CHAPTER - II
POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC SETTINGS OF INDIA AND FRANCOPHONE WEST AFRICA

2.1 Introduction

Since the end of cold war, the economics of the world has gradually integrated through increase trade, investment and other means of economic linkages through various bilateral and multilateral forums. It has helped to create an atmosphere of trust in various regions with the desire for regional economic cooperation in the context of globalization, which has created the objective basis for greater economic interaction among the developing countries. The stable politics with a supportive economic climate of a country is a prerequisite for economic interdependence with other countries. This is more viable with the wave of Liberalization, Privatization and Globalization (LPG), which is worldwide phenomenon since late 1980s. Therefore there is a strong need to have stable democratic polity and sound economy in order to forge for greater economic ties with other countries or regions, since no country is self dependent in this era of greater interdependence of globalization and privatization.

Thus, in the light of above changes in world scenario and to explore the relations between India and Francophone West African countries it is necessary to analyze the political, social and economic set-up of both the regions and the relationships among state, society and economy of both India and Francophone West African countries. An attempt has been made in this chapter to explore the nature, direction
and extent of change in the key aspects of political and macro-economic scenarios of both India and Francophone West African states during the period of analysis (1975-2000). This chapter would further highlight the various facets of polity and economy of both India and Francophone West African countries in order to prepare the background for analyzing the cooperation between them during the period of analysis. While doing so, the thrust will be given to development strategy and comparison on political and economic scenario of India and Francophone West African countries.

Both the regions are freed from the colonial rules and have adopted political frameworks enshrined in their respective constitution within which economy is operated. They have adopted their own independent political systems in order to ensure the good governance. India’s democracy is a known and stable factor, which has taken deep roots over more than half a century whereas the new and present political systems in Francophone West African countries are the outgrowth of the recent wave of democratization and liberalization in the continent of Africa. In economic terms, both India and Francophone West African countries market reforms have opened new windows of opportunity for trade and investment. Their natural resources, abundance of cheap labour and size of market drew larger attention of the regional and extra regional economic interests. Given the political and economic profile of India and Francophone West African countries, it would amiable for analyzing relationship between the two regions in the course of this research work.
2.2 The Political Economy of India and Francophone West African states

There are nine Francophone West African states, namely, Senegal, Mali, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Burkina Faso, Mauritania, Togo, Benin and Niger. This region covers an area of 4.76 million square kms with a population of 104.2 millions in year 2000. India, on the other hand, has an area of 3.28 million square kms with a population of one billion marks in the year 2000. The size of an individual country among these nine Francophone West African countries varies widely from Niger's 1,267,00 sq kms to Togo's 56,785 sq kms. In respect of population also there are wide variation from Mauritania's 26 million to Togo's 4.7 million in the year 2000.¹ As these countries have diverse ideologies, economic and social structures and political institutions, they did not follow the same system for development and were not uniform in economic development plans. Thus, these nine Francophone West African states reflect diverse economic environment. However, almost all the countries of Francophone West Africa are moving on the path of economic liberalization and have devaluated their currency (CFA Franc by 50 percent) in 1990s. The per capita annual GNP of these countries varies from US $ 734 in Ivory Coast to US $ 250 in Mali in year 2000.² On the other hand, a series of ambitious economic reforms aimed at deregulating the country's economy and stimulating foreign investment has moved

¹ See for the data in this section, Africa, South of the Sahara (London, Europa Yearbook, 2002), relevant sections.
² ibid.
India firmly into the front ranks of the rapidly growing Asia-Pacific region and unleashed the latent strength of a complex and rapidly changing nation. India is the twelfth largest industrial power in the world, with its own nuclear industry, arms industry and even its own space satellites. As the economies of Francophone West African countries are fast improving and GDP increasing in real terms in late 1990s, their economies hold immense opportunities of mutually beneficial economic co-operation with India.

2.2.1 Polity of India and Francophone West African states before the 1990s

India is one of the most heterogeneous country in the world, having all kinds of ethnic, religious, linguistic, caste and regional diversities. Francophone West African countries are also multi-ethnic, multi-linguistic and multi-religious societies. India adopted the political system, which could be suited for her own socio-economic system, which is also an outgrowth of the long drawn British colonial rule. Similarly, virtually all the nations of Francophone Africa gained independence by the end of 1960 with multi-party, parliamentary, democratic regimes. These parliamentary governments had been permitted to grow in the last few years of colonial rule. Parliamentary democracy, however, did not last long in independent states and it collapsed under the weight of new governmental problems. Where multi-party system continued, they became embroiled in ethnic and

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3 Country Profile- India, (Online: web) URL: http://news.bbc.co.uk/world/asia/country_profiles/india
regional conflict. In many countries the parliamentary structure remained but only a single party remained legal, this was the case for Senegal, Ivory Coast and Guinea. In other cases military rulers as in Togo and Mali abolished parliament. In all these cases the formal, electoral structures of representation weakened, after flourishing briefly in the decade surrounding independence. Some form of personal rule characterized the first post independence regimes of Francophone West Africa. The leaders of the various independence movements, who subsequently had become government officials, often manipulated public resources, acquired vast wealth and status and generally consolidated their hold on power. Where the transitional systems acquired legitimacy, as in Ivory Coast, it was almost entirely the result of the ability of the leader – politician, in the absence of strong governing institutions, to provide adequate material and political rewards to a broader constituency.

India emerged with numerous political, social and economic difficulties after its independence on August 15, 1947. The country was partitioned into India and Pakistan, which led to massive migration of Hindus and Muslims and substantial communal conflict. Furthermore, the British had left India with a rudimentary industrial and scientific base, tremendous poverty, a large and growing population, social cleavages along caste and economic lines, and

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6 ibid.
contentious territorial boundaries that have led to armed conflicts with Pakistan (1947-49, 1965, 1971), China (1962) and numerous insurgent groups. In spite of such difficulties, the nation can count a number of successes. With the exception of martial law from 1975 to 1977, India has maintained a democratic political system.

India, a Union of States is a Sovereign Socialist Secular Democratic Republic with a parliamentary system of government. The republic is governed in terms of the Constitution, which was adopted by the Constituent Assembly on 26th November 1949 and came into force on 26th January 1950. The Constitution distributes legislative power between parliament and state legislatures and provides for vesting of residual powers in parliament. Power to amend the constitution also vests in parliament. The constitution has provision for independence of judiciary, comptroller and auditor-general, public service commissions and chief election commissioner. The Indian constitution also offers a comprehensive list of fundamental rights, which are guaranteed in the constitution in the form of six broad categories of fundamental rights, which are justiciable. These are right to equality; right to freedom of speech and expression; right to freedom of conscience, free profession and practice and propagation of religion; right to conserve culture, language and minorities right to establish and administer educational institutions; right against exploitation and
right to constitutional remedies for enforcement of fundamental rights. 7

In political setting, India has a very rich experience of governance with democratic principles. India has adopted the multiparty political system soon after it attained the power to shape its own destiny. However the one party remained dominant in the political scene for a considerable period of time in the post-independence period. The Indian National Congress (INC), which is considered to be the oldest political party in India, its origin, can be traced to 1885. 8 Soon after independence the party remained in power for a considerable period of nearly forty-five years. The legacy of freedom struggle, the charismatic leaders like Gandhi, Nehru, Patel and others and the populist measures adopted from time to time helped the party to remain in power for long.

In Francophone West Africa, Senegal representing the peak of democratic hopes and intentions is a unique example of a country having had a pre-colonial experience of a limited application of the participatory political processes to a culturally particular France-oriented elite African group. Because of its long historical association with France and because the federation’s first democratic institutions made their appearance there, Senegal was the logical starting point for

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French West African politics. Senegal was the first French colony in Africa in which its elite population was early given a significant political role. Way back in the middle of the nineteenth century, a small number of Africans were given French citizenship and participated in the election of a Deputy to represent the country in the French National Assembly. Senegal was the only colony of the Federation that was represented in the pre-war French Parliament and until 1946 its colonial council and municipal administrations were the only elected representative bodies in French West Africa.9 These concessions, even while limited in nature, allowing only a limited political participation to a small elite group of the Senegalese populace, enabled it to acquire the skills of political association, political debate, political mobilization and political organization. Besides, exposure of this elite to French culture through higher education diffused democratic values and aspirations making it difficult to impose authoritarian and repressive restrictions on them. Franchise was extended to those who were born in these towns or had resided there for at least five years. Such people were considered French and were subject to the French civil and Penal Codes. In fact, this phase of political education contributed to the creation of a class of professional and responsible politicians and has conditioned considerably the present political culture in the country.

power in Senegal was increasingly strengthened, centralized and personalized, with civil liberties constrained, opposition parties outlawed to merge into Senghor's ruling Union Progressiste Senegalais (UPS), the transition to one party rule was somewhat distinct in that it "never went so far as to set up an arbitrary or absolute dictatorship". Thus, Senegal is a unique example in Francophone Africa of a country that was during the colonial period schooled in the arts of limited political participation in representative institutions.

The most significant features of Ivorian politics has been the development of the one-party state, which Houphouet Boigny established to assure his own autocratic rule and economic growth. When Ivory Coast gained independence in 1960 under the leadership of Houphouet Boigny, the new President immediately assumed strong powers as head of state, head of government, and leader of the ruling Democratic Party of Cote d'Ivoire and also commander in chief of the armed forces. In his role as head of government, he appointed his cabinet (council of ministers), named the chief justice of the Supreme Court and selected the heads of all extra governmental commissions and councils. As head of state, he formulated and conducted foreign policy. As head of the party, he set policy directions and appointed the entire membership of all policy-making boards.

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Ivorian President Felix Houphouet Boigny had dominated Ivorian politics since the strings of nationalism in the mid-1940s and has remained President since the country's Independence in 1960 (was elected several times in between), is very much synonymous with the Ivory Coast. The governance in Ivory Coast remained the province of one man, President Felix Houphouet Boigny affectionately called le vieux (the old man). From the onset of his tenure in 1960, debate was virtually suspended as Houphouet Boigny subjected the polity to his paternalistic yet stern control. Whatever the mechanisms for consensus government were all blatantly ignored and for 30 years until November 1990, as Head of the Parti Democratique de la Cote d’Ivoire (PDCI), the country's only political party, Boigny managed to crush all opposition. The influence of the PDCI was so pervasive that dissidents or anyone outside the party had little chance of being heard. Over the years opposition to the regime was firmly quashed by a combination of carrot and stick techniques – distribution of favours and frequently by overt suppression. Any opposition in the party itself was curbed by resorting to a purge. The country's trade unions were also forced to combine into one organization and the Army was reduced in size so as to prevent any possible intervention in the political institutional system. With the stifling of all opposition, prohibition of debate (it is believed that weekly cabinet meetings were no more than a monologue by President Boigny), and intensification

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of repression, the ruling PDCI under Houphouet Boigny was increasingly bureaucratised as an agency of the centre, "the most important instrument of government control and auxiliane d' autorite." 13

Although there were occasions when popular sentiments as expressed through party organs or the National Assembly forced the President to alter a policy decision, he was without question the dominant political force. Houphouet Boigny became a transcendent symbol of unity to the disparate groups in Ivory Coast, and his charismatic authority supplanted the traditional authority of the local chiefs. The President successfully prevented significant pockets of resistance to his rule from forming through a combination of cooptation and mild repression. So successful was he that most of those whose rights were abused nonetheless recognized that they were materially better off than their neighbours. The greatest source of Houphouet Boigny's popular appeal was the strength of his charismatic personality. To repay his supporters with adequate material rewards, Houphouet Boigny developed economic policies that combined free enterprise and state capitalism with liberal foreign investment and continued economic dependence on France. Houphouet Boigny's strategy for development also led to a broad gap in wealth and power between the urban elite, the rulers and the rest of the population. Unlike most of his counterparts in Sub-Saharan Africa, Houphouet Boigny resisted

pressures to sever ties with the colonizing power (France) or to Africanise the bureaucracy, two steps that, when taken in other former colonies, usually meant reduced funds for investment and expanded opportunities for corruption. He also resisted pressure to subsidize large industrial projects with revenues from cash crops. Instead, he relied on foreign-mostly French investment, technology and support to develop the country's economic base and administrative infrastructure. Although Houphouet Boigny's hold on the national imagination was weakening by the late 1980s, many Ivoirians continued to reject out of hand any reports of the President's avarice or violations of trust. Thus, the Ivory Coast has often been characterized as different from the rest of Africa. It has been described as an oasis of political stability and economic prosperity, in short, the "Ivoirian miracle". Indeed, on the basis of political stability and economic performance during its first twenty years of independence, Ivory Coast does appear unique. It has had only one President and no coups.

His countrymen through the sixties and the seventies tolerated Boigny's autocratic rule, when the country enjoyed a robust growth rate of 6 percent and subsequent political peace and stability. But as this era of peace and stability faded in the eighties because of political and economic problems and a crisis precipitated by the falling world prices of cocoa, opposition to Boigny began to manifest itself. Strikes and demonstrations were rampant throughout the country and

14 ibid.
France's new policy of disengagement in Africa forced Houphouet Boigny to legalize other political parties and hold elections by 1990. Nevertheless, not willing to surrender that easily, he cleverly (through rigging) managed to win the Presidential elections for a sixth term and frustrated the demands for a democratic transition.

