturing responses to the current epidemic and beyond (Ukah, 2020). The leaders reviewed the post-COVID-19 recovery, including ongoing discussions under the ACT Accelerator, a temporary World Trade Organization intellectual property waiver, and the future manufacturing of COVID-19 and other vaccines in South Africa and across the continent (Agwu, 2021). According to Ramaphosa, South Africa intends to explain its campaign for international support and solidarity, which will improve access to vaccinations and enable local manufacture of life-saving pharmaceutical drugs, which will be shared with India (WHO, 2020).

6.3 Conclusion

It is evident that the relationship between France and South Africa go way back from 1996 and it has evolved over the years. The researcher gave a breakdown of what prevailed over the years and the challenges from over the years. Furthermore, all the policies agreed upon from 1996 were discussed in detail in the chapter. The collaborations and interactions over the years have indeed straightened the relationship between the two countries and the two leaders are determined to bring about forces to assist with fighting against the Covid19 Virus which has become an International Pandemic.

The next chapter evaluates the economic partnership of France-South Africa relations.

Chapter 7: An evaluation of the economic partnership of France-South Africa relations

7.1 Introduction

From the coming of the Huguenots in 1671 to the Dutch French colonization of the Cape Colony between 1691 and 1795, South Africa has had a long history of receiving immigrants from France. The relations can be traced back to France's participation in the Anglo-Boer War, often known as the South African War (1899-1902) (Sethole & Legodi, 2021). Moving from that, this chapter evaluates the economic partnerships of France-South Africa by breaking down economic engagements throughout the years.

7.2 Bilateral trade: South Africa, main trading partner in Sub-Saharan Africa

In Sub-Saharan Africa, South Africa is France's most important economic and trading partner (number one buyer and second largest supplier). With an FDI stock of EUR 2.5 billion, France is ranked 14th among foreign investors in the country. In Sub-Saharan Africa (Chen & Geiger, 2015). Nearly 400 French subsidiaries are operating in the country, providing multi-sector coverage, employing nearly 40,000 people directly and making significant commitments to training, skill transfers, and black economic empowerment (Bijaoui, 2015). Adding to that, in South Africa the French economic influence (exports and direct investment inflows) is expanding.

In the year 2018, bilateral commerce (exports + imports) between France and South Africa expanded by +2.8 percent to EUR 3 billion, owing primarily to a 25 percent growth in French imports from the country (Wysokiska, 2017). Even though South Africa was just France's 46th export market (0.3 percent of total French exports) and 49th largest supplier (0.2 percent of French imports) in 2018, the country continues to be influential. The latter should be understood within the context that South Africa is France's largest customer and second largest provider in Sub-Saharan Africa. Moreover, these bilateral trade flows are nearly balanced, with France posting a EUR 221 million trade surplus in 2018 (Khuong, 2013).

7.3 Investments

Hamilton and Webster (2018:15) argue that “since 2000, the French capital stock in South Africa has grown from EUR 91 million to EUR 2.5 billion in 2017 and manufacturing, extractive industry, and financial activities account for most of the French investment stock”. Moreover, France ranked 14th among foreign investors and 7th among European investors at the end of 2017, with 0.7 percent of the stock of FDI in South Africa. In South Africa, there are approximately 370 subsidiaries of French enterprises, representing more than 160 French groups, employing close to 40,000 people directly. Many significant French corporations (Alstom, Total, Air Liquide, Air France, and L'Oréal, to mention a few) have a long history in the country. Many larger multinational corporations, Since the formation of the new South Africa, an increasing number of SMEs and start-ups have arrived and are continuing to settle (recently, the Decathlon and Leroy Merlin companies, among others) (Denervaud & Chatin, 2011).

According to Khuong (2013:23).

