THE SIGNIFICANCE OF COTE D' IVOIRE TO ECOWAS

BY

AKANJI NIYI SHAFIU

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DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
FACULTY OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSITY
ZARIA

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my parents:

Alhaji Gbadamosi Akanni and Alahaja Salamotu Assunke

DECLARATION

I, AKANJI 'NIYI SHAFIU declare that this thesis is my original work and it has not been submitted to any University for examination.

A. N. S'

Student's Signature

Supervisor's Signature

Internal Examiner

External Examiner

CERTIFICATION

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF CÔTE D'IVOIRE TO ECOWAS,
a research work carried out by Akanji Niyi Shafiu meets the requirement that is governing the award of M.Sc in International Relations (Pol.Sc.) of Ahmadu Bello University, and is approved for it's contribution to knowledge and literary presentation.

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Dean, Post-graduate School

ABSTRACT

The differences in languages and mentalities, the underdeveloped political culture and the stagnant economic structures of West African states constitute some of the major intractable problems undermining the progress, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) could have recorded over the years. Colonialism is identified to be the genesis of these problems. West African states were colonised by Britain, France and Portugal which have different languages, and different mentalities. Their former colonies were compelled to adopt their different cultures, civilisations and languages, and this, really exacerbates the problem of unity in ECOWAS, The appropriation of economic and human resources from West Africa by those colonial states also deepened the problems of economic integration in West Africa. The role of Cote d'I voire in ECOWAS is being examined from this background.

The Ivorian economy which depends solely on cocoa and coffee is tied to the apron string of developed capitalist countries, her political structure is designed in such a way th at, it has been playing a subservient role to France. Both the economic and political structures of Cote d'lvoire indicate that her independence could be defined as being sham and nominal in nature. It is obvious that the politico economic set up of Cote d'lvoire influences the kind of role she has been playing in ECOWAS.

Cote d' Ivoire, a country which gives priority to cooperation between her and developed countries like France, runs the risk of subjecting the aims and objectives of ECOWAS into ridicule. Her political role during French colonialism in West Africa are enough to justify that her activities in any regional organisations she belongs to are geared toward realising her national interest or rather, protecting the interest of developed countries on which she relies. Though the Rasseblement Democratique initiated by Houphouet Boigny led most Francophone African countries to independence, Houphouet Boigny disagreed at the epoch to belong to the Federation of Mali group proposed by Senegal. (The Federation of Mali advocated for a united government for the Francophone countries of the region). His disagreement was attributed to the fact that, the Federation of Mali which could have likely made Dakar (former French colonial capital in West Africa) the capital, could not have benefited Cote d'lvoire which was the most developed Francophone country of the region. Another interpretation of this Federation system was that, if the Federation of Mali succeeded, it could have enabled member states to challenge France domination of their economy.

In revenge, Houphouet Boigny created the Conseil de 1 'Entente which comprises of five countries. Togo, Burkina Faso, Benin, Niger and Cote d'lvoire, France, in order to safeguard her own interest, intervened to reconcile Cote d'lvoire and Senegal

so that all francophone countries should belong to the same organisation, that is how, the "Communaute' des Etats de l'Afrique* de l'Ouest - C.E.A.O. - was created, but in this case, there was no proposition as wether to have a joint government, and it was limited to only Francophone countries of the region.

In ECOWAS, it is glaring that the reserved attitude of Cote d'Ivoire on any issue concerning the community leads to serious recrimination among member states. The Liberian crisis is a case in point. Cote d'Ivoire disagreed to cooperate with ECOMOG to achieve the objectives of keeping peace in Liberia.

Looking at the development in the world economic and political relations and the historical evolution of West African states, Cote d'lvoire would at a point be prevented irom fleutii;. regional policy which could benefit the entire ECOWAS member states. The integration going on in Europe is likely to redefine the relations between France and Cote d'lvoire. Many Francophone countries have committed themselves to ECOWAS, then Cote d'lvoire has no other choice than to embrace ECOWAS. Further economic activities in the region will confirm that fact.

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1

The African countries generally have faced a number of problems in their attempt to establish effective continental and regional organisations. The roots of these obstacles can be traced to the political and economic activities which the continent in question experienced during the colonial and post-colonial eras.

During colonialism for example, the continent had been balkanised into various Political units. These units are considered as independent states today, and the indigenous economic base of the continent which was developing at a slow and steady pace was hijacked to serve the selfish economic interest of the colonial masters. The productive forces of the continent were taken to Europe and North America during slavery, to work on plantations. Even those that were not taken away had been compelled to change their agricultural system, instead of producing food crops to satisfy their basic needs, colonial masters obliged them to produce cash crops that are needed in their industries abroad. These industries finally produced goods which were sold to Africans at such a dictated and exhorbitant price.

The different languages of colonial masters constitute to date a major obstacle to economic integration in the continent at large, and in the West African sub-region in particular. This can be easily depicted in ECOWAS, whereby member states that are francophone, speak with one voice. The balkanisation of the continent into different Political

units, spekaing different languages: French, English, Portuguese, and having different ideologies, explains clearly the present uncompromising nature of African states.

Africa, therefore, had been structured by the colonial masters in a way that it will continue to play a dependent role in the international economic relations. The net effect of this economic dependence is that, no African state is able to decide on her own without the support of the former colonial powers known today as the developed countries. This is to say for instance, that France has a great influence on the Francophone countries in West Africa, because she colonised them. The purpose of giving this basic explanation is to justify the role which Côte d'Ivoire has been playing in ECOWAS, since she experienced colonialism like other African countries. This work also demands that we should illustrate the geographical and economic structure of Côte d'Ivoire.

Côte d'Ivoire is a French speaking country in West Africa. By 1982 she had a population of about 8.5 million. The population is about 10 million now. The surface area is 322,000 km^2. It is about 1/3 that of Nigeria and is located in the north of the equator, almost on the same latitude with Nigeria. The northern part of the country is of the savanna vegetation and in the south, there is a thick and densed forest. The people living there are: The Agnis, Baoulé , Dans, Bété, Gouro, Aladjans, Krous, Malinke, Guérés, Senoufos, Wabais, Adjoukourou and many others. These ethnic groups constitute an entity because they belong to the same country - Côte d'Ivoire.

In the political domain, the country has been ruled by President Felix Houphouet Boigny since independence up to date. Côte d'Ivoire is unique in the sense that she is the only country in West Africa where there is no change of government either by coup or by election. This political stability explains the tremendous economic growth in the country. The Democratic Party of Côte d'Ivoire (PDCI) is the only existing political party. Other parties emerged recently.

Capitalism has been developed in Côte d'Ivoire. In an address by the Ivorian leader to the National Assembly in January 1961, he remarked in effect, that for "the whole world to understand that Côte d'Ivoire intends thanks to a new experience, to attain a state of capitalism."[2] But in actual fact, some scholars do not consider capitalism in Côte d'Ivoire as real. They define it as dependent and nominal capitalism, which has its source in developed countries where she receives aids. One cannot equally doubt the fact that Côte d'Ivoire is immensely developed in agriculture. At present, she is "the first world producer of cocoa and third world producer of coffee.[3]" The drastic fall in prices of the two cash crops has a serious effect on the economy of the country.

Timbers and some other food crops are also produced.

The role Côte d'Ivoire is playing in ECOWAS can be categorized into two: the political and economic roles. The state of Ivorian economy and her foreign policy are tools of analysis in this research. They are indicators that will

guide us in explaining objectively the role she plays within the sub-region.

RESEARCH PROBLEM

This research intends to investigate the role of Côte d'Ivoire in Ecowas. And by so doing, the work attempts to show her contribution towards the viability or non-viability of the sub-regional organisation. In another development, the research emphasises the fact that France as a former colonial power, influences the role of Francophone countries generally. By implication, this thesis is postulating that Côte d'Ivoire's role in ECOWAS cannot be clearly examined without the objective interpretation of her relationship with France

PROBLEM EXPLANATION

The research is prompted by the role Francophone countries in West Africa play in the region. In the first place, these countries constitute the majority in the community. Out of 16 member states, 9 are Francophones, 5 are Anglophones and 2 are Luxophones. The implication of this is that, the Francophone countries might control the community politically. In another dimension, they might determine the level of economic interaction within the sub-region. Their control over the community can be attributed to the fact that Francophone countries in West Africa have for long been engaged in the establishment of many organisations even before the creation of ECOWAS. "The

establishment of Francophone economic groupings predates ECOWAS. Historically, their establishment often relates to the close relations maintained with France through the co-operation agreements signed in 1960 and revised in the early seventies."[4] In the course of this work we shall discuss these Francophone organisations that predated ECOWAS.

This research is concerned with Côte d'Ivoire because she is one of the Francophone countries that promoted economic intergration in West Africa. In terms of economic resources, she is one of the richest if not the richest Francophone country in the region. It is our intention to see how Côte d'Ivoire contributes to ECOWAS with her resources and through her foreign policy.

THE OBJECTIVES AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The main objectives of this work may be summarised as follows:

To examine the aims and objectives of ECOWAS and a brief history of how it was created.

To show how Côte d'Ivoire helps in realising the aims and objectives of ECOWAS. This contribution can be measured in terms of financial support, that is, the thesis will find out whether Côte d'Ivoire is one of the member states that pay their annual dues regularly or not. In another development, it is our responsibility to know how she contributes to trading within the region. This trading activities can be

measured through the volume of exports and volume of imports the country concerned transacts, within the region. The rate at which Côte d'Ivoire invests in the region can determir her contribution towards the viability of ECOWAS. Investment will of course generate employment, and economic development in the region. The economic development can equally lead to self-reliance which is one of the primary goals of economic integration. It is equally our intention to find out how Côte d'Ivoire contributes to the viability of ECOWAS through cultural exchange, educational, and scientific co-operations, and conflict resolution among member states.

DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS AND VARIABLES

Colonialism: This refers to the economic exploitation and political domination of weaker nations by the powerful nations. France, Portugal and Britain are some of the powerful countries thathave had colonies in Africa and other places.

Dependency: This is a situation whereby a given country depends on other countries politically and economically. This dependency makes it possible for developed capitalist countries to control the economy of the third world countries. They do this through the IMF and World Bank.

Exploitation: It is the outcome of colonialism and imperialism. It is in effect, the appropriation of economic resources of weaker countries by the powerful countries. For example, the developed countries exploit the third world countries. Exploitation can be used to describe social differences between the proletariat and the capitalist, this is best explained within the framework of the mode of production system. The notion of exploitation comes into the discussion when there is inequality in the production distribution.

Development: Development is a very broad term. It is used by scientists, mathematicians, sociologists, political scientists to mention a few. But for the political scientists, development may be defined as change plus growth. And that development can be subdivided into sections: political development, economic development, social development. We can also have development from above and development from below. Development from above is that type which is controlled from above, that is from the ruling class. Development from below , that is the development initiated and controlled by members of the grass-root.

Economic Integration: It may be defined as the process of coming together for a purpose. Economic integration therefore is defined as the unification of a group of countries into community for the purpose of economic activities. There exist social integration and cultural integration. More importantly, economic integration denotes "the centrali-

Investment: This is the act of investing with the intention of having extra yield. The economic investment for example is restricted to assets which can be valued in terms of a money price.

> "the act of investing is the sense of exchanging one asset for another which is expected to produce a greater return over a longer period."[6]

Foreign Policy: This refers to the way a given country relates to her external environment. The main objectives of foreign policy is to influence both the internal and external factors to achieve her national interest. Some of the domestic sources of foreign policy are political parties, pressure group and public opinion.

Political Capability: By this, we mean the political strength or political ability of a state at the international level which shows whether a state has a weak or strong political capability. And the extent to which such a state can influence the international environment to achieve her national aim.

Domination of Ivorian Economy: That is, how the economy of Côte d'Ivoire is being manipulated by France, since she controls almost all investments in Côte d'Ivoire.

National Interest: We mean that the role of Côte d'Ivoire in ECOWAS might be more or less an attempt to saveguard her national interest. That is, interest is,

> "whatever is profitable to a person or group, because it gives them satisfaction."[7]

Spread Effect: In any economic integration, the economic activities of member states should be developed in a way that both the most developed and less developed member states should all benefit from the integration. The concept that indicates the level of economic developmentin the integrating states is the "spread effect" which is,

> "... a stimulating effect which arrises from international trade. The most important spread effect of a rise in the value of exports is it's multiplier effect on per capita income in the other sectors of the economy... Some economists have argued that the spread effects of trade for underdeveloped countries are very weak and are usually outweighed by the backwash (unfavourable) effects."[8]

Having conceptualised and explained the key variables, the next aspect will focus on the hypotheses.

