

United States and France's Relationship towards

West African Francophone Countries (Senegal):

Foreign Policy, Cooperation and Conflicts

« Les Etats n'ont pas d'ami, ils n'ont que des interets »

States have no friends, they only have interests

General de Gaulle

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France is the first partner of Senegal, politically and economically. However the U.S sees Senegal as a great ally in the African continent. Senegal is a politically stable, democratic, competitive, moderate and Muslim country committed to fighting terrorism. The U.S. sees Senegal as a stable country in unstable region and a model of religious and ethnic tolerance in contrast to countries such as Liberia, Rwanda, Cote D' Ivoire and even Iraq. Senegal plays a key role in conflict resolution not only in Africa but also across the world. Through NEPAD (New Partnership for Africa's Development) Senegal advocates for the private sector and trade that the U.S appreciates. Thus the U.S interests are to reinforce Senegal's stability and to use it as a tool if needed. The U.S sees Senegal as a future good ally in a time where France is having more and more trouble controlling its colonial empire. Senegal is one of the biggest political allies in Africa that one could have, due to its influence not only upon other African countries but also upon the Group of 77. This group was established in 1964 by 77 developing countries. The G77 has increased to 135 members. Its diplomacy is stronger than its economic weight. The U.S. spent fourteen billion dollars in foreign aid and more than four hundred billion on security and weaponry in 2003. Most of this aid goes to Afghanistan, Iraq, Israel, and so on. Only two billion go to Africa. No more than two hundred million go to African development. The rest is for disaster relief and technical assistance (Somalia, Liberia, Angola, Rwanda...). The U.S. is becoming less and less connected with the rest of the world. France, also, is having more and more problems keeping its former African colonies. Since 2000 Senegal's diplomacy is becoming more and more independent toward the West.

Introduction:

In this paper, an attempt has been made to present a comprehensive and comparative analysis of the interactions among the United States of America, France and Sub-Saharan Francophone countries (Senegal). This paper presents a general view of the influence and interests of France and the United States in Africa. Senegal's foreign policies are shifting from France to the United States for economic reasons. Senegal is afraid that France's economic help will decrease. Several factors might be the cause of the current situation: lack of means for France to maintain its influence, the end of France's acquired advantages, openness and reinforcement of Senegalese diplomacy, the creation of the European Union, the new age of globalization, the change of leadership in Senegal, and the important role played by international financial institutions in Senegal, such as the World Bank and the IMF.

This paper is in the context of Senegal, France and the United States' current relationship under the leadership of President Abdoulaye Wade of Senegal, Jacques Chirac of France and George W. Bush of the United States of America. This paper examines small states' relationships with great powers. As a case study, I explore Senegal's relationship with France and the United States of America. For the first three decades after independence in August 1960, Senegal was heavily influenced by France; now it appears to be shifting to the United States. Why has Senegal shifted from being aligned with France to being aligned with the United States? How and in what way is it shifting? Where it will go? What are the French and American positions toward Senegal today? These are crucial questions among others that I attempt to answer in the paper that follows. It also seems important to give a brief description of Senegal and African economy in the sense that the American public is not familiar with it. In contrast, France

and the U.S are well known across the world. Senegal is a particular country in Africa in terms of stability politically and socially.

In addition, however, a number of specific questions needed to be asked in order to proceed efficiently in this paper. Has the Senegalese government been shifting from French influence to become more pro-American? Why is France losing influence in its “*other land*,” a phrase commonly used to refer to Senegal? Is Senegal only now completing its independence of 1960 from France through President Wade? Could Senegal totally renounce cooperation with France? Why does the U.S. give more and more importance to the African Continent today? What kind of room to maneuver do these three powerful countries play in diplomatic matters between them? -What role do the current leaders play in this new situation? How does their personal relationship influence their foreign policy? What is the extent of the shift in Senegalese diplomacy? How important is a leadership change in conducting foreign policy? A number of concepts such as foreign policy, leadership, great power, small power, North South Concept, foreign policy, neocolonialism, influence, and dependency, need to be defined.

Lately, U.S. global foreign policy has characterized by two principles. First, there is the matter of its arrogance and loss of credibility. The U.S is not connected with the rest of the world, and this disconnection is increasing day by day. United States foreign policy is in trouble and needs more support. Almost the entire international community, including France, China, Russia, Germany, Japan, South Africa, Arab countries, and so on, criticizes U.S. attitudes concerning international issues, as well as the ways the U.S deals with those issues. While the U.S. has trouble convincing other powerful countries such as Germany, Russia, China, Japan, and so on, these countries agree in many ways

with French vision on international matters, particularly with the Iraq crisis. France and the U.S. constantly criticize each other on this issue. The Iraq crisis has increased their differences in many ways. The U.S. turns towards Africa to find more support. For its part, France also is having problems dealing with its former colonies including Senegal. Senegal has historic links with both the United States and France. Today, the relationship between Senegal and its partners is changing. This is an unquestionable fact that we will now explore.

