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Less Developed Countries (LDCs) in international system
An essay on Burkina Faso's experience through the diplomacy of development'

A dissertation presented to the Faculty of Arts in the University of Malta for the degree of Master of Arts in Contemporary diplomacy, by Sawadogo Poussi, July, 2007

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Declaration

I declare that this work is my own original work.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Poussi Sawadogo', with a stylized flourish at the end.

Poussi Sawadogo

Preface

After an academic year of participation in DiploFoundation Postgraduate programme, I take the commitment to follow the MA in Contemporary Programme. This paper is the result of six months studies. It is a little contribution to the understanding of Burkina Faso's diplomacy of development as a means of its actions throughout the world.

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Introduction: Elements on Burkina Faso and methodology

To struggle poverty and to build peaceful space in Africa are the main objectives of African countries. In West Africa, Burkina Faso takes the challenge of development and peace promotion through many international actions. Burkina Faso is a landlocked country. It is located in the heart of West Africa which shares a frontier with six countries. In the South are Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Togo and Benin. In the western and northern side is Mali, and Niger in the East. Its population is of 12 million inhabitants of which 52 % constitute the number of women and 48 % of men (INSD, 2000).

Burkina Faso is classified among the “*Less Developed Countries*” (LDCs). Its primary sector, mainly agriculture, employs more than 90 % of the active population and is the main economic activity. It accounts for 38.1 % of the GNP and more than 50 % of exportation in 1997. The same year, the secondary sector made up 18.3 % of the GNP with only 4 % of the population working in the sector. Finally, the contribution of the tertiary sector was of 43.57 % of GNP and concerned public service, trade, transport, communication and other services.

The major challenge of the country is the fight against poverty given the fact that more than 45 % of its population is below the poverty line with an annual per capita income of just \$250 in 2002.

Because of these facts and its political history, it is obvious that Burkina Faso needs to promote political stability which could help boost economic performances.

As a matter of fact, the country gained its independence from France as Upper Volta in 1960. But its democratic process experienced many and long interruptions resulting from military coups and, thus, creating political instability and disorganizing its economy. The most significant period was that of the Revolution, from 1983 to 1987

“that was aimed at instilling a greater sense of national identity, increasing country ownership of the development process and emphasizing values of individual integrity. The emphasis on country-led development and the culture of national unity remain hallmarks of the Burkinabè political economy. But the revolution didn’t immediately generate an economic resurgence. State control over the main engines of growth as well as key infrastructure discouraged private sector investment. Real per capita income gradually declined throughout the period, leading to public disillusionment”, noted the World Bank. What’s more the revolutionary regime changed the country’s name which has become Burkina Faso since 1984.

Burkinabè designates the inhabitants of Burkina Faso which means in local languages the country of incorruptible persons.

The “*Rectification*” intervened in 1987 and permitted the re-emergence of a democratic process with the advent of the fourth Republic in 1991. Ever since, the country has experienced political stability with regular elections at different levels: presidential, legislative and municipal.

Moreover, some institutional and political reforms have undertaken. The creation of the “*Médiateur du Faso*” (the Ombudsman office) in 1994, the “*Haute Autorité de Coordination de la Lutte contre la Corruption*” (the Coordinating High Authority of the Fight against Corruption) in 2001, the “*Commission Nationale contre la Prolifération des Armes Légères*” (the National Commission of the Fight against the Proliferation of Light Weapons) in 2001 is a sign of the country’s will to improve stability and democracy. These institutions are also some tools to better its image and foster its relations with international community.

Burkina Faso has a budding democracy and heavily depends on international cooperation. 80% of its programme of development is financed by its external partners of development. From 1998 to 2001, the country was pointed out as a bad pupil of good governance because of its support to many rebellions in such countries as Liberia, Sierra Leone and Angola.

To improve its image in the eyes of the international community, Burkina Faso has developed significant diplomatic actions, showing that it is not a bad actor in some conflicts. So, in 2003, it facilitated negotiations between Liberian protagonists. The following year (2004), it contributed to the signature of a peace agreement between the Government of Chad and rebellion leaders. In 2006, Burkina Faso played the key role of mediator between the different actors of Togo's political conflicts and did likewise in February 2007 in the direct dialogue between the protagonists of the political crisis in Côte d'Ivoire.

We can add that regional context and international challenges permit the emergence of Burkina Faso like a peacemaker country. With the recommendation of France to African countries to democratise their regime and the need of peace and security in West Africa at the beginning in 1989 and 1990, Burkina Faso adopts a new behaviour in its international conduct.

With these achievements, Burkina Faso has become a peace actor in West Africa. Many developed countries have confidence in this country which cultivates a new approach of diplomacy called "*Diplomacy of development*". Two key words are at the heart of "*Diplomacy of development*": Development and Peace. With fewer resources, Burkina Faso can not conduct the same diplomacy like USA, France or Nigeria which could be considered as great powers. USA could enterprise a "*transformational diplomacy*". France has conducted "*diplomacy of influence*". Nigeria tries to conduct "*sub regional peacemaker's diplomacy*". These states possess some means to constraint other states to accept their point of view by soft or hard power. Burkina Faso cannot do so.

So, its diplomacy is oriented towards improving its relationships with other nations for its development and its security, and for the preservation of its high interests. This type of diplomacy developed by an LDC is worthy of interest the current study aims at highlighting its importance and originality. Before everything, it is interesting to know what the ideological and institutional backgrounds of Burkina Faso's diplomacy of development are and how this diplomacy is conducted daily.

Let's say that this diplomacy finds its expression in the Constitution and bilateral agreements, but also in national political programmes, in the primary and support institutions, as well as in the regional and international legal commitments with such organisations as the West African Economic and Monetary Union (WAEMU), the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the African Union, the Francophone International Organisation, the African Caribbean Pacific-European Union (ACP-EU), the United Nations Organisation (UNO), the World Trade Organisation (WTO), etc. It could be very important to study the practice of the diplomacy of development by Burkina Faso through development and peace promotion.

The aim of this study is to be helpful for a better understanding of the manner in which an LDC acts in the international system with a specific diplomatic approach. Burkina Faso has an ideological and institutional background in national, regional and international levels. It stands as an important actor for peace and development and the challenge of this paper is to check the nature of Burkina Faso's international influence in international system. But before anything, it is methodologically appropriate to define some key concepts as "*Less Developed Country*" (*LCD*), "*diplomacy of development*", "*international system*".

An *LDC* may be seen as “*small country*” because, with few resources, it “*it can not protect itself and defend its interests by its own means*” (Henrikson, 2007). and usually is an easy prey to economic giants, mostly in the context of globalisation. To achieve its goals of development it needs allies with which it will aim at union or integration. In comparison to rich nations, it is also right to consider a *LDC* as a small one because of its “*relatively limited influence*” (Assanvo, 2007) on international system.

Now, what is “*diplomacy of development*”? To understand this concept it is necessary to define each concept of the expression. “*Diplomacy*” is considered as:

“a means by which states try to secure their foreign policy goals and objectives in the wider international system in order to advance and fulfil their national developmental agenda, mainly through negotiation” (Cross-Mike, 2007).

Diplomacy is so an instrument for all countries, less developed or rich, to express their presence in the international system for their benefits. As for “*Development*” it means as a process whose main goal is to qualitatively and quantitatively satisfy the needs of the populations in political, economic, social, cultural and environmental fields. In *LDCs*, the development privileges the priorities of the sanitary, educational, agricultural and infrastructural aspects. The development has two sides: material and psychological.

For the understanding of Burkina Faso, “*Diplomacy of development*” is its international action which contributes to achieve economic and social development. It promotes good partnerships and has two main goals. The first one is to ensure an international cooperation by signing agreements with diverse partners, and the second one is to protect and defend the country’s interests and to facilitate the actions of external Burkinabè in the country’s process of development. “*Diplomacy of development*” is so an instrument for friendship by which Burkina Faso ensures its development and its internal security.

I can analyse the Burkina Faso's "*Diplomacy of development*" by using the same theory of "*Small States Diplomacy*" expounded by the Malta International Conference held in February 2007.

The methodology of this paper is based on qualitative approach proceeding from readings and observations. Books and Internet sources are also widely used. This study aims at being more analytical and critical. Moreover, Burkina Faso's diplomacy of development is considered in comparison to other diplomatic practices throughout the world.

The conclusions of the Malta International Conference make good reference points to help understand small or LDC's actions in international system because the conference dealt with the types of diplomacy conducted by this kind of states. Specific data gathered on Burkina Faso's diplomacy at the conceptual and practical levels constitute other useful sources for this study. National and international legal texts, political programmes, fields of intervention are the tools to follow Burkina Faso's conduct in global system.

The current study could be a handbook for young diplomats of poor countries but also could inspire young researchers to analyse other LDCs' diplomacy and permit to elaborate a theory of these States' diplomatic practices in international system as what is also done on small States. So, this paper has a scientific utility. It could also be an instrument for diplomats who want to have a better understanding of their own daily actions. It could be a handbook for young diplomats in LDCs.

So, this paper has a scientific utility and therefore could also be an instrument for diplomats who want to have a better comprehension of their own daily actions. It is made up of two main parts. The first deals with the background of Burkina Faso's diplomacy of development at national, bilateral, regional and international levels. The second one goes through the practice of the diplomacy of development by Burkina Faso through the promotion of peace and development.

Part I

The background of Burkina Faso's diplomacy of development

The essence of Burkina Faso's development diplomacy is built on national, regional and international instruments and institutions.

Chapter 1. National and bilateral levels

On the national and bilateral scales, Burkina Faso has some conceptual references and many institutional initiatives that are its bible to guide its international actions.

1.1. Conceptual references

The Constitution, the bilateral agreements and the political commitments are the conceptual background for Burkina Faso in the international system.

1.1.1. Constitution and bilateral agreements

The Constitution, the fundamental law of Burkina Faso, voted in June, 1991, contains the major principles of foreign policy of the country. In its preamble, it underlines:

The sovereign people of Burkina Faso (Ministère des Affaires Etrangères et de la Coopération Régionale):

- looks for economic and political integration with the other peoples of Africa to build a federative unity of Africa,
- subscribes to the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the international instruments on economic, political, social and cultural issues,
- reaffirms solemnly its commitment to the 1981 African Chart on Human and People's Rights,
- wants to promote peace, international partnerships, peaceful settlement of conflicts between states in the spirit of justice, equality, freedom and people's sovereignty.

The 12th and 13th titles of the Constitution treat the African Unity and the international Treaties and Agreements. The 36th article of the Constitution of Burkina Faso, voted in June, 1991, stipulates that

“The Head of State (President du Faso) determines the main orientations of the State’s foreign policy (...) He is the protector of the national independence, of the national integrity, of the permanence and the continuity of the State, of the respect of agreements and treaties”. The 148th article notes that that the *“Head of State negotiates, signs and ratifies international treaties and agreements”*.

Burkina Faso is a signatory to agreements with other countries to promote peace and development. This study would like to take just the cooperation with Côte d’Ivoire and Taiwan to illustrate this.

Burkina Faso and Côte d’Ivoire were both two colonial territories of France. An artificial frontier created by France separated the two territories. From 1932 to 1947, Upper Volta (Burkina Faso) was divided in three parts. The main part integrated Côte d’Ivoire and became Haute Côte d’Ivoire. This measure led to the use of Burkina Faso’s population as free labour to work in the cacao fields in Côte d’Ivoire. In 1947, following a strong claims of Upper Volta, France reinstated the territory in its prior limits.

But many people stayed behind in Côte d’Ivoire and since then, the relationships between the two countries have been very strong. They have signed many agreements to protect their mutual interests. These agreements stand as a symbol of their neighbour term. To sum up the quality of the relationships between the two countries, the Ambassador of Côte d’Ivoire in Burkina Faso said: *“Between Côte d’Ivoire and Burkina Faso, stands a wedlock never to be broken”*. The High Joint Commission is an instrument to regularly assess the relations between the two countries.

More details are done in the point on “*Burkina Faso and Côte d’Ivoire: Strong commonality of values*”, in the second part of this study.

Between Burkina Faso and Taiwan, the Diplomacy of Development achieves its full expression. Since the regularisation of their relations in 1994, Taiwan participated in the fight against poverty undertaken by Burkina Faso, but also supported the “Six Commitments” of the Head of State launched in 1994. To reciprocate the assistance, Burkina Faso raises the Taiwanese issue every year at the General Assembly of the United Nations Organisation, arguing that Taiwan, as an economic power has the right to be a full member of the UNO. This position is amply rewarded by Taiwan which considerably assists Burkina Faso.

The Constitution and the bilateral agreements are the sources of inspiration of the Head of State and the Government’s political strategy.

1.1.2. Political programmes

This point is analysed through the Head of State's political programmes and the Strategic Framework for the fight against Poverty.

From 1991 to 2007, Burkina Faso has experienced a real democratic process. Its diplomacy has been an instrument to build its image and to facilitate its relationship with other international actors, subsequent to the allegations to its support to rebel groups. Some opportunities have been offered to the Head of State to express Burkina Faso’s points of view about international governance and to indicate its will to play a major role for peace and development.

