# France-Central African Relations: Advantages and challenges of a North-South partnership in the field of natural resources

Mario Azou-Passonda<sup>1</sup>, Wei Hong<sup>2</sup>, Emeline Diane Mariam Seleh-Zo<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1, 2</sup>Central China Normal University <sup>3</sup>Northwest A & F University

*Abstract:* Our study focuses on the impact of North-South relations in the specific case of France's relations with the Central African Republic (CAR). As part of this study, we analyze some of the actions taken by France for the development of CAR. These actions come from a survey data we conducted in Bangui in 2018 with 624 people. Through this study, we study the benefits that CAR has got from its relations with France. These advantages are reflected in the impact of the actions taken by France in the country as part of its presence in the field of natural resources. Our observation is that the presence of foreign powers in the field of natural resources is conditioned by the achievement of certain actions in diverse fields. We also found that the conclusion of contracts proposed by French companies is not made on a win-win basis. However, our results indicate that France has conducted many actions in CAR that have had a positive impact on the sample. Through this study, we show the importance of the evolution of the characteristics of North-South relations. Also, this study tends to highlight the importance of the evolution of the characteristics of North-South relations traditionally based on unbalanced agreements. Beyond France, this article concerns other states wishing to invest in the CAR (also in other African countries). It invites them to adopt the principle of mutually beneficial cooperation in order to better participate in the development of a poor country.

Keywords: South-South relations, Natural resources, Impact, France, Central African Republic.

## I. INTRODUCTION

The permanent presence of France in an independent Africa for over sixty years is one of the most controversial debates in international relations. Some authors think that France likes to plunder African countries without helping them to develop [1]. This strategy is considered as neocolonialism by François-Xavier Verschave [2]. According to him, France practice a "totaling or totalitarian" neocolonialism not distinct from the colonial situation. He explains that after independence, France still has a stranglehold in all areas in Africa. He considers that the neo-colonial logic continues as an iceberg with an immersed part representing the illusion of African independence. But in reality, African countries stay in the lowlands. Taking the case of the chaotic situation of the CAR, Ivan Rioufol [3] felt that France had simply fallen in the trap of neocolonialism because of its tendency to be the policeman of Africa, despite the decolonization of 50 years ago. In the specific case of the Central African Republic, Pascal Bida Koyagbele [4] has estimated that France has imposed unacceptable conditions to the CAR in the framework of the oil exploitation. The counterpart granted by France is far below the normal price. The basis of the contracts was 90% for French companies and 10% for the CAR. He clearly accuses France of being at the origin of crisis in the CAR. Olivier Ndenkop [5] went a long way in considering that the Sangaris Operation led by Frence during the crisis was not linked to any "humanitarian imperative" as evoked by President François Hollande. But there were hidden reasons for this intervention has the France has interests in the CAR. France controls the Central African economy because French companies such as Areva, Total, Bolloré, France Telecom, etc. already reign without competition in CAR.

Oppositely, other authors have estimated that France has invested a great deal in the development of African countries. According to Terry McNamara [6], France pays a high price in Africa. This is because her trade and investment preferences are linked to generous support from her or the security guarantees she honors in some of these countries. Henry de Lesquen [7], meanwhile, estimated that it is true that Africa sees its resources not being exchanged freely, but extracted by force/corruption by post colonialism. But Africa itself is enriching as the West, because their natural resources should have a value close to 0 without Westerners. In the same way, Bernard Lugan felt that Europe has no historical debt to an Africa to which it has brought more than it has withdrawn before, during and after colonization [8]. Referring to development aid, Louis De Guiringaud [9] believes that France is investing heavily in Africa. His aid is proved in a bilateral cooperation policy for the benefit of many African states. He also believes that France's policy of assistance to Africa is also exercised, and increasingly, through the multilateral mechanisms of international organizations (UNDP, EDF with about \$150 million US, etc.). According to the French Government, since January 2014, France has granted the CAR more than  $\epsilon$ 76.9 million of civil aid. In the 2006-2014 period, AFD has committed some  $\epsilon$ 65 million in subsidies, including  $\epsilon$ 22 million in budget support (35%) and  $\epsilon$ 43 million (65%) for project aid [10]. With the Brussels Donors' Conference in 2016, French aid had increased to  $\epsilon$ 85 Million for the period 2017 to 2021 [11].