Burkina Faso, known as Upper Volta until 1984, won independence from France on August 5, 1960 under the leadership of Maurice Yameogo. His presidency was weakened by ethnic conflicts and economic problems, which have plagued the country throughout its history. President Yameogo was overthrown on January 3, 1966 in a coup engineered by Lieutenant-Colonel Sangoule Lamizana who became the new head of state. He seized power on public demand following a general strike and mass demonstrations against drastic cuts in salaries of civil service workers and other employees. Shortly after Lamizana became president, he also assumed the rank of general. In 1970 another constitution was adopted following a national referendum. The constitution allowed General Lamizana to remain president until 1975, when an elected president would replace him. New elections were held in 1970 and the Voltaic Democratic Union (UDV) won. Its leader, Gerard Kango Ouedraogo became prime minister in February 1971 after being nominated for the post by Lamizana. But on February 8, 1974, Lamizana again interrupted the democratic process. With the help of the army, he overthrew Prime

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Minister Ouedraogo, dissolved the national assembly and suspended the constitution. In 1977 a new constitution was approved. It recognized three parties as legitimate contenders for power in upcoming elections. Multiparty democracy was restored in 1978 by the military head of state Lamizana in response to public demands for a return to constitutional rule. Parliamentary elections were held on April 30 the same year and the Voltaic Democratic Union won a majority of seats in the national assembly. But in the Presidential election held in May, General Lamizana won by a narrow margin over three other candidates. He defeated his closest rival, Macaire Ouedraogo, a banker, by a margin of 56 percent to 44 percent for a five-year term. After the striking unions paralyzed the country for several months, Colonel Saye Zerbo, a former foreign minister, overthrew General Lamizana in a bloodless coup on November 25, 1980. Lamizana was placed under house arrest and Colonel Saye Zerbo became the new head of state presiding over the Military Committee of Reform for National Progress, which constituted the new government. But Zerbo did not last long in power, mainly because of continuing labor unrest he was unable to contain. On November 7, 1982, Major Jean-Baptiste Ouedrogo who declared himself president overthrew him. Like his predecessor, he also banned all political activities. But his reign was also short. On August 5, 1983, Captain Thomas Sankara overthrew Major Ouedraogo in a coup in which 13

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16 ibid, pp. 17-18.
17 ibid, p. 18.
persons were killed. Sankara had been dismissed as prime minister and jailed by Ouedraogo three months earlier. Thomas Sankara and three other young army officers seized power in Upper Volta leading a national revolution, which aimed to establish social justice and make the country economically self-sufficient. They changed the name of the country to Burkina Faso which means the land of upright people and waged war against corruption, and mobilized the people around a radical political program. On assumption of power, Captain Thomas Sankara banned all political parties and announced the formation of the National Council of the Revolution (CNR) to rule the country. But like his predecessors, Sankara did not last long in power. In October 1987, however, the revolution began to unravel when his closest friend, Captain Blaise Compaore, killed Sankara in a bloody coup d'état. Captain Blaise Compaore, his closest “friend”, who also ordered his assassination, overthrew him in October 1987. Now Compaore is the sole survivor of the ‘group of four’ following the summary execution of Major Jean-Baptiste Lingani, the minister of defense, and Captain Henri Zongo, the minister for economic promotion. Compaore had a quite a track record killing his “opponents, beginning with the assassination of Thomas Sankara in 1987.  

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18 ibid, p.18.
2.2.1.1 Political Systems and Democratic Structures

The role of the leadership in building and sustaining and or challenging and destroying democracy in a country cannot but be underscored.

India got independence in 1947 under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru by virtue of non-violent resistance to British colonialism. India's democracy is a known and stable factor, which has taken deep roots over nearly half a century under the leadership of Pandit Nehru. Importantly, India has no fundamental conflict between its political and economic system. It has well established and time tested institutions that include a free and vibrant press, a judiciary that can and does overrule the government, a sophisticated legal and accounting system and intellectual infrastructure.

Senegal's leader Leopold Sedar Senghor is the finest example of a concerned leader in Francophone West Africa, interested in leading his country to be a part of the comity of democratic states. Trained in the liberal French traditions and experiences, open to dialogue and negotiations, Senghor is known to have always stood for compromise and conciliation even during the most repressive and authoritarian phase of his political control. Even while for more than three decades he managed to skillfully eliminate all rival political groups by absorption and whenever necessary by legalized suppression. The more significant among them would be the supporters of Lamine Gueye and the Senegalese branch of the SFIO, legally amalgamated
with Senghor's party (then the Bloc Populaire Senegalais) in 1958; friends and followers of the ex-Prime Minister Mamadou Dia, who was deposed in the constitutional crisis of 1962 and then kept under house arrest till 1974; the coalition of Cheikh Anta Diop, whose first political party (Bloc des Masses Senegalais (BMS), 1962-63) did briefly pose a serious threat to the ruling party. Much of the BMS leadership was then absorbed in the governing party but not Cheikh Anta; supporters of Abdoulaye Ly and the Parti du Regroupement Africain Senegal were also absorbed into the UPS in 1966, but Ly himself (like Cheikh Anta Diop) was subsequently given a research assignment at the Institut Fondamental d’Afrique Noire at Dakar. He never did hesitate to adopt liberalization measures and initiate steps to a multiparty system while being firm with other groups. Thus for example in 1974, following protests and strikes by students and teachers, the Parti Democratique Senegalais, led by Abdoulaye Wade, was allowed to register even while the Rassemblement National Democratique led by Cheikh Anta Diop, and a left-wing group led by Mamadou Dia were not extended recognition. Later in the seventies, as the country’s economic problems mounted, Senghor handed over responsibility to the Prime Minister Abdou Diouf. Senghor finally stepped down from the Presidency in 1980 because of the continued ailing economy and the political opposition to his leadership. It was probably Senghor’s sensitivity to Senegal’s image abroad that had made him all through his political career to moderate his authoritarianism; it also led him to resign his position voluntarily,
thus setting a precedent for his peer group in the country as well as in the region. Senghor’s successor Abdou Diouf, despite his Islamic leanings and image has the same liberal instincts and democracy continues to flourish.

As against this class of leadership are those who have challenged the concept of democracy and offered stiff resistance to its induction in their countries. In Francophone West Africa, Houphouet Boigny fit the bill, not only did he oppose democratic trends but also entrenched himself as leader of single party.

Thus, the role of the leadership in Francophone West Africa (with the exception of Senegal) in building democratic institutions and sustaining democracy has been limited or in some cases even retrograde. Leaders had been unable to comprehend the problems of their countries and failed to usher in democratic transformations in the post-Independence colonial institutions.

Other distinctive features of the African state system, which have confronted and challenged the democratic processes on the continent, are the role of the Armed Forces. In the early phase of the post-Independence period a majority of the countries on the continent came under military rule following military coups, armed conflicts and suppression of internal dissent by the police and the para-military forces. Examples to be quoted are Burkina Faso, Mali, Mauritania and Togo etc. In all these countries, the military had overthrown civilian regimes when the later had lost legitimacy because of poor political
economic performance, which had led their countries down the path of economic ruin. Another factor that facilitated the proliferation of military coups on the continent was, as the Malian President Gen. Moussa Traore observed, “the absence of institutions to build national unity.” 20

West Africa has been the African region most prone to political instability. All states in this region apart from Senegal have experienced from one to six (Benin, Burkina Faso and Nigeria) successful coups and all have had at least one failed coup attempt. With the failed coup on 19 September 2002 and the ensuing civil war in Cote d’ Ivoire, the West African region remains the center of military-led political instability in Africa.21

Burkina Faso and Benin have suffered multiple coups lead with six each. Coups have taken place in Benin (6), Burkina Faso (6), Mauritania (3), Niger (3), Mali (2), Togo (2), Guinea (1), and Cote d’ Ivoire (1). Senegal has so far not experienced any military coups and it has operated stable, multiparty democracy since independence and its economy has also experienced growth.22 Senegal has been coup free at least in part because France guaranteed its stability until the late 1990s. However, it has also been targeted by soldiers and politicians bent on seizing power. Senegal, which saw a failed coup in 1962 soon

20 Washington Times, 8 October 1990.
22 Senegal did experience a bloodless failed coup in December 1962 resulting from an ideological and policy dispute between prime minister Mamadou Dia and President Leopold Senghor, but has seen no military intervention activity of any kind since then.
after independence has however solidified its record as a multiparty democracy.23

In 1990 in Africa the ‘second wave of independence’ began with democratisation in Benin and the beginning of the negotiated transition to democracy in South Africa. With democratisation and the end of cold war interventions, the political environment in Sub-Saharan Africa in the 1990s was dramatically different from the earlier post-colonial decades. The 1990s saw a much lower rate of success in military’s propensity to launch coup attempts. New, weakly institutionalised democratic governments are as apt to suffer from the coup virus, as are weak one-party and military regimes.24 However, the most positive development is that some regimes have been able to develop a measure of systematic legitimacy that serves to discourage praetorian assaults from their armed forces. These are the states that entered the 1990s with a functioning multiparty democratic system25 like Senegal or that made the transition to such a system in the 1990s like Burkina Faso. Burkina Faso and Senegal have been free of coup and coup attempts since January 1990 and began the 1990s with a functioning multiparty democratic system or made a transition to such a system. African regimes were now better able to survive coup attempts perhaps because they were independent longer and their political systems had become more institutionalised or because they

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23 McGowan, n. 22, p. 351.
24 ibid, pp. 348-349.
25 ibid, pp. 357-358.
had learned techniques to insulate themselves from successful coups.  

2.2.2. Economy of India and Francophone West African states before 1990s

India in the post-independence period has followed the Nehruvian model of mixed economy and this has continued till the mid-1980s. During this period, the Indian economy has undergone significant changes both in quantitative and qualitative directions. From 1947 to the late 1970s, the economy was characterized by central government planning and import substitution industries and economic production was transformed from primarily agriculture, forestry, fishing and textile manufacturing to various heavy industries, transportation and telecommunications. Thus, after independence India adopted socialist economic planning and import substitution industries with a main objective to achieve rapid economic development and to correct the socio-economic structure of the country inherited from the long drawn colonial rule. The objective of development was not just to increase total production but also to attain higher levels of living standard. India has completed five decades of planned development with the various planning each with five years term. Beginning with the first five-year plan in 1951, the ninth five-year plan was completed in 1997-2002. Although the planners have set different objectives for the different five year plans, there are certain objectives which are

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26 ibid, p. 348.  
27 Times of India (New Delhi), 27 November 2002.
common in each five year plans which are intended to achieve high economic growth, increase in employment, fiscal management, reduce inequalities, sectoral development etc. A combination of socialist planning and free enterprise from the 1950s to the 1970s led to substantial industrialization with the goal of making India economically self-sufficient. Using Green Revolution agricultural technologies, the country has become self-sufficient in food production. Moreover, building on British established education system, India developed an educational infrastructure that has trained one of the world’s largest scientific and technical populations. However, due to economic crisis in the 1980s India initiated action for Economic Reforms in June 1991. India launched its economic reforms programme in 1991 to meet the challenges of chronic fiscal deficits, adverse balance of payment position and stagflation.

The successive Five-Year Plans, over a period of forty years, charted India’s strategies for economic development with alternating emphasis on growth of industrial sectors, employment and poverty alleviation, agriculture, import substitution, export promotion and more. Throughout the said period, certainly until the early 1980s, the approach was more inward rather than outward looking. Self-reliance, import substitution, dominant role of the public sector’s “commanding heights”, quantity restrictions, exchange controls, etc., were pillars of the development strategy. In retrospect some of these instruments of

policy did play very useful roles, while others perpetuated inefficiencies. In the process, the economy witnessed a widespread growth of a Licence Raj affecting internal and external sectors. Licence requirements, internal tariffs, excessive import duties, quotas and subsidies were especially influential.30 Meanwhile, the record of Francophone West African countries on the economic front is uneven and less impressive in the post-independent period. They have failed to escape poverty and weakness in the economy. The achievements of national governments generally failed to match up to the hopes of their citizens. They fell into debt, and they remained exposed to the whims or the designs of great nations and powerful firms. The governments of Francophone West African countries intervened in the economy more systematically but continuing links to France made them economically dependent.31 The ability of government to do well or ill was shown to be limited and in some cases irrelevant. The politics of international debt assumed great importance in the early 1970s, and remained determinant thereafter. These nations, seeking investment funds to provide social services and permit economic growth, suddenly found that international banks were willing to loan large amounts on relatively easy terms. But the low interest rates and easy credit were not to last long. Prices began to rise in the early 1970s and then they rose far more rapidly with the

petroleum boycott by the Muslim countries in OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries). As a result, interest rates skyrocketed, and they learned about the variable interest rate clauses in their loan contracts. They now faced impossible debt burdens. Thus, by the mid 1980s most of the nations of Francophone West Africa had slipped deeply in debt to foreign banks and to the IMF.\textsuperscript{32}

Now the IMF stepped in to recommend means of repayment of the loans, and to recommend austerity programs, which would reduce national expenditure. Thus, regardless of their domestic political and economic policies the governments of Francophone West African countries found themselves united in support of the growing demand for a new international economic order. This idea, supported by the world's poorer countries, was that the wealthy countries benefited from unfair prices and from preferential treatment by banks and the international agreements should be made which would redress this balance.