Chapter I: France-Senegal Relationship

Senegal is tied by history with both France and the U.S. Senegal was the economic bridge between Europe and America into Sub-Saharan Africa. It can easily be shown that Senegal was the main entrance to West Africa for European traders and colonizers. France and the United States have always had conflicting relations in Senegal since the colonial period. From 1845 to 1990 France adopted policies not only in Senegal but also in the other French Colonies in West Africa to block American infiltration. France adopted drastic measures such as surveillance and denial to contain American missionaries' infiltration in Senegal. Indeed France political authorities and French missionary authorities together fought American influence not only in Senegal but also in French colonies in West Africa such as present Cote D'Ivoire, Burkina Faso, and Benin. Until 1920 French authorities refused to admit American missionaries into Senegal. French authorities funded Catholic schools to fight American missionaries in 1921. In 1923, the U.S did not hesitate to intervene when France attempted to end the use of the English language in Cameroon¹. When France showed respect to international treaties the doors were opened to American missionaries. France placed Americans under strong

¹ Chester, Edward W., Clash of Titans: Africa and U.S. foreign policy, Orbis Books, NY, 1974

surveillance in order to be able to control their activities. Even the Governor General of the French Colonies in West Africa in Senegal recommended substituting French Protestants for American Protestants in the 1940's. He also ordered a tough surveillance of Ghana and Liberia's (Anglophone countries) borders to contain American influence. This was a beginning of a French anti-Americanism in Senegal.²

Senegal was colonized and exploited economically by France. To me, France has specialized Senegal's in the production of agriculture on peanuts, cotton and millets mostly. Resources such as gold, historic objects and diamonds were taken to France during colonialism. Even after independence, France keeps exploiting Senegal. France buys raw materials in Senegal very cheap and sells them back for a higher price, sometimes for four times more than France had bought the product from Senegal. This phenomenon heavily contributed to the deficit of Senegal's balance of payment. All African countries had suffered from the deterioration in the terms of trade with developed countries. "One of the major policy-related factors that reduced the growth of trade throughout Africa has been a persistent, and often massively, overvalued real exchange rate."³ Senegal used to sell its peanuts to France cheap and bought chocolate or oil made from the peanuts up to four times more expensive. On February 4, 1975, President Senghor organized a Summit about raw materials prices. One hundred and ten (110) representatives of developing and non-aligned countries attended the Summit⁴. Also, France was involved in the slave trade and has sold many Senegalese as slaves. Goree Island is the symbol of slavery in Senegal. More than forty-seven (47) Castles were built in West Africa. One half of the slaves were taken from West Africa. Half of almost

²West African research Association News Letter, Fall 2003

³ <http://www.eagerproject.com/trex.shtml>

⁴ <http://www.senegal-online.com/francais/histoire/dates.htm>

twenty (20) million slaves taken from Africa were brought to America. Senegal was visited first by the Portuguese explorers in 1445. In 1659 the French founded Saint Louis as a colony. In the 1700's and 1800's the slave trade was developed by the French.

Senegal has been linked to France for more than four centuries. France did not want to give independence to its colonies. Indeed, it has tried hard to keep them in one block: the French Union. Indeed, everybody understands General De Gaulle's 'carrot and stick' politics during his famous tour of 1958 in Africa. On that occasion he promised help to states that remained in the French Union and sanctions to states desiring complete independence. The famous slogan was: "Yes or No" to the French Union. The "No" led to unconditional independence and the "Yes" led into the French Union. De Gaulle carried out his threat when Sekou Toure (President of Guinea) and his people voted No, and France withdrew technical and personal support. He also took back funds and material equipment such as cars, telephones, chairs, and office appliances in order to punish Guinea and to warn the other colonies. Of course, Senegal stayed in the French Union until 1960, when it got its independence. Senegal had the oldest link with France in Africa so it could not gain total independence overnight.

After independence in 1960, even though France was no longer tied to its colonies, at least constitutionally, it remained the major influence on African leaders. It remained also the privileged partner of those colonies in politics, culture, economics, the military, the environment, education, sports, etc. France had a big military base in Senegal. All French military actions in Africa take off from Dakar Senegal. France has built the most famous School for French West African colonies in Senegal. Most of the African leaders after the independences graduated from the National School of William

Ponty. Most former French colonies speak French as the *lingua franca*. After independence, Senegal tied very close relations with France. France was the angel protector of Senegal in any aspect one can imagine, heavily influencing the government of Senegal. Many French citizens who worked in Senegal did not return home after Senegal got its independence. France controlled the economy, the politics, the army, and so on until recently. In the 1980's, Senegal and France had excellent relations under Francois Mitterrand. Senegal appreciated Mitterrand's African policy.⁵ The French army in Senegal has played a great role in Senegalese political stability. The Senegalese army was entirely trained and equipped by France and the Senegalese people traveled easily to France. Most Senegalese who graduated from high school flew to France to pursue their college education. Senegal always voted in the U.N. on France's side and supported France's viewpoint in international issues.

