

74/2015

14th July 2015

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THE IMPORTANT ROLE OF THE  
POPULATION IN THE REVOLUTION  
OF BURKINA FASO

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## THE IMPORTANT ROLE OF THE POPULATION IN THE REVOLUTION OF BURKINA FASO

### *Abstract:*

*Burkina Faso history highlights due to the active participation of its population, and a high capacity of reaction upon social inequalities. Throughout history, a pattern could be identified, also very common in neighbor countries, in which different individuals rule ascending by coup d'états, and where the army plays an important role. The last example where this social force has been shown, has been the Campore government overthrown which has been characterized by its extensive duration and corruption.*

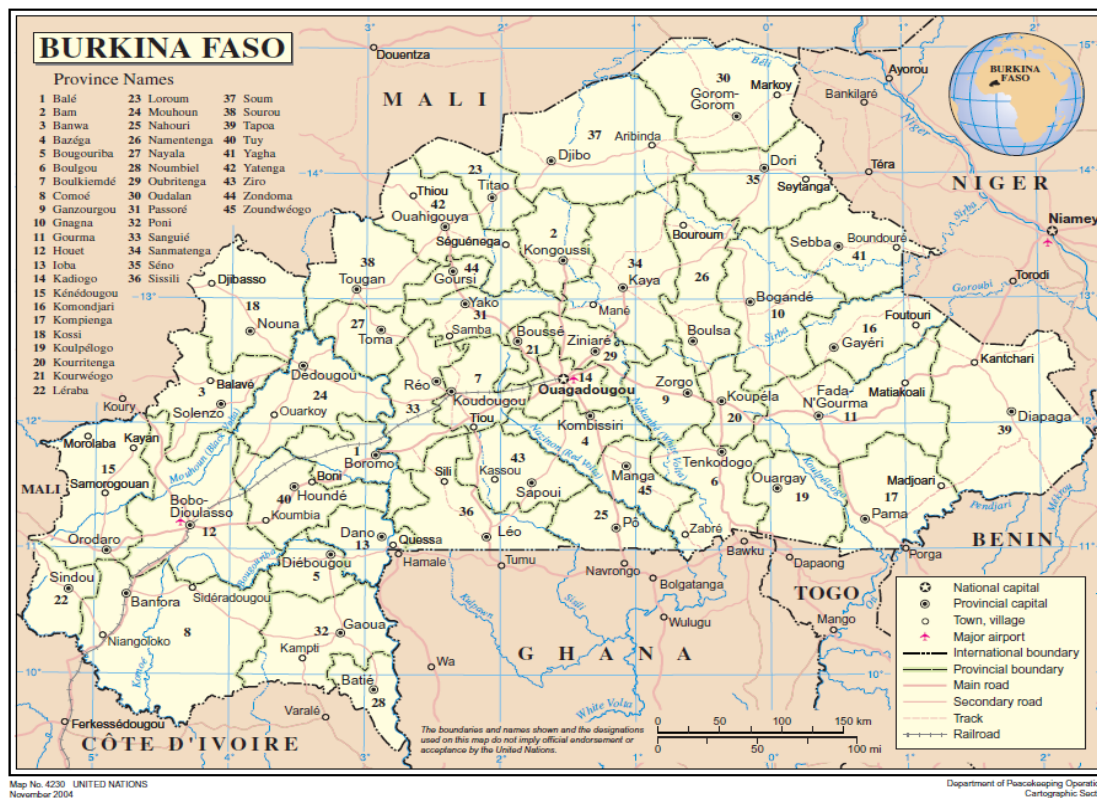
### *Keywords:*

*Burkina Faso, Blaise Camporé.*

**\*NOTE:** The IEEE and the Spanish Minister of Defence shall not be responsible for the ideas contained in these **Position Papers**, which may not reflect their opinions.

## INTRODUCTION

Among the different states placed in the Sub-Saharan Africa, it is found Burkina Faso, previously known as Alto Volta until 1984<sup>1</sup>, with Ouagadougou as capital city, centrally disposed on the map. In such geographic region, this nation of 274.500km<sup>2</sup> transforms into



an area completely exposed to influences of diverse natures that come from each one of its frontiers, such as social movements, acceptance or reject to the west, or even vulnerability to terrorism.

