

**STATE AND SOCIETY IN FRANCOPHONE
AFRICA SINCE INDEPENDENCE**

State and Society in Francophone Africa since Independence

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Finally, in the English edition, since the Introduction is, as it were, 'all my own work', I can with impunity thank my colleague and co-editor, Dr Daniel Bach, for bearing the lion's share of our writing burden. Without his enthusiastic and endearing trait of insouciant resolution, there would have been neither symposium nor publication.

A.H.M.K-G.

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List of Acronyms

ACP	African, Caribbean and Pacific countries
AEF	Afrique Equatoriale Française
ANAD	Non-Aggression and Defence Agreement
AOF	Afrique Occidentale Française
APD	Aide Publique au Développement
BCEAO	Banque Centrale des Etats de l’Afrique de l’Ouest
BEAC	Banque des Etats de l’Afrique Centrale
BET	Borkou Ennedi Tibesti
BTP	Bâtiment et Travaux Publics
CCCE	Caisse Centrale de Coopération Economique (Caisse Française de Développement)
CEAO	Communauté des Etats d’Afrique de l’Ouest
CEDEAO	Communauté Economique des Etats d’Afrique Occidentale (ECOWAS)
CEE	Communauté Economique Européenne
CEEAC	Communauté Economique des Etats d’Afrique Centrale
CEPGL	Communauté Economique des Pays des Grands Lacs
CFA	Communauté Financière Africaine
CFAO	Compagnie Française de l’Afrique Occidentale
CILSS	Centre International de Lutte contre la Sécheresse au Sahel
CNRS	Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique
DOI	(People’s Democratic Organisation for Democracy and Independence)
EAMA	Etats Africains et Malgache Associés
ECCAS	Economic Community of Central African States
ECU	European Currency Unit
EDF	European Development Fund
EEC	European Economic Community
ENFOM	Ecole Nationale de la France d’Outre-Mer
ESRC	Economic and Social Research Council
FAC	Fonds d’Aide et de Coopération
FAN	Forces Armées du Nord
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation (UN)
FCD	Fonds Communautaire de Développement
FIDES	Fonds International de Développement Economique et Social
FLN	Front de Libération Nationale

FO	Foreign Office
FOSIDEC	Fonds de Solidarité et d'Intervention pour le Développement Economique Communautaire
GPP	Gambia People's Party
GUNT	(Transitional Government of National Unity)
IMF	International Monetary Fund
LDC	Less Developed Country
LIPAD	Ligue Patriotique pour le Développement
MAC	Mission d'Aide et de Coopération
MESAN	Mouvement d'Emancipation Sociale d'Afrique Noire
MFDC	Mouvement des Forces Démocratiques de la Casamance
MOJA	Movement for Justice in Africa
MORENA	Mouvement de Redressement National
MRA	Mission pour la Réforme Administrative
NEPU	Northern Elements Progressive Union
NCP	National Convention Party
NPC	Northern People's Congress
OAU	Organisation for African Unity
OCAM	Organisation Commune Africaine et Malgache
OFRDPC	Organisation des Femmes du RDPC
OJRDPC	Organisation de la Jeunesse du RDPC
OMVG	Organisation de Mise en Valeur du Fleuve Gambie
OMVS	Organisation de Mise en Valeur de Fleuve Sénégal
OPEC	Organisation of Petrol Exporting Countries
OPTORG	Commercial company
PCD	Parti Communiste Dahoméen
PCT	Parti Congolais du Travail
PDCI	Parti Démocratique de Côte d'Ivoire
PDG	Parti Démocratique de Guinée
PPP	People's Progressive Party
PRCV	Parti Révolutionnaire Communiste Voltaïque
PRPB	Parti de la Révolution Populaire Béninoise
PS	Parti Socialiste
PTA	Preferential Trade Area
RDA	Rassemblement Démocratique Africain
RDPC	Rassemblement Démocratique du Peuple Camerounais
SADCC	Southern Africa Development Coordination Conference
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
SCOA	Société Commerciale de l'Ouest Africain
SCTIP	Service de Coopération Technique Internationale de la Police Française