Recently, Senegal's foreign policy has been loosened from the heavy influence of France to become more independent. The arrival of President Wade in power is a key factor in this process. Senegal's alliance is shifting from France to the United States for economic reasons. Senegal is afraid that France's economic aid will decrease.

Chapter II: United States- Senegal Relationship

One can easily understand the historical Senegal-U.S. relationship by understanding the U.S.-African relationship in general because until 1950 the U.S. did not develop a particular foreign policy for the continent of Africa. Instead, Washington dealt with Africa through the European colonial powers. The presence of the U.S. became significant after World War II and more influential after the period when independence occurred. Africa and the U.S. have been in contact for a long time through the slave trade,

⁵ T, Chafer , "Mitterrand and Africa: policy and practice, 1981-84," Modern and Contemporary France, 23, Sept 1985

colonization, decolonization, economic reasons, religion, education, culture, and World War II. The black American community played a great role in the development of African–U.S. relations. “African Americans have become more and more interested in Africa as part of their personal research for identity.”⁶ American involvement in Africa was more significant in some areas (Congo, Liberia, Egypt...) than other areas and was limited by fear of facing European powers and by respect of the extraterritoriality principle. “The winning of independence from England led the U.S. to a policy of isolation from Europe, a threatened European invasion of the western hemisphere led to the Monroe Doctrine.” However, even though humanitarian reasons frequently are said to motivate America involvement in Africa, economic reasons cannot be overstated.

Liberia was the first country abroad over which the U.S extended its guardianship; it became the main base for the Firestone rubber company. W.E.B Du Bois observed of the World and Africa: “From being a mere stopping place between Europe and Asia or a chance treasure house of gold, America became through African labor the center of the sugar empire and the cotton Kingdom and an integral part of that world industry and trade which caused the industrial revolution and the reign of capitalism”⁷. Africa needs the U.S. but the U.S. will need African resources. Expanding interests motivated the U.S. to develop friendly relations with a number of countries, which have important natural resources. Chester has written: “The fact that the U.S. is largely dependent on Africa today for such products as columbium, palm oil, cobalt, diamonds, manganese, and uranium necessitates friendly diplomatic relations...The U.S. would not

⁶ Chester, Edward W., Clash of Titans: Africa and U.S. foreign policy, Orbis Books, N Y, 1974

⁷ Chester, Edward W., op cit

have become entangled with the Barbary States except for the presence of American ships in the Mediterranean.”

After the Napoleonic wars, a great number of African countries turned to the U.S for certain types of products such as beef, flour, tobacco and so on. Next to the economic factors, there are the cultural and educational factors of the relationship between the U.S. and Africa. For example white American missionaries have contributed to the development of education in Africa through Christianity. Recently, the cold war motivated American involvement in Africa because the U.S. wanted at any price to contain the Soviet Union. Nowadays, many African leaders and individuals have studied in the United States. Aspects of American culture such as language, music, painting, religion, folklore, and so on have great impact on the African people. Education may also be used as a diplomatic tool. The Peace Corps volunteers program and the construction of schools (University of Cairo) are good examples of this type of influence argued Chester. Also, the U.S. involvement in Africa was motivated by morality and American ideology as mentioned by some writers: “upholding International Law, furthering humanitarian ends, safeguarding weak nations, adjusting conflicting interests peacefully. U.S officials such as Eisenhower and Kennedy voiced a great deal of anti-colonial rhetoric.

The U.S. also wanted to play a slightly more important role in Africa. Even if the real reason was not to help African countries, at least the U.S would be there to contain the Soviet Union. “The U.S. uses the CIA not only to gain influence on the continent, but also to disadvantage European powers similarly jockeying for power”⁸. Ohaegbulam, F. Ugboaja, argued as well that there is “continuity from Truman to Reagan of U.S. interests

⁸ Kweku, Dadson, *How American Secret Agents Operate in Africa:astounding facts about the methods by which American secret Organizations Manipulate and Eliminate people an Governments in Africa*, .Winneba Ghana: victory Press,1967

in containment to the African environment. Africa was usually a low priority for Americans more concerned with the anti-Soviet imperatives; even Kennedy and Carter, who favored somewhat more idealistic approaches, ended up bending to cold war pressure. Throughout, the west enjoys important advantages over the East in Africa.”⁹ In the 1960’s, U.S.-Sub-Saharan Africa relations specifically emphasized development policy.

