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REGIONAL COOPERATION IN AFRICA : THE WEST AFRICAN EXPERIENCE

Introduction

Regionalism and regional cooperation is mainly a post-World War II phenomenon which has been viewed by newly independent states of Asia, Africa as an extension of national efforts to re-build their economies ravaged during long colonial rule, to expedite the process of social, economic and political development and thereby to shield their nations from external dominations both in the political and economic fields. The African nations felt the need for regional cooperation more badly than any other part of the world because : (a) Africa was colonised by a number of European powers and the colonial period had left serious impact on the economic, social and political patterns of African societies, (b) although Africa had to adjust to the pressures imposed by alien rule, the African nations did not fuse with European colonialists to form a cultural synthesis. They retained most of their own social and cultural organizations and identities as distinct peoples. The inbuilt socio-cultural commonalities and shared goals of development provided the immediate impulse in favour of cooperation among the states. In little over two decades Africa has witnessed the most intensive proliferation of regional organizations designed to cater for one or other aspect of cooperative endeavours. The outcome of these has been varied ranging from stories of failure to near success. Regardless

of that, the fact remains that Africa's experimentation with regional cooperation is of immense academic value.

A study of regional cooperation in Africa, particularly in West Africa is important for a number of reasons; (a) In many respects Africa is at the heart of the Third World and its problems, prospects, hopes and aspirations are very much symptomatic of the Third World countries. In fact Africa may be considered as a barometer through which many aspects of the Third World problems and prospects of their solution, including the South-South cooperation, may be measured. (b) Africa was the forerunner of the idea of regional cooperation in the Third World, particularly in 1960s and 1970s. In early 1980s more than thirty regional organizations of various types were functioning in Africa and about twenty of them were established in 1970s. (c) West Africa, where more than a dozen of organizations of various types are functioning with the exclusive membership of the region is, in fact, regarded as a success story of regional cooperation in Africa¹. West African nations, particularly the francophone countries, have made a much headway in the direction of regional integration which may be a valuable experience for other parts of the world.

The present article is an attempt at studying the nature and characteristics of regional organizations in West Africa and to analyse the forces and factors of their success and failure. The paper is divided into two parts. Part one will deal with the regional cooperation in Africa in general, while part two will focus on West Africa in particular.

1. For details about regional cooperation in West Africa, see, J.P. Reuninger, *Multinational Cooperation for Development in West Africa*, (New York) 1979, p. 41 and Manfred Hedrich and Klaus von der Ropp, "Prospects for Regional Integration in West Africa", *Aussenpolitik* (Hamburg), English Edition, Vol. 29, 1978 pp. 87-101

I

Africa, a vast continent with plenty of resources but abject poverty and backwardness, witnessed a host of difficulties in post-independent era. The frontiers of most of the African states were drawn artificially by the colonial masters. Such demarcation of borders split ethnic communities causing great hardships and inconveniences. When adjoining states were not in peaceful terms the transitional groups were used for subversion or repression across the borders. So the African states felt the need to broaden intrastate linkage and to improve neighbourly relations through regional cooperation with a view to solving bilateral disputes and maintaining regional peace and stability. On the other hand, as most of the African states are poor and having shared problems of development always had the imperative to work closely and pool their resources together to speed up the pace of their socio-political and economic developments.

The process of regional cooperation in Africa started even long before political independence of the countries concerned. The Pan-African Congress which was held in Manchester, England in 1945 recommended the formation of African Union with a view to combatting the exploitation of natural resources from Africa and ensuring the participation of local people in the development activities of their countries.² But the regional organizations attempted during colonial era mainly reflected colonial divisions and could not make much success because of political dependence of the members.

The first African Conference of 8 independent states held in Ghana in 1958 dealt with issues related to total decolonization and unity and cooperation among the African states. In 1960, which is known to be the 'year of Africa', 16 independent states emerged.

