



**CÔTE D'IVOIRE FROM COLONIAL RULE TO
INDEPENDENCE**

**2023
MASTER THESIS
INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL ECONOMY**

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THESIS APPROVAL PAGE

I certify that in my opinion the thesis submitted by Aboubakar Sidik SANOGO titled “CÔTE D'IVOIRE FROM COLONIAL RULE TO INDEPENDENCE” is fully adequate in scope and in quality as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science.

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The degree of Master of Science by the thesis submitted is approved by the Administrative Board of the Institute of Graduate Programs, Karabuk University.

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my own work and all information included has been obtained and expounded in accordance with the academic rules and ethical policy specified by the institute. Besides, I declare that all the statements, results, materials, not original to this thesis have been cited and referenced literally.

Without being bound by a particular time, I accept all moral and legal consequences of any detection contrary to the aforementioned statement.

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FOREWORD

First of all, I would like to thank my Assist. Prof. Dr. Abdül Samet ÇELİKÇİ, without whom this thesis would be not been possible. I thank the members of the jury Doctors Ibrahim Fevzi Güven and Muhammed Hüseyin Mercan for their relevant observations and patience. I would like to thank my dear teacher, Sanem YAMAK for his support, advice, encouragement and help. Furthermore, I thank my teacher, Prof. Dr Ali ASKER for his guidance and encouragement during the first study steps.

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My special thanks and gratitude to my family, the parents who played a big role in encouraging me and giving me the morale to complete this step.

ABSTRACT

The subject of this study concerns Côte d'Ivoire from colonial rule to independence. With this study, it is aimed contributing not only to the awakening of nationalism but also to the learning of the history of this country which continues to catch up with it until today in its relations with the former power colonial. The research problem concerns the actions of France's undermining sovereignty of Côte d'Ivoire 62 years after its independence. The objective of the research is to investigate a problem of sovereignty of Côte d'Ivoire. It will be examined the conditions of the passage from colonial domination to independence while showing the origins, causes and consequences of colonial domination and the procedures of independence in this country. This study will examine first on the beginnings of colonization which shows the origins and causes of colonization then the strategies of colonization of the country which reveal the atrocity of the methods used by the various governors and finally the evidence of the neocolonial independence of 1960. The transition from colonial rule to independence in Côte d'Ivoire was the hardest test in the history of this country. The country was emptied of men because of the slave trade. Being plundered of its natural resources to develop France is the cause of the delay of the development of the country. It lost its civilization and culture. The current foreign policy of France causes more and more a nationalist alarm of a true independence.

Keywords: Côte d'Ivoire, Colonialism, Nationalism, Domination, Independence.

ÖZ

Bu çalışmanın konusu sömürge yönetiminden bağımsızlığa Fildişi Sahili'dir. Bu çalışma ile sadece milliyetçiliğin uyanışına değil, eski sömürgeci güçle ilişkilerinde bugüne kadar onu yakalamaya devam eden bu ülkenin tarihinin öğrenilmesine katkı sağlanması amaçlanmaktadır. Araştırma problemi, Fransa'nın, bağımsızlığından 62 yıl sonra Fildişi Sahili'nin egemenliğini baltalayan eylemleriyle ilgilidir. Araştırmanın amacı, Fildişi Sahili'nin egemenlik sorununu incelemektir. Bu ülkede sömürgeciliğin kökenleri, sebepleri ve sonuçları ile bağımsızlık prosedürleri gösterilirken, sömürgecilikten bağımsızlığa geçişin koşulları incelenecektir. Bu çalışma öncelikle sömürgeciliğin kökenlerini ve nedenlerini gösteren sömürgeciliğin başlangıcını, ardından çeşitli valiler tarafından kullanılan yöntemlerin vahşetini ortaya koyan ülkenin kolonizasyon stratejilerini ve son olarak 1960 neo-sömürge bağımsızlığının kanıtlarını inceleyecektir. Fildişi Sahili'nde sömürge yönetiminden bağımsızlığa geçiş, bu ülkenin tarihindeki en zor sınavdı. Köle ticareti yüzünden ülkedeki erkekler boşaltıldı. Fransa'nın kalkınması için doğal kaynaklarının talan edilmesi, ülkenin kalkınmasının gecikmesine neden olmaktadır. Ülke, medeniyetini ve kültürünü kaybetmiştir. Fransa'nın mevcut dış politikası, gerçek bir bağımsızlığa dair giderek daha fazla milliyetçi alarma neden olmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Fildişi Sahili, Sömürgecilik, Milliyetçilik, Egemenlik, Bağımsızlık.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AOF	: French West Africa
CFAO	: Corporation for Africa & Overseas
SCOA	: West African Commercial Company
UNESCO	: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UN	: United Nations
PDCI	: Democratic Party of Ivory Coast
ECOWAS	: the Economic Community of West African States
SIR	: Ivorian Refining Company
GMA	: Grand Moulin d'Abidjan
UTEXI-CI	: Textile and Industrial Union of Côte d'Ivoire
HIPC	: Heavily Indebted Poor Countries
MDGs	: Millennium Development Goals
ECOWAP	: The agricultural policy of the States of the Economic Community of West African States
WAEMU	: the West African Economic and Monetary Union
CAADP	: Tea Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Program
NEPAD	: the New Partnership for Africa's development
SDECE	: the External Documentation and Counterintelligence Service
PLR	: the liaison and intelligence post, responsible for assuming
DST	: Directorate of Territorial Security
SSEC	: Sino-African quarry Exploitation Company
BIMA	: Marine Infantry Battalion

FFCI	: French Forces in Ivory Coast
RIC	: colonial infantry regiment
UNOCI	: United Nations Operation in Côte d'Ivoire
UNOCI	: United Nations Operation in Ivory Coast
RTI	: Radio Television Ivorian
AF	: Free French Africa
CCFL	: Central Fund of Free France
CFA	: Franc French Colonies of Africa
BEAC	: the Bank of Central African States
BCEAO	: Central Bank of West African States
ECB	: European Central Bank
WAEMU	: Members of the West African Economic and Monetary Union
GDP	: Growth to halve the poverty of their populations
AEF	: Equatorial Africa French

SUBJECT OF THE RESEARCH

Côte d'Ivoire from colonial rule to independence.

PURPOSE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RESEARCH

This study examines the conditions of the transition from colonial domination to independence in Côte d'Ivoire. This framework will examine the origins, causes and consequences of colonial rule and the independence process of Côte d'Ivoire.

METHOD OF THE RESEARCH

The method of this study will be qualitative. Articles, theses and books written in English, French, Arabic and Turkish in this field will be the main sources of the study. This work is presented in three main chapters that allow us to better understand the thesis.

HYPOTHESIS OF THE RESEARCH / RESEARCH PROBLEM

Côte d'Ivoire from colonial rule to independence will contribute to the solution of the problem by revealing the reasons why the Côte d'Ivoire does not have full sovereignty at the point where it is today and the conditions necessary for full sovereignty and independence.

POPULATION AND SAMPLE (IF AVAILABLE)

Côte d'Ivoire

SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS / DIFFICULTIES

Côte d'Ivoire from colonial rule to independence so sixty-two years after its independence, Côte d'Ivoire has still not fully regained its sovereignty due to the domination of the former colonial power which keeps it in underdevelopment. There is

still not enough literature on this subject. In this context, it is believed that the study will have an important place in the literature.

INTRODUCTION

For six centuries, the history of Africa as a whole, West Africa and Côte d'Ivoire has been falsified by the former colonial powers allowing them to justify their barbaric and criminal acts fleeing this past colonial. The legitimation of colonialism is bad faith, a memorial attitude. In short, they don't really know what to do with colonization. Because Africans (writers, researchers, political leaders) tend to develop a historical vision of colonization, insofar as colonization appears to them as a fact, which they take into account and which they often concretely measure, in their daily lives, the results. Reference to the colonial past is not a central theme in French opinion today. It's a memoir for her. Claims to establish a kind of balance sheet balancing the “positive” and “negative” aspects of colonization end up putting all the facts on the same plane. It is therefore devoid of any historical dimension and does not allow us to understand this complex and multifaceted phenomenon that is the passage from colonial domination to independence. The denunciation of colonial domination which is in line with the famous speech delivered by Clemenceau in the Chamber of Deputies on July 30, 1885 against Jules Ferry; and the valorization of colonization, which emphasizes the achievements of the colonizer: end of wars, public health, roads, bridges, schooling, etc. This speech can be summed up by the formula: "We do not have to be ashamed of our work" and it takes on all the more force as it willingly opposes this colonial past to a certain number of violent crises that the country is currently going through. Africa in a number of countries. But, very often, these two discourses are combined.¹

When the power of the Ottoman Empire reached its peak, Europeans could not approach the African continent due to their fear of the Ottoman Empire and the power of Muslims. On this subject, Abdel-Aziz al - Kahlout² declares this: “The Arab-Islamic presence in Africa was a defensive line for Africa, but this state of confidence did not last long”. Following Islamic fluctuations in Andalusia, the Portuguese occupied the Moroccan city of Ceuta in 1415 AD. John Henry I. He is famous for coveting the gold of Egypt. Along with this, he decided to deal with the African continent to open a waterway from Africa and the Atlantic Ocean to the Red Sea and then to India, so he

¹ J.O. Chambre, *ibid.*, p 113

² Abdulaziz al-Kahlouti, *Tensîrve'l- isti'mârîl-İfrikîyâ seva'*, Davet Islameyyet Faculty Camahîriyya al-Uzmayay., 2nd Edition, Tripoli, 1992, p.49; Abderrahmane Bouslimani "El-İsti'mâr Almanîyye Fî-Sarki İfrikîyya 1885-1914" Algeria- 2- Abul-Kasim Saadallah University Ulumu'l-İnsaniyye Faculty History Unpublished Doctorate Thesis, Algeria, 2016-2017, p.24

thought that the monopoly of trade with the East would be destroyed and Portugal would become a great country. Based on this information, the African continent has always been safe. It can be said that he lives in peace and stability. Especially under the rule of Islam, the role of the Ottoman Empire in protecting North Africa and some regions from European adventurers increased security and stability. In particular, the colonial Europeans, due to their fear of the Ottoman Empire, affected North and West Africa until the support of the Ottoman Empire was cut off.³

With the weakening of Ottoman rule and the Ottoman Empire, Islamic states began to decline, starting with the Umayyad state in Andalusia and then weakening the Ottoman Empire. Later, after the Ottomans weakened and the state fell, some Europeans, including present-day Turkey, portrayed it as a colonial state due to the hatred and resentment they harbored against the Empire Ottoman. However, as they claim, the Ottoman Empire was never a colonial state in the history of mankind, and these accusations are completely unfounded and erroneous. The fact is that the Ottoman state had a system entirely aimed at spreading peace, security and the conquest of states by Islam. Historical references and records also reveal this with solid evidence. Furthermore, the signs of these policies carried out by the Ottoman Empire are also included in the narratives, treatises and letters transferred between the Ottoman rulers and the other countries they ruled. Although the colonialists try to hide this reality in the shadow of colonialism unjustly and without reason, history and the results of scientific studies and scientific research in this field believe these claims. Therefore, such unjust accusations and assertions should be thrown into the dustbin of history.

After the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and the emergence of the European Renaissance, the ugly face of Europe emerged in Africa. Worse still, Westerners have used the new order they have put in place to influence their rule over small states and plunder their wealth. In this Dark Age known as the Renaissance⁴, European discoveries emerged, followed by the colonial period. Thus, he committed a great crime with the inhuman practices of the Europeans called the slave trade. At this time, colonialism means human trafficking, killing people, despising them, treating them like animals, all

³ Abdulaziz al-Kahloti, op.cit., p.49; Abderrahmane Bouslimani, op. cit., p.24

⁴ İsmail AhmadYaghi, ed-Devletu'l-Osmâniyyefî't-Tarihi'l-islami'l-Hadis, Mektebu Obekian yay., Riyad 1995, s.237

kinds of disgrace, and like the Raziya method, Raziya⁵ means "colonial rules" according to some scholars. The colonial powers literally acted according to these rules. Over time, these rules were formally transformed into colonial military laws. By law, one person from each family was to be given free. If the families did not accept this, they would be taken by force and punished. If someone insisted on not giving, family members would be killed from one to six. With this law, Africans worked as slaves or were killed. However, finding the word Raziya and its subject in the works of Europeans means comfortably applying evils. By using the Raziya method as an application of colonialism, we can make history a war against humanity or commit crimes. It is no exaggeration to point out that scholars like Klah Pop, Marcel Manville⁶ and other African historians, as well as Guytirollen have referred to their work on this subject. This will be discussed in more detail in the following sections.⁷

Each colonial power, acting according to its temperament and its options, its interests of the moment and its ability to involve a greater or lesser number of its middle managers in the management of its empire, practiced either a policy of pure and simple assimilation in terms of language, education and culture, that is to say a policy of selective and more nuanced assimilation. Thus, the centralizing French colonial administration wanted to integrate Africans into its educational system, which it

⁵ Raziya, according to some researchers, means "colonial rules". The colonial powers literally

They would act according to the rules. Over time, these rules were formally made into colonial military laws. According to the law, one person from each family had to be given free of charge. If families accept this If they did not, they would be taken by force and punished. If there are those who insist on not giving, family members can get six out of one person. Up to one person was killed. With this law, African people were either worked as slaves for six centuries or has been killed. However, it is not possible to find the word Raziya and its subject in the works of Europeans. See Guy tirolien Face à la Presse etv. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CGmSIN8P0DU>(18.10.2017) ; Pierre Kipré, Histoire de la Cote d'ivoire Premier cycle de l'enseignement secondaire, Amyay, Abidjan 1992, p. 52.

⁶ Marcel Manville, L'esclavage est-il un crime contre l'humanité au regard de la juris prudence du tribunal de Nuremberg ? Déraison, esclavage et droit, UNESCO, (2002), pp. 179,183, 186,187, 191. Klah Popo, La responsabilité des africains dans la traite négrière. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=W9EVkB8sTvc>.(13.10.2017) ; Guy Tirolien Face à la Presse etv. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CGmSIN8P0DU> (18.10.2017); Munkiz Mahmut es-Sekkar, "el İsti'mâr fi'l Asri'l Hadis and Devâfi'uhu al-Diniyye", Makkah-i Repeat, p.14 (2009), p. 9-10; Jack Woddis, l-isti'mâr 'l-Cedid' fi'To Asia and Africa and America Latinye, Dâr-ul Truth, 1st edition Pub., Beirut 1971, p.9. For more detailed information on this subject; see Klah Butt, Yovodah et Panafricanisme Resister Pour survivre, Anibwe arc, Paris 2012.

⁷ Pierre Kipré, Ibid., p. 52

considered universal. Great Britain, pragmatic, distinguishes itself more clearly from the "indigenous" and introduces their languages from the first years of elementary education, in particular for certain disciplines such as history-geography, religion, natural history, etc.

French in Africa, West Africa and Côte d'Ivoire is a purely colonial and imposed language. Some European claims attempt to reverse the story that the language was readily accepted by Africans. The Francophone project that still plagues Africa is neocolonial.

Africa has suffered a crime against humanity such as injustice, murder, theft, genocide and humiliation. To achieve this criminal objective, they used Christianity, the Bible, the priests. This is why this thesis in the form of a series of academic studies on the passage from colonial domination to independence, is centered on Côte d'Ivoire. The history of colonialism in the Republic of Côte d'Ivoire is very similar to that of other West African countries. The first colonial power in Africa is Portugal. Then, on June 7, 1494, Pope VI. Alexander undertook the Treaty of Tordesillas, making a decision indicating the superiority of Portugal and Spain over other European countries, he encouraged Portugal to have influence in other continents, the first Portuguese ship under command from the sender Henry, Joao, Santarem and Pêro Escobar was the first convoy to Côte d'Ivoire between 1470-1471. Arrived in San Pedro, Sassandra and Fresco in Côte d'Ivoire 14th century until the end of the century, the Portuguese were the only Europeans to survive in Côte d'Ivoire.⁸

The Dutch came after the Portuguese in the coastal region of Fresco and Mina in the territory of the Côte d'Ivoire but currently Mina is in the territory of Ghana after the drawing of the borders by the colonists. The British were the third to arrive in Côte d'Ivoire. Arab Muslims were obviously present in the region before the arrival of Westerners who advocated peace, stability and Islam, thus far from any form of colonization. Colonialist France first arrived in Côte d'Ivoire through the region of Assinie in 1637. The region became unstable with the arrival of France in the region due to competition between them, the inhabitants of the region were attacked by England, the Netherlands and Portugal. Thus, in addition to the onslaught of local tribal leaders,

⁸ Pierre Kipré, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-48.

the colonial powers ensured France's immediate withdrawal from the Ivorian region. Also, after a few decades, France returned to the Assinie region in 1687.⁹ When the French came to the region for the second time, they tried to make some sort of contract with other colonial powers in the 17th century. At the end of the century, France launched missionary activity to spread Christianity in the region until March 10, 1893, when Côte d'Ivoire officially became a French colony. It will know the French hell, forced labor, poisoning, sale of men, rape, theft, imprisonment. Muslim kingdoms like the Kingdom of Kong, the Kingdom of Bouna and the Kingdom of Kabadougou, as well as pagan kingdoms like the Kingdom of Baoulé, were in the region. Thus, some people ended their lives by fighting against colonialism in order to protect their homeland and their lands. Mohammed Ali al - Fevzi¹⁰ detailed how the African kings and people of Côte d'Ivoire, together with their people, fought the colonial powers in the work titled "Colonial Rivalry in West Africa". These are all oral statements that the researcher obtained from Grand-Bassam museum staff on October 11, 2017.

This information indicates that prisons have been built in the colonial country (in the Grand Lahou region and elsewhere in the country) since 1800. One of the things that confirms the credibility of this oral account is the following statement by one of the researchers for confirm the oral account: "The prison was imported into the territory of Côte d'Ivoire during colonialism as a tool of oppression and control for all those who opposed colonialism. Thus, the new colonial authority was integrated into the penitentiary administrative system in the 18th and 19th centuries".¹¹ Fidèle, Tabizaé, "Prison standing the test of time in Côte d'Ivoire since 1893".¹² The historian Klah Popo and Ayid Musa. He said the allegation that African rulers themselves sold slaves to

⁹ Ahmadou Kourouma, *Quand on refuse, on dit non*, Éditeur Seul, Pub., Paris 2003-2004, p.55-77 ; Yveline Déverin "Ahmadou Kourouma Quand on refuse, on dit non La naissance de la cote d'ivoire" *Géographie des Conflits* (2003-2004), pp.1-7

¹⁰ Muhammed Ali el-Favzi, *Fi Tarihi Ifriki'ya el-Hadis ve'l-Muâsir*, 1st Edition, Dâru'l-Nahda el-Arabiye pub., Beirut 2006, pp.16-17

¹¹ Tabizaé Fidèle, *La prison à l'épreuve du temps en Côte d'Ivoire depuis 1893*, Alassane Ouattara University, Faculty of Law History, Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, Abidjan 2017, p. 12) ; Ayid Musa, *Ticaretu abid fi Ifrikiyya*, p.227-229

¹² Klah Popo, *La responsabilité des africains dans la traite négrière* [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=W9EVkB8sTvc&t=102s\(29.10.2017\)](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=W9EVkB8sTvc&t=102s(29.10.2017)); Ayid Musa, *Ibid.*, p 229 ; Pierre Kipré, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-71.

colonizers is a complete lie and slander, moreover such a case has never happened in the colonial history of the country. They are myths and superstitions put forward to justify barbaric and unjust acts, to be adopted by the West and other colonial powers. It is a fact that without the permission and consultation of African kings, the colonizers brutally dragged Africans into the slave trade. Africans have never voluntarily participated in the sale of men or colonialism. These are slanderous claims to justify their crimes against humanity and civilization. When local families and kings objected to the settlers taking their own people, the colonialists applied the "Raziya" method.¹³ The number of people expelled is estimated at nearly¹⁴ 100 million, 24 Forced exiles of 25% of the Ivorian population.¹⁵ All these events are known to have been clearly revealed by sources related to this field and experts who do the relevant research. He refers to it when he pronounces the words: "the slave trade was at its peak, the annual exports from the different sectors of the coast were Côte d'Ivoire 4000 slaves".¹⁶ It should be seen that at the aforementioned time, Africa was under European pressure beyond its capacity to argue between life and death.¹⁷ Thus, Africans under the influence of the colonizers lose their arguments and for a long time lies prevail in the minds of those who were content with works written by the former colonial powers. Therefore, this historical academic study of the dilemmas from colonial rule to independence that took place in the history of Côte d'Ivoire will guide to investigate the realities of this bloodthirsty journey that unfortunately resulted in neocolonial independence and its impact on the current relations between Côte d'Ivoire and the former colonial power through scientific historical sources and research and to determine the path to true independence. In order

¹³ Aux racines de l'histoire africaine et la supercherie du Mémorial ACTE <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rITiIF9kpxM>(18.11.2016)

¹⁴ Guy de Bosschère, Les deux versants de l'histoire Autopsie de la colonisation, Albin Michel, publication, Paris 1967, p. 10

¹⁵ Maurice Bandaman, Kanga-Gnanzé la route de l'esclavage en Côte d'Ivoire, RTI Officiel, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Gq0ibm3Cabs> (19.02.2021).

¹⁶ A. G. Hopkins, et-Tarihu al-Iktisatili Afrikiyya al-Garbiyye, trans. Ahmed Fuad Balba al-Assembly al-Ala Li-l Sakâfe, Câmi'at al-Cairo spring, Cairo 1998, p. 204-205

¹⁷ Enver, al-Cundî, al-'âlamu'l-Islami ve 'l-isti'mârî ve 's-siyâsîve's-şakâfî, 2nd Edition, Dâru'l-Kitâbi Lubnanî Mektebetu'l-Medrese li'n-neşri ve't-tibâ', Beirut 1983, p.152.; Muhammad Dockery, "Les Frontières de la Côte d'Ivoire, Conférence debate" UEIÂUICN,(2019), p.7;Saadi Bazyan, Cerâimu France fi , Cezâir, ISBN pub., Cezâir 2002, p.13

to meet the requirements of this study, Côte d'Ivoire from colonial domination to independence will be discussed under the title "the course of Côte d'Ivoire from colonial domination to independence".

The choice of the subject of the thesis is above all a duty of citizens who want change in their country. Then, this subject being sensitive, new, raises a problem in our society particularly in the political field. Finally, this subject will eventually contribute to the restoration of the country's sovereignty.

The importance of the study lies in its purpose to investigate a problem of sovereignty of the Ivorian country. It examines the conditions of the transition from colonial domination to independence in Côte d'Ivoire. This framework will examine the origins, causes and consequences of colonial rule and the independence process of Côte d'Ivoire.

The sovereignty of Côte d'Ivoire is confiscated by the former colonial power 62 years after its independence and this is the main problem concerning the subject of the thesis. It is believed that this study will contribute to the solution of the problem by revealing the reasons why the Côte d'Ivoire does not have full sovereignty at the point where it is today and the conditions necessary for full sovereignty and independence.

Sixty-two years after its independence, Côte d'Ivoire has still not fully regained its sovereignty due to the domination of the former colonial power which keeps it in underdevelopment. There is still not enough literature on this subject. In this context, it is believed that the study will have an important place in the literature.

The independence of Côte d'Ivoire was negotiated and not won like that of Algeria so it is neocolonial independence. This situation has a negative impact on the free choice of its partners and its strategic choices. French being the official language imposed by the colonialists to destroy the 69 languages of the country and prevent Ivorian's from reconnecting with their culture and civilization.¹⁸ It is moreover this situation which is at the origin of the underdevelopment of Côte d'Ivoire.

Côte d'Ivoire is a West African country with seaside resorts, tropical forests and a French colonial heritage. Its area is 322,462 km² for a population of over 27 million.

¹⁸ Özey, Ramazan. Afrika Coğrafyası. Ankara: Aktif yay, 3. Baskı, 2016, s.211

Colony is a territory occupied and governed by a foreign power. Domination is an unjust or morally illegitimate form of power. Whatever the domination, it is morally serious. It is a complaint (Pettit, 2005). To be dominated is typically to have cause for indignation and resentment against the dominator or against the institutions which dominate or make domination possible whoever says colonization means domination and whoever thinks domination implies exploitation. Slave trade is the trade of black men called the triangular trade, that is to say from Africa they are brought to Europe then to the United States and they come back to Africa for the same process. Independence is the ability to act, do and choose without the intervention or supervision of others. It is the opposite of dependency and applies to both individuals and formal institutions, such as the state with independence, one enjoys the freedom of one's actions, since one acts alone, but it also involves making decisions and taking responsibility as well as the consequences. Neocolonial independence is the former colonial power is trying by these means to maintain its presence in the country particularly with regard to access to raw materials.

1. THE BEGINNING OF FRENCH DOMINATION IN CÔTE D'IVOIRE

The first French on the territory had been harshly driven out by the other European powers that had preceded them and by the Ivorian's because of their actions. It was now for France to come back with new strategies to conquer Côte d'Ivoire. On the one hand by evangelization and on the other hand by the treaties which are at the origin of French domination. This situation has shown the spirit of international openness of Ivorian's and their hospitality which is also in the national anthem of the country: "country of hospitality". But unfortunately France's bad faith and deceit will plunge us into unprecedented domination. The protectorate treaties are a key to understanding the historical springs of the domination of modern Côte d'Ivoire in that they are part of the history of French expansionism in Côte d'Ivoire in the 19th century.

The interest of studying such a subject also lies in the fact that the treaty constitutes the first written formulation of the colonial pact which reveals the colonial project in its designs and its first operational objectives. In this sense, it is the ancestor of the future cooperation agreements that France signed with African heads of state in the 1960s. And yet, the texts of these treaties or even their existence are ignored by the rising generations that the Ivorian school deprives of the inalienable right to know their history.

1.1. The Agreements of the Basin Governors with the Leaders

1.1.1. Treaties from 1842 to 1893

The treaty is that of Grand-Bassam signed on February 10, 1842 between Lt. Charles Marie Philippe de Kerhallet and Attékéblé also called King Pierre. This sovereign establishes a French protectorate over the lagoon of Grand-Bassam stipulated as follows. Article 1: King Philippe I of France, with absolute sovereignty over the countries and rivers of Grand Bassam, to establish forts which the French deem useful and necessary for the purchase of land and which they have the right to acquire and to own, and that no country other than France does not have sovereign rights in the region. It explains the alienation of sovereignty and the occupation of the State of Grand Bassam: Article 2: King Pierre of Grand Bassam and the chiefs of the country allocate

1,000 meters of their land to France. Article 4: France has the right to navigate the rivers and their tributaries. Article 5: In case of disagreement between the two parties, the first commander of a warship which enters the country will be consulted on this subject, and he will have to rely on justice in his decision. Article 6: Traders must be provided with a deposit.¹⁹ Article 7: The treaty will enter into force as soon as it is signed on February 19, 1842. This treaty justifies the domination of France over Grand Bassam and wanted to occupy it in exchange for a few sheets, an umbrella and a few hats, and have the right to use the land and the rivers. After the ratification of the treaty, French agents spread throughout the region. Admiral Debray summarized the situation from December 19, 1842 as follows: “The region has seen the establishment of several French companies and by this agreement, France extended her commercial influence in the region” and her commercial agents.²⁰

All this does not reflect the truth because, as indicated in the previous sections, Côte d'Ivoire was not under the domination of France on the dates mentioned.

France is therefore not content with Grand-Bassam but with the whole region and does not mention these advantages. Then on July 4, 1843 between the King of Assinie and Lt. M. Fleuriot a treaty was signed, including some articles mentioned in article 1: The whole of the people King of Assinie, including its chiefs, glorifies the friendship and the alliance that unites the country to the French nation. This alliance gave him absolute sovereignty over the lands to come under the rule of French King Louis Philippe from 1773 to 1850 and establish what he saw fit. Article 2: The king and the chiefs of the tribes will continue to enjoy the interests of the country with the existence of this treaty, and since this right belongs to King Louis Philippe, it did not require other treaties with foreign powers. In this way, no country could obtain the right to establish facilities on the territory of Assinie. Article 3: The king and the local chiefs continue to respect the personality and the property of the French, and if problems arise between the peasants and the French, the Lt. informs the competent authorities to take

¹⁹ Alfred FIERRO, *L'Afrique Occidentale Française* ED Crété La Cote D'Ivoire, Imprimerie Typographique Pub, Paris 1906, p.30

²⁰ Roger Villamur et Leon Richaud, *Notre Colonie de la Cote d'Ivoire*, Librairie Maritime et Coloniale, Paris 1903, p.10.

cognizance of them. Article 4: By this treaty, the King and the chiefs of Assinie guarantee that they can navigate freely and serenely in French waters. Article 5: If an incident (drowning or similar) occurs, the rescuers receive one third of what is saved and the rest is given to the district leaders to be returned to their original owners. Article 6: The king and the chiefs leave the territory between the sea and the river from the source of the river to the north, the officer in charge of security control determines the borders and gives the king of France the choice of the appropriate site for the office of border design. Article 7: In return for these privileges, the King of France ensures the King of Assinie and the full protection of its leaders. If the treaty is accepted, both parties agree to the following provisions: 100 pieces of fine cloth, 100 barrels of gunpowder, 100 single-shot rifles, 2 bags of 100 tobacco, 5 hats, 4 cases of liquor, 3 canals of coral or 3 armfuls of pearls. Article 8: At the end of each year, according to custom, King Louis Philippe of France presents: 36 rifles, 36 assorted rags, 96 packets of cigarettes to the chiefs to enforce the treaty and protect their workplaces. Article 9: This treaty applies from the day when sovereignty is handed over to the French in exchange for protection against war. These agreements were concluded between the French and Ivorian leaders.²¹

These deals are outrageous. At that time, the leaders did not understand the French language and there was no translator. The Ivorian's having observed the exploitation of their resources led a fierce resistance. Since the colonialists claim that these agreements were made, legitimizing their actions is therefore nothing more than the refusal to feel guilty and behave like a coward. The peoples resisted from 1687 to 1914. The French, who claimed that African Ivory Resistance only continued after 1900 and was not based on correct scientific support, responded after African historians have examined the colonial event and revealed that Africans resisted the colonists from the moment they understood the ulterior motives of the settlers. Although this fact shocks the French, it is the truth. In the book *Kitâb-u Efrikiyye* on the subject:

“It was believed that the resistance against the French in the forest areas of Guinea and Côte d'Ivoire began only after 1900. However, recent research, especially among Lagoon and Pauli peoples residing in the Ivory Coast, reveals the fallacy of this belief and the

²¹ Alfred FIERRO, *op. cit.*, p.6

French interior penetration from the coasts and the hostile reactions of the populations from the beginning.”²²

In 1894, Captain Louis-Gustave Binger, with his colleague Monty, succeeded in persuading the inhabitants of the region again after they could not resist the inhabitants of Dioula Kong, he signed the treaty with the inhabitants of the North in 1895, then a treaty with the inhabitants of Grand Bassam on May 14, 1896.

Binger's success in these agreements is based on the results of the Berlin Conference decisions. The first session of the conference, which consisted of 10 sessions, began on November 15, 1884, and ended on February 26, 1885. Among the most important of the resolutions of the Conference, the resolutions of which were published in the form of a general statute consisting of 38 articles, set out in article 34, was the provision that any European state occupying any part of the African coast in the future or declaring it under protection, notifying the signatories of the Berlin Document would suffice to colonize this area.

It further stipulates through Article 35 that the person occupying coastal property must demonstrate that the terms agreed upon are of sufficient force to protect freedom of commerce and the right of transit when necessary. This principle has been called "effective occupation". The treaties between France and the N'zima and Sanwi States authorizing the installation of counters in Bassam and Assinie are fundamentally identical in terms of their content. But the form of their presentation marks some differences.²³

These two treaties are of historical significance in that they appear to be the first attested protectorate treaties and will serve as the basis for the drafting of later treaties adopted in the mid-19th century. These treaties are signed from State to State, between two Heads of State or their representative. Which is proof that contrary to European propaganda, African peoples had their own political structures before the arrival of Europeans. These treaties give France the right to fly its flag there alone over the whole

²² A. Boahen, *Tarihu Afrikiyâel-‘Âm*, çev. Adifara, C.VII, Unesco., p.141.

²³ B. Fevziyye-M. Meryem, *Al-Îsti'mâri'l-Fransi fî Sâhili'l-Âc*, Africa AhmedDiraye Urinary University, Ulumi'l İnsâniyye Faculty, Unpublished Higher Education Undergraduate Thesis, Algeria 2018, p.43.

of the two territories. The French government does not immediately aim for the annexation of the country of Bassam and Sanwi as it will do in 1893 with the creation of the colony of Côte d'Ivoire. Its concern is to use these sovereign rights to control trade and commercial products and to oust England, already commercially and culturally influential in the region, as specified in paragraph two (2) of article one of the Treaty of Assinie.²⁴ This clause is also made for the future. It is a question of reserving for France the rights of sovereignty which it will use when the time comes if necessary. The land question as it will arise in the colony of Côte d'Ivoire is already present in filagrams in the two treaties. By the treaties, the kings "cede in full ownership" portions of land to the French government to build "buildings and fortifications" on condition that it buys them back from the owners.