It is of paramount importance to hypothesize, so that the variables - both dependent and independent variables should be identified. And our findings also will have to be objective and logical.

HYPOTHESES

a) The domination of Ivorian economy by the French Government stemmed from the fact that she was her former colony.

b) The role of Côte d'Ivoire in ECOWAS is a function of the French influence over her.

c) The national interest of Cote d'Ivoire determines her role in ECO

METHOD OF DATA COLLECTION

It is our intention to use both the primary and secondary sources of data collection. For the primary method we will go to the field and interview some people we think can provide us with valid information. For example, university lecturers, experts in the subject matter. And we shall interview ECOWAS officials. Our secondary method of data collection will involve the consultation of important documents that examine our research topics.

In another development, the theory of economic integration is going to be used in this research. In any case, more details or re-examination will be made on the theory of economic integration.

1.2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: The Theory of Economic Integration

Economic integration has become a necessity for many countries. Even the developed countries like the European capitalist countries and the socialist countries engaged themselves in it. The European Economic Community (EEC) and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) are good examples of economic integration in the developed countries. On the other hand, developing countries after obtaining their respective independence, had established a number of economic integration both at the continental level and at the regional level.

According to Bela Ballasa in his book the Theory of Economic Integration, there is a clear cut difference between cooperation and integration, cooperation:

> "includes actions aimed at lessening discrimination, the process of economic integration comprises measures that entail the suppression of some forms of discrimination, for example, the international agreements on trade policies belong to the area of international cooperation, while the removal of trade barriers is an act of economic integration."[9]

Ballasa maintained that there are two schools of thought that examined the theory of economic integration. These schools of thought are the dirigists and the liberalist. One should note that these two schools are opposed to each other

in terms of their stand on economic integration. The main point that explains their contradiction is that, one stresses that, the market forces determine the economic integration among integrated economies, while the other one is maintaining that, the state has to participate fully in economic integration.

The liberalist believes that regional integration can be realised only when the market forces function in the integrating economies. The advocates of liberal theory of economic integration regard economic integration as

> "identical with trade (and payments) liberalisation. Allais asserts that practically, the only mutually acceptable rule for close economic cooperation between democratic societies is the rule of the free market."[10]

Trade should be left free and there should be free mobility of commodities. One can see that the liberal economic integration theorists see economic integration to be the same with trade liberalisation. Ballassa maintains that, within the scope of this school of thought there are two positions. The first group believes that economic integration can be achieved through the implementation of free market, and on the other hand, the second group believes also in the participation of the state, especially the part of integration that involves investment in specific areas. Ballasa argued that the important aspect of this debate is not whether market forces and the state are crucial to economic integration. He is only interested in knowing

the role both the market forces and the state play after the formation of an integrated economic community.

The dirigists as it is explained earlier on, held a contrary view. Unlike the liberalists, they believe that economic integration is only possible when the state is responsible for the implementation of national economic plan. This school believes in non-market forces. Bela Ballassa maintained that this approach is in operation under the Soviet types of economic assistance.

> "It can be found in the integration projects of Soviet-type economies; the operation of the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance, comprising the Soviet Union and her European satellites, is based on the coordination of long-range plans and bilateral trade agreements."[11]

Concerning the developing countries, Ballasa argued that the participation of the state is needed. This is because of the nature of development in these countries. The market forces can hinder development and efficient economic integration while the state can harmonize the economic resources for effective development.

Professor Uka Ezenwe in his book ECOWAS and the Economic Integration of West Africa, discussed the traditional theory of integration. This genre of theory according to him focuses on two main points:

"The effect of economic union on aspects of welfare and effects of union on the pattern and volume of trade."[12]

He also argued that the literature on economic integration mostly discussed custom unions of developed countries. Thus, partly laying emphasis on industrial sectors of these developed economies. In the context of industrial economies the problems of integration are multiple. Firstly, there is economic development which is a great task on how to adjust production and their patterns of consumption constitute serious problems to economic integration in the developed economies.

Professor Ezenwe maintained that the conventional theory of economic integration has to be modified in order to serve the L.D.C. and the developed countries. The modification should be such that

"the customs union theory should contribute a more equitable distribution of income (b) that trade diversion might be inevitable in a developing country; and (c) that the standard theory must incorporate dynamic aspects."[13]

He finally stressed that economic integration can really take off in West Africa when

"member states mobilize their human resources for the exploitation of internal and external economies of scale, especially in manufacturing activities."[14]

Bennet in his work International Organizations defined regional organisation as a

> "segment of the world bound together by a common set of objectives based on geographical, social, cultural, economic or political ties and possessing a formal structure provided for in formal inter-governmental agreements."[15]

He examined critically the concepts of regionalism and universalism. According to Bennett, both the advocates of regionalism and universalism believe that their own approach to economic integration is the best. Therefore, the regionalists forwarded the following arguements to claim superiority over universalism. That:

> "1. there is a natural tendency towards regionalism based on the homogenity of interest, traditions, and values within small groups of neighbouring states.
>
> 2. Political, economic and social integration is more easily attained among a lesser number of states within a limited geographic area than on a global basis.
>
> 3. Regional economic cooperation provides more efficient economic units than the smaller states, and these larger units can compete successfully in world markets.

4. Local threats to peace are more willingly and promptly dealt with by the government of that area than by disinterested states at greater distances from the scene of conflict.

5. By combining states into regional groupings a global balance of power will be maintained and world peace and security will be promoted.

6. The world is not ready to establish global authority sufficient to maintain world peace and promote welfare - regionalism is the first step in gaining experience and building areas of concensus toward eventual inter-governmental coordination or integration.

7. Universalisits fail to take into account the heterogenity of political, economic, social and geographical factors throughout the world that militate against global unity. These differences can be more easily accomodated in regional integration.

The regionalists argue that the following points explained above show the supremacy of regionalism on the universalism.[16]

The classification of regional organisations can be based on the scope and nature of their functions.

Lynn H. Miller in his Work Regional Organisations and Subordinate System, classified regional organisations into three categories:

"Cooperatives, alliance and functional."[17]

These categories are based on what he calls

> "the single variable of security orientation of component states as expressed through the organisational structure."[18]

Miller stressed that economic, social and political integration are promoted through functional regional organisations with little or no regard to security, while regional organisations based on alliance are those

> "whose military and political orientation is intended to provide security against external actors."[19]

In this theoretical analysis, the functional theory of regional organisations will receive our attention, because they are the largest category of regional organisations we can find in the world. As it is defined above, functional regional organisations attempt to realise, political, economic and social integration among member states. As a matter of fact, functional regional organisations are formed for the attainment of economic goals of member states.

David Mitrany, a functional theorist attempted to postulate that the functional ability of this theory leaves much to be desired. He therefore stressed that

> "the habits of collaborating development in functional areas should eventually spill over into the political spheres and lead to the

> the break down of political barriers among states. If these theories have any validity, the proof is not yet strongly evidenced in the behaviour of states, which continue to saveguard vigorously their political unity and independence."[20]

It is therefore glaring that most states involved in regional integration give priority to their national interest, Mitrany therefore, states that priority should be given to the policies of regional integration instead of national interest. The economic advantages cannot be attained by unilateral policies.

Bennett, maintained that the rate at which economic integration has been developing is negligible. He therefore stressed that

> "steps towards economic union have been partial, gradual, cautious, and reflective of little national enthusiasm for merging national economic institutions except to the degree that national political freedom remains intact."[21]

Economic integration could foster development of member states. Member states would have a common market and would implement similar economic policies.

> "By reason of agglomeration economies, the abolition of restrictions on trade and factor movement would strengthen the attractiveness of highly industrialised centres for both labor and capital that, as a result of economic integration, some regions (or countries)

might gain, while others would loose."[22]

The spirit of togetherness introduced as a result of integration of states would promote both internal and external trade pattern of member states better than the others. This, strongly depends on which one of the integrating economies are favoured by nature and other economic factors such as manpower, diversed resources. In the case of ECOWAS, Nigeria and Côte d'Ivoire could be seen as countries that could benefit more than any other member states. The reason is that, these two countries have got the economic strength to establish import substitution industries compared to other member states. Côte d'Ivoire develops her agricultural sector, and Nigeria is endowed with resources (iron ore, oil, coal, cocoa, cotton, etc.) that could enhance economic development in the region. Though the most developed states of the region would benefit more in the integration, the less developed countries would also benefit from it. The advantages for the less developed countries would be as a result of spread effect of the activities of the regional organisations from the most developed countries.

> "The 'spread effects' emanating from developed regions would also benefit the backward areas."[23]

The location of industries is of paramount importance in any regional integration. Bela Balassa explained that the location theory has been neglected over the years due to the following reasons:

> "First, traditional economic theory ignored the location aspect and concentrated on the domestic international dichotomy. Second, under classical assumptions of price and factor mobility... there seemed to be little need for the discussion of regional issues, since differences in income levels could not have endured."[24]

The problems of location of industries in the integrating region could be promoted when experts in international economic relations give priority to theoretical analysis of the problems of economic integration. Furthermore, policy makers of integrating states should give more attention to the obstacles that hinder the good running order of the integration. This could be done by providing concrete solution to the confronted problems in the integrating nations.

According to other scholars, economic integration is highly advantageous, but that it's realisation may have consequences on national economic structures of member states. In this respect, Herbert Giersh stressed that

> "... economic integration would weaken the tendency toward agglomeration along national lines but would, at the same time intensify regional agglomeration tendencies."[25]

The main objective of economic integration is surely to have an increase in welfare. That is why most social scientists (economists, sociologists, political scientists) generally maintained that:

> "Growth of per capita incomes, full employment, and stability are most frequently mentioned goals of regional development policy."[26]

The Economic Community of West Africa is one of the many functional regional organisations in the world, and as of now, it's being described as a toothless bull dog. The community cannot function in a way to achieve the set goals.

SCOPE AND LIMITATION OF THE STUDY

The work mostly examines the role of Côte d'Ivoire in ECOWAS. It limits its analysis to West Africa. France activities in West Africa is incorporated in the research, simply because it helps us to understand the role Côte d'Ivoire is playing in ECOWAS.

ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY

In the first chapter, we discussed the theory of economic integration. The views of the dirigist and the liberal schools of thought

The relationship between international economic relations and the economic crisis in Côte d'Ivoire are critically examined in chapter two.

The third chapter focuses on the international capitalism and economic integration in West Africa. This chapter is more or less very important in this work. It is at this point that we shall illustrate the fact that economic integration in West Africa, as it is now, is operating within a capitalist system. That is to say that, the nature and structure of the economic integration concord with the economic activities of the developed capitalist world. We subscribe to this position because all member states of the Economic Community of West African depend on the developed capitalist countries.

In the fourth chapter, emphasis is on the assessment of Côte d'Ivoire in ECOWAS. The indicators that are used to analyse this are as follows: The level of economic relations Côte d'Ivoire transacts with other member states, the political contribution she has made so far in the community, for example participation in conflict resolution. The level of investment in the region and her financial contribution to the community.

The fifth chapter, examines the impact of the European Economic Community on ECOWAS. More specifically, it our concern to investigate how this recent change in Europe - the economic integration going on in Europe - will affect the role Côte d'Ivoire plays in ECOWAS.

The last chapter focuses on the summary and conclusion and suggests a new approach to economic integration in West Africa.

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CHAPTER TWO

INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC RELATIONS AND THE ECONOMIC CRISIS IN COTE D'IVOIRE

1·3

Introduction

The rates of indebtedness and dependency in Africa in general and in Cote d'Ivoire in particular, are assuming a staggering proportion. This stem from the fact that, the African countries as an entity contribute a very negligible quota to international economic relations. President Felix Houphouet Boigny of Côte d'Ivoire during a special conference asserted that:

> "Africa represents only 2% in the international trade, out of which South Africa takes 1% and the other African countries contribute the other 1%."[1]

This analysis clearly demonstrates that the contribution of African states do not make more or less any impact in international economic relations in terms of contributing to world economic advancement. It is therefore factual, logical and objective to accept the position of President Houphouet Boigny when he maintained that:

> "Even a small American village has more than 2% in the international trade."[2]

This is to confirm the fact that an American village is more developed technologically than the African continent as a whole. Although the genesis of the inability of the African states in general and of Cote d'Ivoire in particular to participate actively in international trade can be traced

to the colonial days. During the colonial periods, the Ivorian economy like most African economies was tied to the apron string of the developed capitalist countries. More specifically, Côte d'Ivoire's economy was directly controlled and managed by France through their colonial capital in Senegal. The main objective of the capital was to assemble all the agricultural and mineral resources in French West Africa and later send them to industries in France.