2. Parbati K. Sircar and Masia Dibo Epie; "ECOWAS; The Economic Community of West African States," *Africa Quarterly* (New Delhi, India) Vol. XX, Nos. 1-2, p. 51

In 1960-1961 three separate groups were formed; (a) The Casablanca Group. (b) The Monrovia Group (later identified as Lagos Charter). (c) The Brazzaville Twelve (later associated within the Union of African States and Madagascar (UAM). In the Second African Conference held in 1963 in Addis Ababa the participants realized the importance of political integration and cohesion for socio-economic development of Africa and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) was established.

However, with the emergence of more and more independent African states with heterogenous socio-political and economic orientations the OAU remained only a loosely-knitted grouping and gradually a number of organizations of different types emerged. For example, four important attempts have been made to create Customs Union in Africa. (a) East African Community (EAC) (b) The Central African Customs and Economic Union (CACEU) (c) West African Economic Community (CEAO) and (d) The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). While the first three attempts were broadly along the colonial link the ECOWAS transcends such connections.

One important characteristic of regional cooperation in post colonial Africa is the mushroom growth of organizations many of whom were either renamed or dissolved when no progress was made in first few years. Thus the Union of African States and Madagascar (UAMCE) established in early 60s by the francophone African states ended up in 1965 as *Organization Commune Africaine et Mauricienne* (OCAM) intended to accelerate the economic, social, technical and cultural development of member states. The West African Economic Community (CEAO) for its part formed in 1974 was the successor of West African Customs Union (UDEAO) which was established in early 60s with a view to providing for free movement of goods within the Union and a common external tariff.³

3. *Ibid*

As early as in 1960s the African leaders recommended the creation of African Investment Bank and African Institute for Research and Training. The Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) also emphasised the need for a Joint Economic Research Committee to increase the volume of trade and to coordinate economic planning and policies of the African countries. The second conference of ECA recommended the establishment of an African Development Bank, African Council of Economic Cooperation and African Commercial Bank. It is true that many of those proposals were not materialised but it inspired in creating new institutions and taking further actions for regional integration in Africa.

Historically, East Africa was in an advanced stage in regional cooperation. The establishment of the East African Common Services Organization and the East African Income Tax Department and the introduction of common currency, East African Shilling, were among institutional arrangements promising the type of cooperation matching in certain important areas even the achievement of the EEC. However, the East African Community (EAC) was dissolved in 1977,⁴ before these arrangements could bear fruits.

Experiments with sub-regional cooperation within Africa are going on and new institutions for regional cooperation continue to emerge. For example, the Indian Ocean Commission (Seychelles, Mauritius, Madagascar, Comoros and Reunion) was established in November 1982 (Comoros and Reunion joined in 1985). In 1983 Burundi, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe and Zaire formed the Central African Economic Community (CEEAC). Another important organization, the Preferential Trade Area (PTA) comprising of 15 countries in East, Central and Southern Africa was formed in 1984 to facilitate and promote trade among member states in national

4. Klaus Freiherr von der Ropp, "Chances for an East African Federation?" *Aussenpolitik*, German Foreign Affairs Review, Vol. XXII, No. 2, pp. 221-235

currencies.⁵ One of the reasons for recent growth of regional organizations is that the widespread drought and famine seriously affected the African economy which appear to have convinced many African leaders that they could tackle the situation most effectively only by pooling their resources and efforts together. But most of the organizations are facing formidable difficulties mainly rooted in the socio-economic and political fabric of African societies. (a) Although one of the main objectives of regional cooperation is to promote trade among the member states, the intra-African trade is still very negligible (only about 3 percent).⁶ This is mainly because the African economies are mutually more competitive than complementary and most of the countries have to depend on countries

On perception of threats, both internal and external, the regimes widely differ from each other and often hold contesting views which at times seriously affect the process of regional cooperation.