Of all these theoretical arguments, there is no empirical evidence on the concrete assessment of the Central African local population on the positive impact of the actions taken by France in the field of natural resources. Our study is based on the appreciation of the local population on the positive impact of relations between France and Central Africa in the field of natural resources. Its base is a survey that we conducted in Bangui (CAR) between January and April 2018. This survey concerned the comparative study of the impact of the presence of France and China in the field of natural resources. Based on that survey, this article determine measures of actions led by France which has a positive impact in CAR. We analyze how these actions have a positive impact on the local population. We consider North-South relations as a set of multidimensional relations between France and CAR, involving natural resources, techniques, economics, etc. based on win-lose relations. The presence of France in CAR gives rise to actions that have a positive impact as well as to those whose impact is negative. This article is devoted to the positive aspect of its presence in the field of natural resources in CAR.

We believe that all actions taken by foreign powers in CAR, regardless of the sector of intervention, are and remain the equitable matching part of the natural resources exploitation. The actions of foreign companies in the field of natural resources in CAR are regulated by Article 17 of the Mining Code. This Code commits the company to pay specific attention to harmonious integration of the project in CAR. They should give priority to actions related to health, the environment, youth and sport, arts and culture, housing, road and rail infrastructure and permanent dialogue with the local population and the State. Consequently, the signing of mining convention is accompanied by a set of specifications. They consist in the construction of modern schools and health centers as well as the provision of social and sanitary assistance, the development of sport, arts and culture. Among the actions carried out by France in CAR, there are supports in formation and scientific research, donations, project financing, financial contributions, etc. We also find that these actions have a positive impact on people's feelings in CAR.

#### A. Theoretical framework

What are France's actions in CAR? What is the impact of these actions on the development of the CAR? What are the challenges facing France-Central African relations? These are the questions that set the theoretical framework of this article. In this way, we first describe the actions undertaken in return for the exploitation of natural resources in CAR. Then we discuss the impact of these actions on the development of CAR. Finally, we analyze the challenges facing Franco-Central African relations. This study has an implication for the two countries. It is part of the development of North-South relations. These relations, linking two states of the same ideological bound, have diametrically opposed methods of reaching agreements. According to constructivist theory, when actors change the rules and norms of international interaction through their practices, the change in world politics occurs. This is why Alexander Wendt in his book "Anarchy is what states make of it: the social construction of power politics" wrote in 1992, said that international relations was inter-identity relations and if states want the world to be anarchic then it will be. In his book entitled World of Our Making: Rules and Rule in Social Theory and International Relations published in 1989, Nicolas Onuf also "intersubjective arrangements." Various social practices are constantly transforming the world on the basis of "intersubjective arrangements with the CAR. These arrangements can only be consolidated by a mutual will based on the impact of these arrangements in their mutual development.

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#### **B.** Methodological framework

This study is the first to use statistical data to explain the appreciation of the local population on the positive impact of the actions taken by France in CAR. As we have said, this analysis is based on data from an individual survey collected in 2018. 624 people who responded to this survey are the sample of this study. Participants are grouped by gender equally: 312 males and 312 females. Quantitative data were analyzed mainly by gender. The data are divided into four categories according to the age groups of the participants: between 18 and 25, 26 and 35, 36 and 45 and between 46 and 55 years. The youngest participant is in the 18 to 24 age group and the oldest in the 45 to 55 age group, an average of 23.92. Gender represents the categories of the dependent variable. The various actions carried out by France represent the independent variables. We carry out a Factorial Analysis in Principal Components to measure the appreciation of the populations on the various actions carried out by France in CAR. Jean-Jacques Bernier [12] believes that factor analysis can also be used to measure the validity of certain scales of opinion or attitudes. Jean Stafford and Paul Bodson [13] consider that principal component analysis leads to factor analysis although these are two distinct but complementary approaches. Therefore, these are two expressions of the same method. This method allows us, consequently, to determine the causal link existing between the positive actions carried out and the development of the CAR.