A clear example of the mentioned vulnerability is mainly the boundary with Mali, which has been converted into a highlighted kidnapping zone by Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) as well as by the Movement for Unity and Jihad in Western Africa<sup>2</sup>. However, the risk of the threat has descended from “high to elevated”, as it is argued in Jane’s Security

<sup>1</sup> August 1st, 1984 under Thomas Sankara’s government, the name of the country was changed to Burkina Faso which translated into ‘Honest men nation’ in Mossi, one of the two official languages of the state.

<sup>2</sup> IHS Jane's Sentinel Security Assessment, *West Africa; Security Burkina Faso*, 1

Assessment<sup>3</sup>, due to the difficulty of the establishment of a permanent base in the area, the lack of a local solid network and the lack of sympathizers within the population.

Burkina Faso shows high levels of inequality and poverty. It is classified as a partial democracy by Freedom House<sup>4</sup>, and its corruption level is placed as 83 out of 174 –being 1 the lowest- in the ‘International Global Corruption Index and Barometer’<sup>5</sup>. Due to this, there is no doubt of the general distrust, inside and outside the country, towards their leaders. Moreover, in education, the level is under the world’s average since 72%<sup>6</sup> of the citizens live in rural areas with no schools.

This situation provokes several difficulties to obtain a minimum formation, which amounts among other impediments the poor healthcare administration that does not allow a proper treatment of sickness and does not help to stop health endemic problems. This has terrible consequences, like for example, in 2012 the Burkinabe healthy life expectancy in both sexes was eight years under the global average<sup>7</sup>, or Malaria as the major cause of death children aged less than 5 years old.

In economic terms and comparing with the rest of the countries, it is clear that the average income of a Burkinabe is 670\$, which stands under the average of someone that lives in a sub-Saharan country, which is 1670\$<sup>8</sup>. In addition, apart from a visible lower salary from its neighbor countries, Burkina Faso is considered the fourth country among the countries with higher unemployment at the global level, with a high percentage of the 77%<sup>9</sup>.

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<sup>3</sup> Ibídem, 1

<sup>4</sup> Freedom House, *Burkina Faso*, available in <https://freedomhouse.org/country/burkina-faso> . Accessed on 22.04.2015

<sup>5</sup> The Guardian, *Transparency International World Corruption Index and Barometer, 2012*, available in <http://www.theguardian.com/news/datablog/2012/dec/05/corruption-index-2012-transparency-international> . Accessed on 14.04.2015

<sup>6</sup> World Health Organization, *Burkina Faso WHO Statistical Profile, 2012*, available in <http://www.who.int/gho/countries/bfa.pdf?ua=1> . Accessed on 20.04.2015

<sup>7</sup> Ibídem

<sup>8</sup> World Bank Organization, *World Development Indicators Burkina Faso*, available in <http://data.worldbank.org/country/burkina-faso> . Accessed on 20.04.2015

<sup>9</sup> Ibídem

Taking into account all these data, an increasing social discontent would be logical, but however, not all countries from the Sub-Saharan Africa see possible a revolution or a simple popular answer to introduce changes. Concretely, in Burkina Faso, despite its active population, there is a long way until achieving a better economy, a positive growth in employment, and the easy access to basic social services like education and healthcare. This is why, the international cooperation in this field is being crucial. An example is the UNESCO program “Empowerment of women living in extreme poverty”, from which eighteen thousand Burkinabe women have benefited since its creation<sup>10</sup>.

Lastly, about their religions, the majority of the inhabitants are animists, and the reminding percentage divides into 30% Muslim and 10% roman catholic Christians. It is important to underline, that despite the variety of believing, in any of the conflicts that have happened in the government transitions, religion has been involved.

### **HISTORIC PATRON, PREVIOUS REVOLTS AND RESULTS**

As a common image, the African countries’ population is sometimes associated to submission upon their leaders. This conception could be due to the inculcation of the tribal heritage of their forefathers, where hierarchy and respect are some of their basic pillars, or event because of their past history as a French colony.

Although this general idea, probably distorted, –since out of the 54 African countries, many have multiparty systems and do periodic elections–, Burkina Faso comprises a highly fighter civil society which has shown throughout time to be a powerful source to generate changes. It is proven by the numerous government transitions, which have been normally characterized by the social claim of different sector of the population including students or

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<sup>10</sup> UNESCO, “Educación: Premios Internacionales de Alfabetización 2014”, available in <http://www.unesco.org/new/es/education/themes/education-building-blocks/literacy/literacy-prizes/>. Accessed on 4.04.2015

labor unions. The forces combined and the noise on the streets translated into a favorable situation for coup d'états, normally done by the army.