Until the late 1970s, Ivory Coast experienced enormous economic growth, based largely on agricultural exports. Since gaining independence and between 1960 to 1979, the gross national product (GNP) grew by almost 8 percent per year, compared with minimal or negative growth rates elsewhere in Africa. Indeed, through 1979, Ivory Coast posted one of the highest rates of economic growth among all developing countries and the highest gross domestic product (GDP) of any non-petroleum exporting African country. However, that growth

\textsuperscript{32} ibid.
produced large dysfunctional-disparities in wealth and income and skewed development. The benefits of economic prosperity were not equally distributed, however benefiting most was a bourgeoisie made up of wealthy politicians, who were often also business people and owners of prosperous coffee and cocoa plantations. However, the country was ill prepared when, in the late 1970s, world prices for coffee and cocoa, Ivory coast’s principal export commodities, dropped, while prices for its principal imports rose.\textsuperscript{33} Meanwhile, foreign borrowing to finance massive investments in infrastructure and public enterprises, that lost money, raised Ivory Coast foreign debt beyond its ability to meet its obligations. Budget reductions and a structural adjustment program forced the vast majority of the population to lower its expectations, which in turn contributed to, among other social-ills, heightened frustrations and a sharp increase in violent crime. By the end of the 1980s, Ivory Coast was confronting the same problems of political and economic development as other African countries and having to respond with many of the same difficult and often inadequate solutions.\textsuperscript{34}

The economic performance of Senegal has been extremely disappointing between 1965 and 1985. The GDP per capita declined in real terms by an annual average of 0.6 percent. In order to solve economic problems, Senegal launched adjustment programme in 1979. It stressed merely on short-term financial stabilisation

\textsuperscript{34} ibid.
measures. It was until the launching of a medium and long-term adjustment reforms for 1985-92 that more far reaching structural reforms were introduced. These reforms, which are designed to improve efficiency of the economy and to generate high growth, have included partial privatisation of public sector and reduction of state's intervention in agriculture under a new Agricultural Policy in 1984.35

Senegal has no doubt achieved on an average about 4 percent growth rate GDP during the period from 1985 to 1988. The striking success with respect to inflation which had fallen from 13 percent in 1985 to -0.4 percent in 1987 is also related to the improved harvest as well as lower food import prices and the deflationary thrust of the governments stabilization policies. After four years of improved growth rates, the 1989 figures show a fall in real GDP of 1.7 percent due to poor farming season. The real GDP over the past five years (1988-93) has averaged 2.4 percent slightly lower than the rate of population growth.36

Burkina Faso was among the more than 30 African countries, which because of their massive fiscal deficits, rampant corruption, political and economic mismanagement and repression were at a political and economic dead end. Thus, they were forced to implement IMF and the World Bank structural adjustment programmes and liberalize. Therefore these states have no choice but to liberalize the structures of control by introducing market economy mechanism.

36 ibid.
2.2.3 Determining factors for the democratic and market reforms

Following the collapse of the Soviet Union and the dismantling of the East European regimes, the wave of democratization and political pluralism is on the upsurge in Francophone West Africa. But, even while conceding that the Soviet and East European developments provided the catalysis influencing developments in these countries, they certainly were not the main determining factor for the widespread call for political reform. They in fact provided, as Samuel Decalo states—"a major spillover effect". The fact that "the continent was ripe for a massive populist upheaval and a number of internal and external factors played a role in leading the democratic pressures to fruition" 37 cannot be ignored. More and more Francophone West African countries have resorted to multi-party elections after years of domination by entrenched authoritarian dictatorships and single party leaders, considering it to be a more viable alternative, while others have been forced by circumstances such as the likelihood of having to depend on the western world/the international donor institutions dominated by them. Given this scenario, they had no choice but to abide by the demands for liberalization by the later.

Despite the upsurge to dismantle the political interests of single parties and one-man rule, military or political, in favour of democratic systems, not all Francophone West African countries have been able to effect a favourable transition. In some countries, despite elections

the ruling regimes have been able to retain their positions by whatever means fair or unfair like Burkina Faso. While this has in some cases assured that these countries have now recognized the advantages of democracy as a principle and that this has enabled them to secure the much needed aid and assistance from international institutions and donor countries, such as Washington and Western Europe, the opposition which had visualized a smooth political transition leading to changes in governance and succession have become disappointed and restless. The fear that they may threaten stability within the country cannot be ruled out.

In other parts of Francophone West Africa (except Senegal), because there was no development of internal pluralism to participatory processes, the present transformation to democratization is more influenced by the external factors and international pressures. International pressures, reinforcing the domestic demands for change, took the form of a call for better government, less wastage and corruption, greater civic and human rights, and more importantly a liberalization and return to market economies. Aid here after by the international donor community IMF/World Bank was made conditional to the implementation of these changes for, as the President of the World Bank bluntly stated, "Many of Africa's leaders have been more concerned about retaining power than about the long term development interests of their people". This has resulted in huge amounts of foreign aid reversing direction to become an outward


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“flood of capital and the buying of big apartments in nice European countries”39.

Meanwhile, France’s new policy of disengagement from African countries, many of whom it had virtually sustained since their independence, fiscally and militarily, even shielding them at times from the IMF pressures, began to manifest by the 1990’s. It also gave a powerful boost to the international donor community’s pressures for change. The French Authorities, according to their new policies, expressed displeasure to continuing unconditional obligations to oppressive client states in Africa whose authoritarian policies and swelling private bank credits of its elite had tarnished its image abroad. France then, following the IMF-line demanded change as a condition for further loans to African countries. Future aid, it decided would be conditional upon the introduction of basic democratic rights with higher levels of assistance to those who effected the changes. Later at the Franco-African Summit in Libreville (Gabon) in 1992, the French once again stressed the need for Africans to take the path of democratization and development.40

Benin, Burkina Faso, Guinea, Mali, Togo, Niger etc. were among the more than 30 African countries which because of their massive fiscal deficits, rampant corruption, political and economic mismanagement and repression were at a political and economic dead end. They had little choice but to accept the conditionality of the donor countries.

40 Le Soleil (Dakar), 14 September 1992.
Thus, they were forced to implement IMF and the World Bank structural adjustment programmes and liberalize.

In fact, Francophone West African democracy was not and is still not entirely reflective of the typical existing dimensions of the Western liberal concept-multi-party systems, free and fair elections, public service state, a reliable political system accountable to the public, respect for the rule of law, human rights and political stability.

On the other hand, India due to an acute foreign exchange crisis in the late 1980s had followed the structural adjustment programme recommended by the IMF and the World Bank. Since June 1991, it had initiated economic reform measures in different areas of the functioning of the economy with the explicit support of the IMF and the World Bank.

2.2.4. Polity of India and Francophone West African states during the 1990s

There has been a political transition from the single party domination of Indian polity to the coalition politics. The coalitions have become a buzzword in Indian politics. Since 1989, Indian politics has entered a new phase of coalition system. As there was no single party-commanding majority, this resulted a series of coalition government at centre, with a weak executive. This is largely due to the rise of regional parties in Indian politics and lack of mega consensual party like under the Congress government earlier to this decade of coalition politics.  

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This period (1989 till date) has been marked by emergence of several governments formed at the centre and except the government formed under the Prime Ministership of P. V. Narshima Rao, hardly any of them provided the political stability to the country. During the 1990s, there were four general elections, where the making a majority government by a party become virtually impossible.\textsuperscript{42} India has faced two unstable United Front (UF) governments of 13 political parties during the brief period of 18 months between the XI General Elections of 1996 and XII General Elections of 1998. Deve Gowda led the first one while I.K. Gujral led the second one. But before Deve Gowda became the PM, in May 1996, A.B.Vajpayee had tried his luck. For 13 days he formed the government but could not succeed as no other party came forward to form a coalition with it. However, as a result of XII General Elections, Vajpayee formed for the second time a coalition government with the support of 18 parties. The government lasted for only thirteen months. The BJP led NDA government was formed in October 1999 after XIII General Elections with 26 political parties and factions.\textsuperscript{43} Thus, this period also witnessed the experience of India's first genuine non-Congress government, the BJP led coalition government, which has set a world record for the number of Coalition partners.\textsuperscript{44}

\textsuperscript{42} N. Ram, “Political India”, \textit{Indian Horizons} (Delhi), vol. XXXXV, no. 3 & 4, (July-December 1998), p. 62.


\textsuperscript{44} ibid.
However, one fundamental feature of Indian polity has remained intact, the institutions of democracy have not only survived but have become stronger. There is a peaceful transfer of power at the central government, a multiplicity of religions and cultures flourish, impelling governments to avoid ideological extremes. The Indian media is fiercely independent, and so is the judiciary; and the nation has demonstrated that it is capable of accommodating the demands of various linguistic, ethnic and cultural minorities. Thus, the present scenario of Indian polity has a gloomy picture. However, there are concrete factors, which can be seen as positive factors to be used for reconstruction of the Indian society. All the fifty-three years it demonstrated to the world that India is united despite problems and it remains as democratic nation, except for a period of two years, unlike other nations.45

Thus, it is evident that the advantage in India is its democracy. It is quite remarkable democracy with over a billion people and multi-ethnicity and the multi-religiosity in the society. It has repeatedly manages to have democratic elections and had a peaceful change of parliament. And because the democracies tend to be stabilising in their activities and behaviour, obviously it's a good thing for the developmental priorities of India. In the whole process of development initiative for the past five decades concrete achievements have been

45 For details see, Myron Weiner, The Indian Paradox (New Delhi, Sage Publications, 1989) and also see, F. Frankel et al., ed., Transforming India, (New Delhi, OUP, 2000).
made in many fronts and of course they are helpful to a number of social segments but not all.\textsuperscript{46}

From the end of cold war in the early 1990s, the dyanism of new political forces has made the Francophone West African countries to adopt the democracy and allow a civil society to emerge. Not only have Senegal, Mali and Benin become democratic countries, but also all over Francophone Africa there have been voices calling for democracy. Freedom of the press has been a constant picture in the region since the early 1990s. A more active civil society is emerging, as can be noticed through its participation in decision-making.\textsuperscript{47} The political transition in Francophone West African states that has been occurring since 1990 represents a wide-ranging process of political mobilisation, people's participation and democratisation after decades of conflict and repression. They have emerged as democratic states with wave of liberalisation, privatisation and globalisation on full swing in the 1990s.

Senegal was the first to initiate the process of democratic revivalism and pluralistic development in the mid-eighties when democracy was still a far cry in other parts of Africa. It pioneered pluralism, multiparty system and a free press, though not without upsets. The crisis and riots around the 1988 elections were digested and there were attempts for a broader political consensus. Electoral competition was first opened in Senegal in 1988. There were 17 registered parties and

\textsuperscript{46} For more details see, Hiranmay Karlekar, \textit{Independent India: The First Fifty Years} (New Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1998).

\textsuperscript{47} ibid.
8 contested the 1988 elections. Diouf, the secretary general of the Parti Socialiste (PS), won the Presidential ballot with 73% votes as against Abdoulaye Wade's Parti Democratique Senegalaise, which secured 26% votes. Abdou Diouf's party won the majority with 103 seats. Meanwhile the year 1989 saw the break up of the eight-year-old Senegambian confederation, as well as border conflict with Guinea-Bissau. The feeling of isolation in West Africa has encouraged a greater feeling of Senegal first, departing from the country's long tradition of openness to foreigners, especially from neighbouring countries. However, this has not prevented President Abdou Diouf from pursuing regional unity.

In April 1991, President Abdou Diouf who was in power for more than 30 years, invited parliamentary opposition leaders including his fiercest adversary for the last ten years, Abdoulaye Wade, to share power with the newly formed Government under the Prime Ministership of Habib Thiam. This was with a view to avoid political turmoil that may arise out of non-cooperation by the opposition. This move, at a time when the country was passing through a phase of political and economic stagnation, aggravated by “war” with neighbouring Mauritania, the rebellion of Casamance-separatists which had

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48 Senegal joined with the Gambia to form the nominal confederation of Senegambia in 1982. However, the envisaged integration of the two countries was never carried out, and the union was dissolved in 1989.
50 ibid.
51 There was a parallel exodus of Senegalese from Mauritania, entangled in that country's racial politics. Many are now in refugee camps along the Senegal River. There was serious tension from 1989 onwards between Senegal and Mauritania, following riots and attacks on property.
caused several deaths and the economic crisis made worse by the Gulf situation, was indeed an astute step confirming the “democratic laboratory” role that Diouf envisioned for his country. Diouf received widespread accolades for this initiative.52

Senegal has continued with its democratic regime systems in the 1990s. By 1993, the candidates for the 120-member parliament were contesting under six different platforms – five political parties and one coalition. These were the Senegalese Democratic Party (PDS) of Abdoulaye Wade, Abdou Diouf's Socialist Party (PS), the Independence and Labour Party (Parti de l'Independence et du Travail (PIT) and the Senegalese Democratic Union for Revival (the Mouvement Revolutionnaire la Democratie Nouvelli, MRDN). The convention of democrats and Patriots, the National Democratic Rally and the Movement of Independents contested the elections under one umbrella. The elections held on 9 May 1993, resulted in a majority for the socialist party. It secured 84 seats, while Abdou Diouf its leader won the Presidential poll. While Diouf was once again re-elected, but with a smaller vote support (58.4%) as against the 1988 figure of 73.5% and it showed that the urban population had expressed a sanction vote against him and his Parti Socialiste, the earlier involvement of the opposition in government paid dividends. They were persuaded not to force cancellation, which they were clamouring

52 *Jeune Afrique* (Paris) commented on 23 April 1991, “history will remember that his... initiative gave Abdou Diouf the chance to bring his personal contribution to the old Senegalese democratic culture that Senghor had managed to preserve” and *Le Soleil* (Dakar) on 9 April 1991 described the new moves as “a giant step” in improving Senegal’s democratic system. It called on the people of Senegal to support the president in his efforts. “His success will be our success”.

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for. Efforts thereafter have been undertaken to revive the confidence of the people of Senegal, establish a dialogue with the opposition and find a way out of the economic crisis that threatened the country's peace.