As we can see, the treaties establish a distinction between France's sovereignty over the soil and the right of ownership over the soil. But over time this distinction will disappear in the very name of the French right to sovereignty invoked by the treaties and the French State will become the owner of all the land. The principle of French sovereignty is the legal mechanism that announces France's control over land ownership. It is now a question of imposing the treaty. A dissuasive clause is introduced in both treaties. For example, Article 7 of the Treaty of Bassam threatens: "The present treaty shall have its course from this very day, as to the sovereignty stipulated, failing which the signatories would expose their country to all the rigors of war that the French warships do to them."²⁵ Why such a threat on the part of France? While it is a contract which in international law is deemed to be freely concluded between the two parties. France is undoubtedly threatening because it fears a possible rejection of the treaty by the authorities of these States in case they become aware of the deception because he intends to oppose this treaty to them and also to assert it with his English competitors who had nevertheless preceded him on the Gold Coast currently the Ghana.

We therefore understand the nervousness and impatience of the French signatories who are asking for the immediate entry into force of France's sovereign

²⁴ Valérie Caniart, *Traités de protectorat entre la France et les royaumes de la Boucle du Niger*, p5

²⁵ Roger Villamur et Leon Richaud, *Op.cit.*, p.10

rights, while the application, for example of the clause on the "payment of goods in exchange" article 3, is postponed after ratification by the King of France. The principle of Western law of parallelism of forms is not respected here.

1.1.2. Treaties and Their Consequences

The treaties reveal the practices of colonial imperialism which advances masked to achieve its designs. By lie, ruse or deception, the French administrators and soldiers succeeded in having their interlocutors sign these treaties without arousing suspicion because at that time the kings did not understand French. Indeed, the first French school was built on August 8, 1887 while most of these treaties were signed from 1843 as already mentioned above. Presented in the negotiations as fair trade agreements and as amicable settlement agreements, the treaties in fact enshrine France's sovereignty and its right to a commercial monopoly under European international law, considered by them to be the sole source of universal right. But the African chiefs, with regard to their right, considered the act of signature as a pact of friendship and trade between the two peoples without other consequences on their sovereignty. But these treaties will be at the origin of the deterioration of the relations of the French forts with the peoples of the coast and the lagoons like the France - Abouré war in Aka in January 1845.²⁶

The authorities of Aka who also signed a treaty of protectorate on April 22, 1844²⁷ with the king of France will revolt very early against the provisions of the treaty which flout their freedom of trade. In January 1845 and they fly the British flag. They forbid the French contractors to go up the Akba River (Comoé) and to attack and destroy all the boats which approach it. The answer is not long in coming. The garrison of Grand-Bassam intervenes violently. The city is bombarded and strafed by blunderbusses mounted on canoes. We also witnessed a diplomatic incident between N'zima and France in 1845.

²⁶ Traoré Adama, Fascicule 9 : la grande guerre de l'huile dans le bassin de la lagune kyaman (Ebrie) (1852- 1853), les presses Per Ankh d'Abidjan, Septembre 2012

²⁷ Bernard Schnapper, *La politique et le commerce français dans le Golfe de Guinée de 1838 à 1871*, Mouton et Co, Pris/La Haye, 1961, note 3 de bas de la page 59

To dissuade King N'zima from trading with the English, a cabal was set up in April 1845 by the French commander against him. The king is fined. The commander by sanctioning the regent demonstrates that he is not in fact a simple diplomatic representative but a pro consul exercising the sovereign rights of France. There was also the bombardment of the headquarters of Yaou (Abouré country) in March 1849. A series of incidents broke out in Abouré country following the attempt by the French to monopolize trade for their benefit. The commander of the naval division of Dakar, BOUËT – Willaumez in person organizes an important landing in Abouré country in Côte d'Ivoire. Arrived on March 3, 1849 with three warships, he attacked the stronghold of Yaou on March 16 with 200 sailors. He seizes the village of Yaou and destroys it entirely. BOUËT imposes a heavy "war fine", he takes the relatives of the chief's hostage and installs a regime of terror throughout the kingdom. Then one Great Oil War of the Tyaman Lagoon Basin (Ebrié Lagoon) 1852-1853. After the wars of Abouré, a new generalized war for the control of the trade of oil, is started in 1852 between France and the Confederation of the lagoons. Following the opposition of the populations to the French entrepreneurs who reserved the monopoly of relations with the hinterland, Martin Despallières, commander of the fort of Grand Bassam, launched a military expedition inside the territory of Tyamann (Ebrié). In April and May 1852 and tears off a dozen treaties.²⁸

The Adjoukrou and Abouré coalition confederations hostile to the application of these treaties rose up against the French occupying forces and besieged Fort Némours in Grand Bassam. The Adjoukrou then prohibited the French from free movement on the lagoon. Reinforcements arrive from Senegal and a war is fought from 1852 to 1853 under the command of Baudin. The coalition is defeated. Again the Treaty of Dabou in 1853. Officer of the expeditionary force on mission, Captain Faidherbe, accompanied by Commander Le Fer de la Motte, signed a treaty on February 10, 1853 in the harbor of Dabou with the chief of Débrimou. This important treaty allows France to build in 1853-1854 a strategic fort to control the entire lagoon; it is the Fort Faidherbe of Dabou. But the hostility of the peoples that France seeks to deprive of their right to trade and the repeated wars gradually cause French trade to decline in the French trading posts of the Golden Coast. So much so that at the time of the French-Prussian war in 1870, the French

²⁸ Traoré Adama, *op. cit.*

troops withdrew and the French trading houses closed definitively. Only the French merchant Arthur Verdier remains on site. From the end of the 19th century, the treaties are like a means of the colonial conquest of Africa (1878 – 1893. The French are back in “Golden Coast” and the new challenge of the treaties is unveiled. The French-Prussian defeat of 1870 will paradoxically contribute to the rebirth of French imperialism in the world.²⁹

It was not until 1878 that French colonial imperialism once again took an interest in the coast and the hinterland of the Golden Coast, with the appointment of Arthur Verdier as "resident". The "explorations" resume and are followed by proposals for commercial treaties to African sovereigns. The Treaty of Bardo (France – Tunisia) signed in 1881 marks a turning point in the history of French protectorate treaties. Despite a rigorous definition of the status of protectorate, this treaty will immediately be torpedoed. Indeed two years later, the Convention of La Marsa was imposed on the Bey on June 8, 1883. This canceled the very principle of the protectorate by entrusting all powers to the resident of France. The sovereignty of the country is only fictitious. The treaty of protectorate is now used to annex the States to French territory to make them dependencies. According to historian Gilles Maceron in “1885, le tournant colonial de la république” published on February 08, 2007, marks the colonial turn of the French Republic. Indeed, taking up the monarchical theses, Jules Ferry will be the main defender of colonial conquests. He will tip the republican camp into the colonial party. Already in 1883, the President of the Council, Mr. Jules Ferry called his fellow deputies to colonial expansion in the world:

“France must expand and expand abroad, following the example of other nations, of its neighbors and rivals. We must look to the future from above and prepare the heritage of future generations, it must open up new outlets for trade, it must enlarge its (colonial) domain. It will be the heritage of our children and the bread of our workers”.³⁰

This statement shows that France would never have developed without the colonies and that it was the worst colonist in the history of colonization in Africa. Relations with the inhabitants of the lagoon will always be just as bad. In 1886 a repressive expedition was launched against the Tyaman (Ebrié).

²⁹ Traoré Adama, *Ibid.*

³⁰ Jo. Chambre, *Débat parlementaire*, Août-Décembre 1883, page 2706

1.1.3. The Berlin Conference (1884 -1885)

The Berlin Conference, which brought together representatives of 14 European countries, from November 15, 1884 to February 26, 1885, was intended to peacefully settle disputes relating to colonial conquests in Africa. Germany, which is not involved in the policy of colonization, plays the role of mediator and pleads in favor of the freedom of trade and navigation, in particular in the basin of Congo and that of Niger. The Final Act sets the rules for the colonization of Africa and imposes the principle of effectiveness to recognize an annexation. The first session began on November 15 and the last session ended on February 26, 1885, the first anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Portugal. The resolutions of the conference were written in the form of a General Act containing 35 articles, signed by the representatives of the countries participating in the conference other than the United States which were observers.³¹ Berlin had drawn for France, and these regions succeeded in securing its borders in the interests of France. Following these decisions, France was able to make agreements with its diplomacy and instructed Louis Gustave Binger to make agreements with the leaders by using his influence sometimes by persuasion and sometimes by threat. Thus, Binger guarantees the lands of Ivory in West Africa and all the lands of its colonies in the areas where the Berlin conference has decided to recognize these lands for the benefit of the French State, guaranteed the borders, drew them arbitrarily, marked. Thus, during his term as governor, Binger ensured the spread of French colonialism over vast territories and was also the first governor of Côte d'Ivoire. The Berlin Congress encourages the signing of protectorate treaties. To settle the serious conflicts arising from their rivalries, the European colonial powers organized the Berlin Congress of 1884-1885, which laid the moral and legal foundations for the partition and domination of Africa. The Berlin Congress marks a real turning point in European expansion in Africa. Berlin Congress makes three big decisions:

- Commercial freedom in the Congo Basin
- Free navigation on the two great rivers; Congo and Niger

³¹ Fergâli Ali Çen Hüreydi, Tarihu'lfrikiya'l-Hadisve'l-Muâsir, al-Kuşûf- el-İsti'mâri'- el-İstiqlâl, 1st Edition, Daru'l-Ilmi ve'l-îmân spring, Alexandria 2008 p.152-155

- The formalization of European professions

On this last point, the Congress put an end to the vague notion of “area of influence” on which the powers had hitherto relied to claim territories. Indeed, rules are enacted on the division of Africa. Any claim of territory on a point of the coast must be notified to the other powers and justified by an effective occupation. It is here that clearly appears the consecration of the treaties of protectorate.³²

Indeed, the principles of notification and effective occupation will lead Western countries to multiply treaties with African chiefs and kings and encourage them to multiply signs of effective occupation; installation of counters, garrisons, installation of pavilions, organization of events.

It is the race for territories and therefore for treaties. According to historian Ekanza³³, "At the sole initiative of the British merchant Goldie, 389 treaties were signed between 1884 and 1892". France in the race for protectorate treaties following this Congress, France gradually set up what would become the colony of Côte d'Ivoire on the basis of protectorate treaties. According to Pierre Kipré³⁴ “It was after Governor Bayol’s visit to the Golden Coast that the idea of an interior expedition germinated.” It is for the French in search of gold, wood to get ahead of the English who, like them, covet the hinterland of the gold of coast. Two people will be in charge of missions to sign treaties with the States of the interior of the continent.

Treich - Laplène following the old international trade road Assinie - Bondoukou - Kong brings back many treaties. During his first mission in 1887 he reported 5 treaties signed with Bettié (May 13, 1887), Indénié (June 25, 1887), Alangoua (July 13, 1887), Cottocrou (July 23, 1887) and Yakassé July 21, 1887). Bettié’s treaty (see document) will serve as a model for other treaties. It was at the start of his second mission in 1888/1889 that he obtained the important Treaty of Bondoukou (November 13, 1888). This treaty aims to make Assinie an important center of commerce by linking it to the major international markets of Bondoukou, Kong and Odienné. He signed the treaty at

³² Traoré Adama, op. cit.

³³ Simon – Piere Ekanza, *L’Afrique au temps des blanc (1880-1935)*, Les éditions CERAP Abidjan 2005.

³⁴ Pierre Kipré, *Côte d’ivoire, la formation d’un peuple*, Sides/Ima, Fontenay-sous-Bois, 2005.

Kawaré at the end of December 1888. It was in the metropolis of Kong in January 1889 that Treich - Laplène made contact with Binger, who left Bamako in July 1887 had traveled the loop of the Niger and also brought back many treaties. In this city the two French plenipotentiaries conclude the Treaty of Kong. On the way back, the two Frenchmen obtain from the heads of state of Djimini and Ano two last treaties; respectively Treaty of Dakhara on January 30, 1889 and Treaty of Aouabou on February 15, 1889. They reached Grand-Bassam on March 20, 1889.³⁵ Other missions went up the course of the rivers in search of treaties. Until 1908 these missions, both military and scientific, will continue with more or less success. These treaties are in fact agreements for the occupation of the country, the deputy Mr. Edmond Turquet told us in 1887: "The treaties made in Africa with the native chiefs are excellent in that they create for us an indisputable right of first occupant , but if we really want to be masters of these countries, to develop trade and civilization there, to bring settlers and traders there, it is absolutely necessary to have a representative who is in permanent contact with the populations, studying their needs, their aspirations and guiding them in their march towards progress, it is obvious that in the future we will have to create (military) positions in these countries"

A French decree of February 20, 1859 had established in Gorée a particular command for the Southern Rivers and for all the French Establishments of the Gold coast and the Gulf of Benin following the signing of the first treaties. On February 25, 1861, the French establishments of the Gold coast and Gabon ceased to be part of the dependencies of Gorée and were placed under the superior command of the commander of the naval division of the western coasts of Africa. A decree of October 12, 1882 provides that the Southern Rivers, while remaining dependent on Senegal, are set up as a colony whose first lieutenant-governor is Doctor Bayol. Its territorial jurisdiction extends to Gabon. Following the Congress of Berlin, in February 1885, France seconded "a commander of the French possessions of the Gold Coast" in the person of Charles under the authority of the Commander-in-Chief of Gabon. This "particular command" will then be attached to Senegal in November 1886. This decision also aims to demonstrate the effectiveness of the French presence in its protectorates with regard to the requirements of Congress. The creation of the Possession establishments of the Gold

³⁵ Traoré Adama, *op. cit.*

Coast in 1889 is France's desire to develop its African protectorates towards the status of colonies, which became clearer with the administrative reform of the French possessions in West Africa. In 1889 undertaken by the Minister Eugène Étienne. On August 1, 1889, the Southern Rivers, the French settlements on the Gold Coast and the Gulf of Benin were definitively freed from Senegal's control. Thus, although the international protectorate regime does not intend to dispossess States of their.

Sovereignty, France will constantly substitute French sovereignty for the sovereignty of the protected State. By creating on August 1, 1889 "the French possessions of the Gold Coast" by decree, France exceeded its rights and in fact imposed its domination. It takes an important step towards pure and simple annexation that is to say towards the creation of a colony.

The Possession of the Establishments of the Golden Coast is attached to the "Southern Rivers". The Possession is endowed with financial and administrative autonomy which authorizes the "resident", in addition to the lieutenant-governor, to depend directly on the under-secretary of State for the navy in Paris. This text clearly defines for the first time the attributions of the position of "resident" that Arthur Verdier had occupied since 1878. Following the resignation of Arthur Verdier, Treich-Laplène, "resident-delegate" of Mr. Verdier was appointed without surprise "Boarder" on September 28, 1889 (or October 21). He took up his new duties in 1889 in Grand-Bassam, which is also my city of residence in Côte d'Ivoire. Three customs posts were then opened by the new "residents" in Grand-Bassam, Assinie and Jacqueville in 1889. But the establishment of these colonial institutions was considered by the natives as attacks on their sovereignty and fierce resistance was reported. Against the new customs regime in Alladjan country. A punitive expedition is led by the "inhabitant" Treich – Laplène who wants to make "a bloody example", from January 28 to February 11, 1890 to reduce the rebellion.³⁶ The "Diamant" based in Grand Bassam and the "Mésange" dispatched from Conakry bombard the villages of the region. The villages are destroyed and the populations decimated. Chief Bogui was arrested in Ada and deported to Guinea according to H. Diabaté or to Dakar according to TC Weiskel.³⁷ During ten years of

³⁶ Traoré Adama, op. cit.

³⁷ Frédéric Grah Mel, Marcel Treich – Laplène, précurseur de la Côte d'Ivoire, Publications de l'Université d'Abidjan, p 172

exile. But less than a month later, Treich-Laplène, Resident of France at the Golden Coast, died in Grand-Bassam on March 9, 1890 following an illness. He will have as successors until the official creation of the Colony of Côte d'Ivoire, Péan, Déselle Henri, Bricard, Ulbrecht d' Albéca and Pobéquin.

The creation of the colony of Côte d'Ivoire in 1893, the President of the French Republic Sidi Carnot purely and simply annexed to France the protectorates of the Gold coast to create the colony of Côte d'Ivoire by a legal act unilateral. Indeed by decree of March 10, 1893, submitted by the Minister of Trade, Industry and Colonies Siegfried, three colonies are created. Article 1 of the decree states: "The colonies of French Guinea, Côte d'Ivoire and Benin constitute three distinct colonies which are classified among the colonies of the group enumerated by article 4 of the decree of February 2, 1890. The higher administration of these colonies is entrusted to a governor assisted by a secretary general". With regard to the limits of the territory of the colony of Côte d'Ivoire, it is stipulated in article 2: "The Governor of Côte d'Ivoire is responsible for exercising the protection of the Republic over the States of Kong and the other territories of the Niger Loop. However, the states of Samory and Thiéba remain under the jurisdiction of the Commander-in-Chief of French Sudan's".³⁸

Théophile Delcassé, a former deputy linked to the colonial party led by Eugène Etienne as under-secretary for the colonies since January 18, wrote the draft decree. He then served as Minister of the Colonies from November 1893 and Minister of Foreign Affairs in June 1898. The same year 1893, Captains Marchand and Manet received the mission to connect Côte d'Ivoire and French Sudan in order to facilitate exchanges and open a southern front against Samory in the north of Baoulé country. They took the caravan road along the Bandama valley. Manet died in Tiassalé and Marchand continued alone and occupied Toumodi, Bouaké and Tengréla in February 1894.³⁹

The conference thus legitimized colonization and reinforced its expansion in its article 38 of the conference charter as stipulated by Farghli Ali⁴⁰, in his work on the

³⁸ Alfred FIERRO, op. cit., p.30

³⁹ Collection du Ministère de l'éducation nationale de Côte d'Ivoire, Histoire cours moyen 1 et 2, CEDEA/Hatier, Paris, page 80.

⁴⁰ Fergâli Ali Çen Hüreydi, Tarihu'l-frikiya'l-Hadîsve'l-Muâsır, al-Kuşûf- el-İsti'mâri'- el-İstiqlâl, 1st Edition, Daru'l-İlmi ve'l-îmân spring, Alexandria 2008 p.152-155.

Conference: "The colonial rivalry that followed the Berlin Conference 1884/1885, France, determined in West Africa and its control over Sudan, led to several colonial attacks, including its advance in Senegal, to expand. They also invaded Guinea and clung to the Ivory. In fact, until 1900, France occupied an area eight times the size of France or half the size of the United States is not represented at this conference but is divided without its consent by the European powers and "France which had a great influence on West Africa and which are moreover the borders of our days".

At the end of the sessions of the Berlin Conference, its decisions and elements began to be fully implemented. Zeliha Faris and Sakine Alamise⁴¹ write on this subject: "The sessions of the congress ended with the decisions taken in the form of general statutes. It contained six decisions, seven chapters and 38 articles. European countries began to define the conflicting spheres of influence under a division that did not take into account the distribution of tribes or tribes, and transformed Africa into small national units which became the basis of existing African borders". It led to the emergence of the process of colonial conflict through the Berlin Conference held in 1884-1885, which laid the foundations for the division of the African continent between European countries, and the beginning of the process leading to the division of Africa in the east-west axis.

The Berlin conference was also one of the foundations of colonialism in general and of French colonialism in Côte d'Ivoire. It wouldn't be possible without it, and France abused it more than any other European power. Historian İsmail Armağan⁴², drawing attention to this importance and its effect on the division of the African continent even after independence, said: "It would not be wrong to say that he lived through a more diplomatic version of conjuncture "African attack" he experienced with the Berlin Conference 136 years ago. In this context, different actors in Africa have engaged in a power struggle". While confirming the effects of the conference on Africa, he said:

⁴¹ Zeliha Fâris-Sakine Alam, *Al-İsti'mâru'l-Fransiyyu fî Guinea ve Devru Ahmet SekuToure fî Movement't tahrîr 1960-1900*, el-Ceylanîe Buname-Hamis Milyane Univ., Ulûmi'l-İnsâniyye ve' el-Ictimaiyye Faculty, Unpublished Master's Thesis, Cezair2016 - 2017, pp.34-35

⁴² İsmail Ermağan-Elem Eyrice Tepecikliğiöğlü, « Relations Turquie-Afrique : comment et où ? », *L'Afrique dans la politique mondiale 7 : Les relations de la Turquie avec les pays africains : processus-constraints-solutions possibles*, Edi. Ermagan-E. Eyrice Tepeciklioğlü, Nobel printemps. Ankara 2021, s.3

"With a tragic background such as colonialism, slavery and tribalism, the problems of good governance "good governance" in the countries Africans today (e.g. underdeveloped and undemocratic regimes, military coup regimes, clientelism, etc.), poverty, child soldiers, human rights violations, epidemic many drug problems such as disease and abandoned refugee camps are attracting attention." Moreover, the continent is attracting interest with its great potentials such as precious metals awaiting processing and estimated reserves of yellow and black gold (petroleum) to invade Africa and a conference was organized to share and colonize their property between them.

One of them points out: "European countries have experienced the intense competition of which the African continent has been the scene. This rivalry was effective in straining relations due to conflicting orientations and interests." Bismarck saw the need to organize a consensual conference bringing together these countries during the Berlin conference, which had great importance in the history of the colonization of the African continent.⁴³

1.2. The conquest of the Côte d'Ivoire by France

It is a question of bringing the populations to accept the French presence by persuasion more than by a long and expensive military conquest. It is necessary to multiply the study of the customs of the natives and to try to respect them. You have to trade with them by opening roads and markets. It is necessary to make understand the civilizing mission of France to the populations until the use of the strong way.⁴⁴

1.2.1. Target Colonial Strategic

The French in their strategy of finding gold and wood, they wanted to establish their domination over the country before the English. Several explorers undertake to travel the hinterland and sign treaties with various chiefs and kings. Treich-Laplène goes up the Comoé River, reaches Bondoukou then Kong where he signs treaties of

⁴³Acte général de la conférence de Berlin, 1885, Afrique, Congo, Niger, MJP (univ-perp.fr)

⁴⁴ D'après une lettre de Louis Gustave Binger, in *10 ans à la côte d'ivoire*, Mémorial de la côte d'ivoire, tome 2, Editions AMI, Abidjan, 1987 D.R.

protectorate with many customary chiefs. Captain Binger, leaving Bamako, traveled the loop of the Niger and reached Kong where he signed a treaty of protectorate with King Karamoko Ouattara. During this trip, he had collected a lot of information that made it possible to draw up an exact map of the region. After these strategic explorations, the French called our country the Gold Coast. But to distinguish it from the neighboring country, the current Gold Coast (Ghana), occupied by the English, they gave it the name of Côte d'Ivoire because of the active trade in elephant tusks on the coast. In the 19th century, a second group of French traders set up the first trading posts on the coast to bring the products necessary for their industry to Europe. Captain Bouët-Willaumez was in charge of protecting these counters and fighting against the slave trade.⁴⁵

Since the slave trade had been prohibited since 1848, they wanted to plunder the resources in another way. The English being in the East, the French were worried but it was also time for them to mark their presence by visiting the hinterland to get to know it better. They will thus have the confidence of the populations whose help will be useful when they exploit the wood and the gold which abound in this region. Colonialism is the cause of competition between European countries; British and French settlers in new lands like what happened with the colonialists. All this, the future trade in Africa from some regions and centers of Africa to facilitate the process or become strategically important to connect the airlines to their colonies like the Red Sea road, the West Africa route and the road to South Africa which they needed to create a strategic line to control the roads leading to the regions. One of the researchers describes the situation as follows: "In some parts of the continent, the conflicts between the colonial powers, their position and their land-sea cruising or whatever became the perfect center of their control over anything. That is 117 partner countries, for example Côte d'Ivoire in the Atlantic Sea It encourages them to accelerate their colonization, such as the coast, and helps Algeria to access the Mediterranean Strategically drafted, this development objective has been a success ."⁴⁶

Each colony of the AOF group (French West Africa) must have autonomy without costing anything to the metropolis. Thus in 1893, Côte d'Ivoire became a French

⁴⁵ N'DA Paul, Ministère de l'éducation nationale Décret du fonctionnement des colonies (1904), Afrique et monde, livre de cm2, p 27

⁴⁶ Ibid., p18

colony, the colonial strategy was administrative and the colony was pyramidal. At the top is a governor who resides in the capital of the colony, first in Grand-Bassam in 1893 then in Bingerville in 1900 and finally in Abidjan in 1934. After the governor come successive

The commanders of circles, the heads of subdivision, and at the base the canton and village chiefs. The chiefs of canton and village are constrained as agents of execution of the French colonial administration. As such, they participate in the collection of taxes, organize military service and forced labor in order to establish the financial autonomy of the colony.⁴⁷ This organization aims strategically to exploit Côte d'Ivoire and to increase the power of the metropolis in the face of competition from other European colonial powers.

The plantations belonged to Europeans until 1945. It should be remembered that the economy of Côte d'Ivoire is essentially based on agriculture. Chores, lasting two to six weeks per year and per person, provided free labor to these European planters. European trading houses settled in the north and on the coast. They strategically target the collection of local products and the sale of imported products. The main trading houses are the SCOA, the CFAO, Jean Abile Gal (JAG). The railway, the telegraph, the roads, the bridges, the piers (quay). All of this was achieved through forced labor. Badly fed, badly housed and without pay. The colonized work in very difficult conditions and suffer corporal punishment and many of them die.⁴⁸

1.2.2. The French Policy of Military Establishment in Côte d'Ivoire

The French, well aware of their inhuman acts, must one day expect revolts, resistance and protests. Marcel Treich-Laplène follows his father to Algeria where he does his military service. He met Arthur Verdier who made him his collaborator for his counters on the Gold coast in 1883, he landed in Assinie where he had to take care of the coffee plantation, located in Elima, and ensure the interim residence in the French establishments on the Gold Coast. He agreed to carry out the first major French mission

⁴⁷ N'DA Paul, Ministère de l'éducation nationale Décret du fonctionnement des colonies (1904), Afrique et monde, livre de cm2, p 30

⁴⁸ Ibid., p 32

inland in 1887. In 1888, he was asked to meet Louis Binger Gustave and was appointed resident of France at the end of this mission with extended powers. His task was to set up a militia and customs posts on the coast. The customs posts of Grand-Bassam, Assinie and Jacquville were created in 1889. After 13 years of service, he died in 1890, not having time to organize his residence and French domination. Côte d'Ivoire is not yet a colony so peaceful actions are carried out on the coasts of the regions where the scandalous treaties supposedly signed exist.⁴⁹ Binger and Closel alternately governors of the Côte d'Ivoire, sign numerous peace treaties with the kings and the native chiefs to whom they delegate their powers and these accept for fear of reprisals. They plant the French flag on the conquered territory and install military posts to set up the administrative organization of the country. In 1908, the French fully controlled the coastal strip, the localities of Grand-Bassam, Assinie, Indénié and Korhogo. But this peaceful conquest is slow because it encounters resistance in some regions. For Governor Angoulvant, the military installation must be done by force. No people will escape it on condition that they submit effectively to French authority. His troops, made up of Senegalese skirmishers, sow terror by destroying the villages of the Ivorian populations who refuse to obey and by grouping them along the tracks to better monitor them.⁵⁰

The arrest and deportation of the chiefs and the payment of tax arrears, forced labor and the requisition of food were the sanctions of this resistance. This policy of confrontation is called brutal pacification and provokes numerous resistances throughout Côte d'Ivoire. Several names symbolize him in each region: Yao Gulé among the Baoulé of Ngban in 1902. Zokoua Gbéli with the Bété of Daloa in 1906. Boni Ndjoré with the Baoulé of Doukro in 1909 and Kassi Dihié in the Indénié. The country take part in the resistance. This is the case of the Wê, the Dan (yacouba), the Dida and the Gouro in 1908; Krou and Adjoukrou in 1909; the abbeys and the attié in 1910. These are Ivorian ethnic groups and we have 60 of them in the country. These summarily armed people practice guerrilla warfare. Administrative posts and French possessions are attacked. Opposite them, seasoned settlers, better armed then won victories in all regions. They

⁴⁹ N'DA Paul, Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale, Histoire et géographie in *Mémorial de la côte d'ivoire*, tome 2, éditions AMI, Abidjan, 1987 (D.R.), p.21

⁵⁰ N'DA Paul, Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale, Histoire et géographie, livre de cm2 p 24

commit massacres so that the resistance is poorly organized and ends in 1916.⁵¹ The metropolis had a very strict policy of recruiting governors to install military bases in Côte d'Ivoire. Binger Louis Gustave was born on October 14, 1856 in Strasbourg, into a bourgeois Christian family.⁵² His father, Louis Gustave, was a Catholic Christian. His mother's name was Marie Saloméise, a Protestant Christian, of his father. His full name was added to the boy's name, becoming Louis Gustave Binger. Louis Gustave Binger died on November 10, 1936, at the age of 80.⁵³ Binger's father, Louis Gustave, earned his living and ensured his future life. He leaves his village as an immigrant in Strasbourg to take it under his control disappointed not to find a job after coming and losing his first job Gustave then fell ill with a very long illness, and in time she s worsened and this disease led to his death at the beginning of 1867. Binger, his father He was 11 years old the year of his death. The death of his father caused the political conflict between France and Germany. It was at the beginning of the year that the incident in the city of Alsace took place, which caused tensions. All these events, as well as the difficult conditions he experienced after his death, left a psychological mark on Binger. Causing him to become depressed and an introverted person shortly after his father's death, his mother moved him to the town of Niederbronn. He took it and started living here with his mother and sister. One of the town doctors of Niederbronn, to marry Binger's sister. After the marriage contract, the mother advised her daughter to take care of her brother.⁵⁴ When Binger turned 14 at the end of 1870, his mother sent him to Sarreguemines and they stayed there for a year in 1871.⁵⁵ Binger was 15. He goes to Alsace, and shortly after, the Alsace affair breaks out. Incident in Alsace. In this context, tensions between Germany and France are rising. This seemed to favor those who were pro-German. In this war, Germany took Alsace. He succeeded in occupying it for annexation to Germany

⁵¹ Ibid., p 26

⁵² Josephine Kamm, *al-Mustakshifuna fi Afrikiya*, trans. Seyid Yusuf Nasir, 1st Edition, Dârü'l-Ma'ârif bow, Cairo 1983, p.188;C. Lasine, same late book, p.93-94.

⁵³ Cécilevan Den Avenne, *Louis-GustaveBinger, L'exploration coloniale en selangues*, ün Filoloji de karnetAfriainsdu Kaptan Binger", *CarnInfo*, p.106, (2017), p.4vd.

⁵⁴ C. V. D. Avenne, pp. 8, 12, 21; B. Fewziyye M. Meryem, et al, p.17

⁵⁵ Félix-Eugène Jeanty, *Binger à Sarreguemines (Moselle) 1840-1907*, TAGS spring, Paris 2008, p.23.

and the city fell under German administration in 1871.⁵⁶ This is how Binger became a German citizen in this city and lived in Alsace as a new German citizen and 'he was at war with France because, he had to fight on the side of Germany against France, and he came to the conclusion that he did not support it, so he looked for a way out and did several attempts. Due to political tensions between the two countries, he left the city.