The U.S. did not have close links with Senegal as France did. Slavery, the Peace Corps Program and the African-American community are key elements in Senegal-U.S. relationship. The Senegalese government and the United States government signed an agreement authorizing Peace Corps intervention in Senegal. The Peace Corps program was established in January 17, 1963 in Senegal and countries such as Mali did not have their program until later on, in 1971. A first group of fifteen people arrived and worked as English teachers and development actors. Currently, 194 volunteers are in Senegal and a number of 2,519 have served in Senegal. The areas of intervention of the Peace Corps program in Senegal include agriculture, agro-forestry, small enterprise development, environment, health, and education. Through the Peace Corps, a better understanding between Senegalese and American cultures has been developed¹⁰

A surprising fact is the great importance that the U.S. government seems to accord to Senegal, a small, French-speaking, Muslim, developing country of which the American public is mostly unaware. Since President Clinton’s trip to Africa in 1998 U.S. involvement in Africa is becoming more and more important. “United States foreign policy in Africa has been characterized by a multiple of interests, motivations, and actors.

⁹ Ugboaja F, Ohaegbulam, *Containment in Africa: from Truman to Reagan* (*Trans.Africa Forum* 6 (Fall 1988)

¹⁰ <http://usembassy.state.gov/dakar/>

U.S. interests have ranged from pursuing international strategic objectives in which the African setting was incidental to developing humanitarian policies designed to address specific African crises. The actors behind these policies have ranged from academic specialists and religious leaders, to African Americans- whose domestic civil rights agenda led them to pursue similar objectives abroad, particularly in South Africa. In addition, multinational corporations, and ‘neo-realist’ strategic analysts, whose major objective has been to confront the Soviets, have also played a major role in formulating U.S. policy”¹¹.

President Clinton met with Abdou Diouf, the Senegalese President, on April 1, 1998. Clinton has praised Senegal for its leadership in regional peacekeeping. Clinton did say that he wants to establish a new role for this former French colony as an American partner and African peacekeeper. Clinton thanked Abdou Diouf for his past support for international peacekeeping operations, and for his work on the African Crisis Response Initiative, a U.S. program of training African military forces for peacekeeping operations.”

President Bush also visited Senegal on July 2003 when he faced critics from the international community. My own experience permits me to state that most Americans do not even know if Africa is a continent or a country. What could motivate the U.S. to move into Senegal? Is it the fact that the U.S. is facing a great number of problems in its foreign policy? Is it the fact that the U.S. and France are having more and more disagreements about their foreign policies? Or has the expanded U.S. engagement derived solely from calculations of national interest and security? Also, U.S. exports to

¹¹ Delancey, Mark W et al, African International Relations, *An Annotated Bibliography*, Second ed, WestviewPress, 1997

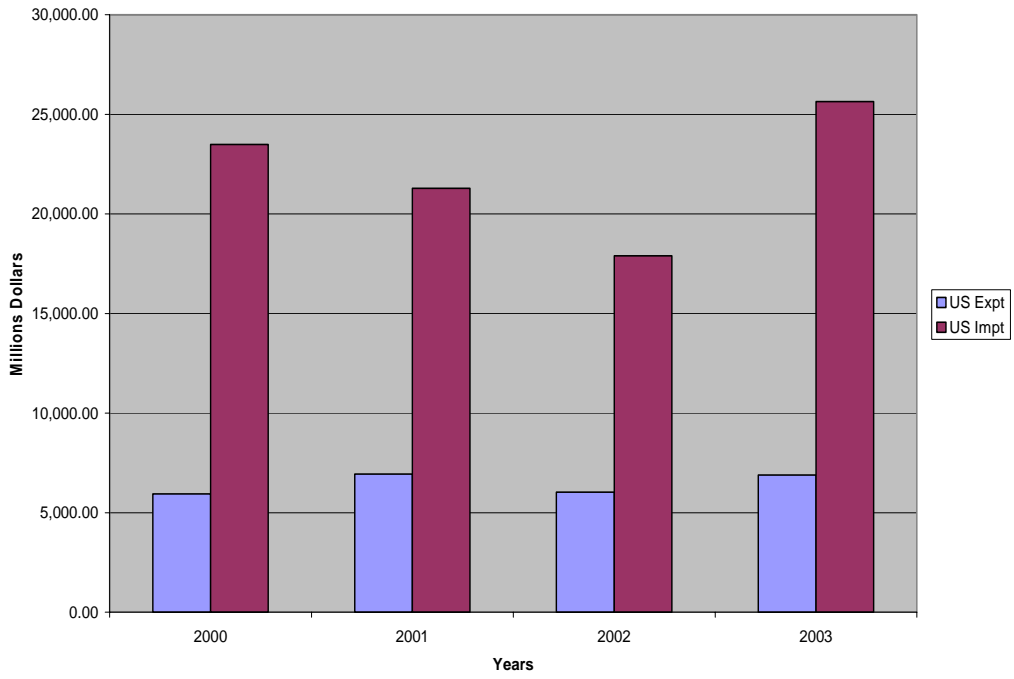
Senegal have increased from 41 million dollars in 1980 to 86.5 millions dollars on October 2003. Recently, U.S imports from Senegal have increased from 5.5 million dollars in 1996 to 104 million dollars in 2001¹².The fact that the U.S. is a key player of globalization and Senegal a “good student” may be an explanation. Senegalese competitiveness has improved greatly by 2002. The U.S.-Senegal relationship has always been advocated by President Senghor but he never had in mind a shift from France to the United States. The U.S.-Senegal background can be briefly described as follows.

