

## France Military Strategy Revision Plan in Africa and its Implications, Future Challenges & Opportunities for Africa

Addis Alemahu

Researcher at Institute of Foreign Affairs  
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

### Abstract

*France is engaging in combating terrorism and peacekeeping operations around the world, nearly half are deployed in Africa in both military and advisory capacities. There are numbers of French bases in Africa in Djibouti, Chad, Central African Republic (CAR), Ivory Coast, Togo, Côte d'Ivoire, Gabon, Senegal, Madagascar, and Mali. French President Emmanuel Macron proclaimed the rethink of military postures on the African continent and had asked his ministers and army chiefs to work on it. France will significantly reduce its military presence in Africa, where its bases will be 'co-administered' with local army forces, the president said. Macron said French military bases won't be closed, but will be transformed based on needs expressed by African partners. The plan could have its own challenges and prospects. Numbers of political analysts suggests that the French Military Strategy Revision Plan in Africa will have its own implications. The revision may create political and military vacuum in combating terrorism and the peace keeping mission in the continent. The major objective of this study was to examine the implications of France Military Strategy Revision Plan in Africa and its challenges and opportunities for the continent. Geographically the study is delimited to Africa. The paper has significance in searching for new insights, it provides for the sake of knowledge and it also provides Ministry of defenses of African countries to pay attention for future implications. The method of the study is content analysis. The primary data were collected from Media and from Key Informant. Meanwhile, reviewing published and unpublished materials were taken to supplement the primary data. Then, the collected data analyzed thematically and point out the opportunity and challenges of the French Military Strategy Revision Plan in Africa and recommendations.*

**Keywords:** France Military, Strategy, Africa, Plan, Implication, Challenges, Opportunity

### 1. Introduction

In the years between 1962 and 1995, France had nineteen military interventions in Africa. The majority of the operations were served to defend French citizens or quell uprisings against legitimate governments. Early in the 1960s, as the former colonies of France in Africa attained their independence, the majority of them signed bilateral treaties promising varying degrees of military assistance and collaboration. The majority of these agreements still exist today, however some are kept as state secrets. Midway through the 1970s, France enlarged these agreements to encompass the current Democratic Republic of Congo as well as the former Belgian territories of Burundi, Rwanda, and Zaire. From the 1960s to the 1990s, France's dominance in the region was maintained in part by currency ties, well established French economic interests, and close personal ties between the ruling classes.

France has a competitive perspective of post-colonial Africa for many years. Thousands of French soldiers are stationed all over the continent, from western Senegal to the Horn of Africa, as France continues to exercise military power.

Currently Number of French military personnel fighting terrorism and supporting peacekeeping missions across the world. As a part of this France stationed in Africa in both military and advising roles. France's presence in Djibouti, Chad, Central African Republic (CAR), Ivory Coast, Togo, Côte d'Ivoire, Gabon, Senegal, Madagascar, and Mali are just a few of the major French outposts in Africa (Andrew. H, 2008).

But a year before news was heard, Emanuel Macron, the president of France, announces a modification to its military strategy plan for Africa. French President Emmanuel Macron proclaimed the rethink of military postures on the African continent and had asked his ministers and army chiefs to work on it. France will significantly reduce its military presence in Africa, where its bases will be 'co-administered' with local army forces, the president said. Macron said French military bases won't be closed, but will be transformed based on needs expressed by African partners.<sup>1</sup>

The scholars and political analysts interpret and analyze Macron's announcement from different angles. They also put their perspectives. Accordingly, the plan may face difficulties and opportunities for Africa.

According to many political observers, the French Military Policy Revision Plan in Africa will have its own implications and could lead to political and military vacuum in the region's efforts to fight terrorism and maintain peace. Some analysts are guessing France's plan may encourage coups. In other side of analysts are guessing the revision plan may have opportunities for Africa.

### **Operational Definition of Keywords**

**Implication:** In this study the word 'implication' refers is a suggestion or an expectation that something will happen indirectly or indirectly when France military revision will be assured.

**Challenge:** In this study the word 'challenge' referred something is hard and challenging that calls for a lot of effort and perseverance when France military strategy plan revision implementation will be held.