Despite the difficulty of registering Binger on the list of names of French citizens, managed to save. So he tried to escape, but failed. In 1873, when he achieved his goal of leaving the city of Alsace through his mother, he was 17 years old. Had reached his age. His mother brought him to the city of Sedan with various household items such as nails, iron, electricity and one of his relatives who trades in other sectors took Binger and was happy with this exit because after his return he became a soldier. Dream to be ready and to fight with France in the war against Germany but also to prepare him as governor of Côte d'Ivoire to set up military bases. The story tells us about Binger's life from childhood, especially his father. After his death he traveled from country to country and from town to town, and he spent most of his time with his mother and sister. All of this shows that he has a spirit of vengeance, travel and soldiery, a love of military power, as well as command and authority. All of these, as mentioned earlier, are affected by different environments and conditions. As a result of the resulting reactions, it created a natural anger in him. Binger was therefore the ideal profile of the French military establishment policy and, moreover, it was he who enjoyed great success.⁵⁷

1.2.3. Religious Strategies

Both in the Côte d'Ivoire and elsewhere in Africa, to achieve its objective, religious colonialism provoked a conflict between Muslims and Christians in the Iberian Peninsula in 1492. After the failure of the Muslims, the Spanish and Portuguese forces went to the African coasts, and Portugal carried the flag of a religious movement called the Christian Reconquista. Muslims had to apostatize to convert to Christianity. Islamic African countries have been surrounded with the aim of eliminating Islam internally and

⁵⁶ C. V. D. Avenne, *Ibid*, p 16

⁵⁷ https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Louis-Gustave_Binger (25.6.2017).

paving the way for total control of mineral and skilled resources. The Muslims resisted all their attacks and this only increased their faith. Of French colonialism Roum, one of the governors, says on this subject: “Islamic groups have never posed a threat to the realization of the doctrine they professed, the great civilization to which they obeyed. It is our duty to ensure that this does not happen”. The defense of the religion of Islam made France the country forcing the invasion. The colonizers knew well that they were preventing injustice. This resistance also prevented their occupation and the creation of a colonial state. The French will therefore tolerate Islam not because it is a monotheistic religion thus taking people out of polytheism but because of their selfish interests. Christianity, the Bible, the priests were the means of colonizing the populations. Religious colonialism was more flexible but it remains the most effective because it lulls consciences. In the name of Christianity, priests legitimized colonization.⁵⁸

Islam and colonial rule would seem that things were going much better for Islam than for the traditional religion during the period of colonial rule. In predominantly Muslim areas, before the arrival of the colonial powers, Islamic law had allowed more territorial than ethnic uniformity and imposed obedience to the authorities.⁵⁹ This promoted efficient administration and commerce, and Muslims could also proselytize and convert more people. When West African trade roads were redirected from the desert to the coast, the number of Muslims, which had remained very low on the coast at the start of colonial rule, began to increase. The steady increase in the number of Muslims in Sierra Leone from 1891 to 1931 is a good illustration of this: in 1891 they constituted 10% of the population, in 1901 12%, in 1911 14%, in 1921 19.5%, in 1931 26.12%.⁶⁰

The Muslim presence on the west coast was later reinforced by the Ahmadiyya, who carried out missionary work by following the coastal sea roads. Although considered heretical by some, they played an important role in sparking an interest in Western education among Muslims. The attitude of the colonial authorities towards Islam was mixed. While some felt it was a more enlightened form of religion than

⁵⁸ A. M. Sylla, *Al-Muslimuna fi Senegal Me'âlimu'l-Hâdir and êfâku'l-Müstakbel*, 1st Edition, al-Umma spring, Qatar 1985, p 85

⁵⁹ D. L. Wiedner, 1964, p 245 -246

⁶⁰ J. S. Trimmingham, 1962, p 226

traditional African religion, others saw Muslim institutions as advanced social institutions and used them according to the interests of the colonial administration. Islamic courts were therefore allowed to sit and broad powers were given to Muslim leaders in some areas.⁶¹ Muslims were employed by colonial administrators in subordinate positions (guides, agents, clerks), which brought them into close contact with African peoples. As Trimmingham observed, it familiarized the followers of the traditional religion "with the outward characteristics of Islam, enhanced the prestige of conversion to a favored religion, and provided facilities for Islamic agents in the exercise of their propaganda and various forms of pressure".⁶²

But Islam was not favored by all the colonial authorities. In the Belgian Congo (current Zaire), the administration was particularly hostile to it, and saw in this religion a threat to its mission of "Christianization" and "civilization". Only a few mosques were allowed to be built and Muslim schools were totally banned in the colony.⁶³

Other Europeans, notably the French, tried to impose European culture on their subjects, Muslims or not Muslims, believing that they had an obligation to raise the level of the colonized population by offering them the "benefits" of French culture. Unlike. In northern Nigeria, for example, where a policy of indirect rule was first attempted, the British government defended the power of Muslim rulers. The colonial authorities sided with Islam as the official religion. The French initially attempted to limit areas under Muslim control in their attempt to gain control of most of western Sudan. They tried to avoid the use of Arabic in their official correspondence and even openly helped those who did not accept Muslim proselytism, such as the Bambara. Moreover, the French were careful to ensure that Muslim rulers would not be appointed to lead non-Muslim peoples. To effectively oppose the spread of Islam and Islamic jurisprudence, they also attempted to strengthen traditional religion and codify African customary law.

⁶¹ In northern Nigeria, for example, where a policy of indirect rule was first attempted, the British government defended the power of Muslim rulers. The colonial authorities sided with Islam as the official religion of northern Nigeria.

⁶² J. S. Trimmingham, *Ibid.*, p 196

⁶³ N. S. Booth (dir. publ.), 1977, p 325

2. THE CÔTE D'IVOIRE UNDER FRENCH DOMINATION

France imposed its sovereignty over all or part of the territory of 42 not European nations from 1534 to 1960 which are now independent, including the United States, Brazil, Canada, India and China and the Ivory Coast of 1893 to 1960 which interests us in this study. Colonization, in almost all cases, was in fact imposed by armed force and without the consent of the populations. Everything that was done in the Colonies, from the conquest to the reduction of Peoples into servitude, from the perverse ostracism to slavery, were not unforeseen, were not carried out in improvisation, for party because it was practices used, for centuries in Europe, by the followers of the unique Thought. Neither God, nor Master did not fall from Heaven, it was a Revolution which launched it in the face of the murderous oppressors, making heads roll chanting Liberty, Equality, Fraternity!!!

Table 1. French Expansion Outside Europe Since 1534⁶⁴.

Country	years of colonization
Canada	1534-1763
Brazil (Antarctic France, Rio)	1555-1560
United States (Florida)	1562-1565
St. Kitts (Saint Christopher)	1600-1713
Guyana since	1604
Haiti	1623-1803
Saint Martin since	1625
Senegal (St-Louis, Gorée, Dakar, Rufisque)	1626-1960
Guadeloupe since	1635
Martinique since	1635
Meeting since	1638
Madagascar (Island of Sainte Marie)	1642-1960
Saint-Eustache (Netherlands)	1648-1678
Grenada	1650-1762
St. Croix, United States, Virgin Islands)	1651-1733
Saint-Barthélémy 1659-1784 and since	1878
Antigua	1666
India (5 counters)	1668-1954
Saint Lucia	1660-1723, 1756-1778, 1783-1794
Trinidad and Tobago	1678,1713-1763,1783-1793
United States (Louisiana)	1682-1762 and 1800-1803

⁶⁴ Claude Ribbe, « *Le général Dumas* » né esclave, rival de Bonaparte et père d'Alexandre Dumas, édition 06 mai 2021

Dominica	1625-1763, 1778-1783
Mauritius	1715-1810
Saint Vincent	1719-1763,1779-1783
Seychelles	1743-1814
Tanzania (Zanzibar)	1744
Saint-Pierre and Miquelon since	1763
Falkland Islands (Great Britain)	1764-1767
Montserrat (Great Britain)	1782-1783
Dominican Republic	1793-1808
New Caledonia since	1853
Algeria	1830-1962
Comoros	1841-1975
Mayotte since	1841
Gabon	1843-1960
China	1849-1949
Mali (French Sudan)	1857-1960
Djibouti	1862-1977
Viet Nam	1862-1949
Cambodia	1863-1953
French Polynesia since	1880
Tunisia	1881-1866
Republic of the Congo (Brazzaville)	1885-1960
Senegal	1886-1960
Wallis and Futuna since	1887
Central African Republic (Oubangui-Chari)	1889-1960
Guinea	1891-1958
31 Laos	1893-1954
Ivory Coast	1893-1960
Benin (Dahomey)	1893-1960
Chad	1895-1960
Burkina Faso (Upper Volta)	1896-1960
Madagascar	1897-1960
Mauritania	1902-1960
Morocco	1912-1956
Togo	1919-1960
Cameroon	1919-1960
Lebanon	1920-1943
Syria	1920-1946
Nigeria	1922-1960

2.1. The Colonial System and its Types in the Period 1893-1960

2.1.1. The Organization of the Colony of Côte d'Ivoire

The French establishments of Assinie and Grand-Bassam sometimes depended on the colony of Senegal, sometimes on the Southern Rivers (Guinea) before 1893. France designated a resident there are Arthur Verdier, then Treich-Laplène. The administration in place concerns only the inhabitants of these establishments. It takes care of enforcing the protectorate treaties signed by the local populations with France (Sanwi). In 1893, Côte d'Ivoire was an autonomous colony. It has its first governor: Louis Gustave Binger. The limits of the new colony were fixed in 1898 with the Gold Coast, in 1907 with Liberia. The northern towns (Odienné, Kong, Bouna) had been detached from Sudan and attached to Côte d'Ivoire in 1899, after the elimination of Samory. Until the end of military resistance, France controls only part of the territory. The colony is divided into large constituencies whose chief towns are the posts created at the time of the conquest. Its capital was first Grand-Bassam between 1893 and 1900, then Bingerville, from 1900 to 1934⁶⁵, finally Abidjan from 1934 and today the economic capital and Yamoussoukro as the political capital. The practical organization was noted in 1895 with the French Western Federation (AOF) comprising seven colonies including the Côte d'Ivoire. For a central governance of the management of the colonies France created in 1894 the ministry of the colonies at the same time the colonial school. The superior of the colony governors is therefore the minister who oversees the proper functioning of the colony through colony inspectors in the colonies for short missions, unlike the governors who are there permanently.

The parliament is not interested in the colonies, except on the occasion of scandals to attack the government. Local finances also escape Parliament, except for the very mediocre budget of the Ministry of the Colonies. The finance law of 1900 laid down the principle of the financial autonomy of the colonies, ie they will have to pay their own expenses, except those of the army. It was necessary to prove to the French voters that the colonies cost nothing. After the war of 1914, Albert Sarraut proposed a plan: "The development of the French colonies", to be executed by loans from the

⁶⁵ Sophie Bocquet, *histoire et photographies de la côte d'ivoire*, licence d'histoire de l'université de Rouen (France), 1997-1998

colonies guaranteed by the metropolis. The plan was only partially realized, but the loans allowed the colonies to develop their infrastructure. It aims at the effective exercise of French authority over the Ivorian populations and its strengthening.⁶⁶

Only the treaties of protectorates were applied by the residents to the local populations before 1893 and from 1893. The limits of the new colony were fixed in 1898 with the Gold Coast, in 1907 with Liberia. The northern countries (Odienné, Kong, Bouna) had been detached from Sudan and attached to Côte d'Ivoire in 1899, after the elimination of Samory Touré. Until the end of military resistance, France controls only part of the territory. The colony is divided into large constituencies whose chief towns are the posts created at the time of the conquest. Its capital was first Grand-Bassam between 1893 and 1900, then Bingerville, from 1900 to 1934, finally Abidjan from 1934. Grand-Bassam was chosen as a commercial center and inherited a customs post with international firms. Palm oil was widely traded. The installation of banking companies. It was also the administrative center where the settlers resided. We had, among others, the governor's palace and the courthouse which are today in the heritage of UNESCO, uninhabited, abandoned on a territory from which this country claims to have obtained its independence in 1960. There are also nine public buildings and private. Three epidemics of yellow fever which had decimated the European population of the city in 1863, 1898, 1899, the administration established itself in a more salubrious place called Bingerville whose name of the governor of colony. The Côte d'Ivoire now had an administrative center and the other commercial Grand-Bassam. Bingerville had only four buildings. On November 28, 1920, the government council of the AOF accepted the principle of making Abidjan the capital of the country, it only really became on July 1, 1934, after the completion of a major construction program. We will not dwell on Abidjan, which was the most developed of these capitals since it still remains the economic capital of the country today. From 1908 to 1920, to meet the needs of the conquest, a civil administration was set up in the subjugated regions and a military one in the areas not yet subjugated. From 1920, the system of administration is almost final.⁶⁷

⁶⁶ CORNEVIN Robert, *Histoire de l'Afrique*, Tome 2 : L'Afrique précoloniale 1500-1900, Paris : édition Payot, 1966, p 638.

⁶⁷ KIPRÉ Pierre, *Histoire de Côte d'Ivoire*, Abidjan, édition AMI, 1992, p 112

Since 1904, Côte d'Ivoire has been part of the group of colonies of the AOF (French West Africa). In 1932, it grew to include part of what is now Burkina (Haute Volta). The administrative organization is pyramidal. At the top of the hierarchy is the governor. Placed under the authority of the governor general of the AOF, he is the "depository of the powers of the Republic", he is the head of all the administration of the colony (justice, finances, education, health ...). The governor is appointed by decree and recruited among the administrators of the highest rank. Under his orders, a secretary general manages the offices and replaces him in case of absence. He is also assisted by an advisory council, the board of directors, composed mostly of senior officials, with a few white and black notables appointed by him, who assists him in approving some administrative acts. The colonies are divided into constituencies (circles) and these into subdivisions, all held by the administrators of the colonies. The chief of subdivision depends on the chief of district, and this one of the governor. The administrator fills in his territory, all the functions. The population is made up of two legal groups including French citizens and French subjects. Military obligations applied to both categories, citizens and subjects. The citizen of Côte d'Ivoire is therefore subject to the administration. In practice and until 1945, the colonial administration emphasized the obedience of the colonized and the economic exploitation of the colony by relying on the heads of provinces, cantons and villages.⁶⁸

2.1.2. Administrative Practices of Louis Gustave Binger

When Louis Gustave Binger came to the Islamic kingdom of Kong, he had a meeting with the sultan of the kingdom, Seyyit Sequoia, on social issues and the reason for his arrival. Binger was impressed when he visited the elegance, beauty, commercial activities and well-being of the city in all aspects of social life, its great mosques with Moroccan character in its construction, its educational circles, its beautiful landscapes, and especially the University of Kong, where students and teachers come from all over western Sudan. He was surprised to learn that this university had a three-tier degree system called Sened, specifically, where students spend 35 years before graduating. This system has been maintained as follows. Dougoumane level; Dougoumane that is to say

⁶⁸ Sophie Bocquet, *op. cit.*

primary or basic education. Sandou level; Sandou, that is to say higher or secondary education. Monba level; Monba i.e. higher level or higher or university education. The total time spent by the student to complete these three stages, according to testimonies and sources, was 35 years.⁶⁹

This situation affected Binger badly. Binger goes on to describe Kong as follows:

"The city of Kong played a positive role in cultural activity, with the fact that it was the meeting point of commercial activity and trade convoys in the 18th and 19th centuries, where pilgrims stopped and prepared. This is believed to be what attracted and other Muslim scholars to Kong and other dialect towns on the eastern trade route. The economic boom of the cities provided alimony for scholars and students XIX. By the turn of the century, Islamic trade routes had penetrated further south to reach the city of Kumasi."⁷⁰

Statement by Governor Binger on the city of Kong If these testimonies mean anything, it is that Muslims were seriously involved in urbanization and commercial relations before the arrival of the colonialists in Côte d'Ivoire. Shows that they are in a swarm. Former settlers and their friends accompanied all of Binger's travels. For example, Marcel Treich-Laplène accompanies him until his arrival in Grand-Bassam on March 20, 1889. This journey ended in the hills of the fields of Grand-Bassam, whose width reached 4000 km. The main objective of this trip was to accumulate in-depth knowledge of the geography of the region. Having completed this mission, Binger returned from this long trip to France before the end of 1889.⁷¹ After Louis-Gustave Binger returned to France to present the result or report of the work to which he was appointed, this report became a book. The fact that he included the book he wrote on the history of life in Kong's name in the title of the work is notable for showing the effect his city had on him. This situation is also a document in terms of proof that Kong is accepted as the name of the country. Binger's book was titled "From Niger to the Gulf of Guinea through the country of Kong and the Mossi / From Niger to the Gulf of Guinea, through the country of the Kong and the Mossi". Based on all this, he confirms

⁶⁹ Kone Savaliu, *Veđiyetu l-lugati'l-Arabiyye fi kotedivormuşkilâtun ve hululün*, Say Islam Univ.Unpublished Master Thesis, Niger 1996-1997, p.52.

⁷⁰ L. G. Binger, *Du Niger au Golf*, pp 186, 327

⁷¹ Robert Cornevin Binger, *Gouverneurs, administrateurs, magistrats-Hommes et destins*, Harmattan, C.VIII, (1988), pp.32-36

that this trip, in one way or another, had an impact on the life of Binger in particular and on the colonial process in Côte d'Ivoire in general.⁷²

Muslim scholars also point to the effect of this on the demarcation of borders, especially in the colonial process. As soon as the demarcation between Leones was defined, England recognized the French influence in Fota Gallo.⁷³ France thus established a direct route between Sudan and Melakore and from the upper Niger to the Atlantic Ocean, in addition to ensuring the connection between Sudan and Côte d'Ivoire. Binger's work sparked new aspirations in the minds of French colonial governors in other French colonies, especially where they had an armistice with Britain. In 1880, Ballay took over the administration of the colony and remained in office until 1900. Effectively contributing to the development of the colony, Ballay made the port of Conakry no less important than the port of Freetown. Ballay sent delegations to familiarize themselves with the different regions, so Biroselard Faidherbe sent his mission-delegation, with Captain Félix Dubois, from Benti to Milakuri, then to explore the possibility of linking the hills of Niger and the rivers of the south in French Sudan. And Nigeria. They completed their mission in 1891 and made several proposals to link the interior to the coast. In addition, the armistice between France and England helped ensure France's security in the French-occupied areas of Côte d'Ivoire and western Sudan.⁷⁴

He urged the two countries to establish a relationship based on a new understanding. Germany, which was aware of European efforts to colonize the continent, took a countermeasure and began to prepare and plan for the Berlin Conference. However, the interests met and France saw that this idea suited the new objectives of concluding agreements with other European countries with interests in Africa showed that he was ready to accept a ceasefire.⁷⁵ On December 8, 1886, the French government announced that it would not oppose what was stated in the British

⁷² L. G. Binger, op. cit., p 128

⁷³ Ş. A. el-Cemel-A. A. İbrahim, *Garabatu el-camiyatuleleti Hâceratmin Grubi Afrikyâ and istavtenat fi Sudan vâdil Niil ve davrihim fi takvin el-Haviye el-Sudaniye*, Daru İngilou., p.280

⁷⁴ L. G. Binger, op. cit., pp 128-129

⁷⁵ Philippe Decraene, *L'Afrique noir depuis la conférence de Berlin*, Le centre des Hautes Etudes sur L'Afrique et L'Asie Modernes, CHEAM pub., Paris 1985, p.10

treaty.⁷⁶ The decision confirming that Côte d'Ivoire becomes a French colony from this date is signed. As a result, Binger is appointed the first colonial governor of the Côte d'Ivoire.⁷⁷ The same year, Governor Binger, the head of the African Lions Missionary Society, Father Planque, decided to send his missionaries to Côte d'Ivoire, notably to Grand-Bassam, which had become the capital of this small colony.⁷⁸ Became a French colony, but not all the territory of the country is under colonial rule or the whole region is not under the protection of France. Maybe it was a kind of media war. After declaring colonial-colonial in 1893 the regions between the region of Grand-Bassam in the south of the country and Assinie in the southeast, and the region of Fresco and the region of Tabou in the west, France named these regions the Côte d'Ivoire⁷⁹ and appointed Binger as governor. What is understood here is the fact that these areas are under the protection of colonialism, but the majority of the lands are not under the control of France. Because this reason is not mentioned in the French colonial sources. This is due to the intense resistance between the population and the colonialists. The information in the sources also confirms this opinion.⁸⁰ Presumably, France's inability to give the date of the official declaration of the country's colonialism and its inability to control the people of the country, especially the Manikwa tribes under the leadership of Samory Touré, caused the violent under the leadership of Samory Touré.⁸¹

⁷⁶ A.M. H. Alyân-H. Kazim, *el İst'imâru'lBiritânî el-Fransî, li-Şarki İfrikiyyâfi'l-karni't-tâsi' iaşera ve metla' il'karni'l-işrîn*, Mecelle Cem' iyyetuTikritli'Ulumi, 2012, pp 12, 24

⁷⁷ Christophe Bertaud, *Rochelais à l'origine de la Côte d'Ivoire*, TRACES pub., Paris, ty. p.2

⁷⁸ T. A. Moussa, *Aser Isti'mâri 'l-Fransi ela- et-Te'limü'l-islami fi Sahili'l-Ac (1960-1893)*, International Africa University Center-il Buhus-ul, Faculty of Africa Studies Department, Unpublished High Thesis, Khartoum 1999, p.70

⁷⁹ T. Ali, *Aser Isti'mâri 'l-Fransi ela- et-Te'limü'l-islami fi Sahili'l-Ac (1960-1893)*, International Africa University Center-il Buhus-ul, Faculty of Africa Studies Department, Unpublished High Thesis, Khartoum 1999, p.67

⁸⁰ P. Kipré, *Historire de la Cote-d'Ivoire, Premier cycle de l'enseignement secondaire*, AMI pub, Abidjan 1992, p.78

⁸¹ Yves Person Françoise, *Samori La renaissance de l'empire mandingue*, Editions Afrique Biblio Clup, published Abidjan 1977, p.161; D. Eyüp, *Al-Hirâku'd-Dinî fi Côtéd'Ivoire (1960-2000)*, Zeytune University, Usülü'd-Din Department, Unpublished PhD Thesis, Tunisia, 2015-2016, p 81

French colonialism met with harsher resistance in the Côte d'Ivoire and West Africa than in Sofa. Samory Touré proclaimed himself Imam on July 25, 1884.⁸² Moreover, the Boli tribes continued to resist. The Boli resistance, which began in 1908, continued until 1910. That year the French began to use their famous search and inspection tactics. With brutality and brutality unprecedented in the history of African resistance, each resistance was gradually suppressed with violence. Based on what has been said about the life of Louis Gustave Binger, it can be said that the untimely death of Gustave Binger's father affected him and even turned him into a young man abroad. Moreover, he traveled to many cities until his youth, most of these trips were with his mother. This may have affected his life, which according to many sources describes him as someone who respects women. The Alsace incident between Germany and France created a psychological need against Germany in Binger's soul. It only caused him to flee this city, which he did with his mother. The reactions of his psychology to all these events led him to turn to normal and military education and to the teaching of topography, albeit simple. As a result, with the help of his colonial works, his personal experience and some of his friends, he opened up and succeeded in business opportunities. The same work earned him the confidence of the French state. Moreover, his famous background has given his career a wealth of experience. It is also praised for her influence on the city of Kong itself, her passionate love for the city and its level of education, its academic and commercial centrality with its university. So, Binger moves from his professional life to other stages of his life as follows. After his appointment as Governor General of the French colonies of the Côte d'Ivoire in 1893, Louis Gustave Binger began to deal with official colonial affairs.⁸³ It should be noted here that the French state treats the actions of Governor General Binger with a particular view based on the fact that he subjugated the Côte d'Ivoire to the French state.

⁸² Abdallah Abdulmâcid İbrahim, *el-Garâbatu el-camâ'at el-letîhaceretmin garbi İfrikiyave's tawtanat Sudan valley Nile ve devruhum fi tekvin al-huviyati es-sudaniyye*, 1st Edition, Dâru'l-Havîyay,Beirut 1998, pp. 158-163

⁸³ A. Toure, *op. cit.*, p 67

This question is mentioned in French sources and the historian Adem Bemba from Côte d'Ivoire confirms it with the following words: "Binger (1857-1937) is the Frenchman who subjected today's Côte d'Ivoire to France".⁸⁴

Thus, according to France, Binger is unique among the French colonizers. Because those who came before had not accomplished what Binger had accomplished. Although Louis Gustave Binger was not the first founder of the colonial process in Côte d'Ivoire and therefore was not the first leader of the French colonies in Côte d'Ivoire, he was still able to submit the country - according to French calculations - to the colonial state, we must not forget that he is a person. The colonial process in Côte d'Ivoire goes back to its first founder, the French explorer and colonialist Marcel Treich-Laplène, so we can say that Marcel Treich-Laplène is the leader of the colonization of the country; In other words, he is the first Frenchman who put the first colonial core of the Ivorian people, that is to say the first founder of colonialism, that is to say the person who launched the colonial process in the country. This point is also recognized by many French sources. The Ivorian historian Ikran Kwame Noel head of the International Museum of Grand Bassam reports:

"Marcel Treich-Laplène was born in 1860 and died in 1890. Although a young man, he was the founder of the colony in Côte d'Ivoire and King of Lindini/Indénié region. And it was he who concluded the agreements between Bondoukou and the country of Kong and Bondoukou for people".⁸⁵

From the North after discovering the Grand-Bassam region. It is remarkable that the voyage or the visit is not mentioned in the colonial books of the French West. Based on these facts obtained from historical information, we can say that Amersel Treich-Laplène is the founder of colonialism in the country. Despite his travels in the Muslim region, he was unable to subjugate the country to France. It is therefore not surprising that France considered Binger's personality to be superior. In fact, it is deduced that the process of subjugating the country under the control of colonialism was not easy and did not take place under natural conditions as the French colonialist described in his writings. It appears from the sources that the process of subjugation of the country to France went through several stages until it reached the stage of colonialism. According

⁸⁴ E. K. Noel, *Bienvenue à Grand-Bassam le Guide du Touriste*, M.E.S.B.S. pub., Abidjan, 2012, p 20

⁸⁵ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZzN9dJdo33Q> (23 .02. 2021)

to the sources, it is understood that after France committed crimes and human destruction against the Ivorian community, the process of subjugating the country to France went through several stages until it reached the stage of colonialism. These steps are also based on the brutal persecution of the people of the country through the French destruction and the French colonial attack on the people of the country. It should be noted that the subject of Binger's book is the barbaric French attacks launched by France against the peoples of Western Soudan, whose Ivorian's are not separated from each other. French books have never addressed this attack, and France has always brought culture and civilization to the peoples of this region with its books. The fact that the French did not mention the voyage of the founder of the French colonies and hid them from French sources is due to the absence of a voyage to the north of the country.

There is probably a lot of information that may not have reached researchers so far, including what happened on this trip, especially between the King of the Kingdom of Kong and the leader of the French colonizer in the predominantly Muslim north of the country. Especially since it carries historical information about the existence of civilization and culture in the north before the arrival of the colonizer, France may have hidden this trip and did not want the history of Côte d'Ivoire is known to Ivorian's. He tried to show that it was about. However, historical reference sources accept the barbarian attacks of the French. These attacks were not limited to the Côte d'Ivoire, but also took place in all the colonies of West Africa. Those who work on the subject also relate this situation, and one of the historians underlines it:

“The French used the most brutal and harsh methods to seize western Soudan. They showed no mercy to an old man, child or woman. An eyewitness account of what happened is as follows; ‘After the siege and the attack, the order to take the city was given, everyone was taken prisoner or killed, the prisoners were chained and the commander started distributing the loot, so he wrote something in his note, then stopped writing and said, ‘Divide the loot among yourselves’. There have been fights and disputes over this sharing. On the way back, the grandparents traveled 25 miles a day, dragging the prisoners behind them, beating the children and everyone else to death with a gun or a spear.”⁸⁶

It can be said that the crimes against humanity of the French colonies were not limited to Côte d'Ivoire or Western Sudan, but that the same humanitarian destruction was committed for the first time in the Algerian colonies. Emphasizing this, Khawla Shalalide says: “The arbitrary French colonial policy in Algeria, the persecution and

⁸⁶ V., Julianve Y. Savelyev, mûciz tarihi Afrikiyâ, çev Amin Al-şharif,1. Baskı, Müessesetü'l-Asri'l-Hadis, pub., Kahire 2018, p62

violations as ized against Algerians, inhuman crimes against them, against their sanctity and their property, are all considered crimes”.⁸⁷

Shows that it applies to Senegal and Côte d'Ivoire has made the same policy as in Algeria, and in most cases in Algeria. S. Howardda confirms this:

“France formed what is called French West Africa, and these included: Senegal, Mauritania, French Soudan (i.e. Mali), Côte d'Ivoire, Haute Volta (that is to say the current Burkina Faso), Dahomey, Niger. French influence expanded and with the French taking of the Sahara, their colonies in West Africa came into contact with their colonies in the north.”⁸⁸

It is not surprising to give examples from other colonies of France to understand the matter, on the contrary, all the events were similar as in these events. It can be said that there were brutal murderous attacks, barbaric massacres and human destruction.

This quote also illustrates the same fact : “Francois Gard witnesses the French barbaric murder, in addition to describing the French and European white man as a savage when he says; this is how the legend of the white savage began. Entitled what happened to the white savage?”.⁸⁹

As a testament to his belief in it can be said that he should be accepted as He is all the more significant for witnessing one of them, namely one of the European writers. As noted, the French colonial policy initiated by France in the Côte d'Ivoire and Western Sudan dates back to before Louis Gustave was appointed to the country. France has committed many crimes in this regard. For example, the occupier of the colonialist. Among the things What France learned from Islam, inherited from the Ottoman Empire, and applied to Côte d'Ivoire and even to all of its colonies, is state ownership of land. France took this law, which she did not know, from the Ottoman Islamic world. Violent murders and rapes, forced slave trade, we can say to Ivorian women, as she portrayed through her 154 writings. It is, in reality, of course, brutal without justification. Following such barbaric French attacks, the popular-popular defense attitude of the fight

⁸⁷ Havle Şalali-Salma Klaa, Cerâ'imû'l-İsti'mâri'l-Fransîfi'l-Cezâirmin Hilâli Şehâdet Kâdeti'l-Ceyşi'l-Fransî Tebsi, Alger 2016 p1

⁸⁸ S. Hovârid, Eşhuru'l-Rihlê İlâ Garbi İfrîkiyye, çev. Şeyh Abdurrahman Abdullah, el-Cüz'ü 1, el Hey'etu'l-Misriyyetu'l-Âm, Kahire 1996, p20

⁸⁹ François Gard, Meze Cerâli'l-Mutevahhiş el-ebyad, trans. Büşra Ebu Kasım, daru'l-Ninawa Damascus 2013, p.5

against the Ivorian national resistance was popularized by the people of the country and caused a backlash against them. Sources also prove it: these popular-popular reactions or protests oppose colonial injustice. A researcher on the relations of resistance says:

“And the second stage is the stage that we classify as the stage of African reactions in view of resistance, or the stage of contestation, as we prefer the 'to call. In fact, the reality is that there is a conflict between the two parties and that France is trying to eliminate this resistance, has not succeeded. A related researcher points out the following. "The researchers came to the conclusion that France tried to eliminate the resistances it faced from the beginning and then launched its political, political and economic projects aimed at looting and exploiting the African peoples as well as the Ivorian's, but at the beginning, it was difficult. For them.”⁹⁰

France, seeing that the circle of people's reactions was widening and taking an unexpected time, this situation did not make sense, and he really understood that the situation remained like this and that he couldn't control it in a short time or things might not work in his favor at that time.

Since all this information and the historical facts of French colonialism in Côte d'Ivoire are presented within the framework of Binger's work, it is necessary to refer and verify other statements on issues completely related to these events realized the gravity of the situation and then tried to sign a ceasefire with it is policy either to eliminate resistance or to sign agreements with regional leaders to attract leaders from the region. This situation prompted the colonial generals, who were in the Côte d'Ivoire region of France, especially in Camarshande and Motte/Manet⁹¹ before Binger, to demand an agreement with the local kings in order to achieve this objective, that the leaders of the region go to war and thus achieve the colonial objective. Despite this change in policy, France cannot be said to have succeeded in the region. When France could not achieve the desired result, she began to search for another character who could accomplish this task. Considering the accomplishments of Louis Gustave Binger, in addition to his ability to be a competent soldier and a lover of the soldier, it is possible to make the following assessment of Binger: “Binger was a soldier and first came to Africa to

⁹⁰ Humeyda Dirîsî, *Ablata Mekkî, es-Siyâsetu'l-isti'mâriyyetu'l-fransiyye fî Garbi Ifrikiyâ, (Senegal and Sahili'l-Âc) Enmûzecen 1900-1960, kuliyyetu'l-Ulûmi'ictimâ'iyye ve'l-insâniyye*, Social Sciences, History Department, Djilali Bounaama Khemis Miliana University, Undisseminated Master's Thesis, Algeria 2017., p.29,44

⁹¹ A. Toure, *op. cit.*, p 72

military service”.⁹² France, Binger On the basis of all these characteristics, he believed he could achieve the goal of colonizing, that is, of taming the resistance. Thus, in addition to the other reasons mentioned above, the appointment of Louis Gustave Binger to the post of Governor General was deemed appropriate.

On March 10, 1893, the French government issued a decree appointing Binger viceroy of Côte d'Ivoire, in the cabin French military units decided to send military forces to settle accounts with Samory Touré, who controlled all of northern country and fixed headquarters in the Udine area. After a long struggle, it was not until 1895 that they managed to seize the kingdoms of Abron and Bondoukou.⁹³ In addition, the conflict has affected most of the population of northern Côte d'Ivoire, which is predominantly Muslim in some of the territories dominated by Commander Samory Touré. The Dioula tribe living in the northwest of the country also took their share of these conflicts. Thus, upon the appointment of Binger, the Ivorian resistance stopped and began to use military force to eliminate. In fact, Binger became interested in these events as his first job after his appointment and taking office. It should be noted that Binger is fully aware of this situation, and it should even be noted that the elimination of the Ivorian national resistance was part of the reasons that led to his appointment as Governor General of the French colonies in the country.

Based on this colonial project to eliminate Ivorian national resistance, Binger was able to conclude treaties with the leaders of the country. It was an important objective, an important part of the French colonial project in the country. This is what makes Binger attach great importance to the issue. Binger's relationships with local leaders made it a priority of his career in colonial administration, until it became the first official project he started working on after his assignment in the country. It should be noted here that while in some sources it is admitted that the process of concluding treaties with the local rulers of the country was the first job he began to work in the colonial administration, there is another point of view that believes that the process of eliminating the national resistance in Côte d'Ivoire was the first work he did in the executive administration. If there is a third story that presents the process of drawing the

⁹² J. Kamm, *el-Müstekşifûna fi Afrikiyâ*, çev., Seyyid Yusuf Nasr, 1st edition, Dârü'l-Ma'ârif, Kahire 1983, p 188

⁹³ J. N. Loucou, *Histoire de La Côte d'Ivoire*, CEDA pub, Abidjan, 1984, p 39

borders of the country as the first thing he did after his appointment, there is another that connects the process of drawing borders with the process of signing an agreement with the process of doing a single action, because they work simultaneously. These are various accounts in historical sources related to the colony. However, all of these accounts agree on one thing. All of these works were made by Binger after his commission, but their order and chronology are different. However, all these sources reinforce the importance and priority of all these studies according to Binger. In our opinion, it would be more accurate to identify Binger's works according to one of these accounts and their chronology. It should also be noted that before coming to the French colonial attack of Louis Gustave Binger against the people of the country, it is necessary to give a comprehensive and clear understanding of the subject of this French attack on the Ivory Coast in detail and to remove all circumstances and uncertainties. On the other hand, in our opinion, it would be fairer to follow the work carried out under the direction of Binger in chronological order. Accordingly, the timeline; a) The attack of Louis Gustave Binger and the National Resistance of Ivory, b) the process of negotiation with Louis Gustave Binger and the leaders of the country, c) Louis Gustave Binger and the process of delimitation of Côte d'Ivoire, d) Louis Gustave Binger and The coast as a process of Christianization and evangelization will be correct.⁹⁴

The attack of Louis Gustave Binger and the Ivorian National Resistance the colonial attack against Africans in general and the French colonial attack against Ivorian's in particular, led by Louis Gustave Binger, is of great importance for the examination of the country's history, on the other hand, Côte d'Ivoire and western Soudan. It is important to shed light on colonial events in Turkey and indeed throughout Africa. Thus, the mind can imagine the extent of black human carnage and material loss caused by this colonial attack on the continent over the centuries. All of this reinforces that. Most historical sources confirm conclusively that the European white man could not colonize any country in Africa, except by a military attack from the governments of the colonial countries, as was the attitude of the French government during the colonial attack against the people of the country. The following point of view also reinforces this:

⁹⁴ Kamagate Soualiho, *fildişi sahili'nde sömürgecilik süreci (1893-1960)*, doktora tezi, istanbul üniversitesi sosyal bilimler enstitüsü türkiyat araştırmaları anabilim dalı, pp 173-174

"This murderous colonialism against the Ivorian and African peoples would not have been possible without the European attacks led by Binger, particularly in western Sudan, in Côte d'Ivoire, and in general, launched by settlers throughout the continent African."