## **II. RESULTS**

The following table explains the actions taken by France in the field of natural resources in the Central Africans Republic. The table is divided into four columns and includes two types of actions: actions linked to development of exogenous origin and actions related to endogenous development.

			De	pendent variable:	
			Variance in %		
	Actions carried out in CAR	Coefficients	Real	Interne	
	1	2	3	4	
Actio	ons I : Actions related to the CAR dev	elopment with exogenous	origin		
1.	Project Financing	0.952			
2.	Donations	0.951	60.4	73.2	
3.	Support in Cotton Production	0.939			
Actio	ons II : Actions related to the CAR dev	velopment with endogeno	us origin		
1.	Support in Scientific Research	0.848			
2.	Formations	0.806	22.1	26.8	
3.	Financial Support	0.785			
	Total :		82.5	100	

#### Table 1: Actions of France in CAR

The actions carried out by France in CAR are grouped in a hierarchical manner in column 1. Actions I include those related to the exogenous development of CAR. Column 2 includes the coefficients of the different actions placed in magnitude order. Column 3 presents the variance explained by the actions taken. Actions related to exogenous development account for 60.4% of the variance. Actions related to endogenous development account for 22.1% of this variance. The fullness of these actions is 82.5% of the satisfactory appreciation of the Central Africans compared to the actions carried out by France in CAR. However, 17.5% remain unexplained because of the impossibility of resuming data collection on the ground. The last column includes the internal variance, after rotation. These different actions are the benefits that CAR have from its relations with France. These benefits also translate into the role of France, implying a positive impact, in the development of CAR.

## III. THE ROLE PLAYED BY FRANCE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

## A. Projects Financing

The financing of projects carried out by the French Government is of prime importance for the sample (Table 1). It also helps in building local capacity in the delivery of public services. Between 2006 and 2014, the French Government's commitments through the actions of Agence Française de Développement in CAR have evolved. In 2006-2010, funding pledged by France have reached  $\notin$ 50 million in various projects. France has granted more than  $\notin$ 76 million in civil aid between 2014 and 2016 [14]. In May 2018, France and CAR signed financing agreements amounting to nearly one billion CFA Franc (over one million US dollars) to support the rehabilitation of the CAR's agriculture. These projects are characterized by the distribution of agricultural inputs, market gardening kits or breeding kits, etc. Moreover, the construction of the M'bali dam for the Boali hydroelectric power plants was made through several contracts. The feasibility study was carried out on financing from the Caisse Française de Développement [15], [16].

As part of a post-conflict support, France has contributed significantly in the implementation of minor work in the city of Bangui. In 2015, the Urban Economic and Social Reconstruction Program were launched with the support of CAR partners. At the same time, a support program to relieve the suffering of the population has been put in place. This program was called "High Intensity Work of Manpower" for the city of Bangui, THIMO-Bangui from its French abbreviation [17]. These two post-conflict assistance programs aimed to employ the local workforce massively for road rehabilitation, cleaning of public spaces, garbage collection, repair of small equipment and public networks. The positive impact of these two programs in the city and on the population allowed to be restarted several times; hence the term THIMO 1, 2, 3, 4 and THIMO 4bis. The decisive commitment of CAR partners, including France through AFD, has spared the city of Bangui from major flood risks [18].

## **B.** Donations of materials in several sectors

According to the sample (Table 1), the CAR is also supported by France in civilian or military equipment. Among other things, France sold free military equipment to the CAR Army in 2016. For the reinforcement of the amphibious battalion, France, in partnership with the EU, has granted  $\notin$ 200,000 for repairing and acquisition of several new boats [19]. In 2018, the CAR also received from France military equipment such as weapons [20] or equipment for the amphibious battalion [21], followed by the renovation of the FACA carpentry production unit. This action was part of the implementation of DDRR (Disarmament, Demobilization, Reinsertion and Repatriation).