The evolution as well as the way in which these transitions have been developing through the history of the Burkinabe country, leads to the identification of a constant pattern that repeats from the 60s to nowadays. In order to understand such repetition, it is necessary to be placed within the historic context. By that, it would be easier to analytically check the role of the population on each situation to finally proof its relevance inside these government changes. The last clear example took place at the end of 2014 with the revolts to topple the government of President Blaise Campore, which were even retransmitted by social networks like Twitter<sup>11</sup>. This last intervention of the people was striking due to its peaceful nature and the quickness in achieving their goal.

Burkina Faso, by the time known as Alto Volta, was a French colony until its independence in August 5<sup>th</sup>, 1960 under the presidency of Maurice Yameogo. After him, there have been a reduced number of presidents<sup>12</sup> if we take into account that from Yameogo to Campore it has been 48 years and Campore has been 27 in the power. Once the independence took place, Yameogo, leader of the independent movement, placed himself as the head of the state. He held in power for six years, until its presidency was interrupted in 1966 due to massive demonstrations followed by student strikes, along with labor union protest, claiming the government mismanagement and poor administration<sup>13</sup>.

This concrete event could be the first example of the pressure exercised by the society in convulse moments, which is translated into a big instability pushing forward the state security forces to work along to topple the president. General Sangoule Lamizana, member

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<sup>11</sup> BAJO Carlos, "Burkina Faso, la "revolucion" fue twiteada", El Pais, (3.11.14), available in [http://elpais.com/elpais/2014/11/03/planeta\\_futuro/1415017456\\_165475.html](http://elpais.com/elpais/2014/11/03/planeta_futuro/1415017456_165475.html) . Accessed on 19.04.15

<sup>12</sup> Lt. Col Sangoule Lamizana (1966-70), Gerard Ouedraogo (1970-74), Lt. Col Sangoule Lamizana (1974-80), Saye Zerbo (1980-82), Jean Baptiste Ouedraogo (1982-83), Thomas Sankara (1983- 87), Blasie Campore (1987-2014)

<sup>13</sup> TAYLOR and Francis, *The Europa World Year Book 2004 45<sup>th</sup> Edition, Volume 1 International Organizations Afghanistan-Jordan*, Europa Publications, 2004, 929.

of the previous Alto Volta army, placed himself in power and under his mandate, a new authoritarian period began in 1970. This stage was followed by a promulgation of a new constitution and the announcement of a supposed transition into a civil government. Afterwards, Gerard Ouedragogo was democratically elected Prime Minister; however, he never managed to exercise power due to the impairments disposed by Lamizana.

Even though Sangoule was reelected in the following elections in 1978, the social situation of the state was still unstable<sup>14</sup>. In that moment, the social unrest and the popular discontent added notably, leading, two years later, to the destitution of Lamizana by Saye Zerbo through a coup d'état. Once again, the military action was preceded by social revolts, creating a mixed government composed by civilians and the army. Such change was based on the supposedly needed measures like repealing the right to strike under the pretext of bringing order to the country. Nevertheless, rather than reassure the population, it made appear their disillusionment<sup>15</sup>.

The labor agitation increased and in the middle of such instability, Jean Baptiste Ouedragogo –Gerard Ouefraogo's grandson– took Burkina Faso's leadership after another coup d'état. He only lasted in power a short period of 9 months being substituted by Thomas Sankara in August 4<sup>th</sup>, 1983, the one that changed the name of Burkina Faso to Alto Volta. Sankara assumed the role of president after a new coup d'état supported by the majority of the citizens that considered necessary an imminent change on their country. It was organized by his college Blaise Campore, and leaded by young officials like Henri Zongo and Jean-Baptiste Boukary Lingani, which belonged to the 'Aggrupation of Communist Officials'<sup>16</sup>.

Summarizing, the period of time developed since the country became independent from France, highlights the strong rejection of the population to concrete unfair leader's actions. This has always turned out into protests that ended up in a great internal instability. Finally,

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<sup>14</sup> TENAILLE Frank, *Las 56 Áfricas: guía política*, Paris, Siglo 21 Editores, 1981, pag. 43.