This is what we see in the testimonies of most African and foreign historical sources; This is a fact that seems indisputable, unless the white colonial man proves otherwise through the pens of Western historians, and it seems to be the greatest challenge to the colonizers that can be difficult to overcome. Thus, the colonial attack in general and the French attack in Côte d'Ivoire led by Louis Gustave Binger are part of the reality of colonialism, we can rather say that it is one of the aspects, elements and foundations of the colonial process. It is therefore an integral part of it, since without it the colonial process was incomplete and impossible to achieve fully.⁹⁵ It is therefore not surprising that some historians have made it the pillar and foundation of colonialism. It seems that, on the one hand, they relied on this functional constructive role, and on the other hand, they came to believe in the reliability of the meaning of the quality of practical definition, linguistic definitions and academic linguistics confirming the words of historians. We know that the attack launched by the French state in Côte d'Ivoire through its leader, Louis Gustave Binger, was the direct cause of the colonization of the country. In other words, the subject of the colonial attack is directly linked to the history of the country. This has required the country's scholars, in their writings on the colonial offensive, to pay full attention to all its dimensions and roots in a comprehensive and holistic view, to find the truth of this French colonial attack that has always exceeded. Therefore, one thing stands out when looking at sources and research to record the truth about the French colonial attack in Côte d'Ivoire. There are three main historical accounts describing the colonial attack in western Sudan in general and Côte d'Ivoire in particular. In order to objectively assess this question, it is necessary to compare these three accounts and confirm the result. The first is made up of purely colonial Western accounts, the second of purely African accounts and the third of Islamic accounts written by Muslim historians from the Arab and Ottoman worlds. According to the statement of European historian David, Islamic accounts have been seen to be older than Western European accounts after Kushite sources. Arab travelers and Muslim historians have left

⁹⁵ By colonial attack is meant attack, whether military or not.

valuable traces in Africa. We must take action to dig up the Islamic stories without wasting time to understand the continent as it was in its time, we need more than Arab masterpieces. Historian Bofill,

“Before the arrival of the Arabs, the colonial attack from the South refers to the attack, military or not. African accounts refer to historical sources and references written by African historians themselves in 1970. In the Maghreb countries we did not know much about Africa, we owe our knowledge of the ancient history of the interior of the continent to a few writers and travelers.”⁹⁶

Just confirm and confirm what one of the European historians, which said: “If we remove the historical documents written in Arabic, there will be no reliable history for black Africa”⁹⁷ mentions the virtue of the Arabic language in the preservation of historical information on the African continent through the pens of Arab and Ottoman historians, and when they relate others from the Islamic world.

The gravity of this effect is revealed in the fact that the knowledge of the colonial attack is transformed into an education and training dilemma taught in national educational institutions. The only purpose of this knowledge is that it wants to make the French people superior to the Ivorian. People in all aspects of life. This is the most dangerous psychology in human life. One of the historians also pointed out:

“The psychological theory should be characterized psychologically as Christian missionary and social atavism, since all its proponents of this theory, often described as social Darwinism, Christian missionary and social atavism, share their belief in the supremacy of says the white race”.⁹⁸

It should not be forgotten that this negative psychological effect is the result of the transfer of information without examination or research and without returning to the origin of the old source. The reason is that it is far from conveying information without sifting for beauty, without returning to the original source, without scientifically correct analysis, far from empty enthusiasm. This is what allows most transplanners, their pens,

⁹⁶ A. N. Felca, AfrikiyaDirasatün‘Âmatünveİklimiyye, MüessesetüŞebâb’ül-Cami’a pub., İskenderiye 2011., pp.18-19

⁹⁷ V., Julianve Y. Savelyev, mûciz tarihi Afrikiyâ, çev Amin Al-şharif,1. Baskı, Müessesetü’l-Asri’l-Hadis, pub., Kahire 2018, p 62.

⁹⁸ Yves Person Françoise, *Samori La renaissance de l’empire mandingue*, Abidjan, 1976, pp 42, 161

to record the same information written by the perpetrators of the colonial attacks. It is a kind of transfer of information. This is what gives credibility to the author in this case for the crime of colonial attack. Because the colonialist always wants to justify his colonial crime. This is the biggest mistake made by some researchers in the country, and the colonial attack this negative psychological effect on the mentality of the Ivorian citizen mentioned in his speech is not an affirmation without foundation. Some researchers say that this negative effect is in the mentality of almost all Africans, not just Ivorian's. Many historians such as Yusuf Roukoz, Anwar al-Jundi, Muhammed Abdulgani Saudi have referred to it in the book "Black Africa Politics and Civilization, (p.10)". Finally, it is enough for one of the graduates of a French colonial school to accept the idea that colonialism has tried to corrupt the black mind by teaching him to falsify information shows that he must examine things carefully. Also, another point should be mentioned here. It is the fact that during his work in this chapter, he had to be extremely careful to find the three stories in detail through the sources. Maybe that's what helped him gather information. On colonial aggression and national resistance to colonial injustice. Therefore, from this information through three stories, as we mentioned earlier, it is necessary to deal with the question in all its aspects and in its entirety and to qualify the colonial attack in Côte d'Ivoire accordingly. In this context, it is possible to categorize the subject: a. The first contacts of the European colonial frictions between the peoples of the country and the Africans, b. Heralds of crimes and rumors of French colonial aggression in the country, c. Public reactions to the crimes of the French colonial attack in the country, d. General French colonial attack against the people of the country and national resistance against Louis Gustave Binger Lessons learned from the general French colonial attack on the country.⁹⁹

2.1.3. Financial, Military and Commercial from under Louis Gustave Binger to Ernest Nattes

Louis Gustave Binger managed to establish his military administration, in which French laws were enforced by the army and military force in all areas. Acknowledging this, author Christophe Wongy draws attention to the fact that the difficulties he encountered from locals against the new administration were violently suppressed. The

⁹⁹ Kamagate Soualiho, op. cit., pp 156-157

French administration, made up of the sons of African loyalists within the framework of a military policy, did not refrain from using military force to protect its hegemony and the interests of France, a policy which only did attract the attention of the French. All positions, seize the administration of government affairs, take the positions of judges, clerks, educators, health... Thus, the army forms the basis of survival, or rather France.¹⁰⁰ The guarantee of the existence of the army is the army. Louis Gustave Binger conducted his colonial trade based on the philosophy of colonialism. This philosophy was the realization of the commercial objectives of the French colonial state, the policy of extending the colonial commercial influence of France to the country and territory of Côte d'Ivoire, and the exploitation of the lands of its inhabitants and revolutions for the benefit of influential France. This situation revealed the difference between colonial trade and pre-colonial independent trade. K. Savaliu explains:

“Before the advent of colonialism, free trade was active between the African kingdoms, and the confiscation of the lands of the ivory colony limited the activity of this trade. Because commercial service became very limited and limited mostly to railroads or lake locations such as Lake Abrie, Agboville and Abidjan to Bingerville. Local products are concentrated; there were many imported and domestic products such as mutton, shea (shea) butter, fish from the north, and gunpowder and pearls in the south.”¹⁰¹

The phenomenon of the slave trade was an important and fundamental element of the colonial process. Most sources and references agree with this fact, but not entirely. It is also a fact that slavery is an ancient phenomenon in human society. There are differences in ideas about slavery, which is a foreign idea imposed by the sources from which we learn about slavery, whether it is an original part or branch of life human, or the reality of the effects of life on the organism. Slavery, as defined by Islamic jurists, is a legal obstacle that affects those caught up in legitimate warfare. According to this definition, it turns out that slavery is a part and a branch of the effects of life, namely the foreign manufacture imposed by war.¹⁰² The system eventually evolved into human commerce between the strong and the weak, so that the weak began to fall into the hands

¹⁰⁰ Z. Fres-S. Âlem, *al-İsti'mâru'l-FransiyyufiGîneveDevru Ahmet SekuTourefiHareketi't-tahrir 1960-1900*, al Ceylanêbu Name Hamis Milyade UniversityCezairUlûmi'lİnsaniyye Faculty, Department of History, Master's Thesis, 2016-2017, p.38

¹⁰¹ K. Savaliu, *veđiyetu l-lugati'l-Arabiyye fi kotedivormuskilâton ve hululün*, Say Islamuniv.Department of Arabic language,UnpublishedHigh Bachelor Thesis, Niger 1997, p 77

¹⁰² Abdusselam et Termânîni, *er-RiķMazihu ve Hadıruhu*, 1st edition, Dâru'l-Me'ârif, Kuveyt 1990, p 32

of the strong as slave prey. Thus, among Europeans, it continued to take the form of the official colonial slave trade, unprecedented in the country over the days. Under the reign of Louis Gustave Binger, the slave trade in Côte d'Ivoire took the second form mentioned. It should be noted that although the illusions that France did not practice the slave trade in the country do not reflect the truth and that there is clear evidence of the existence of this process in the country. It is also revealed by this study that he practiced the slave trade in Côte d'Ivoire. In the article titled "The Origin of the Negroes of West Africa" on this issue, to which most historians draw attention, the subject is conveyed with the following sentences. "Most of the Africans hunted by the whites and sold as slaves in the New World came from a region of the West African coast stretching from Senegal in the north to Gambia and then south, in particular to Liberia, Sierra Leone, Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Dahomey and Nigeria".¹⁰³

Even this shows that the practice of slave trade did indeed take place in the country. According to official statements by the Ivorian government, it has also been confirmed that the slave road was discovered in the country. A number of European and American citizens, about 360 people, have proven their origins in Côte d'Ivoire. Louis Monte reigns within the military and financial administration inherited from Louis Gustave Binger. He applies the laws as he finds them in all aspects of the administrative and military structure.

Governor Louis Mouttet sought first to alleviate the difficulties encountered by the natives in his administration military and financial. Based on this new military policy, he changed his approach to the Ivorian community, focusing on the sons of funded Africans in his military and financial administration. However, it made no changes to its administrative structure, not to the peace order, not to the foundations of its administrative leadership, not to the colonial goals of linking the military and financial administration to the country's economy. Thus, Louis Mouttet continued to maintain administrative hegemony over the interests of French colonialism in his military and financial administration. He also relied on the practice of direct rule and

¹⁰³ A. Tahir, *İfrikiyyâFusulMine'l Mazi ve'l-Hadir, el Mektebetu'l-Efrikiyye, Daru'lMa'ârif, Kahire 1975, p 93*

continued the process of imposing conscription on the people of Côte d'Ivoire.¹⁰⁴ Louis Mouttet's administration focused more on military power than on diplomacy on the one hand, and on the other centered on the Ivorian community, with its frequent recruitment into the ranks of the French army. Governor Mouttet maintained his military approach in executing financial matters and also sought opportunities to sign treaties with some of the leaders of countries that did not have a treaty with France prior to the treaty.¹⁰⁵ During his reign, however, most treaties were made, sometimes under forced control and sometimes under colonial deception. For it seems that the French colonialists promised to give protection and commercial privileges to the rulers of the country, when something else was written on the stipulated paper. This is why these agreements are characterized as an adventure. It should be noted that most sources claim that he succeeded under the military regime of Governor Louis Mouttet tax affairs. Obviously, Governor Louis Mouttet focused on the tax method that gave him economic horizons in the past, and after that he entered the business process in response to the philosophy of taking the property of Côte d'Ivoire to respond to the philosophy of French colonialism and from there to trade with European countries without the consent of the citizens, he also turned to agriculture, where he undertakes the process of growing cocoa, coffee, cotton and other resources from Ivorian goods for the benefit of the country. Thus, the administration of Governor Louis Binger manifested itself in its extractive economic and political structure, which prevented Ivorian society from benefiting. Indeed, the Ivorian citizen was forced to work without being paid, and moreover, he became the one who paid taxes to France through Mouttet.¹⁰⁶

As a result, compulsory citizen labor expanded during the reign of Governor Louis Mouttet. Thus, French colonial steamships in the country's Atlantic Ocean came under the control of French merchants. They dismantled the farms and fields of the original citizens and attempted to transfer the raw material resources to the countries of

¹⁰⁴ M. Meryem, SihemBottle, hand İsti'marveHareketu'tTaharrurfiGarbiİfrikiyye el Fransi, NumuzecSenağal, 2019, Celâlîbunam bi HamisiMilyenaUniversity, Department of History, Unpublished Master's Thesis, Algeria 2018, p 34

¹⁰⁵ H. Dirîsî-A. Mekki, es-Siyasetu'l-isti'mâriyyetu'l-fransiyye fi Garbiİfrikiyâ, (Senegalve Sâhili'l-Âc) Enmusecen 1900-1960, DjilaliBounaamaKhemisMiliianaUniv., Department of History, Unpublished Master's Thesis, Al-Jazar 2017, p 278

¹⁰⁶ J. Hess, *Catastrophes de la Martinique*, Paris 1902, p 231

the colonizer. With this military control, the commercial hegemony in the Ivory region, which had become the hunt for the occupation of the French colonialists, could be controlled of the slave trade and tried to reveal how the slave trade, which was an important part of the colonial process, was rejected by the colonial enclosures in Côte d'Ivoire. Sources reveal that the slave trade was actually practiced by France in Côte d'Ivoire. The transplant sources were also confirmed by DNA testing. A number of African Americans and Europeans are of Ivorian origin, who were forcibly brought from the country and sold in Europe. It was proven that there was a famous singer among them. If we add the surrender of the pen of most Ivorian researchers to European researchers who made colonial propaganda, we will better understand how the truth was concealed. Earlier, we specifically referred to the official statement made by the Ivorian government to recognize and accept the slave trade process in the country.¹⁰⁷

Governor Robert Henry Charles Victor Amédée's system of government continued in all colonial administrations in accordance with the laws of the Binger administration. It is a colonialist of the philosophy of the French colonial administration, which expresses a coherent structural system. Ordinances and administrative decisions were sent from the French Parliament to the French Governorate of Western Sudan based in Senegal, and from there to other colonies, including the Ivorian administration.¹⁰⁸ Similarly, the reverse is also true, i.e. the decisions would come out of the hands of Governor Henry, they would be handed over to the Governor of Senegal, then to France, and so on. In the past, the administrative structure had not changed since the establishment of this colonial administration and during the period of independence. It was only under Governor Robert Henry Charles Victor Amédée that he focused on reforms, as well as the recruitment of large numbers of country children and social recruitment.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ J. N. Loucou, *op. cit.*, p 48

¹⁰⁸ Albert Adu Boahen, *el's-Siyâse ve'l-Kefâh el-Vatanîfi Garb İfrikiya, Tarih Afrikiyâ el-Âmm*, C.VII, Unesco, 1990, pp 629-650, 723

¹⁰⁹ Humeyda Dirîsî, *Ablata Mekkî, "es-Siyâsetu'l-isti'mâriyyetu'l-fransiyye fî Garbi İfrikiyâ, (Senegal and Sâhili'l-Âc) Enmûzecen 1900-1960"*, DjilaliBounaamaKhemisMiliana Master's Thesis, 2017, Unpublished Algeria p 65

These are traits that correspond exactly to what the sources say and, in our opinion, to previous French colonial administrations. It should be noted that these colonial views attempt to thwart the process of human trafficking in the country. According to local and regional sources, as well as scientifically reported evidence and arguments from historians of the African continent, the human in Côte d'Ivoire. It is a fact that no scholar or historian thinks differently about the fact that the 233 smugglers actually took place.

The Business Practices of Clozel and Human Trafficking Previously it has been claimed that Governor François Clozel focused on administrative reforms for himself, until large numbers of natives were recruited into the colonial army. He also showed how he delayed the stage of the colonial offensive when it was beginning peacefully.¹¹⁰ Its financial and military administration resorted to compulsory taxation to Clozel who saw that the wealth of the country was completely dependent on the highest tax sources from which it opened its doors.¹¹¹

Louis Gabriel Angoulvant relied precisely on the imposition of severe taxes and fines on the citizens, and on the severe and ruthless application of his laws. At the time of Gabriel Louis, the surveillance of the colonial army on young and old is forgotten at this time, the personality of Angoulvant is put forward with the imposition of the colonial power of taxation on citizens wherever he reigns. The payment of these taxes is remitted directly to the authorities by the method of suppression and destruction and is implemented in Côte d'Ivoire from 1920. Governor Angoulvant's oppressive method and brutal taxation are clearly felt under the form of all financial and military administration. Angoulvant's method in Côte d'Ivoire is to disarm citizens and force them to engage in agriculture. Practices such as punishing dissidents or those who want to resist with a heavy penalty of war and paying taxes, forcing people to open roads and break up Families, including descendants of the same family who inhabit the forest of the country, followed one another in Côte d'Ivoire, which provoked the continuation of

¹¹⁰ A. Tahir, op. cit., p.87.

¹¹¹ H. Dirîsî-A. Mekki, op. cit., p.51

resistance on the coast. The reality is that the resistance movements did not stop with the elimination of Samory Touré.¹¹²

Business practices and human trafficking of Louis Gabriel Angoulvant at the time Gabriel Louis Angoulvant has been exposed in detail above. Here, it can be said that in this administration, the colonialist focused on the economic expectations of usurping the resources of the country and focused on the cultivation of cocoa, coffee, cotton and other products.¹¹³

Angoulvant with the export of the growing French-European trade, Gabriel managed to dominate the economic system, commercial activities and farms under commercial management using compulsory cultivation for the cultivation of cola, palm, wood, rubber, coffee and cocoa. It can be said that he placed particular importance on the natural agricultural resources found for sale.¹¹⁴ The commercial administrations of Governor Louis Gabriel Angoulvant encouraged the cultivation of coke, rubber, cotton, food and palm oil through forced labor, so he tried to open the commercial channel between France and other European colonial countries. As sources have confirmed, human trafficking in this way was a European invention on the African continent.

Antoinette Raphael was employed in military and financial management. Its military and financial management is centered on all aspects of its administrative and military structure. Raphael's military and financial management generally focused on the compulsory taxation of the country's inhabitants. Gabriel Lewis' colonial army, young and old, took care of him. Governor Antoinette Raphael made the citizens pay the colonial tax. His ruthless treatment of citizens led to the concentration of capital resources in his own hands. We note that Antoinette Raphael tended to cultivate cola, rubber and cocoa on farms in the country in 1919-1920. In the implementation of this

¹¹² B. Fevziyye-M. Meryem, *al-Īsti'mâri'l-Fransi fi Sâhili'l-Âc Africa* Ahmed Diraye Urinary University, Ulumi'l Insâniyye Faculty, Unpublished Higher Education Undergraduate Thesis, Algeria 2018, p. 34-35, 49

¹¹³ J. N. Loucou, *op. cit.*, p.45-51

¹¹⁴ P. Labbe, *Societe de Geographie Commerciale de Paris*, BibliothequeNational de Franceyay, Paris 1913, p 77

forced labor, citizens had to sow cocoa, cola and other fruits at the expense of forced labor.¹¹⁵

Antoinette Raphael Thus, it can be said that the military method in the management of financial affairs and therefore the military and financial practices in the colonies of the country have come a long way in administrative success in the time of Antoinette Raphael The sources according to which Governor General Antoinette Raphael implemented the process of human trafficking in various regions of Grand Bassam and Grand-Lahou, as well as in other lands of Tiassalé and Côte d'Ivoire.¹¹⁶ Research confirms that Raphael made slaves either by the Razia method or by death or surrender.¹¹⁷ In this process, the people of the country have suffered more than anyone could imagine. The slaves endured all sorts of humiliations, insults and pain during the deportation operations. They were driven from their land like human animals bought and sold. Then, at the hands of the settlers, they were driven to the coasts from the depths of the African continent (from Côte d'Ivoire, Mali, Burkina Faso and Senegal). Here, other European traders were waiting for them. They never got tired of waiting weeks or even months to get this human commodity.¹¹⁸

The life of a person who refused to be a slave would be between life and death. Its ivory citizen was forcibly arrested and then transferred to Europe to be sold as a commercial commodity, but the colonial mentality tried to present the slave trade as a peaceful trade between the French colonialists and some local leaders, as if it was a normal trade between the seller and the buyer. This is a colonial lie and legend that has no basis in original historical references and has no basis in scientific research.

Repique Jules Louis Governor the military and financial administration of Repique Jules Louis is particularly keen to make it a source of the public economy and

¹¹⁵ A. J. Hopkins, *et-Tarihu'l-İktisadî li-İfrikîyyâ el-Garbiyye*, Kahire Üniv. yay., Kahire 1997, p 54

¹¹⁶ Philip Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade. A census*, Madison, The University of Winsconsin Press, 1969, p 211

¹¹⁷ P. Kipre, *op. cit.*, p 71

¹¹⁸ Abdulkadir Salamani, *Ticaretu'r-Rakik fi Afrikîyye el Garbiyye ve İniakesetihe'l-İstimariyye, ale's Sanegal, Beyne'l-Karneyni's-Sadise Aşere ve't-Tesia Aşere Miladî, Mecelletu'n-Nasiriyye, ve'dDirasetu'l-İctimaiyye, ve't-Terihîyye*, p 5, 6, (2014/2015), p 214

the primary dependency of state capital. On the contrary, he went further in his financial and military administration, trying to impose both direct and indirect taxes on the citizens. The fiscal situation of his time intensified from 1914 and doubled again in 1924.¹¹⁹ It should not be forgotten that the year in which the situation worsened was that of the administration of Governor Repique Jules. On the other hand, we can say that the tax situation is exaggerated, especially in Côte d'Ivoire. It extended to all the French colonies, in particular to French West Sudan, North Africa and French Equatorial Africa. Colonial countries imposed tariffs or taxes on consumption that fed the financial funds of each country. In order not to penalize the users of the colonial countries by increasing the price of the raw materials of the colonies, priority was given to the imposition of an import tax rather than the imposition of a tax on the export.¹²⁰

Trafficking in human beings in Côte d'Ivoire under Repique Jules Louis It is mentioned in the sources that under the governorship of Governor General Repique, trafficking in human beings or slaves was carried out clandestinely in Côte d'Ivoire. However, until that time, as said before, the slave trade was prohibited, but French colonialism continued this horrible traffic in human beings. Although the slave trade was banned, it was deciphered, but not on a large scale. In his work, Marcel Souzy, describing a slave trade operation under Governor Repique, said: "During his tenure as governor, he used native citizens as a commodity and, therefore, underscored the power of the system of colonial exploitation to supply products in an organized and continuous manner".¹²¹

It can be said that the slave trade, which we have already discussed in detail, also claimed the lives of thousands of people during this period.

Lapalud Maurice Pierre in Côte d'Ivoire in the colonial public administration, the effectiveness of political leadership and its ability to formulate the general policy of the State depended on the extent of the existing administrative apparatus, which translated this policy and followed its implementation on the ground until its results appear. Thus,

¹¹⁹ P. Kipre, *ibid.*, p 77

¹²⁰ Helen Da Almeida-Tobor, *İfrikiyye, Fi'lAsri'I-İşrin*, çev, Sabah Memduh Ka'dân, Hey'etu'lÂmmetu's'Suriyye, Damaşka 2013, p 66

¹²¹ M. Souzy, *Les Coloniaux Français illustrés*, Geoges Hardy yay., Paris 1941 p 98

the colonial political leaders of the colonial countries paid attention to the executive administrative organs of each of them in terms of construction and administrative and business relations and progress. As a result, the administrations continued however, during the governorship of Lapalud Maurice Pierre, notably in May 1927-March 1928, when Jean Maurice summoned Lyon to his side and appointed him provisional governor, he distinguished this administration by merit, courage, seriousness and meticulous organization. In the affairs of the general colonial administration. Lapalud Maurice Pierre's Business Practices and the Slave Trade in His Time the first thing that Governor Lapalud.¹²²

Maurice Pierre initiated was the military attack. We said above that the reality of commercial administration in his financial and military administration also affected him. Pierre, this time on the cultivation of cocoa and high taxes for the citizens clearly indicates that he works with concentration. Governor method was not only brutal, but also led to increased violence against forced labor, which greatly increased the volume of cocoa planted at the time.¹²³ Maurice Pierre forced people to grow coffee, cocoa and rubber under colonial rule. The farms are littered with the darkness of the cocoa tree and the fields are watered with coffee. The administration of Maurice Pierre increased the production of cash crops by establishing centers to guide the population and began to give moral and physical strength to the new state to give it an agricultural character. Farms of these crops also experienced a rapid increase in size.¹²⁴ Also, this governor worked on road and transportation skepticism. The first road works were concentrated in the savannahs by cutting trees, so this project began and expanded with Maurice Pierre, it connected roads and circuits and created a rapid transport network between city centers between 1920 and 1935. These included the region of Grand Bassam, Abidjan, Bingerville-Abidjan and Dabou-Abidjan, and some inland towns such as Daloa, Gagnoa, Bouaké and Abengourou.

Brevie Joseph Jules was employed in military and financial management and focused on the structure of these two administrations. He focused on the practical and

¹²² M. Souzy, *ibid.*, p.104

¹²³ D. Philippe, *op. cit.*, p.141

¹²⁴ B. Fevziyye-M. Meryem, *op. cit.*, p.48-49

aggressive side of colonialism and imposed the payment of compulsory taxes on the people of the country. During his reign, the colonial army was content to organize the operational plan and generally supervise the administrative direction. Accordingly, he continued the administration without making any serious changes. In human development, however, he maintained this administration with academic merit and rigorous organization. In order to facilitate this, he notably took Bronton and Jean Paul with him during his administration, and on October 28, 1930, as an official in one of the staffs. Moreo ver, he used Christianization as a means of combating Islam as a colonial activity.¹²⁵

Tax Practices and Human Trafficking of Brevie Joseph Jules in His Time Private Governor Joseph Jules took various initiatives in his military and financial management and began taxing national resources such as cocoa, coffee and cola.¹²⁶ Jules, which attempts to impose new taxes on citizens, also introduces new custom tax was brought. However, it can be said that he achieved no concrete success in his financial and military management. This made it dependent on the stagnation of the local economy, that is, on the hands of the worker and financial resources. Because the capital of the state consisted of fiscal royalties and domestic customs duties such as cocoa, coffee and coke. Financial difficulties indicated that the economy under the Governor's administration was going from bad to worse. This negativity caused France to demand support for the French colonies. Given the crisis experienced by the colonial state, France, it is understood that it could not respond to this request. It can be said that the financial and military administration was damaged during the PJ Jules period and that there was no concrete success in his administration.¹²⁷

Other offices of the colonial administration and during this time he had the opportunity to identify the management style and the weaknesses of the colonies on the spot. After taking office, he worked on the implementation of regulations regarding

¹²⁵ Michel Raimbault Sanogo, *Recherches archéologiques au Mali. Les sites protohistoriques de la zone lacustre*, PERSAE, p.299, 1993, p 4 ; T. A. Moussa, op. cit., p.73-75

¹²⁶ A. el-Kahlofi, *Tensîrve'l- isti'mârîf'l-Îfrikîyâ love'*, Invitation Faculty of Islam, Jamahiriyya al-Uzma,ed., 2nd Edition, Tripoli, 1992, p 45

¹²⁷ André Salifou, *Le Niger*, L'Harmattan pub, 2002, p 126

internal management affairs, and accordingly, he implemented some important laws and decisions in the administration. His style of administration and the exhibition he inaugurated or the unions he founded helped him to develop good relations with the workforce (i.e. citizen farmers). He tried to appoint new presidents in the management offices to manage these affairs.

He appointed Brevie Joseph on March 3, 1931 to follow this work and worked under the direction of Reste until December 28, 1932. He also assigned Marie Alphonse to the Buzoles squadron between March 7, 1935 and June 28, 1935. He endeavored to soften the relations between ordinary employees and senior officials of the upper class, he did not modify the administrative hierarchy much. As mentioned earlier, all colonial governors followed their decisions with the same administrative structure. Reste Dieudonne François, Reste Dieudonne François' reliance on the enforcement of laws and provisions can be seen in the reality of the slave trade process. Prior to Reste's governorship, the slave trade was prohibited, although France indirectly engaged in the slave trade. One of the important issues here is to reveal the perpetrators of all these events. The possibility of responsibility of Ivorians and Africans in the slave trade or their potential in the slave trade and colonialism should also be discussed. In other words, were they blacks, Africans or the Arab and Ottoman Islamic world?

This is a question that can be assessed through the foundations of colonialism.¹²⁸ What is worrying here is the attitude of Africans when Europeans enter the human trafficking process. In a very succinct summary, most sources specializing in this area, with the exception of colonial sources, fully understand what Africans have on human trafficking and those who attempt this horrible trade and a people and a government that reject and even block in detail confirm that they have a side of tradition and culture. Specifically, African kings warned the French and other colonial countries and wanted to prevent them from entering their country and crossing their seas with them. This is what most researchers say. However, there were also those who wanted to end slavery. For example, Alfonso I of the Congo was not the only ruler to attempt to abolish the yoke of slavery. A Swedish report, a law prohibiting the passage of slaves from the African king to Senegal. During our research, we identified six fundamental

¹²⁸ During our research, we saw six basic features of being a colonial state. Any state, if it has these foundations, that country can be considered a colonial state.

characteristics of a colonial state. If a state has these foundations, that country can be considered a colonial state. He mentions that he emitted.¹²⁹ It can be said that the position of most of the local leaders did not encourage the process of trafficking, except that the process of trafficking took place. As for slavery exploitation during the reign of Reste Dieudonne François, the slave trade process took place in the southern regions, as some sources indicate, but also, it turns out that little information about it has been kept secret. However, even this situation was not for the good of the citizens, but to hide the event from world public opinion.

Deitte Alphonse in Côte d'Ivoire Governor Deitte Alphonse reviewed the colonial administrative affairs in Côte d'Ivoire in general, but continued to use some civil servants in its administrative functions. It made no major changes to the administrative system that existed before Governor Deitte Alphonse arrived in the country. Between March 7, 1936 and October 24, 1936, Lamy Julian appointed George Deputy Governor of the Administration. Moreover, he used natives to train the French colonial army¹³⁰ and appointed young Ivorians as administrators of some police stations¹³¹.