During the presidential election in 1998, Blaise Compaoré (1998b), who was running for a second term published a book containing his political programmes and which was entitled: “*Programme pour un développement solidaire*” (Programme for a common development). As regards his diplomacy goals in, he gives two elements:

- 1) Erecting Burkina Faso as a regional centre of development in West Africa. The president argued that many factors permitted the achievement of this goal, the geographical position of the country but also the fact that Burkina Faso hosts the home offices of many regional organisations; the commitment of the political actors and the civil society to achieve integration and the country’s foreign policy which is oriented toward political dialogue and peace promotion.
- 2) Organising an active diplomacy and a real presence of Burkina Faso in the world. This objective requires Burkina Faso to share friendship and cooperation with other people through an active participation in the management of conflicts in Africa and to continue the involvement of country in multilateral actions for peace in the world.

The main tool to achieve these goals is the diplomacy of development which could contribute to accomplish economical, social and cultural development and to promote African integration to overcome the effects of globalization.

About integration and security, it is interesting to note that as a landlocked country, Burkina Faso, since its independence, has the conscience and conviction that its future depends on the cooperation of its neighbours. It must have good neighbourhood policy with coastal countries such as Benin, Côte d’Ivoire, Ghana and Togo.

The President's political programme is a response to international community which accused Burkina Faso from 1999 to 2003 of sponsoring regional rebellions and of participating to illicit trafficking of diamond from Liberia, Sierra Leone and Angola. An internal issue, the assassination of an independent journalist in December, 1999 had a bad impact on Burkina Faso's international image, mainly in the field of human rights. All these questions limit the effect of the diplomacy of development undertaken by the country.

In 2005, Blaise Compaoré (2005), for his third term, presented a new programme: "Le Progrès continu pour une société d'espérance" (The Sustainable Progress for a society of Hope). The general objectives of this programme are:

- 1) the consolidation of democracy and the valorisation of human capital;
- 2) the enlargement of opportunities of the creation of wealth and jobs;
- 3) the visible presence of Burkina Faso in international system.

In the third part of this programme, Blaise Compaoré has shown three goals for Burkina Faso's foreign policy:

- 1) To respect the country's commitments *vis-à-vis* the international law;
- 2) To abide by international recommendations and resolutions from international meetings;
- 3) To obtain a real presence of Burkina Faso in the world.

To reach these goals, the Head of State of Burkina Faso has chosen three missions for his diplomacy:

- 1) The consolidation of Burkina Faso's status in Africa and in the world arena;

- 2) The contribution to regional and continental integration through good relationships with the neighbours and the promotion of regional interdependence.
- 3) The promotion of peace and security in West Africa and in the world. In view of its stability and traditional mechanisms for peace, Burkina Faso is ready to share its experience in management of conflicts and therefore calls for multilateral actions in conflicts management.

This programme is his personal commitment for the future of the country and it aims at transforming Burkina Faso into an emergent country through the involvement of all the people. This is just a will and not an achievement with effective results, noted many internal and external observers.

With the end of the civil war in Liberia and the involvement of President Blaise Compaoré in the crises in Togo and in Côte d'Ivoire as mediator, Burkina Faso has the opportunity to play a major role in regional peace promotion process. Its mediations have given a reality to Burkina Faso's regional programme for peace. Burkina Faso received the recognition and the confidence of international community. Blaise Compaoré's fight, as the leader of "*Cotton Initiative*", for transparent and fair trade, mainly for West African Cotton producers, contributed to improve Burkina Faso's international image. Blaise Compaoré becomes the spokesman of cotton producers like Benin, Chad and Mali through the "*Cotton Initiative*", since his historical speech at WTO in Geneva on April 10, 2003.

All the views of President Blaise Compaoré (1998a) are contained in his book which has the title: *Les voies de l'esérance* (The Ways of Hope). He believes that Africa has the opportunity to

achieve the fight for regional integration and solidarity. Thus, it is imperative for Africa to take actions by signing agreements which preserve its dignity and unity. He adds that the consolidation of African policies of integration should offer opportunities for African development. With a comprehensive and audacious common programme for food security, African states will be able to fight against famine. In unifying their schemes for the protection of the environment and natural resources, African countries will be able to give more water to the populations. In developing common infrastructures of transport and communication, African internal trade will be more dynamic. Solidarity and integration are the two tools to achieve these objectives. But above all, the regional market must be adapted to the process and requirements of globalisation.

For many observers, these thoughts are always a theory. No significant realisations are visible and West African region remains one of the poorest in the world. However, WAEMU has started its programme of interstate infrastructures, mainly in roads' fields. But the states' individual selfishness constitutes a major limit for common actions. West African regional community has the best legal framework but practices are under the expectation of the populations. It would be better if West African leaders' ideals permit the regional development. Another bad example is the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD), African development initiative, which is a failure, as noted Senegalese President, Abdoulaye Wade.

Blaise Compaoré strongly believes that peace constitutes the main condition for a successful integration. That is why Africa must find mechanisms to restore peace through mediation, political instruments of conflict management and make efforts which will contribute to the building a culture of peace.

“The obligation to show solidarity in favour of peace and development is so a moral obligation for the developed countries. This solidarity is an imperative response to the misery of the populations, and that because of the nature of the demand addressed by people and not by government” (Compaoré, 1998a).

The president calls for a new kind of diplomacy. He says that the diplomacy of African countries must be adapted to international realities and must, mainly by helping countries, satisfy their needs. The foreign policy must be developed according to the dependence of national development on external financial supports. Foreign policy for States without significant power must be a strategy to be more efficient, to overcome the major challenges of countries on the their way to development. *“Diplomacy must be considered as a technical and practical tool to serve development, national building process and African unity”*, states Blaise Compaoré (1998a). This vision of the diplomacy of development is a necessity for Africa. Its mission is to devise the best mechanisms to support trade, economic and financial actions. In Africa, diplomacy must serve economic and social purposes, by considering each sector of development as its field of action.

We can note here that the diplomacy of development of Burkina Faso has no long term issues. It seems more a *“diplomacy of urgency”* than *“diplomacy of anticipation”*. This kind of diplomacy is characterised by the manner of diplomatic action. The State has no long foreign policy. The observers have the impression that international actions are achieved without prospect. Then *“diplomacy of urgency”* doesn't explain the objective of international action but just how the State responds to international situations.

The diplomacy of development is also the extending of the traditional sphere of external relations. The state must collaborate with new type of actors such as organisations of the civil society and the economic and financial institutions.

The book of Blaise Compaoré is a reference frame for diplomats of LDCs whose missions differ from those of developed countries. This accounts for the fact that the main partners of Small or LDCs in developed countries are ministries of Cooperation rather than ministries of foreign affairs. Other political declarations define the nature of Burkina Faso's diplomacy of development, as speeches delivered by the Head of State. Responding to the diplomatic corps during the New Year 2007's greetings, Blaise Compaoré (2007) noted that Burkina Faso is an architect of peace and development.

It is interesting to note here that this ceremony is an opportunity for the Head of State to develop public relations by promoting the image of his country. It seemed to be a moment of "marketing" of the country to the diplomats and envoys of international organisations. So, it is very important to mention some passages of these statements which are a kind of dialogue between states. During these occasions, the Head of State expressed his gratitude to all the partners of the country.

He indicated that the values of peace, solidarity and hospitality will be improved because they constitute a valuable resource for the unity and the spirit of tolerance of peoples. Burkina Faso is a country which is at the crossroad of hope and has a strong desire to share with other people in the world its goodwill for stable and prosperous environment. This justifies its involvement in the management of crises in West Africa and in the other parts of the world.

Blaise Compaoré denounces the ongoing system of international trade which is dominated by developed countries. He, therefore, calls for a fair international trade, in favour of the producers

of cotton of the South. The Doha Round must be negotiated successfully to avoid catastrophes for LDCs.

On January 9, 2004, Blaise Compaoré (2004a), in response to the diplomatic corps, calls each state, each people to be accountable and to own the obligation of solidarity and of the research of equity among nations. This must be an imperative mission for the new international commitment to democratise and to develop good governance in international system.

The speeches addressed by Blaise Compaoré contained many mentions of international solidarity. This implicitly shows the impression of eternal assistance for Africa through the obligation of international society to support LDCs' development. This appeal for paternalism from developed countries is not appropriate and each state must be the first actor of its own development. Burkina Faso's diplomacy hopes to meet its strong commitments and its major contribution to reach the objectives of African integration, international peace and security. Blaise Compaoré (2007) calls the technical and financial partners of Burkina Faso to continue through their efforts to help the country to carry out its projects of development.

He adds that for a stable and democratic global space, abiding by the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations Organisations ought to be the major preoccupation of diplomatic action for a new and adapted international order in political, social and environmental terms. This speech is typical of LDCs which could not live without the assistance of developed countries. They use moral arguments to call for international aid. This is an idealist conception of international relations. Even if this is also important, it seems very useful for LDCs to have realistic approach which invites each actor to contribute to build the global world.

The development of Burkina Faso cannot come true without a strong regional integration. Blaise Compaoré (1996) has the conviction that only the integration could contribute to transform West Africa as an important destination of trade and investment with more chance of sustainable development. So, the selfishness of the states must yield way to the need integration. If in theory, this thought is interesting, the selfishness of each state constitutes an important limit.

The Conference of Burkina Faso's Ambassadors and Consuls-General is another occasion for the Head of State to express the main outlines of his foreign policy. It is an ideal opportunity for Blaise Compaoré to specify his instructions to his plenipotentiaries. On December 18, 2006, he underlines his position about international unfair trade and international solidarity for developing countries. Burkina Faso needs to develop its human resources for its visible presence in the world. That is why he wants to create new institutions to accomplish this mission. He notes that his country has always taken the evolution of the world in account, mainly the constitution of regional blocks. Thus, Burkina Faso takes many actions to accelerate the process of integration in West Africa. He adds: *"I am convinced that our future depends necessarily on strong economic and political integration and an active regional solidarity"* (Compaoré, 2006b).

Practically, the integration process is experiencing many difficulties. For example, West African populations meet some problems regarding to free movement of persons, goods and services in WAEMU or ECOWAS' space. Fortunately, in WAEMU's zone, there is progressively the end of controls, through the experimentation in Benin and Burkina Faso.

Blaise Compaoré invites his envoys to work hard to mobilise useful resources to achieve the Millennium Development Goals and the objectives contained in the “Strategic Framework of Fight against Poverty” (« Cadre Stratégique de Lutte Contre la Pauvreté »), the referential document for the country’s development.

Other political strategies are elaborated in reference to these political programmes. The most important document is the “Strategic Framework of Fight against Poverty”. Written through the contribution of the technical and financial partners, this document is the roadmap of Burkina Faso’s sustainable development. Its essential aims are:

- 1) Accelerating and sharing growth;
- 2) Better access to social facilities (Education, health, drinking water, etc.) for many people;
- 3) Many opportunities of jobs and incomes;
- 4) Better governance with decentralization.

These goals must contribute to integrate Burkina Faso in the international economy and to strengthen its place in international governance. We can say that the effect of this strategic framework is not very visible. The main reason is that this programme seemed an instrument imposed by international community without a real ownership of local population. The other reason is the fact that the development is a long term process. The role of technical and financial partners, as developed countries, regional organisation and international institutions, is very important. Still national institutional initiatives are compelling.

1.2. Institutional initiatives

Burkina Faso's institutional framework has two scales of intervention (Boukougou, 2003, p.7). First, there are primary institutions which are the main actors of the country's international presence in the world. Second, there are other institutions which contribute to the improvement of the image of Burkina Faso in international system.

1.2.1. Primary institutions

The office of the Head of State, the Office of the Prime Minister, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Cooperation, the Embassies and the Consulates, the National Commission for Integration, the High Council of Burkinabè Living Abroad, the National Commission for French speaking Community and the Institute of Diplomacy and International Relations of Ouagadougou and the National Assembly are the main institutions in Burkina Faso's diplomacy.

The Office of the Head of State has the main mission to initiate Burkina Faso's foreign policy. Its role is both conceptual and practical. The Constitution, as indicated below, gives free hand to the Head of State to take actions on international scale. Here, it is interesting to make clear that only one diplomat assists the Head of State's Office as diplomatic adviser. This is not sufficient to create an important dynamism for the Head of State's international actions. It could be more profitable to create a wide council for foreign affairs in his office to follow the main diplomatic missions with retrospective and prospective dimensions. It is obvious that this approach might create the danger of a rival foreign office. For some observers, having just one diplomatic adviser is not so unusual for a head of state, whether this adviser is formal or informal. We can that each approach is after all a question of level of interdisciplinary knowledge and well human management.