Meanwhile, in the early 1990s, there were serious clashes in the Casamance region between the army and the separatist rebels. Quite apart from the suffering caused to the local people, the fighting severely affected Senegal's tourist industry. This compounded Senegal's already desperate fiscal situation. More violence occurred in the Casamance and elsewhere in early 1993, following elections in which Diouf was elected as president for the third term. After long negotiations ceasefire was declared in July that year and in the following months peace returned to Casamance. By early 1994 the first tourists had also begun to return. However, in other parts of the country things were still far from peaceful. The government introduced a number of austerity measures, leading to a one-day general strike in early September and sporadic outbreaks of unrest in Dakar and other cities during the following months. The devaluation of CFA in January 1994 also resulted in angry demonstrations in February 1994 hundreds of people marched on Dakar's presidential palace and six policemen on guard were reportedly hacked to death. The government responded to this by ordering high profile army patrols onto the streets of the capital. The popular opposition leader Abdoulaye Wade was arrested and accused of conspiracy. Dakar remained tense but
peaceful in the following months, and Wade was released in May 1994.

In Senegal, which opened electoral competition to a wide range of opposition parties, while tolerating considerable non-formal participation and dissent by voluntary associations, this evolutionary process has moved further apace and Senegal has come to be a test case for relationships between rulers and opposition. The March 2000 presidential elections were a close contest between president Abdou Diouf and Abdoulaye Wade. After a tense second round of voting, Wade emerged victorious and is now Senegal's new president. After being in power for 40 years since Independence, the Socialist Party lost the Presidential election and on 1 April 2000 Abdoulaye Wade of the Democratic Party took over as the first non-socialist President of Senegal. International observers declared the elections free and fair and it was refreshing to see a long-time African leader Diouf peacefully relinquish power at the will of the people. President Wade has promised an open, transparent government and hopes are high that he will tackle Senegal's many problems with a renewed vigour.

The present wave of democratization in Senegal is due to the evolution of the international processes and compulsions while the external factors like the IMF and the developments in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe have also played a catalytic role in this process.

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54 Senegal, (Online: web) URL: http://www.afric-network.fr/afric/senegal/senegal.htm and also see, http://www.senegal-online.com/
Senegal does have talented, industrious people, who are also highly politically conscious. Thus, Senegal has multi-party democracy and no political prisoners are reported. There is also freedom to press and trade unions are flourishing. Women's do most of the farming but have little representation in any power base.55

President Felix Houphouet Boigny died in Yamoussoukro on 7 December 1993 after being in power since independence for the last 33 years. Henry Konan Bedie assumed the duties of the president of the republic. The increase in violent crimes in Cote d’Ivoire was of particular concern to the Bedie government. The presidential elections took place, as scheduled, on 22 October 1995, following a week of violent incidents in several towns. Bedie with 95.2% of the valid votes cast secured an overwhelming victory. Reports emerged in the independent press in May 1996 of a coup attempt by disaffected members of the armed forces at the time of the civil unrest that preceded the 1995 presidential elections. Guie’s demotion to a relatively minor government post was thus now interpreted as the reaction to the unrest in the forces under his command. In January 1997 Guei was dismissed from the army. A government communiqué stated that an investigative commission had found out that the then armed forces chief had committed ‘serious disciplinary offences’ in the discharge of his duties. In August 1999 Alassane Quattara, who had returned to the country from the U.S. in July, and who had acquired a

55 Country Profile- Senegal, (Online: web) URL: http://news.bbc.co.uk/world/africa/country_profiles/senegal
certificate conforming his Ivorian identity, was selected as the R.D.R's
presidential candidate. Thereafter the long-simmering confrontation
between Bedie and Ouattara quickly escalated. With Bedie's authority
and his personal popularity rapidly declining, a mutiny amongst
soldiers who converged on Abidjan on 23 December 1999 quickly
escalated into a national crisis. On 24 December 1999 Guei agreed,
after initial hesitation, to involve himself in the crisis and moved
quickly to establish a Comite National de Salut Publique (CNSP) to
govern the country. Bedie fled to the French embassy, from where he
moved to a French military base. The unexpected coup was widely
welcomed in Cote d' Ivoire, where the Bedie regime was regarded as
authoritarian and corrupt. France was also quick to accept the coup.
In late January 2000 Guei promised that fresh presidential and
legislative elections would be held before 31 October 2000.56 Laurent
Gbagbo became the new President after victory in election in October
2000. He initiated a series of reconciliation meetings.57
Following a succession of short-lived governments from the sixties to
early eighties, Burkina Faso move to a state of representative
democracy in 1991. A new democratic constitution was adopted in
Burkina Faso, which proposed a multi-party system. Thus,
governmental instability during the 1970's and 1980's was followed by

57 On September 19, 2002, about 750 ex-soldiers of the Ivoirian army led a coup and Guei was
murdered along with his family on the same night. After much behind the scenes diplomatic
wrangling, a peace deal to end Cote d’ Ivoire’s four-month-old civil war was signed on January
24 2003. The Linas-Marcoussis Peace Accord negotiated by all political classes in Cote d’ Ivoire
was approved at a special Heads of State Summit hosted in Paris on January 25-26 by the French
multiparty election in the early 1990s. Compaore proceeded to consolidate his power, reviving the cronyism of pre revolutionary days and doing the bidding of the International Monetary Fund as part of his campaign for respectability. He introduced a multi party democracy while at the same time working to co-opt, buy off or repress opposition. In power since October 15, 1987, as a military dictator, Compaore won the presidency in 1991 as the only candidate in a rigged election to perpetuate himself in office. He remained in power throughout the 1990s, and led his country into the 21st century leaving behind a trail of blood, and the economy in tatters. In spite of Compaore’s iron-fisted rule, opposition to his brutal dictatorship continued. But his opponents had little success in electoral contests. The suspicious death of a prominent journalist, Norbert Zongo, has tarnished the image of Burkina Faso President Blaise Compaore’s government and unleashed a nationwide wave of strikes and demonstrations. Zongo, managing editor of the opposition weekly, L’Independent, and three others were found burned to death in an overturned car in December. According to human-rights organizations, the outside of the vehicle was not burnt, and the rear door was pierced by what looked like bullet holes. Zongo, who was president of the Association of Independent Newspapers, was known for his outspoken criticism of the Compaore government. Norbert Zongo fearlessly exposed (wrote about) corruption in the government and nepotism in Compaore’s family. He had previously received death

threats and had recently published articles that accused the president’s brother of involvement in an employee’s death... Other opponents of the French-supported regime also have died in suspicious circumstances since Compaore came to power in a coup in 1987. Norbert Zongo’s popularity ensured that long-dormant resistance broke into the open. Thousands of students took to the streets in protest while tens of thousands of citizens took part in Zongo’s funeral procession in Ouagadougou. In addition, the coalition of Democratic Grassroots organizations and political parties (Codempo) was established bringing together human rights campaigners, trade unionists, lawyers and journalists. By the summer of 1999 the mood of protest had spread throughout the country. Unions called for the first general strike since 1966 while even the army demanded its wage arrears. For the present Compaore is hanging on to what he has. He may well be unable to extinguish Codempo’s democratic fire by this old means. His former gloss as a regional ‘statesman’ may be difficult to recapture after his destructive meddling in the civil wars of Liberia, Sierra Leone and Angola. A recent UN report lambasted Compaore for breaching UN sanctions on Angola and for accepting illegal diamonds from warlord, Jonas Savimbi. The Compaore regime has done nothing to address the

crying needs of the vast rural majority of Burkinabes, who continue to
scratch a subsistence living out of evermore unpromising soil.

Thus, Burkina Faso has just recovered from serious governance
problems. The tolerance margin in politics and for civil society has
improved, the most significant signal having been the 2002 elections,
which took place as scheduled.\textsuperscript{62} The country has a one-chamber
parliament whose members are elected by universal vote.

International observers were satisfied with the conduct of the most
recent legislative elections in May 2002. These elections brought major
changes as the dominance of the ruling party was significantly
reduced from 101 seats to 57 out of a total of 113. The resulting
emerging representation of opposition parties may work to modify
government policy making in the future.

\textbf{2.2.5. Economy of India and Francophone West African states
under Globalization}

India launched an ambitious reform programme in 1991 following an
acute foreign exchange crisis. The agenda for reforms, while instigated
by the foreign exchange crises, extended to a broad spectrum of the
economy. This programme aimed at taking the economy to a high
growth path, breaking from its past, with second macro economic
balance in the external and domestic sectors on a sustainable base.
The programme consisted of measures for attaining macroeconomic
stabilization and structural reforms in order to put the Indian

\textsuperscript{62} Richard Gerster and Kimseyinga Sawadogo, \textit{Burkina Faso}, March 2003, (Online: web) URL:
economy on a higher growth path. In India, before 1991, witnessed rather limited deregulation and halting liberalisation of only a few aspects of the pre-existing control regime in 1980s, by contrast, the reforms of the 1990s in the industrial, trade and investment regimes among others are much wider and deeper. Thus, in India in the late 1980s and 1990s, socialist economic planning and import substitution industries were slowly replaced by liberalisation measures, a large middle class emerged, information technology developed into an important economic sector, and at times economic growth has been impressive. India has also become somewhat influential in international political and economic matters and appears set to continue those trends.

India has no fundamental conflict between its political and economic system. India's process of economic reform is firmly rooted in a political consensus that spans her diverse political parties. Over the period since the inception of Economic Reforms, there have been several governments and expressions of policy differences. Meanwhile, in the larger context, it is true that reforms are here to stay. Thus, while the direction of the reforms process remains irreversible, the pace of its implementation is uneven. However, notwithstanding the uneven pace, the reforms implemented thus far have managed to

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bring about changes conducive to a freer working of the market forces in India.\textsuperscript{65}

The New Economic Policy (NEP) of the Rao government that started in July 1991, followed fairly and faithfully the structural adjustment programme recommended by the IMF and the World Bank. It included economic stabilisation-cum-deregulation, liberalisation, privatisation and globalisation based on the ideas of neo-classical economics. Since June 1991, the government of India had initiated a set of programmes for macro-economic stabilisation and structural adjustment with the explicit support of the IMF and the World Bank, and initiated economic reform measures in different areas of the functioning of the economy. These measures were aimed at liberalising the economy from the shackles of command economy regime towards a more market friendly environment and greater integration with the world economy. These measures have been in the domains of balance of payment management, export and import policies, industrial policies, tax and fiscal reforms and deregulation of the financial sector.\textsuperscript{66}

Before the implementation of the economic reform, the annual growth rate of GDP was 4 percent, less than target laid down under different five-year plans, except the seventh plan. But the rate of growth in GDP is observed to be 6.78 percent per annum during Eighth Five Year


Plan (1992-97) in India. The achievement of such significant growth in real GDP has been counted as a direct consequence of economic reforms.\cite{67}

India is rich in natural resources and manpower. However, Indian economy still continues to be predominantly agricultural. About one-third of the national income is derived from agriculture and allied activities employing about two-thirds of the total work force. Agriculture still employs nearly 60 percent of the population, but accounts for only 22.6 percent of gross domestic product (GDP). India is self-sufficient in food grain production and consumption since the adoption of Green Revolution Strategy. The procurement of food grains in the central pool during 1998-99 was 22,389,000 tonnes which has increased to 28,44,000 tonnes in 1999-2000.\cite{68}

After the adoption of economic reforms in India in 1991, the industrial sector was deregulated and opened for private investment. After initial reform measures, the automatic approval is now available for Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) touching up to 51 percent foreign equity ownership in a wide range of high priority industries. According to an estimate, the inflow FDI during the period from 1990 to 1999, stood at US $ 27.94 billion.\cite{69} Furthermore, foreign direct investment has increased to an annual range of US $ 3 billion to US $ 5 billion, but is seen as hampered by corruption and bureaucratic inefficiency and

\begin{itemize}
  \item *Economic Times* (New Delhi), 1 May 2000.
\end{itemize}
remains well behind foreign direct investment in neighbouring China.\textsuperscript{70}

India’s total turnover of foreign trade including exports and imports has also been steadily growing since the adoption of economic reforms. The total value of trade increased from Rs. 3169 crore in 1971-72 to Rs. 374797 crore in 1999-2000.\textsuperscript{71} India has also made good progress in developing capabilities for designing and other kinds of know-how. Besides, India has achieved self-sufficiency in the production of plant and machinery goods for industries like Cotton, Textiles, Jute, Sugar and Cement etc. This has only helped India to export the related items but also firmly established India’s capability in undertaking any kind of engineering projects across the country. It also enables the nation to undertake various projects in different countries such as construction of roads, flyovers, airports, railway etc. This also helped the engineering sector to emerge as a major force in the development projects and marked her competence to the international standard. India has also the third largest reservoir of highly qualified personnel's in technical management and financial disciplines, which is another asset to India’s credibility in industrial and engineering development.

Thus, the external trade of India has also achieved a respectable level and this enables the country to import what it cannot produce at reasonable price and export what the country is self-sufficient. World-

\textsuperscript{71} For details see Table- 11.
class firms have emerged in India and India's capital markets are also significantly developed. There are several world-class companies in India, especially those in information technology (IT).

The Indian economy has posted an excellent average growth rate of 6% since 1990, reducing poverty by about 10 percentage points. India's international payments position remained strong in 2001 with adequate foreign exchange reserves, and moderately depreciating nominal exchange rates. India has large numbers of well-educated and skilled people, which has enabled it to become a major exporter of software services and software engineers. The government is still attempting privatise many large firms with the current emphasis on the oil industry. Inflation in 2002 was 4.3 percent and GDP grew at a very respectable rate of 5.4 percent in 2002. A key economic issue for India in the near-term is the completion of the project to make its currency, the rupee, fully convertible on the international markets.72

Thus, the data pertaining to the overall growth of the Indian economy in terms of the GDP, the Sectoral Growth, Central Government Finances, International Accounts and Private Sector Financing reaffirms the view that in most cases, developments within the Indian economy have yielded welcome results thus far.