SODE	State-owned companies
SOAS	School of Oriental and African Studies
STABEX	Stabilisation des Exportations
SYSMIN	Système Stabilisation Produits Miniers
TCR	Taxe de Coopération Régionale
UAMCE	Union Africaine et Malgache de Coopération Economique
UDAO	Union Douanière de l'Afrique de l'Ouest
UDE	Union Douanière Equatoriale
UDEAC	Union Douanière des Etats de l'Afrique Centrale
UDEA	Union Douanière des Etats de l'Afrique de l'Ouest
UDSR	Union Démocratique et Sociale de la Résistance
ULC	Union des Luttes Communistes
UMAC	Union Monétaire d'Afrique Centrale
UMOA	Union Monétaire Ouest-Africaine
UPS	Union Progressive Sénégalaise
UNO	United Nations Organisation
ZEP	Zone Echange Préférentiel (PTA)

Introduction

This book represents a selection of the papers, subsequently revised, which were presented at a symposium on 'Les Etats d'Afrique francophone depuis l'indépendance' held jointly at St Antony's College and the Maison Française, Oxford, in April 1988. Two more papers were subsequently commissioned to fill gaps in our initial coverage. The symposium was attended by some sixty scholars from both Britain and France.

Once the revised papers were complete we, as co-conveners turned editors, came to the conclusion that the most rewarding plan for publication would be to publish the complete text in a French edition and then to place a translated edition (three-quarters of the chapters were initially written in French) on the English-speaking market. Thanks to the sterling cooperation of a dedicated band of translators, this bilingual project has been realised: tribute is paid to their contribution individually in the Acknowledgements. In the event, as the translation bureau of any international organisation would confirm, such a meticulous approach has inevitably involved a far longer process than simply time needed for translation. Furthermore, problems with potential publishing houses in France not only delayed the appearance of the initial French edition but also had a serious knock-on effect on the timing of the English edition. We make no excuses but we do offer our appreciative apologies to our patient contributors.

Whereas the substantive text is thus predominantly a mutual translation, including the notes, it was our firm belief that a break with this in-step convention would be appropriate in respect of the Introduction. A different primary audience needed, we felt, a somewhat different setting of the context. So it is that Daniel Bach has written his Introduction to the French edition, *Etats et sociétés en Afrique francophone* (Paris: Economica, 1993), and I have undertaken to contribute this one to the English edition. Each of us has agreed both texts.

While the majority of the chapters represent a revised version of the papers originally presented at the Oxford Symposium, a number of departures from this principle call for comment. The regretted failure of one contributor to deliver her promised chapter necessitated the search for a more reliable scholar. Similarly, the subsequent phenomenon of perestroika in Africa was clearly too critical for it to be omitted, and

once more we were fortunate to find a willing collaborator. Again, one or two contributions made by discussants at the Symposium were of such intrinsic value that, rather than reproduce them in isolation here, authors preferred to incorporate the comments into their revised texts, a notable example being the critique of Professor Francis Snyder. In my own case, the co-editor felt (and, as his erstwhile thesis supervisor, who was I to dissent?) that, while my survey of the state of the literature in francophone Africa in English was arguably an effective rationalisation of the fundamental purpose of the Symposium and an appropriate way to lead off at the opening session, by the time any published volume appeared such an overview could, in the nature of things, no longer be expected to be *au courant*. Indeed, this is precisely what has happened, with the intervening publication of, in the first eighteen months alone, such important and relevant studies as Patrick Manning, *Francophone Sub-Saharan Africa, 1880–1983* (Cambridge, 1988), Christopher Harrison, *France and Islam in West Africa* (Cambridge, 1988), and John Chipman, *French Power in Africa* (Oxford, 1989), along with the chapters on Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Chad, Côte d'Ivoire and Senegal in Donal Cruise O'Brien, John Dunn and Richard Rathbone, eds, *Contemporary West African States* (Cambridge, 1989). More recently still, these have been supplemented by the notable work of Chris Allen on Benin, including his francophone volume in the Marxist Regime Series (Pinter, 1989) and his two 1991 conference papers on 'State, Party and Civil Society' in Benin. My own chapter here is thus a fresh one, the original "Please, Sir, I want some more" having found a more suitable venue in the *Travaux et documents* (No. 30) sponsored by the Centre d'Etude d'Afrique Noire, Université de Bordeaux.