**Opportunity:** In this study the word 'opportunity' referred as a time or place where something can be done, the potential to do something, or a favorable confluence of circumstances when France military strategy plan revision implementation will be held.

### **1.1. Objectives of the Study**

#### **1.1.1. General Objective**

The major objective of the study was to assess the implication of France's Military Strategy Revision Plan in Africa and its future challenges and opportunities for Africa.

#### **1.1.2. Specific Objectives**

Based on the above general objective, the following specific objectives were drawn, to:

- Assess the factor that drove France to revise its military strategy plan for Africa.
- Assess France's role in combating terrorism and peace keeping mission in Africa.
- Point out the implications of France's Military Strategy Revision Plan in Africa
- Assess its future Challenges and opportunities for Africa.

---

<sup>1</sup> <https://www.politico.eu/article/emmanuel-macron-new-france-africa-policy-reduce-troops/>

## **1.2. Scope of the study**

Geographically, the study is delimited to Africa. Thematically, the study is delimited to the issue of France Military Strategy Revision Plan in Africa and its implications. Regarding to the time, the study focuses on since President Emanuel Macron's declaration of the revision of France's Military Strategy Plan for Africa.

## **1.3. Significance of the study**

The study is essential since it focuses on an important current issue of analysing the implication of France's military strategy revision plan in Africa. Especially, as west and east Africans are suffering from terrorism attacks and coups. By searching for new insights, it provides for the sake of knowledge. It also provides to Ministry of defenses of African country to pay attention and alert for future challenges and opportunities of the announcement.

## **1.4. Method of the Study**

The study used both primary and secondary data. The primary data were collected from media contents and from Informants. Meanwhile, reviewing published and unpublished materials were conducted to supplement the primary data. Then, the collected data analyzed thematically and interpreted accordingly. The secondary data were from written documents (Magazines, newspapers....etc.)

## **2. Analysis**

### **2.1. France's interests in Africa**

French involvement in Africa generally and in Mali in particular has maintained that it had four goals behind the intervention in Mali:

1. Stop the advance of terrorist groups;
2. Support the Malian government to retake northern Mali;
3. Enable the deployment of the African-led International Support Mission to Mali;
4. And prevent any further destabilization of the sub-Saharan region.

Such simplifications, meanwhile, constitute a difficulty in politics and more general social sciences since they conceal the grey area underlying their exaggerated portrayal. The hidden aspect of intervention has thus been examined in economic and political terms through this French case.<sup>2</sup>

Economically it is true that, five percent of France's exports go to the continent, and 240,000 of its citizens reside there. Africa continues to be a significant supply of metals and oil for France, despite the country's diversification of its raw material sources. Also, French officials emphasize the significance of supporting democratic governments and boosting regional stability and growth. At a discussion on Africa, French parliamentarian André Dulait stated that:

*"The African continent is our neighbor, and when it is shaken by strife, we are also disturbed!"*

But not everyone agrees that French foreign policy should prioritize African concerns. France's future economic and geopolitical interests are more likely to be in Asia and South America, not Africa, according to François Roche, editor of Foreign Policy's French edition.

---

<sup>2</sup> <https://www.e-ir.info/2020/10/29/french-intervention-in-west-africa-interests-and-strategies-2013-2020/>

## 2.2. Areas of France Military Engagements in Africa

Via the Reinforcement of African Peacekeeping Capacities program and its Peacekeeping Academy in Mali, which has educated over 800 African officers, France conducts joint exercises and peacekeeping training. The African Standing Force, a 20,000 strong rapid-response peacekeeping force that is expected to be ready by 2010, was designed to be supported by these institutions.<sup>3</sup>

Number of the French personnel involved in international peacekeeping missions are stationed in Africa in both military and advising roles. There are numbers of main French bases in Africa such as Djibouti, Chad, Central African Republic (CAR), Ivory Coast, Togo, Côte d'Ivoire, Gabon, Senegal, Madagascar, and Mali.<sup>4</sup> (Andrew Hansen, 2008). Main French's station in Africa.