Similarly in Francophone West Africa, Senegal undertook a bold and ambitious economic reform program in January 1994 with the support of the international donor community. This reform began with a 50% devaluation of Senegal's currency, the CFA franc, which was

72 India, (Online: web) URL: http://www.tradeport.org/countries/india/html
linked at a fixed rate to the French franc. Government price controls and subsidies have been steadily dismantled. After seeing its economy contract by 2.1% in 1993, Senegal made an important turnaround, thanks to the reform program, with real growth in GDP averaging 5% annually during 1995-2003 and GNP US $ 726 per capita in year 2000. Annual inflation had been pushed down to the low single digits. Investment rose steadily from 13.8 percent of GDP in 1993 to 16.5 percent in 1997. Agriculture is the main occupation with food crops being millet, rice, maize and beans. About 40 percent of land is taken up with the main export crop, groundnuts/peanuts. The main economic problem has been dependence on groundnuts. Efforts have been made to diversify into fishing, tourism and phosphates (Senegal’s only mineral) but groundnuts are still the main export earner. The recent development of agricultural exports, growth in the tourism and fishing sector and further plans to develop reserves of gold and offshore petroleum indicate the capability of the Senegalese economy to maintain the current levels of growth. Services sector, trade and transport contributed about 60 percent of GDP in 1996-98. Senegal also realized full Internet connectivity in 1996, creating a mini boom in information technology based services. Private activity now accounts for 82 percent of GDP. As a member of the West African Economic and Monetary Union (WAEMU), Senegal is working toward greater regional integration with a unified external tariff. Senegal also realized full Internet connectivity in 1996, creating a mini-boom in

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73 Senegal, (Online: web) URL: http://www.tradeport.org/countries/senegal.html

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information technology-based services. Private activity now accounts for 82% of GDP. On the negative side, Senegal faces deep-seated urban problems of chronic unemployment, trade union militancy, juvenile delinquency, and drug addiction.\textsuperscript{74} Senegalese separatists disrupt legal border trade with smuggling, cattle rustling and other illegal activities in Guinea-Bissau.\textsuperscript{75}

Ivory Coast is economically the most important state of Francophone West Africa. It has maintained a remarkable high rate of economic growth. Its GDP growth rate (in real terms) was 6.3 percent per year during 1995 to 1998 and GNP US$ 734 per capita in year 2000. It is largest producer and exporter of cocoa in the world and among the largest African producers of coffee and palm oil. Consequently, the economy is highly sensitive to fluctuations in international prices for these products and to weather conditions. Although the Ivorian economy is relatively diversified, it remains dependent on agriculture and related activities, which contributes about 30 percent of GDP and employs some 60 to 80 percent of the economically active population.\textsuperscript{76} After several years of lagging performance, the Ivorian economy began a comeback in 1994, due to the 50% devaluation of the CFA franc and improved prices for cocoa and coffee, growth in non-traditional primary exports such as pineapples and rubber, limited trade and banking liberalization, offshore oil and gas

\textsuperscript{74} Country Profile- Senegal (Online: web) URL: http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/hi/world/africa/country_profiles/senegal and also see, http://www.tradeport.org/countries/senegal/html
\textsuperscript{75} ibid.
\textsuperscript{76} Country Profile- Ivory Coast (Online: web) URL: http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/hi/world/africa/country_profiles/ivorycoast
discoveries, and generous external financing and debt rescheduling by multilateral lenders and France. Moreover, government adherence to donor-mandated reforms led to a jump in growth to 5% annually during 1996-99. Growth was negative in 2000-03 because of the difficulty of meeting the conditions of international donors, continued low prices of key exports, and severe civil war. Political uncertainty will continue to cloud the economic outlook in 2004, but rising world prices for cocoa will help both the current account and the government balances.\textsuperscript{77}

Burkina Faso is one of the poorest countries in the world. Land locked Burkina Faso has a high population density, few natural resources and a fragile soil (only 10% of the total land area is cultivated) and a highly unequal distribution of income. About 90 percent of the population is engaged in mainly subsistence agriculture, which is highly vulnerable to variations in rainfall. Cotton is the key crop. Industry remains dominated by unprofitable government-controlled corporations. It has minimal industry and foreign investment though there is potential for much greater gold exploration.\textsuperscript{78} Following the African franc currency devaluation in January 1994 the government updated its development program in conjunction with international agencies, and exports and economic growth have increased. Maintenance of macro economic progress depends on continued low inflation, reduction in the trade deficit and reforms designed to

\textsuperscript{77} ibid and also see, \url{http://www.tradeport.org/countries/ivorycoast/html}

\textsuperscript{78} ibid.
encourage private investment. Burkina Faso is one of the world’s poorest countries with GNP of US$ 325 per capita in year 2000. However, the rate of growth has improved and its GDP growth rate (in real terms) was 5.3 percent per year during 1995 to 1999. GDP growth hit a phenomenal 5.6 percent in 2001, tapering back to 4 percent in 2002. The country has been able to do very little to correct infrastructure problems or to alleviate the black market activity that keeps tax coffers at low levels. Cotton is the principal source of export earnings (66% of total in 1998). Prospects for economic growth and modernization lie in the development of the mining sector, small-scale, and resource based manufacturing, tourism industry and increased exports. The internal crisis in neighbouring Cote d'Ivoire continues to hurt trade and industrial prospects and deepens the need for international assistance.

The comparative analysis of economy of both the regions, India and Francophone West African states shows that both are developing economies. However, the challenges before them are of different kind. Although both the regions have adopted the structural adjustment programme and reformed their economies in the decade of 1990s, India has enjoyed a remarkable success whereas Francophone West African states are yet to achieved this success.

79 ibid.
80 http://www.tradeport.org/countries/burkinafaso/html
2.3 Socio-Cultural setup

In the socio-cultural and demographical setting, India and Francophone West African countries differ but also reflect much similarity. India has bigger size of her population, many times larger than these countries. In fact India is the seventh largest and second most populous country in the world.81 (For detail comparison see Table. 1). Both, India and Francophone West African countries are multi-religious, multi-ethnic, multi-cultural and multi-linguistic in composition and character. This plurality generates many problems in their societies.

India is one of the oldest civilizations with a kaleidoscopic variety and rich cultural heritage. It has achieved multifaceted socio-economic progress during the last 55 years of its independence. The merger of ethnically diverse inhabitants created the classical Indian culture. The majority descends from the Aryan peoples who developed the Vedic civilization. Dravidian people predominate in the South. The Indian Kaleidoscope has charmed the world for centuries. Its political institutions have fostered an open society with strong collective and individual rights and an environment supportive of free economic enterprise. It has well established and time tested institutions that include a free and vibrant press, a judiciary that can and does overrule the government, a sophisticated legal and accounting system and a user-friendly intellectual infrastructure. India’s constitutional

system, the role of judiciary in protecting the people’s rights, effective working of Panchayati Raj, inter-state relations and federal governance etc are example of successful functional democracy. In the same line, India has the rich experience of uplifting the backward and other weaker sections of the society through various programmes and policies since independence. India has more women professionals than any other country in the world. Since 1947, there have been more women in politics in India than in the US or Britain. India now has well-organized groups of human rights activists fighting for the rights of dalits, adivasis (indigenous people), women, children and the poor. And the press has contributed to the greater awareness of human-right issues. However, fundamental concerns in India include the massive over population, environmental degradation, extensive poverty and ethnic and religious strife, all this despite impressive gains in economic investment and output.  

On the other hand, the political system and its institutions in Francophone West Africa have not allowed benefits to trickle down to the local grassroots levels and the misallocation of resources based on considerations other than economic needs has deprived some sections of the community of essential development. In the countries that adopted a capitalist path of development resources were concentrated in the hands of a few enterprising and influential entrepreneurs from whom benefits barely trickled down to those who were in need. In the socialist-oriented states where resources were to be disbursed by the

82 ibid.
bureaucracy and the administration of the state, they failed to be passed on because of the prevalent corruption and mismanagement. Thus, the need for a uniform economic development process, rectifying the present unequal development of different regions and groups should be the important priority for the Francophone African countries. There should be a redirection of public investment funds and international aid and services to the productive sectors of the economy.

Although a new political age has dawned in Francophone West African states since 1990s, yet the countries remains plagued by inequality, slow growth and chronic unemployment. Therefore in the 1990s, the immediate challenges, which Francophone West African countries have to face, are poverty and unemployment problem.

The continuing transformation of culture and religion were felt all over the African continent in post independence-period, but took some characteristic forms in Francophone Africa. Through the development of a wide range of cultural forms, the people of Francophone Africa had by 1985 taken many steps toward achieving a new cultural synthesis. The emergent Francophone African culture worked through the medium of the French language, it facilitated the development and the communication of numerous national traditions, it emphasized the commonality of all in a cosmopolitan Francophone African culture,
and it reinforced a broader Pan-African identity which extended to all of Africa and to the African Diaspora in the New World.83

There remained, however, great gaps and tensions within this emergent culture. The greatest gap was between elite culture and local popular cultures, corresponding to the immense social distance between rural and the wealthy and powerful.84 Thus, Francophone African culture, itself still evolving in directions as yet undetermined, has become a culture of such strength that its appeal goes beyond the borders of the African continent, and it begins to offer contributions to a more universal view of humanity.

2.3.1 Education

India has witnessed phenomenal educational development, both in quantitative and qualitative terms, since independence. The country has also made significant strides in higher and technical education. However, the national goals of universal elementary education and total eradication of illiteracy have still remained elusive. The Government is committed to achieving these national goals and has been steadily increasing the budgetary allocation for education. India spent 4.02% of its GDP on education during 2001-2002 but about 44% of its adult population still remains to be made literate.

There has been a considerable increase in the spread of educational institutions during the period 1950-51 and 2001-2002. During this period the number of Primary Schools increased by 3 times, while the

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84 ibid.
Upper Primary Schools and Hr. Secondary Schools increased by 16 and 18 times respectively. The number of Colleges for general education and professional education increased by about 24 and 12 times respectively while the number of Universities increased by 10 times during the period. There are about 888 thousands educational institutions in the country with an enrolment of about 179 millions. Elementary Education System in India is the second largest in the World with 149.4 millions children of 6-14 years enrolled and 2.9 million teachers. This is about 82% of the children in the age group. After the attainment of freedom in 1947, the development of science and technology got a boost under the leadership of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who was in favour of developing scientific temper in India. The most important thing about the development of science and technology in post-independent India is that various institutions like Council of Scientific Industrial Research and National Physical Laboratory, Indian Council of Agricultural Research and Indian Council of Medical Research were established besides nuclear research. India, today occupies the third position in the world in the scientific and technological manpower. There is a well-organized structure and a wide network of technical institutions offering different types of programmes: craftsman courses, technician (diploma) courses, graduate and post-graduate courses, etc., catering

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85 Government of India, Ministry of Education, (Online web) URL: [http://www.education.nic.in/htmlweb/jamrstat.htm](http://www.education.nic.in/htmlweb/jamrstat.htm)

86 See for details, P.K. Goel, Development of Science and Technology in Contemporary India (Jaipur, ABD, 2001).
to the various levels of knowledge, skills and competences required by the economy.

In terms of the magnitude of human resources and expertise available and of physical facilities created over the last three decades, the system of technical education has become a formidable reservoir of technical expertise. The potential for technical education system both in terms of human and physical resources are so large that it is worthwhile for India to now think from the national stand-point to have a pooled bank for technical expertise and aid, both for domestic or 'external' purpose. Knowing the necessity of a strong science and technology base for economic and social prosperity, successive governments in India have been generous in supporting scientific programs. As a result, considerable progress has been made on various research fronts. In the field of missile launch technology, India is among the five top nations of the world. Today, India is globally acknowledged as one of the countries most advanced in nuclear, space and information technologies. In India, the Science and Technology infrastructure has grown from about Rs.10 million in 1947 to over Rs.30 billion.

India has used Information Technology (IT) as a "mantra" to march forward in this age of globalisation and it has drawn considerable attention in the world. Information Technology sector has proved to be the fastest growing sector in India in fact India has been doing exceedingly well in this sector both in and outside the country. The
most striking feature of Indian IT industry is the growth of software industry, which recorded a rate of 60 percent between 1992 and 1999. The software industry in India has about 1,60,000 professionals. The Government of India, recognising the role that IT is playing in the world today in enabling countries to strengthen their technological leadership, and the considerable contributions that Indian professionals are making in this arena both in India and abroad, set up a high-powered IT task force, to break India's shackles and make her "a Global IT Superpower and a front-runner in the age of Information Revolution".

The software industry in India gained recognition in the early eighties, as companies took up export of trained software manpower, especially to USA. Very soon, instead of just exporting persons, several companies started taking up software projects at customer sites, and sent their professionals to carry out this task. Starting with routine jobs, most companies graduated to more and more sophisticated tasks and India started getting recognized as having special talent for software development and management of software projects. Thus, it was only in the early nineties, that Indian software industry got sufficient recognition in the world. Today, even though the software tasks carried out by India for the West may amount to a small portion of the worldwide IT industry, Indian companies and professionals are regarded as amongst the best in the world. The Indian Institutes of

Technology and deemed institutes and universities have indeed provided good training in these areas. The persons graduating from these institutes are recognized as amongst the best in the world. The numbers are not too small and these people could provide the required technological leadership to the country.

Thus, what is normally regarded as India's greatest weakness, the large population, can also be strength. While the growing population has created a lot of problems in the country, it also represents large skilled human resources. Skilled managerial and technical manpower that match the best available in the world and a middle class whose size exceeds the population of the USA or the European Union, provide India with a distinct cutting edge in global competition. It has one of the largest pools of scientists, engineers, technicians and managers in the world.