While the French presence in West Africa was and still is omnipresent, the U.S. presence is growing from day to day. A review of the historical relations between the U.S. and Africa and the U.S. and Senegal will give a better understanding of the U.S. involvement in Senegal. Shown openly or hidden, power politics and the pursuit of personal interest in a global strategy are the central goals of France and the U.S. in their foreign policy. According to the White House, the U.S. is “the only country whose share of exports from Sub-Saharan Africa has increased from 1996 to 2001. The United States’ share of exports of manufactured goods from Sub-Saharan Africa rose 8 percent, while the European Union's share declined by approximately 1.5 percent. U.S. growth in Sub-Saharan Africa exports is particularly notable in apparel, with an approximately 23 percent increase, while the European Union's share in apparel exports declined by nearly the same percent. The U.S. also showed significant average annual import growth from Sub-Saharan Africa of 6.8 percent from 1996 to 2001”¹³. However, the trade balance shows a big deficit in favor of the U.S..

¹² U.S-Senegal Trade
<http://www.census.gov/foreign-trade/balance/c7440.html#questions>

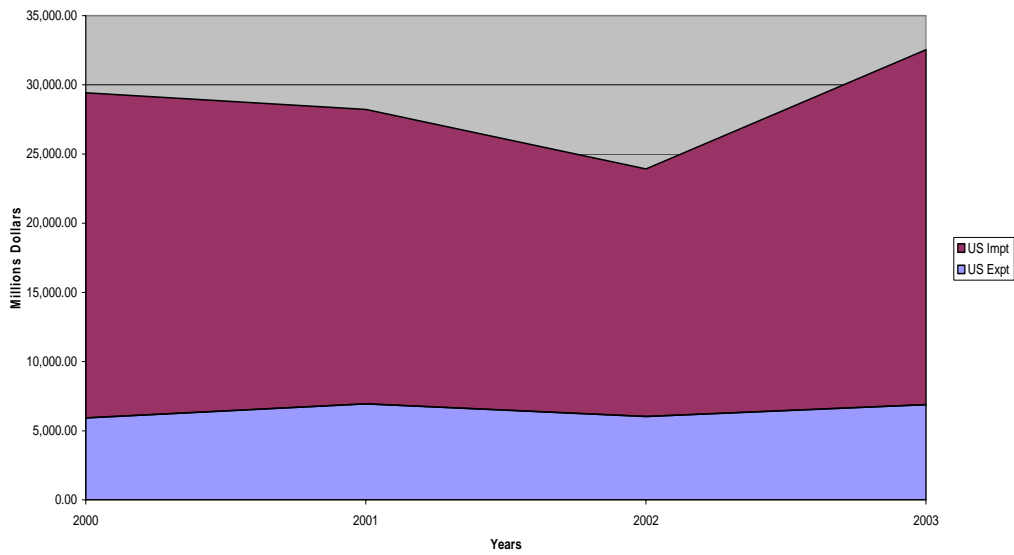
¹³ <http://www.whitehouse.gov/g8/ssainports.html>

U.S Sub-Saharan Africa Trade



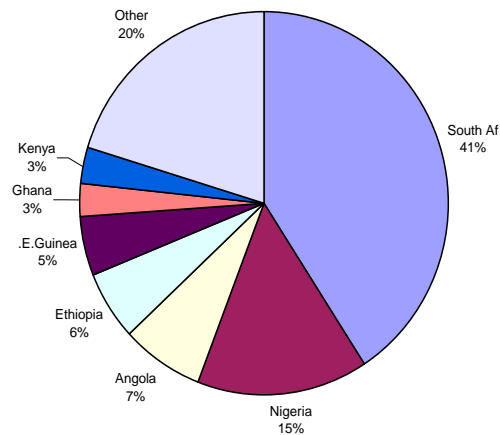
Note: <http://www.agoa.gov/>

U.S Sub-Saharan Africa Trade



Note: <http://www.agoa.gov/>

U.S Leading Export in Africa



Note: <http://www.agoa.gov/>

Chapter III: Analysis of the Current Situation:

It's important to emphasize that both France and the U.S. governments have almost the same political principles on which all politics of cooperation should be based in Africa (Senegal). These main principles are: support of good governance in all its aspects, support of political development, encouragement to a good economic resources

management, consolidation of democracy, and promotion of women's rights. In addition, the three pillars of Bush's African policy are: strategic approach, clear policy priorities, and principles of bilateral engagement. President Bush's principles include working with the key anchor states in each sub-region, supporting sub-regional organization, engaging the African Union, combating the HIV/AIDS pandemic, advancing political and economic freedom, and promoting peace, regional stability, good governance, economic reform, health, and education¹⁴.