In International Economic Relations, Africa and most third world countries have been assigned the role of providing raw materials to industries in the developed capitalist countries. The contribution of Côte d'Ivoire to international trade can therefore be examined from that perspective. At the international level, Côte d'Ivoire is known to be the first world producer of cocoa and one of the first world producers of coffee. These two materials - cocoa and coffee constitute up to date the main pivot around which the Ivorian economy rotates. Over the years, the price of these cash crops start to flunctuate and have continued to maintain a downward trend. Most developed countries are even threatening to replace cocoa with other fatty materials out of which chocolate and other cocoa products can be made. France, Germany and Britain have been envisaging such a project. One understands therefore why prices of cash crops are forced down in the world market.

In order to be recognised within International Economic Relations, African countries including Côte d'Ivoire have entered into series of agreements with developed countries. Among such agreements are the Yaounde Conventions which were later converted to Lome Conventions. These conventions are attempts by the less developed states to protect the interest of the developing countries in the world market.

The role of the multinational corporations is central in explaining the economic crisis in Côte d'Ivoire, in other words, one can stipulate that, the economic crisis in Côte d'Ivoire is being generated by an external shock. An American multinational; Philips Brothers and the other one from France, Sucres et Denrées are involved in buying cocoa from Côte d'Ivoire. They impose prices that enable them to maximize profit. The prices of course have serious economc implications on the Ivorian economy. The country is unable to plan effectively for her fiscal year, because, both cocoa and cofee which prices fluctuate contribute about 70% of her total exports.

The present economic problems confronting Côte d'Ivoire explains well her attempt to look for loan from some international financial institutions like the International Monetary Funds (IMF), the Paris Club and many others. At present Côte d'Ivoire is known as one of the most indebted countries in the world. The fall in the prices of cocoa and coffee and debt servicing are putting Côte d'Ivoire in a perpetual economic crisis situation.

The demonstration that has taken place early this year (1990), and organised by students and most people in Côte d'Ivoire is a product of the present economic catastrophy. The International Monetary Fund imposes some conditions on Côte d'Ivoire, for example the Ivorian government has been told to cut down its public expenditures before they can receive the loan. In order to comply with the proposition of the I.M.F. the government of Côte d'Ivoire reduced the number of ministers and cut down drastically public expenditures. This generated unemployment and economic instability in the country.

This work maintains that economic crisis in Côte d'Ivoire is also due to extravagant spending of the leaders, especially President Houphouet Boigny who has undertaken the building of a gigantic Basilica in his home town Yamoussoukro, a project which is worth $3.00 million and which is not of any economic benefit to the country.

The economic crisis in Côte d'Ivoire has been caused by both internal and extrnal factors. At the level of the external environment, the flunctuation in prices of cocoa and coffee accounts for the economic instability in the country. One of the internal factors is that, the Ivorian economy is not diversified. It is an export dependent economy, once the prices of the cash crops - cocoa and coffee are reduced in the world market, it reduces also the country's foreign exchange earnings. The prestigious spendings rampant in Côte d'Ivoire contribute to the economic crisis. Development projects are forgone for

non-productive projects.

1.4 EVOLUTION OF THE IVORIAN ECONOMY WITHIN WORLD ECONOMIC RELATIONS

Côte d'Ivoire is immensly rich in resources, there is a vast and rich forest located along the coast. This had enabled the French colonial government to introduce the two cash crops that grow well in the region and which they need in their industries established in France, these crops are cocoa and coffee.

In 1956, Côte d'Ivoire exported 35.49% of her total export to French West Africa.

The introduction of the cash crops - cocoa and coffee to Côte d'Ivoire made it easy for the French colonial masters to become plantation owners. They therefore recruited Ivorians to work on their plantations. The elites in Côte d'Ivoire saw this action of colonial masters as injustice. Then the Ivorian elites were big farmers, like Houphouet Boigny who possessed vast land and plantations. The injustice done to the Ivorians by the colonial masters had provoked a class conflict between the Ivorian bourgeoisie and the colonial bourgeoisie. In order to fight a joint course, the indigenous bourgeoisie established:

> "The African Agricultural Union (S.A.A. Syndicat Agricole Africain) which under the leadership of Houphouet Boigny, soon had a membership of 20,000 planters. The merger in 1945 of the SAA and the

> the Communist Study Groups created in Abidjan
> led to the formation of the Ivory Coast
> Democratic Party."[4]

The resolution of the conflict between the colonial bourgeoisie and the indigenous bourgeoisie was done by the colonial state, and this was done through the reinforcement of the relationship between the colonial bourgeoisie and the ruling class in Côte d'Ivoire. That is why today, the control of the Ivorian economy is in the hands of the ruling class and the neo-colonial capitalists. In addition to this explanation, the French policy of assimilation is of paramount importance in this work, while the British were using the direct and indirect system to control her colonies France was implementing the assimilation system which incorporated Côte d'Ivoire and other French colonies into the French culture, socio-economic and political set up.

The incorporation of the Ivorian economy to the world capitalist system took place during French colonialism. The motives were to make sure that Côte d'Ivoire remains their source of raw materials and a market for European finished goods. This was an attempt to tie the Ivorian economy to the world capitalist system. The Ivorian leaders are also advocates of capitalism, for example, President Boigny maintained that:

> "rather than to think of methods of distribution
> of existing riches, it is better to work by
> giving priority to creation of new riches.
> It is of no use to share poverty."[5]

As conceived in this work, the nature, structure, and shape of the Ivorian economy vividly calls into the discussion the main activity of French colonialism as regards the rivalry between Senegal and Côte d'Ivoire during the colonial days. As of that time, the French West Africa was under a French colonial government with the colonial capital in Dakar in Senegal. The location of the colonial capital had given Senegal an edge over Côte d'Ivoire - Industries were set up by colonial masters in Dakar, the seat of the colonial governmnet was also there. The meaning of this was that any decisions that affected French colonies in West Africa were taken in Dakar . Employment opportunities were very high, even training centres were established there. The irony of this situation was that, almost more than half of the resources obtained in Francophone countries in West Africa came from Côte d'Ivoire as of that time. The abolition of colonial administration marked therefore the beginning of development in Côte d'Ivoire.

> "in effect, it's only after the collapse of the French West Africa that a number of light industries were established in Côte d'Ivoire."[6]

The increase in growth of the Ivorian economy was noticed when the light industrial sector was developing, industrial activities like flour milling, canning, brewing,

oil refining, cigarettes, textiles, plastic products, saw mills, vehicle assembling and so many others dominated the Ivorian economy after the collapse of the French West Africa. These industries set up before Côte d'Ivoire became independent were financed by foreign capital while the financing of public investment was done with the available internal resources. In spite of it's growth, the Ivorian economy had no problem with it's balance of payment in the 50's.

> "Ivory Coast has experienced no difficulties with it's balance of payments in the fifteen years 1950-165."[7]

The strategy for national development was focussed on primary products for export. And the economy of Côte d'Ivoire had notexperienced deficit in the 1950's and early 60's despite the transfer abroad of profits by the private foreign investors. That was so because in fifteen years (between 1950 and 1965)

> "exports increased 4.4 times compared with only 3.5 times for the GDP."[8]

This above point concretise the views of some liberal scholars who maintained that

> "in ten years before and after independence, Ivory Coast was the most successful of West African countries in economic growth".[9]

However, the success in economic growth of the country has been attributed to what is described as

> "pragmatic policy of welcoming capitalist

undertakings and adding effective state enterprise and of the wise use of French aid funds mainly for infrastructure."[10]

In actual fact, this thesis suscribes to the fact that the Ivoiran capitalism is a caricature of real capitalism.

"Then if one wants to talk about development of capitalism in Côte d'Ivoire, it is not authorised to talk of development of Ivorian capitalism. The Ivorian economy does not have proper autonomy, it does not understand itself without the European economy by which it is controlled, if the proletariats are Africans, the real bourgeoisie is absent, residing in Europe and provides capital and cadres."[11]

The method of financing the Ivorian economy leaves a trail of serious dissatisfaction such that future development of the country is being put into question. The dominance of the high remuneration of foreign capital which affects the economy of Côte d'Ivoire shows the extent to which growth that takes place in the country depends on external forces. It is clear that Côte d'Ivoire's request for foreign aid is determined to cooperate with all states to bring her the capital and technical aids which she needs. The following figures help to illustrate this point. According to M. Konan Bedie.

> "The French public bilateral aid to Côte d'Ivoire (financial aid and technical assistance, subsidies and loans) reached between 1960 and 1970 approximately 89.2 billion CFA. If to this figure we add other form of French aid the total would be over 100 billion CFA by 1970."[12]

The dependence on international capital deepened the economic crisis in Côte d'Ivoire, this is because of the inability of the primary sector, especially the agricultural sector to generate domestic savings for investment. The exportation of primary products like cocoa and coffee earns very negligible foreign exchange to the country from which they are being exported, because the prices of these export crops fluctuate at the international level and this fluctuation is to the disadvantage of the exporting country. In order to express the shortage of foreign exchange earnings by developing countries in general and by Côte d'Ivoire in particular Samir Amin maintained that

> "The Ivory Coast, like other countries during colonial period has passed very quickly from the stage of development characterised by a net flow of foreign capital, to that of exploitation, characterised by a reversal in the balance of payment of an increasing preponderance of re-exported profits."[13]

By and large, Côte d'Ivoire had maintained a steady growth rate after independence up to late 70's. From 1980 up to date, the country has been facing serious economic problems. And according to Bergstein and R. Kehohane and Joseph Nye, there are seven criteria within the framework of which a country can operate to foster it's development when she participates in international economic relations, the factors are:

> "efficiency, growth, full employment, income distribution, price stability, quality of life and economic security."[14]

More importantly, multinatioral corporations, technological development, industrialisation, capital and trading are the main factors that justify the level of economic relations of a country at the international arena. These points are closely related to the seven Bergstein-Keohane-Nye economic criteria. In another development, they constitute the major controversy between the developing countries like Côte d'Ivoire and the developed ones like France.

Côte d'Ivoire lacks most factors included in the Bergstein-Keohane-Nye criteria, one understands therefore why she could not make any remarkable impact in the international trade, more so,

> "the slow growth of exports of developing countries is mainly due to the restrictive measures by the developed countries, and

that prices of primary commodities tend to deteriorate in relative terms."[15]

As one of the developing countries, Côte d'Ivoire is conscious of the fact that her destiny is being determined from outside, if she could not adapt to the external economic conditions, she would find it difficult to cope with her present economic situation. That is why in 1989, the budget of the country was imposed by the present international economic situation (la conjoncture économique internationale) the reduction in prices of raw materials especially cocoa and cofeee, and the problems of external financing Concerning the prices of coffee, between

"June and August 1989, the prices of coffee fell by 30%."[16]

The International Organisation of Coffee, since July 1989 has suspended the idea of quota for members of the organisation. This action eventually obliged producers of coffee to fix prices for their product and to determine the quantity to be sold by themselves. After the suspension of the quota system by the organisation, Côte d'Ivoire has been faced with serious problems because she relies to some extent on coffee as one of her sources of generating revenue for national development. Since the coffee market is opened to everybody, producers of coffee in the world have since then been confronted with the problem of competition among themselves. Brazil and Indonesia which are also producers of coffee did not hesitate to sell their coffee

at any price. The two countries do not depend too much on coffee. They have other mineral resources outside coffee which can highly contribute to their economic development. In Indonesia for example coffee

> "represents only 3% of the total export."[17]

The economy of Brazil is so diversed that, the fall in the price of coffee at the international market does not have any serious effect on her economy".

> "coffee represents only 7% of the total export of Brazil... and the total export of coffee from Brazil is equal to Côte d'Ivoire's total export (including other products(."[18]

The discussion so far illustrates the fact that both Brazil and Indonesia have nothing to loose as a result of the fluctuation in the prices of coffee. While the reverse is the case for Côte d'Ivoire. The protection of the prices of coffee is indispensable to her.

> "It contributes 20% of her total earnings. It's disappearance would be a serious disaster. It is because of that, that the Ivorians have always opted for the protection of the prices of coffee."[19]

However, the case of cocoa is even more problematic Côte d'Ivoire is the first world producer of cocoa and this product represents about 40% of her total exports.

The Ivorian leader who is aware of the negative economic effects of the fluctuation of the prices of cocoa on the Ivorian economy decided unilaterally to store about 600, 000 tons of cocoa in 1987 with the aim of controlling the prices in the world market. But all his effort was in vain. This is as a result of the presence of Malasian cocoa in the international market and it is cheaper compared with the Ivorian cocoa. The effort of the Ivorian government to control the prices of cocoa at the international market has been jeopardised also by cocoa smuggling that invaded the Ivorian territory during the period of economic crisis.