Trafficking in human beings and disasters at the time Deitte Alphonse as for the reality of the commercial practices of the slave trade in Côte d'Ivoire during the reign of Governor Deitte Alphonse did not increase in relation to the arrivals, but the activities are continued underground. Many of the country's inhabitants have been victims of violence and military force or have been imprisoned and deported to European countries. What we observe from the persecution of the Deitte period is that the process of power and violence against the ancestors continued and that, as a result, many were killed by the French European power, some been imprisoned and exiled by the colonialists. This

¹²⁹ A. A. Musa, *Ticaretu'l-Abid*, p 232

¹³⁰ J. K. Zerbo, *Tarih İfrikıya's-sevdâ'*, çev. Yusuf Şalab eş-Şam ve zaratsekafe pub, Şam Damaşka 1994, p 802

¹³¹ It is worth mentioning an important point here. In the participation of the people of Ivory Coast and Africans in the administration of the colonial army, France's aim was not to give them love, work or military service. The main purpose from this was the war of France with Germany, their use in wars against the enemies of France in Asian countries, as in some other European countries, Vietnam and some North African countries. They forced Africans into these wars and thousands of Africans lost their lives in these wars. See Terihu Efrikiyye es Sevdê by J. K. Zbarbo, pp.830-832

process is the slave trade itself, not to mention its name and cause. Because the slave trade was banned by the UN during this time. This is why French writers do not speak of it. The decision to stop the slave trade was not effectively implemented. That is to say, the decision was stated in the document and officially announced, but human trafficking continued despite the fact that what was happening and practiced on the ground was prohibited and prohibited, as they did the French colonial administrators.¹³²

Gaston Charles Julien Mondon in Côte d'Ivoire Gaston Charles Julian Mondon initiated the process of strengthening the functioning of the general colonial administration in Côte d'Ivoire and tried to change many old practices that were effective in his administration in order to achieve it. Mondon, July 16, 1938 during the period of January 27, 1939, many people, including Louis Presolis, managed to manage and was assigned and worked between January 27, 1939 and March 5, 1940. Its administrative organization in all the colonies of country aimed to strengthen it militarily and in terms of personnel, in particular with appointments to various administrative posts. It should be noted that the military assignments here are different from previous military assignments.¹³³ This was because Ivorian society had begun to rekindle the revolution under Governor Mondon. This was precisely the result of the intensity of the French violence against the people of the country. Later, recognizing that the difficulties faced by the indigenous peoples due to oppression caused the revolutions to recoil, he tried to apply the French laws in all fields by the army and military force.¹³⁴

Under Gaston Charles Julien Mondon Gaston Charles Julian Mondon studied the general situation of the country's population, particularly in 1940, shortly before the end of his reign. He noted that the atmosphere was not right for the colonizers as colonial security and stability began to slowly fade away, especially when he noticed people were beginning to refuse to implement some colonial decisions. Therefore, he turned to strengthening the colonial camps in all parts of the country. This, in turn, began to persecute the notables of the country and intensified the forced labor of the people. He warned his officials of the revolt. He punishes with fines those who might revolt, disarms

¹³² M. S., *Les Colonies Françaises Illustrées*, p.35; Z. Riyad, *İsti'mâr Afrikiyya*, 1st edition, Dâru'lKavmeyyetiyay, Kahire 1965, p 7-8

¹³³ J. N. Loucou, *op. cit.*, p 104

¹³⁴ B. Fevziyye-M. Meryem, *op. cit.*, p 46-47

the patriots and forces them to work in agriculture in order to improve the economy of the colony. He exiled the leaders responsible for the revolution and punished the tax-paying rebels.¹³⁵ The elimination of the financial, economic and agricultural crisis that colonialism had to face in the years preceding independence. Moreover, it consists in fighting against them for fear of the resurgence of new resistance movements and of the national resistance based on them all. Crocicchia followed the path of his predecessors to suppress the people of the country. It can be said that it was a colonial attack. The main purpose of the persecution, torture and murder of people who participated in the Ivorian national struggle was to sow fear in the heart of Ivorian society in order to permanently eliminate the idea of popular revolutions and national resistance. Even if the resistance weakened and even collapsed at the end of the war, it is certain that, until these last moments, it still instilled fear in the colonists. This shows that the European white man did not raise the arms of the spirit from the people of the country until the end of colonization. People believe that the people of Côte d'Ivoire did not go to colonize, and that the people defended themselves.¹³⁶

The financial, military and commercial practices of Hubert Deschamps and human trafficking in his time. Due to the revolutionary conditions that occurred especially in the early days of Côte d'Ivoire, in Western Sudan in general and in the Maghreb in general, the governor Huber directed his account in all the offices of the colonial administration of the country. It is so that the revolution does not find an area of expansion in Côte d'Ivoire. Based on this philosophy, the military financial administration has endeavored to strengthen the solidity of French military and police relations in the country. Under the Huber regime, it redoubled its efforts to ensure the security of the military domain, while taxing society, farms and fields the state budget was used to strengthen the status of the occupiers. It also influenced him to develop the railway project in the country. Most of the state budget (Côte d'Ivoire, Western Sudan, etc.) was used to bolster the status of the invaders in the colonies, so roads, bridges and ports were built to facilitate exploitation of colonies.¹³⁷

¹³⁵ H. Dirîsî, *op. cit.*, p 65

¹³⁶ B. Fevziyye-M. Meryem, *ibid.*, p 44

¹³⁷ J. Vasilev-Y. Savelyev, *ibid.*, p 79

Georges Pierre Rey World events experienced by Western Sudan in general and Côte d'Ivoire in particular, on the one hand, have undoubtedly had an impact on the year¹³⁸ history of colonialism. On the other hand, it caused France to handle events in an unusual way. When France went to war with Germany, authorities in French West Africa took steps to develop the production of export crops. Because France suffered from a growing food shortage and the French government hoped to improve the situation by bringing in food from the colonies.¹³⁹ All of these factors caused Governor Rey to review all the affairs of his own administrative offices and of the country's colonial military and financial forces. From time to time, Rey applied an extreme method of cruelty to peasants and farmers and gave full dominance to the economy of the country. Colonialism is not really a manifestation of political, economic, military or cultural authoritarianism. Often, the goal of this domination is the economic exploitation of the state for colonial control, the use of its natural potentials and its human resources.¹⁴⁰

In this sense, Ray and the other rulers of all of the French colonies in Africa were nothing but hoarders of goods flying around the world. In historical reality, the greatest conquerors of all time were the most extreme in terms of colonialism. At the time of Georges Pierre Rey in Côte d'Ivoire Governor George Pierre Rey had aimed to strengthen the colonial army as soon as he took office.¹⁴¹ He also tried to ensure that he relied on the agricultural labor project and the taxes imposed on the people of the country, so that the products, exports and imports were a source of financing for the

¹³⁸ Teymis Kober, *Fi'l-Harbi'l-Âlemiyye es-Sâniyye (1939-1945)*, çev: Muhammed el-Hûlî, 1st edition, Merkez Kevmîlî't-Terceme, Kahire 2015, p 48

¹³⁹ J. K. Zerbo, *Tarih İfrikiya'*, p. 830 vd ; S. Semira-B. Samiyye, *IstimâruFaransâ fi İfrikiâ el Garbiya Giney ânemuzecen (1838-1958) el Arabî Tebsi-Tebssa* University, Department of History, Unpublished Master Thesis, Cezâir2017. p.58.

¹⁴⁰ A. Şevkî Zekî, *el-Alakatu Beyne'd-Dînve's-Siyaseti fi-İfrikiyyâ*, *Dirasetun li-Ba'di Harekêti'l-İslâmî's-Siyâsive'l-Usuliyyeti'l-Mesihîyye*, 1. Baskı, *el-Mektebu'l-Arabî li'l-Ma'ârifay*, Kahire 2016, p.545

¹⁴¹ J. Woods, *al-isti'mâr al-jadidifiAsia, Africa and al-İAtiniya*, 1st Edition,dar el Truth bow,Beirut, 1971, E. K. Noel, p 29

state. All of Rey's activities during his governorship were based on the great troubles and events that occurred before him and continued through his governorship.¹⁴²

Human trafficking became the main commodity of colonialism during his tenure as governor. During the Rey era, the human trafficking operation was carried out in the region of Grand Bassam and other parts of the country now known as the "slave road" in Côte d'Ivoire, as well as in Grand Lahou Districts, Thyasalı Region, and Cankagnazi Region.¹⁴³ When he was empowered by oppression and the Razia method, it was the fields, roads and forests that they passed with the slaves outside the prison to expel them, and from there they took them under the trees called the "trees of death" after their release from prison. But here there is almost no documentation to prove this heinous act. The absence of documents does not mean that human trafficking has ceased during the tenure of this governor. It is likely that this work will continue to be done in secret, as it is feared that popular uprisings could break out. On the other hand, world events, as well as other events that have placed the world in motion, affected colonialism in general and the process of human trafficking in particular. This was the point that most historians were talking about, and this situation was reported by writers and narrators.

Jean-François Toby Côte d'Ivoire The administration of Jean-François Toby differs from the administration of his predecessors, not by nature but by form. Indeed, he used the method of the colonial army and the police to defuse the situation and ensure security in order to facilitate the control process and put an end to the Ivorian popular movements. It can be said that the Toby administration initiated military activities in all government offices. During his reign, the French army did not hesitate to intervene in all administrative, social and economic spheres to enforce and enforce French laws. After the two world wars, in the colonies of France and in all the other French colonies, a true Ahmet Remzi¹⁴⁴, *al-Isti'māru'l-Fransī fi-Şemeli İfrikiyā*, *al Matba'atu'l* in the process of digitization carried out by the administration colonial power, which decided to burn the villages and kill the villagers.

¹⁴² Georges Corm, *el-Mes'eletu'd-DiniyyeFi'l-Karni'l-Vâhidve'l-İşrin*, 1st edition, Daru'l-Farabî, çev. Halil Ahmed Halil, Beyrut 2007, p 36

¹⁴³ Georges Corm, *ibid.*

¹⁴⁴ Ahmet Remzi, *el-İsti'māru'l-Fransī fi-Şemeli İfrikiyâ*, *el Matba'atu'l-Nemuzeciyye*, Beyrouth 1944, p.148

There were prosecutions. He was also involved in levying all kinds of taxes on citizens and farmers. Governor Jean-François Toby announced that he would first take all colonial measures, including war and persecution, against Ivorian citizens in military and financial administration. Toby's policy has been his abuse of peasants and farmers, on the one hand, to keep his own people off the land, on the one hand, and on the other hand, the intensity of the pressure to impose taxes of his side. Similarly, during his tenure as governor, for example, farmers' salaries were prohibited, that is, they were forced to work without pay, not on a daily, weekly or monthly basis. It was the French administration that controlled the hiring of African workers in Côte d'Ivoire employing them on farms, railroads, and other forced labor. Government work was limited to French and European settlers. These workers were not paid for their work, and the French administration confirmed this. Based on what has been presented, it can be said that somehow these inhumane treatments of citizens and farmers led to the strengthening of the spirit of popular uprising and from there to the eruption on the ground. Human Trafficking and Disasters in the Time of Jean François Toby in Côte d'Ivoire it is a fact that human trafficking took place during the reign of Governor Jean François Toby. The process of human trafficking was no different during this period than before. Indeed, this malevolent trade is seen as the main source of colonial financial capital from the marketing and sale of thousands of Africans in the New World. It is known how France, through its colonial rulers and Britain, built forts around Pendama and Sunsendranehis. These areas evolved to sell the people who suffered the worst treatment, oppression, injustice, tie up and whipping children, women and men, in addition to slaves who died on the road. All of this shows that colonial countries, however different their names, are doing human trafficking and other colonial affairs against the notion of human rights. They did not shy away from allying with each other in terms of policy and objectives on these issues.¹⁴⁵

André Latrille The financial and military administration of Governor André Latrille is full of colonial injustices, where oppression, murders and deaths abound following the involvement of the Ivorian people in the two world wars, the increase in protests and popular movements. Moreover, as a result of the mistreatment of citizens in colonial prisons, the persecution materialized. As a result, forced labor, which applied

¹⁴⁵ K. Soualihou, op. cit. pp 335-336

to both men and women, was freely imposed on the people during this period. The atrocities continued in this way until 1945. In the third year, Latrille's control of the countryside turned violent. André Latrille's Business Practices We mentioned above that after Governor André Latrille was appointed governor, he relied on the police and military in his administrative offices for dominance and control.¹⁴⁶ The administrative period of Latrille can be titled in different ways, moreover, his financial and military administration, the rights of farmers and peasants, emerged under the impulse of Houphouët-Boigny, who fought against colonialism alongside the citizens through the African Union of Agriculture.

Human Trafficking and Disasters in Côte d'Ivoire during the André Latrille Era the practice of human trafficking during Latrille's administrative period is qualitatively different from his predecessors. Because the explosion of the popular movements of his time reveals another situation in terms of conditions. This period is also different according to the emergence of the Ivorian African elite and its enthusiasm to lead the struggle, its supporters in neighboring countries and the role of the Syndicate and the African Democratic Society Party. All these factors made the Latrille period a special one. Characteristic and affected in one way or another by human trafficking. It is a situation that largely eliminates this disgusting business phenomenon, as if it did not exist during his tenure as governor.¹⁴⁷

Oswald Durand in Côte d'Ivoire Oswald Durand intensified his violence and repression against revolutionary citizens following his attempt to abolish public meetings in country squares. A clash took place between Durand's men and the revolutionaries, and as a result three shots were fired at them, people died. This makes matters worse, regardless of the fact that shooting them with live ammunition is a deadly crime.¹⁴⁸ The Durand administration faces all these barbaric repressions. For this reason,

¹⁴⁶ M. F. A. Bari-S. I. Keerbadi, *al-Muslimun fi Garbi Ifrikî Terihun and Hadaratun*, 1st Edition, Dâru'l-Kutubi'l-Îlmiyye, Beirut 2007, p.54

¹⁴⁷ K. Soualihou, *op. cit.*, p 366

¹⁴⁸ Besides being a deadly matter, these citizens of the revolution had to gather in front of the squares of various cities to listen to the speech of their president, Felix Hoyt-Boanet. These speeches gave moral strength to continue the fate of the revolution. This is what the colonist saw as a bombshell for them, and this enabled the colonizer to avoid these gatherings at any cost. Because, according to him, while the purpose justifies this tool, on the other hand, some historians trace this event back to the time of

some scholars say Durand is more oppressive than Latrille. This mistreatment has led the African Union of Agriculture in Côte d'Ivoire to make greater use of the political arena to defend the rights of citizens, to be more interactive economically. Unions were economic and He was social in nature. After the Second World War, the relationship between economic and social aspirations and political expectations grew stronger. Georges Louis Joseph Orswald Ivorian and African educated elites, as well as writers, poets and political party leaders, as well as citizen's revolutionaries formed a single bloc and consolidated their forces.¹⁴⁹

Thus, they combined revolutionary power and took root to resist the financial and military regime of George Louis Joseph Orswald. Orswald intended to continue to use force and assassination attempts in his financial and military administration. Orswald was known for his assassinations and did not relinquish this office to eliminate the leaders of political parties even after the end of colonial rule in the country. Governor Orswald, in his own report, affirmed that the French Minister for the Colonies had himself appointed the African Democratic Assembly, he admitted having sent it there to destroy it. He added to his report the story of a forestry officer named Lagarosse, who had great influence in Paris. However, during the Orswald period, the pressure on Ivorian and African soldiers forcibly joining the colonial army increased considerably. The military and financial administration of Governor Orswald forced the soldiers to separate from their families and submit to the colonial administration.¹⁵⁰

Pechoux Laurent Ehisee in Côte d'Ivoire and human trafficking the management of Pechoux Laurent Ehisee was not very different from his predecessors, with a few exceptions. The first is that it increases violence and oppression against those who listen to their leaders speak in front of them and at the same time demand freedom and independence. Despite this, the feeling of freedom and independence developed even

Latrille, while others refer to the period of Governor Durand (Orswald). The researcher has chosen the latter's narrative, and it is important to refer to it in the researcher's view. J. Morell.

¹⁴⁹ A. b. Tican b. Lalam Gicera, Mawsù'at date Mali official Ouagadou, Sousou, Mali, Songhai, Sultat Cene, Segou, Karta, Masina, Kenedogo, Vasiluna Devlet-i Mali al-hadith, Müessesetü Kebîrîlî't-terbiyyeve'l-Buhûsi't-târihiyye spring, Malaysia 2005, p.693. For comprehensive information ; see CELHTO, La Charte de Kurukan Fuga Aux Sources d'une pensee politique en Afrique, SAEC L'Harmattan ed., Paris 2008, pp 621-622

¹⁵⁰ K. Soualihou, op. cit., p 367

more during his mandate, Governor Pechoux and the members of the administration going so far as to silence the smallest detail likely to provoke public movements. Despite all the pressures of his time, the Ivorian branch was founded in the name of the Ivorian Democratic Party and this party replaced the Union of African Peasants and appointed Auguste Denise secretary general. The World Federation of the Francophone Press is created in 1950. The project appeared more clearly during the first conference of ministers of education of France and Africa in 1960. The project led to the creation of the Federation of French-speaking universities in 1961, in whole or in part. The process is directly linked to the colonization of the country.¹⁵¹

Pierre François Pelieu in Côte d'Ivoire It has previously been stated that Pierre François Pelieu's first action was the establishment of laws preventing revolutionary demonstrations in favor of freedom and independence. Strengthening the morale of the people. Governor Pelieu was aware that the speeches of the leaders of the political parties, in particular, influenced the partisans of the revolution. Therefore, he did not want to confront people directly. Therefore, he applied the law of prevention in his administration. This is what distinguishes his policy from his predecessors. On the other hand, although the African Agricultural Union was abolished in the country, Félix Houphouët-Boigny and his supporters did not abandon their principles of resistance to independence. When Pelieu realized he could not force these leaders to give up on their goals, he began to take it under the guise of diplomacy. The main reason for all this was based on the attraction of party leaders to their own administration, that is, to the colonial administration. In line with this strategy, the number of African workers through the timber company has increased. Nevertheless, the revolutions continued and even the protests took the form of expansion and revival. The tense situation with the anti-colonial population continued from the moment he became viceroy.¹⁵²

Camille Victor Bailly in Côte d'Ivoire Governor Camille Victor Bailly, it can be said that the power of the demonstrators, mobilized in the revolutionary areas by the

¹⁵¹ S. Larîbî, ve N. Mesbah, *al-münazzamatu'l-frankofoniyye vâki'uha and âmâluhâmunzu'l-karneyin* (19-20), Djilali Bounaama Khemis Miliana University, Ulûm el İçtimaiyye ve 'l-İnsâniyye Faculty, ez-Zâhiretu'l- İsti' mâriyyefi'l-vatani'l-Arabi History Department, Unpublished Master Thesis, Algebra, 2017, p 33

¹⁵² P. Kiprie, *op. cit.*, p.34; J. N. Loucou, *op.cit.*, p.71

speeches of the leaders of the political parties, became fully aware of this. This is what prompted Governor Bailly to examine the subject in all its facets, devoid of enthusiasm and human instincts that could ultimately invite failure. It was Governor Bailly's most important tactic to sow discord among citizens, revolutionaries and even party leaders to achieve the goal of divide and rule by the French colonialists through their leaders. Soon a quarrel broke out between them of unknown origin. African leaders mystically promoted the idea of freedom, which the party initiated from the earliest moments of its birth, but the origin of President Houphouët-Boigny's right-wing setback in 1951 has not been fully understood. This crisis shook the party leadership.¹⁵³

Pierre Auguste Joseph Messmer in Côte d'Ivoire After Governor Mesmer was appointed to the administration, the first thing he did was to suppress the revolutions by enforcing the law prohibiting public demonstrations. Messmer's administration, faced with the revolutionary crisis, led him to send his spies and soldiers to revolutionary meeting places even in the middle of the night.¹⁵⁴ At a time when the administration of Pierre Auguste Jasseff Messmer was trying to repress these demonstrations calling for the freedom and independence of members of the colonial administration, major regional events, in particular the defeat of France against Vietnam, put the struggling colonialists in Africa. The liberation of Asia can be said to have increased Africa's enthusiasm for liberation. The French defeat in Vietnam at the Battle of Dien Bien Phu in 1954 had a deep resonance in Africa. Because tens of thousands of Africans fighting the Vietnamese were under French command. The collapse of the French forces in the face of the Indochinese forces made the Africans believe that they could achieve this. Moreover, it gave moral force to the national struggle.¹⁵⁵ As Messmer thought about the suffering and defeat of the colonial state, an Arab Maghreb office was created for

¹⁵³ Our conviction regarding conflicts of unknown origin between African educated elites within the party before independence is that the colonialist makes a distinction between the peoples of the continent. Prioritizing Christian children over Muslims was one factor that triggered this situation. Moreover, the colonialist tried to organize the infrastructure to continue to exploit the country with these projects, although it was not official after independence.

¹⁵⁴ Y. B. Toure, op. cit., p.65; A. A. Boahen, op. cit., p.175; M. Havas, op. cit., p.13.

¹⁵⁵ Fayeze Saleh Abu Jaber, *el İsti'mar fi CenûbiŞerkAsiyâ, Daru'l-Beşir yay, Ürdün 1991*, p.114-115; F. Avâmîr-Ş. Mesad, "Hizbu'l-tecemu'l-demoqrâti'l-İfrîkî and the revîhi fi movement tehrrur-i duvel-iğarbi İfrîkâ, Sâhilu'lÂcnemûzecen (1946-1960)", Abu Na'même Ceylanî University, Unpublished Master Thesis, Algeria 2017-2018, p.38

national movements operating in Tunisia, Algeria and the Far Maghreb, in case such a case arises.

Michel Marie Lami in Côte d'Ivoire and Human Trafficking After his appointment as Governor General, Governor Lami conducted two main studies. According to the sources, Côte d'Ivoire has suffered great damage and difficulties due to the confrontation with the liberation movements. Against the colonial forms of established African national liberation movements was the most difficult movement for Governor Lami.¹⁵⁶ Even women took to the field against colonialism with the enthusiasm and dedication that characterized their own gender.¹⁵⁷ Many women, like men, have been martyred in this national struggle. It should be noted that this meticulous organization of the revolutionaries in the fields of the revolution, the distribution of administrative tasks to all those who attend the meetings of the revolution day and night, is not done publicly, but relies on the competence of the leader.¹⁵⁸

Ernest Nattes in Côte d'Ivoire. Ernest Nattes began his mission with the awareness that colonialism was at its last breath and that France had to look to the future, otherwise it would lose all its colonies after independence, and studied the question in depth. The final decision was to implement a project where they would be in a French group rather than losing the settlements altogether. Thus, they could associate them with the fatherland, namely France. During this period, France believed in the impossibility of preventing the Ivorian revolution. In order to materialize the project of preserving relations between France and its colonies, Ernest Nattes tried to intensify cooperation with party leaders. In his administration, he adopted a policy of great openness between himself and the national struggle movement.¹⁵⁹ A process of dialogue has begun between party leaders, in particular Houphouët-Boigny, in the country. The party leaders used

¹⁵⁶ Richard Gibson, *Movementu't-Tahrir'l-Îfrikıyyâ en-Nidâl al-Muasirdidde'l-Akalliyeti'l-Beydâ'*, el-Meclisu'l -A'lâli's-Sekafe pub., cairo 2002, p 24 ; J.K. Zerbo, op. cit., p.843

¹⁵⁷ The leaders of African parties have had a very special character from the start.

¹⁵⁸ Les principaux rassemblements étaient un foyer de culture populaire, une rivalité entre les races et une sorte de fête sous les tropiques. Quelques heures avant l'arrivée des chefs de parti, des cliques d'hommes, d'enfants et de femmes se rassemblaient ou s'alignaient sous l'œil vigilant d'anciens militants.

¹⁵⁹ A.Remzi, *el-İsti'mâru'l-Fransî fi-Şemeliİfrikıyâ*, el Matba'atu'l-Nemuzeciyye, Beyrut 1944., p.68; J. K. Zerbbu, op. cit., p. 908; Z. Riyad, *ibid.*, p.432

this opportunity in the interests of the national revolution. Under his reign, African conferences began to be held intensively, notably in Fara. From 1946 to 1958, the party held three conferences on the right to self-determination, advocating in particular the need for total independence of its members, despite persecution.¹⁶⁰ At the hands of the French administration. France had to accept this because it was afraid that a revolution would break out in the country.

2.2. The Colonial System of Côte D'ivoire from 1893 to 1960

Sources of French colonialism often obscure facts and misrepresentations when writing the history of French colonialism in Côte d'Ivoire, its contribution to the emergence of realities is an undeniable fact, because on the one hand, Islamic sources belong to periods prior to french sources in terms of writing and relationship with the region. On the other hand, the impact of Islamic education on the heart of the African Ivorian community in the region, religion When the understanding and effects of the education system were noticed by the French, the first thing they done was to put fear in people's hearts, and to break that effect, they tried to frighten people in their practices. They have thus decided to sever the links of West African Ivorian and Sudanese society with the past. Aspiring to achieve their policy in this way, the colonists gradually implemented various policies in Côte d'Ivoire between 1893 and 1960. It is possible to express these policies implemented by the French colonialists as military settlement policies, economic, socio-cultural and educational.

2.2.1. Human and Cultural Colonial Objective

Some Europeans believed it was their duty to take control of backward Africans and Asians and transform their political, economic and social systems. One of the main

¹⁶⁰ A. A.Boahen, op. cit., p.234; A. T. L. Gicera, op. cit., p.620-622; AbidSufyan, Mu'temer Berlin es-Sânî, (1884-1885) et Ìnikàsêtuhaale'l-Kârrati'l-Ìfrikiiyye' Mecelle Dirasetl'frikiiyye, p/6, 2018, p.3-4

motives of colonialism was the humanitarian and cultural objective, because French colonialism basically included the slave trade and the creation of the last capitalism by the colonial industrial revolution, although hidden behind the colonial veil, it was the one of the main objectives of colonialism clarifies the situation with these words:

“One of the targets of colonialism was the man, because certain European colonists believed that it was their duty and their right to take in hand the Negroes and Asians and change their status royal, political, economic, social. And cultural life systems.”¹⁶¹

There are some that they want to sell as commodities (slave trade) and then change their ideas and ideologies. For this purpose, it is very clear that they have determined a policy for the people and the culture of the society. Moreover, he accepts the African as his son, as he makes a person his puppet by acting as he pleases. If the African does not accept the colonial directives, he will never abandon them. Pierre Arnaud one of the settlers, is it; by saying: "We only know one behavior in West Africa, it is our behavior".¹⁶²

He reveals his true intentions Based on what has been said, it can be said that the aim sought by the French colonialists was to change the culture of the African community in West Africa, from which Côte d'Ivoire was separated makes it a warning to Africans that they have not had full independence so far. Africans will one day regain their full independence and freedom, their government must be freed from the slumber of thought and the shackles of mental colonialism. The first concerns the types of French colonial political system implemented between 1893 and 1960. The types of ancient, modern and contemporary political systems that the inhabitants of the country have experienced during various historical periods throughout the ages. The details of these political monarchies and everything related to them brings us back to colonial times. This period was known for its dark nightmare of crime and all kinds of tyranny over the people of the country and how the men of the country resisted this colonial oppression until the age of independence. It should be noted that French colonialism in the country had specific goals. Indeed, to achieve these goals, he used a well-founded set of tools.

¹⁶¹ M.Ali, el-Favzî, Al-Hadis ve'l-Muâsir to Fi History Africa,1st Edition, Daru'l-Nahda al-Arabiyye pub., Beirut, 2006, p 14

¹⁶² A. M. Sylla, op. cit., p.86

France used various means during its oppressive colonial policy in Côte d'Ivoire to assist and help facilitate the process of colonialism and achieve its objectives. Among these was the French colonizer's use of protection and treaty as a fundamental means of colonizing the ivory peoples in particular and Africans in general.

France took the element of protection and treaty as a colonial tool to take land from its owners. According to the terms of the treaty, the cities fell into the hands of the colonizer after losing their sovereignty, as the colonizer attempted with King Garzia de Loron in the kingdom of Bouna. This has also happened in other countries. According to those examined, the French colonizer took protection and colonization as a means of taking land from its owners. Note that colonialism has no treaty or trust. All of this can be summed up on the path to protection and agreement. The method of the Church and the colonial Gospel whose direct goal of this colonization is the displacement of the wealth of the continent and the enslavement of its people. They used biblical texts to achieve this goal. The church helped settlers in the slave trade. The church representative sat on a marble bench on the beach, baptized slaves, and received his share of export taxes, which later became an important resource for the church. Thus, the church entered the slave trade. The church helped settlers in the slave trade. The Church representative would sit on a marble bench on the beach, baptize the slaves, and then receive his share of export taxes, which became an important source for the Church. The Church viewed Africa as the land of monsters and cannibals and a bastion of paganism, so it issued a fatwa that the slave trade was permitted. Papal resolutions also maintained that this should happen. This delayed the principles of Christian fundamentalism. Catherine George put forward the black vision of Europeans. All of this, of course, shows the responsibility of the Church in colonialism. This is what this historian is talking about:

“Education in Christian mission schools is a means to an end. This purpose is to lead people to Christ and to train them to become individual Christians. School is a prerequisite for successful home angelism, school influences young people under the influence of Christian upbringing, and this influence continues to include those who will one day become leaders in their country.”¹⁶³

¹⁶³ Catherine George dance last article entitled "Looking at Civilized West Africa" on the vision that Europe has of the black man; "Africa (where you find wild men and women) mostly black, with straight noses and woolly hair. As to their nature, they are completely wild and look like wild nature and look like to the nature of anim and are devoid of human compassion between them... are in total contradiction with who we are... As for food and clothing habits, they are bestial and inhuman. », insults moreover the Africans, See , "European Colonialism and African Human Trafficking Crime", AfricanStudyJournal, P.19, (January-March 2014), pp.73-75; Syed Ahmed Ali Al-Nasiri, "al- Islamic

Some historians have revealed in their studies that before colonialism, the people of Côte d'Ivoire knew both the centralist, decentralized and democratic politics in addition to the political system of the popular monarchy. African scholars Ebu Haşiyye Fevziyye and Mudyâfi Meryem revealed this truth from historical sources and said:

"Côte d'Ivoire is highly centralized and decentralized, thanks to the existence of societies with strong structures that control the space public and the connection between tribes or villages on the one hand. On the one hand and the central power on the other hand, attended a centralizing policy. This confirms that Côte d'Ivoire was able to practice democracy before the colony."¹⁶⁴

This was also observed in the expansion of Islam with the spread of Islam and the Islamization of the peoples of the region.

İbrahim Abdulmecid Abdullah draws attention to this issue with the following sentences:

"This case, we can say that the region was a large Islamic region, where the Islamic kingdoms adopted Islamic law as a form of administration before to enter Western colonialism. We can count the Islamic State of Ghana, the Islamic State of Kanem and the Islamic State of Bouna, the Islamic Empire of Al-Sanghai, the Kingdom of Mali, the State Islamic Kingdom of Takur in Senegal, Islamic Kingdom of Kong, Islamic State Kingdom of Pune and Islamic Kingdom of Kapadgo in Côte d'Ivoire explains that the rate of spread of Islam in this region as quoted above, preceded the early prevalence of Islam in western Sudan in general and in the regions of Côte d'Ivoire in particular."¹⁶⁵

İbrahim Abdulmecid Abdullah also underlines this in his work and declares:"settled in West Africa in the 7th century Gregorian-pre first century, not in the hands of the Almoravid state", as there is heated debate among most historians, but in the first century of the Islamic calendar.

In addition to this information, the situation in Côte d'Ivoire was no different from its neighbors. On the contrary, the power of spreading Islam in the country was consolidated in the 18th century. Kone Abdurrahmane refers to it problem and reads:

"MSXVIII. At the turn of the century, Kong became an Islamic center from which the Islamic invitation spread throughout the country. Children and young people embraced the teaching and learning of Islamic sciences through the hand of the local fuqaha who

ve'muvâcehathu li movement'et-tebşîr al-Avrûbî fî Garbi İfrikiyî â İban 'il-isti 'mari'Anglo-fransiyye", TGİL/S.1, (2010), p. 353-363 Farghali Ali Chen Haridy, Terihi Efrikiyyeel Hadisve'l Muasir, al Kusuf, al İstimâr, al İstiklal, al İlmuve'l İman, li'n Nesri ve't Tevzi, T:1, Iskenderiye 2008, p.2 2008 , p.235-236.

¹⁶⁴ B. Fevziyye-M. Meryem, op. cit., pp.9, 17

¹⁶⁵ A. A. İbrahim, op. cit., p 10

did their best for the education of the people of the region. Besides the national historical sources, the point on which the Ivorian historians also agree is that."¹⁶⁶

The kingdom of Kong has links and communications with Timbuktu, Gao and Jenni. From what has been said, Islamic education is in western Sudan and also in Côte d'Ivoire. The existence of Islamic education and the philosophy of education was to make the defense of the homeland and the land a struggle of jihad for Allah (swt). You must know. Maybe this religious factor in the African blood served as the basis for later African society to fight against the injustice-oppression of the tire colonial and to defend his religion, his chastity and his homeland against the French colonial invader. Especially when those who were under Islamic rule were empowered and efficient in administrations, they saw spiritual strength in national resistance to defend their lands against colonialism with all valor and courage with that religious spirit.

As Michael Crowder points out:

“As the (colonial) enforcement of white male rule, i.e. the subjugation of West African Muslim societies to infidels, is intolerable to any Muslim, these peoples are increasingly in need of those who do not accept Islam. With increasing enthusiasm and perseverance, they have embraced resistance-resistance to the Europeans. Similar events have taken place this year in the Gambia, Takror and Mandega empires, in the Poli regions of the Ivory Coast, and more recently in addition.”¹⁶⁷

Ottoman aid provided assistance in the northern or eastern part of the continent, in the east, it became a defense base of Muslims against colonial oppression, because history recorded the Ottoman defense and assistance of the dark continent, even if it did not cover all parts of the continent, it is to protect Europe from the dangers of the colonial crusade. Explain the phenomenon of the expansion of Islam among the peoples of Côte d'Ivoire and Western Sudan through the impact of Islamic education on the heart of these societies. This phenomenon can be considered as an important element and a historical

¹⁶⁶ K. A. K. Kone, *Islam and Muslim Sahili'l-Âc*, 1st Edition, Daru'ş-Şirke al-Islamiyya spring., Cairo 1982, p.18; *Vahid'd-Diinân*, *al-Islam yethaddâ*, Mektebatü er-Risale, Firsi spring, Beirut, 1974, p.52

¹⁶⁷ M'Baye Gueye, Albert Adu Boahen, *al-Mubaderet ve al-Mukâvamatul-İfrikiyya fi Garb İfrikiya*, *Histoire Afrikiyâ al-Âmm*, C.VII, Unesco, (1990), p.128

event by excellence for the African continent is an important element of African history and in particular of the colonial history of Côte d'Ivoire.¹⁶⁸

2.2.2. Movement for Independence

Initiated by France since the 19th century, Côte d'Ivoire was declared independent in August 1960, when it became independent under the auspices of the country's first head of the republic, Houphouët-Boigny. Considered as the man of the course of France, he will lead France, in close collaboration with the former colonial power, by advancing West Germany. Officially a colony of French Côte d'Ivoire on March 10, 1893. Its first administration was Louis-Gustave Binger, a son of the navy from Dakar, to serve as commander of General Faidherbe. Adam is also distinguished by the possession of unknown parts of Niger. It will bear the name of Bingerville, the second capital of Côte d'Ivoire, and will replace Bassam in 1900 and previously as the country's first city in 1934. Because the conquest and the French were present on the shores of the Gulf of Guinea from the 17th peace. With the scenario of the Assinie bench located in Abidjan, the French general of 1687, belonging to the Grandkilil, was considered. Dabou (1853). However, as a colony of Côte d'Ivoire in 1893, Paris had complete control over all Côte d'Ivoire were welcomed by the first settlers, in particular the imposing reception of Samory Touré. His entire conquest of French West Africa (AOF) in 1905 ended very slowly. According to the colonial originals, conquest against property and rebellion took forms such as disobedience, flight, and taxation. According to the historian Fabio Vitti, in, African studies notebook "According to the resistance encountered, the Conquest of Côte d'Ivoire was one of the longest bloody French colonies to which Africa of the West had to face in".¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁸ E. el-Cundi, *Alem-i al-Islam, isti'mâre*, pp.117-118,418 ; RaidAhmedGanîm, "el ḥavfu'l Garbi mina'lislâmiesbêbuhû ve vesê'iluhû ve êsâruhû", Université İslamiyye, Thèse de Master non publiée, Gazza 2012, p.3

¹⁶⁹ Les massacres de Diapé et de Makoundié (Côte d'Ivoire, juin 1910), Fabio Vitti, in *Cahier d'études africaines*, n° 225, 2017

It was adopted in 1915 to pacify the colony. It is due to the fact that it is controlled and audited by a large developing company. The infrastructure is made to be pumped for pumping: coffee, cocoa, wood, rubber, palm oil, etc. In 1904, the occupying power was the first to review the niriyou. Abidjan, linking the Atlantic coast with Bouaké (after 1912) to be used, the future Burkinabe term Bobo-Dioulass (from 1933) starting with arrivals. Based on a plantation economy, faster than two war zones, this hotel was offered for sale in the most prosperous region of West Africa. This evolution was the fate of all the European colonialists who held the reins of the economy and dictated their laws to the metropolises. The flourishing also managed to enrich a handful of black planters who depended on coffee and cocoa. Combined with the face of development, inconsistency, use and differentiation, a management, a radius. Discrimination and privileges, for the region of French geography II. It will remain so until the Second World War. It was published by Brazzaville in 1944 by counter-edition by General De Gaulle.