The Office of the Prime Minister plays also a role in Burkina Faso's diplomatic actions. The 63rd article of the Constitution of Burkina Faso indicates that the Prime Minister is the Chief of the Government. He coordinates the governmental action which includes the foreign policy. He takes part in the elaboration of the foreign policy, under the supervision of the Head of State. When he speaks to the National Assembly, he presents the Government's actions in diplomatic field. For example, on April 12, 2001, the Prime Minister declared, that the execution of the foreign policy must contribute to the promotion of a positive image of Burkina Faso. To achieve its objectives, the country's diplomacy must take new initiatives, mainly through the reinforcement of the capabilities of the embassies and the consulates, by opening new embassies and consulates, by maintaining Burkina Faso as a privilege venue for regional and international meetings, by reinforcing Burkina Faso's operational skills in the field of peacekeeping and security operations in the region of West Africa, and the continent as a whole.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Cooperation and its subdivisions play a major role in the execution of the foreign policy. The main mission of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Cooperation is to work daily through diplomatic actions and to regularly assess the performance as regards the goals of its foreign policy.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Cooperation has also the following assignments:

- 1) The organisation and the management of diplomatic and consular representations of Burkina Faso in the world;
- 2) The coordination, the negotiation, the signature and the evaluation of international cooperation and agreements;

- 3) The defense of the interests and the protection of Burkina Faso's nationals in other countries;
- 4) The general information about international issues for the Government;
- 5) The management of the relations with the diplomatic missions of other countries in Burkina Faso;
- 6) The management of the relations with the bilateral and multilateral financial organisations and the Non Governmental Organisations in partnership with the other ministries;
- 7) The deliverance of diplomatic and service passports.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Cooperation play a coordinating role to harmonize actors to have the same position in international system. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Cooperation is also tasked upon the Head of State's instructions, with the conception of the foreign policy.

It is interesting to underline the main structures of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Cooperation which contribute to the management of the foreign policy through their specific missions. The main objectives of Burkina Faso's diplomacy of development are to promote development and peace in Africa and in the world.

As the voice of Burkina Faso in the other countries, the Embassies and the Consulates are entitled with important functions those of representation, protection, information and negotiation (Décret no 2002-513/PRES/PM/MAECR du 19 novembre 2002, p. 14). Burkina Faso has 27 embassies and 4 consulates general throughout the world.

Regional integration is the step number one to promoting development. To this ends, the Government has set up the National Commission for Integration. The Commission is seen as driving force to simulate the dynamic of integration (Décret no 2002-513/PRES/PM/MAECCR du 19 novembre 2002, p. 17).

I can note that this commission meets some problems because of the existence of two other departments of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Cooperation: Africa and Regional Cooperation Department and the Department of the Promotion of Integration with similar missions. Regularly, these departments and the commission meet difficulties to follow regional integration issues because of the lack of the visibility of certain decisions and instructions.

The missions of the High Council of the Burkinabè Living Aboard are ((Décret no 2002-513/PRES/PM/MAECCR du 19 novembre 2002, p. 15):

- 1) to protect the Burkinabè who live in other countries;
- 2) to facilitate the harmonious integration of these Burkinabè in Burkina Faso;
- 3) enable them to have a say in their country's development process;
- 4) to take them into account as important partners for the visible presence of Burkina Faso in the world.

Burkina Faso is an active member of the Francophone International Organisation. To contribute to the achievement of the ideals of the Francophone institution for peace and development, Burkina Faso has created a special commission: the National Commission for Francophone

International Organisation which is endowed with the following missions (Décret no 2002-513/PRES/PM/MAECR du 19 novembre 2002, p. 15):

- 1) to initiate, organise and coordinate the relations between national institutions and the institutions of Francophone International Organisation;
- 2) to encourage and harmonise the interventions of national institutions associated with the francophony's field.

The results of Burkina Faso's diplomacy depend on the quality of its agents, the diplomats. To improve the skills of its diplomats, Burkina Faso has created in 2001 a of training centre: the Institute of Diplomatic and International Relations. This institute has three main missions:

- 1) to execute basic and ongoing trainings for diplomats and other actors of international relations;
- 2) to conduct researches on diplomatic and international issues;
- 3) to popularise international culture through conferences, colloquiums and other activities.

The institute faces the challenge of improving the diplomats' skills to respond to the objectives of foreign policy. At last, the institute aims at being an instrument for regional integration and development in Africa.

Unfortunately, the Government has decided on April 11, 2007 to close definitively the institute. This decision is very damage for Burkina Faso's diplomacy which loses one of its important instruments.

Another major diplomatic institution of Burkina Faso is the Parliament. Through its legislative role, the National Assembly plays a key role in foreign policy and in diplomacy. The National

Assembly enables the Head of State to ratify international treaties. It also controls the management of public affairs by the Government through information. The Constitution obliges the Government to present and defend its politics before the national Assembly. This defense may also relate to the foreign policy. For example, the Government cannot send a peacekeeping mission without the prior authorisation National Assembly (Sawadogo, 2006). Sometimes, in regard to the urgency of peacekeeping interventions, the Government sends armed forces before regularising with the National Assembly.

It participates in the achievement of certain objectives through parliamentary diplomacy. The National Assembly is part of an international ring of national parliaments. The Government calls on the parliamentarians in certain negotiations. For example, parliamentarians are members of Burkina Faso's delegations to the United Nations' General Assembly in New York. They represent the people and are more credible than governmental representatives. Other institutions support the actions of the main structures of Burkina Faso's diplomacy. These institutions are regarded as support institutions.

1.2.2. Support institutions

The support institutions contribute to promote Burkina Faso's image in international system. They may be considered as tools of public relations for real presence of Burkina Faso in the world.

Burkina Faso is very dependent on international financial contributions. To manage efficiently the fruits of cooperation, it has created the General Direction of Cooperation in the Ministry in charge of finances. Its missions consist in organising negotiations in the field of the economic, technical and financial relations of cooperation at bilateral and multilateral levels in the prospect

of contributing to the sustainable development of Burkina Faso. To carry out its missions, the activities of the General Direction of Cooperation are as follow:

- 1) the development of relations with bilateral and multilateral financial sources;
- 2) the technical and administrative preparation of negotiations;
- 3) the assistance to other ministries to elaborate and to execute projects financed by official development assistance.

This direction participates in negotiation with the technical and financial partners, at bilateral and multilateral levels. It has the responsibility to follow the execution of projects. It closely works with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Cooperation. Sometimes, the Minister of Finances is the head of delegation for bilateral negotiation with countries like Germany, Belgium, Austria, etc.

The fight against corruption is a new challenge for Burkina Faso. To show its concern in this field, the Government has created the High Authority of Coordination of the Fight against Corruption. This institution is an instrument of public relations which serves to prove to the technical and financial partners that their funds are well used.

To strengthen national and regional security, Burkina Faso, as other countries in West Africa, has created a National Commission for the Fight against the Proliferation of Small Arms in 2001. Its mission is to achieve the objectives of the ECOWAS Moratorium on small arms and light weapons, which has turned into a Convention on June 14, 2006. The objectives of this Convention are:

“1. To prevent and combat the excessive and destabilising accumulation of small arms and light weapons within ECOWAS;

2. *To continue the efforts for the control of small arms and light weapons within ECOWAS;*
3. *To consolidate the gains of the Declaration of the Moratorium on the importation, exportation and manufacture of small arms and its Code of Conduct.*
4. *To promote trust between the Member States through concerted and transparent action on the control of small arms and light weapons within ECOWAS;*
5. *To build institutional and operational capacities of the ECOWAS Executive Secretariat and the Member States in the efforts to curb the proliferation of small arms and light weapons, their ammunitions and other related materials;*
6. *To promote the exchange of information and cooperation among the Member States”.*

Human rights benefit from an important place in Burkina Faso’s strategies. Considering Human Rights as a new religion and as a reference point for a democratic country, the Government created Ministry for the Promotion of Human Rights in 2001. Then a National Commission of Human rights was created the same year. Its missions are to protect and to promote human rights in Burkina Faso. It indeed serves as a means of dialogue between the different actors, mainly public institutions and Non Governmental Organisations, concerning this issue. The Ministry for the Promotion of Human Rights has also the mission to promote a culture of tolerance and peace in Burkina Faso.

Burkina Faso is convinced that a strong cultural diplomacy can contribute to promote its image in the international system. The FESPACO (Panafrikan Film and Television Festival of Ouagadougou) and the SIAO (Ouagadougou international Arts and crafts fair) are the important opportunities to “*sell*” Burkina Faso’s culture and to share its experience in cultural diplomacy.

The FESPACO, created in 1969 in Ouagadougou, was an autonomous institution which acts under the umbrella of the Ministry in charge of Culture in Burkina Faso. Its objectives are:

- “- to facilitate the screening of all African films,*
- to enable contacts and exchanges among film and audiovisual professionals,*

- *to contribute to the expansion and development of African cinema as a means of expression, education and raising awareness*".

It organizes activities like biennial film festivals with a competition of exclusively African films, an African International Film and Television Market (MICA), the promotion of African cinema in other international festivals, etc. FESPACO is an important tool for Burkina Faso's cultural diplomacy.

As for the SIAO, it was created in 1988 and is an institution which promotes African handicraft. Its main aim is to present the African objects with regard to art and handicraft in order to increase the demand thereof. In this regard, SIAO uses all means for African handicraft to be widely known. The themes of the 7th edition in 2000 and the 9th edition in 2004 which were respectively: "*African handicraft and regional integration*" and "*Investing in African handicraft, a promising sector*" show the importance of handicraft in African development. As an indication about the participation, the 9th edition has received representatives of 32 countries represented, 2652 exhibitors, 226 buyers and professional visitors and 352,000 public visitors. This is a wide world market which contributes to the promotion Burkina Faso's image in international system.

In organising these meetings with success, Burkina Faso is seen as a suitable venue for many other meetings, mainly in the domain of sports. Known as "the Country of the Bicycle", Burkina Faso's Cyclist Tour (Tour Cycliste du Faso), initiated in 1987, is another diplomatic instrument. Like the other sport events, this race, with the participation of African and European countries and is thus considered as an instrument for integration and visible presence of Burkina Faso in the world (Traoré, 2006). This tour comes to a great notice in Africa and in the world. It participates in the development of cycling in Burkina Faso and Africa. It contributes to the global economic development. The Burkina Faso's cyclists are the

best in Africa. This justifies their participation in the World Championship in Salzburg, from 15 to 18 September, 2006. The Faso's Cyclist Tour has many partners like the International Cyclist Union, the Amaury Sport Organisation and other sponsors, says the Minister of Sports of Burkina Faso, Palm Jean-Pierre (2006). The success of this tour is also due to the legendary hospitality of Burkina Faso's people. Jean-Claude Hérault (2006) said that

“When people associate their will, their enthusiasm, their intelligence, therefore there is no war and no difference of skin colour, but they look for a common objective, by meeting the challenges to reach the Faso's Cyclist Tour, an actual symbol of shared success. Yes, the Faso's Cyclist Tour is the pride of Burkina, because of its international fame; we must look for recognition of African cyclists and for this aim, we must internationalise and improve the performance that will take part in the next competitions of Faso's Cyclist Tour”.

Cultural personalities and those of sport, the stars, are also ambassadors of Burkina Faso.

Burkina Faso takes the importance of multistakeholders diplomacy into account. Traditional entities, organisations of civil society are also the Government's partners in its international action. The theme of the 9th Conference of Burkina Faso's Ambassadors and General Consuls, in 2003, was *“Civil society and international relations”* (Ministère des Affaires Etrangères et de la Coopération Régionale, 2006). This meeting showed that organisations of civil society play a major role in many fields of international relations as human rights, conflict management, fight against diseases, etc.

Finally, we can regret the lack of synergy between the different institutions in the achievement of Burkina Faso's foreign policy. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Cooperation is not the instrument of coordination of the international action. A network, as a coordination institution, will be an ideal tool to harmonise, monitor and organise the state's external actions. The former institute appeared as a space for the different institutions and actors to exchange and

plan international actions. The conceptual references and the institutional initiatives are one aspect of Burkina Faso's background to act in international system. Regional and international instruments are also other fundamental tools.

Chapter 2. Regional and international levels

Regional integration and multilateralism are a necessity for Burkina Faso, an LDC with little resource for its development and its security. So, it has taken many regional and international commitments to ensure its sustainable development and its peace and security.

2.1. West African and African levels

In West Africa, two major sub regional instruments can illustrate common commitment to overcome poverty and instability through integration.

2.1.1. WAEMU and ECOWAS

The West African Economic and Monetary Union (WAEMU) was founded in 1994 by the seven countries (Benin, Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, Mali, Niger, Senegal and Togo. In 1997, Bissau-Guinea is accepted as a member) of Franc CFA (Communauté Financière Africaine) zone, a currency tracing back to France's former currency and now Euro. The main objectives of the WAEMU are:

- To strengthen the access of the sub-regional products to an open and competitive market with a harmonised legal environment,
- To institute a multilateral control to ensure the convergence of performances and the economic policies,
- To create a common market based on free movement of people, goods, services, capitals and the right of settlement for people and to create a common external tariff among member states.
- To develop common actions in different fields like human resources, agriculture, energy, transport, etc.

Burkina Faso is deeply involved in WAEMU process of integration. Ouagadougou, the capital city of Burkina Faso, is the headquarters of this institution. The country is currently the president in office of WAEMU and in the same time of ECOWAS.

The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)¹ was created in 1975

“to promote co-operation and integration, leading to the establishment of an economic union in West Africa in order to raise the living standards of its peoples, and to maintain and enhance economic stability, foster relations among Member States and contribute to the progress and development of the African Continent”.

¹ Member States: Benin, Bissau-Guinea, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea (Conakry), Ivory Coast, Liberia, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Senegal and Togo.