## C. Participation in cotton production

The sample (Table 1) takes into consideration France's support in the agricultural field. This is the case of cotton with the UCATEX plant (Union Centrafricaine des Textiles) bankrupt since 1993. The cotton crop was introduced in CAR in 1925, by Felix Eboue [22]. In 1964 the first cotton company was created under the name of Union Cotononnière Centrafricaine (UCCA). The French Government has invested in the cotton sector in CAR through the French Company for the Development of Textile Fibers (CFDT). The CFDT has developed the cotton sector in West and Central Africa, specifically in the Central African Republic, Cameroon, Senegal, Morocco and Madagascar [23]. Later, the CFDT changed its name to become Southern Agro-Industries Development (DAGRIS), then Geocoton. The CFDT had set up around a hundred production units made up of ginneries and oil mills. Thus, the Central African Cotton Union (UCCA), the first cotton company was created in 1964.

Until 1985, the sector was provided by 20 ginneries of the UCCA associated with other French companies. There were more than 115,000 ha of farms for the well-being of over a million people. To date, cotton represents a significant source of cash income for the majority of the rural population of Central African savannahs. The CFDT participated in the increase of yields, cultivated areas, organizing the large-scale distribution of equipment and necessary equipment. The CFDT has developed agro-industrial sectors helping to make the CAR, the first producer in the Francophone African countries, the world's third largest exporter with 16% of the market. However, the cotton production of the CAR decrease from 59000 tons in 1969 and 1970 to 46,000 tons in 1997 and 1998 [24]. Since 1999, it has been not exceeded 4000 tons [25]. The situation worsened with the departure of DAGRIS. The multiple crises that began in 1997 have reduced society to a simple cell called "Cotton Cell" under the supervision of the Central African Agency for Agricultural Development [26].

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#### D. Training and support in scientific research

The sample (Table 1) appreciates the contribution of France in the various formations for the benefit of civilians and soldiers. For civilians, many Central African students have followed and continue to receive training in French territory [27]. France has conducted a training consisting in the transfer of methodology on the semi-industrial exploitation of diamonds in CAR between 1996 and 1998 [28]. This activity resulted in a transfer of gravel operation and grading methodology to these administrative agents and to the benefit of local operators. According to Censier et al, these agents were able to understand the scientific fields such as regional geology, geology and diamond prospecting. Also, they were able to master computer techniques and scientific writing. In the training field, France also intervenes to support the Central African Government with equipment. In 2017, the French Development Agency equipped several public and private schools in Bangui and Bimbo with teaching materials [29].

In the military context, France was the first partner in the training of the Central African Armed Forces (FACA from the French abbreviation). Many Central African soldiers was trained in France and even in Central African territory [30]. In 2017, the French Elements in Gabon conducted operational training detachments for the benefit of FACA. FACA training was mainly the responsibility of France since independence. But, the evolution of the world has made it possible to opt for the diversification of partnerships. In the last few decades, some partners have been associated with France in the formation of the FACA (including the United States, China, Israel, European Union and Russia).

#### E. Financial contributions

We observe that the financial contributions that the sample refers to (Table 1) are those that France through the AFD brings to the CAR. AFD funding only goes through programs developed by French NGOs through different types of loans in CAR. AFD loans to African states are of different types [31]. There are "sovereign loans" which are those contracted or guaranteed by states. This type of loan only concerns states with the capacity to borrow low debt. There are "non-sovereigns loans" that are granted to businesses and local authorities (or public institutions). This type of loan is free from any state guarantee. There is also "concessional loans" characterized by preferential terms which have a lower interest rate than market rates. However, they are only accessible thanks to the French state's budget contribution. There are also "non-concessional" loans whose rate varies according to market conditions. This type of loan is available to low-indebted countries or entities with profitable projects to finance. These loans help support states when faced with a liquidity shortage, because of the crisis or an urgent need for credit. Finally, there are counter-cyclical loans which have a variable repayment term. They are indexed on the international price of a raw material in order to reduce the vulnerability of agricultural actors to fluctuations in world markets.