The Ivorian government in search of solution to the economic problems heating their country has no other choice than to have recourse to multinational corporations. Philipps Brothers, an American multinational corporation and Sucre et Denrées, a French multinational corporation are the main parties negociating to buy the stored cocoa.

> "By November 1988, and by January 1989, Côte d'Ivoire sold a total of 400,000 tons of cocoa to Sucres et Denrée (and again 124,000 tons in March 1989)."[20]

However, the modalities of payment is such that Côte d'Ivoire could not say exactly the amount she is expecting from the sale of cocoa to Sucres et Denrées. Whereas Philipps Brothers

> "agreed to pay 374 CFA **per** kilo for 280,000 tons

of cocoa."[21]

as opposed to 25o CFA per kiloe at the international market. Philipps Brothers as an effective multinational corporation is attempting to take over the complete buying of the Ivorian cocoa because Sucres et Denrées is unable to pay in cash.

> "When buying the 280,000 tons,Phibro paid 25 billion CFA.. for Phibro, the buying of 280,000 tons is just the beginning of business, it's objective is to keep out Sucres et Denrées and implant itself in Côte d'Ivoire."[22]

In another development, the international accords like the Lomé conventions are unable to rescue Côte d'Ivoire from her economic crisis. The convention which has been given the responsibility to stabilize the prices of agricultural products from ACP countries has been remaining passive over the years.

> "The convention includes a system for stabilizing export earnings (stabex) in certain chiefly agricultural products, for which $240 m is set aside for ACP countries."[23]

The experience of Côte d'Ivoire about her economic activities can offer important lessons to other developing countries. Although there is economic growth in Côte d'Ivoire, the economic development is absolutely absent because the growth is being maintained from outside without the establishment:

> "of a social structure capable of bringing about an automatic transition to the further stage, that of internally centred and self regulating growth."[24]

The implication of this is that the international financial institutions such as the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the Paris Club could influence the direction of the Ivorian economy. In 1990 for example, United States of America cancelled 500 million dollars our of her debts.

By way of conclusion, the Ivorian economy can be said to be depending on developed capitalist countries. And this dependency can greatly affect the role Côte d'Ivoire plays in ECOWAS. Especially when the objectives of the regional organisation goes against the interest of these developed capitalist countries. We therefore assume that Côte d'Ivoire does not single handedly influence which decision to take in ECOWAS. Countries like France can influence her, since she controls over 90% of the Ivorian economy. And basically this dependence on Western capitalist countries is due to the fact that Côte d'Ivoire is an export dependent economy. And the prices of her export products falls drastically in the world market, in addition, Côte d'Ivoire is highly indebted, the revenue generated annually is used to pay debt and to service loans. This global explanation gives an objective perspective and interpretation of the economic crisis in Côte d'Ivoire. However, Côte d'Ivoire has

been considered as a battle ground for multinationals, a place where multinational corporations take over the control of the economy. No wonder why Côte d'Ivoire, despite the economic growth she has experienced she has remained a country that has to rely on external aid for her economic development.

In actual fact the Lomé conventions are not objectively designed to protect theinterest of developing countries. Even with Stabex, Côte d'Ivoire is unable to solve her economic problems.

Côte d'Ivoire like other African countries, especially those that are members of ECOWAS faces serious economic problems. If history is anything to go by, the developed capitalist countries on which she is economically dependent would influence Côte d'Ivoire to act in a way that will protect their interest in ECOWAS. The present economic crisis affecting the country is rather causing more problems as to what kind of role Côte d'Ivoire plays in ECOWAS. A country with a non-viable economy will have nothing to say in the organisation she belongs to. She will rather seek the advice of the advanced countries on which she relies. Such is the case with Côte d'Ivoire in ECOWAS. There is no concrete role that Côte d'Ivoire will play without being influenced by the developed capitalism countries like France and America. For her to resolve her economic problems she has to look inward by making use of available resources for national development. The Ivorian economy should be diversified in ways that she would not have to rely solely on exports of primary products.

FOOTNOTES

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CHAPTER THREE

1.5 CAPITALISM AND ECONOMIC INTEGRATION IN WEST AFRICA

INTRODUCTION

The second chapter of this work which tends to examine the global economic relations and the economic crisis in Côte d'Ivoire paves way for the critical analysis of the capitalist system as an international phenomenon and the economic integration in West Africa as an attempt by the integrating states to withstand the massive exploitation that is being generated by the developed capitalist world.

Many critics would agree with the fact that the present economic order is more or less not to the advantage of the developing world like the African continent in general, and the West African states in particular. Worst terms of trade, import dependent economies, decline in the prices of cash crops - main exports commodities of most West African countries, monoculture system of production and balance of payment deficit characterised the basic economic features of African states nowadays. This economic problems stem from the fact that the capitalist system is the pivot round which the world economy currently rotates. Dennis L. Coher therefore asserted that:

> "these differences in the structures of production exchange and accumulation between the developed capitalist states, on one hand, and the underdeveloped...

states on the other are seen as resulting not from natural differences in productivity between different areas, nor from differences in technological level in these areas, but from the early development of capitalist relations of production in Western Europe.[1]

In spite of the above quoted view about capitalism, many scholars of different schools of thought got to interprete international capitalism differently. The opinions of the Marxist, the U.D.T. (under development theorists) and the liberal scholars are going to draw an objective conclusion of the nature of the world capitalist system.

However, it is of paramount importance to point out that despite the different theories propounded by social scientists, the economic situation of African states is stagnant. Perhaps those theories are not implemented or most of them are full of weaknesses that are not properly addressed. Probably, the interests of African states in general are not taken cognisance of when formulating theories that promote regional economic integration. It is against this background that African states engage in integration, hoping that regional integration

will promote economic development. Indeed, for effective economic integration, the principle of comparative cost advantage should be implemented.

In another development, the historical analysis of economic integration in West Africa is very important in understanding the functions, weaknesses and raison d' être of ECOWAS. In this work, effort is also geared towards identifying the problems and how to enable ECOWASto operate in full swing.

THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM

In the realm of orthodox Marxist analysis, the work of Lenin vividly illustrates the fact that imperialism engenders capitalism, and the theory of imperliasm refers to capital accumulation through the exploitation of the weaker countries by the powerful countries. Imperialism could also be referred to as capital expansion in the world economic relation. According to the Marxist school of thought, capital expansion is being given priority in the imperialist system. That is why most, if not all capitalist states are identified with imperliasim. In his work titled:
Imperialism the Highest Stage of Capitalism, Lenin made some criticisms of imperialism. The most relevant is the one that explains the expansion of capitalism.

> "The capitalist powers divide the world into spheres of influence, after the consolidation of capitalism in their various countries, they began to go out looking for areas of influence and that was the beginning of colonialism."[2]

Kartosky argued that imperialism is the domination of developed capitalist states over the developing countries. In his book Ultra Imperialism, he stressed that there is no competition among the developed countries over the appropriation of the developing economies. Whereas Lenin held a contrary view that, there is a keen competition in the quest to dominate the less developed economies. Karl Marx examplained that capital importation to less developed countries leads to complete control and domination of these countries. Further more, the competition among the developed capitalist states will oblige them to come together by pulling their resources together, this will eventually lead to "monopoly capitalism."

The developed capitalist states see the need, to look for new market to sell their finished products and buy raw materials. It is through this kind of relations with less developed countries that developed capitalism states had the ambition to colonise politically, and economically the African countries.

The neo-colonial period is characterised by the inequality in the political, social and economic relations that exist between the developed capitalist states and the developing countries. African countries depend on developed states like European countries for capital. The neo-colonial system therefore makes room for the establishment of an agreements between the African leaders of the post-colonial states and the imperial powers. These agreements tend to have some exploitative tendencies. Prices of raw materials and that of capital equipments needed by African countries are dictated and fixed by the developed capitalist states. Neo colonialism promotes capitalist system, because it does not allow meaningful development of the productive forces like the indigenous technology, and effective political and economic policies. The dependert state of developing countries makes it possible for developed capitalist world to maintain their hegemony over them.

The Under Developed Theorist (UDT), scholars have a different interpretation of capitalism, unlike the Marxist scholars, they believe in capitalism. However, the U.D.T. theorists can be categorised into two, and their views as regard international capitalism are diametrically opposed. Those that are not fundamentally opposed to capitalism ideology maintained that imperialism should be discouraged, that, once there is no domination of the less developed countries by the developed countries, then, the backwardness of developing world will be removed.

The Marxists within the U.D.T. theorists argued that it is unrealistic to maintain that the developing countries will advance under the world capitalist system, they butressed-up this point by explaining that the third world countries are assigned the role of providing raw materials for industries in developed countries and market for their manufactured goods.

In another development, the liberal scholars have the believe that capitalism encourages development in third world countries. But this development will only be achieved through the backing of the developed capitalist system. According to the liberalists, technological support, loans, grants, and training programme of the third world countries abroad will surely enhance development.

In spite of these different views propounded by scholars, the unbearable economic situation of African states remain unchanged. It is against this background that African states engage in integration, hoping that a larger economy will surely enhance economic development by promoting trade within the region, by interacting jointly with the rest of the world. Therefore, to justify our quest, it is imperative to have sound economic integration in West Africa.

1.6 ECONOMIC INTEGRATION IN WEST AFRICA: Historical Perspective

Since this thesis lays more emphasis on the role of Côte d'Ivoire in ECOWAS, it is intended to give account of the evolution of economic integration among the Francophone

countries in West Africa. And thereby illustrating the difficulties arising as a result of having a single economic organisation like ECOWAS that embodies both the Francophone and Anglophone countries of the West African sub-region.

The President of Côte d'Ivoire, Mr Felix Houphouet Boigny initiated during the colonial period the R.D.A. - Rassemblement Démocratique Africaine - in 1946. This organisation helped the Francophone countries in West Africa especially, to consolidate their unity and to achieve economic and political independence. Some critics refer to the political and economic independence of Francophone African countries in particular and of the African continent in general to be sham and nominal in nature. In a press conference, to boast the ego of Côte d'Ivoire, President Houphouet Boigny told more than 250 journalists that

> "Do you know that R.D.A. - Rassemblement Démocratique Africain influenced and politically led to independence of Congo, Brazaville, Tchad, Gabon and all other states in West Africa, except Guinea and Mauritania."[3]

Although after independence, the organisation collapsed. Before it's collapse there was a debate on the nature of independence, the Francophone countries wanted. Whether they should get a joint independence whereby, only one government would have existed or each

country should get her independence and later co-operate for development. Senegal advocated for Federation system whereby there would have been only one government for all Francophone countries. Houphouet Boigny disagreed with this thesis. That was how Côte d'Ivoire and Senegal fell apart.

The "Conseil de l Entente" was created as a result of the contradiction between Seregal and Côte d'Ivoire. The organisation was initiated by President Boigny of Côte d'Ivoire as a reaction to the Federation of Mali proposed by Senegal. The Federation meant that all Francophone countries in West Africa would have got their independence jointly and only one government would have existed among Francophone countries in the West African region. As of the time of colonialism, Senegal was still the colonial capital of French West Africa. With the Federation, she could have remained the regional capital. No wonder why Senegal wanted the Federation to exist.

> "The Ivorian leader who had for long suffered from the supremacy of Dakar, the administrative capital of French West Africa continued to oppose the reconstitution of the Federation."[4]

Ivorian leader were aware of the fact that more than half of the resources mobilised for economic activities under the French colonial administration were obtained from Côte d'Ivoire. Houphouet Boigny therefore rejected confidently the Federation system, and went to create the "Conseil De l'Entente."

> "The foundation of Conseil in May 1959 reflected Houphouet Boigny's strong concern at structuring and controlling the country's general environment. Boigny created the Conseil De l Entente in order to avoid any isolation of Côte d'Ivoire in West Africa."[5]

Côte d'Ivoire support to Biafra during the civil war in Nigeria seriously weakened the Conseil De l'Entente. Leaders of some member states like Hamani Diori, the then President of Niger opposed Côte d'Ivoire's policy. While Senghor and his colleagues preached

> "the creation of vast grouping as alone being capable of reducing the balkanization of Africa and of preparing for African unity; Houphouet Boigny played an important roles in the creation of organisations based on simple operation among their members. These organisations include the Entente Group and the Joint African and Malagazy organization OCAM."[6]

The OCAM was also created in February 1965 at Nouakchott. The aims and objectives can be summarised into two: The economic and the ideological motives. Economically the organisation tended to reinforce cooperation among members states in order to accelerate their economic, social and cultural development. At the ideological level

> "The OCAM not only emphasized economic, cultural and political ties which unite the members, but above all, it portrays the desire of a moderate Africa not to be overtaken by revolutionary Africa. There we recognised President Houphouet Boigny's constant worry."[7]

OCAM included all Francophone countries in West Africa. Côte d'Ivoire which is against any radical attempt to issues is a partisan of OCAM.