French investments in South Africa are diversified and extensive: in the industrial sector, examples include food and beverages. (Limagrain, Danone, Parmalat-Lactalis, LVMH, Pernod-Ricard, Remy Cointreau), agro-equipment (Roullier, Pellenc), energy (EDF, Engie, Total), water (Veolia), waste (Séché Environnement), transport & logistic (Alstom, RATP DEV, Bolloré, CMA-CGM, Air France, ID Logistic, Mobilitas), aeronautics and defense (AIRBUS, Thales, Safran), pharmaceuticals (Sanofi, Servier, Pierre Fabre, Virbac, Ceva, Biomerieux), petrol-industrial gas and chemicals (Total, Air Liquide), electric equipment (Schneider Electric, Legrand, Nexans, Socomec), mining (Imerys, Saint Gobain), vehicle manufacturers (Renault, PSA, Faurecia, Michelin), construction materials (Lafarge, Saint Gobain, Colas), construction (Vinci), consumer goods (L'Oréal). Examples in services: communication-events (JCDecaux, Publicis, GL Events, Havas), software-IoT (Dassault Systèmes, Idemia, Sigfox, Gemalto, Atos), engineering (Ingerop, Systra, Begreen), control-testing-certification (Bureau Veritas, Merieux Nutrisciences), telecoms-TV (Orange Business Services, Trace), catering (Newrest), distribution (Decathlon, Leroy Merlin), financial services and audit (BNP, Mazars, Société Générale, Euler Hermes, COFACE).

7.4 France contributing to South African iconic projects

Several of France's companies have contributed to iconic infrastructure projects such as the Koeberg nuclear power plant (1984 consortium of Spie Batignolles, Alstom, and Framatome), the two new power stations of Medupi and Kusile (Alstom Energy and Endel), the Gautrain regional express train linking Johannesburg to OR Tambo airport and Pretoria (2010, RATP Dev, Thales, and Bouygues), and the Duisburg In 2018, Air Liquide completed the building of the world's largest industrial gas production unit, which was opened in 2018 (Anon., 2019). Additionally, in the year 2018, Air Liquide completed the building of the world's largest industrial gas production unit, which was opened in 2018. In addition, key contracts have recently been secured by French businesses, including Framatome's replacement of six steam turbines at the Koeberg generating plant, Airbus' delivery of five A330 aircraft, and Alstom's Gibela deal to construct 3,600 railway coaches for Passenger Rail Agency of South Africa (PRASA) locally. Finally, as part of the Renewable Energy Independent Power Producer Procurement Programme, (EDF) Électricité de France, Engie, and Total created various wind, solar, and (CSP) Concentrating solar-thermal power projects (Anon., 2019).

Furthermore, France's position in critical sectors of the economy, such as agribusiness and ICT (information and communications technology), gives the country a strong reputation in terms of know-how and capabilities. In terms of innovation, French entrepreneurs are forming a French Tech Community Cape Town – Johannesburg in collaboration with South African partners in both Cape Town and Gauteng. Since 2017, Methys, a French firm in this sector, has organized the Africa Arena conference to bridge the gap between African start-ups, large corporations, and international investors. The French South African Tech Labs in Cape Town, which were established because of a collaboration between (SEDA) *Small Enterprise Development Agency* and Methys, are also making a significant contribution to our countries' innovation cooperation (Trade, 2019).

Local content, training, and CSR activities are all priorities for French companies as they participate in South Africa's economic transition. Alstom's Gibela contract, for example, employs 99.6% local workers, relies heavily on local suppliers, and will train 19,000 people as part of the final project (Division, 2020). Another is Schneider

Electric, which focuses on teaching South Africans both domestically and through the French South Africa Schneider Electric Centres, which were formed in collaboration with South African colleges. In addition, the Saint Gobain Academy is the only training facility in Sub-Saharan Africa to be accredited by the CETA (Construction Education Training Authority) to provide the National Certificate Roofing and Partition Installation NQF 3 (Samanufacturing, 2019).

7.5 France-South Africa business community

The French African Chamber of Commerce and Industry (FSACCI) is the institutional heart of the French commercial community. Naturally, French enterprises in South Africa rely on the Embassy's services: the Department of Economic Affairs for Southern Africa; the Cooperation and Cultural Action Department (for scholarship programs and university partnerships); and the Department of Economic Affairs for Southern Africa : the Trade Commission (Business France) is in charge of the International Internship Program and accompanies French SMEs worldwide (with the help of a representative from BPI, the French Public Investment Bank) (Khuong, 2013). Approximately 80 international interns (VIEs) work for French companies in South Africa and share their knowledge with South African staff. Furthermore, since 1994, the AFD has invested about EUR 2.3 billion in South Africa (Samanufacturing, 2019). They are currently focusing on three primary subjects with Proparco, their private-sector subsidiary: sustainable and balanced urban development, energy transition, and access to employment. A total of roughly 8,000 French people are registered in South Africa (Khuong, 2013).