<sup>15</sup> Hemeroteca ABC España , "Se mantiene el toque de queda en Alto Volta, 1982" , available in <http://hemeroteca.abc.es/nav/Navigate.exe/hemeroteca/madrid/abc/1982/11/09/032.html> . Accessed on 11.03.2015

<sup>16</sup> In French "Regroupement des Officiers Communistes" (ROC)

such instability led to confrontation in which normally, under the pretext of bringing a positive change, individuals belonging to the army usurp the power.

## **BLAISE CAMPORE 27 YEARS PRESIDENCY**

### **His mandate and popular reactions until 2013**

It is such a paradox that Thomas Sankara arrived to power thanks to Blaise Campore's help – who was placed as State Minister– when it was Campore himself who carried out the following coup d'état in 1987, supposedly even killing Sankara. This fact was categorized as an accident and nowadays, his death is still under investigation<sup>17</sup>. The new transit of government was not supported by the population as it had happened other times, instead, was a minority decision carried out by Campore while holding one of the highest ranges of the army.

Due to Sankara's administration and politics, characterized as nationalist along with his strong rejection to the majority of international relations with other countries, especially with France –colonial power of the state–, Campore decided to intervene. He was supported by the French forces, and despite the improvements that Sankara brought to the nation and the positive internal evolution that its population reached, part of the people embraced the change. However, as time has been passing by, Sankara is considered the best leader inside Burkina Faso's History and remembered by most of the Burkinabe like an excellent head of state that contributed to important advances.

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<sup>17</sup> UN April 21st, 2008: The HR Commission of the UN dictated its decision about the petition of Mariam Sankara and her sons against the state of Burkina Faso due to the murder of his husband Thomas Sankara stating that the state's domestic remedies were satisfactory and they had no intention of a further examination.

Elena Mtz-Esparza Ordóñez

Once in power, Campore began several democratic reforms, and sometime later, promulgated a new constitution in 1991, which was approved by a referendum. That same year, as it happened in previous elections, his party was reelected –Congress for Democracy and Progress– by absolute majority with him as a president due to a lack of opposition. In November 1998, he won again his second mandate in 7 years against two other candidates, but his triumph was minimized by the protests held due to the murder of Norbert Zongo<sup>18</sup> who worked for a national newspaper. A couple of weeks before, the journalist from *‘L’indépendant’* denounced the suspicious death of Campore’s brother driver, in hands of state security forces.



The popular discontent increased, raised by the succession of negative events. Firstly, one of the answers caused by the decadence of the state, despite the president’s efforts to maintain the calm, was the demonstration of thirty thousand people claiming justice, what translated into the conviction of four of the six guards that were related to Zongo’s murder. Moreover, in 2000, Burkina Faso presided by Campore, was under United Nation’s accusation.<sup>19</sup> Such accusation acknowledged the country as partner and active participant as intermediary in the soviet bloc arms traffic among rebel groups like RUF in Sierra Leona and UNITA in Angola. Such crime was a violation of the international arm traffic embargo, which was added to another accusation of diamond traffic since the precious stones were the compensation method.

Picturing this scenario, the state kept suffering from different violent facts and Campore decided to take peaceful measures. An example was the settlement in 2001 of the National

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<sup>18</sup> ZOURE Abdou, “15 ans de l’assassinat du journaliste Norbert Zongo: Dépôt de Gerbes au Cimetière de Gounghin ce vendredi matin”, (13.12.13), available in <http://burkina24.com/2013/12/13/15-ans-de-lassassinat-du-journaliste-norbert-zongo-depot-de-gerbes-au-cimetiere-de-gounghin-ce-vendredi-matin/> Accessed on 21.04.15

<sup>19</sup> United Nations Mission in Sierra Leona, 2009, available in <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/past/unamsil/index.html> . Accessed on 21.04.15



Forgiving Day.<sup>20</sup> These type of measures were not welcomed by the population and it was in 2004 when they tried to carry out a coup d'état as a proof of their total disgust with the situation, even though in 2005 Campore resulted reelected. By then, apart from the bad economic situation characterized by hunger in most of the Burkinabe families, their quality of life kept decreasing under his mandate.

In 2001, the government of Burkina Faso did not enjoy of any resident support, whose claims showed the desire of a big change in a completely active way. It is from that moment when the events turned out more revolutionary. Some might say that Justin Zongo's death<sup>21</sup> was the sparkle of the fire, a young Burkinabe who died in police's hands. At the same time, the security forces themselves complained for the lack of payments, along with the population which was unable to pay the prizes of first necessity products.