- **Djibouti:** Although the station in Djibouti enables France to have some military influence in the Middle East, their main objective is to advance regional security.<sup>5</sup> (Not only the French military personnel but also US members of the Combined Joint Task Force Horn of Africa have been stationed in Djibouti since 2003; they are located at the old French post Camp Le Monier.)
- **Niger and Chad:** Islamic extremists in the Sahel region are now focusing on Niger and Chad and around 3000 French soldiers are stationed to fight Islamist extremists.<sup>6</sup>
- **Central African Republic (CAR):** As part of Operation to support an African army commanded by a regional organization, the Economic and Monetary Community of Central Africa, France keeps its troops in the capital of the CAR, Bangui.
- **Ivory Coast:** With a UN mandate, France sends out some 3,000 troops to guard the area that separates the rebel-controlled north from the government-controlled south.
- **Togo:** To support the operations in Ivory Coast, French troops and transport planes are stationed in the neighboring country of Togo.

The Economist quotes a French observer as saying that Ivory Coast is "France's little Iraq" and that locals typically view French troops as an occupying force.

- **Côte d'Ivoire:** in Abidjan, Côte d'Ivoire, there are 950 soldiers at the French base.
- **Gabon:** 350 soldiers are stationed in Camp De Gaulle near the airport in Libreville in Gabon, ready to respond to any incident.
- **Senegal:** The French army has 350 soldiers in Ouakam, a military port in Dakar, a landing strip, and lesser units there.
- **Madagascar:** Reunion Island, a French possession off the coast of Madagascar, is home to a tiny French military.
- **Mali:** The Takuba Task Force, which consists approximately 800 soldiers from Belgium, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, France, Italy, Hungary, the Netherlands, Portugal, and Sweden, has elements in Gao in addition to the main French military presence in Mali.

---

<sup>3</sup> The French and European presence in Mali © Creative Department - France Médias Monde  
Issued

on: 09/11/2022 - 12:58 Modified: 09/11/2022 - 13:00

<sup>4</sup> Andrew Hansen, 2008

<sup>5</sup> <https://www.key.aero/article/base-report-french-presence-djibouti>

<sup>6</sup> <https://www.africanews.com/2023/02/27/france-to-unveil-new-economic-military-strategy-in-africa/>

This task group has soldiers from France making up half of it. In order to combat movements connected to al Qaeda or the Islamic State group, Paris has a strong and long-standing military presence on the coast of West Africa<sup>7</sup>

### **3. France role in countering terrorism in world view and Terrorism in Africa**

France is a key participant in this global conflict as a permanent member of the Security Council. France participates in the normative work that the UN does to combat terrorism. In an effort to intensify the battle against terrorism, France is actively preparing new Security Council resolutions. France prioritized fighting terrorism by establishing a system of sanctions against ISIS and Al-Qaeda. The Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy was endorsed by the 193-member UN General Assembly on September 6, 2002, and is supported and implemented by France.

The following resolutions are being supported by France at the UNGA:

The resolution illuminating the ties b/n the illegal trade in cultural assets and the financing of terrorism ([resolution 2347](#));

Resolutions on the terrorist threat to civil aviation ([resolution 2309](#));

International legal cooperation on counterterrorism ([resolution 2322](#));

The ties between sexual violence, terrorism, and human trafficking ([resolution 2331](#));

The protection of critical infrastructure from terrorist threats ([resolution 2341](#));

The fight against terrorist propaganda, particularly on the Internet ([Resolution 2354](#)).

This all tells as France's efforts to combat terrorism in the global situation. But the main question is France really succeeding in combating terrorism? Still west and central Africa countries are suffering by terrorism. After experiencing defeats in the Middle East, both the Islamic State group and al-Qaeda have chosen to concentrate on the Sahel region of Africa. The groups not limited only in West Africa they are stretching to central and east Africa. The Sahel is a section of semi-arid territory that runs the length of the continent from east to west beneath the Sahara Desert. It encompasses portions of Mauritania, Mali, Burkina Faso, Niger, Chad, and Niger.<sup>8</sup>

Both IS and JNIM, an affiliate of al-Qaeda, are present in the Sahel, where they contend for dominance. Both the Islamic State in the Greater Sahara (ISGS) and Jamaat Nusrat al-Islam wal-Muslimin (JNIM), an affiliate of al-Qaeda, have carried out terrorist attacks in the area that have resulted in the deaths of thousands of people, the displacement of tens of thousands of others, and the closure of thousands of schools. Ansaroul Islam and Boko Haram are two further jihadist organizations that are present in the Sahel. Al Shabab also headache for Somalia and the neighbor states of Horn of Africa (Ethiopia and Kenya). Still Somalia is suffering by this group. Those groups were not eliminated. Their influence also advanced to central Africa regions.