7.6 France-South Africa Firm Partnership

During his official three-day visit to South Africa in November 2020, French Minister for Foreign Trade and Economic Attractiveness, Mr Franck Riester, emphasized France's resolve to stand with the country in these trying times and to support bilateral economic partnerships. Minister Riester was the first foreign minister to visit South Africa since the borders were reopened. Adding to that, South Africa has been a crucial partner for France in the fight against the epidemic of Covid19, not only within the G20 and the UN, but also as head of the AU until January 2021. Following Presidents Emmanuel Macron and Cyril Ramaphosa's activities since the crisis began, this visit

offers a powerful message of support and unity to Africa (The diplomatic Society, 2020).

The French Minister for Foreign Trade and Economic Attractiveness, Franck Riester, also visited with members of South Africa's French community, which numbers roughly 9,000 individuals. After more than eight months of confinement, Mr Riester delivered a message of solidarity, unity, and hope, emphasizing their crucial position in the Franco-South African connection (The diplomatic Society, 2020). "I note your energy and your creativity, as among you today I see both representatives of (CAC) Corporate affairs Commison 40 companies, but also some of you who have been here for a long time and have established your own ventures in tourism, business, journalism, hospitality and catering," said Riester. Minister Riester, who was joined by a delegation of 13 French businesses, expressed his desire to deepen trade and business ties with South Africa. South Africa provides a solid platform for French enterprises in Africa, with a (GDP) Gross domestic product of 370 billion dollars and the most diverse economy on the continent as well as the main African financial centre. This visit takes place at a time when the South African government has just launched a huge economic recovery plan to fund infrastructure and the sustainable development projects (The diplomatic Society, 2020).

Minister Riester reaffirmed French promises of 1 billion euros over the next five years in the energy, building, agricultural, and service sectors two weeks before an international meeting on investments in South Africa. At the conference, new French investments worth 700 million euros will be unveiled. By the end of 2021, it is hoped that trade between France and South Africa will top 3 billion euros. Minister Riester discussed these issues with Mr. Ebrahim Patel, the Minister in Charge of Trade, Industry, and Competition, and Mr. Alvin Botes, the deputy minister for International Relations and Cooperation. In Johannesburg and Cape Town, where the first French Tech ecosystem in Sub-Saharan Africa was established, he visited French enterprises committed to apprentice training and worked with entrepreneurs in the innovation sector. Furthermore, he also went to a few France company locations (The diplomatic Society,2020). This trip also allowed France to promote civil society projects and mobilize its partners in support of youth and women, in collaboration with the French

Development Agency, the French Institute, and Business France, in line with President Macron's and the government's new Africa policy (The diplomatic Society, 2020).

In May 2021 Macron of the Republic of France visited South Africa and this was Macron's first visit to South Africa. The visit was to strengthen the partnership between the two Countries which is substantiated by several bilateral agreements in various areas of cooperation. The two countries committed to advocate for world security and peace while also strengthening bilateral agreements in different areas of cooperation. Furthermore, the two leaders discussed the expansion of mutually beneficial trade and investment opportunities and issues pertaining to the global response to Covid-19 and the economic, health and research and manufacturing responses to the current pandemic and beyond (Khuong, 2013).

7.7 Conclusion

It can be noted that the relations between the two countries continue to be consolidated on various issues ranging from investments to Business. The chapter discussed the events which have taken place Since the economic partnership between the two countries surfaced. There has been a lot of improvement over the years in terms of both countries pushing for world peace and security throughout the world and that can be seen through the establishments which have been created to continue to spread the unity amongst other states also opening more economic actives amongst each other as well.

The next chapter gives a general conclusion on the subject matter.

Chapter 8: General Conclusions

8.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a general conclusion on the topic titled: An Afrocentric Critique of France's foreign policy towards Africa: Case Study of South Africa, 2009-2019. It does so by drawing from the research problem which initiated the study. The objectives of the study were as follows: To explore France-South Africa relations within the context of France's foreign policy in Africa; To analyse the pillars of France's foreign Policy towards South Africa; To examine the key drivers of France's engagement with South Africa; To scrutinize the strategic partnerships of France-South Africa relations and to evaluate the economic partnerships of France-South Africa relations.

8.2. Summary of findings

8.2.1 Tracing the relations between France-South Africa

The researcher found that the relations between France and South Africa dates to +- 330 years ago but in the year 1981 that was the year when France renounced its diplomatic collaboration with South Africa. Then in the year 1994 that is when France started Normalizing its diplomatic relations with South Africa. Moreover, the researcher found that there are many factors that are driving the relations between two countries which range from Promoting Defence and Strategic Security, Promoting economic development, Investment drivers, commercial interests, and development purposes.