Further on, it added peace promotion as its aim and many instruments are available the promotion of peace and development:

- The Protocol of Non-aggression signed in Lagos on 22 April 1978 and the Protocol on Mutual Assistance in Defence Matters signed in Freetown on 29 May 1981,
- Protocol related to the Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution, Peacekeeping and Security signed in Lomé on 10 December 1999,
- Bamako Declaration of 1 December 2000 on the common African position on the proliferation, circulation and illicit trade in small arms and light weapons.

In this region, it is useful to note the high number of intergovernmental organisations evaluated at more than fifty. This plurality presents the problem of coordination. There are sometimes conflicts of competence or leadership between these organisations which limit the integration process. Between WAEMU and ECOWAS, we can underline their similar objectives (Kam, 2000). In the future, in accordance with United Nations and African Union's expectation, ECOWAS must integrate WAEMU and will become the only sub-regional organisation in West Africa.

ECOWAS has adopted global approach considering West Africa as an entity. It is recognised by the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa like the legitimate sub-regional organisation. WAEMU has chosen common administrative, cultural and linguistic approach in regard to the Francophone identity of its members. This expresses the divergences due to colonial history.

ECOWAS is an instrument for peace and development not only in West Africa, but also for other African regions, in support to African Union's efforts.

2.1.2. African Union

From the Organisation of African Unity (1963) to African Union (2000), peace and development had been the main goals for African states. The New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD) is the last major initiative to stimulate African growth. In domain of peace, the "*Peace and Security Council*", created in 2004, must promote peace, security and stability in Africa. International initiatives complete African actions.

2.2. International level

At this point, the Francophone International Organisation, the ACP-EU partnership, the UNO dynamics and WTO perspectives in regard to Burkina Faso's diplomatic actions.

2.2.1. Transnational initiatives

The Francophone International Organisation is both peace and development instrument. The theme of its 10th Conference in Ouagadougou (Burkina Faso) in November 2004 is: "Francophony, shared space for sustainable development". Sustainable development is the major preoccupation of the member states. The objective of the Francophone International Organisation is to mobilise Francophone States for the promotion of sustainable development. This takes into account the promotion of democracy and human rights promotion into account. The Francophone

Organisation is convinced that peace and security are paramount importance to sustainable development.

About ACP-EU partnership, Burkina Faso is an active member and receives many financial supports for its development. In return, the country pledges to respect the principles of democracy and good governance through accountability. Burkina Faso also benefits from the cooperation between WAEMU and EU with regard to ACP-EU cooperation. The significant instrument of this cooperation is “*Cotonou Accord*”, signed in June 2000. It calls for the equality of the partners, the participation of both state and non state actors in the development process, the dialogue and the mutual commitments among signatories, the differentiation and the regionalisation which take the level of development into account by paying more much more attention to LDCs.

2.2.2. Global initiatives

Burkina Faso’s legal and institutional instruments for peace and development are based on the principles of UNO which are to promote international peace and security and to ensure sustainable development for all peoples.

Burkina Faso became a member of the UNO in 1960 and the agencies of the organisation are its privileged partners in the fight against poverty and for security.

Burkina Faso is a member of the WTO. The country is known nowadays because of the “Cotton initiative” with regard to the issue of cotton at Doha Development Agenda. Burkina Faso is a

recipient of trade-related technical assistance (TRTA) from the WTO, which focuses on development of human resources, building of institutional capacity, supporting the implementation of WTO Agreements and for participation in the Doha Development Agenda. Burkina Faso has also received TRTA under the Joint Integrated Technical Assistance Programme. These efforts can help it access the markets at both the regional and multilateral level with a strong economy which responds competitively to external demand. In spite of these efforts, Burkina Faso remains a marginal actor in international trade and meets many difficulties to export its products.

A clear delegation of power exists between sub-regional, continental and global organisations. African Union takes sub-regional efforts for peace and development into account. For example, ECOWAS negotiates peace in Côte d'Ivoire through the mediation of Blaise Compaoré. Then, Ouagadougou's Agreement, signed on March 4, 2007, was first presented to African Union which had introduced it to the United Nations. This process respects the principle that UNO is the main institution for international peace and security in the world.

Finally, it is interesting to notice that Burkina Faso has various legal and institutional instruments which serve as background of its action in international system. These tools contribute to promote its image through its peace and development actions.

Part II

Practice of the diplomacy of development by Burkina Faso

Promotion of peace and development

Like other LDCs, Burkina Faso pursues two main objectives: to promote peace and to win development and integration challenges, through its international actions. This part of the dissertation analyses Burkina Faso's diplomatic actions for peace and development.

Chapter 3. Peace promotion

Before analysing Burkina Faso's actions for peace, it is interesting to remember the legal background of this intervention through national references and regional settings. Burkina Faso's Constitution indicates that the people desire to promote peace, international cooperation and peaceful settlement of conflicts between states, in justice, equality, freedom and people sovereignty. The Head of State's political programme calls for active participation in management of conflicts in Africa and in continuing the involvement of Burkina Faso in multilateral actions for peace in the world.

ECOWAS, through many instruments², considers peace promotion as a priority. African Union, with its "*Peace and Security Council*", is ready to promote peace, security and stability in Africa. Other international commitments are also references for Burkina Faso's international actions for peace which take military dimensions and civil aspects into account.

3.1. Peace operations

Burkina Faso intervened in West Africa and other African regions by sending military forces. It has also sent police forces in Haiti.

3.1.1. West African and African experiences

Burkina Faso's Army, created in 1960, has the mission to consolidate peace and security in West Africa, in other regions of Africa and in the world. From 1993 up to now, it has participated in

² The main instruments are: Protocol on Non-aggression signed in Lagos on 22 April 1978 and the Protocol on Mutual Assistance in Defence Matters signed in Freetown on 29 May 1981; Protocol relating to the Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution, Peace-keeping and Security signed in Lomé on 10 December 1999; Bamako Declaration of 1st December 2000 on the common African position on the proliferation, circulation and illicit trade in small arms and light weapons.

many peace operations, mainly in Liberia, Burundi, Central African Republic, Democratic republic of Congo (DRC) and Haiti (Sawadogo, ROP).

Liberia experienced civil war from 1989 to 2003 with times of precarious peace. ECOWAS decided to create and to send the ECOWAS Ceasefire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) considered as ECOWAS peace operations army. The ECOMOG started its intervention on August 7, 1990, with 3,000 soldiers. Burkina Faso came to support the West African Force in 1997. For fourteen months, 504 soldiers of Burkina Faso's army accomplished their mission in Monrovia. Belgium and Denmark gave logistic support to Burkina Faso for this intervention for peace in Liberia. Initially, the presence of Burkina Faso's contingent was not received with enthusiasm by Liberian political leaders in regard to the accusations against Burkina Faso as a sponsor of the rebellion. The good behaviour, the sense of discipline and the professionalism of Burkina Faso's contingent contributed to create more sympathy and more confidence (Traoré, 2004, p. 30). After this intervention, the image of Burkina Faso's army has become more positive in Liberia and in West Africa.

Before its intervention in Liberia, Burkina Faso had already sent contingents to Burundi in 1994 through the Mission of the Organisation of African Unity in Burundi. It contributed to this operation with 47 soldiers. It lost a military officer on June 14, 1995.

At the end of the African mission, the United Nations Organisation's Operation in Burundi integrated African contingents. Burkina Faso continued to build peace in Burundi through the new mission with fifteen people (Bounkougou, 2003, p. 60). The good example given by Burkina Faso in Burundi explained its presence in the monitoring of the Inter-African Mission on

Bangui Agreements called “Mission interafricaine de surveillance des Accords de Bangui - MISAB). These agreements addressed the political and military conflict in Central African Republic in 1996. They were signed on January 25, 1997 because of the mediation of France-Afrique Summit held in Ouagadougou in Burkina Faso in December 1996. This mediation was conducted by El Hadj Omar Bongo, Head of State of Gabon, Idriss Deby, Head of State of Chad, Alpha Omar Konaré, Head of State of Mali and Blaise Compaoré, Head of State of Burkina Faso.

The MISAB Force, made of 792 soldiers had the mission to restore peace and to secure Bangui. In February 1997, Burkina Faso sent 114 people to promote peace and security in this country. After the MISAB, the United Nations Mission in Central African Republic called MINURCA enabled the organisation of legislative and presidential elections respectively in 1998 and 1999 in good conditions. Burkina Faso obtained a valuable experience in Central African Republic and its further interventions, mainly in Liberia and in Democratic Republic of Congo (Bonkougou, 2003, p. 59).

From 1996, Zaire, which became Democratic Republic in Congo in 1997, experienced permanent crises called the “First African World War” in regard to its actors by some observers. On November 30, 1999, the Security Council of the United Nations created the Mission of the United Nations in DRC (MONUC). In January 2004, Burkina Faso participated in the MONUC with 35 military observers and 69 police officers. The success of its interventions in Africa convinced Burkina Faso to participate in the mission in the stabilisation in Haiti.

3.1.2. International experiences

After President Jean Bertrand Aristide's withdrawal from power in February 2004, the United Nations created the "United Nations Mission for Stabilisation in Haiti" in June 2004. This mission intervened to restore stability and democracy in Haiti. In July 2004, Burkina Faso sent more than 75 policemen to Haiti to reinforce the International Civil Police (CIVIPOL).

These efforts developed by Burkina Faso are recognised by countries like France and United States of America which significantly supported the country with training programmes. Examples are RECAMP³ and ACOTA⁴.

With regard to its historical relationship with Africa, France has pledged to develop a fair partnership, which will be open to the whole continent with the support of the United Nations and the European Union (RECAMP).

RECAMP is a French security and defence policy, aimed at helping African states under the umbrella of sub-regional organisations to acquire military capabilities that will enable them to conduct peacekeeping operations on the African continent (RECAMP). In the mid-90s, France developed and introduced «RECAMP» programme to meet the legitimate and increasingly acute need expressed by African countries to settle security problems themselves on the continent.

³ Reinforcement of African Peacekeeping Capabilities (Renforcement des capacités africaines de maintien de la paix) initiated by France to contribute to build African operational peace force.

⁴ Africa Contingency Operations Training and Assistance initiated by USA.

RECAMP provides a solution to the peacekeeping needs expressed by organizations and African States, which aims at helping them reinforce their military capabilities as well as stage and conduct peacekeeping operations on the continent when necessary. In compliance with the Charter of the United Nations, it is now evolving toward a twofold partnership with the African Union and the European Union.

The RECAMP training programme includes three main components:

- A major exercise is staged within one of the sub-regional organizations, which focuses on managing a crisis at the sub-regional level according to a realistic scenario.
- Intermediary trainings are ensured in the other sub-regions by pre-positioned armed forces in close cooperation with sub-regional organizations and neighbouring States.
- Off-programme exercises, initiated by African or non-African countries, can also enjoy the support of RECAMP programme provided that they aim at strengthening African peacekeeping capabilities (RECAMP).

Particularly for West Africa, the objective of RECAMP is to permit ECOWAS to have a Rapid Reaction Force for quick deployment into crisis situations. RECAMP intervened in Ivory Coast to support the ECOWAS and UN peacekeeping missions after the failed coup in September 2002 (RECAMP).

It is interesting to underline an example of an exercise done by RECAMP in West Africa. In November 2004, West African soldiers took part in a major military air, sea and land simulation exercise to enhance the peacekeeping capabilities of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in Benin. Burkina Faso was party to these operations with 60 soldiers.

In 1997, the United States, Great Britain and France recognised the need to co-ordinate their military cooperation programmes in Africa to optimize their operations (RECAMP). So, RECAMP is not competing with other programmes like ACOTA and is presented as a complementary programme.

The USA organised in Bama, a locality in West Burkina Faso, exercises of the ACOTA Peacekeeping Training. A Burkinabe battalion of 750 men was trained for future peacekeeping operations. *“The battalion was trained in small unit tactics, human rights, interaction with civil society, international law, and leadership during the seven weeks of training”* (US Embassy, Ouagadougou, 2007). At the end of these exercises, the American Ambassador, Jeanine Jackson recognised the high level of competency and professionalism of Burkina Faso’s Army in peacekeeping operations. The positive role played by Burkina Faso in peace operation in West Africa and in other African regions was also underlined. In regard to the success of this training, the US Ambassador promised other forms of cooperation:

“ACOTA training is only one part of the growing military cooperation between the United States and Burkina Faso. A few years ago, the International Military Education and Training, also known as the “IMET program”, was re-instated. This program provides training opportunities, which include English Language instruction at the U.S.-sponsored English Language Laboratory in Ouagadougou, and participation in various U.S. military training courses at military installations in the United States. Several officers have completed the Basic Officer Course for career fields such as Quartermaster, Ordnance, Engineering and Infantry. We look forward to continuing and expanding the training opportunities under the IMET program and hope to include courses for NCOs, and mid and senior-level officers. And, we anticipate additional forms of military cooperation in the future” (US Embassy, Ouagadougou, 2007).

It seems important to underline here the bad effect of these peace operations on internal stability.

At individual level, the soldiers who participate to peace operations become suddenly rich and

those who have not this opportunity remain poor. This creates two kinds of soldiers in national forces. It constitutes a threat for the army's unity. Peace operations become the new job for LDCs' armies. An open competition exists between soldiers and this complicates the choice of who must participate to these operations.