It is according to this distinction that France makes financial contributions to the CAR. Like this, the financing committed by France reached  $\notin$ 50 million in various projects in 2006-2010. From 2014, the French Government has disbursed more than  $\notin$ 15 million. France's budget support in 2015 was \$13.3 million US [32].

#### IV. THE IMPACT OF THE FRANCE-CENTRAL AFRICAN RELATIONS

The impact of the role played by France is determined by the appreciation of Central Africans in relation to the actions taken. In the table below, we use the analysis of ordinary least squares to test the local people assessment on the positive actions taken by France in CAR.

#### Table 2: General Impact of the actions carried out by France

Dependent Variable: Genre

	R Square	Adjusted R Square	df	F	р
Impact of actions	0,247	0,239	6 617	33.691	0.001

The analysis of the test is significant f(6,617) = 33,691; p < 0.05. The variance of sex with respect to the predictor represented by the different actions is 0.24%. The explanatory share at the population level could increase by 0.23%. However, we observe that the standardized regression coefficients attesting to the influence of each of these actions vary from one action to another (Table 3). One has a negative influence on the population and two others non-significant. Project funding [Beta = -0.913 ; t (617) = -7.097, p < .05] has a negative influence on the population.

			1
Actions	Beta	t	р
Projects Financing	-0,913	-7,097	0,001*
Donations	0,613	6,264	0,001*
Support in Cotton Production	0,450	4,513	0,001*
Support in Scientific Research	0,064	1,398	0,163
Training	0,283	5,723	0,001*
Financial Contributions	0,072	1,670	0,095

**Table 3: Impact of the different actions of France** 

Dependent Variable: Genre

\*p < 0.001

The table shows that France's support in the field of scientific research has no impact on the population. This could be linked to the crisis that has rocked the country since 2013. Throughout the crisis, cooperation agreements between Bangui University and French universities could not be implemented [33]. This surely had an impact on the sample. We also observe that the test on financial contributions is not significant. If the financial contributions have no influence on the sample, this is due to the fact that these contributions are naturally repayable loans with interest. As a result, the population does not expect development based on repayable loans with interest.

We observe that the standardized regression coefficients indicate that France's actions have a positive influence on the positive appreciation of the population, represented by the Gender variable. The appreciation of the populations is linked to each of these actions led by France. First, we believe that the financing of projects carried out by the French Government has an impact in CAR. Project financing is the most important action for the population in CAR (Table 1). The projects contribute to the well-being of the local population; therefore to the development of the CAR. These projects help to build local capacity in the delivery of public services and are also a means of remuneration. But our results indicate that project financing has a negative impact on the population. This invites the French authorities to review the operating strategy of these projects in order to make them truly "more structuring and systemic" for more performance and social impact. Moreover, the economic and social reconstruction program in urban areas (PRESU) and work with High Intensity of Manpower in Bangui have had a significant impact. These projects made it possible to employ a large number of workers for community work. This has made it possible to limit the risk of flooding in the capital. Also, these projects have improved public health and the urban environment in Bangui. Roads, Health Centers, markets, school buildings, etc. have been rehabilitated [34]. Beyond this, these activities have been a source of incomes for several thousand unskilled workers. In addition, France's contribution to the construction of the M'bali dam for the Boali hydroelectric power stations has enabled the capital and the surrounding areas to dispose of electricity. According to H. Doumbia and K. BA [35], this project has contributed very much to the well-being of the population.

Secondly, we assert that the materials transferred to CAR contribute to the improvement of the living and working conditions of Central Africans. These materials also contribute to the restoration of security throughout the Central African territory. In this way, the provision of Central African defense and security forces in military equipment contributed to the redeployment of the army alongside the MINUSCA peacekeepers on the ground. Also, the rehabilitation of the FACA carpentry production unit has made it possible to educate and facilitate the reintegration of excombatants, as part of the process of security sector reform. Likewise, this rehabilitation is a conversion alternative for retired FACA elements [36].

