ROLE OF FOREIGN ACTORS IN ETHNO-POLITICAL CONFLICT: CASE OF THE REPUBLIC OF CENTRAL AFRICA

MA Thesis

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T.C.

ISTANBUL COMMERCE UNIVERSITY GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE DEPARTMENT OF AFRICAN STUDIES AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

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ABSTRACT

The Central African Republic is an extremely impoverished country that has seen little development since its independence from France in 1960. It is ranked 180 out of 186 countries on the U.N. Human Development Index (report 2016) and is in the Fund for Peace’s top 10 failed states, next to Haiti and Afghanistan. The latest surge of violence in the country began when the Seleka rebels captured power in March 2013. They were responsible for mass killings, sexual violence, and looting. This study critically analyses the factors that led to the conflict and the role that played by the foreign actors in this conflict. Thus, there are four elements that caused the conflict in the C.A. R including exclusion, repression, competition over resources and foreign involvement. This study emphasizes on the repression combined with exclusion policies adopted by the Bozize and the precedent regimes as a trigiring factor to the outbreak of violence in CAR. However, the most important reason is the economic factor which is the struggle for power and resources among political elites and rebels groups. Because the empirical evidence showed that there was a deep economic crisis behind the conflict caused by the withdrawal of foreign investors from the country and the deterioration of the Commercial crops such as cotton, coffee as well as the deterioration of the as well as the decline of the exploitation of forest income.

Key words:

Ethno-political conflict, competition over resources, Seleka, Anti-balaka, Francois Bozize, Michel Djotodia.
ÖZET


Anahtar kelimeler: Etno-politik çatışma, kaynaklar üzerinde rekabet, Seleka, Anti-balaka , Francois Bozize , Michel Djotodia.
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ABBREVIATIONS

C.A.R -- Central Africa Republic
G.D.P --Gross Domestic Product
UNDI --United Nation Development Index
MESAN --Movement for Social Development of Black Africa
WB -- World Bank
UNHCR -- United Nations High Commissionaires for Refugees
IMF -- International Monetary Fund
FCA -- Financial Community of Africa
FACCA -- National Army of Republic of Central Africa
UNDP -- United Nation Development Project
GCR -- Global Center for Responsibility
AU -- African Union
EU -- European Union
ADB -- African Development Bank
NGOS -- Non-Governmental Organization
MISCA -- The international Mission to Maintain Peace in Central African Republic
ECCAS -- The Economic Community of Central African States
CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

The Central African Republic is an extremely impoverished country that has seen little development since its independence from France in 1960. It is ranked 180 out of 186 countries on the U.N. Human Development Index (report 2016) and is in the Fund for Peace’s top 10 failed states, next to Haiti and Afghanistan. The latest surge of violence in the country began when the Seleka rebels captured power in March 2013. They were responsible for mass killings, sexual violence, and looting. Left largely without national or international protection, local civilians rose against the Seleka and formed self-defense groups, some of which have coalesced into the Anti-Balaka militias. Similar groups formed during the 1990s to protect the population from armed robbers and rebels. Moreover, the soldiers from the former army, which had been dissolved when the Seleka captured power, quickly joined the Anti-Balaka fighters. The Anti-Balaka group professionalized, acquired powerful arms, and attacked Bangui in December 2013, weakening the Seleka, who largely left the capital in January. However, the Central African Republic has a relatively young history, as many of the groups living in the country at present did not arrive to settle there until the middle of the 18th century, most of them moving into the area from the south and the west. Similar to the situation in the south of what later became Chad, people living in the region, back then called Obangui after the river, were not organized much politically and were frequently the victims of slave raids by the surrounding sultanates. At the end of the 19th century the Europeans arrived in the region, dividing it among themselves on the drawing-board at the Conference of Berlin. France’s interest in the region was in particular based on its plans to expand its colonies all the way to the eastern coast of Africa. After this strategy was thwarted by the British, the newly won colony quickly receded in importance. Instead of investing its own resources in the development of the country, France awarded generous
concessions to private enterprises, which for their part exploited the population with exceedingly brutal methods. The ensuing colonial history of the Central African Republic mirrors in part that of Chad. The establishment of a public administration was not even more confined to the capital city here, which meant that there was scarcely any need for qualified indigenous staff nor thus, as a consequence, do any reason to build schools. The minuscule elite in the colony was for the most part educated in Christian missionary schools. It is scarcely surprising, then, that the first Catholic priest in the colony, Barthelemy Buganda, was also the initiator of the first political party. Founded in 1949, the ‘’Movement pour l’Évolution Sociale de l’Afrique Noire’’ (MESAN), whose declared goal was independence, enjoyed the undisputed domination of the political arena into the 1960s. To begin with, Buganda represented the colony in the French National Assembly and was later appointed as the first prime minister of the Central African Republic in 1958. He died a few months later in a plane crash, however, before the colony officially attained independence in August 1960. In addition, to provide a better understanding of the factors underlying these current ethnic conflict crises by exploring their historical development and their specific dynamics. This attention is devoted to the Central African Republic, whose role in the region has to date been given too little attention in the international, debate. On this basis, the genesis of a new, complex conflict system is then described in which the conflicts, which originally developed separately, have today become closely intertwined.