The violence increased once again, and the demonstrations and protests led to looting and to the burning of the Prime Minister house in Koudougou, act carried out by students. The social displeasure rose, and it was added to the new reelection in 2011 of Blaise Campore, reason of another revolt that asked for its definitive destitution. This period of time was characterized by riots like the one in Bobo Dioulasso<sup>22</sup>, which ended up with seven casualties. The tragedy, instead of silence the student voices, rose them high followed by the burning of tires to support better conditions for Uagadugu teachers.

Due to the hardship of the situation, Campore tried to react to calm the protest and to win some sympathizers lowering taxes and reducing the prizes of basic products. These acts were followed by the instauration of a new constitution which would enter into force by mid-2012. The year 2013 develops without many incidents, until in December 12<sup>th</sup>; Campore

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<sup>20</sup> Journee Nationale de Pardon, *Rappel Historique*, 2004, available in <http://www.pardon.bf/php/raphisto.php> . Accessed on 21.04.2015

<sup>21</sup> DIABATE Abdoul Hadi, "Affaire Justin Zongo, les coulisses du procès", Burkina24, (25.08.11), available in <http://burkina24.com/2011/08/25/affaire-justin-zongo-les-coulisses-du-proces/> . Accessed on 21.04.2015

<sup>22</sup> EFE, Soldados amotinados y tropas del Gobierno se enfrentan en Burkina Faso, *El Mundo* (03.06.2011) , available in <http://www.elmundo.es/elmundo/2011/06/03/internacional/1307112225.html> Accessed on 28.05.15

shows its future intentions of organizing a referendum in order to change the constitution on his favor.

### **2014: The final uprising and transition**

By mid-2014, Campore made official the new amendments that were going to be added to the constitution with the purpose of extending its mandate<sup>23</sup>, concretely to article 37. He possibly took such decision when he realized that the 2015 elections could be the end of his regime, taking into account that he had no longer most of the population's support.

On Tuesday 27<sup>th</sup> October 2014, the people played their role once again in Burkina Faso's History<sup>24</sup>, participating in a massive demonstration organized by the opposition. The same Friday 30<sup>th</sup>, the law project was going to be voted in the Parliament<sup>25</sup> and everyone did not hesitate in showing and sharing their disagreement not only on the streets, but also through social media<sup>26</sup>. Thousands of twits denouncing the facts happening on their country were extended to the entire world, increasing the protests in the capital and spreading all over the territory.

Among the big groups of people that occupied the streets and complained about the president and his reforms, Zephirin Diabre, leader of the opposition argued; « We will not leave the streets until the president announces his abdication. The previous condition to any dispute related to any politic transition here, is the simple and without conditions departure of Mr. Campore»<sup>27</sup>. If this type of declaration was not sufficient, the fall of statues, the

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<sup>23</sup> YARGA Justin, Modification de l'article 37: Le Project de loi soumis au vote le 30 de Octobre", Burkina24 (22.10.14), available in <http://burkina24.com/2014/10/22/modification-de-l'article-37-le-texte-du-projet-de-loi/>. Accessed on 24.04.2015

<sup>24</sup> MOLANO Eduardo, "¿Por qué reina el caos en Burkina Faso?", El Mundo (31.10.2014), available in <http://www.abc.es/internacional/20141031/abci-burkina-201410302009.html> . Accessed on 14.04.2015

<sup>25</sup> YARGA Justin, "Modification de l'article 37: Le Project de loi soumis au vote le 30 de Octobre", op.cit

<sup>26</sup> 'Burkina Faso, la "revolucion" fue twiteada', El Pais, op.cit

<sup>27</sup> NARANJO José, "El presidente de Burkina Faso dimite acorralado por una revuelta popular" El Pais (31.10.2014), available in [http://internacional.elpais.com/internacional/2014/10/31/actualidad/1414749219\\_351135.html](http://internacional.elpais.com/internacional/2014/10/31/actualidad/1414749219_351135.html) . Accessed on 23.03.2015

looting of the parliament and the public television occupation were added to claim for a government change.

While the social unrest took place, around 30 people lost their lives, even though that the exact number is still not confirmed by official sources. Moreover, as it was mentioned before, Twitter<sup>28</sup> played an important role during the development of the demonstration – via @Burkina24–. In less than 48 hours, Campore was no longer in power after having held 27 years of office. He escaped to Ghana underlining once again, the power of the Burkinabe population.