outside the region for their external trade. (b) Another problem that seriously hampers the growth of regional cooperation is the infrastructural underdevelopment. About half of the African countries are considered as the Least Developed ones and about one third of them are landlocked. The communication system is also very primitive and underdeveloped and many African countries even have to contact their neighbours either through Paris, London or Lisbon. (c) As national institutions and elite groups were not firmly established and properly organised due to long period of colonial rule, regional cooperation could not make progress commensurate with the level of political commitment. The political strategies are also mainly determined by national considerations rather than regional ones and although the leaders, by and large, are convinced that regional

5. *Africa Review 1986*, (Tenth Edition), p. 31

6. *Ibid*, p. 29

cooperation will bring a better and prosperous future to them, on perception of threats, both from internal and external sources, they widely differ and hold contesting and contradicting views which at times seriously affect the healthy growth of regional cooperation in the continent. Even within the same regional grouping some members consider communism and the presence of Soviet and Cuban troops as the main source of threats, while others consider the right-wing rebellion forces supported by West particularly the USA as the main source of insecurity.

II

West Africa consisting of 16 states were under British, French and Portuguese colonial rules for more than sixty years which left a legacy of divergent socio-political, economic, administrative and infrastructural systems that ultimately posed formidable obstacles for unified development of the region. Although West Africa is endowed with enormous natural and mineral resources, due to political fragmentation, poor infrastructure and inadequate political and economic institutions the countries of the region remain grossly underdeveloped. Recently, particularly in the 1970s, the West African states recognised regional economic cooperation as an extension of national efforts for the development of their economies.

The West African nations widely vary in size, population and wealth. Nigeria with per capita income of \$ 730 is the richest country in the region, while Ivory Coast with a small population leads a semi-European life with thriving export of agricultural goods and efficient processing industries. While Nigeria is rich with her huge reserve of crude oil and other minerals, at the other end of the scale are Mali and Burkina Faso with per capita income of \$ 140 and \$160 respectively.

The West African countries also widely differ in their size and population. Nigeria with an estimated population of 97 million,

dwarfs the rest of the region, where there are 3 countries with population of less than 1 million (Table-1). The armed forces of all West African countries taken combinedly is even less than that of the Nigerian. Nigeria's defence expenditure is also about double of the total expenditures of the rest of the countries. (Annexure-I)

Table 1. Basic Indicators of West African States

GNP per capita

	Population (thousands) (millions) mid-1984	Area of square kilometers)	Dollars 1984	Average annual growth rate (percent) 1965-84
1. Mali	7.3	1,240	140	1.1
2. Burkina Faso	6.6	274	160	1.2
3. Malawi	6.8	118	180	1.7
4. Guinea-Bissau	870	36	190	—
5. Togo	2.9	57	250	0.5
6. Gambia, The	718	11	260	1.0
7. Benin	3.9	113	270	1.0
8. Sierra Leone	3.7	72	310	0.6
9. Cape Verde	320	4	320	—
10. Guinea	5.9	246	330	1.1
11. Ghana	12.3	239	350	-1.9
12. Senegal	6.4	196	380	-0.5
13. Mauritania	1.7	1,031	450	0.3
14. Liberia	2.1	111	470	0.5
15. Ivory Coast	9.9	322	610	0.2
16. Nigeria	96.5	924	730	2.8

Source : *World Development Report 1986*, (Published for The World Bank, Oxford University Press,) pp. 192 and 243

In political structure, foreign policy orientation and external economic relations the countries in West Africa also widely vary from one another. Only two or three countries are practising multiparty democracy, while the rest are either ruled by military regimes or by one party civilian dictatorships. In foreign policy orientation all are members of the UN, the OAU and the Non-aligned Movement and many of them are also members of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference. The West African states maintain close economic and political relations and have security arrangements with former colonial masters, particularly with France. Although the super power's presence is not so visible in West Africa many nations including Mali, Liberia, Senegal and Niger have defence agreements with the US.⁷ France has strong footholds in many West African countries particularly in francophone ones. China has also recently developed military cooperation with the countries of the region and have defence agreements with Guinea and Mali. Moreover almost all the West African nations are signatory of either bilateral or multilateral security arrangements. (Annexure-1).

