

Mali under International Pressure from 1960 to the Present Day

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Abstract

From its independence to the present day, Mali faces pressure from its international peers. This country located in the heart of West Africa was confronted from its beginning with an ideological problem to undertake an appropriate and sovereign policy at the level of its lead in the 1960s. While the world was divided into two blocs, Mali, the young landlocked state of West Africa had been a member since the independence of the non-aligned movement, a result of the Bandung conference in 1955 in Indonesia. With as Modibo KEITA, an optimistic president, its was attached to socialist values to lead his people to scientific socialism in the Soviet model. This thought of President Modibo Keita will fail because of pressure from the West, as well as the concern of the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China for their internal economic programs. Added to this is the dictatorship of Moussa TRAORE, the Structural Adjustment Program imposed by the international financial institutions, democracy, and globalization which today make Mali hardly able to administer itself.

Key words: Mali, France, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund.

INTRODUCTION

Mali under international pressure is a fact characterized by various international events. From the first years of its independence, it was confronted with an ideological problem that the world was going through. This ideological problem had

seen the light of day in the 1945s just after the Second World War. It manifested itself between the great powers won in this war and their allies until 1989. At this time of international ideological confrontation, the world was divided as follows: the United States and its allies (France, England) of on the one hand and the Soviet Union Union and its communist student, the People's Republic of China on the other hand, among these communists, we can also mention Cuba, which also played an important role in this ideological war that affects the development of Mali since independence. After the first generation of Malian leaders from 1960 to 1968 who recognized themselves in this ideological war of which they were attached to the socialist values, Mali is put under 23 years of bloody dictatorship after a military coup orchestrated by Moussa TRAORE and its companions. The country found itself between the international dictatorship of France and the countries of the West African monetary zone using CFA francs as an instrument of war. This policy of economic war against Mali will push it towards the reintegration in the zone, and signed the agreements of the program of structural adjustments towards the end of this dictatorship in 1984. After these two plagues which Mali suffers towards the year 1989 at the end of the Cold War, the term Globalization was in fashion and Mali, like other countries in the world, is faced with this problem.

This military dictatorship was closed by a military coup in March 1991 following the speech of La Baulle by François Mitterant. This coup put an end to the military dictatorship by introducing democracy and the implementation of the famous structural adjustment program imposed by the international financial institutions (the IMF and the WB). Added to this are the international influences after the institutional crisis of March 2012 also provoked by a military coup. After this institutional crisis, and the restoration of the transitional authorities, Mali has again entered a new phase of its history: the fight against the international terrorist, which is also

ensured by the international community headed by France The 2013 presidential elections that took IBK to the head of Mali followed by the peace agreement between the legitimate protagonists also did not allow Mali to escape this pressure from the international community, which continues to affect Mali in these political and economic decisions.

Mali under international pressure from 1960 to 1968

In the 1960-1968 period, with the first generation of leaders inspired by the socialist scientific model of the Soviet, there are several problems of which we can mention two that are major. These two major problems have affected Mali with pressure from other countries. They are among others the problem of political independence and the problem of economic independence.

1-1- The problem of political independence

In the 1960s most countries of the African continent gain political independence. This political independence so desired by the African people has divided the continent into several states exposed to the appetite of both Great International Powers (The United States and The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of Russia). Mali itself being one of those new independent states that emerged on September 22, 1960, was ideologically related to the socialist values of the USSR. Ignoring the threat and wanting to gain complete political independence, Mali is confronted with an ideological crisis problem imposed on it by its former metropolis: France and its western allies. In spite its official attachment to the movement of the non-aligned ones it is faced with a danger since its first years of the dependence. In the early 1960s, Malian leaders headed by Modibo KEITA played with this ideological rivalry between the two giants. At that time, they accepted all the economic contributions that could sustain its independence and

its economy with the movement of the non-aligned as a diplomatic instrument.

At that time, the United States, the leaders of the western countries refused to abandon the country at the mercy of the communist bloc, despite the attachment of this young state to socialist values led by the USSR and its satellite countries . Therefore, the URRSS sees in Mali in particular to its leader, the president KEITA like a weighty ally in West Africa. Mali received economic, military, technical and cultural aid from the USSR, Czechoslovakia and China to support its socialist ideology.