On the 13th of March 1961, all Francophone countries in West Africa except Guinea agreed to establish a monetary zone having only one legal currency. And this money enjoys protection from France's treasury. This monetary union is known as "L'Union Monétaire Ouest Africaine" - L'UMOA. In this monetary zone an effective unity is being achieved among the Francophone countries in West Africa. And member states cooperate on economic relations and commerce. On the other hand, the union strengthens relation between France and the member states, this is because the monetary unit (C.F.A.) used in West Africa is placed under t France's monetary value (French Franc). For example, if the union is in deficit, France has to rescue her but this

intervention on the part of France may be theoretical, France cannot and will not pay debt of her former colonies if she has nothing to gain. Whereas, if the union has a surplus on their balance of payment France is always at advantage. Since the French Franc controls the C.F.A. Another effect of this monetary union is that whenever there is a devluation of French Franc it affects C.F.A. What is relevant about this L'UMOA is the decisive role Côte d'Ivoire plays in it, she is the country that has the most viable economy among the Francophone countries in West Africa, despite this, she cooperates with other member states. President Houphoet Boigny maintained that Côte d'Ivoire could have said

> "I want my own currency, but we realised that we must be together in L'UMOA. Côte d'Ivoire controls over 60% of the foreign exchange. The other partners have 10.12%. However, we are together. And this foreign exchange serves everybody for harmonious development."[8]

The Joint Air Line own by Francophone countries confirm the degree of integration in West Africa especially and in Francophone Africa in general. But countries like Gabon and Congo Brazaville left the AIR AFRIQUE. The Air line in actual fact is runned by France and the Francophone countries in Africa. The role of Côte d'Ivoire in this airline cannot be under estimated. Because the volume of trade and economic transaction between her and other

member states contribute to the viability of the jointly owned Air line. Furthermore, when France decided to aid Air Afrique in 1989, a delegate was sent by the French government to explain the position of France in the matter. France agreed to pay 2/3 of the debt incurred by Air Afrique, and decided to replace the Director General by a Frenchman whose name is M. Roland Billecart. A meeting was held in Côte d'Ivoire to confirm the proposition of France. Even in the 60's, this country was the centre of attraction when it came to appointing a new Director General of Air-Afrique. Moreso, the headquarter of the organisation is in Abidjan. Air Afrique is another feature of integration among Francophone countries in West Africa.

The conflict between Senegal and Côte d'Ivoire during the era of independence left much to be desired. There was no forum for unity among the French-West Africa. Senegal, an advocate of the Federation system while Cote d'Ivoire was a partisan of "Entente Group".

> "To the credit of Ivorian diplomacy on the African continent, the most important event of recent years has undoubtedly been the reconciliation with Senegal."[9]

The reconciliation between Côte d'Ivoire and Senegal contributed to the creation of C.E.A.O. which is the Economic Community of West Africa. An organisation limited only to Francophone countries in the region.

It was created in April 1973. The organisation calls for effective economic integration among West African Francophone countries. Although the integration of the Francophone countries in West Africa is likely to hinder the good running order of ECOWAS which is a more broader sub-regional organisation.

> "It is however equally true that Nigeria and the other English speaking countries always doubted the sincerity of the French speaking nations which make the C.E.A.O. to seek integration of that grouping in ECOWAS."[10]

The organisation was set up to reduce Nigerian influence in West Africa. The other reason was to protect industries of member states, especially those located in Senegal and Côte d'Ivoire.

> "The industrial companies operating in the two countries, Sénegal and Côte d'Ivoire were expected to realise within the community the economies of scale needed in West Africa."[22]

The C.E.A.O. in 1976 established Taxe du Co-operation Regional (TCR) to collect duties previously levied by individual state on manufactured imports from members states.

"The measure was applied on 410 industrial items by 1980, these, were mostly from Côte d'Ivoire and Sénegal.."[12]

This amount obtained from TCR system is being used as community fund for development (FCD)

"In 1977, Côte d'Ivoire contributed 61.5% to FCD's total income and received 26% of compensation."[13]

Following this analysis, one can agree that this country has been playing a central role in West Africa, especially before the creation of ECOWAS, and even after its emergence.

By way of conclusion, one is able to realise that the country in question initiated the creation of many regional organisations before the emergence of ECOWAS. As we mentioned earlier on, the creation of the 'Conseil De l'Entente" was purely political, it was an attempt by the Ivorian leader to do away with Sénegal which constituted an obstacle to his country's national interest. The headquarter is in Abidjan. In L'UMOA, the joint monetary zone, it has been recorded that Côte d'Ivoire contributed the highest percentage 66.1%. Concerning Air-Afrique, the above discussion has shown shown that the Ivorian leader is being contacted before a concrete action is being taken about Air Afrique. The head-quarter of this organisation is in Abidjan. As for the OCAM, it is an organisation set up to accelerate the economic and political development of member states, but ideologically the organisation is against the emergence of a revolutionary Africa. The Ivorian leader who maintains that his country will talk of evolution rathern than revolution is an active

advocate of OCAM in the 60's. The reconciliation of the dispute between Côte d'Ivoire and Senegal in the 70's made room for the creation of C.E.A.O. - Communauté Économique d'Afrique de l'Ouest - Francophone countries in West Africa are only members.

This explanation clearly demonstrates the distinctive role Côte d'Ivoire has been playing in the sub-region as far as economic integration among the Francophone countries is concerned. In another development, the analysis so far gives details of the dynamic integration in the Francophone countries of the region. This explanation will not be complete without emphasising on the tight relationship of France and the Francophone countries of the region especially Côte d'Ivoire. It is glaring that Côte d'Ivoire is very close to France economically, since her economy greatly depends on France's economy. It is therefore supposed that France can influence the French West Africa especially Côte d'Ivoire to accept or reject ECOWAS. The Economic Community of West African States is the largest and broadest economic integration in the region. It embraces all the countries in the region.

1.7 THE ECONOMIC COMMUNITY OF WEST AFRICA

The Economic Community of West African States is an attem by West African countries to dismantle the obstacles that hinder the economic development, the political freedom and the socio-cultural advancement of member states. The abolitio of colonial boundaries will surely facilitate regional-

economic integration that calls for poltical freedom and economic liberalisation in West Africa. The social problems confronting the African continent in general and the West African region in particular have their source in colonialism

With the spirit of solving the problems facing West Africa, the leaders of the member states met in Lagos on the 28th May 1975 to establish ECOWAS. The total number of the member states is 16.

ECOWAS Member States

1 Benin Republic
2 Burkina Faso
3 Gambia
4 Ghana
5 Guinea
6 Mauritania
7 Niger
8 Nigeria
9 Cape Verde
10 Côte d'Ivoire
11 Guinea Bissau
12 Liberia
13 Mali
14 Sénegal
15 Sierra Leone
16 Togo

In order to determine the role or the contribution of Côte d'Ivoire in ECOWAS, one needs to know the aims and objectives of the community in question. The article 2 of the treaty of the Economic Community of West Africa States, stress that:

1. It shall be the aim of the community to promote co-operation and development in all fields of economic activity particularly in the fields of industry, transport telecommunications, energy, agriculture, natural resources, commerce, monetary and financial questions and in social and cultural matters for the purpose of raising the standard of living of its people, of increasing and maintaining economic stability, of fostering closer relations among its members and of contributing to the progress and development of the African continent.

2. For the purpose set out in the preceding states of custom duties and other charges of equivalent effort in respect of the importation and exportation of goods.

   a) the elimination as between the member states of customs duties and other charges of equivalent effort in respect of the important and exportation of goods;

   b) the abolition of quantitative and administrative restrictions on trade among the member states;

   c) the establishment of common customs tariff and a common commercial policy towards third world countries.

d) the abolition as between the member states of the obstacles to the free movement of persons, services and capital;

e) the harmonisation of the agricultural policies and the promotion of common projects in the member states notably in the fields of marketing research and agro-industrial enterprises;

f) the implementation of schemes for the joint development of transport, communication, energy and other infrastructural facilities as well as the evolution of a common policy in these fields;

g) the harmonisation of the economic and industrial policies of the member states and the elimination of disparities in the level of development of member states;

h) the harmonisation required for the proper functioning of the community, of the monetary policies of the member states.

i) the establishment of funds for co-operation, compensation and development;

j) such other activities calculated to further the aims of the community as the member states may from time to time undertake in common.

The discussion so far has thrown more light on economic integration among French West African countries in general and also shown that ECOWAS embodies both the Anglophone and the

Francophone countries in West Africa, the organisation is the only promising one in the region, to some extent it brings about peace and unity among member states, member states attempt to fully integrate their economies so that they will not be massively exploited by the developed capitalist world, the West African integration will however enable member states to cope with international capitalism. Because of each country in the region is left to relate to the developed capitalist world on individual ground, the exploitation would be much and the domination would have been more serious.

The 13th summit of ECOWAS was held in Banjul, capital of Gambia, during the summit a lot of decisions have been taken, this is as result of the changes that are taking place in the international economic relations, among the decisions taken some that are confirmed are as follows:

> "The summit of West African Economic Community (ECOWAS) heads of state and government has urged each member state to print and issue its citizens without further delay, the ECOWAS travel certificate, to facilitate free movement of community citizens throughout the sub-region."[14]

In the communique of the 13th summit the objective of achieving free movement of goods has been seriously discussed, especially when the trade liberlisation programme is launched. The leaders of member states

> "adapted a supplementary convention establishing a guarantee mechanism of inter-state

road transit of goods."[15]

The convention is geared towards realising an effective inter-road transit of commercial goods.

However, emphasis was laid on the problems the organisation faces. Financing and dispute are some of the problems paralysing the community. Some member states do not pay their annual due regularly. And countries like Senegal and Mauritania, Senegal and Equatorial Guinea are involved in boundary problems. Countries like Benin, Liberia, Côte d'Ivoire, Nigeria, Senegal, Niger are experiencing internal crisis. The community has therefore

"established a standing mediation committee."[16]

in accordance with the provision of the protocol on non-aggression. The committee is composed of

"Gambia as current Chairman (1990), Ghana, Mali, Nigeria and Togo."[17]

Another step we find very important in this integration is how to diversify the West African economy and how to apply the principle of comparative advantage whereby each members or groups of member states will specialise in the production of the goods or things they can produce in maximum. Once the West African sub-region is able to apply the principle of comparative cost advantage, and is able to diversify their economies and mobilise the population for development, the member states would resist strongly the exploitation by the developed capitalist countries.

FOOT NOTES

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CHAPTER FOUR

1.8 THE ASSESSMENT OF CÔTE D'IVOIRE IN ECOWAS

The role of Côte d'Ivoire in ECOWAS is not a mere investigation that any researcher can just read available literatures and give a meagre or incomplete details about it. It really needs an historical approach to the evolution of Côte d'Ivoire which in turn brings into light her role in the West African region before ECOWAS. It also requires the knowledge of the present economic situation in the country in question and the political ambition of that same country in the West African sub-region. However, a visit to Côte d'Ivoire could also provide concrete informati about the genre of the role she can play in West Africa now or in the future.

Chapters two and three of this thesis have answered some of the questions we need to discuss in this cahpter, we shall only point out the important aspects of those chapters that really discussed part of the role of Côte d'Ivoire in ECOWAS and later, discussed the other aspects of her role which has not been discussed. More importantly the role of Côte d'Ivoire may be subdivided into three: (i) the political role, (ii) the economic role and (iii) th social role.

1.9 SOCIO-POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ROLE OF COTE D'IVOIRE IN ECOWAS

In the West African zone, beside Nigeria, Côte d'Ivoire is known to be the next developed country. More specificall she is the most developed in the French West Africa. Even the economic advantage Nigeria is having over her has a natural base. That is to say that Nigeria is more endowed with natural resources than Côte d'Ivoire. Resources like crude oil, gold, diamond, lead, fertile land, cocoa, coffee and many others can be obtained in Nigeria and the crude oil which constitutes over 70% of Nigerian revenues is lacking in Côte d'Ivoire. Houphouet Boigny's country relies only on agriculture as her main source of revenue. In a press conference in Abidjan the leader of Côte d'Ivoire said

> "we have... become the first producer of cocoa in the world whereas between 1959 - 1960 we were fourth producer. We are third producer of coffee in the world after Brazil and Columbia. We are also third producer of cotton in Africa after Egypt and Sudan. For the exportation of palm oil we are the second world producer, Malasia occupies the first position."