The other consequence is the fact that the soldiers who have participated in peace operations met difficulties to have their compensation. This provoked violent claim as the example of the contingents sent in Liberia who manifested with arms in 1999. In December 2006, young soldiers organised violent manifestations to claim best conditions of life. Even if this contestation had no link with peace operations, some observers have developed an interesting question: "*Did Burkina Faso create the situation of its own vulnerability by sending the best soldiers for peace operations?*" In conclusion, we can note that peace operations become lucrative trade for LDCs but could have negative impact on internal security and stability. It is important for each state to find the best tool to manage these operations with efficiency.

These actions for peace operations in Africa and in the world have become a major part of Burkina Faso's foreign policy. To consolidate its philosophy of peace, Burkina Faso's Government completed its peace operations missions with political mediations, such as in Togo and Ivory Coast's political unrest.

3.2. Mediations

Burkina Faso's foreign policy ranks good neighbour policy as a priority. This can contribute to prevent conflicts and to ensure regional security. In this view, Burkina Faso's Head of State, Blaise Compaoré developed many initiatives to promote peace in some neighbouring countries

which went through political crises. This point will focus on the mediations of Burkina Faso in Togo and in Ivory Coast.

3.2.1. Burkina Faso and the Togo's Peace Agreement (August 2006)

In 1993, Burkina Faso offered its first mediation in Togo. The Government led by President Eyadéma and the opposition political parties named “Collectif de l’Opposition Démocratique (COD)” called for President Blaise Compaoré’s mediation. His intervention helped the two sides to reach a compromise on issues of security and elections issues. The mediation resulted in an agreement designed: “*Accord de Ouagadougou sur la crise togolaise*” signed on July 11, 1993 (Kafando, 1996, p. 22). This agreement authorised Burkina Faso, with the support of France, to send military observers to control the presidential and legislative elections which were scheduled for July and September 1994. The personal efforts of Blaise Compaoré to help Togo get peace and reconciliation were acknowledged by Togolese political leaders. The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ouattara Fambaré Natchaba said that: “*The Togolese People recognise President Compaoré and his government’s commitment for peace in Togo. Ouagadougou has opened the doors of hope*” (Kafando, 1996, p. 22). This mediation in Togo contributed to prepare future interventions.

The success of the first mediation became an added value for Burkina Faso. With the recent political conflict subsequent to the death of President Eyadéma on February 5, 2005, the young President Faure, the son of the late, called for Blaise Compaoré’s services to restore peace in Togo. On February 14, 2005, Faure Eyadéma sent envoys to Blaise Compaoré who agreed to

mediate for reasons of strategy and real politik reasons. First, The Head of State of Burkina Faso undertook this mediation to improve Burkina Faso's image in West Africa. His regime was pointed as a support for rebellions in Liberia and Sierra Leone. The late President Eyadéma of Togo also fingered Burkina Faso as a support for his internal enemies. At the same time, Blaise Compaoré was seen as a support for the rebellion in Ivory Coast. Second, with the conflict in Ivory Coast, Burkina Faso's economy had difficulties because of the problems of import and export from Ivory Coast's ports. Togo could be a new door for Burkina Faso's trade.

"France has no friends, it only has interests", said the late Head of State, Charles de Gaulle. Adjusting national to regional interests are the endless job of diplomats and political leaders. The strategic choice of Burkina Faso in regard to Togo's political crises shows the complexity of LDC's foreign policy. As a landlocked country, integration and good neighbour policies are two main objectives. After his election as Togo's Head of State, Faure Eyadéma showed his gratitude to President Blaise Compaoré for his peace actions in Togo. In August, 2006, Burkina Faso conducted the Inter Togolese dialogue for peace with success. On July 25, 2006, the Togolese protagonists called for President Blaise Compaoré's middlemanship who invited them for negotiations in Ouagadougou.

Through consultations and negotiations with the participation of the European Union and ECOWAS' representatives as observers, the Head of State of Burkina Faso helped the parties to come to an agreement called *"Dialogue Inter-Togolais : Accord Politique Global"* (Inter-Togolese Dialogue: Global Political Agreement) on August 19, 2006 (*Protocole d'accord du dialogue politique : le texte en intégralité*). The main points of the agreement were about electoral process, security and human rights aspects, democracy and good governance promotion

and a new united government with the different political actors. This result was seen as a success of Burkina Faso's diplomatic actions. President Blaise Compaoré has become a mediator of reference in West Africa.

3.2.2. Burkina Faso and Peace Agreement of Côte d'Ivoire (March 2006)

With its strong faith in good neighbouring relations and in regard to its historical solidarity with Côte d'Ivoire⁵, Burkina Faso condemned the attempt of *Coup d'Etat* on September 19, 2002. It called the protagonists to dialogue and to negotiate for the best resolution of the crises. It supported all the agreements signed in the peace process of Ivory Coast from Linas-Marcoussis to Pretoria via Accra.

Burkina Faso exercised the presidency of ECOWAS on January 2007 and Blaise Compaoré is again called to facilitate for the direct dialogue between Laurent Gbagbo, the Head of State of Côte d'Ivoire and Guillaume Soro, the leader of Ivorian rebellion called "*New Forces*". The consultations started in Ouagadougou in February 2007. They considered the proposals made by the resolution 1721 (2006) of the United Nations Security Council on November 1, 2006. An agreement was signed on March 4, 2007 in Ouagadougou. Regional and international communities expressed their satisfaction. Its main points are the necessity to build peace and stability, to promote security, to fight against unemployment and poverty, to restore the State's authority and to guarantee the free flow of people and goods in Côte d'Ivoire. The parties are convinced that the consolidation of peace and national reconciliation and the political and

institutional normalisation can only be achieved through endless dialogue and mutual confidence (*Dialogue direct inter-ivoiriens. L'Accord politique de Ouagadougou*).

The agreement signed in Ouagadougou predicted two mechanisms to implement the measures. The first tool is the Permanent Framework of Dialogue (Cadre Permanent de Concertation). It is an organ of alarm and permanent dialogue to reinforce the national cohesion. Its members are:

- Laurent Gbagbo, Head of State,
- Guillaume Soro, Leader of the “New Forces”
- Alassane Dramane Ouattara, Opposition political leader,
- Henri Konan Bédié, Opposition political leader,
- Blaise Compaoré, Head of State of Burkina Faso, President of ECOWAS, Facilitator.

The second instrument is the Evaluation and Accompaniment Committee.

Its role is to evaluate and to make suggestions to implement measures contained in the agreement. The Facilitator or his representative is the president of this Committee. The agreement was recognised by the United Nations. A roadmap was established by the parties and the Facilitator. Nowadays, this agreement permits the formation of a government of reconciliation with Guillaume Soro as Prime Minister and many other ministers issued from opposition parties. The demilitarisation process has also started and the United Nations (United Nations Mission in Côte d'Ivoire) and France's Licorne Forces play the role of monitoring the agreement.

⁵ More than 4 millions of Burkinabè live in Ivory Coast for many years due of France's colonial regime which had

To conclude, it is necessary to note the importance of international support for the peace process in Ivory Coast as indicated by Djibrill Y. Bassolé, Minister for National Security of Burkina Faso, when he said on behalf of Blaise Compaoré, the Facilitator of the Ouagadougou Agreement:

“The decision of the two parties to implement their commitments under the Agreement has made a major contribution to relaxing the political environment in Côte d’Ivoire” but the United Nations must *“provide its consistent support to the parties and to facilitation – both technically and financially – and do this through the end of the crisis”* (United Nations).

Here, I can note that the regional conjuncture has an impact on Burkina Faso’s actions for peace. For examples, the end of the civil war in Liberia, the emergence of a new regime in Togo and the new dynamic of American policy toward Burkina Faso influenced positively its actions for peace in Africa and in the world.

The lack of military equipment limits the intervention of Burkina Faso. There is also a competition between sub-regional states to participate in peace operations. This is another limit. It seems necessary to develop more synergy among West African states through common sub-regional instrument of intervention. But this is very difficult to achieve this because of the selfishness of each state which would like to promote its own image by participating in peace operations. It is also useful for developed countries to coordinate their supports to peace operations undertaken by LDCs by creating a common fund and common training institutions with the fusion of RECAMP of France, ACOTA of USA and ACRI (African Crises Response Initiative) of Great Britain.

encouraged the implantation of Burkinabè in Ivory Coast to develop this country through coffee and cacao exploitation. This creates special relations between Burkina Faso and Ivory Coast.

For some observers, this new commitments of President Compaoré for peace is justified by his need to cover his support to regional rebellions like in Liberia and Côte d'Ivoire. Burkina Faso is convinced that without peace and dynamic integration there is no sustainable development.

Chapter 4. The challenges of development and integration

As a landlocked country, Burkina Faso's concept of "*Diplomacy of development*" considers peace and security as a priority. Development is the other face of this kind of diplomacy which cannot be achieved without a dynamic process of integration.

4.1. Quiet diplomacy and development

Burkina Faso had developed special relations with Ivory Coast for geographical and historical reasons.

4.1.1. Burkina Faso and Côte d'Ivoire: Strong commonality of values

Burkina Faso and Côte d'Ivoire shared the same political and trade space in West Africa before the colonial period. At the end of the nineteenth century, France occupied the territories of Upper Volta (Burkina Faso) and Côte d'Ivoire. It experienced the cultivation of coffee and cocoa in

Ivory Coast. The colony of Upper Volta⁶ was created in 1919. In 1932, France divided Upper Volta and incorporated the main part into Côte d'Ivoire. Upper Volta's people were considered as laborious workers and harnessed in the plantations in Ivory Coast. From the end of Upper Volta to its reinstatement in 1947, many people were sent to Côte d'Ivoire by the colonial power for the purpose of forced labour.

After the colonial period, the Governments of Côte d'Ivoire and Upper Volta continued to encourage the migration of Burkina Faso's people to Côte d'Ivoire. In regard to the importance of the relations between Burkina Faso and Côte d'Ivoire, the authorities of the two countries decided to create a High Joint Commission in 1994 and its first session took place in April 1997 in Abidjan (Procès-Verbal, Abidjan, 4 juillet 1994 et Mémorandum de la Commission Mixte Ivoir-Burkinabè, juillet 1997, p. 1).

To underline the specific relations between Burkina Faso and Côte d'Ivoire, I review the main sectors through their discussions during the second session of the High Joint Commission in Ouagadougou on July 1999, before the civil war broke out in Côte d'Ivoire in 2002 (Procès - Verbal, Ouagadougou, 26 juillet 1999). This meeting was headed by the Prime Ministers of the two countries. These high representations indicated the expressed the brotherliness between two countries.

The main fields of these discussions were:

- 1) Administration. Under this topic, the following points could be cited: the materialisation of the common frontier, the regular meetings between the frontier

⁶ Before 1984, Burkina Faso name was Upper Volta, given by France in the regard to the Volta Rivers which go

authorities of the two countries, the twinning-cooperation between Burkina be and Ivorian cities, the security aspects, mainly the fight against cross-border criminality, the free movement of people and goods in accordance with ECOWAS's agreements and the question of the permit of residence. About this permit, the Côte d'Ivoire's delegation to the second session of the High Joint Commission justified that it was an instrument to regulate the immigration flow. It added that this immigration had bad impact on security. This reason is comparable to what had led developed countries to take steps to stop African immigration in Europe. West African States denounced this Ivorian policy which was seen as a xenophobic policy. From these measures were born ideas like the concept of "Ivorignity" (Ivoirité). It refers to the fact of distinguishing Ivorians from non Ivorians and to consider the second group as people without rights to profit from Ivory Coast's development products. The war which started in 2002 was due to the consideration of the northern Ivorians as non Ivorians. Actually this was aimed at the opposition leader, former Prime Minister, Alassane Dramane Ouattara, who was accused of being Burkinabè.

Here, I can note that even if the first President of Ivory Coast, Félix Houphouet Boigny, had well managed the diversity of Ivorian people, he had not however a good perception of integration process. About West African integration, he declared that Côte d'Ivoire can not be the "*Cow of milk*" of the other States of the region. Houphouet Boigny refused to use Côte d'Ivoire economic potentialities to support the development of the other countries, mainly landlocked countries as Burkina Faso, Mali and Niger. The Ivorians, with the economic crises in the years 80s and 90s, considered landlocked countries' citizens as invaders. The main sectors of Ivorian economy were

through the country.

occupied by strangers, mainly by the Burkinabè. This is a source of conflicts between Ivorians and Burkinabè. Immigration became a major problem in Côte d'Ivoire. Other West African populations met similar problem as African and Asian migrants in Europe. Nicolas Sarkozy, the new Head of State of France, has invented the concept of "*chosen immigration*". He expresses the right of France to choose its migrants in accordance with their skills to contribute to build the "*House France*".

2) Justice. The two Parties were satisfied with the ratification of the Convention of cooperation and of mutual aid in the field of justice field signed in Yamoussokro on February 20, 1997. The significant act in this domain was the arrest of Sia Popo, a big-time bandit who had stolen much money in the WAEMU's bank in Côte d'Ivoire. He was taken back to Ivorian police in accordance with the Convention between the two countries (BBC).