---

<sup>7</sup> The French and European presence in Mali © Creative Department - France Médias Monde  
Issued

on: 09/11/2022 - 12:58 Modified: 09/11/2022 - 13:00

<sup>8</sup><https://country.eiu.com/article.aspx?articleid=1471880130&Country=Uganda&topic=Politics&subtopic= Forecast & sub topic = International + relations>

#### 4. France Military Strategy Revision in Africa

Emmanuel Macron, the president of France, declared that France would stop its anti-jihadist mission in Africa after more than ten years, adding that a new strategy would be developed with African partners.<sup>9</sup>

*"Our military support for African countries will continue, but according to new principles that we have defined with them,"* said Macron.

In order to make France's own deployment lighter and more dynamic, he said that future strategy would be built on a much closer partnership with African troops. Macron stated:

*"In the coming days exchanges would be launched with African nations and regional organizations and allies to change the status, format and mission of French bases in Africa. Our interventions should have better time limits and from the very start. We do not want to remain engaged for an unlimited time in foreign operations,"* he said. (AFP)

After nine years of fighting Islamists in the area, Operation Barkhane was launched. France began an intervention in January 2013 to drive out Islamists who had seized control of much of the north at the invitation of Malian authorities. It has grown to be the French military's longest foreign mission since the end of the Algerian War. In collaboration with the five nations of the Sahel-Saharan region, it has up to 5,500 soldiers stationed in Mali, Niger, and Chad. (The Sahel Saharan Region: Mauritania, Mali, Burkina Faso, Niger and Chad)<sup>10</sup>

##### 4.1. Driving Factors to revise its mission in Africa

According to some commentators, France's current stance on the continent is the outcome of a string of political errors made in the 1990s. But France's new multilateral strategy has also been influenced by budgetary issues and a shifting geopolitical environment. France can no longer sustain the hegemony it exercised in the 1960s and 1970s due to structural changes in the armed services, including abolishing the draft, drastic reductions in the strength of the French military, and base closures between 1997 and 2002. Sarkozy declared throughout his presidential campaign that he rejected the French tradition of supporting dubious African dictators.

"Françafrique," as the policy was called, had become burdensome and Sarkozy wanted France to become more engaged in emerging markets in Asia and Latin America. Yet, according to French analysts, Sarkozy may have determined in February 2008 that France's ability to maintain Chadian President Deby in office would determine the success of the EU operation in eastern Chad.

France's ongoing involvement in Africa also takes into account international terrorism. The current deployments in Africa reflect France's "prevention and projection" strategy, which places an emphasis on using the least amount of force possible, making the best use of military technology, giving intelligence top priority, and pre-positioning forces in a region to respond quickly to crises.

---

<sup>9</sup> <https://www.africanews.com/2023/02/28/macron-plans-noticeable-reduction-of-french-troops-in-africa/>

<sup>10</sup> <https://www.france24.com/en/africa/20220216-barkhane-takuba-sabre-french-and-european-military-missions-in-the-sahel>