In Africa in general and in West Africa in particular Côte d'Ivoire is more or less the only country where agriculture is developed to the maximum. This agricultura development has given her an international recognition. Inspite of this international reputation, the maximum development of agriculture in Côte d'Ivoire is already a

step forward towards economic integration, because ECOWAS as a regional organization can mostly rely on the agricultural development in the West African region in order to embark on the establishment of import-substitution industries.

If developed, capitalist countries like America, France and Britain can rely on Côte d'Ivoire to get raw materials - cocoa, coffee, sugar cane, cotton, palm oil etc. - this same country can provide raw materials for the West African community in the future. The availability of raw materials in Côte d'Ivoire can lead to the convertion of that country as one of the industrial bases in the West African sub-region. The development of the production of raw materials, which might likely lead to the establishment of light industries might end up one day providing a long run solution to the economic problems heating the West African region. By so doing, the habit of self reliance will be cultivated by ECOWAS member states.

The political stability has attracted a lot of foreign investors. Even the Development Bank of Africa established in Abidjan was as a result of the political stability in Côte d'Ivoire. Nestlé and a recent one known as "Hypermaché Panafricain" are some of the foreign companies in the country.

Table 1 STRUCTURE OF PRODUCTION IN SOME ECOWAS MEMBER STATES: 1965-1987

GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCTS In $(million)

Countries	1965 [$(million)]	1987 [$(million)]
Burkina Faso	260	1,650
Mali	260	1,960
Niger	670	2,160
Togo	190	1,230
Sierra Leone	830	900
Benin	220	1,570
Nigeria*	5,850	24,390
Ghana	2,050	5,280
Mauritania	160	840
Liberia	270	990
Sénegal	810	4,720
Cote d'Ivoire	760	7,650

Source: Development Report, 1989

World Bank Report , 1989

As shown in the table-1 above, Côte d'Ivoire is the Franchophone country with the highest gross domestic product (GDP). Mauritania had the lowest GDP in 1987.

According to CODESRA publication of 1989, Côte d'Ivoi and Senegal account for the bulk of intra ECOWAS exports in a community where intra trade does not exceed on the average 4%.

According to Professor Gambari during a lecture delive ... "The Effect of the Changes in Eastern Europe on Nigeria Foreign Policy", he declared that Côte d'Ivoire has not be paying regularly her annual due in ECOWAS. Unlike in the United Nations, ECOWAS and OAU have not yet devised means to oblige member states to pay their annual dues. This really discredited Côte d"Ivoire's role in ECOWAS.

Since there is difficulties in divorcing politics from economics. It is therefore logical to assert that the political role of Côte d"Ivoire in ECOWAS is being determined by her economic base. That is, being the Francophone country that has the most viable economy, she is the mouth piece of Francophone countries in ECOWAS.

It is also an historical truism to postulate that Côt d'Ivoire had the ambition of having influence in the West African region. That is why her political role in ECO cannot be underestimated. The aim of Côte d'Ivoire to dominate her immediate environment is reflected in her foreign policy pronouncements act.
An example of this is her encouragement of regional organ peculiar to Francophone countries in the West African sub

region. There is no organisation either political or economic in French West Africa that Côte d'Ivoire has not being one of the pioneers. In chapter three for example, we have given a comprehensive discussion of her participation in economic integration in the West African sub-region. The following organisations received Côte d'Ivoire's backing when they were established: the Rassemblement Démocratique Africain R.D.A. in 1946; the Conseil De l'Entente, 1959; the Joint African and Malagasy organisations in 1965; the Air Afrique in 1973, the CEAO which is the Economic Community of West Africa in 1973 and in 1961, L,UMOA - L'Union Monétaire Ouest Africane. In the above mentioned organisations Cote d'Ivoire had played and has been playing a central role despite the economic crisis she is facing.

However, she engaged herself in the resolutions of conflicts and disputes among members states using dialogue as instruments of conflict resolution. For example, the disputes between Mali and Burkina Faso, Ghana and Togo, Mauritania and Senegal and the Liberian crisis. But what really discredited Côte d'Ivoire's political activities in the sub-region are the facts revealed by some leaders of the Entente-Group that Côte d'Ivoire supported the civil war in Nigeria by recognising the Biafran government. Another allegation against Houphouet Boigny was that he was a party to the coup that led to the death of Sankara in Burkina Faso. Sankara during his time was an advocate of

a revolutionary Africa which goes against the interest of Côte d'Ivoire under the leadership of Houphouet Boigny. The allegation about his involvement in the death of Sankara was advocated by newspaper and magazines especially the West Africa Magazine.

In another development this work believes that Côte d'Ivoire's role in ECOWAS might not be directed towards the development of the West African sub-region, because she believes that her objective to dominate and control the region as she has been doing among the Francophone countries may no longer materialise. Since ECOWAS contains some other countries like Nigeria which might be her rival in the course to provide leadership to the West African sub-region. In the late 80's and beginning of 1990 Côte d'Ivoire has began to realise that even with the help of France she might not necessarily be able to control the West African sub-region, she therefore started believing in ECOWAS. The economic realities prevailing in Côte d'Ivoire now has proved to the Ivorian government that only the alternative she could have recoourse to is to join hands with other African countries and solve their common problems. The Ivorian leader's interest in ECOWAS was noticed when he said:

> "We cannot have a single economic organisation in the African continent. It is not possible. Regional economic groupings will be established first. It is in this spirit that we have established the C.E.A.O. (Economic Comunity of West Africa - limited to Francophone countries(

> and the C.E.A.O. will one day disappear for ECOWAS to be well established... It is an aspiration towards a common market."[2]

The above remarks made by the President of Côte d'Ivoire is being manifested in her foreign policy, that is why in the spirit of ECOWAS in particular and of African race in general Côte d'Ivoire has opened her borders to Africans especially. On this issue, the Ivorian leader has this to say:

> "We have accomodated over two millions of our African brothers 4/5 of them have come to look for jobs. And they participate in national development... Many of them are landlords like the Ivorians, because we have decided that any African who developed a portion of land becomes the owner."[3]

Although Côte d"Ivoire has for long been planning to make herself leader of the region especially with Francophone countries in the region she has now understood that, that dream is very oblique, only solidary among West African states can alleviate social, political and economic problems of West African countries. Even her social role in the community is going to be explained in this analysis.

The economic situation of Côte d'Ivoire was very satisfactory in the 70's and beginning of 1980's. This economic growth had made room for social development. The transport network in Côte d'Ivoire is one of the best in the West African region. Very large and tarred roads are constructed in almost all corners of the country - And these roads have linked the rural areas to the urban centres. The reasons for the achievement of this transport network is the idea of rotating venue or lieu where independence is celebrated each year. Each city where independence is organised is being developed and the roads leading to the city are reconstructed. And this progress in the transportation system facilitates the conveyance of people and agricultural products to different places of the country. In view of the development in her transportation network, Côte d'Ivoire is one of the member states of ECOWAS that attracts invesment into the area.

Although, constant power generation is peculiar to all Francophone countries, still Côte d'Ivoire's case is worth mentioning because, unlike Nigeria where power failure is very rampant, power supply is to some extent regular in Côte d'Ivoire. One can count at least three dams in that country: Kossou dam, San Pedro dam and Bia dam. This constant power supply promotes economic advancement. The country is one of the promising areas when it comes to power supply in West African sub-region.

Tourism is another sector that is being promoted in Côte d'Ivoire, the factors that promote tourism in Côte d'Ivoire are as follows;

The building of the new capital in Yamoussoukro. In terms of infrastructural facilities, Yamoussoukro is not only one of the most important capital in West Africa, it is also competing with some developed countries. The points that justifies its superiority in the West African zone are as follows:

a) Very large and tarred roads all over the capital city.

b) Constant supply of electricity - including street lights.

c) Maintenance of the capital-trimming of trees, sweeping the streets, fencing all the houses and continuous planning of the capital.

d) Foundation Ouphouet Boigny: one of the biggest conference halls in the region it can contain 2,500 people at once.

e) Many educational centres (i) L'E.N.S.T.P. - L'École Nationale Superieure Des Travaux Publics. INSET - Ecole Nationale des Sciences et Delatechnologie; Lycées Scientifiques, Lycée Miste, Lycee Mama Adjoura, Éc d'Agriculture. These institutions have contributed to the educational development of Côte d'Ivoire.

f) The basilica - Notre Dame De Paix - which is the second biggest basilica in the world is the main source of touris attraction, even people from developed countries rush to Yamoussoukro just to see the basilica which is generating a lot of controversies all over the world.

Some scholars argued in favour of the basilica, saying that the basilica is not only a pride to Africa but a challenge to other developed countries. They therefore postulate that the basicilica is not the absolute reason for the economic crisis in Côte d'Ivoire, they butressed up their points by stating that most Francope countries like Benin, Senegal, Niger Gabon, Zaire and other countries like Nigeria, Sierra Leone which face economic crisis did not build any basilica. We argued therefore in this work that although the above reasons forwarded are true to some extent but the analysists contains some lapses. If Côte d'Ivoire succeeded in managing properly her foreign exchange earning, the $300 million dollars could not have been used to build a basilica at this moment In any case the basilica does not have any economic advantage. But since the mistake has been made, it is not the responsibility of intellectuals to keep quite about the money wasted to build the basilica, we should think about how to make maximum use of the basilica within the ECOWAS region in particular and Africa in general. Some of the possibilities one can think of are as follows: Could the basilica be transformed into a lieu of worship for Africans in the future? Will the presence of this basilica reduce or stop Christian pilgrimage to Jerusalem? Could protestant Christians cut away from Rome and establish their own centre of meeting for religious activities? Could the presence of the basilica stop the spending of huge amount that is being spent to travel to Rome and Israel? These are the questions we need to examine in order to find out

whether the basilica could have an economic advantage in the future.

In Côte d'Ivoire, there is no religious crisis. The Muslims, the Christians and the traditionalists leave in harmony. No wonder why President Houphouet Boigny remarked that

> "Wether you are muslim, protestant, catholic, everybody has faith in this country, where there is absolute freedom of religions."[4]

Côte d'Ivoire's role in ECOWAS is worth studying. Because she plays a leadership role in regional organisation limited to Francophone countries. It is our believe that with the help of France she can outmanouver other Francophone countries to embrace ECOWAS, since she contributes more into these organization like in L'UMOA, C.E.AO., Conseil de l'Ente Air-Afrique and many others. It is because of her previous role in the organisations that predated ECOWAS in the West African region that we strongly feel that she still has some political role to play in order to make ECOWAS function as expected. As we said earlier, she can do this satisfactory with the help of France which has tight economic and political relations with her.

Her economic role in the region is of paramount importance as we have already mentioned. Côte d'Ivoire could serve as a base for the establishment of import substitution industries as a result of the availability of raw materials - i.e. agricultural products. The political stability made the place a promising centre for investment in the region.

The social role of Côte d'Ivoire has been viewed from the peaceful co-existence of people having different religions. This religious tolerance in that country also contributed to the realisation of economic growth. It also has tourist centres like Abidjan the economic capital which is a coastal area and Yamoussoukro, the administrative capital which is the most attractive place in Côte d'Ivoire.

Emmanuel Ezi in Africa and Development mentioned one of the advantages of ECOWAS to Côte d'Ivoire when he said:

> "In Côte d'Ivoire, the formation of a wider community was to favour the plantation and industrial sectors which were controlled by foreign firms, for it will not only ensure the continued inflow of traditional voltaic labour, but cheap labour all over the region in the spirit of ECOWAS."[5]

Like Nigeria, Côte d'Ivoire has some important responsibilities towards the good running order of ECOWAS. Politically she needs to stand to convince other Francophone members about the importance of ECOWAS to their various economic development. On the economic ground Côte d'Ivoire needs to continue to promote and diversify agricultural production. Because economic integration would take off in full swing when there is available raw materials.

The technological sector would be developed gradually and steadily. Simple technology will be adopted at the moment. Knowing that Côte d'Ivoire and most member states of ECOWAS

are constantly expressing concern about the changes in Europe, this work devotes the next chapter to the outcome of the changes occuring in Europe on Côte d'Ivoire.

FOOT NOTES

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CHAPTER FIVE

THE IMPACT OF THE NEW EUROPEAN ECONOMIC UNITY ON COTE D'IVOIRE AS AN ECOWAS MEMBER STATE

2.00

INTRODUCTION

In theyear 1990, the debate about the consequences of the European Common Market on Africa has reached it's peak among African scholars. Most political and economic analysts are being pessimistic about the outcome of the European integration. However, some scholars see the advantages of the integration to the continent of Africa.