The economic structures of most of the West African states are similar and not diversified and as a result they have to depend on one or few items for their export earnings. For example, palm oil and cotton constitute about 70% of export items for Benin; Cape Verde Islands earns more than 50% of earnings by exporting fish and fish products; more than 90% of foreign exchange of Guinea comes from bauxite and aluminium; Ivory Coast earns more than 50% of export earnings by exporting coffee, cocoa and wood; more than 60% of export earnings of Mauritania and Liberia come from Iron Ore; while uranium and diamonds constitute 60% of export earnings of Niger and Sierra Leone respectively. Oil is the main source of income for Nigeria (more than 90%). The external trade of the States is also highly concentrated, Cape Verde and Guinea Bissau conduct

7. All the treaties with US were signed in early sixties and most of them are seemed to be in abeyance. (For details. see, *Military Balance* (IISS, London) 1986, p. 89

50 percent of their trade with Portugal while most of the francophone countries conduct on average more than one third of their trade with France.⁸

These disparities in area, population, resources, level of economic developments, foreign policy orientations, armed forces, defence capabilities and external trade generate mutual suspicion of inequality and unequal shares of benefits from regional cooperation. The francophone and anglophone countries in West Africa, who differ in their language, administrative system and trade pattern, were always

The widely disparate size and potential of member states create a perception of inequality not merely in static sense but also in terms of prospects of benefits from regional endeavours.

mutually suspicious and the gap widened when the francophone countries became the associate members of the EEC in 1975. Despite these problems more than 15 regional organizations of different nature are currently working in West Africa.

The most important organization both in size and volume of activities is the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) which was formed in 1975 drawing all the 16 West African states. ECOWAS started functioning with ambitious plans with the emphasis of building up adequate infrastructure and forging a customs union. From the very beginning however the Organization had to face formidable difficulties. Some member States, particularly the francophone ones were afraid of a Nigerian domination both in political and economic spheres and demanded to include other

8. For details about trade and aid dependency of the West African states see, Abdur Rob Khan and Golam Mostafa, "A Self-scrutiny of the Non-aligned Movement : The African Members Perspective", *BISS Journal*, Vol. 4, No. 2, 1983, pp. 82-98

Central African countries including Zaire to encounter Nigeria, while others were reluctant to broaden the community beyond West African sub-region.

Institutional problems dogged in early relationship between the ECOWAS Secretariat based in Lagos and the ECOWAS Fund for Cooperation, Compensation and Development headquartered in Lome, Togo. The member countries are also facing difficulties in implementing the compensation scheme of the Organization, Article 25 of the treaty of ECOWAS provides for compensation of losses sustained by any member State due to the abolition of tariffs, but a number of problems and complexities are being encountered in practising the same⁹. And very often complains and counter complains are arising both from beneficiaries and contributors about the terms, conditions and mode of operations of the Fund.

Another issue of contention among the ECOWAS member states is the idea of signing of a defence pact. Although in the original Lagos Treaty there was no provision for cooperation in the field of defence, in 1978 the leaders adopted a Protocol on Non-aggression with a view to facilitating cooperation by creating, "friendly atmosphere free of any fear of attack or aggression of one State by another"¹⁰. But soon the member States realised that while the agreement on non-aggression could help to generate some degree of trust among member countries it was too insufficient an insurance against external aggression or externally supported domestic insurrection and revolt. After a long debate and discussion the ECOWAS