Perhaps the most significant introduction of new matter is that in Chapter VIII. In 1988, when the Oxford Symposium was held, parts of Africa, like all of Eastern Europe and the USSR, were characterised by governments either committed to Socialism or professing Marxism-Leninism. Many of these were in francophone Africa. Within two years, the ideological map of Africa had begun to alter apace. Symbolised throughout the world by the tearing down of the Berlin Wall, the ultimate collapse in Eastern Europe came with the failed Moscow coup in August 1991 and the resignation of Gorbachev at the end of the year: a geo-political context, which had so dominated international relations for nearly fifty years that it had acquired the status of a neo-permanent state of affairs, was suddenly in smithereens. All at once the Cold War seemed as ancient a condition as the Ice Age. Ultimately, it is imma-

terial whether one takes the view, often promoted outside Africa, that here was another 'Wind of Change' blowing southwards across the continent and shaking the palm trees in its wake, or else the view, often heard within Africa, that the drama of democratisation (*le renouveau*, in French-speaking Africa) was just as much an African product as an Eastern European export and that events in Cotonou and Lusaka (successful) and attempts in Togo, Zaire, Cameroon and Kenya (so far less successful) were complementary rather than ancillary to those in Leipzig, Prague and Bucharest: in a word, the *Bénin avant Berlin* syndrome – or at least *avec* and certainly not *après*. What emerged was the absolute imperative for us to include a chapter on the post-Oxford Symposium phenomenon of *le renouveau*, even at the accepted risk of further delay – but, in compensation, fuller coverage – in the volume. As symposia and seminars across the land have since shown on 'Africa's Second Liberation', 'Africa's Second Coming of Independence', 'Africa's Second Wind of Change', call it what you will, redemocratisation and *le renouveau* have become the spectacular focus of attention in the study of contemporary Africa. Nor is the story ended yet.

In stressing the *actuel* importance of the addition of a chapter on the process of the new pluralism in francophone Africa, it is necessary here to guard against allowing the excitement and the allure of 'Africa 1991' to mask the achievement and indeed the origin of 'Oxford 1988'. The rationale of organising the Symposium in the first place was to remedy the deep and dangerous void in the analytical, even the descriptive, literature in English on the francophone African experience since independence when set beside the impressive corpus of critical work in English, whether from Britain, North America or much of Africa itself, which has enriched the study of the politics and society of post-colonial anglophone Africa. Leaving aside the one-off continuing interest in Zaire (which may have its roots, especially in the USA, as much in strategic urgency as in scholarly enquiry), the literature in English on the francophone states of Africa has steadily declined since the glorious peaks achieved by scholars like Ruth Schachter Morgenthau, William Foltz, Aristide Zolberg, F.G. Snyder, René Lemarchand and Victor LeVine in the 1960s. While useful individual chapters have appeared in such composite volumes as those edited in the 1970s by Peter Duignan and Lewis Gann, by Prosser Gifford and W. Roger Louis, by the encyclopaedic Virginia Thompson and Richard Adloff or in the inaugural John Dunn collection, *West African States: Failure and Promise* (Cambridge, 1978), much of the best writing in English (John Hargreaves, Edward Mortimer, the Cruise O'Briens) has been firmly rooted in the

pre-independence years or at the furthest in the decolonising decade.

To this general picture of relative poverty, two exceptions deserve notice. One is the sustained interest in British and American universities in the francophone African novel, a good number of which are now available in translation. Thus authors like Ahmadu Hampaté Ba, Mongo Beti, Camara Laye, Cheikh Hamidou Kane, Sembène Ousmane, Ferdinand Oyono and Mariama Bâ are, to our reward, as readily recognisable by English-speaking students of African literature as are their international anglophone counterparts like Achebe, Armah, Ekwensi and Ngugi wa Thio'ngo. In literary criticism, too, the francophone African novel (poetry, too, reaching back to the *Négritude* movement) has also achieved a distinction which has largely eluded the political scientist, as such studies, following the pioneer contributions of Clive Wake (1965) and A.C. Branch (1967), by Mildred Mortimer (1990), Abiola Irele (1981), Alec G. Hargreaves (1981) and Christopher L. Miller (1985) reveal. The other exception, alluded to above *en passant*, is the undiminished strength of the analysis of post-colonial Zaire, all the way from Crawford Young and René Lemarchand in the 1960s through J.C. Williame and David Gould in the 1970s to Michael Schatzberg, Thomas Callaghy and Wyatt McGaffey in the 1980s.

Overall, as I somewhat presumptuously claimed at the Oxford Symposium, 'to try and set Guy de Lusignan's would-be successor *French-Speaking Africa since Independence* (London, 1969) beside Ruth Schachter Morgenthau's *Political Parties in French-Speaking Africa* (London, 1964) is to attempt to compare a *bourgeois* Paulliac to a *grand cru* Pomerol'. Yet for this volume we took care at Oxford in 1988 to eschew the de Lusignan country-by-country model and to concentrate instead on themes. This was because we were aware that our colleagues at SOAS in London were working, as part of their sophisticated Anglo-French collaborative project, on a volume which would devote at least half of its chapters to up-to-date country studies (*Contemporary West African States*, above).