1.2 Statement of Research Problem

Other countries have pursued political and economic interests that have exacerbated violence in Central African Republic (CAR) and destabilized the country. Neighboring Chad have particularly provided support to the Seleka with the goal of installing a cooperative government that could help protect Chadian oil interests and prevent CAR from becoming a safe haven for rebels that could potentially destabilize the two countries. The Chadian and French governments, which also sent soldiers to C.A.R, did not intervene to save President Bozize, as they had done previously in his decade-long rule. They helped him to capture power in 2003 but gradually withdrew support when he favored South Africa and China for trade and military cooperation arrangements. Bozizé’s shift, and that
of France and Chad, helped enable Seleka forces to capture power. However, is France and Chad a key regional superpower closely monitor events in C.A.R.? Currently, both governments pursue common interests in C.A.R. and seek a loyal partner to serve their security and natural resource interests. France has maintained a stronghold on developments in the country since its independence. The French government has also made considerable investments through the state-owned company Area, which has a uranium plant near the village of Bakouma in eastern CAR. Some diplomats in Bangui argue that France is in CAR to protect its long-term access to natural resources such as oil, uranium, timber, and minerals. Others, however, stress that French policy toward Central Africa is currently driven more by humanitarian motives and international pressure to help protect civilians. Chad’s role and interests in CAR have also drawn scrutiny. The Chadian government, led by President Idriss Déby, seeks to prevent rebel attacks from CAR, similar to those that erupted in 2006 when a rebel convoy drove 600 miles through CAR from its base in Sudan before attacking N’Djamena. Chad is a key military partner for France, and the governments have cooperated militarily, finding mutual interests within CAR and beyond fighting Tuareg rebels in Mali together, for example. In CAR, Chad and France both backed President Bozizé’s bid for power in 2003, and Bozizé was a trusted ally to both countries for a decade. French Special Forces and attack helicopters provided crucial support for Bozizé against rebel attacks on Bangui in 2006, and French fighter jets defended the northern town of Birao from rebel attacks that same year 1996 some of these rebels later formed the Séléka. President Bozizé’s relationship with Chad and France soured when he increasingly began to favor South Africa and China in natural resource trade and security arrangements. The U.S. Embassy in Bangui is important to support U.S. Special Representative Symington’s peace-making efforts, monitor the drivers of violence, and communicate early warnings. Moreover, it is in the national interest of the United States to prevent CAR from becoming a safe haven or recruitment zone for rebel groups and terrorist networks that can further destabilize an already volatile part of Africa.
1.3 Research Objective

The objectives of this research are as follows:

1. Analyzing the causes and processes of Ethnic Political conflicts in CAR
2. Knowing the evolutionary process and global and regional trends Ethnic Political conflicts in the Republic of Central Africa
3. Identifying the factors those encourage the Ethnic Political conflicts in the Republic of Central Africa and
4. Suggesting an alternative process framework specifically for the resolution of Ethnic Political conflicts in Republic of Central Africa.