9. The Protocol provides Compensation to member States which have suffered losses as a result of the location of Community enterprise and is intended to develop the less developed countries but the problems arise on the mode of contribution and operation of the Fund. For details, see, Arthur Davies, "Cost benefit analysis within ECOWAS", *The World Today*, May 1983, p. 173
10. ECOWAS : Development of the Community-The First Five Years 1977-1981, Lagos, 1981 p. 26

members (except Cape Verde, Guinea Bissau and Mali) signed in May 1981 a Protocol of defence pact which authorised to handle three categories of military actions. (a) Aggression from a Non-member State. (b) Conflict between member States (c) Internal conflict in a member State. On the first two categories there were no problems but on the third member States were widely divided and many considered it as an interference in their internal affairs. Although the Protocol confirmed that if conflict remains purely internal the Community forces shall not intervene, it is very difficult to define whether the conflict is purely internal or instigated by external inputs and more often it depends on how the regime in power interprete it or how it is viewed by the Community itself.¹¹

Another major obstacle that the West African nations are facing is the mutual distrust and suspicion among various regional organizations, particularly between ECOWAS and *The Communauté Economiqued l' Afrique de l' Ouest (CEAO)* which was established in 1974 by six francophone African states, Ivory Coast, Mali, Mauritania, Senegal and Burkina Faso with the objectives of joint development in infrastructure, harmonization of industrial development and expansion of trade in domestically produced agricultural and industrial commodities. And at the inception of ECOWAS the CEAO members were suspicious about the future of their organization within the frame of ECOWAS, although they affirmed that CEAO would, "play the same role within the ECOWAS grouping as the Benelux subgroup plays within the EEC."¹² On the other hand, other members of ECOWAS occasionally express views that a single organization

11. For details of the ECOWAS defence pact, see Julius Emeko Okolo : *Securing West Africa : The ECOWAS defence pact, The World Today*, May 1983, p, 181 and also ECOWAS Document A/SP3/5/81 "Protocol Relating to Mutual Assistance of Defence" in official *Journal of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)*, Vol. 3, June 1981, pp. 9-13

12. Quoted in Manfred Hedrich and Klaus von der Ropp, *op. cit*, p. 89

may better serve the cause of peace, stability and economic cooperation than a number of small organizations in the same region. In the Sixth Summit of heads of states of ECOWAS held in 1981 the CEAO was asked to merge itself with ECOWAS as to avoid duplication of efforts and to facilitate solidarity toward the creation of a single custom union and economic integration across West Africa.¹³ But it appears that the CEAO members, who have already progressed quite far in the direction of trade liberalization, have a shared Central Bank and a common Monetary System strongly backed by the French Franc are reluctant to dissolve their organization which functions relatively more smoothly than the ECOWAS. In fact, the CEAO members want to establish their organization as the core of the ECOWAS which continues to be the source of intra-ECOWAS disunity. In spite of differences in many aspects both CEAO and ECOWAS share, by and large, common aims and objectives to promote cooperation and development in economic, social and cultural fields, to raise standard of living of their peoples and to maintain economic stability, improve intra-member relations and thus to contribute to the overall development of West Africa. Some of the ECOWAS members (Benin and Togo) are also observers of CEAO and there are about a dozen organizations of various types operating in West Africa with the memberships of both from ECOWAS and CEAO. Some scholars identify at least four common features which justify the continued existence of those two organizations. a) Both ECOWAS and CEAO have developed adequate functional institutions b) They limit their activity to economic considerations. They act in accordance with more or less clearly recognizable planning phases. d) They are characterised by the flexibility with which they handle administrative matters.¹⁴

Although ECOWAS has made some success in free movements of goods, capital, labour and in harmonization of industrial policies,

13. *Keesing's Contemporary Archives*, (Record of World Events), Vol. XXIX, 1983, p. 32544

14. Manfred Hedrich and Klaus von den Ropp, *op. cit.* p. 93

many view that success in those areas will not necessarily held the Community together, rather equitable distribution of costs and benefits and adoption of a common strategy toward foreign investors are most important factors that will determine the future prospect and cohesion of ECOWAS.¹⁵ Another view is that "ECOWAS had brought the world's most diverse peoples in terms of colonial history and experiences and ethnic and cultural differences into a projected zone of economic prosperity and social peace. This remarkable achievement is now taken for granted. No one who recalls the region's pre-colonial and specially, post-colonial history can fail to acknowledge the magnitude of this accomplishment".¹⁶