It seems, then, that the U.S. and France support countries that respect and protect human rights and make economic reforms. In other words, France and the U.S. support countries which try to tackle their problems as suggested by them. Their conditionalities, principles, and strategies show a clearly realistic foreign policy. Indeed French and American diplomacy advocate a more open, a more liberal, and a more democratizing market. Moreover, France and the U.S. seek to develop both in Senegal and in Africa generally prosperity and employment, and to protect their personal interests and security in a globally stable environment. They want also to promote and protect their values and culture. The American Cultural Center and the French Cultural Center are the two most active Cultural Centers in Senegal. American movies and African American music videos are influencing more young Senegalese generations than French movies. France and the U.S would like to create a welcoming environment for trade and investments in Senegal. This raises the issues of neocolonialism, a new form of colonialism in which weak states have little room to maneuver with developed countries: If you want this from me, you have to do this for me. It is also important to mention that while France was not willing to accord independence to African countries, the U.S supported this independence. The U.S

¹⁴ <http://www.whitehouse.gov/infocus/africa/>

was a colony so it could not support the philosophy of colonization and imperialism in Africa defended by the other great powers.

Small countries sometimes shift from being influenced by one great power to another great power for several different reasons. Senegal, for instance, is progressively turning its interest toward the United States, mainly for economic security. Senegal thinks that France's ability to help African countries will eventually decrease. Several principal factors have caused recent developments in the relationship between Senegal and its partners: the end of acquired advantages, the openness and reinforcement of Senegalese diplomacy, the lack of means for France to maintain its colonial empire, the creation of the European Union, the important role that international financial institutions, such as the World Bank and the IMF, play in Senegal, the change in leadership to a president who believes in liberal philosophies, and the United States' sudden great interest in Senegal. President Wade¹⁵ affirmed that President Bush is his friend. At his side, President Chirac stated that President Diouf is his friend. However Senegal cannot renounce French cooperation and the United States cannot replace France overnight in Senegal. The reality is that it would be harmful if Senegal should separate from France in the same way that a child would be hurt if separated from his biological mother. Senegal is trying to keep both the United States and France as allies. Senegalese and French officials are trying to maintain the privileged relations they have always had through official speeches and visits.

The United States of America sees Senegal as a friendly Islamic State. With Senegal as an ally, the U.S can deal more easily with other countries that are hostile

¹⁵ <http://www.lobserveur.sn/articles/showit.php?id=550&cat=actualite#>

toward U.S. foreign policy. In this matter, a number of Senegalese expressed their concern of eventual terrorist attacks in Senegal. In an opinion poll of 346 participants, 20% think that there is a real danger of an eventual AlQuaida attack in Senegal¹⁶. The U.S can even rely on Senegalese intervention for some crisis resolution. It is obvious to everybody today that Senegal plays a great role as a peacekeeper in African crises such as the Sierra Leone crisis, the Liberia crisis, the Cote D'Ivoire crisis, and the Madagascar crisis.

Outside Africa, Senegal can help the U.S. deal with terrorism and nuclear weapons. Senegal, through the efforts of President Wade, participated actively to facilitate the dialogue between the Bush administration and Libyan authorities upon the request of the Libyan authorities and the acceptance of the Bush administration. This is not a surprise for one who knows that Senegal and Libya have always had excellent relations. On December 20, 2003, President George Bush and President Wade re-stated the excellent relations between the two countries.¹⁷ It seems that the U.S. is happy to have Senegal as an ally currently. Senegal is happy as well. France is likely less happy to see Senegal building strong relations while France is not in good terms with the U.S. In order to progress, Senegal should depend on its ability to adapt to the new world order and reality. Finally, Senegal should know how to defend its interest and keep in mind this famous phrase of De Gaulle: *“les Etats n’ont pas d’amis, ils n’ont que des interets »*. *Countries have no permanent allies, only interests.*

Chapter IV: Recommendation and Prospect

¹⁶ <http://www.seneweb.com/> January 24, 2004

¹⁷ <http://www.diplomatie.sn/maeuase/t2.pdf>

The Senegalese and the French understand each other well. They speak the same language; and they have similar political and juridical institutions. There are no language or judicial barriers between the Senegalese and the French. In contrast to this understanding between the Senegalese and the French, the Senegalese and the Americans have difficulties conducting business because there is a big gap between the common law tradition and the civil law tradition. Furthermore, the language is a big barrier. My case illustrates well this language barrier. The educational systems of Senegal and France share many similarities as well. Since both French and Senegalese understand one another's environments they can do business easily. It is necessary to keep and develop a relationship between Senegal and France and to avoid at any price having a cold relationship. It would be hard for the Senegalese to find a better environment outside of France to do business. The Senegalese foreign minister re-states that Senegal and France cannot go separately. France is, after all, the first contributor for European developmental programs in Senegal, as well as the first commercial partner, first investor, and first provider of tourists to Senegal.