The conference agreed to accept the naturalization of all Africans. On land, in Côte d'Ivoire, African planters, encouraged by the new spirit of the administration, were victims in 1944 of an African Agrarian Association (SA) of peasants to put an end to economic discrimination. During the war, local producers also suffered from overcrowding on the one hand and restrictions on general use unlike their metropolitan counterparts on the other. Félix Houphouët, not yet known as Boigny, entered the Ivorian arena at the head of the SAA in 1944. A wealthy landowner in his forties, he made a pact with the powerful settler camp. Within the SAA, he campaigned not only for the rights of indigenous farmers, but also for people in the agricultural sector who were humiliated by poor planning practices in the same place Boigny, with his complex in the power unit, embarked on the planning of developments in Paris. In 1946, the Navy passed legislation abolishing the dismantling process using a worldwide process and on its behalf. A movement of pan-African travelers affiliated with the French Communist Party. Right to independence "without Cha Cha" With Houphouët-Boigny's story of the historical process of the coast, although these 1950s saw Houphouët-Boigny move away from debates about colonialism in his youth. In 1951, the Ivorian leader broke ties with the Communists and chose to dream of the solution of the metropolis, a time represented by a tandem of René Pleven and François Mitterrand, and the one preferred by General de Gaulle in 1958. Calculations or correct systemic performance? It's hard to answer. In

any case, this exemplary elite was finally close to the French governments between 1956 and 1959. This led the French journalist Thomas Hofnung to explain why he described it: "The official president left me to his successor" Also FYI: Africa's independence hit first "Independence Cha Cha" In high French custom, these spaces enabled the quality of Houphouët-Boigny's reforms that led to decolonization.¹⁷⁰

According to historians of the Ivorian Prime Minister, this independence for Côte d'Ivoire, most governmental in 1960, believing that it was read from the language of the country.

"His ideal was for Côte d'Ivoire to be permanently anchored to France", writes Marcel Amondji¹⁷¹, the initiator of a system in which the Ivorian leader would come Houphouët was an ardent defender of French society in France, insular Turkey was a dead project of a former union between African colonies, and was finally scuttled in 1958 by the confirmed "no" of Guinea by Sékou Touré. On August 7, 1960, Sahili entered the age of necessity so that its historic leader, Félix Houphouët Boigny, really wanted it. However, in the leading team of Turkey (1960-1993), she remained faithful to her "French-African" objective of playing and playing with Ivorians, former colonials. It pursued a policy of close cooperation with France and gave metropolitan companies control of a large part of the economy. With 40,000 citizens living in Côte d'Ivoire in the early 1980s, the French community was the largest in Africa. It begins to be governed rather than independent, with the advice and cooperation of the Ivorian administrations. Until the reign of Houphouët, during the presidency itself, two Frenchmen were among the president's closest collaborators on the geopolitical level, Abidjan participated both in Africa to affirm the supremacy of France in its multi- governmental. They wondered, the interlocutors of Houphouët with the French, in particular the African country of the Elysée, in particular by the famous "Monsieur Afrique" of the French leaders. The Seine plays instead. November 27, 1960: Appearance of Félix Houphouët-Boigny.

¹⁷⁰ Thomas Hofnung, *La crise en Côte d'Ivoire*, Thomas Hofnung, éditions La Découverte, 2005

¹⁷¹ Marcel Amondji, *Félix Houphouët et la Côte-d'Ivoire : l'envers d'une légende*, éditions Karthala, 1984

He founded a single party with the Ivorian Democratic Party. He was re-elected in 1965, 1970, 1980, 1985 and 1990. April 24, 1961: Signing of cooperation between Côte d'Ivoire and France. There are several parties in this alliance: economic, monetary, monetary, educational and bad. On April 24, 1962, the two countries established a relationship of defense, military and technical assistance. After the Second World War, he was elected deputy to the Assembly constituent, for Paris, and would have been minister several times in the Fourth Republic of governments. He passed his name on April 11, 1946. A LAW bears his name for the abolition of compulsory labor in the colonies. Between Octobers in the Cardio year, he joins in Bamako, in French Sudan (now Mali) in the creation of the African Democratic Rally (RDA). The militants who respond to this new political party are the Eight Territories of French West Africa (AOF), from Côte d'Ivoire. It is included with applause by the president-elect. When the general moved to Gaulle Ve republic, in Côte d'Ivoire, at the instigation of Félix Houphouët-Boigny, Reserve without Supports.¹⁷² The referendum of September 28, 1958 lays the foundations for the same for the community within which Côte d'Ivoire becomes an Autonomous Republic. But, some are ready to pay with other regions for the wealth of South Africa. West (Relative) Among the Côte d'Ivoire, Félix Houphouët - Boigny Not what we want to melt him - Also as an African federation he becomes his counterpart Léopold Sedar Senghor. In June 1960, the “Old” broke off the Community with Connexions in French while also maintaining Near Landscape relations with Paris. It is finally independence.

2.2.3. French in Côte d'Ivoire: the Appropriation of an External Language Without Imposing

Formed in Côte d'Ivoire today, French national sovereignty was the first ultimate and a global ultimate that endures today. In all African countries, in France, everywhere in the world, transport also assumes a local function; a better term is “central French” or “reference French”. Several factors have contributed to the appearance of French in Côte d'Ivoire and have influenced the perception of the French area dream. First of all, there

¹⁷² Décolonisation et problème de l'Afrique indépendante, Histoire –Classes terminales, EDICEF, 1983

is region by region within the perimeter of this language by placement and exposure of the premises. Variety selection/linguistic equipment for the natives is devoid of political purposes and artistic use, on the contrary. There are certain teaching practices of environmental field conditions in this lifetime. It is a reminder of the history that could pass for the French who were Ivorians until independence. The availability of known languages in the country, the extensive school system and, with much as one of all other elements, independent freedom. Education at all levels. The country would be somewhat favorable to the completion of the constitution of more or less diversified French students in Côte d'Ivoire against the backdrop of a multilingual African substrate. It concludes with an interpreted presentation of the attitudes and judgments of Ivorians that we will welcome these different French contents. Some of your important dates are highlighted there. On March 10, 1893, Côte d'Ivoire was established as a colony of the nearly century-old Ottoman Empire on its shores.¹⁷³ Six years ago, in 1887, the first school in the colony was opened in Elima, at the request of Verdier, then a European resident. Like the Fresco de Grand-Lahou, Sas, he observed the construction of very small hamlets or against other schools in the ancient sea. Africans were receiving an education in utility. French was introduced in Côte d'Ivoire by the fact of colonization. Its particular practice enabled it to be a common language and vernacular language today. One can mention various factors which explain that. Historically, the process of the expansion of French was done through schools to train skilled people whose task consisted in exploiting the agricultural and natural resources on behalf of the colonial companies. From a political and ideological point of view, French language for the colonizers was the instrument they used to give civilization to the colonized who were thought or misunderstood to the backwards. Under these conditions, the local languages were and continue to be relegated to a lower level. Therefore, causing the evocation of various types of French that people use today as an effort to speak this foreign language. The leaders of independent Côte d'Ivoire, just like the colonial authorities, perpetuate the linguistic policy, favorable to the French language for the reinforcement of national

¹⁷³ Jérémie Kouadio N'Guessan, *Le français en côte d'ivoire : de l'imposition à l'appropriation décomplexée d'une langue exogène*. p. 179-197

unity as well as enhancing cordial relationship with other countries while the local languages continue to be ignored.¹⁷⁴

To go from school to school for administrative assistants, translators and business placement, which would not suit us for the smooth running of things. Colonial economy – assistance needs to help with economic development, content education, education will be explained. The French language was taught. In this place, which was to be relocated here in 1944, the cultivated primitive was basically in the name and the main building. Robotic weapon control of the time was the systematic exploitation of agriculture and humans at the expense of the investment effort in the colony. This concern has resulted in you so much training for you. This training took place in “village schools”, “regional schools” and “city schools”. The “village schools” were diplomatic schools. Those who do not focus on what is, what is urgent, avoiding theoretical teaching. Obviously, this is not about training an elite, but as we have done before, assistants, interpreters, cooks, etc. aimed at education; “Regional schools” were built in the towns of the circles. The students were chosen from the best schools in the village. They were introduced to agriculture and crafts. To those who did not evaluate a person; the “urban schools” were in the capital (Grand-Bassam, Bingerville, then Abidjan). They were reserved for European children, some of whom were rarely assimilated. From 1908 to municipalities, civil servants, and business students, in small numbers. The program taught in these “urban schools” was that of the Metropolis. Six of the revisions are planned for this increase: the "village" and "district" schools are back in action and work, the "city schools" prepare them for the trades of commerce and civil servants of the physical administration. French language policy in the colonies is in perfect harmony with colonial ideology. Colonization was part of the demilitarization of France; it was a doctrine of General Marshal Lyautey, Resident in Morocco at the time, concerning the terms:

“Colonization, as we always understand, is at a high level simply within civilization. It is the aid by which he will traverse the world, which will revise, end and cultivate those who have remained backward or modern, his most fundamental of vital well-beings. We have always carried out this civilizing mission at the forefront of all nations, and it is one of our greatest triumphs.”¹⁷⁵

¹⁷⁴ Jérémie Kouadio N’Guessan, op. cit., p 2

¹⁷⁵ Boutin, A. Beatrice (2002). Variation : de la Côte d'Ivoire. Études transformationnelles des expressions quotidiennes. Thèse de doctorat, stendhal-grenoble, p. 29, Université 3

And the failure of this civilization can only be French. It is seen as a homeland to be presented to colonial peoples and French culture, a duty.

As Pierre Alexandre Alexandra¹⁷⁶ later thought, French colonial policy in education and administration was easy by François 1er, Richelieu, Robespierre and Jules Ferry. A single language is taught in schools, used in war, reception, administration, the purpose of the Academy and to be developed by decrees of the Minister of Education. All other languages are folklore, panpan tutu, obscenity, biniou, and bourrée only; and yeast for the disintegration of the Republic. This belief and this concept, already experienced in France, will be exhibited in the multilingual and alloglot colonies within the limits of this conception in favor of the first French. Generalized situation. Again for the choice of French as a lot to impose again French as a language, because it must be chosen as the same in France. One must wonder about the necessity and the means of destroying the patois and universalizing the French language, because too much jargon trades their movements throughout the Nation. But the thing of language which will only be stamped as history as the reader of a sparkling note like the Côte d'Ivoire, it is the event of language, the error and the hesitation of some thrush in the case in question in the case of the choice of the language of instruction, trials have occurred. The French variety skirmisher or the French pidginized. French was available in all French domains in Africa. The type of education consisting of first languages among settlers and indigenous peoples: work, army and school.

On the work sites, the little whites, "little settlers as simple local settlers, the highest or some of them" more for Africa, were in permanent contact with the various linguistic communities and communities. These small settlers enlist in the army, the civil service or commercial enterprises. Within this group flourish various rich simple and primitive. He was called "Little Negro". In any case, what we understand from the words of Delafosse¹⁷⁷ is this first, we could make our language use our language. Our applications in their use. We use the simples in the easiest way for their use. So what led to the birth of such an intermediate language, the relations between whites and blacks, is human. But before that happened, I could spend incomprehensible time, for example,

¹⁷⁶ Pierre Alexandre, *Langues et langues en Afrique noire*, Paris, Payot, 1967

¹⁷⁷ DELAFOSSE, Maurice (1904). *Vocabulaire comparé de plus de 60 langues ou dialectes parlés en côte d'ivoire*, Ernest voisin, Paris

to buy black work. He often writes to us, we have the "little nigga" and if we spoke directly to black people, they would do anything too. This reasoning is puerile; we only choose selectively for ourselves by our understanding, our understanding of us is more in itself, and when we understand ourselves, to answer a little nigger: that's the answer as a little nigger more than a raise and a right glasses, a little negro in us the answer is this: here as a negro. They played a role in a significant part of Côte d'Ivoire spoken worldwide during all the African Wars of the Two Worlds. In this regard, it should be noted that French is taught by teaching.

Demonstrations as teachers in private schools in the village after the demobilization of the old demonstrations. These pressures precede the Brazzaville conference, which will mark a turning point in the linguistic policy of France, this policy still marks and marks the tested sides. What was declared in the primacy of French, but in practice neither local languages nor the "little negro" were excluded from school. The Brazzaville conference of 1944 gave this status to his son. The Brazzaville conference remains conservative in the linguistic field. It confirms that primary education was provided only in English, the main purpose of which was to "lead and accelerate the development of African populations". From then on, the famous "No dialects spoken in schoolhouse" was affixed to the doors of all African schools. A "symbol" of this day a piece of wood, an empty sardine can, a pet, etc. The immediate place where the introduction of the "symbol" had to take place was its two different markings: school spaces reserved for French and an outdoor space for other languages. The "symbol" was a nightmare for the African schoolboy. In this context, let's talk about the "symbol" given to Climbié, the hero of the fatherhood of the Ivorian Bernard Dadié:

"Climbié, full of copper hair, many companions before this small, heavy because they symbolize the training given. Symbol! What don't you know! You are too much. It's a nightmare! It prevents laughing and living because always treat it. We are just looking for European cuisine, period. Where is he? Is not it? Did he drink with his user? The symbol appears under the loincloth, in its content. We watch with suspicion. The symbol poisoned the environment, spoiled the mood, froze hearts! [...] It was a pleasure to leave the school as soon as the release of this symbol was heard. The "symbol" has been a disabling factor and a psycho-educational handicap for young African school children for generations. The African child who came to school from this decision at school was treated like a French child whose mother tongue was spoken. This is where the young African learned everything: to read, write, but also and above all to formulate as expected. Result: The African child, the words he does not understand, cannot reason, rote learning, mechanically repeated words, drawings that he does not understand and think of. Also, in the format of the pre-made language. This teaching practice will give rise to the course of "academic" or "school" French, one of the variants of French spoken in Côte d'Ivoire, which we will discuss later. But what seems paradoxical as such will be renewed after the

implementation of this linguistic policy which excludes national languages and cultures of the school."¹⁷⁸

Côte d'Ivoire gained its independence on August 7, 1960, and "the language is French" with the first method of the new constitution of the young state. The fact that this constitution can only be affected by six articles is within reach of all the symbolic value given by the new state. This President of the National Assembly concludes the discussion on French as an official language in the presence of the French.

The tongue has drunk. Like "the French of the French", it is certain that Côte d'Ivoire are other African countries that have been spoken recently in Senegal, Gabon or Congo Brazzaville. It happened with a completed diglossia, bought, linguistically, still unused: with the diglossia of Lafage (2003) which feels the "high", and apparently: the diglossia, which Lafage (2003) "shines high", in power (management, school, justice, etc.).¹⁷⁹ Colonial and poorly educated shallow variety kit the native pidginized variant "FPI" (the "French- skirmisher" avatar). The ratification agreement has accelerated the democratization of education. Teacher by training in all schools, secondary schools, secondary schools by training as a bonus from the University of Abidjan in 1965. In 1975 and 1990 the small "French area" rate population dazzled. All real classes and all wars combined in 1990, against 35.9% in 1975. But in the same 1970s, the school style was equal to 60% in primary and 70% in secondary. We were also in the normative vision of French which was accelerating. Moreover, it was not done only by the public and by the repeated strikes of the acquisition, of its prestigious and attractive school. It provides the supporting factors for an integration of those into a local vernacular of an entire national language, linked to massive urbanization and the emergence of ivory and its mass. No user today can get rid of his knife. Established schools and high-level intellectual students, planned small urban bosses of the urban proletariat on the construction sites not just the imperfect master. Admitted from the same school, street children, etc. valid here. Three types of preparation can be used,

¹⁷⁸ DADIE, Bernard. B. (2003). *Climbié*, Abidjan, Nouvelles Éditions Ivoiriennes

¹⁷⁹ (2003). La variation dans le dictionnaire français de Côte d'Ivoire, *Revue de linguistique*, vol. 32, n°2, Montréal, RQL (UQAM), pp 15-45

which roughly stratify according to language and educational system, the exposure time to the standard form that can be applied.¹⁸⁰

¹⁸⁰ Kandia Camara, Statistiques Scolaires de Poche, MENET-FP, 2017-2018, p.25

3. THE NEOCOLONIAL INDEPENDENCE OF 1960

3.1. The impact of French Colonialism in Côte d'Ivoire

Unlike Algeria, which wrested its independence through war, from which it fully enjoys the fruits. Despite the resistance to colonialism, the Côte d'Ivoire could not resist the bloody repressions of the colonists of the time and ended up negotiating its independence. It was finally granted to it on March 10, 1960 by France. The condition for granting its independence unfortunately plunges it into a system of domination without precedent until today.

3.1.1. The Post-Independence Political System (1960-2021)

Talking about the post-colonial political situation in Côte d'Ivoire is a sensitive and at the same time very important subject in the current history of the country. This is because it is no less important than the other topics covered in previous chapters. After independence, different presidents of the country tried different types of political systems. Everyone had a different political point of view, and these points of view emerged as a result of what was left of colonialism. The new Ivorian peoples have inherited ideas of intolerance, discrimination and hatred of the negative effects of destruction on the people of the country. Relying on the goal of colonialism in their desire to maintain their interests even after independence, they handed over Félix Houphouët-Boigny to him as a fighter for his country and a friend and Catholic intellectual to themselves. His charisma, his spirit, his courage, his frankness and his eloquence contributed to his election.¹⁸¹

¹⁸¹ The colonialists handed over the keys to governing the country to the sons of the Muslims, unless necessary. And, at worst, those who neglect their religion and are proud of their French culture. They choose from among the sons of the Muslims. Condition for being elected president of the country in Ivory Coast Being Christian and Catholic. See Badr Hasan Shafi, *Ezmetu Sâhil'l-Âc ve mihnetu'l-müslümîn*, Mecelletu Kirâtu Ifrikiyye, Muntadar, P.12, (2005), p.115; S. Ahmed Ali Al-Nasiri, "just late article.", p. 359; A. Sylla, *op.cit.*, p.86; İ. M. Ali Zihni, exactly late book.p.216-217; Enver el-Cündî, *al-mevsû'atu'l-Islamiyyeti'l ArabiyyeIslamîye ve âlimu'l 'l-Muâsır*, 2nd Edition, S.1, Dâru' l-Kitâbi Lubnanîmdebetu'l-Medrese li'n publication ve't-tibâ', Beirut 198), p.238.; Mahmut Şakir Sâhili'l-ÂcTarihu'l-Islami -15- Historyu'el-Mu'âsırfi Garbi Afrikiyâ, 2nd Edition, el-Mektebetü'l-Islamiyye spring., Beirut 1992, p.209; Muhammad Fazil Ali Bari Sa'îd İbrahim Keerbadî el-Muslimûn fi Garbi İfrikî

Félix Houphouët-Boigny served as president from 1960 to 1993. After Côte d'Ivoire declared independence on August 7, 1960, Félix Houphouët-Boigny became the country's first president. Houphouët-Boigny, who made the country a member of the UN on September 20, 1960, created a new constitution for the country on October 21, 1960. Elections were held for the National Assembly consisting of 70 members and 85 members, the Assembly held its first meeting on November 27, 1960. All members of the Assembly were members of the "Democratic Rally Party".¹⁸²

Houphouët-Boigny adopted a liberal policy in the governance of the country by encouraging settlers to invest and encouraging labor, especially in the field of cocoa cultivation, where Côte d'Ivoire was the world's leading producer. With this policy, he succeeded in making the country the leading cocoa producer. The country also ranked third in the world for coffee, which is why the country has become the homeland of cocoa. In 1960¹⁸³, a military defense agreement was signed between Côte d'Ivoire and the colonial authorities. In this way, a sort of order of government was preserved. In Côte d'Ivoire, the Democratic Party is the ruling party and there is no opposition in the country. Faced with Israel's occupation of certain Arab lands, Houphouët-Boigny sided with the Arab countries.¹⁸⁴ The country's diplomatic relations with Israel were cut from 1973 to 1986. Although relations between Israel and Arab countries began to improve, Houphouët-Boigny maintained his attitude until his death, which made his relations difficult with Arab countries.¹⁸⁵

Côte d'Ivoire is a secular country, everyone has the right to freely practice their religion, whatever its type. However, Félix Houphouët-Boigny gave the support he did not give to other religions as a priority and wide opportunities for Christians in state affairs. Houphouët-Boigny has indeed declared Côte d'Ivoire, a constitutionally secular state, but whose budget was granted to Catholics, has separated from it. During his reign,

Terihun ve Hadaratun, 1st Edition, Dâru'l- Kutubi'l İlmiyye, Beirut 2007, as late book., pp.235-236.

¹⁸² Mahmut Şakir, Lemha Terihiyyekableilğai'l Caliphate, et Terihu'l İslam bi'tTarihi'l Muâsir, el Mektebu'l İslamî, p.15, p.205

¹⁸³ Abdulaziz Rufâi, MaşakiluEfrikiyyefi Ahdi'l İstklâl, Daru'l Hamâmi, li'n Neşri ve'tTevzi, T:1, Cairo, 1970, p.94

¹⁸⁴ M.Şakir, Sâhili'l-ÂcTarihu'l-Islami -15- Historyu'el-Mu'âsirfi Garbi Afrikiyâ, p.2013, 218

¹⁸⁵ M. Fazil Ali Bari-S. İbrahim Keerbadî, op. cit., p.236

luxury churches were built all over the country with public funds, and in his last days he turned his attention to building a church worth 54 billion francs (300 million US dollars) from public funds. Thus, Côte d'Ivoire acquired many titles referring to the two Christians, including the "Kingdom of the New Christ" (Nouvelle Patrie du Christ). Pope II. Côte d'Ivoire is the only African country that Jean Paul has visited three times. During the Houphouët era, however, Muslims acquired a limited but inexplicable form of discrimination.¹⁸⁶ Some scholars argue that in the post-independence period, those who received an education in missionary and state schools were restricted to Christians, and Arabic was banned in state institutions with colonial vestiges. Badr Hasan Shafiis¹⁸⁷ states: "Houphouët Boigny used a balanced policy of marginalization against Muslims".

The country experienced economic corruption in February 1990, which cut salaries by 15% to 40%, and teachers protested for delaying education. Student protests erupted with cross-party demands, leading to bloody unrest in the capital. As a result, President Boigny agreed to establish a pluralistic political system. He won the elections on October 28, 1990 against the leader of President Boigny's Ivorian Popular Front, Laurent Gbagbo, founded in 1982. However, after the announcement of the election results, the objection made on the grounds that the electoral list had not been published 10 days before the motion was accepted and the newly elected Alassane Ouattara was appointed president. With this election, a Muslim reaches this post for the first time. In May 1991 student demonstrations broke out, repressed in violence and bloodshed by the authorities, which resumed in 1992 and in March of the same year Gbagbo was arrested and sentenced to two years in prison. However, he was released in August of the same year.¹⁸⁸ Félix Houphouët-Boigny went to Paris for a private visit in the early summer of 1993 and underwent a very risky surgery. Indeed, in December of the same year¹⁸⁹, Boigny died and signs of division began over his caliphate. Bédié declared this situation, and the A law was enacted allowing the speaker of the House

¹⁸⁶ M. F. A. Bâri-İ. Kerbadi, op. cit., p.205-215

¹⁸⁷ Bedr Hasan Şafi, "EzmetuSâhili'lÂc ve Mihnetu'lMuslimîn", Mecelle Kırâetİlmiyye, p 2, Âme 2002, p 108

¹⁸⁸ M. F. A. Bâri-İ. Kerbadi, op. cit., p.236

¹⁸⁹ B. Hasan Shafi, Şafi, EzmetuSâhili'l-Âc., p.95, 108

of Representatives to assume the presidency and complete his term in the event of the death of the president. However, Prime Minister Alassane Ouattara refused and resigned from his post.

After Félix Houphouët-Boigny, President Henri Konan Bédié assumed the presidency from December 31, 1993 to December 24, 1999. After Boigny's death, Konan appointed himself interim president of the country in accordance with article 11 of the constitutional text which gives the President of the Assembly the right to complete the presidency in his absence. The question of identity has become the order of the day. To exclude Alassane Ouattara from the presidential elections, and in fact, Hassan Ouattara was prevented from participating in the 1995 elections with this article.¹⁹⁰ Alassane Ouattara fled the country for fear of being arrested.

With the end of the Félix Houphouët-Boigny period, we can say that the golden age of Muslims is over. Then begins a period of deliberate persecution, which consists in liquidating them physically and politically in different regimes, whatever their form, and based on the Islamic affiliation of the northern tribes. This happened after Alassane Ouattara, a Muslim, ran for president¹⁹¹ and became prime minister at the end of his last presidency. Due to the economic disaster in which the country found itself, Konan Bédié expelled supporters of Hassan Ouattara from various ministerial and other posts.¹⁹² Later, Alassane appointed his own followers to replace Ouattara's followers. He launched a purge against them in 1995. Based on Konan Bédié's behavior, some of Alassane Ouattara's supporters withdrew from Konan Bédié's party, and after Jenny Coppini's death, Ouattara became a new led party by Ouattara. They founded the Republican Community Party.

Konan Bédié intensified the insults against the Muslims of the people of the North. Racial intolerance has increased and this situation has led to conflicts between the inhabitants of the country. With Muslims considered foreigners, politics turned to discriminating among citizens on the basis of religion.¹⁹³ Five centuries later, Kru, Akan

¹⁹⁰ B. Hasan Şafi, *op. cit.*, pp.95, 108

¹⁹¹ B. Hasan Şafi, *ibid.*, p. 112.

¹⁹² A. Bemba, *el-Nizâat el-Ahliya fi-Afrikiyâ.*, p.250-251; B. Hasan Şafi, *ibid.*, p.95, 109

¹⁹³ A. Bemba, *ibid.* p.250-252.

and Wei tribes immigrated to Côte d'Ivoire and settled. Konan Bédié, meanwhile, belonged to the Akan tribe. During Konan's presidency, hostility towards Muslims continued until public protests against him ended in a military coup by young officers, then they traveled to Biacoma to bring and lead General Guy Robert. Konan Bédié's administration ended on December 24, 1999 with a bloodless white military coup. After the coup, Robert J. calls out to the local and international press to justify the putsch:

“A distinction was made between the sons of the country and the citizens were divided into natives and foreigners in Côte d'Ivoire. Under the control of state security forces, the identity cards of northerners were shattered. Even on mission, they were asked to bring their grandfather's papers to prove that he was Ivorian. Whereas if a person is arrested simply because they are from the South, they leave immediately and nothing is asked about them. They also prevented northerners from wearing Islamic dress. This is unacceptable. This is what caused the military coup. Robert J. I came to clean the house, not to run it.”¹⁹⁴

Tried to show that he was any military administrator from the start. Although he does not seem to covet the administration or does not wish to continue his administration, he has taken over the administration of the country for a temporary period until the situation stabilizes.

This statement by J, the purpose of which was to suppress international reactions condemning the coup, found no response, and Iskin attempted to reconcile with the predominantly Muslim population of the North. To win popular and international support, J. defined partisanship, restored civilian rule to the country, and freed political prisoners. Robert J., who established a transitional government of 22 ministers in the country, most of whom were supporters of Alassane Ouattara, saw the coup as a people's revolution. In order to draft a new constitution, he formed an advisory council. All of these political concessions were for the public good. The aim was to manipulate international and local public opinion. The real situation was discovered when the new draft constitution of the Advisory Council was submitted for approval. It was announced that Article 11, which requires parents to be born in Ivory to participate in presidential elections, has been changed to "Your father is Ivory or your mother is (...)" if either parent is of Ivorian origin. Curiously, the amendment, which was accepted by universal suffrage, was changed in the Assembly to say “and” instead of “or”. This meant that Alassane Ouattara was again excluded from the presidential election. Thus,

¹⁹⁴ S. Alasan, *Supra.*, p.46

Muslim Alassane Ouattara and Konan Bédié were prevented from participating in the elections in 2000.¹⁹⁵

Following the deterioration of internal peace, an attempted coup on the eve of September 19, 2002 led to a rebellion against the government which occupied a large part of the country. It is difficult to religiously define or reject this explanation of this conflict, which the international declaration has always described as a “war between a Muslimnorth and a Christian south” (Muslim North and Christian South). Tensions are rising in the country and real conflicts are breaking out between the two camps. The Muslim crisis in the North resurfaced, notably when the Electoral Commission rejected Alassane Ouattara's candidacy files. The positions of the Christian leaders to exclude Alassane Ouattara from the presidential elections arose at the invitation of the two archbishops of the Catholic Church who are candidates for the presidency. The phrase in that invitation was highlighted with the phrase "Those whose candidacy poses a political problem should withdraw from the candidacy" and was a direct reflection of Muslim candidate Alassane Ouattara's demands to withdraw from the political process. In 2002, on the eve of the outbreak of the civil war and the flight of the deposed president to the cathedral, the church delivers him to his assassins. His murder fueled the war and the conflict between his supporters and the ruling party escalated. Moreover, in the recommendations of a church conference in 2004, a clear alignment emerged between the position of the church and the position of the ruling party. Church leaders warned in their recommendations that political leadership has become a game in the hands of global economic powers, who, to be honest, are publicly concerned, condemning violence by all conflicting parties and establishing dialogue to resolve the crisis. The cardinal in chief of the state gave precise advice to the head of state with words revealing his adversaries, Robert J.¹⁹⁶ claimed that there had been an attempted coup against him and that he mutilated him and consequently arrested many senior officers and politicians of the national army. Look alike. Elections were held in October 2000 in the midst of a serious political crisis that led Laurent Gbagbo to take over as president.

¹⁹⁵ A. Bemba, op. cit., p.251

¹⁹⁶ A. Bemba, op. cit., p.253-254.

When Robert J. opposed the results, Laurent Gbagbo called on his supporters to take to the streets. At this call, supporters of Gbagbo demonstrated in the streets of Abidjan, and clashes took place which resulted in the death of many supporters of Robert J. and Alassane Ouattara. Despite the ruling military junta, large numbers of police and soldiers joined Gbagbo's protesters. As events escalated, Guéi fled the country, hundreds died, and Gbagbo took power. Ouattara recognized Gbagbo's presidency.¹⁹⁷ The fact that many of the leaders of the uprising were Christians and the ruling party's occasional use of the religious dimension and the slogans of the "global war on terror" by politicians tensed the atmosphere considerably. Masses were instigated against their insurgent opponents, mosques were burnt down and several imams of mosques, Islamic symbols and Muslim politicians were massacred by so-called "death squads". And killed in a canal on the outskirts of the capital Abidjan. All of these young people, except two, were Muslims.¹⁹⁸ Robert J. Before being the instigator of this murder, he had been re-elected on the grounds that there had been fraudulent elections. Moreover, some party leaders were openly asked to resign by Laurent Gbagbo, which led Laurent Gbagbo to take the presidency. The overall voter turnout was 37%.