3) Education and research. The discussions concerned the three levels of the educational system (primary, secondary and university). The main points on the agenda were to share experiences, to provide for pupils and students' accommodation. This was an important point for Burkina Faso because of the great number of its young expatriates attending school and universities in Côte d'Ivoire. For example, in 1994, 140 students of Burkina Faso applied for rooms in the hall of residence of Ivorian universities granted. Only 10 of them had received positive response from the authorities (Procès-Verbal Abidjan, 4 juillet 1994, p. 8). The lack of access for Burkinabè students to Ivorian universities and the recent war obliged many students to come back in Burkina Faso for their studies. This fact caused the inadequacy of infrastructure and the reduction of scholarships offered by the State. Another phenomenon due to this situation is the

emergence of private universities to receive students who cannot be welcomed in public universities.

4) Environment and Forest. The Parties were ready to sign an agreement in this field to preserve biodiversity and the ecosystem in their spaces through exchanges of experience.

5) Women promotion. This point concerned exchanges between women's associations, the sharing of views about Beijing agreements on women promotion, the women's participation in exhibitions and fairs organised in the two countries. About women promotion, Burkina Faso has firmly committed itself in the respect and protection of women rights. It has become the leader in women's issues in Africa and its leadership was very important during the adoption of the agreement on women rights in addition to human rights agreement by the African Union. In this respect, its international centre for girls and women's education, created in 2001, has become an instrument of African Union in 2006.

6) Social promotion and family issues. For Burkina Faso, which has more than three millions of its inhabitants in Côte d'Ivoire, this question is very important. Many families are both Ivorian and Burkinabè because of unions in which one of the couple is Ivorian and the other Burkinabè. So, it is very necessary to promote and protect these families.

7) Employment and social security. Many workers in Côte d'Ivoire are Burkinabè. At the end of their services, they join their home country. They meet difficulties to obtain their pensions. Burkina Faso's delegation called for the respect of the agreements signed by the two Parties. This question was very important and Burkina Faso considered it as an obligation to protect its citizens and their moral and material interests in Côte d'Ivoire. Today, more than 4 million Burkinabè live in Côte d'Ivoire. Almost only family in

Burkina Faso has a member working in this neighbouring country. In the mind of many Burkinabè, Côte d'Ivoire and Burkina Faso make one country and one people.

8) Culture. The two Parties would like to strengthen their cultural cooperation. This was an instrument of reciprocal discovery of the two people and it encouraged the integration process. In this regard, Burkina Faso organises the “Day of communities” every year. This initiative aims at consolidating the social integration of West African people living in Burkina Faso. This day contributes to the cultural promotion of all the communities and the recognition of their identities. It bears witness to the hospitality offered by Burkina Faso to other communities ((Ministère des Affaires Etrangères et de la Coopération Régionale, 2006, p. 18).

9) Defense. Military cooperation through training was an important point. The two countries invited their respective institutions leaders to adopt a common supervision of their training. This creates cohesion and common spirit between the two armies. It can also contribute to the creation of regional force for peacekeeping or security promotion.

10) Health. The two countries, united by the geographical situation, shared common health problems. They decided together to fight against diseases like polio, meningitis, malaria, etc. Diseases have no regards for frontiers and the combat must be synergic.

11) Transport and infrastructures. The two Parties would like to have an agreement on road transports. They expressed their satisfaction about the annual meeting of Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, Mali and Niger. The road network in this region is very important for the integration process and States' development. Difficulties concerning air transport were also discussed.

12) Energy. Between the two countries, there is an electrical interconnection. Côte d'Ivoire provides the main part of the electricity used in Burkina Faso. This is very strategic for these countries.

13) Mineral resources and crude oil. This concerns exchanges about the exploitation of mineral resources and the distribution of crude oil. Burkina Faso, a landlocked country, must use the port of Abidjan to import its fuel. This is also very strategic and vital because the main part of its oil imported via Abidjan.

14) Water. The management of common cross-border waters, like rivers, is essential. The Parties decided to discuss this point in regional perspective.

15) Tourism and handicraft. The exchanges in this field concerned the reciprocal invitation and participation in the SIAO (Ouagadougou international Arts and crafts fair) in Burkina Faso and similar fairs in Côte d'Ivoire. This is an opportunity to share the creative opportunities of each country.

16) Posts. Postal services were also financial institutions used by middle educated people. Many Burkinabè farmers living in Côte d'Ivoire sent much money through postal services. So, the two Parties noted the necessity to find solutions which can ease these transfers. Burkina Faso has many strategic and economic interests in Côte d'Ivoire more than another neighbouring country. For example, €68 million was sent in Burkina Faso by the Burkinabè living in Côte d'Ivoire in 2002.

17) Trade. Côte d'Ivoire is the first trade partner of Burkina Faso. An agreement in this field was signed in 1996. The Parties would like to revise it in regard to new evolutions. An agreement will also be signed between the Association for the Promotion of Exportations of Ivory Coast and the National Office of External Trade of Burkina Faso. These initiatives could contribute to intensify their cooperation in matters of investment

and between their chambers of trade. About trade issues, Côte d'Ivoire is the most important partner of Burkina Faso in West Africa. Within WAEMU, Côte d'Ivoire remains the main trade partner of Burkina Faso with more than 63 per cent of exchanges in the zone in 2002. *“This country offered to Burkina Faso 60 % of its import. Its agricultural products like cotton were also exported by Abidjan”*, said Benoît Ouattara, Burkinabè Minister of trade in 2002. Because of the war in Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana and Togo become visible partners of Burkina Faso (Ministère du Commerce de la promotion de l'entreprise et de l'artisanat, 2006, p. 64 et 2). The trade authorities recognise the difficulties to collect data in times. So, we can not illustrate our analysis with more statistics. But we can add that the full economic potential between Côte d'Ivoire and Burkina Faso is not yet achieved. We can conclude that Côte d'Ivoire has other landlocked countries which are important partners than Burkina Faso. It has more choices for its exchanges. It is not the case of Burkina Faso.

18) Agriculture and breeding. The first point concerns agricultural products: bean, tomato, bananas, fish, coco nuts, cereals, etc. The two Parties are ready to encourage the reinforcement and the enlargement of exchanges in this field. The second part concerned the rearing products. The Parties called for the reduction of tariffs and other constraints. How to manage the transhumance is another preoccupation for the Parties. They decided to organise consultations. This is also a cross-border issue and the actors don't know frontiers. They would like to move and come through frontiers without administrative difficulties. In their mind, the frontiers are artificial and don't concern their activities. Sometimes, they have many nationalities and when they go into another country, they show their appropriate identity. The authorities know these facts and try to promote integration process.

Other issues were also discussed. With these many fields of cooperation between Burkina Faso and Côte d'Ivoire, we conclude with the Ivorian Ambassador in Ouagadougou that the relations between the two States could be compared to wedlocks never to be broken. This explains the fact that with the war in Côte d'Ivoire and its difficulties, Burkina Faso continues to entertain good relations with this country in order to preserve their common interests. Burkina Faso can not live without Côte d'Ivoire and *vice versa*.

It is obvious that with the civil war in this country, Burkina Faso can not be indifferent. France has only 8, 000 citizens in this country and has sent its army to protect them. Burkina Faso with more people but with less means has called for peace and offered its mediation. It organised an operation called "*Opération Bayiri*" or "*Coming back to homeland Operation*" which enabled more than 15,000 people to return in Burkina Faso. The Government had mobilised more than €10,000 to finance this operation.

During the third session (Troisième session de la Grande Commission Mixte Ivoir-burkinabè, 16 juillet 2004) of the High Joint Commission in Abidjan on July 16, 2004, the Parties, aware of the necessity to reinforce their relations of good neighbouring and of cooperation and considering the friendship and the brotherhood between the two States, decided to discuss firmly on many issues. At the beginning of their discussions, they recognised the interdependence between the two countries and have reaffirmed their strong will to contribute together to restore a atmosphere of confidence for peaceful cohabitation of their people. In this view, they decided to create secure economic corridors to ease exchanges of goods between the two countries.

The Parties expressed their strong need to activate their cooperation in fields as human rights, education and trainings, scientific search, environment, water and forests, transports and economical infrastructures, health, employment, culture, energy, agriculture...

About the war in Côte d'Ivoire, Burkina Faso's delegation expressed its satisfaction in regard to the deployment of United Nations force which could help to secure Côte d'Ivoire and the region. The two Parties decided to avoid harbouring on their territories of warring factions. They decided also to reinforce and intensify their cooperation in security and defense matters. They committed themselves to collaborate for the success of the disarmament, demobilization and integration process in Ivory Coast. They reiterate their commitment to the respect of ECOWAS' protocols on conflicts management, mutual assistance in defense matters, free flow of persons and goods, rights of residence and settlement. They called for the reinforcement of the security of Burkinabè in Côte d'Ivoire and Ivorians in Burkina Faso. All these facts justify why the agreement signed in Ouagadougou on March 4, 2007, through the mediation of Blaise Compaoré, could have more results than the others.

The authorities of Burkina Faso and of Côte d'Ivoire must promote trust and create a new dynamic in the region. For this, the two countries must become the driving force of West African process of integration as France and Germany in the European Union. If the relations between Burkina Faso and Côte d'Ivoire are existential, we should say that the relations between Burkina Faso and Taiwan are special.

4.1.2. Burkina Faso and Taiwan: Marriage of interests

Between Burkina Faso and Taiwan, the relations are strong and realistic. For some observers, this kind of relations could be called “*diplomacy of convenience*” which helps Burkina Faso to benefit many financial supports from Taiwan for its development. Since 1965, Taiwan has sent agricultural technical missions to Burkina Faso to promote paddy rice cooperation projects (Chen, 2005). Indeed, 1,260 acres of paddy rice in *La Vallée du Kou*, near Bobo-Dioulasso, the second city of Burkina Faso, have been reclaimed. Farmers have grown paddy rice with Taiwan technology for more than 30 years. Today, the income of local farmers is increasing. Their living standards are rising.

Soon after, Taiwan’s technical mission started the Bagré⁷ Reclamation Area Project in 1994. Reclamation and irrigation of 1,000 acres of farmland were completed in five years. An average of five tons of rice is now produced per hectare annually. There are two harvests each year. In addition, the reclaimed area is increasing every year. A desert of scorching sand turned into thriving green lands. Not only has the income of farmers grown, but also businesses in peripheral areas have also expanded, thus creating many job opportunities for local people. At the UN Earth Summit in 2003, the French press reported on the success story of Bagré Reclamation Area, and acclaimed it as an instance of sustainable development. This honour is the result of efforts undertaken together by Taiwan and Burkina Faso.

Besides paddy rice farming, Taiwan’s technical missions currently promote various cooperative projects such as the Fish Breeding Project in the Bagré Reclamation Area, with the hope that more tilapias can be bred in a large quantity so as to increase the protein intake of Burkinabè and strengthen them physically.

⁷ Bagré is big dam for agricultural reclamation. Taiwan experienced the cultivation of rice.

In addition to agricultural cooperation, Taiwan already sent medical missions to Koudougou in 1994. These missions provided medical services with good medical skills, and assisted Burkina Faso to improve the practice of medicine and public health with medical cooperation and transfers of technology.

Transfer of competence is another area of assistance that Taiwan provides. Taiwan regularly holds seminars to the benefit of industry workforce, government officers and academia. The topics discussed range from agriculture and health, to trade and industrial development. In recent years, Taiwan has provided scholarships to its allies students as Burkina Faso to allow them to study at in Taiwan, earning Masters and doctoral degrees. *“We hope that through these human-resource development projects, friends from our allies who wish to study in Taiwan will introduce the seeds of new knowledge and technology, and enable the Taiwan experience to flourish in their lands”*, said Taiwanese Minister.

Many projects are conducted by Taiwanese Cooperation in Burkina Faso. Two categories of interventions can be identified: the projects of the national Commitments at the Head of State’s manifesto in February 1994 and projects initiated by Taiwanese Embassy (Coopération (Ambassade de la République de Chine au Burkina Faso, 2006).

In the first rubric, Taiwan contributed to:

- 1) The protection of the environment and the fight against deforestation through the “Earth Front”, trees plantation project, the “One school, one grove” (every school is called to create a grove in its ground like an artificial forest).

- 2) The increase of agro-pastoral production through the “National unit of agricultural modernisation”, the “rainfed rice farming”, etc.
- 3) The organisation and the support to informal sector and to handicraft through the “Support Fund for informal sector”.
- 4) The development of the network of small and medium sized companies through the “Support Fund to Job promotion”.
- 5) The support to women’s activities through the “Support Fund for women remunerative activities”, the “Centre of production and training for young girls”, etc.
- 6) The development of Sports and cultural activities through “Centres for Health and social promotion” and the “One Village, one Team of sport”, etc.

About the second category of projects, we can note:

- The projects of agricultural production of Bagré’s dam;
- The projects of the computerization of the Health and Foreign Affairs ministries;
- The projects of building many infrastructures.

It is interesting to underline the important intervention of Taiwan in training and educational sector in Burkina Faso. What have been already achieved are:

- The offer of two programmes of studies in Taiwan;
- The Chinese learning courses organised at Institute of Diplomacy and International Relations of Ouagadougou (IDRI) from 2005 for regular students and public auditors.