When the confrontations were over, on the one hand, General Honore Traore, proclaimed himself as the new president, despite that the change was not received with much enthusiasm due to the close relation that he had with the previous leader.<sup>29</sup> At the same time, on the other hand, another member of the army known as Yacoube Isaac Zida –in charge of the old Republican Guard in the past– announced that the constitution was annulled. Since this action was in the name of the army as well but without any link to Traore, it created even more confusion. The internal conflict was solved once the army on its totality unanimously supported Zida's actions, choosing him as the head of transition.<sup>30</sup>

Therefore, on November 15<sup>th</sup> 2015, the different political authorities agreed on what was called "The Transition Charter"<sup>31</sup> expecting to establish democracy in the country through presidential elections in November 2015. Furthermore, in the meantime, it also stated the

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<sup>28</sup> "Burkina Faso, la "revolucion" fue twiteada", El Pais, op.cit

<sup>29</sup> FERNANDEZ DE CASTRO, Xavier "El ejército respalda a Zida como nuevo líder de Burkina Faso", El Mundo (01.11.14), available in <http://www.elmundo.es/internacional/2014/11/01/5454c591268e3e7f4d8b456f.html>. Accessed on 23.04.2015

<sup>30</sup> Oficina de Información Diplomática, "Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, ficha país Burkina Faso", Diciembre 2014, available in [http://www.exteriores.gob.es/Documents/FichasPais/BURKINAFASO\\_FICHA%20PAIS.pdf](http://www.exteriores.gob.es/Documents/FichasPais/BURKINAFASO_FICHA%20PAIS.pdf). Accessed on 21.04.2015

<sup>31</sup> Naciones Unidas, "Ban Ki-moon saluda adopción de Carta de Transición en Burkina Faso", (14.11.15), available in <http://www.un.org/spanish/News/story.asp?NewsID=30992#.VTfNvCHtmko>. Accessed on 22.04.2015

necessity of choosing a provisional civil candidate for the Republic, who finally was Michel Kafando, designated on November 17<sup>th</sup>, 2014.

Kafando, retired diplomatic and proposed by the army, was chosen among four other candidates who included two journalists and one academic<sup>32</sup>. Nevertheless, the young citizens who had contributed to the government transition were not so excited about his presidency, since most of them supported Josephine Ouedraogo who was part of the famous Sankara government. Two days later, Kafando decided to name Zida as Prime Minister, creating a state of alert among the population<sup>33</sup>, which is waiting for the elections that will take place on October 15<sup>th</sup>, 2015. With the arrival of that day, the totality of the Burkinabe society expects to democratically choose their next leader, hoping for a new beginning for their nation after these 27 years under Campore's regime.

### External Agents

In general terms, Burkina Faso's international relations are oriented to foment the development of the country. Among the list of states that facilitate such development, we can find France, Germany, Denmark, The Netherlands, Sweden, Switzerland, Canada and United States<sup>34</sup>. Besides, the state also considers important the mutual cooperation with international organizations like European Union or United Nations. Lastly, related to economics, the nation maintains good interactions with Ivory Coast and China, their main client<sup>35</sup>.

Ivory Coast and Burkina Faso hold strong ties of culture and ethnics, taking into account that there are 3 million of Burkinabe living there<sup>36</sup>. Their relations went downhill when Burkina was under the accusation of helping the rebels on their country that initiated the war and

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<sup>32</sup> KONKOBO Lamine, "Burkina Faso declares Michel Kafando interim president", BBC Afrique (17.11.14)

Available in <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-30076907>. Accessed on 25.04.2015

<sup>33</sup> 'Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, ficha país Burkina Faso', op.cit.

<sup>34</sup> Ibidem

<sup>35</sup> Ibidem

<sup>36</sup> Ibidem

the following division of the state in 2002<sup>37</sup>. Nevertheless, Campore was a key factor in the mediation between the insurgents and the government achieving a political agreement. As a consequence there was a reinforcement of their ties proven after the revolts in Burkina Faso, when Ivory Coast offered political asylum to the ex-president for a few weeks<sup>38</sup>.

As it is clear, in the past of this Sub-Saharan nation, France has played an important role, from acting as a colonial power, to accepting its independence and being present on their continuous government changes. In fact, related to these transitions, the role of France was crucial in the transition from Sankara to Campore, due to the support that Campore received.