When Laurent Gbagbo came to power, it was assumed that he would take advantage of the aforementioned Ivorian sedition and, by exploiting the mistakes of his predecessors, would move away from the policy of racial discrimination and humiliation of the populations of the North. But he made the same mistakes in his political placards. This time, the Muslim north has risen. The country has experienced two bloody coups in a short time (January 2001 and September 2002). During Gbagbo's visit to Italy, a group of soldiers loyal to former President Guei attacked government and military buildings in Abidjan and other towns. Clashes broke out between government forces and the aggressors. The events culminated in the murder of Guei and the Minister of the Interior, Bogadoudou. This coup was the result of mistreatment of Muslims. But the policy of marginalization and injustice against those living in the Muslim-majority northern region led that country to a military coup in 1999, the first of its kind. The second coup attempt in 2002 split the country into two, the Muslim north and the

¹⁹⁷ Muhammet Fâdıl Âli Bârî Sait İbrahim Kerbadi, *el kmuslimun fi ĞarbiEfrika, terih ve Hadara, Daru'IKtubi'lİlmiyye, li'n Neşri ve'tTevzî*, T:1, Lübnan 2007, p.236.

¹⁹⁸ A. Bemba, *op. cit.*, p.251-252

Christian south.¹⁹⁹ In January 2003, Muslim and Christian representatives sat down at the negotiating table.

The attackers' refusal to surrender plunged the country into a serious crisis that it had not experienced since independence. The armed forces were divided into pro-government forces in the south and anti-government forces in the north. During the fighting, violence against Muslims took place in the north, such as the attack on the residence of Abidjan Ouattara. The situation calmed down with the intervention of the embassies of Germany and France. Two factions from the west of the country joined forces in the north at the end of November of the same year.²⁰⁰

Laurent Gbagbo tried to resist military coups, relying in particular on foreign support from Angola, which had a large air force, but without success. His insistence on a military solution to the conflict was against humanity against the putschists. Citizens of neighboring countries have committed crimes. Gbagbo was strongly criticized by Paris for allegedly harboring them, and he burned down the homes of these people, accusing him of practicing a policy of ethnic cleansing. Among these victims is Robert J., a former military general belonging to the Jacobite Christian tribes of the West. The escalation of political tensions has led to regional and international interventions. To remedy the situation, the Economic Community of West African States (composed of Senegal, Ghana, Benin, Togo and Niger) sent 1500 additional blue helmets to the French forces. All of these forces were deployed between the belligerents in January 2004. In early February, all parties to the conflict met near Marcuse/Paris and agreed to share power and form a government of national unity including all parties. Under the agreement, sending UN observers was also a requirement.²⁰¹ The Independent Electoral

¹⁹⁹ B. H. Şafi, op. cit. p.75, 110

²⁰⁰ M. F. Â. B. Sait-İ. Kerbadi, op. cit., p.236.

²⁰¹ S. Alasan, op. cit., p. 46-50. It would be appropriate to state that the clauses in this contract are vague will be. The situation culminated with the signing of the Lina's Marcuse Agreement on January 24, 2003. According to the agreement; 1) Covering all sides of the conflict, including two insurgent movements in the West presided over by a prime minister appointed by the president in consultation with other parties; establish a national unity government. 2) Current President Laurent Gbagbo delegates powers to Prime Minister He will remain in office until the next election to be held in 2005, 3) Article 35 of the Constitution regarding his candidacy for the Presidency: "Any person whose mother or father is an Ivorian allow a person to participate in an election, provided that he or she has resided in the country for five consecutive years prior to the election. A change will be made as "will give"; 4) Citizens full characteristics of identity and citizenship be defined by a formula that does not allow to distinguish

Commission, which was formed as a result of the agreement, organized presidential elections on October 31, 2010, the first of its kind in Côte d'Ivoire. Since independence, where 14 candidates, including a woman, have competed. These elections, postponed several times, ended in honesty and transparency, the ballot boxes witnessed an intense electoral turnout. Because the participation was estimated at 83% of the votes and Laurent Gbagbo obtained 38% of the votes, Hassan Ouattara obtained 32% of the votes. None of them obtained an absolute majority and they were therefore re-elected.²⁰²

Tensions arose after the Independent Electoral Commission announced that the electoral campaign for the second round had begun. Opponents Hassan Ouattara and Laura Gbagbo smiled and called his "brother". On November 27, 2010, the Independent Electoral Commission asked the candidates to sign a written agreement regarding the results of the fund and calmly invite voters to the presidential elections. A second round was held on November 28, 2010. The poll showed high turnout, albeit lower than the first round – turnout is estimated at 80% of registered Voters. After the vote was counted, Laurent Gbagbo's forces exerted strong pressure on the Independent Electoral Commission not to announce the results.²⁰³ The whole world witnessed the harassment of Wednesday, December 1, 2010. Damana Pikasse, representative of Laurent Gbagbo at the Independent Electoral Commission, received and dismantled the final reports held by the Vice-President of the Independent Electoral Commission, who announced the preliminary results. He announced that he had won the presidency by taking them. The UN special envoy for Côte d'Ivoire approved the results and the international community recognized the victory of Alassane Ouattara.

On Friday, December 3, 2010, the Constitutional Council, responsible for proclaiming the final election results, announced that Laurent Gbagbo had won the presidency, announcing that he had obtained 51.45% of the vote. Bouaké, second city

between arrangements will be made, 5) disarming the three factions in the north and west and expulsion of mercenaries 6) The army will be reorganized according to the military specifications determined by France, the UN-African Union-(ECOWAS)-Francophone Organization, Francophone Organization and a committee of others to be established in Abidjan, 7) issued in 1998 and The long-term law of the Real Estate Property Law, which prevents the owner from owning land, Lease agreements will continue to be implemented with legal amendments that give inheritance rights to heirs.

²⁰² B. Hasan, op. cit., p.115.

²⁰³ S. Alasan, op. cit., p.46-51

of Côte d'Ivoire after Abidjan, Alassane Ouattara was elected in five provinces. The president of the Constitutional Council, Laurent Gbagbo, was elected president of the country. This behavior of the President of the Constitutional Council was unconstitutional. According to the Constitution, if there were abuses or complaints regarding the election results, the President of the Constitutional Council had the right to annul the results. It was then required by electoral law to declare a new period of re-election when the violations occurred within a maximum period of 40 days. However, the President of the Constitutional Council did not apply the electoral law. Events have made the crisis even more tense. The interventions of the UN, African countries and ECOWAS demanded the removal of Laurent Gbagbo from power. Police and Gbagbo supporters began killing Muslims and imams and burning down mosques. After the destruction of heavy weapons by French forces and the UN on April 11, 2011, forces loyal to Alassane Ouattara aimed to end the suffering of the Ivorian people, during which nearly three thousand people were killed after six months of suffering. , migration and burning in the neighborhoods, mainly because they were Muslims from the north, Laurent Gbagbo Millions of people have been displaced because of the intransigence of Laurent Gbagbo and his refusal to recognize the victory of Alassane Ouattara in the elections of November 2, 2010. Amnesty International announced Laurent Gbagbo for war crimes and against humanity in the six months following the elections On November 29, 2011, Gbagbo was deported to the Netherlands to appear before the International Criminal Court after the court issued an arrest warrant against him. The first session began on December 5, 2011.

Thus, Alassane Ouattara was declared president as the winner of the elections. He developed the country in all areas by building wide roads in most towns and villages. Electricity was given to each village of 500 inhabitants. He started the works of the bridge and the unfinished tramway train project in the country. He brought new planes to the country and the country started to develop. This led to his re-election in 2015. In 2016 the constitution was amended. He officially announced that he would not run in the 2020 elections and appointed Amadou Coulibaly to replace him. When Ouattara's party candidate Amadou Coulibaly died 43 days before the election, Alassane Ouattara had to run for president. He thus becomes the first president of the Third Republic. In this and subsequent sections, background information will be given on French generals, officers, and a group of Frenchmen that France sent to Côte d'Ivoire to establish

colonialism. The tactical and strategic plans drawn up by the colonialists to achieve the goal of colonialism will be highlighted, and how a group of French officers, soldiers and generals ruled the Côte d'Ivoire following the realization of the idea colonialism and the desire of the French to colonize will be tempted to reveal itself. Thus, the period (1893-1960) when the French colonialists did not last 67 years in the country will be attempted to be revealed in detail.²⁰⁴

The total number of these settlers who ruled the country was 25 French officers or soldiers. In this context, the lives of the soldiers will be evoked one after the other according to their positions of leadership. The chapters will also focus on the methods and factors that France applied to liquidate the true face of colonialism and the correct information about it, in order to win the love of the community exploited by the French, on the one hand, because France has decided to send its officers and citizens to Côte d'Ivoire.²⁰⁵ According to information from the sources, it will be seen that the decision taken to send the French soldiers to Côte d'Ivoire was not taken at random, but a decision taken following a long analysis and research after the general situation of the country has been examined in detail. France wanted to take the fertile lands of the Ivorian people and abolish the monarchical system of administration applied in this region. To this end, France applied the policy of resettlement in the region of Côte d'Ivoire, which it had previously succeeded, in order to consolidate its influence. France therefore continued the policy of taking control of Côte d'Ivoire and all the other lands exploited by it. The French colonialist ideology, acting as if the colonized lands belonged to it, attached great importance to the seizure of power and power to achieve this goal. To this end, the first practice in the exploited areas was to manage the exploited areas first hand. To achieve this limitless and unjust goal, France gave particular importance to the policy of colonization, and used its military power, army, officers and generals in coordination. To reach this goal. Indeed, after France seized

²⁰⁴ K. A. H. K. Kone, op. cit., p.59; Tabizaé Fidèle, op. cit, pp.21-22,60; J.Noël Loucou, La Côte d'Ivoire coloniale, p 104-105

²⁰⁵ A. M. H. al-Tamîmî, ibid, pp. 16-22 ; Buḥṣibatu Fevziye, Mudiyani Maryam: "el-İsti'mâri'l-Fransî fî Sahîl'l-Âc)" Africa Ahmed Dıraye Urine University, Ulumi'l-İnsâniyye Faculty, Unpublished Master Thesis, Cezair 2018. , pp.23-24; Abdel Kader Bin Tejan Bin La Lim Kcire, Mevsuat Date Mali Memalik Ouagadou Sousou Mali Songhai Sultate Jana Ségou Carta, Massena, Kennedogo, Aslon state Mali FGERH spring, Malaysia 2005., pp.612-613

power in a region by force, it plundered the underground riches and the wealth of the country, in short, made everything, material goods of the country, belong to France. In addition, the goods of the country colonized by France were distributed to the French who later settled in Côte d'Ivoire and considered themselves Ivorian citizens. Therefore, the main objective of the French colonial system was to take the country from the ivory people and then settle its own citizens in the region forever.²⁰⁶

French policy is based on its ideology, eliminating the ethnic groups of the inhabitants of Côte d'Ivoire and reconciling its people with French civilization. The abundance of underground mines and natural resources of the African continent, which is also part of the Côte d'Ivoire, is the most important reason why the settlers did not leave this place after invading and taking the continent under their domination is the reason. These natural riches led the Romans and Greeks of ancient civilizations to describe the African lands as a "wonderland". As mentioned earlier, these ancient civilizations believed that new things would always be discovered in African lands. Likewise, Pliny the Great of the Greeks was one of those who believed in this truth. According to Pliny the Great, the Greeks believed that Africa was an ever-changing wonderland.²⁰⁷ Over time, this belief became an idiom in Greek society, so everyone started to believe that there was something new in Africa. Moreover, according to the Europeans, the African continent had natural mines and underground riches that Europe could not obtain in any form and at any time. He knew very well that he could be reached.²⁰⁸ Because people would unwittingly defend their lands. For this reason, the power of colonial soldiers composed of French officers and generals in the proper sense was actively used in the colonization of the region. In order to realize the great colonial project, France sent experienced generals of the French army to the region using its military power to draw, secure and control the borders of the exploited region. Historian Thomas Robert Begur, who advocates the idea of a military colonization policy on this subject, points out that "since the army is everything in Africa, the only possible

²⁰⁶ S. Belkasım-B. Sâmir, op. cit., p.9-10; A. kader Bin Tejan Bin La Lim Kcire, op. cit., p.612

²⁰⁷ Hasan Sayyid Süleyman ", Zâhiretu'l- İsti'mâr fi Afrikyâ ve fi'l-Â'lem-i Arabî" kırâtu İfrikiyye Merkez al-Islamiyya Khartoum, /S. 2, (1986), p.58; Celal Yahya, History Ifrikiya'l-Hadîs ve'l-Muâsır, 1st Edition, Mektebetü' el-Câmi Hadith spring., İskandariyye 1999, pp.313-314

²⁰⁸ A. Hâtım, al İslamufi's-Sudani'l-Garbî, pp. 182-183; C. A. M. Saud-M. Rifat, op. cit., p.16

authority is military authority, and this authority is subordinated to the colonialists, and they were soldiers.”In addition, France invaded and He sent not only soldiers but also a large number of French citizens to Côte d'Ivoire to facilitate the process of colonization (...).”²⁰⁹

In addition to striving to destroy community culture and Ivorian identity, and then succeeding in replacing it with French culture, lasting stability in the mind of the settler would be facilitated and at the same time his abandonment would be prevented. And strategic planning to pursue their own ends, and they on the philosophy of colonialism, many French citizens and generals were sent to Côte d'Ivoire. As a result, the Ivory Coast region was ruled by 25 French soldiers for approximately 67 years between 1893-1960. Considering that the parts of the research revolve around these military leaders, information will be given about the personal lives of the leaders, their strategic military policies, and their early activities when they took over the administration. In this respect, the life of these managers will be approached chronologically according to their mandates. Thus, the life and reign of General Binger Louis Gustave will be mentioned first. We should also declare that the actions of these last rulers are the continuation of the first soldiers and generals who preceded them. For this reason, there is no different or new information about the work of military administrators who came later. In other words, their work is a continuation of the previous ones, and there is no detailed information about them since very little work has been done on the managers who succeeded them. Before moving on to the period of the administration of General Binger Louis Gustave, it is worth mentioning some of the colonial factors that were an integral part of the colonial period in Côte d'Ivoire. These factors revealed the ambiguities in the content of information about colonialism in French and Western sources, especially in sources against the idea of colonialism. Therefore, it is important to review this information on colonialism and then compare and analyze it with national, regional and international scientific studies, as well as documents on the attitudes of colonialists obtained from other accounts. , in order to

²⁰⁹ S. Belkasim-B. Sâmir, op. cit, p.8-11; A.kader Bin Tejan Bin La Lim Kcire, op. cit., p.613;C, Yahya, op. cit., pp. 252-254

objectively assess the subject. In addition, in this case, accurate analysis requires strong observation and inference skills.

For this to happen, it is necessary to consult different sources about the region and do a lot of reading and research on the subject of colonialism. If a person wants to come to accurate conclusions on this subject about colonialism, he should also use oral accounts in addition to the sources mentioned, bearing in mind that it is difficult to find the right scholars in French sources. Moreover, France hid or diverted the facts of this colonial process from the Ivorian people. Because they were aware that if the facts about French colonialism were known in the country, people would revolt against the colonialists. Maybe it proves that Ivorians colonized under bombs, chains and injustice, or the whole African people, still love the colonizers with great affection, instead of opposing persecution of the colonizers, to call for revenge on their ancestors and to hold the innocent Ivories responsible. The reason is that on the one hand, Ivorians generally do not know or are unaware of the facts about colonialism, and on the other hand, they have not discovered the true face of colonialism until now. This is because the malevolent colonist is destructive and cunning. In recent works, the words: "A Muslimand (an African people) should see the European world (the colonizers) as a great cunning enemy and should bear in mind that he is an expert in disrupting and destroying communities (...)." ²¹⁰

The French colonialists, as well as their generals and officers, were fully aware of the gravity of their unjust crimes against humanity during their reign in Côte d'Ivoire. ²¹¹ France was also aware that when the people of Côte d'Ivoire learned this truth, they would demand their rights and their freedom and would not give it up. For this reason, France is trying to destroy the crimes it committed during the colonial period and remove them from the history of Côte d'Ivoire. In order to achieve the objective of falsifying this information or hiding it from the population of the country, France is still putting in place an effective system to prevent the true information of the history of

²¹⁰ Al-Emir sheb Arslan, et-Te'assubu'l-Avrubîemi't-te'assubu'l-Islami te'alikatu'l-Emir sheib Arslan elâ book Mi'atiMeşrû'iLi-teksîmi'd- Devlet-i Osmaniyye fî Tarih-i Islamiye 1913-1281, 2nd Edition, Daru Ibn Hazm yay, Beirut 1995, p 6-8

²¹¹ Jack Woods, el-isti'mâr el-cedidifiAsya , Afrika and el-lAtiniya , 1.Baskı, dar el Hakikat yay, Beyrut, 1971, p.9; A. A. Boahen, op. cit., p.431

French colonialism from being revealed in Côte d'Ivoire, perhaps in the whole of French-speaking western Sudan. The most important of these factors can be listed as follows.

3.1.2. The challenge of development in Ivory Coast

The Economic and Social Council is made up of representatives of trade unions, social and professional societies and local authorities elected by the President. This council monitors all aspects of economic, social and cultural development and makes recommendations to the executive for the development of the country. Since the independence of Côte d'Ivoire in 1960, the government has educated as many children as possible. Therefore, education has become a priority in the country. The Ivorian Constitution of 2000 entrusted the State with the responsibility of ensuring equitable access to education for all Ivorian children. Côte d'Ivoire, in long form Republic of Côte d'Ivoire (RCI), is a state located in Africa, in the western part of the Gulf of Guinea. It has substantially the shape of a square with a side of about 600 km. Covering an area of 322,462 km² it is bordered to the northwest by Mali, to the northeast by Burkina Faso, to the east by Ghana, to the southwest by Liberia, to the west-northwest by Guinea and south by the Atlantic Ocean. The population is estimated at 29,389,150 in 2021. As economic and social progress developed, the combative ardor of militants and especially of executives weakened. The people did not feel concerned by the action of the leaders, did not really participate in their choice. Some leaders have lost all contact with the base. The settlers of that time were still leaders after independence and even in public institutions. It was not until 1980 that the decision was taken to make legislative and municipal elections competitive in the single party.

The moment of this decision (VII party congress) was a turning point in the country's history.²¹² During the colonial period, industry in Côte d'Ivoire consisted of a few small textile and food units. This industry employed very few Ivorians but many French despite the independence obtained. Twenty years after independence, the Côte d'Ivoire has 705 industrial companies. A large number of Ivorians work there and even

²¹² Kamagate Souhalih, "Takvîmu'l-Menâhic Derasibi Munazzemeti'l-Medârsi İslamiyye, bi Côtéd' Ivoire, (O.E.E.I) Min Vichatnazari'l-Muallimîn", Niley University, Unpublished Master Thesis, Khartoum 2011, p.31.

own it. Before independence, social facilities (health centers, educational centers, housing, etc.) were not developed. They were very few in number. After independence, the country acquired many modern infrastructures. In the field of education, creation of numerous establishments; primary schools, colleges, high schools, higher education centers and professional and technical training centers. In the field of health, creation of numerous maternity clinics and university hospitals. In the area of housing, the villages are modernizing. Some have electricity. The village water supply program has given rural populations access to drinking water. In the field of communication, radio, television, faxes, cellular telephony allow communication with the whole world. In the industrial field, only a few industrial units existed during the colonial period. The last twenty years of the post-colonial era are characterized by the creation of factories: SIR in 1962, GMA in 1960, UTEXI in 1967, UNIWAX in 1969.²¹³

Energy production is ensured thanks to hydroelectric dams; Ayame 1 in 1959; Ayame 2 in 1965; Kossou in 1972; Taabo in 1979; Buyo 1980. The results of the Ivorian economy would not have been successful if certain socio-economic conditions had not been met. These are political stability, permanent dialogue, openness to the outside world, economic liberalism and good cooperation with neighboring countries.²¹⁴ The first two decades following independence were marked by a major modernization program for Côte d'Ivoire. The results obtained are the product of several factors, including the policy of openness with the development of cooperation with the States neighbors and developed countries has attracted many African and not African foreigners to our country. These foreigners brought a large workforce and private investment. Agriculture, a very wide variety of export crops constituted the most important source of income. The investment code offers favorable conditions for investment in all development sectors (repatriation of profits, tax exemptions) such as agro-food, mining, energy, real estate, etc. Economic growth has also been made thanks to a contribution from taxes (in 2007, taxes brought in 890 billion francs for the State).

This is why it is important that each taxpayer comply with the tax law. The Ivorian economy is based mainly on coffee and cocoa producers, who represent 20% of

²¹³ Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale, op. cit., pp 61-62

²¹⁴ Ministère de l'éducation nationale de côte d'ivoire, op. cit., classe cm2, p63

GNP, and therefore 40% of import flows. Côte d'Ivoire is the world's largest cocoa producer and the second largest coffee producer, according to data from 2009- 2010. In 39 years, the coffee product reached 2.1 million tons, and in 2011 the product reached 600,000 tons, while Côte d'Ivoire produced rubber, palm oil, cotton, banana, pineapple and others. Subsistence agriculture is an important part of the economy of Côte d'Ivoire, including 608,032 tons of maize, 670,006 tons of rice, 2,047, 064 tons of Manioc (cassava), 4,970, 949 tons of potatoes and 1,519, 716 tons of bananas. The north and center of the country, general poultry and other animals are fed. As the Ivory Coast cannot produce enough meat on its own, it imports meat from Mali, Burkina Faso, Niger and European countries.

Côte d'Ivoire has a coastline on the Gulf of Guinea, and traditional and commercial fishing is commercialized on many rivers. Moreover, fish products are not sufficient for domestic consumption. For this reason, Côte d'Ivoire imports tuna, canned fish, frozen mackerel and other species of fish.¹³³ Underground resources such as oil, natural gas, diamonds and gold are abundant in the land of ivory. While crude oil production in Côte d'Ivoire reached around 50,000 barrels per day in 2008, natural gas production increased to 1,742.3 million m³ and around 1.5 tons. It has also been operating the timber trade in Côte d'Ivoire for many years. Indeed, Côte d'Ivoire has experienced a sharp decline in its resources due to the timber trade. This has led the Ivorian government to pursue new policies of reforestation and forest classification. In Côte d'Ivoire, the ports of Abidjan and San-Pedro are the two main pillars of the economy. The Port of Abidjan contributes 90% of the country's customs revenue and 60% of the country's revenue. In addition, Abidjan is an important port for African tuna boats, while the port of San-Pedro is the first cocoa export port.²¹⁵ Three centuries of history teach us that the development of some cannot be the by-product of the development of others, and that the economic growth of the South, grafted on the economic growth of the North, is not development.

The current economic crisis has revealed the weakness of conventional economic analyses. It is accompanied by a crisis of economic thought. Over the past sixty years, Côte d'Ivoire has embarked on a type of development favoring substitution

²¹⁵ *Mémorial de la Côte d'Ivoire*, op. cit.

industrialization. Because of this policy favoring the export to industrialized countries of often competing raw materials, intra- African trade is insufficient today. And the desire to see economic exchanges between African states strengthened remains a wishful thinking.²¹⁶ The global crisis has shown that this strategy cannot be pursued as long as the international division of labor remains the major reason for the slowdown, or even blockage, of economic growth in both the North and the South. Admittedly, the independence of August 7, 1960 enabled Côte d'Ivoire to make enormous progress, but from this date to this day, the country has still not managed to emerge or be developed despite all the natural resources allowing it of being. It is precisely that France continues to play a paternalistic role which unfortunately prevents the achievement of this objective so desired by those in power.

3.1.3. The transition from the Colonial year to the Neocolonial year in Côte d'Ivoire

For Côte d'Ivoire Sixty-two years later, the fruits of independence have still not kept the promise of flowers. Foreign domination has changed in face and nature, but it remains. First, through imported ideologies and institutions, privileged political, economic and military relations with the former colonial power. The French domination also remains by the interventions of all kinds of which the country is the object for about sixty years: direct interventions of French armed forces; training of African armed forces and police in popular repression; ideological interventions through the invasion of literature, the arts, the media and the education system; finally, intervention to protect French economic interests through international institutions. It is this policy, more commonly known as neo-colonialist, which tends to make more difficult and impracticable the paths chosen by certain African leaders anxious to bring the struggle for national liberation to its conclusion, which characterizes relations between France and Côte d'Ivoire since independence.

²¹⁶ Pierre Kipré, op. cit., p.95

Thus, after hailing independence as a victory and especially after confusing it with national liberation, we had to reconsider our judgment to note that behind the facade and the fiction of independence was concealed a completely different reality, masterfully controlled and dominated, notably by the former colonial power. In this construction of the first age of decolonization writes Mohamed BEDJAOUI with relevance in his remarkable work on the New International Economic Order the fictitious independence triumphs and the sovereignty of the State takes the form of a mirage.²¹⁷

The obvious inadequacy of the classic concept of State sovereignty, as it had been transcribed in 1945 in the United Nations Charter, comes to light. Defined solely by its political elements to the exclusion of its economic aspects, the concept made it possible to recognize in the new State the apparent or external signs of its sovereignty flag, national anthem and seat at the United Nations whereas the reality of the power lies elsewhere. Behind the factitious character of the legal-institutional structures put in place to give some appearance to the national sovereignty of the new State, forms of real dependence appear, based on an organized economic subordination whose incompatibility with the true concept of sovereignty is blatant “At the helm of the boat named Independence, the colonial power, to ensure the protection of its interests, simply changed its policy towards the same ends. Their new strategy was to delegate some powers to the new African leaders, but not all the powers”.²¹⁸ In particular, the means of national liberation remain in the hands of the old metropolises. The maintenance of the interests thus protected will be done by making necessary professional structures, industrial equipment, needs and services which perpetuate a dependence with regard to supplier countries.

This direct indirect control over the work, production and natural resources of our countries will be supplemented by tacit agreements “to protect” the new African regimes and their maintenance in power by the former colonial power.²¹⁹ By linking the

²¹⁷ Mohamed BEDJAOUI, *Pour un nouvel ordre économique international*, Paris, Unesco, 1978, p. 883

²¹⁸ LIDER BAL, *Le Mythe de la Souveraineté en Droit International La souveraineté des États à l'épreuve des mutations de l'ordre juridique international*, thèse soutenue 3 Février 2012

²¹⁹ Antoine Glaser et Stephen Smith l'ont qualifié de Pax Franca dans comment la France a perdu

fate of the interests of the metropolis with that of the new African governments, these tacit agreements constitute, in the final analysis, the surest guarantee of the maintenance and protection of foreign interests in French-speaking Africa in general and in Côte d'Ivoire in particular. This is also why France and Mali are in diplomatic tension because this neighboring country of Côte d'Ivoire has decided to revise certain military agreements with the former colonial power, thus threatening their interests. This policy results from the old conception of the need for a balance of forces in international relations. The rivalry aroused by the search for a balance of power and force constitutes one of the current sources of imperialism. Indeed, in the struggle between economic-political blocks constantly seeking to grow, one of the objectives is the domestication of the weakest. Throughout 1960, African delegations followed one another to Paris for the independence negotiations.²²⁰ Foccart wants to simultaneously ratify access to international sovereignty and cooperation and defense agreements. If the "Community" is de facto abolished, its security concept, sparked off with the creation of a French-speaking bloc, continues with a set of bilateral agreements. Paris is more than ever the balance point of African security. Cooperation is a solution to extend the spirit, if not the letter, of the "Community?" This pact gives France the ability to correct any political deviation. This order, named Pax Gallica in reference to the Pax Romana Antoine Glaser and Stephen Smith called it Pax Franc, requires a legal framework. Foccart has always paid particular attention to validating French interventions through defense and cooperation agreements, while President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, a decade later, rather justifies French interventions in the name of France's role in the "Fresh war?" even if it means stepping outside the strictly defined framework of cooperation, as with Mauritania in 1977, Verveine and Bonite in Shaba in 1977 and 1978. Independence heralded a gradual takeover by the new African states of their development strategy and sectorial policies supposed to carry out this development.

This hoped-for development did not take place. The international community has remained omnipresent over the decades. Even if its methods of intervention have

l'Afrique, Hachette, 2006

²²⁰ Jean-Pierre Bat, in contemporary Africa 2010/3 (n°235) pages 02 to 04 Jacques Foccart and the pax gallica, the role of France after independence

changed.²²¹The structural adjustment of the 80s and 90s gave way to the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) initiative and the promotion of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). 50 years of "accompagnement" of the policies of African countries by the international community have not produced the expected institutional strengthening. The balance sheet is even frankly negative: weakened administrations, lack of control over the financing of actions, lack of consensus on the type of agriculture to be promoted, are all elements that reinforce each other so that the States do not have control of their agricultural policy. In this context, the paths to a true reconquest of sovereignty look steep. Efforts, on the initiative of cooperation agencies, have recently focused on promoting agricultural policies at the regional level (PAU at WAEMU level, ECOWAP for ECOWAS, CAADP for NEPAD), with the idea of trigger, from regional coordination structures, a dynamic of strengthening national agricultural policies. The results of these initiatives show how difficult it is to make such a bet. In this year 2022, the situation has not fundamentally changed: the neocolonialism of so-called independence persists, even if the situation is no longer absolutely identical to that of the 1960s.²²² There have been readjustments, restructurings of domination, according to new power relations induced by the neoliberalization of *globalization* since the 1980s, the collapse of the Cold War "communist bloc", the emergence of new capitalist powers in this new century. French cooperation actually goes further with the intelligence and security services. After May 13, 1958, and with a view to preparing for the postcolonial period, Commander Maurice Robert (Renaud, 2005), head of the SDECE post. External documentation and counterintelligence service. In Dakar and a Gaullist militant, was appointed to the direction of the N sector (Africa) of the SDECE. Its mission is to organize the intelligence network in Africa, as well as to ensure the creation of African intelligence services. He then imagined an original and unprecedented structure, which he installed in each capital: the liaison and intelligence post (PLR), responsible for assuming this dual objective. The initial principle of work is simple: what is good for the security of France is good for the security of the local

²²¹ Ribier Vincent. 2012. 50 years after independence, African countries still do not have control over their agricultural policies. In: Symposium, René Dumont revisited and African agricultural policies, November 15 and 16, 2012: summaries of communications

²²² Jean-Pierre Bat, in contemporary Africa 2010/3 (n °235) pages 02 to 04 Jacques Foccart and the pax gallica, the role of France after independence

government, and vice versa. The head of the PLR is at a strategic crossroads, at the crossroads of the French services and the African presidency. The best example is provided by Lieutenant-Colonel Bichelot in Abidjan. Houphouët-Boigny appreciated his services so much that he decided to attach this office personally in 1968, once he was released from his French military obligations. In fact, Bichelot remained an essential agent of Ivorian security from 1963 to the beginning of the 1980s. At the same time, the police counterintelligence services (DST) decided to get involved in the African file. A new service was created within the French police in favor of decolonization: The International Technical Cooperation Service of the Police (SCTIP). Its delegates also take place in each African capital. Their skills are a direct legacy of the short-lived Community External Security Service (SSEC), which operated from 1958 to 1961 growing, to maintain their activities to prove their African skills. The intelligence community in Africa is represented by all the French services.

3.2. The path of true independence

Independence is not an end in itself, but a means of national liberation, a means of human liberation. A means which, among other objectives, should, at the national level, bring about changes in the socio-economic, legal and political structures inherited from colonial domination. On the international level, it was to be the expression of a current leading to a transformation of the economic, political and legal order in place. In fact, the independence of Côte d'Ivoire remains a myth; the expected internal structural transformations have not taken place and, externally, on the international scene, the country remains more than ever marginalized and dominated. Independence was to constitute a brake on the prodigious maritime adventure of Europe on the road of the spears and the great geographical discoveries of the 15TH and 16TH centuries.²²³ An adventure which, as we know, led to the colonization of America, the African and Asian coasts and, finally, to the establishment of the economic, political and military supremacy of Europe over the world until the day after the Second World War National liberation movements, the engines of independence, were to affect and challenge

²²³ Ben Yacine Touré, L'Afrique : l'épreuve des indépendances, chapitre VI. Indépendance : du mythe à la réalité, p 1- 3

important economic, political and strategic interests of the colonial powers. For Côte d'Ivoire, sixty-two years later, the fruits of independence have still not kept the promise of flowers. Foreign domination has changed in face and nature, but it remains. First, through imported ideologies and institutions, privileged political, economic and military relations with the former colonial powers. Foreign domination also remains through interventions of all kinds to which the country has been subject for sixty years: direct interventions by French armed forces; training of the armed forces and the Ivorian police in popular repression; ideological interventions through the invasion of literature, the arts, the media and the education system; finally, intervention to protect foreign economic interests through international institutions. It is this policy, more commonly called neo-colonialist, which tends to make more difficult and impracticable the paths chosen by certain African leaders anxious to bring the national liberation struggle to an end, which characterizes the relationship between the Côte d'Ivoire and the rest of the world since independence.²²⁴

3.2.1. The closure of the French military camp in Côte d'Ivoire

The 43rd Marine Infantry Battalion (43rd BIMA) is a corps of marine troops that is part of the French Forces in Côte d'Ivoire (FFCI). He is the heir of the 43rd colonial infantry regiment (43rd RIC) created on August 2, 1914 during colonization and which has just changed its name while keeping its cruel attributions. His conduct during the two world wars as well as during the Indochina War earned him eight citations to the order of the army and one citation to the order of the army corps. The 43rd also fought in Algeria and participated in the French Forces in Germany from 1960 to 1978 as the 43rd BIMA and 43rd BIMA.²²⁵

²²⁴ Ben Yacine Touré, L'Afrique : l'épreuve des indépendances, chapitre VI. Indépendance : du mythe à la réalité, pp 1-4

²²⁵ Ambassade de France en Côte d'Ivoire, Forces Françaises en Côte d'Ivoire, publié le 12 /08/2021

The presence of this camp in Côte d'Ivoire is a total domination of France on the country until this day. France does not hesitate besides to intervene militarily to reverse a mode which does not marry its ideologies. On September 19, 2002, Côte d'Ivoire experienced an armed rebellion, organized and supported by France. The country was divided in two. One part run by the rebels and the other the rebels. Due to the defense agreements between the country and France, the then president asked France to intervene militarily to drive out the rebels. France being trapped between cooperating with power or obviously continuing to support the rebels. Immediately the anti-French demonstration is left to the ruling party and the international community is alerted. This rebellion will continue until 2010. On November 6, 2004, France ceased to be a mediator to become, de facto, a military protagonist in the Ivorian crisis. The primary responsibility was that of the Gbagbo regime because it was an Ivorian Sukhoi who bombarded a French military camp, killing nine soldiers. But, after the first anti-French violence from January 26 to 28, 2003 and the "milicianization" of the "patriotic" youth, it is not clear why the French reaction took such a unilateral form. The total destruction of the Ivorian military aviation by the French forces "on the orders of Jacques Chirac" could only provoke a violent reaction. If two years of crisis should have taught Paris anything, it was the absolute necessity of acting multilaterally. Paris, faced with a fait accompli, had decided, at first, not to do anything decisive to stop the bombings started by Gbagbo since Thursday, November 4, and Michèle Alliot-Marie's procrastination about the UN mandate corresponded, in reality, to a laissez-faire policy.²²⁶

Hot French reaction, quite understandable, but reaction that was not political: the destruction of aircraft "at the request of the United Nations" or by the forces of the United Nations Operation in Côte d'Ivoire (UNOCI) would certainly have avoided France, at least in part, the "quasi-war" which followed with its violence against its nationals, its looting and, above all, its numerous Ivorian civilian victims. During those days when the French and Ivorian forces were, so to speak, waging war, UNOCI had as it were ceased to exist, when it should have been immediately, even for the sake of form, put it forward on the military and political plan. Moreover, Paris developed in its communication a real schizophrenic discourse, declaring sometimes that Gbagbo was at

²²⁶ Ruth Marshall, dans *African Policy* 2005/2 (n°98), La France en Côte d'Ivoire : l'interventionnisme à l'épreuve, page 8 à 14

the head of a “fascist” type regime, sometimes that he was a “legal” and “legitimate” president.²²⁷ One day, the soldiers would not have killed civilians, the next day, the French army would have killed about twenty Ivorians. The broadcast by the French media of images of French actions in Abidjan during this quasi-war provoked strong reactions in France from civil society and left-wing parties, as well as in all African capitals.