On the other hand the relative backwardness of education in Francophone Africa, as compared to the Anglophone and Arab Africa, was largely overcome in the years after independence. Education expanded at a spectacular rate in Francophone Africa in the years after independence. By 1985 nearly 25% of the population of school age and above was literate in French. Togo and Senegal came close to achieving universal primary education in the 1970s. In French colonies, instructions were given only in the French language. As a result, those students who made it through secondary school became

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88 Government of India, Ministry of External Affairs Library, (Online web) URL: http://meaindia.nic.in
highly proficient in French. On the other hand, African languages were given no opportunity to develop as literary languages. Use of the French language spread along with the expansion of education. From modest beginnings in early colonial years, there emerged an elite Francophone culture. In the generation after independence, most Francophone African nations produced literary and scholarly writers of importance. One result of their work was the development of a cultural Pan-Africanism among Francophone writers, which may be contrasted with the contributions of Anglophone Africa to political Pan-Africanism.89

However, the education has not lost its strongly elitist nature in Francophone Africa probably due to financial restraints. It has only benefited a minority and continues seriously to affect the social structuring of society. The degree or level of instruction is not the only criterion of social discrimination but it has been the determining factor for access to political power.90

Political independence did not alter the original link between education and politics. Rather, it confirmed and amplified it, making the degree or diploma the main criterion for recruitment to the ruling class. Formal education became crucial for the attainment of elite status, making the degree or diploma the main criterion for recruitment to the ruling class. School and higher education played a

89 Manning, n. 58, p. 180.
determinant role in political careers in these countries. The level of formal education among the leaders is high, with university graduates increasingly occupying the highest positions. Thus, education becomes the most important, if not the only, key to political mobility within the ruling elite.\(^91\)

### 2.3.2 Religious Issues

India is a multi-religious and multi-cultural country in composition and character. Approximately 82% of the Indian population is Hindu, 12.1% Muslim, 2.30% Christian, 1.9% Sikh, 0.8% Buddhist, 0.4% Jains\(^92\) and numerous religions associated with Scheduled Tribes. But these denominations rarely have notable social, economic or political consequences. India is a secular country and Indian constitution confers religious freedom for individuals and prohibits religious discrimination. But in spite of this, there have been enduring tensions and occasional conflict among religious communities most notably between Hindu and Muslims.\(^93\)

On the other hand, the Francophone West African states of Senegal, Mauritania, Mali, Guinea and Niger had Muslim majorities while Burkina Faso, Ivory Coast, Togo and Benin had large Muslim minorities. Politically, they represented secular nationalism among African Muslims. However, a new trend emerged in the 1970s and


\(^92\) EIU Country Profile- India (Economist Intelligence Unit Limited, 2001).

grew in strength during the 1980s, militant Islam with a national
coloring. While Islam and Christianity have come to dominate the
religious beliefs of modern Africans, the traditional religions have by
no means lost their influence. Aside from the developments in
individual religious traditions, the diversity of African religious life is
an important influence in itself. There are a few Francophone West
African nations, which are dominated by a single religious belief
(Muslim Mauritania, Senegal, Guinea and Niger) but in most cases
contending religious traditions must learn to coexist.

2.3.3 Ethnicity

The merger of ethnically diverse inhabitants had created the classical
Indian culture. Only the continent of Africa exceeds the linguistic,
cultural and genetic diversity of India. Seventy two percent of
population is Indo-Aryan, 25 percent Dravidian and 3 percent
Mongoloid and others. (See, Table. -1) Each of these groups can be
further sub-divided into various and changing combination of
language, religion and very often caste. India has achieved
multifaceted socio-economic progress during the last 55 years of its
independence. Its political institutions have fostered an open society
with strong collective and individual rights and an environment
supportive of free economic enterprise. India has the rich experience
of uplifting the backward and other weaker sections of the society
through various programmes and policies since independence. It is
indeed successful functional democracy. But despite this, there have been tension and ethnic strife in different parts of the country.

On the other hand, a major challenge to the nascent democratic structures in post-colonial Africa came from the “historical and structural handicaps” of deep ethnic divisions among the people. Nevertheless, ethnic differences have not really been such great barriers to national unity and democracy in the Francophone West African countries as in the former British colonies. Having developed and been influenced by French traditions and culture, political institutional structures in these countries remained somewhat above the ethnocentric structures and cleavages among them. In fact, the ruling regimes and opposition parties have helped maintain a healthy balance between them.

In Senegal for example, ethnic equilibrium and peace had been maintained for many years due to the leadership that has not allowed ethnic passions to be exploited and also because of the accommodating role of the dominant Wolof Community (42.67 %) as against the Fulani (18%), Serer (14.91 %), Toucouleur (9.33 %), Diola (5.28 %), Mandingue (3.63 %) and Peul etc. Even while the use of Wolof as the medium of communication was widespread and dominant throughout the country because of the great numbers of the community living in the towns, their numbers and weightage in the civil services, their dominant position among African traders,

geographic mobility and their position of leadership in Muslim organizations, the government never sought to impose it as the only African official language. The recognition to Fulani, Serer, Mandinka, Diola and Soninke, along with Wolof, as the six national languages has contributed to ethnic peace.

The non-formal associations had in times of the absence of democratic institutions played an important part in limiting and undermining authoritarianism. For example in Senegal, as people were unable to voice their grievances through the existing political structures, they utilized other institutions and processes, which has aptly described as "grassroots, movements of political action" by Coulon. "Such movements were channeled through structures like the 'Muslim brotherhoods' or village development associations. Their strategy consists in either by passing official institutions by creating their own organizational networks and schemes of action or in recouping the benefits of initiatives from on high." The continuing traditional and benevolent role of the "Islamic brotherhoods" in Senegal, where Islam is the religion of the majority 90 percent, in unifying the peoples of different ethnic origins around common experiences and common symbols of festivals, etc., and inspiring new feelings of national and even international belonging to a community is indeed significant. It has enabled the maintenance of ethnic and communal peace and the evaluation of a liberal political culture.

95 Coulon, n. 10, p. 168.
However, the distribution of economic resources to a favoured few political and ethnic groups and regions has resulted in an unequal economic development and denial of economic rights in several countries like the case of Cassamance in Senegal. Political autonomy and policy participation for each locality is necessary as each ethnic group is crucial for a regime's legitimacy. This showed up adversely in the case of the Southern Cassamance region of Senegal, where its inhabitants having a totally different socio-cultural existence from the rest of the country were up in arms against the centre, as they felt neglected and politically sidelined. Such uprisings opposing the centre's policy impositions have threatened the country's stability. But at large Senegal is one of the most stable and least repressive political regimes on the continent of Africa. It has been spared of the ethnic and religious strife that has torn apart many other African nations and has also avoided the military coups that elsewhere have spelled the demise of civilian rule.

Meanwhile, the Francophone West African countries of Ivory Coast and Burkina Faso are examples of countries where ethnic conflict has presented a formidable challenge to political stability. The principal ethnic groups in the Ivory Coast are Baoule, Bete, Senoufou, Malinke and Agni etc. The Country's 60 ethnic tribes can be divided into four main ethno-linguistic groups: the Akan (25%), Kru (20%), Mande (25%) and Voltaic (15%) (1985 Census Figures). In Ivory Coast ethnicity was used by the colonial authorities and later even by the post-Independence regime political rulers as an instrument of
political control. In 1990, President Houphouet-Boigny rejected the protestor's demands for multi-party democracy claiming, "tribalism was still the main obstacle to the achievement of national unity-the prerequisite for a change in the status quo". But even while Boigny denounced tribalism, he surrounded himself with his own Baoule community members.

However, in recent years ethnic problem has been subordinated to the more fundamental transformations and socio-economic cleavages in the Ivoirian society, such as political activity opposing public policy, student protests, unemployment and labour demonstrations, etc. These have resulted in new lines of opposition and contradictions.

The main ethnic groups in Burkina Faso are the Mossi who constitute almost half of the total population (48.6 %), the Peul (7.8 %), the Gourmantche (7 %), the Bobo (6.8 %), the Bisa-Samo (6.5%), the Gurunsi (6 %), and the Dagari-Lobi (4.3%), all of whom together with the Mossi speak a Voltaic language: the Fulani, the Mande, the Senufo and other smaller groups. Burkina Faso won independence from France on August 5, 1960 under the leadership of Maurice Yameogo. Ethnic conflicts and economic problems weakened his presidency and have plagued the country throughout its history.

Thus in the Francophone West Africa, where country like Senegal have through sincere and often concerned efforts of its leadership

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98 Mwakikagile, n. 15, p. 15.
99 ibid.
helped channelise group political consciousness and thereby maintain an ethnic balance amongst its various clan groups. On the other hand, countries like Ivory Coast and Burkina Faso are examples of countries where ethnic conflict has presented a formidable challenge to political stability. The depth and complexity of ethnic divisions in these countries has made it more and more difficult to manage them by authoritarian institutional structures. Thus, ethnic differences and divisions, which are a central fact of political life in Africa, offer a major challenge to the democratic processes in Francophone West Africa. Thus there is the need for the evolution of necessary institutional mechanisms, an amalgam of diverse lineages, a Federation, which would help the peaceful coexistence of nationalist, cultural, religious and sectarian groups riven by differences and wide cleavages and bind these groups together in a nation state complex.

2.3.4 Human Rights Issues

Although human rights problem exit in India but the country is generally not regarded as among the world’s serious human rights violators. In India, human rights problems appear to be acute in areas of communal violence and insurgency. India now has well-organized groups of human rights activists fighting for the rights of dalits, adivasis (indigenous people), women, children and the poor. Several international human right organizations and India’s National Human Right Commission are active and have questioned the impartiality of police and judicial authorities in various locales. Moreover, Indian
media has contributed to the greater awareness of human-rights issues and routinely address controversial issues such as political corruption and discrimination against women, minorities, indigenous peoples and dalits (untouchables).100

On the other hand, the continent of Africa suffers from various forms of human rights violations both at the domestic and international levels. This naturally acts as a constraint to the functioning of democracy. Even while all African governments subscribe to checking human right's violations, have their own Human Rights Bill and have also signed the United Nation Declaration of Human Rights as well as the OAU's African Charter of Human Rights. However violations have been widespread and respect for human life and property on the continent is virtually non-existent. Already there has been considerable censure of African governments in several international agencies notably the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, the International Labour Organization, Amnesty International and the International Commission of Jurists. Nevertheless, despite such widespread censure, intolerance, political violence, ethnic conflict and corruption continue to be widespread. Also, in a large number of African countries the distribution of its economic resources to a favoured few political and ethnic groups and regions has resulted in an unequal economic development and denial of economic rights in several countries.

Military brutality, vandalism, arbitrary rule, constant harassment and arrests of civilians are the norm. The number of such cases and the extent of the senseless brutality are widespread. Such violations extend from Burkina Faso to Benin, Togo, Guinea, Mali, Mauritania and Niger in Francophone West Africa. Violations of human rights, extending from denial of freedom of expression, confiscation of property, arrests, torture, detention and execution is most severe under military governments. Apart from the experiences of regions and peoples in Mali and Burkina Faso etc. who have suffered indignities and deprivation because of wide ethnic and cultural differences between them and the ruling elites, there is also the case of Cassamance in Senegal, a region of studied neglect by the Central Government both in terms of its economic development and political rights. All this naturally goes against the very spirit and essence of democracy in these countries. The overflow of African human right’s violations to the international arena and the nexus between the African ruling regimes and the external political powers must also be taken note of. The erstwhile colonial powers, having heavy investments and economic stakes in their former colonies, and their clients– the elite groups having links with the foreign collaborators– have been the greatest perpetrators of human rights violations. Their interests being so high they did not hesitate to resort to any means, fair or unfair, to retain their hold.

Examples to quote would indeed be innumerable but the worst violations would be the ones through the political regimes in Burkina Faso where attempts at intervention have been made by the foreign power to protect its interests.

Human rights violations in the continent of Africa is an important issue that has to be addressed and rectified by the policy-makers as this not only encompasses several spheres of life but is also basic to the promotion of democracy in the continent. In July 1991 a meeting of 14 African leaders, while agreeing that there was a direct link between Africa’s crises and the state of Democracy and Human Rights in many countries, called for the continent’s second liberation. The first, it said had been the end of colonial rule. It is necessary to provide the congenial atmosphere of peace and security based on the traditional African historical, socio-political and cultural realities and also to evolve an African concept of human rights based on these above realities. A recognition of the indigenous values of its own traditional systems and their adoption would enable the much-needed political pressure and stability and automatically curtail the present sweep of human rights violations.

For African countries to enforce human rights and human dignity, freedom of thought and association and happiness for all providing the basic needs of food, education and clothing, it would be in order to nurture them by the democratic process in democratic environment.
Democracy in fact, can provide an enabling environment for the achievement of a higher level of development in all spheres African life.

2.4. India and Francophone West African States Strategies for Socio-Economic Development: Changes and Continuity

The 1960s and 1970s in the developing world was characterized by unprecedented economic nationalism, a growing role for state intervention in the economy, and an ideological leaning towards socialism and self-reliance. During 1970s and 1980s, both India and Francophone West African countries were attempting state led development strategy. In such strategy state controlled not only internal economic forces but also regulated and directed the kind of external economic linkages the state will permit and restrict. The external and internal economic policies were implemented for socio-economic development and they have an important bearing on their economic development and social progress.