Third, we argue that France's support for cotton production in CAR has a significant impact. Cotton cultivation supports more than half of the country's population. The support of France had allowed the CAR, in the years preceding the mutinies of 1996 and 1997 to export textiles and fabrics manufactured by the UCATEX factory. This had significantly contributed to the Central African economy [37]. This plant also made it possible to employ several people, generating income for several households. The withdrawal of French support led to the fall of the cotton production from 59,000 tons between 1969 and 1970 to 46,000 tons between 1997 and 1998. No production during the years of the crisis that broke out in 2013 was reported. It would have been necessary to wait for the arrival of China in the sector to see an increase to 4000 tons at the beginning [38], [39].

Fourth, we consider that the impact of training is the improvement of the capacity of administrative staff. Also, the impact is the internal efficiency of the Central African public administrations, including the administrations in charge of mineral resources. The transfer of methodology operated between 1996 and 1998 had a direct impact on the gravel exploitation and treatment method in CAR in two cases [28]. The first case is that this impact consists in an optimization of the methods of exploitation and treatment of gravel by the administrative agents. This implies an improvement in yields. The second case is characterized by the fact that this action allowed the local mining operators to control the method of diamond discovery. Also, it allowed them to identify the deposits. Several local miners were able to master the use of hand pumps, a suction dredge, rockers, gravel washers and monitors. Also, we believe that well-trained Central African defense and security forces, in which all CAR partners participate, has a positive effect in CAR. Firstly, this training makes it possible to have security agents and well-trained and experienced soldiers. Secondly, this training contributes to the return of security in the provinces of CAR. We believe that well-trained administrative executives and well-trained students contribute to the sound management of the country's natural resources and the sound management of their benefits. Moreover, we think that Good management in this way contributes to the well-being of the local population.

## V. THE MAIN CHALLENGES FACING FRANCE-CENTRAL AFRICAN RELATIONS

## A. The increase of anti-French propaganda

We see that the France-Central African relations face a notorious anti-French propaganda. This began in the late 1990s. At that time, the anti-French feeling was not rooted in the Central African population, but politically maintained [40]. Initially, France had decided to close some of its bases in Africa, probably because of the political cohabitation in France (Elysée-Matignon) that took place in 1997. France had 1500 soldiers stationed in CAR. These soldiers saved the president Ange-Félix Patassé two times from mutinies in 1997. He very badly took the announcement of the withdrawal of the French troops. His reaction resulted in the precipitation of the closure of French bases in CAR. Consequently, he began to maintain anti-French propaganda [41]. With the time, this feeling has spread to the population. After the coup in 2013, the deposed president François Bozizé and a good part of the population held France responsible for the war because of oil [42], [43]. The exploitation of oil is perceived as a highly sensitive issue in the Central African mentality, the mirage of development in Western fashion. Since then, accusations against France have begun to multiply. All past negative actions have resurfaced: accidental death of the pan-Africanist founding president in an air crash of the French Air Force, coups against other presidents, etc. [44]. During the crisis, the populations accused the Sangaris Operation of not having respected the objectives of its mission which is the disarmament of the elements of the Seleka nebula. However, French troops had found that Muslims were systematically lynched by anti-balaka after each disarmament. French soldiers were forced to abandon disarmament. As a result, Sangaris was accused on both sides of this disarmament point. This led to accusations of looting natural resources under cover of security operations or rapes against minors [45]. The withdrawal of the Sangaris operation the same day of the investiture of the new Central African president in 2016 could be due to the intensity of disagreements between the two countries at the political level. But mass refugee populations in displaced camps felt abandoned when they most needed protection. This speedy withdrawal of the Sangaris Operation fueled this anti-French feeling. The arrival of Russia on the Central African scene has contributed largely to fuel this feeling.

#### B. The presence of Russia and a growing Chinese presence

In the face of the chaotic situation of the CAR, Russia obtained from the Security Council the partial lifting of the embargo allowing it to deliver arms to the Central African Government. She sent instructors to train the Central African army in handling these weapons. The post-Cold War presence of Russia in Africa seriously annoys Westerners, with the United States in the lead. In the CAR, Russia was supposed to deliver only weapons, nothing more [46]. But, she took the opportunity to root in CAR. She offered to train the Central African army in the handling of these weapons. It has signed a defense agreement with the Central African Republic, provide the Central African Republic's president the security guards and obtain mining concessions [47].