- In West Africa, local civil society and politicians grew suspicious of what they perceived to be France's neo-colonial enterprise. They blamed/believe the French presence increasingly fueled discontent.
- The geographical scope of Barkhane (Mission in Mali) a battlefield as big as the European continent had two major implications for French armed forces.<sup>11</sup>
  - First, it created a significant logistical difficulty because it required coordinating men and equipment that were dispersed across five different countries while operating in a desert terrain that may be physically demanding for soldiers.
  - Second, the mission in Barkhane had two objectives: in the short term, to further the fight against jihadi organizations that had initially prompted France to intervene in Mali in 2013; and in the longer term, to enable West African armed forces to provide security in the region. Because of the strong emphasis placed on cooperation with local militaries as well as with the various multilateral actors: the EU Training Mission to Mali and the UN Mission to Mali, the mission in Barkhane also involved a diplomatic component.
  - The operation was also supposed to be directly related to the G5 Sahel's establishment in February 2014. If the new regional entity's objective included fostering local economic growth and good governance, its security goal took precedence.<sup>12</sup>
- Following the initial success of the French intervention in Mali in 2013, jihadi groups quickly moved south and concentrated their attacks on the so-called "three-border area," which is the area where the nations of Mali, Burkina Faso, and Niger intersect and where local forces have historically struggled to work together. When jihadi offensives became more frequent and intense, Burkina Faso, a hitherto peaceful nation, suddenly saw a surge of terrorist assaults that tested the resilience of its institutions. As a result, indigenous inhabitants in the Sahel were increasingly disillusioned and dubious of Paris, and the initial support for French intervention declined.<sup>13</sup>
- The Sahel's security situation deteriorated concurrently with political shift in Paris. As the first French head of state without military experience, Emmanuel Macron was elected president of France in May 2017. During his campaign, he focused primarily on domestic economic reforms and did not express a personal interest in military interventions in general or in Barkhane in particular.
- French forces have come under increasing attack from those who view them as the ineffective occupiers of a former colonial state, and Macron withdrew troops from Mali this year as ties with the military government there deteriorated.
- By the end of 2019, two years into Emmanuel Macron's presidency, discontent with the Sahelian security situation had reached a pinnacle. The French government then made the decision to hold a summit in January 2020 in the city of Pau in the southwest with local

---

<sup>11</sup> David, Gormezano, (2021) © Florent Vergnes, AFP Text, French soldiers from Operation Barkhane

During the evacuation of the Timbuktu base in Mali, on December 14, 2021.

<sup>12</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Operation\\_Barkhane](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Operation_Barkhane)

<sup>13</sup> John Irish and Tiemoko Diallo 2022(French military to quit Mali in possible boost to jihadists read February 17, 2022, 8:27 PM GMT+3Last Updated 9 months ago

partners. The occasion was utilized by President Macron to remind the G5 Sahel countries of their obligations in the battle against terrorist groups.<sup>14</sup>

- Sadly, the military surge did not produce the expected outcomes. Terrorist assaults persisted in the three-border region throughout 2020, with the area becoming as the hub of international Islamist terrorism (jihadi fighters affiliated with al Qaeda and the Islamic State.)
- Coups in Mali, Chad, and Burkina Faso have damaged France's relationships in its former colonies, given Islamists more confidence and given Russia more access to areas of desert and scrubland.
- Street demonstrations against the former colonial power in a number of West and North African nations have been sparked by a rising anti-French sentiment.<sup>15</sup>
- The longstanding economic links between France and the region are under threat from the region's expanding trade with China, Russia, and Turkey.<sup>16</sup>
- France will seek to increase military cooperation with Anglophone countries, especially Ghana.<sup>17</sup>
- Conflict between American and French interests in the area: While France has scaled back its military involvement in Africa, the United States is expanding.
- The United States has agreements with ten countries in southern and western Africa to provide them with logistical support in addition to the counterterrorism mission in Djibouti.
- The junta in Mali's decision to recruit mercenaries from the Russian firm Wagner to aid in the conflict with terrorist organizations infuriated France as well.

In a larger context, some experts say a permanent Africa-based U.S. command could be taken as a sign that the era of exclusively French military influence on the continent is effectively over.