Trade between Mali and these two blocs fully explained this connection of Mali to the socialist bloc with 42.8% against 2.3% of the American side in the period 1964-1965. The communist bloc played an important role in Mali, maintaining an excellent relationship with the young state. Apart from the notion of the two blocs, Mali has discreetly played with the rivalry between the USSR and the PRC to take advantage of it with the support of these two countries on its economy.

These countries have participated with a major support system for Mali by sending technicians, in the industrial, technical, and military fields to reinforce Mali's position in the sub-region The USSR had gone so far as to sign with Mali a secret agreement which foresaw an intervention by the Soviet army in the event of endogenous threat to Malian soil at the request of the Malian authorities. China also played an important role in Mali with its support in the ideological field for the political emancipation of the country. It intervened with support in the agricultural field focused on the Office of Niger a colonial legacy. The PRC has provided technical assistance aimed at developing sugar production and rice cultivation. But being in rivalry with the USSR, China did not intervene in the field of military training for its lack of know-how on the ground vis-à-vis the USSR. Its efforts were considerable in this area with the supply of clothing to the Malian army, especially the

militia set up in 1967. China had advised Mali not to sign agreements with France to avoid the influence of this country saying that "in this struggle, we must form a united anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist front." The imperialists want to compromise your independence. to turn your country into a country like Senegal and Ivory Coast . "But Mali will end up signing the famous agreement in 1967 with France, which will underwrite the influence of the metropolis to register with a military coup in November 1968 and allow to establish a bloody dictatorship on the Malian people until 1991.

1-2. The problem Of the economic independence of Mali

Since its independence, the Malian leaders, thirsty for political, military and economic emancipation, wanted to put an end to all the influence of France on its territory. Thus, in 1962, an economic war related to the creation of the Malian Franc was triggered between the two countries (France and Mali). Mali was economically supported in large part by the countries of the Socialist Bloc including the USSR and its satellite countries such as Czechoslovakia and the People's Republic of China. For economic assistance assistance the Soviet Union was at the forefront of the socialist countries, it intervened in fields such as: investments in mining research that were entrusted to it by the Malian government in the years immediately after the opening of the doors of his Embassy in Mali (January 26, 1961). This research was granted to the USSR by an agreement which gives it a weight to fill the void of France on the territory of the AOF; the construction of major infrastructures such as the Modibo KEITA Stadium in Bamako, the National School of Administration. On the military level the USSR delivers heavy equipment, armored, vehicles that supplant the French army.

The Soviet government has also awarded training grants to Malian students. Czechoslovakia came in second place after the USSR, it offered technicians in Mali to support its economy especially in the framework of civil aviation and for the

development of Air Mali and by supplying spare parts to support the company. According to some suspicions of the French, Czechoslovakia would have incited the Malian leaders to create their own currency that displeased France, the former metropolis of Mali. As for China, it made interest-free loans to the Malian government so that the young state could support its economy. It also intervened in the field of aggro-food industries which was the base of the Malian economy. His investment was focused on the Office of Niger. To these different countries is added also the Democratic Republic of Germany which also maintained relations with the young state (Mali). Mali is still winning in this ideological war in its early years because it procured not only aid from the socialist countries but also those of the Western bloc including the United States who intervened in the framework of technical assistance and their discreet way granting of materials military . They offered Mali two C47 military planes as the last gesture towards Mali.

In this turbulent period of Mali's foreign policy, France conceived as a real threat to its presence in the continent, especially in the West African zone. Thus from the beginning, the pole France Africa of SDECE directed by Jacque Focar takes the case of Mali at the serious one. It urges the other WAEMU countries to put pressure on Mali with the products it has to import to sabotage its national currency, false money has also been made to put on the Malian market, to which is added the few weakened socialist economies to support Mali in its socialist gait. These countries should deal with their particular economic problems.

These problems push Mali signed a monetary agreement with France to support its economy in 1967 which will grant the economic direction of the country to France which will not stop to torpedo Mali economically until joining the CFA Francs zone linked to the French franc in July 1984 under the military dictatorship.

2. The international pressure of Mali under the military dictatorship from 1968 to 1991

This period of political transition between socialist ideology and democracy has been marked by great international pressure, especially on the Malian economy and the structural adjustment program imposed by the international financial institutions, the IMF, the World Bank and their partners. allies.