France still has the means and the strategy to put pressure on its former colonies, including Senegal. Bilaterally, France remains the leader in debt relief for African countries, with about ten billion Euro at the beginning of the new millennium. France also is ranking number one in the G8 Group to provide public aid for development far more than the U.S., Japan, Germany, and Great Britain. In multilateral cooperation, France is also the biggest provider of public aid for development, with 0.38% of its GDP. However, France is far from the Scandinavian countries that allocate 0.7% of their GDP to foreign aid. France should also be more active in the cancellation and reduction of

African debt, setting a good example by canceling the debt for these countries. France is the principle lender for these countries. Whatever happens now, France is and will be a potential partner to Senegal. Senegalese diplomacy should not be “anti” any country. Senegalese diplomacy should not be either pro-American or anti-American, pro-French or anti-French, anti-Bush or anti-Chirac. Instead, Senegal should develop a new partnership based on mutual respect and interest. In order to develop a real commercial partner with Senegal, the U.S. should lower the tariff barrier so Senegal can satisfy the condition that allows it to get into the American market easily. Senegal should know that developed countries care more about their own interests than about the fate of developing countries, which they often exploit. U.N. Secretary General Kofi Annan said, “Third World loses \$200bn through capital for the sixth straight year, net transfers of funds in 2002 flowed from poor countries to developed ones, not the other way around.”¹⁸ The partners should provide more assistance to Senegal and less dictatorship in programs of development. They should try to understand local culture when dictating policies. In addition, this U.S. policy toward Sub Sahara Africa is often criticized. Henk Dan¹⁹ in “US National Interests in Sub-Sahara Africa” argued that U.S. African policy is reactive, driven by crises, and takes foreign policy makers to task for not consulting more often with African leaders. The U.S. should develop strategies of understanding and reacting to realities of Africa rather than containing a great power. Most Senegalese do not like Bush’s administration or his foreign policy, particularly its policies vis-a-vis to Islamic countries. Senegal is a country where being considered nice, modest, humble, polite, and respectful matters more than anything else. The Senegalese people cannot stand

¹⁸ UN Secretary General Kofi Annan addressed to the General Assembly
(<http://allafrica.com/stories/200311050296.html>)

¹⁹ Henk, Dan, “US National Interests in Sub-Saharan Africa.” Parameters 27(Winter 1997-1998)

arrogance. So, while Senegalese enjoyed President Clinton's visit in 1998, they disliked Bush's visit in 2001. The Senegalese also oppose the eventual construction of an American military base in Senegal. In addition, Senegal should also develop its own cooperation with developing countries in the context of South-South cooperation. It should try hard to work with the other African countries as well. Senegal should develop a process by which the private sector, goods, capital, information, high technology and so on will be able to play a fundamental role. It should also tackle the phenomena of brain drain. As we know, Senegal has one of the highest intelligentsia in Africa. With an excellent system of higher education, the Senegalese have high positions in international institutions. The level of education of President Senghor, President Wade and President Diouf provide some information about Senegal's intelligentsia.

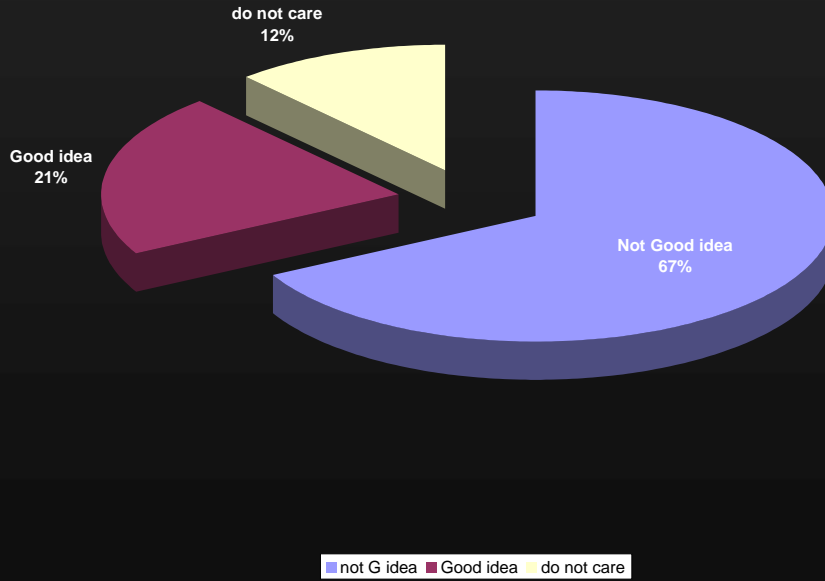
- **Bridging cultural differences,**
- **Try to understand local culture when dictating policies, more bargaining room to small States,**
- **More Soft power; less arrogance,**
- **Less dictatorship in programs of development,**
- **Less domination & more independence**
- **Invest on development assistant rather than on disaster relief**
- **Senegal Should Not: anti X but its interest**
- **Closer cooperation between great powers in Africa**
- **Respect of International public law and International public opinion**

Index: More analysis

Construction of an American military base in Senegal?