The present book is divided into four thematic sections: in conventional disciplinary shorthand, politics, economics, external relations and culture. In Part I, John Hargreaves, whose *Decolonization* (London, 1988) enjoys, among a wealth of studies on the transfer of power in Africa, the rare merit (like Michael Crowder's earlier *West Africa Under Colonial Rule*, London, 1968) of giving equal attention to the process in francophone as in anglophone Africa, undertakes a masterly study of the convergence of the national styles at the end of empire. Such a metropolitan study is complemented by Anthony Kirk-Greene's micro-

study of why the traditional rulers in anglophone Africa, notably in Nigeria yet in no way a post-colonial phenomenon confined to the hegemonic classic Fulani emirates, have not only survived decolonisation and democracy in contrast to the decline and demise of their peers beyond the borders, but have actually raised their institutional profile, despite the perceived threat of dissolution in the recommendations of Nigeria's 1987 Political Bureau (Cookey). Next, developments in law, public administration, education and in the common – but different – experience of the military as government are treated in detail. For all the attention paid to localisation and the practicalities of the civil service cadres of the new Africa at the time of independence, the study of public administration has yet, as Dominique Darbon demonstrates, failed to assume the allure of a popular topic for research. He sees Africa's bureaucracies as having failed to acquire 'the status of respectable organisations', with public administration held by researchers to be nothing more than a technique. Perhaps what is needed, social input apart, is neither much more nor far less state intervention but simply greater efficiency . . . and reduced predatoriness. Historically, better public administration is premised on higher education, and Tessa Bakary, who, recalling Dumant's gibe about the civil service constituting the principal industry of Africa's new states, writes of a 'Republic of Public Servants', gives us a detailed analysis of the relationship between education and power in Black Africa and concludes that the Côte d'Ivoire system reveals important clues about its nature and direction.

If the élites attracted the lion's share of attention by scholarly researchers at and immediately after independence, this soon gave way to what became almost a new industry, the study of the military in Africa. Here Michel Martin looks back on the extensive literature on praetorianism (to which he himself has notably contributed) and examines, in a series of working hypotheses, how far one might usefully take militarism as a separate aspect of the common phenomenon of political violence in post-colonial Africa. The two final chapters in the extensive Part I look at the now contrasting and consecutive phenomena of the one-time conspicuous one-party state (Klaus Ziemer) and the current questioning of legitimacy (Comi Toulabor) in francophone Africa. For the political scientist, both writers indicate that their chosen models constitute a point of reference in the study of francophone Africa, while the historian, on the other hand, will inevitably wish to recall and compare the presentation and the persuasions of the arguments adduced (Toulabor's contrasted 'rhetoric and reality') by their urgent advocates thirty years apart. Passions apart, the literature on both these critical

aspects of post-colonial Africa already suggests that the analytical debate has a long way to go.

The second half of the book consists of a more limited range of topics in each section. In Part II, two of the chapters on economics, by Philippe Hugon and by Bernard Contamin and Yves-André Fauré, deal respectively with economic performance and state-directed economies. Valuably, neither chapter restricts its analysis of Africa's economic and financial dynamics to the francophone states alone. Comparatively, Hugon considers the pull of the original metropolitan networks and sets the 1980s' performance of the franc zone beside that of the non-franc zone. His conclusion, like that of so many, external observers and internal economists alike, is that for Africa its economic salvation lies in regional integration. Contamin and Fauré reject the supremacy of ideological theory in their careful analysis of the state interventionist model as an inadequate explanation and conclude that it is macroeconomic conditions which must increasingly be looked to as the determining factor in the revival of productive capacities. Above all, they call for the state to restructure demand by 'dynamising' markets through creating and sustaining mass purchasing power. The chapter by Jean Coussy is devoted to the history and the future of that essentially and exclusively francophone fiscal concept, the 'franc zone'. However much a blessing it is to the visitor to francophone Africa, with a common currency for all his or her journeys and one that is both obtainable and encashable without any of the dire penalties and worthless value attaching externally to the naira, the cedi or the leone, its shortcomings and economic restraints suggest that, as Coussy argues in his critique of the franc zone's progressive erosion of its founding characteristics, this distinguishing feature of francophone post-colonial Africa may, like the military presence in many African capitals, not see out the turn of the century. Growing debt, doubts about preferential relations, the stability of the currency and the exchange rate may take care of that.