After independence India adopted socialist economic planning and import substitution industries with a main objective to achieve rapid economic development and to correct the socio-economic structure of the country inherited from the long drawn colonial rule. A combination of socialist planning and free enterprise from the 1950s to the 1970s led to substantial industrialization with the goal of making India economically self-sufficient. However, due to economic
crisis in the 1980s India initiated action for Economic Reforms in June 1991.\textsuperscript{102}

On the other hand, most of the Francophone West African countries also like India and many other developing states adopted statist, largely inward-oriented import-substituting industrialization (ISI) policies during these periods. The fundamental premise in these areas was that the structure of international capitalist economy was negatively skewed against them, and was principally responsible for their underdevelopment. Most of these states, therefore, felt that de-linking from internal capitalism, and adapting a policy of collective self-reliance was the only way to attain development. Between 1967 and 1974, these economies benefited from increasing commodity prices and increased investment from export earnings, external barrowing and development aids. Most of them introduced multi-year comprehensive development plans, and regulated exchange rates, domestic prices, and credit in order to strengthen import-substitution industrialization. From the mid-1970s, this policy engendered a combination of adverse external and domestic factors resulting in economic stagnation between 1973 and 1980. The global recession, which shook the economies of the advanced industrial countries between 1980 and 1983, finally triggered a collapse in commodity prices. This provoked a depression in most developing economies including those of Francophone West Africa. The worsening economic crises in Francophone West Africa during the 1980s and early 1990s

created the need for macro-economic adjustment policies to redress the crises.\textsuperscript{103}

In response to economic crises in the third world countries including India and Francophone West African states in the 1980s and early 1990s, the World Bank and the IMF suggested Structural Adjustment Programme or policy reforms for these countries. This programme includes promotion of commodity exports and foreign investment and currency devaluation, elimination of subsidies, dismantling of price controls and implementation of cost-recovery methods, rationalization of the state sector through privatization, wage-cuts and closures and liberalization of the economy guided by market forces. These reforms cover a wide range of measures aimed at giving price, market and the private sector a greater role in promoting development in these countries. In particular, they reflect a desire to reduce government interventions in setting prices to end monopolies on trade and marketing. Furthermore, the most striking macro-policy reforms have been the devaluation of currencies. Correcting overvaluation of currencies helps to reduce balance of payments deficit. But equally important, it also shifts the internal terms of trade in favour of those who produce for export and away from those who consume imports. Many Francophone West African countries have accepted the devaluation as a solution. Structural Adjustment Programmes are under way in India and almost all the Francophone West African

countries with the backing of the International Monetary Fund and
the World Bank in an attempt to cope with acute economic crises and
to put them on the track of development.

Thus, with the end of cold war and the changes ushered in by era of
liberalization, privatization and globalization (LPG), the TINA (There is
no alternative) factor led India and these countries to opt for market
led internal development strategy. External linkages were sought by
creating 'investment friendly climate'. With the onset of globalization
both India and these states shifted to reverse gear in their
development strategy. Each accelerated policy changes, incentives,
and priorities to link aggressively and competitively with capitalist
developed countries. All kind of uncontrolled, little regulated external
linkages were to be put in place. The FDI, top multinational
companies, hire and fire labour policies, privatization of social sectors
like health and education were to be promoted and adopted effectively
and efficiently otherwise ‘Shock Therapy’ was only alternative for
implementation. Hence, they have started to rethink their strategies
for development and to weigh the costs and benefits of future
economic developments in the perspective of these global changes.
They have now acknowledged the importance of the need to develop
strategies to fit the realities and challenges of complex environment,
while at the same time relating them to the global political economy.

During the decade of 80s when the state controlled prevailed, it was
attempted to direct horizontal economic linkages pushing the cause of
South-South Cooperation. Third world countries tried to create
alternative to North-South exploitative relations by diversifying its
economic linkages to Southern region and diluting its dependency on
capitalist Western and North American economies. India played a
major role in advocating and promoting such Collective Self-Reliance
among third world countries. India’s ITEC programmes, its turnkey
projects with provisions to train local and transfer the technology,
prohibition of used capital equipments and goods and transfer of
latest know-how in agriculture and scientific areas tried to contrast
India’s economic linkages with these countries from the North-South
exploitative relations. States effectively controlled foreign enterprises
in these countries. Even these states like most of the third world
countries monitored and promoted identified enterprises and
permitted them in limited sectors. The entire conceptualization of
South-South cooperation, Collective Self-Reliance had to fit within
this larger framework of globalization. Indian multinationals, private
enterprises and Indian Government policy supports to them also has
to be under new race of entering and capturing the market and
replacing the traditional export by new heavy value added non-
traditional items. The nature of economic interactions and its
priorities changed both overtly and covertly.

However, for the smooth implementation of the development strategies
of the developing countries it is necessary to break from the existing
international economic order as it impedes and holds back the socio-
economic development of these countries. Thus, to strengthen the
economic cooperation between the developing countries and promote
the spirit of their collective self-reliance is an important aspect of implementing the development strategies. South-South cooperation is an important component of a new international economic order and the orientation of socio-economic development of these countries. In the recent years, South-South cooperation has aroused increasing attention of the developing countries, regional and sub-regional cooperation has become very active and south-south cooperation is also under active consultation and discussion worldwide. The development of South-South cooperation will definitely push forward the struggle for the establishment of a new international economic order, accelerate the implementation of the strategies for socio-economic development in the developing countries and play an increasingly great role in larger framework of globalization for greater economic cooperation between these countries. As the South Commission Report has noted, the developing countries will need to agree on a global strategy for South-South cooperation. The strategy should identify broad fields of cooperation, indicate long-term goals and propose activities to be undertaken in the short, medium and long term. Economic and technical cooperation among the developing countries is one of the major areas of South-South cooperation.

It is in this framework that India could assist Francophone West African countries in their developmental efforts. India can share its developmental experiences with these countries. In concrete terms India can conceived its economic cooperation with Francophone West African countries through technology transfers to the extractive
sectors like petroleum, mining and export agriculture, by way of technical assistance to joint ventures, improvement of trade and consultancy services which would enable rapid economic agricultural and industrial development in these countries. India has a unique role to play in launching and sustaining economic development in these countries. By its size, expertise and economic development, this role could be decisive. India should concentrate on cooperating with important countries in the region to show the benefits, which could be derived from such cooperation. It will increase tremendously the trade between these countries and India. A good example is the expertise of India in small and medium size industries, which are at present of great attraction to these countries. Also cooperation in the field of technology and scientific research is of vital importance and India has great experience in this regard.

Thus, it is the socio-economic and developmental similarities between the two regions that would enable, a further mutual and beneficial cooperative relationship based on goodwill and sharing. Also, India's intermediate skills and technological capabilities are not only likely to be better suited to developmental needs of these countries but would also be more cost effective than that from the western world. But whatever the help and the assistance, Francophone West African countries would have to carry their own developmental policies working towards 'economic growth' and ensuring basic human needs to all its peoples.
2.5 French Influence on Francophone West African states

Before 1960, France and its African territories were single political entity bound together by the same constitution. In 1960, majority of French territories in Africa became independent. However, in the post-independence era also, France was able to maintain in Francophone Africa, a considerable degree of influence, through a combination of cultural, linguistic and economic cooperation programmes. The new Franco-African community, which came out of the old system has been functioning over five decades and represents a rare example of successful institutional associations of states.

The independence of Francophone African countries did not provoke any radical changes in their relations with France. Perhaps Africa remained the only area of the world where France retained its sufficient influence as to guarantee its claim to middle power status in the international system. France had an organic relationship with her former African colonies, the Francophone family. For France, her former African territories represented a significant sphere of influence knotted together by a complex of socio-economic and military ties. The strength of this linkage can be underlined by two interrelated factors, namely close economic relations and military cooperation arrangements. France was depended to a reasonable extent on Africa for its raw materials, while the continent constituted one of its principal export markets. France developed a special relationship with

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these African states through a combination of incentives. There was
the creation of the Franc zone, which till today allows African member
states financial association with France.\textsuperscript{106} The CFA Franc guaranteed
by France is still the currency of international transactions, while the
French treasury keeps foreign exchange earned by exports.\textsuperscript{107} Beyond
this the economic linkage was consummated by the extent of trade
relations. France alone accounted for about 60 percent of the external
trade of these countries. Moreover, France was the major purchaser of
most of their products. This was complemented by a vast programme
of economic and technical assistance. More than half of France foreign
aid was given to African states making France the continents foremost
patron, even ahead of IMF and World Bank. In the same way, French
technical assistance was also unequalled.\textsuperscript{108} Consequently, French
firms had almost unlimited privileges in Francophone Africa. The
companies themselves were guarantors of French interests with
regard to strategic minerals in different Francophone African
countries. The companies in fact acted as an arm of French foreign
policy.\textsuperscript{109}

Another display of this special relationship was represented by the
French military presence in the continent. France and various
territories were joined by a series of bilateral military accords
including defence treaties and military technical cooperation

\textsuperscript{106} For details see, Jean Coussy, "The Franc Zone: Original Logic, Subsequent Evolution and Present
Crisis", in Anthony Kirk-Greene and Daniel Bach, ed., \textit{State and Society in Francophone Africa
\textsuperscript{107} Mathews, n. 98, p. XII.
\textsuperscript{108} Olusoji, n. 97, pp. 96-97.
\textsuperscript{109} Mathews, n. 98, p. IX.
agreements. Agreement of this sort existed between France and almost all Francophone African countries and also involved direct military activity. The military presence also guaranteed the perpetuation of friendly regimes and a continuation of that relationship. Within international organizations Francophone African countries votes comforted French policies and increased their significance. The Francophone African states gave their political support to France, especially in the UN, and almost on all major issues. France remained the centre of a powerful cultural area based on the French language. The culture, their languages and educational systems set apart the Francophone Africa with Anglophone Africa. Thus, Francophone states have in the past been rather in a class apart in Africa because of the close ties most of them had with France, political, economic and cultural. There was also a loose but effective alliance between Paris and some African leaders.  

However, today, things have changed dramatically. World have moved rapidly from the cold-war era to trade-wars and fierce economic competition. In the wake of these radical global changes, there is little doubt that Franco-African relationship is no longer what it used to be. France no longer has such a high profile in Africa, where indeed some leaders talk mournfully of France "abandoning" them.  

is increasingly turning to Eastern Europe. Thus, there is some sign for loosening the bond between France and Francophone Africa.

The cooperation between third world developing countries i.e. Francophone Africa, rest of Africa and India is now more expected as it became obvious that Francophone states have far more in common with other African states and India than with France or any other European power especially in their attempts at economic development of the region. Francophone Africa is different due to French culture and the CFA Franc but it is also very much tied with the third world developing countries and has much in common with them.

However, the colonial and linguistic discussions in Africa still persist and Francophone Africa forms a distinctive bloc in African as well as world affairs. Francophone Africa still plays an assertive and dominant role and lobbied as a bloc on vital question of their interest.

2.6 Impact of Globalization on Development Strategies of India and Francophone West African states

Globalization has assumed new significance since the turn of the 1990s. There have been two important forces propelling globalization. They are revolution in the field of information technology and economic liberalization. The formation of WTO and MIGA has contributed a lot towards accelerating globalization.\textsuperscript{112} The new era began with the magic year 2000. An era that offers great opportunity

yet possesses special dangers for the developing world. The word ‘global village’ is fast becoming the favoured term of this age, the age of the Internet, the age of the information super highway and the age of globalization and WTO. A new post-cold war world order or disorder is in the making. Thus many global developments are going to dominate the 21st century. It is going to radically change the international system and our lives.

Undoubtedly they will have a greater impact on developing countries. The present surge of globalization is in a way a resumption of the previous trend. It will boost productivity and raise living standards in all parts of the world because a globally integrated economy can lead to a better division of labour between countries, allowing low-wage countries to specialize in labour-intensive tasks while high-wage countries use workers in more productive ways. It will allow firms to exploit bigger economies of scale. With globalization, capital can be shifted to whatever country offers the most productive investment opportunities. Africa is neither homogenous nor integrated. After the so called “lost decade” of ‘internal’ difficulties, declines, disasters and droughts and ‘external’ conditionalities, economic political, ecological and strategic, Africa is today is coming out of its own.113

The end of 1990s has transformed political economy and political culture of Francophone West Africa. Most of the governments with the active support of the IMF and the World Bank have attempted to

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reform national economies. The unprecedented changes in the global system following the collapse of the Soviet Union had far reaching impact on these countries. In new era, the fresh winds of democratization and economic reforms began to have positive impact on these countries. They have experienced new, inconclusive, multiparty election since 1990. Nation-building efforts directed by them have been producing results. These countries are in the process of a new birth or renaissance.\textsuperscript{114} The new era offers great opportunity, yet contains new dangers. If the 1980s are said to be Africa's 'lost decade', the 1990s became the era of transformation. A renaissance is gradually firming up at the dawn of the new millennium. Africans are seeking democracy, free market economies, regional and continental cooperation in all spheres of their life. The Indian government also began implementing its new economic policy since 1991, which hinged on privatization, liberalization and globalization.\textsuperscript{115}

Today, Francophone West Africa like India is undergoing a massive revolution in the management of its economy in an attempt to create a viable and sustainable economy. There is increasing realization today that entrepreneurship and business are at the centre stage of growth and development. In short, there is a new wave of optimism and energy sweeping across these countries today.