## **5. Opportunities and challenges of the French Military Revision Plan**

### **5.1. Opportunities of French Military Revision Plan for Africa**

- The repositioning of France's military forces in Africa may prevent the continued existence of the former colonial power there. Future assurances of regional stability may also result from the modification.
- Secondly, the progressive withdrawal of French forces means a greater military commitment by Sahelian forces, either on a national or regional scale through the expansion of the G5 Joint Force. Other parts of Africa may also imported this experience.
- The insurgents' desire to negotiate has been signaled by the governments of Mali and Burkina Faso. On the one hand, such reconciliation initiatives might enable a military de-escalation

---

<sup>14</sup> <https://www.dw.com/en/france-will-reorganize-military-bases-in-africa-says-macron/a-64836040>

<sup>15</sup> <https://www.africanews.com/2023/02/27/france-to-unveil-new-economic-military-strategy-in-africa/>

<sup>16</sup> <https://www.africanews.com/2023/02/27/france-to-unveil-new-economic-military-strategy-in-africa/>

<sup>17</sup> <https://www.emerald.com/insight/content/doi/10.1108/OXAN-DB273997/full/htm>



and improved communication amongst underprivileged communities. Burkina Faso also became the first nation in West Africa to allow France to leave its borders.<sup>18</sup>

- May create a fertile ground for the translation of works with the sense of “African Problems by African solution”
- Enables the African states to eliminate the presence of foreign military presence. Because the presence of foreign military bases could threaten states freedom.
- European and African security agents in the task team to develop means to keep their intelligence channel open based on the principle of equal status.
- Enables African countries to keep their sovereignty and opportunity to exercise their right to create ties with other countries (outside France).
- African leaders are also aware of the risks to domestic security presented by the presence and activity of foreign military forces in the area. One of the fundamental grievances of radical organizations like Al-Shabaab, Boko Haram, and those in the Sahel is the dominance of outside standards and forces on the continent. For example, Al-Shabaab has intensified its attacks in Somalia, for instance, while US forces have increased drone operations against terrorist groups, seriously harming civilian populations.

## **5.2. Future Challenges of the revision**

- The international community's assistance will also affect the Sahel partners' capacity to ramp up counterterrorism efforts. France has asked its Western allies to help stabilize the Sahel since 2014. European nations like Denmark, Germany, the United Kingdom, Italy, Spain, and Estonia have made financial or military contributions. The French operation has also received assistance from the US Department of Defense through air support and intelligence sharing. But, the French retreat and the ongoing coups in West Africa will make Western donors doubt the efficacy of their training initiatives.
- These uncertainties surrounding the international commitment to the Sahel also coincide with a worrisome evolution of the terrorist landscape in West Africa.
- Expansion of jihadist groups in the region and across Africa (including its wing in east Africa)
- The UN peacekeeping mission may be rescued. There are also 14,000 UN peacekeeping troops who operate alongside local military forces, patrolling across the deserts of the Sahel.
- Could pave the way for additional foreign action in Africa at France's behest. For instance, some Malians have welcomed the Wagner Group's entry because they perceive it to be politically impartial. Yet, many Western nations are wary of it and claim that Russia's government assisted in its acquisition of the contract in Mali.
- Destabilizing the region economically.
- The governments of neighboring countries are worried that France's withdrawal from Mali could further destabilize the region and it would create a political and military vacuum.

---

<sup>18</sup> <https://www.euractiv.com/section/global-europe/news/burkina-faso-marks-official-end-of-french-military-operations-on-its-soil/>

## **6. Recommendations**

- The May 2016 AU Peace and Security Council (PSC) Communique further urged member states to *"always exercise caution whenever they enter into agreements that would result in the establishment of foreign military bases in their countries."* The AU and regional organizations should do more by leveraging their mandate for regional peace and security by enlisting the support of member states to agree on a framework to monitor, assess, and provide advice on the impact of foreign military bases on the continent.
- As a long-term plan for enduring peace, the AU, sub-regional organizations, and member states should increase investment in security programs within the continent.
- The African Union (AU) and the regional organizations should strengthen their mandate and capacity to monitor and provide strategic advice to member states on the implications and the need to build up their internal capacity, even though foreign military settlement deals are 'sovereign' decisions.
- Should develop commitments for the translation/implementations of works with the sense of "African Problems by African solution"
- African leaders should be committed to settle disputes with their rivals through negotiations and inclusiveness principle.
- African countries should build strong professional armies.
- Beside the states' national army, Africa should build strong common defense force, who take responsibility in combating terrorism and peace keeping mission.
- Africans should not allow the foreign military presence (out of the continent)