2-1. The international pressure on the Malian economy from 1968 to 1991

Since the coup d'Etat of November 19, 1968 supported by traders and most of the inhabitants of the capital (Bamako) until 1991, Mali suffered from a military dictatorship that did not give the people a freedom.

The poor results of the harvest caused by a series of consecutive drought meant that Mali was in a state of economic weakness. It had trouble controlling its economy based on his own currency. This opportunity pushes France to intervene and it tries to do its best to allow Mali to maintain itself. But under the conditions, that Mali accepts its reintegration into the West African Monetary Union (WAMU).

This bloody dictatorship sustained by the West initially against the socialist regime will engender an economic crisis in the country. Salaries of civil servants were falling behind at all levels, patronage was gaining ground in the administration under lawless and lawless bribery. The government of Moussa Traoré had an economic policy that favored non-producers against producers.

This policy has created unprecedented inequality in the country, the poorest of which were only impoverishing and the richest getting rich on the backs of these weakest. This first social category, namely the poorest, was concentrated in rural areas. The bad policy of the Government often prevented them from producing quantity. It pushes the Malian state towards

the structural adjustment program in the 1980s that will eventually be implemented. This program was supported by the International Financial Institutions and its membership in the Franc CFA zone in July 1984 conditioned by France.

2-2- The Structural Adjustment Program of the International Financial Institutions

From 1981 to 1984, structural adjustment policies were implemented under the auspices of the international financial institutions, namely the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. This international economic policy ensures that Mali is under international control. It was forced to Privatize national enterprises inherited from socialist power. This policy was intended to achieve some economic progress but was compromised by the drought affecting Mali.

From 1990, the power of Moussa Traoré is weakened, not only by the new international context, but also by the economic difficulties faced by the country. It suffered two disastrous droughts (1968-1974 and 1982-1985) but the inability of successive governments and their inability to cope with external constraints (oil shocks, changes in commodity prices) has put the country in a situation of suffering the requirements of the World Bank; the structural adjustment policies thus imposed have led to a significant improvement in macroeconomic performance, but at the cost of increasing the inequalities and misery of the majority, which has been deeply dissatisfied, before becoming explosive at the time of the crisis. Crisis that broke out in March 1991.

3- The international pressure on Mali from 1992 to 2012

This period was also marked by the restoration of democracy, the implementation of the structural adjustment program and the devaluation of the CFA franc.

3-1. The restoration of democracy

In 1989, the world fell to the West with the weakening of the Soviet government, which did not resist Western economic pressures. This economic weakness of the USSR is explained by the fall of the oil Barrel which was at the base of the Soviet economy. After the collapse of the Berlin Wall following the weakening of the USSR, the West has white card to impose its law and policy on the rest of the world, particularly in the majority French-speaking African countries where France is mistress.

Mali shortly before 1992, June 1990: The Franco-African Summit of La Baulle. François Mitterrand conditions the continuity of French development aid to the achievement of democratic progress. The same year sees the creation of several parties and movements such as the National Congress of Democratic Initiative (CNID), the Alliance for Democracy in Mali and the Association of Pupils (ADEMA) and Students of Mali, who join forces to denounce the regime of Moussa Traoré . Intervening after the fall of Berlin in November 1989, the new French vision of democracy and development on the black continent naturally leads to the questioning of authoritarian regimes that took advantage of the division created by the cold war to justify their character draconian.

3-2 Implementation of the Structural Adjustment program

Mali, in 1991 after the transparent elections and the establishment of a democratic constitution on 25 February 1992, entered into good relations with the Western community. This democratic power was an outcome of the Franco-African Summit of La Baulle. This summit aimed at conditioning the continuity of the French public aid to the development in the African countries to the realization of a democratic advance. After the realization of democracy in the Republic of Mali, he

was supported by the IMF on condition that he implements the structural adjustment program.

The structural adjustment program to which Mali had committed was to adjust public expenditure in all areas. Its impact particularly affected all aspects of the country's economy. The most affected sector was the public life of the country, the said structural adjustment program provoked the early retirement of several State personnel, the reduction of staff, the sparing recruitment of new staff in the public service, Salary gel of mass workers.