Among other regional organizations the West African Monetary Union (UMOA) with the membership of Benin, Ivory Coast, Niger Senegal, Burkina Faso, Togo and Mali has made notable success in coordinating their monetary policy and introducing a common monetary unit. Some specialised organizations have also been established for proper utilization and development of water

Most of the instruments that formed the organizations are too general and broad-based to face the specific issues and problems that originate from divergent socio-political and ethnic structures of the member states.

resources particularly from the rivers Gambia, Mono, Niger and Senegal, and some of them have already made their mark. For example, the Mono River Union formed in 1973 by Sierra Leone, Liberia and later on joined by Guinea has made a great success in fostering cooperation among the basin countries which according to former

15. R.I. Onwuka, "The ECOWAS Treaty: inching towards implementation", *The World Today*, February 1980, p. 59

16. Julius Emeko Okolo; Free movement of persons in ECOWAS and Nigeria's expulsion of illegal aliens", *The World Today*, October 1984, p. 435

Liberian President Tolbert was "the most effective instrument of translating regional plans and programmes into practical action at the sub-regional level".¹⁷ (For an outline of other organizations in West Africa, see, Annexure-2)

One of the major problems for regional cooperation in West Africa is that most of the instruments that formed the organizations are too general and broad-based which often prove to be insufficient and inadequate to face the specific issues and problems arising from divergent socio-political economic and ethnic structures of the member States. Although most of the organizations were basically socio-economic in character and were supposed not to deal with political problems, soon political issues cast a shadow over the smooth functioning of them. Another important predicament that seriously affect regional cooperation in Africa is the bilateral issues and disputes. In this regard the hostage crisis between Ivory Coast and Guinea and Ghana and Guinea in late 1960s and border disputes of Ghana with Togo, Ivory Coast and Burkina Faso, between Liberia and Sierra Leone and Mali and Burkina Faso may be mentioned.¹⁸

Frequent changes of governments particularly military takeovers at times create major obstacles for regional cooperation in West Africa. The relation between two most important West African states Nigeria and Ghana—one is the largest and richest and the other is the first independent country in black Africa considered as the spiritual home of African independence - was tense for a long time over the recognition of new regime in Ghana. The coup of Ghana in 1981 which overthrew the government of Limann and brought Flt. Lt Rowlings to power seriously affected Ghana-Nigerian relations. Meanwhile, Master Sgt. Samuel Doe who became new leader of Liberia by killing President Tolbert was not permitted to attend the ECOWAS summit meeting held in Lome, Togo in 1980,

17. *Kessing's Contemporary Archives*, Vol. XXX, 1980, p. 30243

18. For details about border disputes, see, Julius Emeko Okolo in *The World Today*, May 1983, p. 181

and in protest Liberia withdrew its ambassadors from Ivory Coast, Nigeria, Sierra Leone as well as its representatives from several African organizations.¹⁹ The Ghana-Nigerian relations further deteriorated in 1982 when Ghana accused Nigeria for providing training facilities to pro-Limann elements.

The migration of workers from one country to another also created many problems for regional cooperation in West Africa. In early 1983 Nigerian expulsion of about 2 million workers as "illegal aliens" seriously affected relations among the West African states particularly between Nigeria and Ghana.²⁰

The divergent political interests and foreign policy orientations also seriously affect the regional integration process in West Africa. The countries in the region widely differ on intra-African matters as well as on various international issues. For example, in 1976 during the Angolan crisis Senegal supported the rightwing forces namely, the FNLA and UNITA while Nigeria supported MPLA. Although on South African issue the West African states, by and large, hold the same view, on Western Sahara and civil war in Chad they differ widely. Among the West African states only Liberia has diplomatic relation with Israel which is not liked by others particularly by those who are members of the Organization of the Islamic Conference. And to the discomfort of most others, only Guinea-Bissau recognises the Heng Samrin regime of Kampuchea with which it has also established diplomatic relation.