## **References**

- Andrew Hansen (2008). French Military in Africa. <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/french-military-africa>
- David Gormezano (2021). AFP Text, French soldiers from Operation Barkhane during the evacuation of the Timbuktu base in Mali, on December 14, 2021.
- Elise Vincent, (2022). France forced into redefining military presence in Africa, *Lemonde*. Available at: [https://www.lemonde.fr/en/international/article/2022/10/06/france-forced-into-redefining-military-presence-in-africa\\_5999420\\_4.html](https://www.lemonde.fr/en/international/article/2022/10/06/france-forced-into-redefining-military-presence-in-africa_5999420_4.html)
- Esrael Yohannes (2018). The Expansion of Military Bases in the Horn of Africa: Analysis of Its Challenges and Opportunities to Ethiopia's Policy in the Region, Addis Ababa University
- Jean-Loup Samaan, 2022. What now for French operations in the Sahel?, Middle East Institute, available at: <https://www.mei.edu/publications/what-now-french-operations-sahel>
- John Irish and Tiemoko Diallo (2022). French military to quit Mali in possible boost to jihadists, <https://www.reuters.com/world/africa/france-partners-begin-mali-military-withdrawal-statement-2022-02-17/>
- Michael Shurkin, (2016). what it means to be expeditionary: A Look at the French Army in Africa, National Defense University Press, <https://ndupress.ndu.edu/jfq/joint-force-quarterly-82/article/793271/what-it-means-to-be-expeditionary-a-look-at-the-french-army-in-africa/>
- Shaun Gregory (2000). The French Military in Africa: Past and Present African Affairs, Oxford University Press <https://www.jstor.org/stable/723950>

- Tanguy, (2022). Base Report: French Presence at Djibouti: <https://www.key.aero/article/base-report-french-presence-djibouti>
- Tesfaye Gebremariam. (2021). Foreign Military Bases in the Horn of Africa and their Implications To Ethiopia's National Security (2002-2019), Addis Ababa University
- Utley, R., (2002). "Not to Do Less but to Do Better ..." French Military Policy in Africa. *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-), 78(1), 129–146.* <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3095978>
- France 24.com, (2022). Barkhane, Takuba, Sabre: French and European military missions in the Sahel. Available at: <https://www.france24.com/en/africa/20220216-barkhane-takuba-sabre-french-and-european-military-missions-in-the-sahel>
- Africanews.com (2023). Macron plans 'noticeable reduction' of French troops in Africa. Available at: <https://www.africanews.com/2023/02/28/macron-plans-noticeable-reduction-of-french-troops-in-africa/>
- Euractive.com, (2023). Burkina Faso marks official end of French military operations on its soil. Available at: <https://www.euractiv.com/section/global-europe/news/burkina-faso-marks-official-end-of-french-military-operations-on-its-soil/>
- DW.com, (2023). France will reorganize military bases in Africa, says Macron. Available at: <https://www.dw.com/en/france-will-reorganize-military-bases-in-africa-says-macron/a-64836040>
- Economist Intelligence, (2022). Europe-Africa summit fails to solve critical issues. Available at: <https://country.eiu.com/article.aspx?articleid=1471880130&Country=Uganda&topic=Politics&subtopic=Forecast&subsubtopic=International+relations>
- Oxford Analytica, (2022). "France will reduce its West African military footprint", Expert Briefings. <https://doi.org/10.1108/OXAN-DB273997>
- Wikipedia the free encyclopedia (2022). Operation Barkhane. Available at: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Operation\\_Barkhane](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Operation_Barkhane)

## **Researcher's Profile**

Addis Alemahu G/Mariam

[addisalemahu@yahoo.com](mailto:addisalemahu@yahoo.com)

- Researcher in Defense University in the 'Research Fellow' Rank. (Before 2021)
- Researcher – II Under Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Institute of Foreign Affairs, Middle East Affairs Research Directorate. (Current)
- Masters of Art Degree (MA) in Journalism and Communication from Addis Ababa University, Masters of Art Degree (MA) in Educational Research and Evaluation from Addis Ababa University, Bachelor of Education Degree (BED) in History from Haramaya University.