The chapters in Part III, on foreign relations, open with François Constantin's discussion of patronage and personalisation in foreign policy and a certain fixation with France. Of particular interest are his discussion of 'cardinalisation' and his observations on what he calls 'popular diplomacy'. Daniel Bach perceptively explores the differences – often amounting to ambiguities and contradictions – between the multiple modes of regional integration introduced in West Africa, an area where, with anything up to a score of states depending on the elasticity of geography and no less than four principal language influences, the

priority of rational regional cooperation is economically sound in theory, however politically fragile its practice. It is interesting to recall how, when ECOWAS (CEDEAO) was created in 1975, one of its perceived achievements was the ending of the politico-linguistic divisions which had so damagingly atomised West Africa for the previous ninety years. Inevitably both Constantin and Bach, like the economists before them, take into account in their analysis of international relations the factor of the franc zone.

As it has turned out, the two following chapters have, since the Symposium took place, *bon gré mal gré* adopted greater historical than contemporary significance. In neither instance have they lost anything thereby. Robert Buijtenhuijs's chapter on the French intervention in Chad in the 1980s is a timely case-study and one which will prove a *point de départ* when the literature moves on to both its consequence and its comparability, namely the humiliating experience of the OAU's initiative in mounting a peace-keeping force in Chad and the controversial role of ECOWAS in sending a peace-keeping force into Liberia (and maybe of the UN in Somalia, too). The chapter by Janet Lewis and Arnold Hughes on the Senegambian quasi-Federation links to Daniel Bach's wider coverage of institutions of regional cooperation in West Africa. While earlier chapters underline the necessity for regional integration as the only hope for Africa's economic malaise, Hughes and Lewis are adamant that in practical terms the Senegambia Federation is today no more than history. As the Maastricht controversy has shown, there is no reason whatsoever for Europe to preach from a position of *soi-disant* superiority that all that Africa needs to help it emerge from its economic slough of despair is a dose of common-sense togetherness in deeds to implement the heady rhetoric. In practical terms, the pattern since 1960 has yet to change: unity yes, union perhaps, unification no thank you.

In the final Part, devoted to cultural matters, Denise Coussy makes a valuable contribution to the understanding of francophone African fiction, which will interest the growing number of English-speaking students who have already found that, as it were, Achebe and Ngugi are not necessarily the alpha and the omega of modern fiction writing from Africa. Bernard Mouralis brings a philosophical dimension to the discipline, an element often more consciously overt in writings by francophone than by anglophone novelists. In any debate on the contrasting legacies and developments between post-colonial anglophone and francophone Africa, it is never long before the concept of *la francophonie* comes to the fore. Kaye Whiteman rounds off the cultural

section with a look at the misty mythology of mutual, often polarised, misconceptions on 'the two Africas' – a sort of socio-cultural parallel to the linguistic pitfalls subsumed under the warning label of *faux amis*. Incidentally, Kaye Whiteman writes as the editor-in-chief of the widely respected weekly magazine *West Africa*, this year celebrating its 75th anniversary. It is a journal which is recognised among English-speaking readers as a primary, authoritative and indispensable source for keeping them abreast with political events in contemporary francophone West Africa too, and generally acting as one of the all-too-few bridges between the all-too-often isolated language-groups of academic and commercial Africanists.

Such are the origin and rationale of this collection of thematic essays on the francophone states of Africa, mostly West, since independence. In so far as this English edition is concerned, the book is aimed at introducing to a wider audience of English-speaking readers a deeper understanding of developments – social and cultural as well as political and economic – in the French-speaking states of Africa over the past thirty years. Essentially the English version is aimed at filling in the gaps in the literature which have occurred since the vigorous *floraison* in the 1960s of writing in English about what used to be called the African states *d'expression française*. *En revanche*, the Centre d'Etude d'Afrique Noire at Bordeaux has for several years now been successfully promoting the complementary campaign in France, where students now have far greater access to literature on anglophone Africa in French than do British students on francophone Africa in English. We thus see this book as a contribution to raising the knowledge and extending the horizons of English-speaking students of Africa towards the same level as that so readily and so richly available to them in the context of English-speaking Africa, as well as standing in its own right, in both versions on each side of the Channel, as a presentation and interpretation of the salient aspects of state and society in francophone Africa since independence. We believe that without some grasp and understanding of French-speaking Africa no English-speaking student is qualified to talk about the post-colonial state, society and condition of West Africa. The sooner the artificial linguistic gap dissipates, in Africa as well as in the study of the Continent, the better for the emergence of the genuine political unit of West Africa.