Despite bilateral disputes and wide differences on international as well as African issues the West African states have significantly improved their relations through cooperation at various levels and regional cooperation is contributing toward creating a congenial atmosphere for maintaining peace and stability in the region. The most important thing is that through regional cooperation the West

19. *Kessing's Contemporary Archives*, Vol. XXX, 1980, p. 30407

20. For details about Nigeria's expulsion of "illegal immigrants" see Emeko Okolo in *The World Today*, October 1984, pp. 428-436.

African states have developed a sense of tolerance and accommodation and have so far been able to manage the conflicts and crises, if not solve them altogether. Most of the border disputes among various member states, mentioned earlier, have also been resolved by using the good offices of various organizations and individual leaders. The strained relations between Nigeria and other West African states particularly Ghana over the Nigerian expulsion of "illegal aliens" were also resolved peacefully through negotiations with participation of ECOWAS and the possibility of serious deterioration of mutual relations was apparently averted.

Conclusion

Although there are diverging opinions on the success of regional cooperation in Africa, it can be hardly questioned that Africa has been playing a pioneering role in experimenting regional cooperations of various types at various levels. It is true that most of the regional organizations in Africa could not fulfil the expectations they entailed and some of them after the initial stage were either dissolved or ceased functioning but it cannot be generalised that the experience of regional cooperation in Africa is a total failure. The way regional organizations and regionalism are taking shape in Africa suggests that the African nations are learning from past experiences. And the most striking feature is that inspite of all difficulties, problems and pitfalls the African leaders seem to be optimistic about the future of regional cooperation, and are committed to use regional cooperation in solving their shared problems. It is also increasingly recognised that through regional cooperation the African states can promote their economic development, achieve self-sufficiency and there by strengthen the continent's position vis-a-vis global economy. Nonetheless, keeping in mind the objective of a continental unity and an African Common Market the present status of regional cooperation does not appear to be too encouraging.

Annexure-1, Basic Political and Military Facts of West African Countries

Name of the Country	Nature of Political Regime	Foreign Policy Posture	Number of Armed Forces	Defence Expenditure US \$ in million	Military Alliance
1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Benin	Military	—Independent —Non-aligned	3,460	24.9 (1983)	—Signatory of PMADM ¹ —Presence of limited North Korean military experts
2. Burkina Faso	Military	—Non-aligned —Influenced by France	4,000	28.6 (1984)	—Signatory of PMADM
3. Cape Verde Islands	—One-party —Dictatorship	—Independent —Non-aligned	1,185	—	—Military cooperation agreement with Nigeria 1983.
4. Gambia	—Multiparty	—Independent —Non-aligned —Member of OIC	475	—	—Signed Confederation Pact with Senegal including the combination of armed forces
5. Ghana	—Military	—Independent —Non-aligned	15,100	213.5 (1982)	—Signatory of PMADM —Defence agreement with US 1972

Annexure-I contd.

Annexure-1 contd.

1	2	3	4	5	6
6. Guinea	—Military	—Independent —Non-aligned	9,900	83.25 (1982)	—Military assistance agreement with China. —Signatory of PMADM —Mutual Defence pact with Sierra Leone.
7. Guinea-Bissau	—Military	—Independent —Non-aligned	8,550	9.3 (1982)	—
8. Ivory Coast	—One party Dictatorship	—Non-aligned —Influenced by France	13,220	68.0 (1985)	—Defence agreement with France 1961. Signatory of PMADM
9. Liberia	—Military	—Non-aligned —Influenced by US	6,300	26.0 (1985)	—Defence agreement with US 1972. Signatory of PMADM
10. Mali	—One party Dictatorship	—Non-aligned —Pro-West	4,950	27.5 (1984)	—Defence agreement with US 1972. Military assistance agreement with China.
11. Mauritania	—Military	—Non-aligned —Pro-West	8,000	67.6 (1982)	—Signatory of PMADM
12. Niger	—Military	—Non-aligned —Member of the OIC	2,220	10.3 (1984)	—Defence agreement with US 1962. Signatory of PMADM

Annexure-1 contd.