This chapter is hereby highlighting the possible effect the European common market which is being constituted could have over Côte d'Ivoire as an African country and as a member state of ECOWAS. It is our objective in the work to find out what will hapen to the export earning of Côte d'Ivoire which is one of the first trade partners of most European countries, in West Africa. The research tends to determine also the fate of C.F.A. - Communauté Financière Africaine. Bearing in mind that Côte d'Ivoire provides over 60% of the value of that currency. In our investigation the volume of foreign investment in Côte d'Ivoire is going to be accessed to determine whether the European Common Market which will be in operation in full swing as from 1992 will promote or discourage investment in Côte d'Ivoire. The bone of contention of the investigation here is to know both the economic and political significances of the European Economic Community on Côte d'Ivoire as a member

state of ECOWAS and on ECOWAS itself as a regional economic integration.

2.1 THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY

The notion of fusing European economies has been established long ago. Winston Churchill is a real advocate of one united Europe. His enthusiasm to have a united Europe emanated from the critical situation in which Europe found herself by 1919, as of that time

> "European states were tearing away each other apart and several of them were close to collapse. By 1945 the continent was economically devastated."[1]

In the year 1945, Western Europe was destroyed seriously Western Europe and even Europe as a whole depended on the Marshall plan after the war. This clearly shows that

> "... Europe's future, in the aftermath of the war was in the hands of Washington and Moscow."[2]

Inspite of the Marshall aid, Europeans had seen the need to reorganise European economic base in order to strengthen Europe's power in the international economic relations. This objective led to the creation of a common European Economic Community in 1957. Britain that felt reluctant to join the community later came in, in the year 1973. Europe is taking this serious economic integration to a very high stage. The changes in Europe are really challenging the hegemony of countries like United States of America, Japan and Soviet Union in the world. Once the Europe has a strong common market in 1992, the world

economy is going to be restructured and modified. This is as a result of the presence of both Western and Eastern Germany in Europe, and the most alarming point in this European matter is the reunification of the two Germanys.

> "German reunification would no doubt have far reaching political, strategic, economic and social consequences for Central Europe and superpower relations. Indeed, it would have far-reaching consequences for the entire world."[3]

The role Germany played in the second world war can really butress up the point that her reunification can reshape the world political and economic orders. One arrives at that position as a result of the fact that the second war which Germany was the cause provoked the falling apart of the two Germanys and the war really brought about bipolar system in the world with United States of America and Soviet Union as super powers. The European integration open ways for multipolaity in the world politico-economic system

> "However, several other powers would likely emerge that would influence by virtue of their economic leverage notably Japan, a reunited Germany and Europe itself."[4]

The integration in Europe will eventually have a lot of repercussion on Africa in general and on Côte d'Ivoire in particular.

THE EEC AND THE STATE OF FOREIGN INVESTMENT IN COTE D'IVOIRE

Côte d'Ivoire and almost all other members of ECOWAS relate with most European countries both economically and politically. History had proved that African countries had suffered from colonialism introduced to them by colonial capitalist countries mostly from Europe. Such was the case with Côte d'Ivoire which was colonised by France. The investment in Côte d'Ivoire has been dominated by France and it is our intention that, since France is a member of Europen Community, the aims and objectives of the community will oblige her to redefine her relationship with her former colonies include Côte d'Ivoire, because, the European internal market has a lot of implication on Africa. The Europeans agreed that

> "all imports from foreign countries will be subjected to quota restrictions taking the whole Europe as a single market."[5]

If we have to strictly adhere to the European Community's view and regulations, one discovers that Europe, as a whole will relate to Côte d'Ivoire. The relationship will be of course to the disadvantage of Côte d'Ivoire. The whole of Europe relating jointly to Côte d'Ivoire means nothing but massive exploitation of Ivorian economy. But now, most African states are facing serious economic crisis, even in Côte d'Ivoire, this economic crisis punctuated the year 1990. Due to the weak economic condition of African states, France's multinationals feel reluctant to continue operating in Africa in general and in Côte d'Ivoire in particular. Although French government influences the French multinational corporations to remain in Côte d'Ivoire or in Africa as a whole. But the French multinationals refuse to accept the French government propositions. France maintains that it is not rational for French foreign investors to desert Côte d'Ivoire and the entire continent of Africa, because, statistic indicators have shown that French investment in Côte d'Ivoire and in West Africa in general

> "has increased by 19% and she controls about 20% of the whole investment in West Africa, whereas Germany 7.3%, United States 6.6% and Japan 5.2%... France receives more than half of her foreign exchange earnings in West Africa 12.8 billion French Franc in 1989 out of 22,8 billion French Franc realised in Africa."[6]

France has been able to realise such a huge amount in

West Africa as a result of the reduction of prices of raw materials which is the main source of revenue of most West African countries. Among the European capitalist countries, France has been able to dominate the West African region economically because she colonised all the Francophone countries in the region.

> "French monopolies control 95.7% of Niger's economy, 27% of Senegal and 30% of Ivory Coast's economy"[7]

Nowadays, the French multinational corporations and other European multinations are migrating towards some parts of the world where they can maximise profits. Investors all over the world give priority to Eastern Europe where they can augment their benefits and they may also move to other parts of the African continent where their economic transaction can be assured. For example in countries like Nigeria, Angola, Magreb, and South Africa. If not for the reduction in prices of cocoa and coffee in the world market, Côte d'Ivoire could have been an interesting ground for European multinationals.

> "The emergence of new democracies in Eastern Europe coupled with the implementations of the single Europe Act in 1992, means that political and economic investment would be focussed on Eastern Europe to the detriment of developing countries, particularly Africa... Competition for investment, development aids, official assistance from the world multilateral financial institutions

would therefore be heightened."[8]

Some eminent personalities who are committed to ameliorating the condition of Africa at the international arena also expressed their optimism over the implication of the changes in Europe on Africa in general. Late Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana had foreseen the need for Africa to integrate, he was one of the prominent advocates of a United Africa. The unity he talked about is the one which

> "the performance of the weak and weary states demand,... even economically well off Europe sees such unity (among it's member states) as a necessity, if they want meaningful role in international politics. If Europe should emerge in the near future as a United States of Europe while Africa remains disunited as it is now, we can be sure that Europe will continue to divide and rule the states of Africa."[9]

in actual fact, the unity of Africa is not easy to achieve, this is as a result of political and economic structures of African states. Most of them have experienced colonialism and that is why up to date, the economies of african states and the political set up are controlled and manipulated by the developed capitalist countries - former colonial masters of African countries. Inspite of the fact that most efforts by Africa to overcome her economic and political inadequacy are paralysed by the

dependent nature on developed countries, African states are gradually taking steps that will alleviate social, economic and political problems confronting them. This spirit of integration of African states has given birth to sub-regional and continental organisations such as ECOWAS and OAU (Organization of Agrican Unity). There is no doubt that these organisations are facing problems that delay their good running order - multiplicity of regional organisations, finance, problem of unity, lack of technology - some scholars went ahead to believe that the Organisation of African Unity is a toothless bull dog, and that, ECOWAS has virtually not achieved anything. Within the framework of which these scholars analyse and access issues, one can reason with them that these African organisations - ECOWAS and OAU are non-existent. In the same token, one might equally argue that the organisations have not failed completely, that even ECOWAS and OAU for examples have made progress in the process of looking continuously for solutions to their problems. According to an analyst: ECOWAS

> "only concrete... achievements have been in the training sphere... she has set up the following entities: African Center for Advance Management, Studies, Institute of Advanced Fisheries Science and Technology, School of Mines and Geology; Regional Centre for Solar Energy."[10]

By and large, Obasanjo, a former Head of State of Nigeria postulated that the European Community serves as a catalyst to promote unity and integration in the African continent. He has the believe that

> "if the European states are getting along this well, despite the centuries of rivalry and wars then Africa too should be able to develop a community spirit."[11]

Another interesting issue, one should look at, is the Lomé Conventions to really see the outcome of European Common Market on African countries including Côte d'Ivoire. One needs to know what Europe has for Africa in the Lomé Convention pacts. The third Lomé Convention expires in 1990. The only declaration made about the Lomé IV is to give the 66 ACP countries

> "a guaranteed market for their exports and increased hard currently earnings."[12]

In this work one assumes that the Lomé Conventions have not been and could not solve the problems of third world countries especially Africa. The outcome of these economic treaties is in actual fact, to put ACP countries in perpetual economic calamities. Moreso, the Lomé Conventions have not freed ACP countries from debt, Europe rather uses the Lomé conventions to compel African countries to pay their debt by providing raw materials for European industries. Africa can never through this economic treaty solve her economic, social,

and political problems. The difficulties in African continents are rather being exacerbated by new exploitative strategies devised by Europe: that is the objective of having common market.

The Stabex which has been introduced under Lomé III to complement ACP countries financially is not doing anything to ameliorate the economic conditions of ACP countries. It is not making fund available to compensate ACP countries when there is fluctuation in prices of raw materials which constitute the base of their export earning. France as a member of the EEC controls over 25% of the economy of each and every francophone countries in West Africa. Despite the so called economic support she is giving to francophone countries in West Africa she has been unable to reduce the debt of Côte d'Ivoire. The table below illustrates the total debt incurred by Côte d'Ivoire from 1980-1986.

Table 1 EXTERNAL DEBT OF CÔTE D'IVOIRE IN (US $ million): 1980-1986.

Years	US $ million
1980	5,918.4
1981	6,764.4
1982	8,039.4
1982	8,039.4
1983	7,732.3
1984	8,312.7
1985	9,794.8
1986	10,865.1
TOTAL	57,427.2

Source: CODESRIA 1989

Côte d'Ivoire like Nigeria is rated as one of the most indebted countries in the world. In 1980 Côte d'Ivoire external debt amounted to US $5,918 million and by 1986 the debt increased to US $10,865.1 million as shown in Table 1 above. The increament over the years. 1980-1986 represented 45%. And the total debt between 1980-1986 amounted to US $57.527.2 million.

In view of the analysis so far one can assume that the Lomé Convention is detrimental to the development strategy that could enhance advancement in Côte d'Ivoire and in Africa as a whole. If the Lomé Convention cannot attempt to reduce or eliminate the dependent nature of the relationship between ACP countries and Europe, a relation in which Africa plays the dependent role, it will therefore be advisable to alert Côte d'Ivoire and other ACP countries on the possibilities of developing indigenous technology, political and economic systems that can take into

cognisance the socio-economic realities in their immediate environs to foster development. One can now look at the level of trade between Côte d'Ivoire and other countries.

Table 2 PRINCIPAL TRADE PARTNERS OF COTE D'IVOIRE

Country	Imports (%)	Country	Exports (%)
France	39.3	France	23.4
Japan	7.3	Netherlands	23.4
West Germany	7.2	United States	13.6
Niger	7.8	Mali	14.3
Mali	12.6	Burkina Faso	7.8
Burkina Faso	31.5		
United States	5.2		

Source: CODESRIA

According to table 2, Côte d'Ivoire trades with Europe than any other continent. Especially with France and Western Germany. Although by 1992 , European investment in Côte d'Ivoire and in most African states will reduce as a result of the big internal market which Europe gives priority to. This is why most French multinationals are moving towards North Africa and other parts of the continent including South Africa, as for Nigeria, the French government under the programme known as CREDU has started examining the possibilities of how to relate to Nigeria now and particularly from 1992. Researches in various fields are going to be examined to set up an apparatus that will promote Franco-Nigerian relation. France is embarking on this project in Nigeria because she is aware of the fact that Nigeria is the most promising area in West African zone.

The changes in Europe raise another thorny issue, that is the implication of common european currency on Africa in general and on ECOWAS member states in particular. Especially the Franc zone in ECOWAS is a key point to be addressed. As we know, Côte d'Ivoire plays a vital role in determining the value of C.F.A. - Communauté Financière Africaine - Likewise, France's role is the most important in this analysis, she controls the C.F.A. as we have already mentioned in the second chapter that 1 French Franc is equal to 50 C.F.A. And the C.F.A. is the strongest currency in the West African sub-region. The two other currencies that can be found in this region is Ghana's cedi and Nigeria's naira. But it seems as if there is a serious problem awaiting the C.F.A. What is not certain is whether

> "the rest of the European community will continue to carry France's burden? It does not seem so, If not, what then will the future of C.F.A. be."[13]

France as the European country which is most concerned about the C.F.A. dilemma is insisting that French Franc will continue to be in circulation and should not be devalued whereas a country like Côte d'Ivoire wants it's devaluation to promote exports.