This structural adjustment has left the Malian school on its knees with the massive departure of teachers, even among the most experienced in early retirement. It has led to the loss of thousands of classes by freezing the recruitment of new teachers into the civil service. The responsibility of the State in the management of individual contractors and contractors has been reduced. It engendered the impacts in all school levels, from the fundamental to the higher. The efforts of the State and its technical partners have been deployed in infrastructures and equipment for primary education. And the remarkable consequences have been found in almost everywhere. In the year 1993, the Malian Parliament passed a law favoring private enterprises to the detriment of national enterprises. This laws give legitimacy to the government to almost liquidate or privatize all state enterprises. OCEDE's abrupt structural adjustment policy sought to reduce the deficit without sacrificing economic growth. This policy was not good for African countries, which first had to go through the strengthening of state structures, especially consolidating schools before facing their development.

Mali being weakened by the dictatorship of Moussa Traoré and the droughts which result from it make that it was obliged to accept the conditions of France to be able to get out of it in the economic disarray. In 1989, with the fall of the Berlin Wall, the world is again confronted with the international

context of globalization, of which the West is still in the lead. This globalization makes that the multinational have had a considerable influence on the states. Structural adjustment policies are pushing Mali to sell the rest of these national enterprises to foreign, Malian and private companies. Human rights organizations, non-governmental organizations and international corporations have proliferated throughout the country and the dictates of international organizations have been strengthened. The CFA franc with its fixed parity was also devalued in 1994. These few events to which are added the economic crisis, the grandiose corruption, the impunity that prevails and the death of Khaddafi, the Libyan Guide 2011 caused an unprecedented crisis in Mali. This crisis pushes the army to make a new military coup on March 22, 2012.

4. The international pressure on Mali from 2012 to 2018

It was a time marked by two major effects namely the institutional crisis that occurred during the military coup of September 22 and the problem of implementation of the peace agreement signed on May 15, 2015 in Bamako by the protagonists.

4-1 International pressure on Mali after institutional crisis.

January 17, 2012 is considered the beginning of an unprecedented crisis in the history of Mali with the beginning of hostilities between Tuareg rebels and the Malian army on issues of independence of the northern part of the country. The strengthening of this armed struggle generated in Mali in 2012 is explained by the fall of Colonel Mohammad Khadafi in Libya caused by the NATO countries in 2011.

While a few years before his fall, the Libyan regime recruited Tuareg from Mali whose colonel was recognized in them. After the fall of this regime in 2011, these Tuareg with heavy weapons of Libyan troops occupy northern Mali with an

idea in mind to take the independence of this part of the country. Following this military confrontation of which the Malian military frustrated at not having the order of war from the authorities and their lack of ammunition overthrow the regime of Amadou Toumani TOURE (ATT) on March 22, 2012. These soldiers accused him to be incompetent in the fight against Tuareg rebellion and Islamist groups in the north.

The coup triggers an institutional crisis and strengthens the rebels and their Salafists allies. On April 2, 2012, the Economic Community of West African States proclaims its embargo on Mali with the African Union which sanctions in turn the regime introduced by the military coup of 2012 until April 12 2012. France adds strength to countries in the region to toughen sanctions against Mali. As a result of these international sanctions these soldiers cede power to the civilians where Dioncounda Traoré was appointed as president of the transition that puts an end to this institutional crisis. In January 2013 the jihadists attack the city of Konna with the goal of reaching Bamako in a few days. Following this attack of a strategic point which artificially separated the North and the South of Mali the transition authorities at its head Dioncounda TRAORE launch a solemn appeal to France to intervene militarily alongside the Malian forces to stop the jihadists advanced That's how Francois Hollande went to war before the resolution of the United Nations Security Council. On 18 January 2013, MISMA deployed its first contingent in Mali, followed by the opening of an international donor conference that promised \$ 455 million to finance the military operation. The European military undertakes the training of the Malian military which begins on April 02, 2013 in order to restructure the Malian Army. On June 18th, the first agreement of Ouagadougou was signed under the supervision of the international community. This agreement provided for the presidential elections and inclusive inter-Malian parties. Under the same supervision of the international community, the 1st

rounds of the elections were held in the calm and throughout the whole territory which brought Ibrahim Boubacar KEITA (IBK) to the head of Mali with 77% of the votes cast. preceded by the installation of the United Nations Integrated Mission on the Stability of Mali composed of 1,200 peacekeepers on July 1, 2013. This mission will take the place of the Misma in the process of stability in Mali.