Instead, China is a long-time ally of CAR. During the Central African crisis, it did not take a strategic position for the stabilization of the country. While it is his presence in the Central African oil field that caused the fall of President Bozozé. This ties in with the warning of the President of the European Parliament to Africans about their relations with Beijing. According to Antonio Tajani, the Chinese want only raw materials. Stability does not interest them [48]. But

China's policy of non-interference benefits the West, which has become accustomed to its presence willy-nilly. One of the reasons for this Western annoyance is that since 2007, Chinese companies have won many mining contracts in CAR. Taking advantage of its judicial victory against the US Company RSM Production, the Central African State has preferred to grant China the oil exploitation license, rather than renew it to RSM Production [49] or give it to the French Company Total. Since 2016, the presence of Chinese companies has increased in CAR [50], [51]. This contributes to irritate more the United States as well as France [52]. As for

The other reason for the annoyance of Westerners in the Russian and French presence in CAR is ideological. Russia and France share the same conceptions of international relations, even if their interests elsewhere are not necessarily common. Their conceptions are in flagrant contradiction with Western conceptions characterized by notable interference in the internal affairs of other States, sometimes for humanitarian reasons. Also, the West drives a liberal international order. The West praises the universality of democratic principles and respect for human rights. All these elements are opposed by the Russia-China couple who are almost always united to the UN Security Council. They advocate non-interference, multilateralism, among others. Russia is perceived by Westerners as a state that has not changed despite the fall of the Soviet bloc. The Russian system is considered motionless from the top to the bottom. It is a machine to avoid any deviance, any expression of pluralism with gigantic democratic deficiencies [53]. Which means that the Russian presence in Africa is a brake on the expansion of democracy. African states in need of democracy could easily adapt to the Eastern system. Otherwise, Pascal Chaigneau et al may also fear that a military might emerged in the heart of Africa with the support of Russia rather than theirs. They consider that since the gradual recovery of Russia, Russian trade has never been well. Russian commercial aircraft, for example, are sold only to rogue states. In other words, the rapprochement of the CAR to Moscow could give it the qualifier of rogue state with time. CAR is a country rich in natural resources. The CAR, feeling abandoned by Westerners, ventured to Russia without ideological considerations [54]. She is attracted by Russia's exploits against the Islamic State in Syria as well as his experience in geostrategic operations. Also, it is to be considered that Russia could provide equipment for extraction and processing of raw materials to the CAR. Beyond that, the CAR could benefit from "natural resources versus military equipment" contracts in order to modernize its army. The emergence of CAR in the heart of Africa would make it a considerable strategic ally. It would therefore be an outlet for the sale of Russian products. The CAR is a risky gamble for Moscow, which has an obligation to succeed in its emergence in order to attract more African states to its cause both at the UN and in a bilateral framework. However, Russian adventure in Africa should allow Russia to loosen its encirclement by NATO. NATO will have to redirect towards an Africa favorable to Russia, but especially hostile to the French presence because of its colonial past.

#### C. The problematic of the natural resources exploitation on a win-win basis

It was since 1884 that the first European settlers arrived in CAR. Since then, French companies have begun to exploit the country's natural resources. This comes from the Franco-Belgian Convention of February 5, 1885. This convention fixed two influence zones border between these two colonial countries [55]. The CAR, at that time CAR, was not party to this convention, any more than the two Congo. Consequently, there were no agreements between these colonies and the metropolis. After independence, French companies have always kept a stranglehold on this country. The agreements are still not made in a win-win way.