> "President Houphouet Boigny of Côte d'Ivoire suggested devaluation of the C.F.A. Franc in 1987. Seeing such a move as a way to boost exprts."[14]

The French government advocates for the continual use of C.F.A. and it's non devaluation persistently. The net interpretation of this decision by the French government is simply the protection of French economic interest in the West African sub-region. The French multinational co-operation are having advantage of C.F.A. which theirgovernment controls. The World Bank which is being managed by America wants the devaluation of C.F.A. in West Africa. In another development, the World Bank is tryin to avoid any act of rivalry in the international monetary system. Therefore, the French government which is aware of what the French multinational corporations will loose once C.F.A. is devalued strongly warned the Francophone countries in West Africa that if they can succumb to World Bank proposition to devalue the C.F.A., France will stop all the aids she has been providing for them. Whereas, the World Bank under the auspicies of the United States of Amercia

> "realises that the Franc zone is a stabilising factor. It wants therefore it's devaluation!"[15]

This discussion shows that the Francophone countries are in a terrible situation of uncertainty. They don't know up to date the fate of their currency. And the European common currency is another glaring problem facing the C.F.A. in West Africa, even leaders of Francophone countries express worry about the future of C.F.A. President Omar Bongo of Gabon:

> "has gone further, suggesting that the Franc zone should be replaced by monetary system linking the EEC with all the 66ACP countries that participate in Lomé aid and trade arrangement in the foreseeable future."[16]

The European Economic Community, as we have been guessing will not tolerate the absorbtion of the C.F.A. into the European currency zone. That is why

> "The EC officials insist that the French treasury would retain independence even after European monetary union. The Franc zone will remain subject to national French decisions."[17]

Since France is not the strongest economy in Europe, she will definitely be subjected to challenge by stronger member states like Western Germany and probably Britain.

Another thorny issue about the Franc zone in West Africa is the serious economic crisis heating the countries that are members of the zone. These countries are highly indebted and the prices of raw materials obtainable in these areas have fallen. In the past when two or more out of the Francophone countries in West Africa are viable economically they help in maintaining the value of the C.F.A., but now that the economies of all Francophone countries are unstable it affects the value of the C.F.A. For example

> "Three banks in Benin republic pulled down their shutters this year (1990) because of lack of cash. The one in Mali which.. looses about US$185 million

last year has been privatised and managed by a Moroccan bank."[18]

By way of conclusion, one postulates that the export earning of Côte d'Ivoire is going to be reduced by 1992 when the European Economic Community starts operating. Europe's internal market will expand. This will surely affect the volume of exports of Côte d'Ivoire by restricting importation to Europe.

The C.F.A. to which value Côte d'Ivoire contributes over 60% is likely to face serious devaluation as from 1992. When France would no longer have her own currency all things being equal. As of now, the C.F.A. is the strongest currency in West Africa, this is because she has France's backing. But wether the EEC will take or reject the responsibility of incorporating the C.F.A. is the question to be answered.in the nearest future.

As it is being noticed, that the European investment is drastically reducing, most French multinational are about living West Africa to Eastern Europe and other places where their interests could be protected. This could of course reduce foreign investment in Côte d'Ivoire and other African countries.

As far as this work is concerned, it is believed that Côte d'Ivoire like most African states is trying to tackle the possible problems the EC market is likely to cause. So far, the only solution the African community is advocating for, is the promotion of both continental and sub-regional economic integrations. In view of this

explanation, it is obvious that Côte d'Ivoire as the most viable economy after Nigeria, in West Africa will support the ECOWAS. The accomplishment of concrete regional organisation in West Africa would of course enable ECOWAS states to resist the problems that the changes in Europe is likely to generate as from 1992.

FOOTNOTES

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CHAPTER SIX

2.3 CONCLUSION

In the first chapter, attention has been given to the theoretical frameworks that explain regional economic integration. In the course of this analysis, one is able to bring into focus the liberal conception of economic integration. Bella Ballasa pointed it out that the liberal form of economic integration is determined by the market forces. Although this principle could not be accepted by all integrating states. According to the liberal theorists the free market forces can be equated to trade liberalisation. Actually, the liberal conception of economic integration is not without some weaknesses: in the first instance, it encourages inequalities in the integrating economies. The gap between the rich and the poor is widened, because in these kind of economies, the states are not involved in the distribution of wealth and income. However, the merit one can attribute to this kind of integration is the competition among investors, definitely any industry within that vicinity and which cannot compete with others would have to fold up. By so doing, efficiency is being encouraged. This explanation also brings about other disadvantages of adopting free market forces in the system of integration: the infant industries are not protected, because in such economies, demand and supply are left free to find their level. And the big industries can cope with free market and compete among themsleves while infant industries will be swallowed.

In another development, the dirigists held a contrary view, unlike the liberalists, the dirigists insist that the state have to be involved fully in planning their various economies. This could lead to having an effective economic integration, the immediate advantage of this theory is the protection it gives to infant industries, and the equal distribution of income, of investment into part of the regions is assured. The position of the liberalists, that the dirigists do not promote efficiency is being challenged in this work, because one maintains and believes in the principle which is "earn as you work". With this principle competition is encouraged and thereby, efficiency is being promoted. However, this thesis will suggest at the end, another theory of economic integration that fits into the context of third world countries in general and that of Africa and ECOWAS member states in particular.

In the second chapter, however, this work has been able to give a critical overview of how the economic crisis in Côte d'Ivoire has been generated. It looks at both the internal and external factors that led to the economic crisis: internally, it has been observed that the Ivorian economy like most African economies is not diversified. Only agricultural products like cocoa and coffee are the main sources of revenue. The climatic conditions do affect the production of these crops. For example, when the rain fails to fall as usual. Also, leaders of the country in question have been equally accused of extravangant spending. The building of a new capital in Yamoussoukro, and the most

serious one is the gigantic basilica built with the amount of money that could have been used to alleviate the economic problems heating Côte d'Ivoire. The dependence of Côte d'Ivoire on multinational corporations contributed to the economic crisis in Cote d'Ivoire. It came to a time when these multinational corporations reduced the price per kilo of coffee and cocoa by half. This brought about a set back to the way the annual budget of Côte d'Ivoire is being spent. Hence the economic crisis.

However, the role of International Monetary Fund has been mentioned as one external factor that led to the economic crisis in Côte d'Ivoire. Such monetary institutions are as follows: The I.M.F., the Paris and London Clubs. The I.M.F. especially gave a lot of conditions to Côte d'Ivoir the implementation of which escalated to perpetual economic crisis - reduction of worker's salaries and that of public expenditure - This country was even compelled to reduce the number of ministers in the administration. Through this analysis, one is able to know how the dynamic international economic relation has brought about the economic crisis in Côte d'Ivoire, since she depends seriously on international environment to realise her revenue. The internal reasons for the economic crisis have also been enumerated. Our position as far as this work is concerned is to stipulate that in as much as Côte d'Ivoire continues to be dependent on developed capitalist countries, she cannot single handedly take a radical decision in ECOWAS, for example a decision that goes against the interests of developed countries on which she

depends. France is a good example.

The third chapter mainly discussed the rapport between international capitalism and the economic integration in West Africa. This chapter puts into light the problems capitalism as a system has caused to ECOWAS. The chapter argued against the existence of many regional economic integrations established in the region, it was pointed out that most regional economic integrations established in West Africa take care of the interest of one developed capitalist country or the other . C.E.A.O. is an economic integration which has France's backing, it is without doubt protecting France's interest in West Africa. It is for example an already made market for French finished products. L'UMOA which is also a monetary organisation which Francophone West African countrie are members is a strategy by France to manipulate their various economies to her own advantage. Air-Afrique, Entente Group and many others do not really make any effort to promote development in West Africa, as a matter of fact they are exploited and controlled by most developed capitalist countries on which they depend.

The following chapter discussed the assessment of Côte d'Ivoire in ECOWAS. As the most viable economy among the Francophone countries in West Africa, this research shows that she can influence other Francophone countries in the region to embrace ECOWAS. She can of course do that through the help of France which controls a reasonable part of her economy.

The fact that she has developed agriculture more than any other member state shows that she is better placed to provide raw materials, especially agricultural products for establishing import substitution industries in the region in the nearest future. Furthermore, the political stability in that country has also brought about investment in the area, besides, Nigeria, Côte d'Ivoire is the next developed country in which foreign companies have invested most in the region. It is a fact that once ECOWAS starts operating efficiently, Côte d'Ivoire is going to be considered as the second industrial base of the region after Nigeria. This is because, many factors that can bring about establishing light industries or small scale industries are already there. For example, raw materials like cocoa, coffee, palm oil, rubber, cotton are abundantly available in Côte d'Ivoire.

The development of tourist centres is part of the contributions of Côte d'Ivoire in ECOWAS. The new capital Yamoussoukro with it's good transport network, the electrification of the capital city and the presence of the biggest basilica in the world has made the place an interest place to visit.

The fifth chapter laid emphasis on the possible effect of the present changes occuring in Europe on Côte d'Ivoire It has been observed that European integration is likely to reduce investment in Côte d'Ivoire, priority could be given to Eastern Europe where investment is well assured compared to Africa, a continent which is undergoing serious economic crisis. The problem of currency has been tackled, one has found out that the C.F.A. might face serious problems in

the future, because of the inability to predict exactly what it's value will be up to in the future especially as from 1992 when Europe would integrate fully. This change in Europe as we have argued here could serve as a catalyst to encourage economic integration in Africa in general and in West Africa in particular. The notion of expressing fear about a new Europe that is being built is confirming that Africans are seriously looking for a permanent solution that can safeguard their interest in international economic relations, the only means they can have recourse to is the integration of all countries in Africa, it is in this spirit that ECOWAS is being considered as one of the forum that can engender African integration.

After analysing the role of Côte d'Ivoire in ECOWAS, it has been made clear, Côte d'Ivoire has been the mouth piece of Francophone countries in West Africa, and once, had the ambition to dominate the West African zone. The multiplicity of regional organisation in the West African region and the contradictions emanating from these many sub-regional organisations have made it impossible for Côte d'Ivoire to really know her position as far leading the West African countries. The fact that she is being contacted before any decision is taken in the sub-regional organisations limited to Francophone countries has given the impression in the past, that she could expand her tentacles in West Africa. But the presence of Nigeria in ECOWAS is seriously challenging her ambition to get control of the region especially with the backing of France. The work has also shown that the role of Côte d'Ivoire could be influenced by developed countries like

France because of the relations existing between them. This thesis therefore maintains that the inability of ECOWAS to achieve her aims and objectives is not because member states are not having the will to do away with their socio-politico and economic problems, but the fact is that, there are some factors frustrating their efforts - for example colonial languages have divided the people of the [illegible], the [illegible] how to [illegible], [illegible] inability to [illegible] lack of finance. Note if Ivoire like most member states gives priority to her national interest. And in as much as the national interests of most member states are being determined by developed capitalist countries, ECOWAS will always remain redundant.

Available theories of economic integration pose problems to African states when any of them is adopted or applied. The basic problem that being posed is the inability to put into practice effectively any of these theories of economic integration. Unlike the European Economic Community which is gradually achieving her aims and objectives, ECOWAS is still finding a course or a direction of operation. This inability of most African countries to implement their joint economic plans raise this crucial point of forwarding propositions that can help Africa to develop economically, politically and socially. Thereby, the image of Africa in the international scene will be promoted.

Cote d' Ivoire and other member states of ECOWAS work towards concrete economic achievements - common market, common currency, etc. Cote d' Ivoire has to rely on herself and stand firm to promote the activities of ECOWAS. This propositions, I suppose, will dismantle the contradictions and the state of economic stagnation of most member states.

All member states have to discourage dependent economic policies for efficient economic integration, and efforts should be directed towards indigenous development.

This indigenous development should comprise the invention of simple technology which is fundamental to development.

Saving and foreign investment earnings should be encouraged in integrating economies.

Cordial relationship should exist among member states. If these suggestions are strictly followed, the aspirations of realising a strong economic integration would be highlighted and would provide solutions to the contractions among African countries. Contradictions which have been caused by their different colonial masters.

The inability of West African states to integrate fully would be discouraged once they no longer depend on developed countries.

Before any meaningful integration could be implemented there should be indigenous development - indigenous technological development, indigenous political structure, that is, a political system that considers the indigenous socio-cultural and economic set up of a country and of integrating member states. With this, the role of Cote d' Ivoire, and that of other member states can bring about a dynamic and promising ECOWAS.

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