Annexure-1 contd.

1	2	3	4	5	6
13. Nigeria	—Military	—Non-aligned —Pro-West —Member of the OIC	94,000	1106.0 (1985)	—Signatory of PMADM —Signed Military Cooperation Agreement with Cape Verde 1983
14. Senegal	—Multiparty	—Non-aligned —Influenced by France	9,700	60.0 (1985)	—Defence agreement with US 1972. Defence agreement with France 1974 —Signatory of PMADM
15. Sierra Leone	—One party	—Non-aligned —Influenced by France	3,100	9.6 (1984)	—Defence agreement with Britain. Signatory of Mutual Defence Pact with Guinea 1971
16. Togo	—One Party	—Non-aligned —Influenced by France	5,110	17.3 (1985)	—Defence agreement with France 1963 —Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation with North Korea 1981 —Signatory of PMADM

1. Protocol on Mutual Assistance on Defence Matters adopted by ECOWAS in 1981

Sources : *Military Balance 1985-86*, *Africa Review 1986* and *Political Handbook of the World 1982-83*

Annexure-2 Specialised Bodies/Organizations for Cooperation in West Africa

Sl. No.	Name of the Organizations	Year of founding	Members	Objectives
1		2	3	4
1.	Gambia River Basin Development Organization.	1978	Gambia, Senegal Gambia and Guinea Bissau	To build up an anti-salt water barrage and hydroelectric dam to develop energy resources.
2.	Mono River Union	1973	Sierra Leone, Liberia, Guinea	To establish a customs and economic union and to introduce common external tariff and free trade union.
3.	Niger River Basin Authority	1964	Benin, Guinea, Mali, Nigeria Niger, Came- roon, Ivory Coast and Burkina Faso.	To harmonise national programmes of member states and to execute an integrated develop-ment plan.
4.	Senegal River Develop-ment Organization	1972	Mali, Senegal and Mauritania	To build a dam to prevent salt-water, to pro-vide irrigation facilities and to produce hydro-electric power.
5.	Council de Entente	1959	Benin, Ivory Coast, Niger, Burkina Faso and Togo	To promote economic development, to mobilise funds and to encourage trade and investments among member states.
6.	West African Monetary Union	1973	Benin, Ivory Coast, Niger, Senegal, Bur- kina Faso, Togo and Mali	To coordinate monetary policy and to intro-duce common currency backed by France.
7.	The West Africa Committee	1955	Nigeria, Ghana, Gambia, Sierra Leone, Ivory Coast	To aid the economic development of member states.

Annexure-2 contd.

1	2	3	4
8. Nigeria-Niger Joint Commission for Cooperation	1971	Nigeria and Niger	To coordinate and harmonise the economies of the member states.
9. Non-Aggression and Defence Aid Agreement	1979	Togo and CEAO members	To ease tensions and to create mutual trust and confidence by resolving distrusts and mistrusts.
10. African Groundnut Council	1963	Gambia, Mali Niger, Nigeria, Senegal and Sudan	To coordinate the groundnut policy of the member states.
11. West African Rice Development Association.	—	Benin, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Ivory Coast, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal Sierra Leone, Togo and Burkina Faso.	To make West Africa self-sufficient in rice and to assist rural development projects.
12. West African Clearing House	1975	Benin, Ivory Coast, Niger, Senegal, Togo, Burkina Faso, Gambia Ghana, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania, Nigeria, Sierra Leone.	To promote local trade and currency transactions.
13. West African Development Bank	1973	Benin, Ivory Coast, Niger, Senegal, Togo and Burkina Faso	To promote balanced developments and economic integration of West Africa.