Thabo Mbeki, called to the rescue, was, it seems, deeply shocked by the impressive French military deployment in Abidjan in a country which is claimed to have given its independence since 1960 and the French military camp with modern armaments continues to exist on its territory until today; it was not to displease President Gbagbo who sought to once again bring the Ivorian conflict back to the Franco- Ivorian terrain to present himself as the victim of a power seeking to annihilate the legitimate desire of "a whole people" to “break free from the colonial yoke. 1 France was completely overtaken by events. Far from a plot to "overthrow the president" and a "massacre" of "hundreds of Ivorians with bare hands", as the presidential camp has constantly proclaimed, the French intervention at the Hotel Ivoire simply illustrated an abyssal military lack of preparation: the choice, as a place of regrouping of the French, of the Ivoire hotel located a few hundred meters from the presidential residence; the sending as reinforcements of soldiers belonging to the same battalion as those killed in Bouaké, who found themselves by mistake in front of the presidency; the framing of a dense and hysterical crowd by soldiers with only lethal ammunition and not experienced in policing strategies; the absence of military cameras to be able to bring the contradiction to the presidential version; the forgetting, in the hotel lobby, of a laptop computer containing hundreds of intelligence files on the protagonists of the crisis, their positions and armaments (and which, today, can be found on free sale in streets of Abidjan in the form of CD-ROMs!); and, above all, the fact of going there alone without the support of UNOCI²²⁸ forces. So many mistakes that weighed heavily in the radicalization of French- Ivorian relations.

²²⁷ S. Smith, *Mission impossible pour la France en Côte d'Ivoire*, Le Monde, 3 décembre 2004.

²²⁸ S. Smith, *Enquête sur une quasi-guerre de huit jours entre Paris et Abidjan*, Le Monde, 15 novembre 2004 ; J.-P. Mari et R. Marmoz, *Ce qu'a vraiment fait la France*, Le Nouvel Observateur, 16-22 décembre 2004.

True architect of the military and diplomatic intervention in Côte d'Ivoire, France found itself doubly trapped. The only country wishing to intervene, it found itself blocked by the inability of the international community and in the first place African community to multilateralism the management of the crisis, and, above all, it was overtaken by its heavy postcolonial heritage and by its inability to break with a sclerotic vision of the continent. In Côte d'Ivoire, the rise of the nationalist current, which had been in the making for decades and fed by the economic crisis and the process of democratization, could only be amplified with this intervention. Moreover, this rebellion ended with a presidential election in October 2010 in which Mr. Ouattara Alassane was declared the winner by the independent electoral commission and certified by the United Nations representative in Côte d'Ivoire. But the Constitutional Court does not recognize and gives victory to Laurent Gbagbo knowing that according to the constitution of the country, it is she who proclaims the final results. Alassane Ouattara, supported since then by France, and the rebels, recognizing themselves in him, decide to force Laurent Gbagbo to leave by arms. French helicopters and the UN mission in Côte d'Ivoire (UNOCI) then bombarded the palace and residence of Laurent Gbagbo, as well as the military camps of Agban and Akouédo, controlled by the pro-military forces.

Gbagbo, "Means have been committed against several objectives: heavy weapons in barracks and a detachment of armored vehicles equipped with guns and rocket launchers" said Thierry Burkhard²²⁹, spokesman for the Ministry of Defense. Toussaint Alain, adviser to Laurent Gbagbo in Paris, shortly afterwards denounced "illegal acts" and an "assassination attempt" against Laurent Gbagbo. These French military operations, two weeks after the opening of a front in Libya, are in addition to the mission to protect French nationals in Abidjan by the Licorne force on the spot, which has 1,650 men and whose numbers have doubled in one week. Monday evening, the Quai d'Orsay announced the kidnapping of five people, including at least two French people, in a hotel in the Plateau district, near the presidential palace, during an attack by pro-Gbagbo forces. Since Thursday, after four days of a meteoric progression from the north to the south of Côte d'Ivoire, several hundred troops of the Republican Forces of Côte d'Ivoire (FRCI, pro-Ouattara) have massed on the northern outskirts of Abidjan. The commander of the pro-Ouattara troops, Issiaka "Wattao" Ouattara,

²²⁹ BFMTV, Des hélicoptères de Licorne entrent en action à Abidjan, MAJ le 05/04/2011

claimed to have 4,000 men, to which would be added 5,000 men already present in the city. Laurent Gbagbo's men hold positions around the presidential palace (administrative district of Plateau), Gbagbo's official residence (district of Cocody) and the headquarters of RTI, the state television.

On Sunday and Monday morning, only a few sporadic heavy weapons fire was heard on the spot, while Abidjan has been the scene of fighting and looting since Thursday evening, and its population is experiencing serious difficulties in obtaining water and food. This resumption of fighting comes the day after the announcements of Guillaume Soro, for whom the situation was "now ripe" for a "fast" offense. Over the weekend, the camp of Alassane Ouattara had repeatedly called for a "strong involvement of France" and the UN. Pro-Alassane forces manage to arrest Gbagbo with the help of French forces on April 11, 2011 at the presidential palace. The sovereignty of the country had just been undermined. By these circumstances, we understand the role of the presence of the French military camp. It serves to bring to power leaders who espouse France's ideology and to remove from power those who oppose it, such as Gbagbo. From 2011 to date, Alassane Ouattara has finished his two terms provided for in the constitution but unfortunately he changed the constitution, allowing him to run for two more terms. This had never happened in Côte d'Ivoire since 1990, the year of multiparty. Well, it is possible with Alassane because he is a pawn of France both in Côte d'Ivoire and in Africa. It would be enough for him to make a single day in power if he were to oppose France because of the unfortunately of this famous French military camp, still in the country on this day. More than ever, a national revolution is needed to demand the closure of this camp which killed Ivorians in their country despite the independence gained in 1960. This is why the independence of the country remains a myth.²³⁰

3.2.2. The abolition of the CFA Franc

Monetary issuance in Central Africa dates back to 1920 when the issuance privilege of the Bank of West Africa was extended to French Equatorial Africa.

²³⁰ AFP et Reuters, Le monde Afrique, Côte d'Ivoire : l'ONU et la France bombardent le palais de Gbagbo, 04 avril 2011

But during the Second World War, Africa representing most of the territory of Free France, the issue of banknotes in Africa will be ensured by the Free French Africa (AFL), then by the Central Fund of Free France (CCFL). different entities created to evolve in a “Franc zone” which will include a guiding currency, the metropolitan franc, and satellite currencies, this is how the CFA Franc (French Colonies of Africa) was born on December 26, 1945 at the parity of 1 FCFA = 1.70 FF. In 1958, the Franc of the French Colonies of Africa became the franc of the French Community of Africa and today means "franc of Financial Cooperation in Central Africa" for the CEMAC countries and "franc of the Financial Community of 'Africa' for member countries of the West African Economic and Monetary Union (UEMOA). “CFA Franc” is therefore a name common to the two currencies circulating in the following 14 member countries of the Franc Zone and whose external convertibility is guaranteed by the French Treasury.²³¹

These are: Countries of the CEMAC Zone: Cameroon, the Central African Republic, Congo, Gabon, Equatorial Guinea and Chad. The CFA franc is issued there by the BEAC. Countries of the UEMOA Zone: Benin, Burkina, Côte d'Ivoire, Guinea Bissau, Mali, Niger, Senegal and Togo. The CFA franc is issued there by the Central Bank of West African States (BCEAO). Until January 12, 1994, the parity was 1 FF for 50 F.CFA or 1 F.CFA for 0, 02 FF. Since that date, the CFA franc has undergone a monetary realignment against the French franc and a new parity has been defined at the rate of 1 French Franc for 100 CFA Francs or 1 CFA Franc for 0.01 French Franc. With the advent of the single European currency and the peg of the CFA franc to the Euro, the FF/EUR parity was stopped at 1 EUR = 6.55957 FF, i.e. mechanically since January 1, 1999, 1 EUR = CFAF 655.957.

In fact, the inflation target of 2% adopted by the BCEAO, identical to that of the ECB, seems imperative in view of the constraints induced by the existence of a fixed exchange rate between the two zones. This target may not be problematic if we retain the principle that "what is good for the euro zone is good for the CFA zone". However, its relevance for the euro zone has already come under criticism from Keynesian economists [Aghion et alii, 2006], and it is even more debatable for the WAEMU zone:

²³¹ Jean Nanga, *Afrique : les indépendances néocoloniales de 1960 : Soixante ans après*, 21 janvier 2021

the challenges facing these developing countries are much more complex and the potential contribution of money to the achievement of economic growth should be able to provoke a broad reflection. Adopting such an inflation target is indeed overly restrictive for economies that would need 7% GDP growth to halve the poverty of their populations by 2030, according to the Sustainable Development Goals adopted in September 2015 by the United Nations. It is surprising that the BCEAO is so little concerned with economic growth and development. However, the empirical literature on the issue is prolix. For example, we can recall that the simultaneous pursuit of price stability and strong economic growth has fueled the debate on the Phillips curve, that is to say on the need to make a trade-off between inflation and unemployment. Various empirical studies, conducted in particular in the WAEMU zone [Combey and Nubukpo, 2010] and in transition economies [Calvo and Coricelli, 1993; Ould -Ahmed, 1999], have also shown that restrictive monetary policies have a recessive macroeconomic impact, while neostructuralist models “Van Wijnbergen, 1983a and 1983b” insist on the perverse²³² effects linked to the adoption of restrictive monetary policies in the developing economies. The CFA Franc is a colonial currency that would prevent the development of Africa. This system deprives it of real monetary power, which is synonymous with real independence. Today, we talk about “getting Africa out of monetary bondage”. This slogan is the title of the recent work of a group of economists, including African personalities, such as the former Togolese minister, Kako Nubukpo.²³³ They criticize the fact that the CFA's monetary policy mainly serves the interests of European groups and that it is one of the main tools through which France "continues to exercise its guardianship over the economic policies of certain countries in Africa". This hinders any possibility of development and social progress. Indeed, "nowhere has we seen a country develop with a currency controlled by another country, as is the case with the CFA franc to date. According to Nubukpo and his colleagues, France's hold on this currency is a "confiscation of the sovereignty"²³⁴ of

²³² BANQUES DES ETATS DE L'AFRIQUE CENTRALE, Etablissement d'émission des Etats membres de la Communauté Economique et Monétaire de l'Afrique Centrale

²³³ Kako NUBUKPO, le franc CFA, un frein à l'émergence des économies africaines ? Dans *Économie politique* 2015/4 (n° 68), p 38

²³⁴ Kouame Perpetue Camille, « Le franc CFA : outil de développement ou abus de pouvoir colonial ? », 01 novembre 2016

African countries. In addition, the obligation of the countries of the Franc Zone to deposit 50% of their foreign exchange reserves with the French Treasury is a handicap for them. This means that the BCEAO and the BEAC must neglect their need for financing to develop their economies in construction, in order to comply with the monetary policies of the European Central Bank. One of the solutions suggested by African economists would be joining a new common currency, which would no longer be subject to a fixed parity with the euro. However, nothing like this seems possible in the short term.

The demonstration of the neo-colonialist currency of Côte d'Ivoire (beneficial to French capital and its state as well as to the ruling classes of the African states concerned) has been largely revitalized in recent years, in fact, to the euro, the currency of the European Union. This is how, for example, the dynamics of creating a currency of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the ECO, was replaced (end of December 2019-May 2020), under the initiative of French Heads of State Emmanuel Macron and Ivorian Alassane Ouattara, the launch of an ECO replacing the FCFA of the West African Economic and Monetary Union (UEMOA whose States are also members of ECOWAS, a larger grouping).²³⁵

In an ECOWAS monetary zone, Nigeria, the leading economy not only in the sub-region (70% of ECOWAS GDP, and 5 to 6 times the WAEMU GDP, whose Ivorian GDP usually represents almost of the third), but of the whole Africa region. Nigeria, the current leading supplier of Côte d'Ivoire, ahead of France, imbued with its economic supremacy, very jealous of its national monetary sovereignty and unwilling to submit to the discipline that would result from a community currency is one of the 2/ 3 of the ECOWAS members that do not meet the so-called convergence criteria (deficit, inflation, public debt rate). Thus the launch of eco-ECOWAS was, in September 2020, postponed sine die. As for the States of the other sub-zone of the FCFA, the Economic

²³⁵ See the somewhat sarcastic criticism of the recent French parliamentary “debate” on the CFA franc (September 2020) by Fanny Pigeaud and Ndong Samba Sylla, “Pauvreté du débat français sur le franc CFA”, Mediapart.fr, October 6 2020, <https://blogs.mediapart.fr/fanny-pigeaud/blog/041020/pauvrete-du-debat-parlementaire-francais-sur-le-franc-cfa>

and Monetary Community of Central Africa (CEMAC), whose leaders, as devoid as their peers of the slightest positive quality, seem to be in permanent competition for the palm of the prevarication in Africa, even beyond), one could not expect some audacity or intelligent project of independence. The French leash remains preferable to independence: the CEMAC²³⁶ would be willing to follow in the footsteps of the FCFA-ECO, but, unlike the WAEMU, without questioning the domiciliation of the operating account (their reserves de change) to the French Treasury. Either for what it is supposed to bring, or out of fear, by technocrats knowing the kleptomania of their employers, that once repatriated, these foreign exchange reserves will be victims.

3.2.3. The Conditions of National Liberation

Côte d'Ivoire is not condemned to French domination. The alternative to its current political and economic dependence exists. It essentially takes place at two levels: that of domestic policy and that of foreign policy. The initiative for change must come from Côte d'Ivoire itself, which has experienced and has just experienced nearly three centuries of domination and which still remains the victim of a global system established for the benefit of a minority of States. For Côte d'Ivoire, the task consists first of all in mobilizing all of its own human and material resources to put them at the service of national liberation. It is then a matter of participating, alongside progressive forces in the world, in the establishment of a new international order governed by more human values, such as the common fight for peace and justice.

This alternative to the current order, which is comparable to the "law of the jungle" or even the law of the strongest, cannot be the work of Côte d'Ivoire alone; it must come from the joint action of the progressive forces of all the countries in favor of international cooperation based more on the community of interests of the peoples and, therefore, more united. Indeed, individually, our States are vulnerable, but collectively, they are able, in cooperation with the forces of progress and movement in the world, to inspire consideration and respect on the international scene. Technically and economically, cooperation with the other Third World States, if it is based on this spirit

²³⁶ La Guinée équatoriale (ex-colonie de l'Espagne) qui en est membre ne fait pas partie des États indépendants de 1960.

of solidarity and on respect for the well-understood interests of the partners, can contribute to consolidating the ranks of the forces of progress in favor of another system of international relations. Indeed, the countries of the Third World today represent a large and diversified range of economic and technical potentialities sufficiently elaborated to participate in the development of Africa within the framework of South-South exchanges. Also within this framework, it is possible to develop cooperation activities in the search for new development models. In other words, increased cooperation in various fields between Côte d'Ivoire and other Third World States, based on the solidarity of the parties, is also a valid approach to putting an end to the situation of domination and inequality of which the country is a victim today.

The sine qua non condition to snatch Côte d'Ivoire from French and foreign domination and to enable it to contribute to the advent of a new type of international relations based on mutual respect, cooperation and solidarity of peoples, it is first of all to modify the structures currently prevailing within our States. The crucial effort must focus on this point. Dependency theory and other historical analyzes made to better understand and explain the reasons for the underdevelopment of our States constitute, incontestably, a valuable contribution to the theory of development. However, these analyzes are not only powerless to change the present conditions of our peoples, but they also present reassuring aspects which can be dangerous for us. One of these aspects is precisely the ease, after having established the responsibility of France in the current situation of our country, to want to make the French assume the responsibility for the change that must be made today in Côte d'Ivoire. Côte d'Ivoire is not, historically, the first example of colonization; other peoples, before ours, suffered the colonial yoke; other peoples will no doubt still experience colonization tomorrow. It is entirely incumbent on Ivorians and peoples throughout the world who refuse this form of submission and exploitation, to ensure that the past is not repeated.

It would be childish and futile to expect former colonial powers to take the initiative in this direction or to feel any sense of guilt for having colonized other peoples. On the contrary, in these countries or elsewhere, the defenders of the status quo, "these Oukases" to use President Senghor's expression, "guardians of the stagnant marshes", have always tried to exploit subjective perceptions, beliefs and myths of all kinds and to make their opponents believe that the situation is hopeless and hopeless, that the course of history is thus made and that any attempt to go against this current can only lead to

chaos. Thus, the place of Côte d'Ivoire in international relations is not only a function of its economic, political, strategic and cultural weight in the world, but also of the country's ability to demonstrate that it is capable of manage its own affairs, and its desire to protect them from foreign and French interference. If Côte d'Ivoire is still dominated and marginalized today on the international scene, it is because it does not yet meet these conditions.

This will be the case as long as it is not endowed with satisfactory socio-economic and cultural institutions and structures for the Ivorian peoples; institutions that are likely to provide a framework in which the interests of multiple ethnicities and different social groups can be reconciled in a spirit of solidarity; institutions that are the result of the common effort of our populations and not of imported products gleaned here and there. The new international order, the struggle for a more equitable society or for human rights, all of this begins first at the national level before being negotiated on the international level; and success in their domestic application will undoubtedly have repercussions on international relations. The internal success of the Ivorian State in these various fields constitutes their best asset to plead in favor of a type of international relations other than that which currently prevails. States with entrenched social structures, oppressive political regimes, plagued by violence and haunted by instability, are not, by their very nature, best placed to advocate for a new, more just international order and more human. On the other hand, the effort deployed by African leaders in these various areas within States and in the region constitutes the best demonstration of the seriousness of their proposals and their desire to get out of the current rhetoric which poorly simulates a false confrontation with outside forces of reconquest. The problem concerning the emerging forces of the region in the States potentially richer than others, is to know if they will agree to be, with South Africa, instruments of co-optation manipulated by the powers foreign to the against the interests of the African peoples; or even if they will prefer to put their potentialities and resources at the service of the development of the region and join the ranks of the conditions of national liberation in favor of a new international order with more solidarity. By accepting the first term of the alternative, as seems to be the case at present, the leaders of these states assume responsibilities whose consequences are incalculable for the future of the region. Indeed, this policy opens the way to a new adventure for Africa that of the arms race and the militarization of our continent for the benefit of foreign interests. The protection that

some African heads of state desperately seek to stay in power is paid for: in exchange for this protection, they themselves must agree to protect the economic, political and military interests of Westerners. This transformation of certain countries into military bastions for the defense of foreign interests has serious consequences for regional peace, solidarity and security.

This policy not only subjects our region to foreign domination and exposes it to nuclear danger; it also helps to strengthen authoritarian and repressive regimes in our country with no legitimacy other than that conferred by these foreign powers. Moreover, if today in Africa we opt for militarization and the arms race, the debate on the economic and social development of our populations can be considered closed, because we will never be able to have sufficient resources to lead rapid economic and social growth and an arms race. If we were to attempt it, it would be for the benefit of cannon manufacturers and merchants, for the benefit of the reconquest forces. In areas such as peace, disarmament, anti-militarism, justice and equity, to name but a few, Côte d'Ivoire can find allies throughout the world because France and its allies will never want it. Many movements and groups in the Third World and in the industrialized countries are concerned about the proportions assumed by the arms race and the nuclear danger, or even aware of the need for greater control over technical and economic power aware of the need to establish a more humane order, where natural and human resources are used more equitably and in harmony with our environment. Currently, throughout the world, hundreds of thousands of scientists, ecologists, economists, technicians and philosophers are questioning the quality of life, the environment, new sources of energy, more appropriate technology, the diversity of cultures, human rights, new systems of education or housing. These movements are not always small groups, but are sometimes very influential in their respective countries and regions. They often exist in the form of non-governmental organizations and constitute powerful currents in public opinion, which politicians and governments cannot always ignore. These movements, in many of their concerns, make it possible to identify the areas in which African peoples and foreign peoples have common interests or share identical concerns. This is why it is important to deepen and widen this circle of the forces of the movement in order to go beyond the static conception of "development aid" or "technology transfer" and embark on the path of cooperation

for the establishment of anew international order.²³⁷

²³⁷ Ben Yacine Touré, L'Afrique : l'épreuve des indépendances, chapitre VI. Indépendance : du mythe à la réalité pp 37-51

CONCLUSION

This academic study from colonial rule to independence in Côte d'Ivoire is important but sensitive. Among the conflicting information on the subject, it was attempted to reveal the truth from difficult and complex data like digging a well with a needle. For this reason, the desire to discuss the subject has been attempted to be approached in a manner away from colonialist apprehensions and not aggressive and biased expressions of academic scientific research. In the study, different sources and different aspects of the subject were evaluated from different perspectives on the information sought, and the results were comprehensively and thoroughly analyzed. The content of the subject has been analyzed in all its aspects and the study has been concluded. A number of findings emerged from the study, the most important of which are as follows. The study determined that French colonialism entered Côte d'Ivoire in 1637 and showed that France followed various methods when entering the country, including entering into contracts and protection agreements. In response, Ivorian leaders were forced to relinquish their sovereignty and lost their lands. France relied on her to administer her colonies directly through the system of government and took over all functions in the country. Côte d'Ivoire, thus became a French colony on March 10, 1893. Its first governor is Louis Gustave Binger and its first capital is Grand-Bassam. The country integrates into this structure what it calls "French West Africa". The peoples of Côte d'Ivoire organize the resistance but faced with the better armed colonial army, the resistance is defeated. The study pointed out that the Berlin Conference (1884-1885) was one of the colonial foundation which colonialism rested and that its loss was not colonialism. It showed that Côte d'Ivoire and the African peoples were divided without their consent because of the criteria-principles of the Berlin Conference. The study revealed that Ivorians and other Africans were completely excluded and had no power to intervene, neither from afar not from near. For this reason, it has been determined that the challenge by the African colonialist to the existence of its responsibility in the colonizer has no basis and no credibility on a historical scale. In the study, a series of colonial goals and methods used by France to achieve colonialism were revealed. Again, with the study, we tried to determine what the colonialist did in the country with specific motives. In the study, it was revealed that the word colonialism between the description and what is described is a concept that must be considered and studied, then it was

modified by the actions of colonialism and contributed to the colonization of Côte d'Ivoire with Christianization, the Bible and the papal decisions of the Catholic Church. We have seen that the colonizer himself accepted the missionary missions which spread the Christian faith in order to abolish the religion of Islam. The study revealed that the French state allocated a large budget to military expenditure and, like others, declared its willingness to colonize for the benefit of France. He determined that France had formally planned at the state level by the government, people, parliament, and military to achieve its colonial goal. Research revealed that 25 military governors reigned in Côte d'Ivoire from Louis Gustave Binger to Ernest Nattes. The study reveals that their governance is to invade, plunder resources, carry out the process of human trafficking and spread Christianity by eliminating Arabic, which they found rooted in local languages and the language of administration in these countries. Colonial organization and forced labor enabled them to achieve certain colonial goals. Consequently, it was understood that the language of the colonizer was not ultimately the official language of the country but this French language is today the official language of the country because of the colonization and the domination of France over the country, the emergence of the French colonizer was never intended to spread civilization in the country. The beginning of sending explorers to Côte d'Ivoire and Africa, the main purpose was invasion and plunder. The goal of colonialism was to transfer civilization to Africa and Côte d'Ivoire. This situation proves that the colonizer did not go to Africa or Côte d'Ivoire to transfer civilization to the peoples of the Continent. Because the first provisions and decisions did not stipulate it, on the contrary, they expressly expressed control and domination. We can say that the African continent was a victim of the colonialism of European countries after the Berlin Conference. In our opinion, the statements of historian Mohamed Ferid that the intentions of France and European countries in entering Africa were not to transfer civilization to Africa, but to invade, plunder and colonize are words that turned out to be true. Based on scientific research that predicts the exploitation of Africa, it can be said that the goal is really only one: "to occupy, plunder and colonize its resources". The study determined that the process of human trafficking was driven by the colonial power and that there was no distinction between free man and slave, and most local leaders were obliged to do so. To do. Trying to justify the crimes of colonialism and thus camouflage the crimes committed is one of the issues that the Settlers still do not give up. The colonial pillars or foundations

should be re-discussed, with an explanation of the position of the Church and the Christianization of colonial crime. How this information leaves deep traces in the memory of Ivorians. Because many people don't know most of the facts, moreover, Côte d'Ivoire's connection to the history of colonization has not been fully explored. In 1944, General de Gaulle organized a conference in Brazzaville. This conference allows Africans to obtain the abolition of forced labor and marks the starting point for political changes. The French union in 1946, the framework law in 1956 and the French-African community in 1958 are decisive stages in the march of Côte d'Ivoire towards independence. The country obtained its independence on August 7, 1960. This independence could not be wrested like that of Algeria but rather granted. This study shows that in reality the independence of August 07 is only a neocolonial independence. Decolonizing would mean, logically, not only gaining international state sovereignty, but also, for the former colonized, breaking with the principle, economic more than racial. A neocolonial independence supported by so-called cooperation agreements (economic, monetary, military, etc.). Ghanaian President Kwame Nkrumah, an analyst of neocolonialism, spoke of them as “mid-independent” or “apparently independent” states. With capitalism, the new states have generally also retained the practices of colonial administrations during the so-called a posteriori period of transition or education in neocolonialism. Thus, independence is generally neocolonial. Neocolonialism is here political independence, the existence of States recognized internationally as sovereign, but remaining quite dependent on colonial metropolises in particular, on imperialism in general with the possibility of some diversity of the dominant, whether or not in accordance with the intra-imperialist hierarchy through proven mechanisms, especially economic but also cultural. In this year 2020, the situation has not fundamentally changed and the neocolonialism of so-called independence persists, even if the situation is no longer absolutely identical to that of the 1960s. There have been readjustments, restructurings of domination, according to new power relations induced by the neoliberalization of globalization since the 1980s, the collapse of the Cold War "communist bloc", the emergence of new capitalist powers in this new century. In military matters, colonial armies, including the French, left some independent states in the 1960s. Nevertheless, France retains military bases in Côte d'Ivoire. In monetary matters, the former territories of the AEF and the AOF having opted for the Community in 1958 remain attached to the main survivor of the franc zone,

the CFA franc. The demonstration of its neocolonialist nature (beneficial to French capital and its state as well as to the ruling classes of the African states concerned) has been largely revitalized in recent years, in fact, to the euro, the currency of the European Union. The French influence on the choice of partners for Côte d'Ivoire is another. All these realities prevent Côte d'Ivoire from truly developing. The country still looks colony and alienated. We almost believe that we are a country of overseas France. The country never succeeded in freeing itself from the grip of the settler. The settler is omnipresent at each stage, each new step, each new decision. Are we still a colony? We dare to believe not. However, from apolitical, economic, cultural and psychological point of view, we think that we are still very far from having taken our independence. It is time for us to take, or rather to snatch our independence. The questions are swirling around in my mind. Many questions which will undoubtedly remain unanswered: independence, is it systematically rejecting others? Is it accepting others as an ally while keeping the lead in decisions to be made on strategic issues? A question that may perhaps seem insane: which of France and Côte d'Ivoire cannot do without the other? After all, it may be France that cannot do without Côte d'Ivoire, as we can see elsewhere. It's the one who needs us, not the other way around.

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²³⁸ Claude Ribbe, « *Le général Dumas* » né esclave, rival de Bonaparte et père d'Alexandre Dumas, édition 06 mai 2021

APPENDIX



Picture 1. First president Félix Houphouët Boigny (18 October 1905-7 December 1993) in Côte d'Ivoire (<https://www.facebook.com/fondationfhb/posts/5166664366721419/>)



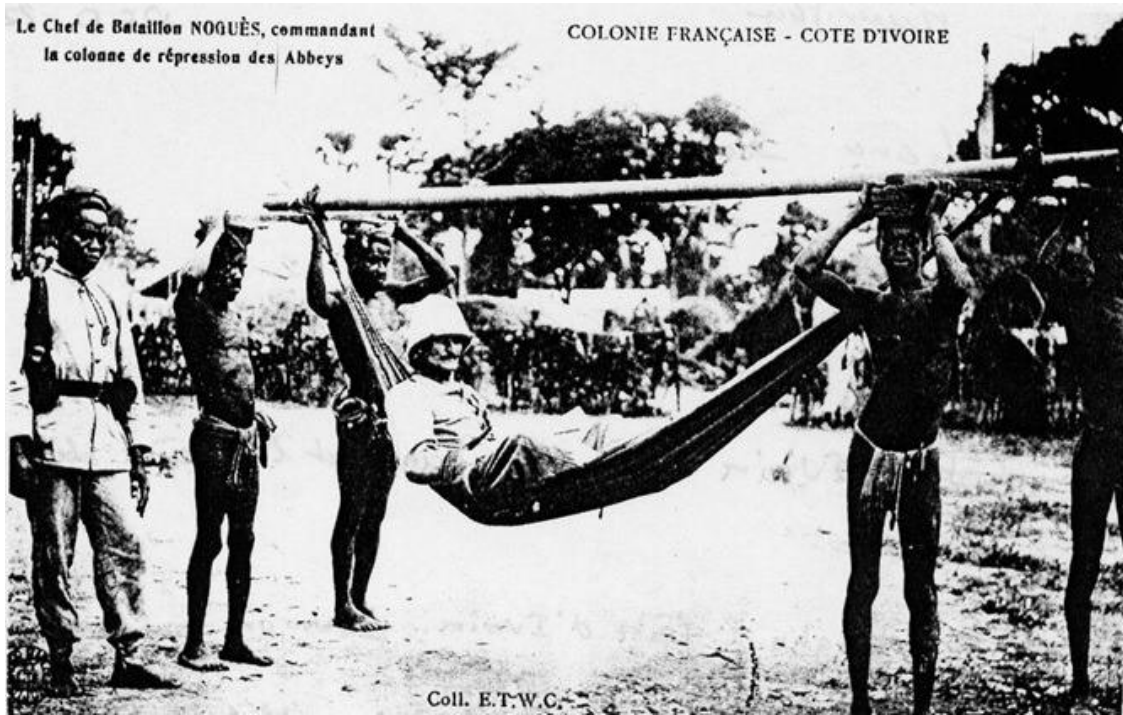
Picture 2. Flag of Côte d'Ivoire (<https://www.monsieur-des-drapeaux.com/cote-divoire.html>)



Picture 3. Map of Côte d'Ivoire.(<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-13287216>)



Picture 4. Louis GUSTAVE Binger , General Governor of France's Côte d'Ivoire
(14 October 1856-10 November 1936)
(https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Louis-Gustave_Binger)



Picture 5 : The atrocity of the French commander to the Ivory people (<https://www.facebook.com/AndreSilverKonanOfficiel/photos/a.1937633096309718/3976768815729459/?type=3>)

CURRICULUM VITAE

Aboubakar Sidik SANOGO was born in Côte d'Ivoire, married and father of two children. He obtained his baccalaureate at Lycée Moderne 1 in Grand-Bassam at the start of the 2012-2013 academic year. First colonial city and capital of Côte d'Ivoire.

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He speaks Turkish, French, English, reads Arabic well and speaks Dioula, the local language in Côte d'Ivoire.