At some point, the will to exploit on a win-win basis has begun to emerge in Central Africans, like other African countries. We believe that exploiting natural resources on a win-win basis implies benefit sharing in a fair and mutually acceptable way. This is a certain contribution of both partners to the development of each other. The Central African Mining Code gives us an idea of the win-win operation that could contribute to the development of CAR. The article 36 grants at least 15% of the share capital of the operating company to the Central African state. The article 7 of the "Standard Mining Convention between the Central African State and the Mining Investor" is more explicit. To ensure its interests in the operating company, the state has two positions of responsibility. Also, the company should grant five percent (5%) of the registered capital for the Central African private enterprises wishing to take part in the shares of the company. In addition, the operating company should reserve 15% of its marketable production for the state before export.

The Chinese presence, advocating a win-win partnership, has strengthened the willingness of Central Africans to engage in win-win partnerships for the exploitation of natural resources. This desire was noted regarding the renewal of RSM Production's operating license. All negotiations with the American company were unsuccessful [56]. The reason should that China had made a better offer, namely 50/50 representing a percentage sharing equal share. After the Central African

authorities refused to renew the permits of the American RSM Productions, Total got the exclusivity of the block A exploitation in the north of the country. According to Pascal Bida Koyagbele, France has proposed the contract on the 90/10 basis, i.e. 10% for the CAR [43]. The determination of a win-win exploitation led the CAR to award the license to Chines companies on more favorable terms (50/50) in 2007 [4]. This same determination was recorded in the case of uranium. In 2006, Areva got the Bakouma uranium deposit. But CAR preferred to allocate the three mining licenses to Canadian producer UraMin rather than Areva. This decision should link to an offer more favorable than that of Areva. In 2007, Areva bought out UraMin the Bakouma site for more than two billion dollars [57]. The Central African Government had described the operation as a repurchase of illegal under Central African legal provisions and contractual clauses. Two reasons should explain this reaction on the part of the Central African Government. Firstly, the Central African state holds nearly 7% of the share capital of UraMin in the exploitation of the Bakouma deposit [58]. Probably, the Central African Government expected to be involved in the negotiations for this acquisition. Secondly, the article 7 of the Mining Code provides for the payment of a signing bonus to supply the Mining Development Fund [59]. This involves a specific negotiation with Areva for the exploitation of the Bakouma deposit. Thirdly, the article 17 of the "Standard Mining Convention between the Central African State and the Mining Investor" provides for obligations incumbent upon an exploiting enterprise for the benefit of the local population. This article states that the company is obliged to give priority to actions related to health, the environment, youth and sport, arts and culture, housing, road infrastructure and ongoing dialogue with the local population and the state. The protest of the Central African Government would imply that in the UraMin acquisition operation, Areva did not take into account the provision of public infrastructure (schools, health centers, drinking water, roads, etc.) for the benefit of the Bakouma locality. Finally, in 2008, AREVA was able to find an arrangement with the Central African Government. Only the ensuing civil war in CAR and the global uranium market situation following the Fukushima nuclear accident pushed the Bakouma project back sine die.

## VI. CONCLUSION

This study is part of the development of North-South relations based on the appreciation of local people. France's actions in terms of its presence in the field of natural resources in CAR are many and varied. It proceeds through the financing of development projects, donations, supports and financial contributions. The positive impact of these actions is appreciated by the population. In the case of project financing, we invite the French authorities to review the operating strategy of these projects. In order to achieve a significant social impact, projects financing should be endorsed by local authorities and the elected representatives should be involved. Also, cooperation agreements between Bangui University and French universities should be reactivated in order to achieve real impact as part of support in scientific research. An opening of French support to private educational institutions accredited by the African and Malagasy Council for Higher Education should also be a significant asset.

The exploitation of natural resources should take into consideration the needs of local population. In this way, France could peacefully preserve its historical partners. The desire to help to the poor country development should encourage the exploitation of natural resources on a win-win basis. A win-win operation is one that takes into account the development concerns of the host countries. This study has an involvement, not only for France and the CAR, but also for international relations and policies. It helps to understand how natural resources manage to generate partnerships in all areas. It also helps to understand that although the CAR and France share the same ideology, their relations are not based on a win-win basis. These relationships are based on historical ties characterized by a colonial past [60]. Future work is needed to analyze understanding the negative impact of France's presence in CAR.

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