- The organisation of vocational seminars and workshops in Taiwan with more than 20 Burkinabè per year.

Taiwan has developed a programme to raise vocational skills in Burkina Faso. This programme will contribute to build four vocational high schools and thirteen vocational training centers.

Another specific intervention of Taiwan is the programme of the reduction of the digital gap through the project of achievement of a “Convergent Network of Voice and Data of the public service”.

Burkina Faso, in international forums, to express its gratitude calls for Taiwan’s integration in the international system as a sovereign State. *“In the new United Nations Organisation that we call strongly, the situation of the Republic of China (Taiwan) must find a just and acceptable solution. It is necessary for this country, which cooperates with the most important part of the international community and contributes significantly to build the universal civilisation, to integrate the United Nations Organisation”*, indicated Blaise Compaoré (2004b), the Head of State of Burkina Faso. The UNO must avoid exclusions like the one concerning the Republic of China (Taiwan), which has lasted for more than 30 years. With its 23 millions inhabitants, this country is an important stakeholder in the world, said President Blaise Compaoré (2003b). With its high technology and its dynamic democracy, Taiwan makes a reference as a developed country, of a reference success story in Asia and in the world.

“During the solemn instant, I restate, on behalf of Burkina Faso’s Government and People, our strong support to the hard and legitimate combat that leads your country

to show at the international community the needs of peace, equity and justice of the 23 million citizens of Taiwan”, added Blaise Compaoré (2006a).

Taiwan contributes significantly to the edification of the world. Burkina Faso will work its efforts to support the just and legitimate will of Taiwan to reintegrate the United Nations Organisation and its specialized agencies.

Burkina Faso shares with Taiwan foundational values like freedom, justice and respect of human dignity.

In his address to the diplomatic corps on the occasion of the New Year Greetings, Blaise Compaoré confirms its friendship with Taiwan:

“My country, faithful to its vision of an open international community in which all people express and share their talents and their cultures, call for the reintegration of the Republic of China (Taiwan) in the United Nations System. Reason and equity commend that this country, a great economic and financial power, which is already member of the World Trade Organisation, participates fully in the world life” (2003a).

Burkina Faso is a defender of Taiwan’s independence in the world. The symbolic political action is rewarded by Taiwan through its support to Burkina Faso’s sustainable development with fewer conditions attached.

In its memorandum for the tenth meeting of Burkina Faso’s Ambassadors and General Consuls, the only point discussed in the rubric of bilateral cooperation was the specific dimension of the partnership between Burkina Faso and Taiwan. A special mention was done to these relations in regard to the great contribution of Taiwan to the promotion of development and to the fight against poverty undertaken by Burkina Faso. Taiwan is the first partner of the National

Commitments of the Head of State of Burkina Faso. In November 2006, Taiwan promised to assist Burkina Faso development process with \$10 million.

Even if the Government of Burkina Faso has chosen to cooperate with Taiwan, some civil society's organisations, mainly traders and businessmen associations, call for the establishment of diplomatic relations with People Republic of China (PRC), a new great trade power. Senegal and Chad have already chosen PRC, a major international actor which could influence the world trade evolution. PRC manifested its need to cooperate with Burkina Faso through trade missions. In October 2006, a trade mission of PRC visited Burkina Faso with the support of AREVA, France's nuclear multinational society. This mission gained an audience with the President of Burkina Faso's National Assembly, the President of Chamber of Trade and the General Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Even if this stay didn't express the abandonment of Taiwan, it justifies the complexity of Taiwan's statute: a "*sovereign State*" or a "*Province*" of PRC? If Burkina Faso has chosen the first option and benefits the dividends of "*Dollar diplomacy*", many African states cooperate with PRC and endorse its perception of the unity of China.

To complete bilateral efforts, Burkina Faso has undertaken multilateral actions through group diplomacy.

4.2. Group diplomacy for global development

Integration and common initiatives could help LDCs like Burkina Faso to promote its development.

4.2.1. Battle for integration

In face of globalization, the top authorities of Burkina Faso have the conviction that the integration is an important tool. Only regional common actions can help West African States be more present in international system. In this view, Burkina Faso respects regional commitments on free movement of people in the space of ECOWAS, free flow of goods and services, harmonisation of policies on specific sectors, application of common external tariff in West African Economic and Monetary Union (WAEMU), noted Léopold Bonkougou (2003, p. 67).

In the West African region, the integration process is gaining momentum. For example, WAEMU has created the Aid Fund for Integration in 2002. ECOWAS has also created the Regional Development Fund and the Regional Bank of Investments. Burkina Faso actively took part in these initiatives. Burkina Faso also respects the criteria of convergence of the multilateral monitoring of WAEMU. As well as, it has also integrated ECOWAS's different instruments of governance.

With its ideal geographical position in the middle of West Africa, Burkina Faso is developing many efforts to become a hub for economic services. The World Bank believes in this challenge and supports the country to diversify and increase its exportations, to improve the investment framework, to modernize economic infrastructure. These actions could enable to transform Burkina Faso into a regional venue for trade and services (Banque Mondiale/Burkina Faso, 2007, p.7).

Other organisations offer their support to the West African region. To illustrate this, let's take the example of Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs) negotiations between ECOWAS and European Union. The EPAs are considered as the expression of the privileged relations between European and African, Asian and Pacific (ACP) countries. These relations can contribute to achieve a veritable partnership and sustainable development in ACP countries.

“The EPAs are going to provide a new basis for trade and economic relations between ACP countries and the EU. The central common goal of the Economic Partnership Agreements is to fight poverty, promote sustainable development in the ACP partner countries and foster their fair share of the global economy”, concluded a joint Press Release of the German EU Presidency and the ACP (EU, 2007).

If West African Governments have agreed to engage their countries in EPAs process, Non Governmental Organizations call for caution and more accountability before taking commitments. It is also interesting to hear the position of the United Nations about EPAs:

“Poor and small developing countries can only exercise a sufficient collective negotiating power to facilitate reforms in policies that are critical to their development in the multilateral trading system (the WTO). Their first priority should indeed be to ensure the Doha Round deliver the promised benefits for development. Secondly, the priority for Sub-Saharan Africa would be to develop their own markets by regional integration. Given their limited negotiating capacity it is impossible for countries in Sub-Saharan African to play chess on three boards at the same time. Thus, the EU should consider not pushing Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs) until the Doha Development Round (DDR) is concluded. Moreover, EPAs must support development concerns and not force liberalization by requiring reciprocity. Poor countries should be allowed to implement trade reform at appropriate pace and

sequencing. Neither should EPAs be used to introduce new disciplines, which were dropped from the Doha Agenda”, said Eveline Herfkens, United Nations Executive Coordinator for the Millennium Development Goals Campaign (EPA watch).

In November 2006, the Burkina Faso has participated in the development days organised by European Union in Brussels. Blaise Compaoré, the Head of State, pronounced a speech on the governance in Burkina Faso. The personal commitment of President Blaise Compaoré for free and equitable international trade, with the perspective of protecting African farmers, mainly cotton producers, is quite note worthy.

4.2.2. Cotton Initiative at the WTO

Benin, Burkina Faso, Chad and Mali, LDCs, have undertaken a global initiative to denounce the inequitable trade of northern countries.

Cotton is the first product of export product in Benin, Burkina Faso, Chad and Mali. It yields 40 % of incomes of exportation for Benin and Burkina Faso, 30 % for Chad and Mali. The production amounts to more than 2 million tons. Fifteen million people rely on cotton farming for their livelihood. But with \$5 milliards of subsidies in rich countries, African producers experience a dramatic situation. The following words show the importance of cotton production in West Africa:

“In Burkina, the role of cotton is essential. We call it “white gold” (...). Cotton allows us to send our children to school, care for our health and buy agricultural tools, which allow us to have enough to eat and produce enough cereal stocks”, said Francois Traoré, President of the Association of African Cotton Producers (UN media IRIN, 2006).

Benin, Burkina Faso, Chad and Mali are united for the same battle of preserving their interest: better access to international market for their cotton and improvement of their producers' life. Through Cotton Initiative, this product becomes a specific issue in World Trade Organization

negotiations. Benin, Burkina Faso, Chad and Mali adopted protest diplomacy to express the dissent as regards to the subsidies gained by developed countries producers of cotton (USA, EU). They call for redress through compensations. WTO was considered by them as the institution which could contribute to find solutions to the issue of cotton (DOHA process).

On June 10, 2003, Blaise Compaoré addressed to the World Trade Organisation's Trade Negotiations Committee as the spokesman of the countries of the "*Cotton Initiative*" and call for equitable and transparent trade for West African Cotton Producers. He denounced strongly the subventions offered by developed countries to their producers.

In October 2006, Blaise Compaoré, the Head of State of Burkina Faso and leader of "*Cotton Initiative*", indicated to American farmers and congressmen in a videoconference organised by the World Bank that cotton was essential to alleviating poverty in Benin, Burkina Faso, Mali and Chad (UN agency IRIN, 2006). He denounced certain countries which have chosen to flout the rules of the international market". To support the "*Cotton Initiative*" process, Boni Yayi, Head of State of Benin, during a meeting in the White House, in December, asked US President George Bush to help West African farmers by stopping subsidies to American farmers (UN agency IRIN, 2006). Malian President Amadou Toumani Touré said in the foreword of a white paper on the subject that was launched last week in the Senegalese capital city Dakar: "*Some years ago, cotton for us was a source of wealth (...). But these days it has become our burden, a cause of poverty*" (UN Media IRIN, 2006).

In regard to the resistance of Western States, West African governments invited them to provide an emergency fund to compensate for depressed cotton prices and technical and financial

assistance for Africa's cotton sector. USA may consider increasing aid to boost the productivity of cotton for African farmers and improve their ability to trade. This perspective contributes to change the position of the states of African “*Cotton Initiative*” competitiveness.

These four African producers of cotton demonstrate a great paradox by cooperating with the USA, which are considered as an enemy. They become an ally of these LDCs by using soft diplomacy. They even offered them other advantages as the access to African Growth Opportunity Act (AGOA) and financial support for development through Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC) with its instrument of funding, the Millennium Challenge Account. To show its gratitude to the American efforts, Burkina Faso’s Government agreed biotechnological cotton (US Embassy, Ouagadougou, 2007).

In November 2006, Burkina Faso hosted a workshop on biotechnology and biotechnological cotton. This training, sponsored by the USAID West Africa Mission and INERA, the Institute of Environment and Agricultural Research of Burkina Faso, was meant for farmers, including workers, research staff, policy makers and journalists. Its overall goal was to provide scientific information and promote meaningful discussion over the benefits and risks of transgenic crops - especially biotechnological cotton – to stakeholders from nine countries in the region, including the four major cotton-producing countries. The participants visited two trial sites to convince themselves that this product is safe. The main question is what the farmers could benefit from this new technology imported from America if countries of the European Union are not ready to accept biotechnological products in their market? The public relations touting African cotton as the best one now cast doubt on this product as it relies on biotechnology methods which are controversial to some extent. Many observers find it hard to understand this stance from Burkina.

Why have the countries of the “*Cotton initiative*” chosen to collaborate strongly with the USA? Geopolitical reasons may be the answer:

From 1998 to 2003, Burkina Faso was accused by international community, mainly by the USA of violating human rights and being a support for rebellions in the sub-region and operating the traffic of precious metal (diamond). In 2004, the USA revised its position and Burkina Faso became a “*good pupil*” and benefited of many services from America.

Mali faces a touaregh rebellion in the north of the country. The USA appear to be an ideal ally to win the battle against this rebellion through its “*war against terror*”. The USA equipped and trained Malian army to succeed in battle. This is more important than cotton farmers’ incomes. Benin could be presented as a success story for democracy. It is trying to convince USA to finance its development program. With the enormous sums proposed by USA, Benin cannot choose an aggressive position at the WTO negotiations.

Chad has also problems of security. An enemy is at its doors: its internal rebels supported by Sudan. Chad has the same enemy as the USA: Sudan. The USA become an ideal partner for Chad in its war against its rebels. The USA consider Sudan as their enemy because of the “*Genocide*” perpetrated in Darfur perpetrated by the Sudanese authorities. This may relegate the needs of farmers to the background.

I think that the best solution to the issue of cotton is to build a dynamic industry in African countries to process raw cotton into final products with added values and also to increase the capacities of internal consumption. These States must encourage these efforts which have cultural

dimensions. The issue of the cotton may find solution in more independence for African productions.

Finally, with little resource, LDCs chose group diplomacy to give more visibility to their actions. They use protest diplomacy to express their needs. But in face of world powers, LDCs adopt quiet diplomacy. After an observation of the evolution of the “Cotton Initiative”, I can assert that LDCs don’t have a firm position concerning important issues. Before powerful and developed countries, LDCs often abandon their rigidity and adopt compromising positions which give them immediate benefits. They understand that international relations are guided by interests and are no place for moral values.

Conclusion

*West African LDCs in international system: convergences in principles,
divergences in actions*

After analysing Burkina Faso's diplomacy of development oriented towards peace and development, it seems useful to study West African LDCs' convergences and divergences in their international interaction. The case of Burkina Faso has demonstrated the importance of peace and development for West African countries. Like Burkina Faso, the other countries of the region favour peace and development in their foreign policies.