The main feature of the world economy over the last decade has been rapid globalization. This has led to increasing concentration of

\textsuperscript{114} ibid.
\textsuperscript{115} Mishra, n. 105, p. 24.
income, resources and wealth among people, corporations and countries to the detriment of the developing countries particularly Africa. Inequality within and between countries has greatly increased. Thus, the phenomenon of globalization, in spite of optimism expressed has serious implications for developing countries. There is a real danger of MNCs domination of both economy and polity because the MNCs are the kingpins of globalization. There is a fear that they will weaken political sovereignty and reduce the scope for independent action by the states. In this globalize pattern of production, there emerges a real challenge to the traditional relationship between the economy and the state. The globalize market system stretches beyond the political authority of any single government. Faced with a network of connections that escape their power of surveillance or regulation, national governments have became increasingly unequal to providing the legal, monetary or protective functions that are their contribution to a well-working economy. There is another real danger for developing countries. Globalization, hinging on the MNCs, is becoming a new source of instability in both product and financial markets. The “problem becomes still more complex in so far as the interconnectedness of the global economy widens the field of competition beyond national boundaries. Today, there exists no effective means to protect production within a nation if the transnational should begin to shake.\textsuperscript{116}

\textsuperscript{116} ibid, p. 24.
Developing countries like India are also apprehensive of the MNCs ruining their environment and disturbing ecological balance. Their natural resources may be recklessly exploited and their governments may not dare take action against them for fear of their withdrawing their investments and downing the shutters of their factories.\textsuperscript{117}

Privatization has been weakening the state sector. Existing state sector enterprises are being privatized in the name of disinvestments aimed at gathering resources and making the concerned units more efficient. In this process corruption has entered in a big way. Secondly, resource generating through disinvestments has come handy for sparing the rich from contributing to the state exchequer by way of bearing more tax burdens. The rural rich can go on without paying their due contribution to the state coffers. Thirdly, with no new state enterprises coming into existence and the existing ones being fully or partially privatized, the capacity of the state to intervene in and direct the economy will be drastically curtailed.\textsuperscript{118}

With globalization, unemployment is bound to increase, at least in the short run. The new industries and activities will require new kinds of skills. The demand for the unskilled, semi skilled and those with traditional education will drastically go down. It will mean the lower segments of the society will suffer most. Mostly the upper segments of the society, which can afford to pay for them, can acquire new kinds of skills. Obviously, inequalities in the society will increase and will

\textsuperscript{117} ibid.
\textsuperscript{118} ibid, pp. 24-25.
lead to crimes, anarchy and chaos. With the government activities and public sector shrinking, the total numbers of jobs there are getting fast reduced. In this situation, in India, reservation for SC, ST and OBCs has lost all its significance. Thus, in India, globalization is going to nullify another national objective, namely, socio-economic homogenization. The governments in India after independence have been also committed to the removal of regional disparities in economic development. In order to reduce regional disparities, governments prior to 1991 gave special attention to hitherto backward areas and formulated special packages. Now, with focus shifting from state directed to market-propelled economic development and the reliance being placed on private, both Indian and foreign investments, only those areas will be receiving investments which are already ahead in development and have infrastructural facilities besides no worry on account of law and order situation. This means the backward regions will be neglected and further go down the ladder of development. If this happens, it will have serious political repercussions for the survival of India as one nation.\textsuperscript{119} The state is also bound to reduce financial allocations to health, education and other social services. Private sector will not fund these services unless it gets adequate returns.\textsuperscript{120} Contemporary globalization goes hand in hand with degeneration. Even as economies integrate, entire companies and industries are disintegrating.

\textsuperscript{119} Mishra, n. 105, p. 25.
\textsuperscript{120} ibid.
Undoubtedly, the developments at the global and at African level have great impact on relations between India and Francophone West African states.

2.7 Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to identify the nature, extent and direction of changes in the political, economic and socio-cultural set-up of both India and Francophone West African countries during the period of analysis (1975-2000). India and Francophone West African countries have been adjusting their economic policies and development strategy in the light of changing conditions in the world economy.

Thus, in this changing context, several factors attribute significantly for bringing closer ties between India and Francophone West African countries. They are firstly, the democratic order, which the Francophone West African countries are enjoying after decades of conflicts and instability whereas India is well known for its stable democracy. Secondly, there is an increasing convergence of economic policies between the two regions. Economic stability is important for attracting and retaining foreign investment in a country. Henceforth the stable politics and economies are the major motivators for the promotion of cooperation between India and Francophone West African countries. The series of efforts at both bilateral and multilateral levels have facilitated both the regions to forge for greater cooperation in several fields such as trade, investment, and commerce etc, which are widely discussed and analyzed in the subsequent chapters of this thesis.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country Profiles:</th>
<th>India</th>
<th>Senegal</th>
<th>Cote d'Ivoire</th>
<th>Burkina Faso</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Capital:</td>
<td>New Delhi</td>
<td>Dakar</td>
<td>Yamoussoukro</td>
<td>Ouagadougou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head of state:</td>
<td>President Abdul Kalam</td>
<td>President Abdoulaye Wade</td>
<td>President Laurent Gbagbo</td>
<td>President Blaise Compaore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head of government:</td>
<td>Prime Minister Manmohan Singh</td>
<td>Prime Minister Macky Sall</td>
<td>Prime Minister Seydou Diarra</td>
<td>Prime Minister Ernest Paramanga Yonli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constitution:</td>
<td>26 January 1950</td>
<td>A new constitution was adopted on 7th January 2001</td>
<td>A new constitution was adopted on 4th August 2000</td>
<td>Formally adopted on 11th June 1991 and amended in April 2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government type:</td>
<td>Federal republic</td>
<td>Republic under multiparty democratic rule</td>
<td>Republic; multiparty</td>
<td>Parliamentary republic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Area:</td>
<td>3,287,590 sq km</td>
<td>196,722 sq km</td>
<td>322,462 sq km</td>
<td>274,200 sq km</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population:</td>
<td>1,065,070,607 (July 2004 est.)</td>
<td>10.6 million (UN, 2005)</td>
<td>17.1 million (UN, 2005)</td>
<td>13.8 million (UN, 2005)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic Composition:</td>
<td>Indo-Aryan 72%; Dravidian 25%; Mongoloid and other 3%.</td>
<td>Wolof 43.3%, Pular 23.8%, Serer 14.7%, Jola 3.7%, Mandinka 3%, Soninke 1.1%, European and Lebanese 1%, other 9.4%.</td>
<td>Akan 42.1%, Voltaiques or Gur 17.6%, Northern Mandes 16.5%, Krous 11%, Southern Mandes 10%, Other 2.8%</td>
<td>Mossi over 40% Other Gurunsi, Senufo, Lobi, Bobo, Mande, and Fulani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major religions:</td>
<td>Hindu 81.3%, Muslim 12%, Christian 2.3%, Sikh 1.9%, other groups including Buddhist, Jain, Parsi 2.5% (2000)</td>
<td>Muslim 94%, indigenous beliefs 1%, Christian 5% (mostly Roman Catholic)</td>
<td>Muslim 35-40% Animist and indigenous 25-40% Christian 20-30%</td>
<td>Muslim: 50% Indigenous beliefs: 50% Christian: 10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major languages:</td>
<td>Hindi (national language); English (associate status); 14 other official languages.</td>
<td>French (official), Wolof, Pulaar, Jola, Mandinka</td>
<td>French (official), Baoule, Dioula, and 58 other native dialects.</td>
<td>French (official), tribal languages belonging to Sudanic family are spoken by 90% of the population.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Life expectancy:</td>
<td>Male: 63.25 years, Female: 64.77 years (2004 est.)</td>
<td>51 years (men), 55 years (women) (UN)</td>
<td>41 years (men), 41 years (women) (UN)</td>
<td>45 years (men), 46 years (women) (UN)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education and Literacy:</td>
<td>Literacy nationwide is only 52 percent.</td>
<td>40.2% of the total population over age 15 can read and write</td>
<td>Only about 48.5 percent of the population over age 15 is literate.</td>
<td>Burkina Faso’s overall adult literacy is 36 percent. (2001)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment:</td>
<td>4.4% (1999)</td>
<td>48% (urban youth 40%) (2001 est.)</td>
<td>13% in urban areas (1998)</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monetary unit:</td>
<td>Rupees</td>
<td>CFA (Communaute Financiere Africaine) franc</td>
<td>CFA (Communaute Financiere Africaine) franc</td>
<td>CFA (Communaute Financiere Africaine) franc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GDP - real growth rate:</td>
<td>8.3% (2003 est.)</td>
<td>5.5% (2003 est.)</td>
<td>-1.9% (2003 est.)</td>
<td>5.2% (2003 est.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GDP - composition by sector:</td>
<td>Agriculture: 23.6% industry: 28.4% services: 48% (2002 est.)</td>
<td>Agriculture: 16.8% industry: 27.2% services: 56% (2003 est.)</td>
<td>Agriculture: 36.6% industry: 19.9% services: 43.5% (2003 est.)</td>
<td>Agriculture: 39.8% industry: 19.6% services: 40.5% (2003)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inflation Rate</td>
<td>6.7% (1999)</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>2.5% (2000)</td>
<td>3.5% (2001)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industries</td>
<td>Textiles, chemicals, food processing, steel, transportation equipment, cement, mining, petroleum, machinery, software</td>
<td>Agricultural and fish processing, phosphate mining, fertilizer production, petroleum refining, construction materials</td>
<td>Foodstuffs, beverages, wood products, oil refining, automobile assembly, textiles, fertilizer, construction materials, electricity</td>
<td>Cotton lint, beverages, agricultural processing, soap, cigarettes, textiles, and gold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural Resources</td>
<td>Coal (fourth-largest reserves in the world), iron ore, manganese, mica, bauxite, titanium ore, chromite, natural gas, diamonds, petroleum, limestone, arable land</td>
<td>Phosphates, gas and oil, limestone and clay, attapulgite, iron, marble, ilmenite, gold, peat, and diamond.</td>
<td>Petroleum, diamonds, manganese, iron ore, cobalt, bauxite, copper, hydropower.</td>
<td>Manganese, limestone, marble; small deposits of gold, antimony, copper, nickel, bauxite, lead, phosphates, zinc, silver.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exports</td>
<td>US$44.5 billion (f.o.b., 2001)</td>
<td>$1.23 billion f.o.b. (2003 est.)</td>
<td>$3.6 billion (f.o.b., 2001)</td>
<td>US$265 million (f.o.b., 2001)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Main exports</td>
<td>Textile goods, gems and jewelry, engineering goods, chemicals, leather manufactures</td>
<td>Fish, peanuts, petroleum products, phosphates, cotton</td>
<td>Cocoa, coffee, tropical woods, petroleum, cotton, bananas, pineapples, palm oil, fish</td>
<td>Cotton, animal products, gold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Main Imports</td>
<td>Crude oil, machinery, gems, fertilizer, chemicals</td>
<td>Foods and beverages, capital goods, fuels</td>
<td>Food, consumer goods; capital goods, fuel, transport equipment, raw materials</td>
<td>Machinery, food products, petroleum.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Top Export Partners</td>
<td>US 22.8%, Hong Kong 5.8%, Japan 5.3%, UK 5.3%, Germany 4.6% (2000)</td>
<td>India 13%, France 12.2%, Mali 9.5%, Italy 8.5%, Cote d'Ivoire 5.4%, Spain 5% (2003)</td>
<td>France 13%, US 8%, Netherlands 7%, Germany 7%, Italy 6% (1999)</td>
<td>Venezuela 14.7%, Benelux 12.2%, Italy 9.6%, France 7.0% (2000)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

http://news.bbc.co.uk/world/country_profiles/  
http://www.tradeport.org/countries/html
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.N</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Capital</th>
<th>Date of Independence</th>
<th>Area (in Sq. Kms.)</th>
<th>Population (Million)</th>
<th>Currency</th>
<th>GNP per capita (US $)</th>
<th>Main Languages</th>
<th>Main Religion(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Benin</td>
<td>Porto Novo</td>
<td>1 August 1960</td>
<td>112622</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>CFA Francs Barba</td>
<td>380</td>
<td>French, Fan, Yoruba</td>
<td>Tribal, Christian, Muslim</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Burkina Faso</td>
<td>Ouagadougou</td>
<td>5 August 1960</td>
<td>274200</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>CFA Francs</td>
<td>325</td>
<td>French, Moore, Dioula</td>
<td>Muslim, Catholic, Traditional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Guinea</td>
<td>Conakry</td>
<td>1 October 1960</td>
<td>945857</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Guine Francs</td>
<td>515</td>
<td>French, Fulani, Mande &amp; Susu</td>
<td>Islam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Ivory Coast</td>
<td>Abidjan</td>
<td>7 August 1960</td>
<td>332462</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>CFA Francs</td>
<td>734</td>
<td>French, Anyi &amp; Local</td>
<td>Tribal, Christian, Muslim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Mali</td>
<td>Bamako</td>
<td>22 September 1960</td>
<td>1240142</td>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>CFA Francs</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>French, Arabic, Bambara</td>
<td>Islam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Mauritania</td>
<td>Nouakchott</td>
<td>28 November 1960</td>
<td>1030700</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Ouguiyas</td>
<td>530</td>
<td>Arabic, French, Wolof, Berber, Sominka, Fulani</td>
<td>Islam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Niger</td>
<td>Niamey</td>
<td>3 August 1960</td>
<td>1267000</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>CFA Francs</td>
<td>281</td>
<td>French, Hansa, Fulani</td>
<td>Islam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Senegal</td>
<td>Dakar</td>
<td>4 April 1960</td>
<td>196722</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>CFA Francs</td>
<td>726</td>
<td>French, Wolof, Pulaar, Serer, Diola</td>
<td>Islam, Christian</td>
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<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Togo</td>
<td>Lome</td>
<td>27 April 1960</td>
<td>56785</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>CFA Francs</td>
<td>363</td>
<td>French, Ewe, Grusi, Gurma</td>
<td>Christian, Muslim</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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http://www.tradeport.org/countries/africa/html