4-2 International pressure on Mali for the implementation of the peace agreement

Since the 2013 presidential elections, which have been transparent to the entire international community, Mali has not ceased to be struck by the international pressure. This international pressure is located on two axes, on the one hand on the economic aspect with the pressure of the financial institutions and on the other hand on the political side with the question of the implementation of the peace agreement signed in Bamako May 15, 2015 from the trial of Algiers. This peace agreement signed under the grip of this serious crisis that Mali is going through under the presidency of the international community puts the international institutions at the head of Mali to the detriment of the national institutions. This agreement offers France an important place in the management of Mali which is a lever that places the country under the supervision of this country and the international community. While giving this international community the status of a legitimate guarantor of the implementation of peace and security agreements.

This agreement from its beginning was under the pressure of the international community, it was a result of a long series of meeting started in Ouagadougou under the supervision of the Economic Community of West African States ECOWAS since 2013 then to Algiers under the presidency of Algeria. Mediation gathered Algeria, Burkina Fasso, Mauritania, Niger, Chad, and international organizations such

as ECOWAS, United Nations, OIC, AU, EU. The views of France and the United States were taken into account in this agreement. The aim of this peace agreement process was to bring together the protagonists of the Malian crisis who are the Malian Government, the anti-independence groups (Platform), the pro-independence supporters in the Coordination of the Azawad Movement (CMA) . After the agreement was signed on 1 March in Algiers by the parties, the CMA refused to sign until the last minute and the international community made no effort to this end. France under a camouflage is placed with the other powers to frame the institutions of Mali. And a follow-up committee is set up which includes the Government of Mali, the signatory groups, ECOWAS, OIC, AU, Algeria, Mauritania, Niger as well as Chad. The United Nations, the European Union are also members of the committee, the five permanent members of the Security Council (England, China, France, the United States and Russia are also invited to participate in these activities.

The military side the agreement provides for a technical security commission France officially sits on behalf of Barkhane who is a French force, MINUSMA whose chief of staff is a French officer, named General Thiébault. This CTS and the MOC (Coordination Operational Mechanism) work in collaboration with the international forces as well, which will conduct joint patrols. The Malian army is obliged to put itself at the disposal of France as it is in a state of weakness with its lack of weapons and technical means. The United States also plays its role of power with its logistic means available on the territory of Mali.

On the economic side, a Joint Assessment Mission to Northern Mali is being set up to assess the need for early recovery, poverty reduction and development of the Area. This commission will be responsible for overseeing the development of the northern regions. This mission was entrusted to international financial institutions such as the World Bank, the

Islamic Bank, and the African Development Bank. this bank is also managed by a Frenchman, Bertrant Badré, who is the director general of finance. The ADB is also under the voting power of 40% from outside Africa, whose role in France is 10 times that of Mali, the United States having 15 times. The International Monetary Fund is also headed by a French woman, Christine Lagarde, who also has a say in the management of Mali. Those who put control of its economy under the tutelage of the international community and France.

CONCLUSIONS

Independent Mali since 22 September 1960 is still under international control in various forms and at all levels. Starting first in the 1960s with the problem of emancipate, going through a bloody dictatorship supported by the West, structural adjustment imposed by the international financial institutions, the democratization of the States, the mode of imposed governance. What is still left for Mali as a sovereign state ?

The recent crisis has just given reason to the under supervision of Mali under the dictate of France, which is using its tools of forces to subject Mali like all its other former colonies with the famous phrase "France needs Africa and Africa also needs France ". These tools are among others the money (the CFA Franc, and the international institutions of which it is well placed) in addition to these tools, the crisis has allowed France to have a free field for his army on Malian soil without forgetting the weight of his companies planted in Mali. Nowadays the Electoral Files of Mali are also made by a Frenchman (Morpho, Subsidiary of Safran) and the manufacture of passports by Oberthur Technology. All of these show that France has an important role to play in Mali's decision-making.

This influence of France is a direct consequence of the misunderstanding between the Malian people due to bad

governance and the geographical situation and climatic hazards of the country. Democracy has also affected Mali as much in its development with multiparty-ism that everyone wants to become President even without plans and many of them are ready for all, even if it is necessary to put people and their survival in danger. for the sole purpose of taking power. Constant corruption and patronage in the Malian administrations are also factors in this international influence. Should the Malian people adopt another civic act or remain under the influence of the international community?

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