About peace promotion, nowadays, the West African main contributors of troops for UN peacekeeping operations are Ghana (3406 persons), Senegal (2538 persons), Niger (613 persons), Togo (353 persons), Mali (213 persons) and Burkina Faso (161). They also act through ad hoc initiatives and regional missions by sending soldiers to keep peace. These operations constitute an act of public relations for West African States. But even if their objectives are common, these countries are not ready to coordinate their actions. Each State would like to use its participation in the operations to promote its international image and to preserve its personal interests. Ambassador Amadou Diop said that Senegal has always showed a positive image to the world. (...). This international positive influence has given Senegal the 12th place on the list of the 191 contributors to peacekeeping operations in the world. The Senegalese General Babacar Gaye, replaced his fellow countryman General Mountaga Diallo at the command of the UN mission in DRC (Diop, A. 2006, p. 191).

An open leadership conflict exists between the different Heads of State. Each Head of State would like to appear as the major peacemaker. For this perspective, there are conflicts of leadership between West African Heads of State. This fact is visible in conflicts management. Nigeria, with its strong economy and army, intervened in the region to restore peace. It sent its forces to Liberia, Sierra Leone and Côte d'Ivoire to help solve crises in these countries.

Sometimes, on the operation sites, West African States manifested their leadership. Nigeria lets out its superiority in numbers and Senegal, with soft power, demonstrated its best skills in peacekeeping operations because of the high level of its officers. In regard to their performances, these two countries expressed their desire to become a permanent member of the UN Security Council. Burkina Faso, as a pupil in this field, shows its professionalism and its discipline to benefit of the attention of the international community.

Nigeria used its power to play a major role by offering its good offices in Togo, in Côte d'Ivoire and in Sudan, with Darfur's humanitarian crises. Other West African States like Burkina Faso, Senegal and Togo took initiatives in mediation process. We have noted above the actions of Burkina Faso in Togo and Côte d'Ivoire. It is interesting to note here the conflict of leadership between the late Togolese President Eyadéma and the Senegalese one, Abdoulaye Wade at the start of Ivorian crises. Senegalese authorities didn't comprehend the exclusion of Senegal in the ECOWAS' "Contact group" which must undertake mediation in Ivory Coast. This seemed unacceptable given the fact that Senegal was in charge of presiding ECOWAS, noted Senegalese Minister of Foreign Affairs (AFP). Senegal would like the recognition of its diplomatic efforts which enabled the signature of an agreement on cease fire between North rebellion and Ivorian Government. Togo refused this fact and indicated that the agreement was the result the mediation of the contact group.

As regards to mediation, we can also note that there is a convergence in the objectives but the national selfishness of West African States handicap any synergy. In addition, the former colonial power, France, has a significant influence on West African international interaction. About Ivorian peace process, it said that South Africa was not an ideal mediator and a West

African francophone country, which has the same culture as Côte d'Ivoire, was called to conduct the mediation. First, the African Union chose Olesegun Obasanjo, the Head of State of Nigeria and second, Denis Sassou Nguesso, the Head of State of Republic of Congo. These two mediators didn't obtain significant results. The hopeful agreement was signed in Ouagadougou with the strong support of France which sent the specialist of African affairs at Elysée, France's Head of State's office, to express its availability to help the agreement concluded in Ouagadougou. This agreement recognised France efforts and gave new life to the Linas-Marcoussis agreement signed in January 2003 in Paris. The agreement of Ouagadougou is then the continuation of Linas-Marcoussis one.

It seems interesting here to show Senegalese experience in peace promotion. Senegal has a long tradition of peace promotion in regard to its commitments for non interference in the internal affairs of other States, the peaceful settlement of conflicts and the peaceful coexistence. It wrote at the "*fronton*" of its diplomacy the following slogan: peace with neighbouring countries, peace for Africa, peace in the world. In 1975 and 1985, Senegal played a major role to end the war between Upper-Volta (Burkina Faso) and Mali. Senegal also contributed to solve Liberian civil war when it was the presidency in charge of ECOWAS. As indicated above, Senegal was also a major actor of peacekeeping operations. It sent its soldiers in Kuwait, Kosovo, Haiti, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Lebanon, Sinai, Liberia, Rwanda, DRC, Côte d'Ivoire, etc (Diop, A. 2006, p.p. 64-67). The reputation gained by Senegal inspired other States as Burkina Faso to undertake peace operations. As indicated above, in comparison to Senegal, Burkina Faso remains a pupil in peacekeeping operations.

To implement his peace policy, President Leopold Senghor used a double postulate: the respect of cardinal principles of international law, as reference, and the practice of dialogue, as instruments of action ((Diop, A. 2006, p. 95).

Good neighbourliness relations are promoted by West African countries. Burkina Faso, Mali, Niger, as landlocked countries, have the conviction that without a true integration they can not live. Their traders strongly depend on the access of the maritime ports of Benin, Togo, Ghana, Côte d'Ivoire, Guinea and Senegal. These coastal States are also workplaces for landlocked countries' workers. We have already noted the specific nature of the relations between Burkina Faso and Côte d'Ivoire. Similar relations exist between Mali and Côte d'Ivoire, Mali and Senegal, Niger and Benin, etc. This creates an interdependence and obliges West African countries, landlocked as well as coastal, to cooperate strongly.

Senegal has an original good neighbour policy explained by Ambassador Amadou Diop. Burkina Faso and the other countries of the sub-region have similar policies. Brotherhood and solidarity are the two values stated in Senegalese Constitution to achieve good neighbourliness. Senegal called for the respect of frontiers inherited from colonial power and the respect of territorial integrity, as written in the Charter of the Organisation of African Unity in 1963 and in the Act of African Union in 2001.

This is the precondition for good neighbourliness. About conflicts of frontiers, Senegal chose legal way and excluded violent solution. It acted so with Guinea, Mali, Mauritania, Bissau Guinea and Gambia. Peaceful settlement of conflicts is the creed of Senegalese diplomacy. It manifested a strong will to preserve its good neighbourliness. Senegal has always expressed

its solidarity to neighbouring countries in difficulties. The tradition of permanent dialogue between neighbours contributes to promote trust and peace. In this view, Senegalese phone diplomacy played an efficient role. Senegalese presidential plane was also used to convey neighbouring delegations as Gambian, Bissau Guinean and Cape Verde to international meetings.

After President Senghor, President Diouf continued the same policy of good neighbourliness. *“You know the particular interest that our country has always paid attention to its neighbourliness inspired by this wisdom which recommends each country to have the diplomacy of its geography”*, said Abdou Diouf during Senegalese Ambassadors and General Consuls’ conference in July 1999. Burkina Faso, in accordance with its geographical position, adopts the same policy of good neighbourhood. It paid more attention to its neighbours as Mali, Côte d’Ivoire, Togo, Benin and Ghana. Burkina Faso had known conflicts of frontiers with Mali and Benin. It was also accused by Togo and Côte d’Ivoire to support their respective opposition leaders or rebellions. With prudence, Burkina Faso’s authorities managed their relations to change these conflicts. They called regularly for peaceful settlement of conflicts and culture of brotherhood to preserve each State’s specific interests.

These policies of good neighbourliness between West African countries are breeding grounds for regional integration. West African integration was built on the respect of identities, cultures and languages (Diop, A. 2006, p. 131). ECOWAS and WAEMU were based on historical and geographical factors. Neighbourhood and interdependence determined the dynamic of West African integration. The conflict of leadership here concerned for the

sharing of responsibilities in the management of regional institutions, mainly between Côte d'Ivoire and Senegal which were seen as the drive force of WAEMU.

Through a meeting between these two important states, which should be discrete, President Senghor obtained the headquarters of the West African States' Bank in Dakar and the position of Governor of the bank was given to Côte d'Ivoire. If Senegal and Côte d'Ivoire have many advantages, the other countries host some institutions to express the spirit of commonality of values. WAEMU took the prevalence of equality of its member States in the life of the Union into account. It didn't consider some choices which called for a system of balance according to economical and financial importance of the states.

Presidents like Abdou Diouf of Senegal, Blaise Compaoré of Burkina Faso, Alpha Omar Konaré of Mali and Mahamane Ousmane of Niger defended the equality and the solidarity which federated and guaranteed the success of the integration process in a complementary spirit. This explained the fact that Ouagadougou hosted the head office of WAEMU (Bonkougou, 2003, p. 33). For President Diouf, WAEMU must constitute the pillar of West African integration, as Benelux played the same role for European construction, in regard to their similar objectives. The WAEMU must also take up the challenge of peace just like the European Union.

About diplomacy of development, Senegal was a pioneer. Its foreign policy has as creed "*serenity in proof, solidarity in accordance with the commitment and openness in the dialogue*". Diplomacy is a tool for peace, justice and prosperity.

West African States used quiet diplomacy. For example, in regard to the choice between People Republic of China (PRC) and Taiwan, West African countries do not have the same position. Each state, according to its specific interest has chosen one partner or the other. In WAEMU space, Senegal⁸, Burkina Faso, Niger, Gambia and Bissau Guinea were Taiwan's partners in 2000. Mali, Guinea, Benin, Ivory Coast, Mauritania and Cape Verde had diplomatic relations with the PRC.

These two approaches didn't have a bad impact on the integration process. And President Diouf joked with his compeers in theses terms:

“Alpha (President of Mali), indeed, Blaise (President of Burkina Faso) and me have achieved great development projects by taking up with Taiwan again, but you also has obtained important projects with the People Republic of China which has done the maximum to demonstrate the interest to cooperate with it, then we have all won for the great profit of our space” (Diop, A. 2006, p. 174).

The name of this consensual approach is “Development diplomacy” which is built on “State's interest”, an ambiguous and concept of foreign policy.

Finally, to reach a compromise through group diplomacy in West Africa, it seems necessary to reform the national and regional organisational system and reinforce synergic coordination. To be more effective and more efficient, national and regional diplomatic actions must be opened to other holders. If the main national organisational system remain the office of the Head of State, the office of the Prime Minister and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, it is necessary to pay much more attention to parliamentary diplomacy, to non States' international actions and to private initiatives. Public diplomacy and multistakeholders diplomacy with a major role for information and communication technologies like cyber

diplomacy must become the framework of national and regional management of international affairs. Then, synergic coordination of different actors could have a good impact for peace and development in the region and in the world. For example, to invite non state actors to participate to negotiations could provide more information. With this option, the different aspects of national needs could be taken account. This ease the implementation of agreements issued from these negotiations because of the comprehension and the commitments of all stakeholders.

This synergy implies common regional delegations for some international meetings. Common joint embassies could contribute to a rational management of resources with better results. Joint embassies could help LDCs to be more present in the world by sharing its responsibilities. This facilitates the emergence of common interests following by a representative mission of the region. To be defended by a member of the region seems more useful than by France's embassies, with colonial weight as it is always the case in many African countries. For main international issues, it is necessary to go beyond national and special interests and promote regional position. The authorities must entertain positive leadership to permit a tangible development of West Africa as a whole. The European Union could inspire West African States in their international actions.

The last but one main element for an effective and efficient regional diplomacy is the reinforcement of the capabilities of human resources. Diplomacy is a specific job. Both theory and practice are useful. To improve regional skills in diplomatic field, it is necessary to create regional diplomatic training centre and to prepare young diplomats graduating from

⁸ In 2004, Senegal decided to leave Taiwan for the PRC because of its ambitions to become a permanent member of

this centre by taking them on the regional institutions. The programme of the centre must take the regional specificities and the world evolution into account. Economy, society, culture, political and strategic affairs taught in this centre. After that, the WAEMU must open its doors to these young diplomats graduating from the centre to practice under the control of elder diplomats.

It is very important for diplomats to comprehend the missions, the objectives, the procedures and the daily life of their regional institutions. Burkina Faso's diplomatic institute had these missions. It was an ambitious centre for diplomatic training.

Each State must continue to reinforce the capabilities of its diplomats through trainings and practical accompaniment. Senegal has set an example as a success story ((Diop, A. 2006, p. p. 57, 58, 70, 71, 73, 74, 75, 184 and 191). Built on doctrine, the "*diplomatic machine of Senegal*", through its fine presence, its influence and its efficiency, is the faithful reflection of a school which produced great diplomats. This school considers theory and practice as inseparable things. After classical training, young diplomat are called to follow practical lessons with elders. Senegalese diplomacy takes other field of knowledge like economy and trade in regard to the complementarity of action and to the world constant evolution into account.

This dynamism of Senegal's diplomacy permitted the integration of Senegalese in many regional and international organisations. For example, Abdou Diouf at the International Francophone Organisation, Jacques Diouf at FAO, Ibrahima Fall at the United Nations, etc.

the UN Security Council in regard to the reform undertaken.

This contributes to improve Senegal's international image. Senegal is considered as a diplomatic power in Africa. It has expressed its need to participate in the management of international affairs through a permanent seat at the UN Security Council. It is obvious that with less resource, diplomacy has become Senegal's "*main raw material*". This is a good lesson for all LDCs whose development is 80% financed by international cooperation. Only a foreign policy considering diplomacy as a "*main raw material*" can help achieve effective development diplomacy. West African States, for a real integration, must together develop actions to preserve their main interest: regional security, regional prosperity and regional visible presence in Africa and in the world.

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