<http://www.seneweb.com/>

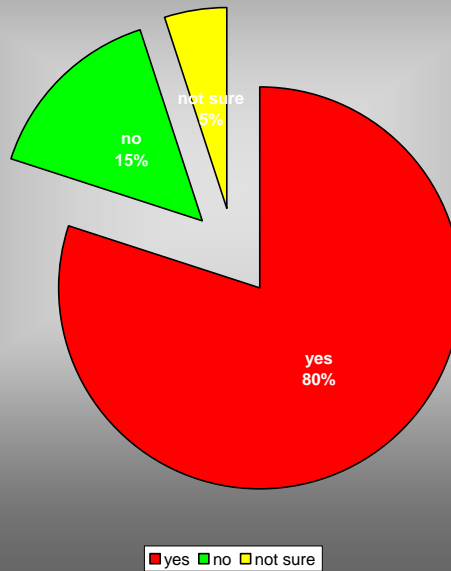
January 24, 2004



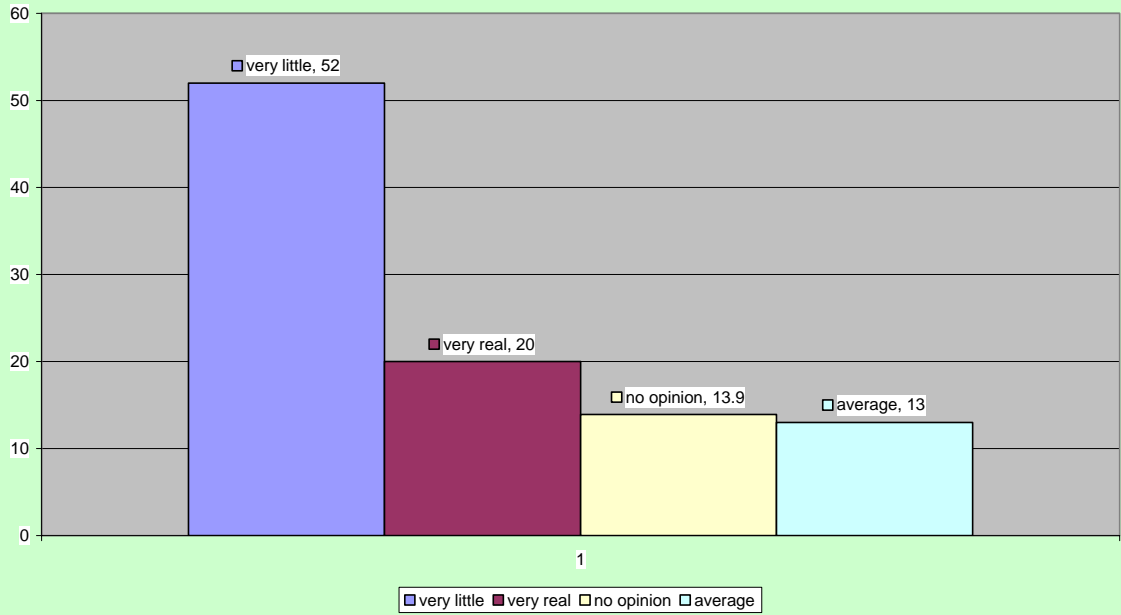
The French expel illegal senegalese in France. Should we reciprocally expel the illegal French in senegal?

<http://www.seneweb.com/>

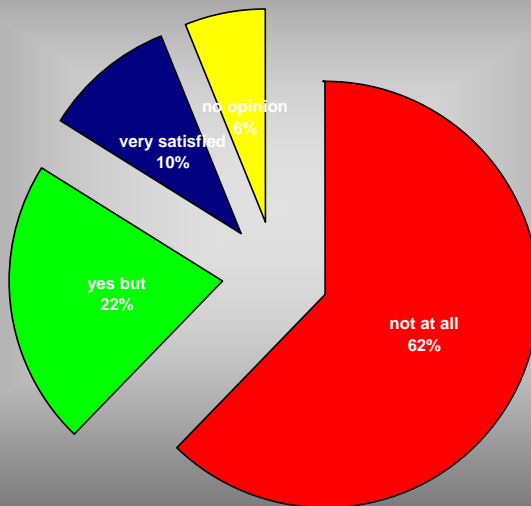
January 24, 2004



How real is an eventual Al-Qaida attack in Senegal after the African summit on terrorism organized in Dakar
[-http://www.seneweb.com/](http://www.seneweb.com/) January 24, 2004



Are you satisfied of Senegal's diplomatic Representation
<http://www.seneweb.com/>
 January 24, 2004



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List of interviewees

Except Chris Rochester the Counselor for Political Affairs who I interviewed in July 2002, I interviewed the others excluding Deborah. GERNER, Philip NICHOLS and Dr. Philip A. Schrodt, between August and November 1999 while I was doing my first internship in the Senegalese Foreign Ministry. The interviewees' last name is in alphabetical order

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