In the case of United States, their relations were harmed while the Sierra Leona and Liberia conflict took place<sup>39</sup>, delaying the inclusion of Burkina Faso into AGOA<sup>40</sup> program. However, in 2004, once the ties between Libya and USA improved, Burkina achieved to become part of such initiative. It is also important to underline, that the existence of the threat posed by Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) and the coordination to face them improved as well the relation between the two countries<sup>41</sup>.

Based on the last coup d'état and the transit military government, Jen Psaki, the United States' state speaker declared; *"We condemn any attempts by the military or other parties to take advantage of the situation for unconstitutional gain and call on all parties to respect the people's support for the democratic process"*<sup>42</sup> along with *"we ask to the army to immediately transfer the power to the civil authorities"*<sup>43</sup>, leaving no doubt of their opinion about this event, supporting a civil authority to stay in power.

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<sup>37</sup> Ibidem

<sup>38</sup> Ibidem

<sup>39</sup> ' Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, ficha país Burkina Faso', op.cit.

<sup>40</sup> African Growth and Opportunity Act: American initiative to foment the African exports

<sup>41</sup> "Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, ficha país Burkina Faso", op.cit.

<sup>42</sup> EFE "Estados Unidos pide al Ejército de Burkina Faso que ceda el poder a la autoridad civil", El Mundo, (02.11.2014), available in

<http://www.elmundo.es/internacional/2014/11/02/5455a844e2704e951e8b456f.html>. Accessed on 21.04.2015

<sup>43</sup> Ibidem

In Campore's external relations agenda, there was highlighted the sub-regional West African political activity, and its presidency in the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)<sup>44</sup>. Apart from a mediator in the Ivory Coast conflict, he played a major role in other crisis that took place in Togo, Guinea and Mali, being considered an important element in the resolution of conflicts in this area.

Nowadays, the change of Burkina Faso's government has not had a strong repercussion in western international relations, since it is not crucial politically or economically. On the other hand, the sub-Saharan region it is not highly affected by the government transition if the foreign policies and external commerce are friendly and actively maintained. The neighbor states would be affected in the case of a return of a kind of government like the one Sankara established years ago, which was focused on nationalist development and even brought most of the external relations to an end.

## CONCLUSION

The analysis of the country's History invites us to affirm the transcendent role of its population, which has shown its active participation in all of the regime transitions, always unanimously acting when it comes to claiming and fighting in order to obtain a politic change when it was necessary. Without any doubt, it has had a notably importance and at the same time, it would be convenient to mention that the success is also the combination of the fight along with the support found in the army.

It is difficult to know if such support was based on politic interests –due to the fact that normally a military figure occupied the power, firstly in a provisional way to finally stay undefined– , or if it was due to the shared sentiment of disconformity with the social situation of the country. This has been a constant pattern in the History of Burkina Faso, and this last revolution seems to happen in the same as it has been happening in previous years.

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<sup>44</sup> Ibidem

Nowadays the Burkinabe population, young citizens above all, which were the protagonists of the demonstrations that took place in October, are not completely satisfied with the situation, since as mentioned before, they declare themselves in state of alert until the elections. This situation is logic if we remember that both Kafando and Zida have in common a tangible proximity to Campore's regime.

In addition, Kafando was designated because the international community threatened with hard sanctions to the military forces if they did not facilitated the power to a civilian, since the security forces had occupied the vacuum that Campore had left. Such fact along with Zida assuming power as the Prime Minister –what allowed him to act on the front line–, has not transmitted any progressive feeling. In fact, the population is suspicious about them and is believed that as an old Campore's follower, he keeps working under the old structure and that in other words; the state is still managed by the same administration as before<sup>45</sup>.

Despite the delicate situation, the Burkinabe expect November 2015 elections with optimism and if such elections are really democratic, a president is chosen by the citizens and such president complies with its electoral program and the expectations of the population, the country may find its path to order and politic stability.

On the contrary, if the elections are somehow illegally rigged or undefinably postponed it would imply that the power would stay in hand of the army. In this case, we will probably find a politic situation with the same tendency of the previous years that will surely end up in a new popular revolution.

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<sup>45</sup> PARELLADA Gemma, "Burkina la revolución en cuarentena", (21.11.14), available in [http://internacional.elpais.com/internacional/2014/11/21/actualidad/1416597932\\_378451.html](http://internacional.elpais.com/internacional/2014/11/21/actualidad/1416597932_378451.html). Accessed on 21.04.2015

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