8.2.2. An exploration of France-South Africa relations within the context of France's foreign policy in Africa.

This chapter explored the relations between France-South Africa within the context of France's Foreign Policy in Africa. It gave a brief background of Africa-France relations and France-South Africa relations. It states that the relations between France-Africa dates to 17 Century and France continues to have its political and economic relations with its former colonies even after the independence of the former colonised. Adding to that, by the year 1990 France had set up military's basis in strategic countries such as Senegal. Lastly, the chapter states that in 2015 France became South Africa's 9th biggest importer and France is still viewed as the main Key Source of Military and Financial to South Africa.

8.2.3. Pillars of France's foreign Policy towards Africa: Case study of South Africa

This chapter highlighted the pillars of France's foreign policy towards Africa. It is stated that the pillars are Promoting Defence and strategic security, Promoting economic development and Social Civil Society. With regards to Promoting Defence and Security it was found out that there is high level of conversations between South Africa and France which are strengthened by visits from Ministers and heads of states which are regular. Promoting economic development is South Africa's tenth largest supplier while on the other hand, France is a major investor in South Africa with a stock of roughly around \$ 215 billion and supporting civil society the cooperation of France in South Africa covers most sectors such as education and health and the main aim is to give support to the emergence of South Africa.

8.2.4 Examination of the key drivers of France's engagement with South Africa

This chapter explored the Key drivers of France-South Africa engagement. Key drivers are Mineral Resources, Commercial Interests, Investment drivers and French development. Investment drivers' states that France has become the 9th biggest's outside investor in South Africa whereby it invested almost US\$448 million into the economy of South Africa. Mineral Resources states that France depends heavily on South Africa for the imports of minerals such as Chromium and Manganese which are important for the aeronautics of France and the production of weapons, with regards to commercial interests even though France influence on the African continent is decreasing France has significant commercial interests in Africa and French development France has funded South Africa from sectors such as education and health.

8.2.5 An examination of the strategic partnerships of France-South Africa relations

This chapter examined the strategic partnerships of France-South Africa relations. It focuses mainly on how the partnership between France and South Africa has evolved overtime. Furthermore, the relations emerged during a visit to France by the former president of South Africa Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela in 1996 than in 2016 there was about 370 French enterprises which were set up in South Africa employing about 65 000 people. Additionally, during the pandemic France assisted South African

hospitals and communities with managing the virus and then SA and France then launched the international access to Covid19 tools Accelerator Initiative (Act-A).

8.2.6 An evaluation of the economic partnership of France-South Africa relations

This chapter evaluated the economic partnership of France-South Africa relations. It discovered that France's most important economic and trading partner. Additionally, France is ranked 14th among foreign investors in South Africa. By 2000, the French capital stock in South Africa had grown from EUR 91 million. Moreover, French investments in South Africa are diversified and extensive. Then in 2018, France had started contributing to South Africa economic projects such as Power stations such as Medupi and Kusile. Moreover, France's position in critical sectors of the economy gave the country a strong reputation in terms of capabilities.

8.3. Main conclusions of the study

8.3.1. Tracing the evolution of France's relations with South Africa

The relations between France and South Africa are diplomatic collaborations which dates back between the years 1961-1974 as France was Africa's continent biggest supplier of weaponry. Then in 1981, France renounced its diplomatic relations with South Africa. Then towards the end of 1994, South Africa had France as its 14th biggest trading partner with a total trade of R3712 millions. In 2003 former president visited France to strengthen the relations. Then in 2004, the extensive \$350 million government programme to make contain household linkages of drinkable water. In 2021 President Emmanuel Macron of the Republic of France visited South Africa and this was Macron's first visit to South Africa. The visit was to strengthen the partnership between the two Countries which is substantiated by several bilateral agreements in various areas of cooperation. The two countries committed to advocate for world security and peace while also strengthening bilateral agreements in different areas of cooperation.

8.4. Implications for future studies

The periodization of this study was from 2009 to 2019, Mainly because the researcher saw that the selected duration will be able to generate latest literature on France's foreign Policy towards Africa: Case study of South Africa. Moving from that, this study will serve as steppingstone for future research on the subject matter at hand. Future researchers can be able to use this research to give them an understanding of

France's foreign policy towards Africa: Case study of South Africa for the periodization chosen. With regards to Afrocentricity, it is deemed essential as it gives African voices and perspectives a chance to analyse issues from their standpoint as most literature for the topic at hand is mostly written from Eurocentric views and beliefs.

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