1.4 Research Questions

The study will be conducted with the purpose of finding answers to the following questions:

1. What are the main causes of ethno-political conflicts in Central Africa?
2. To what extent are geopolitical actors involved in this conflict?

1.5 Hypothesis

The ethno-political conflicts in Central African Republic is driven by competition over resources by internal and external actors.

1.6 Research Design and Methodology

A research strategy is a way of investigating an empirical phenomenon and it is followed by a set of pre-specified procedures. There are three possibilities for any study. It can rely on quantitative data, and on qualitative data, or it can combine both approaches in any proportions. This study will make of empirical qualitative method based on secondary data.

1.7 Chapters Outline

The first chapter will describe introduction, statement of Research Problem, Research Objective, research Questions, research design and methodology and chapters’ outline.
And in the chapter two will discuss the Literature review, General theories and Theories of extreme ethnic violence. The third Chapter-This chapter will describe the country’s profile, causes of the conflict, Socio-historical causes, Socio-cultural causes, Socio-economic causes and Ethno-political causes. chapter the both chapters will discuss the actors of the conflict, Government level actors, National Central African Republic government, National Chadian republic government, National French republic government, Political organization, Seleka (politico-military organization) and Anti-balaka (politico-military organization). The last chapter will discuss the analysis, finding, discussion, conclusion and recommendation.
CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEWS

2.1 Introduction

Conflict, as defined by Robin Short as the persistent mode of violent interaction between and within the states, has a profound impact on world politics. The human experience with the conflict dates back to the emergence of the first human race (Robyn short 2000). Robyn argued “Human have the ability to make us suffer psychologically, emotionally, spiritually, and physically. Anthropologist concedes that human relation with others is defined at two different levels: one: individual and collective each has various dimensions such as psychological, cultural, political, economic, social or historical. To understand the phenomenon of ethnic conflict many scholars spent a great amount of time to figure out its causes. To do so a significant literature on ethno-political conflict developed. This section will examine critically the theoretical approaches to the causes of the conflict. For the sake of simplicity, we will divide those theories in two distinct groups: macro-level theories of ethnic conflict and post-soviet extreme ethnic violence.

2.2 General theories of ethnic conflict

Approaches falling under this category assume that the general theories can provide explanations for most of ethnic conflict. Based on that idea their theories could be applied at any conflict study rather than implanting it only in a particular case study. In this sense a number of researchers including economist pointed out that ethnic conflict is economic interest driven conflict. The promoters of this approach tend to associate the competition over resources as the main factor or direct element that causes conflict, (Paul Collier, Zerihum, M 1999, Edward 1990, Sherif 1996, Beaton Tougass 2011 Lanford Ponting 1992). They concede that interethnic resource competition is a direct triggering factor of the outbreak of violent ethnic conflict in many developing countries. For instance, Edward Aztar added that these types of conflicts represent the prolonged and often violent struggle engaged by communal groups for such basic needs as security, recognition, acceptance, fair access to political institutions and economic participation. As result they
believe that to understand why ethnic violence occurs, we should look at the economic aspect of the conflict. Because of that reason some groups have sometime interest to initiate and maintain a conflict.

In contrast to these views other researchers revealed that this assumption that emphasizes on economic perspective alone is not a successful in explaining why conflict occurs. Because the approach fails to provide an explanation for the fact that some ethnic group despite of the economic deprivation and marginalization do not take up guns to secure an economic demand. Therefore, ethnic violence is not only driven by economic agendas (Susan W, 2011).

Another group of researchers argue that the conflict is driven by “Elite manipulation “. These scholars argue that leaders incite ethno-nationalism to secure their own hold on power (nationalism studies project 2008). According to these scholars the mass can be easily manipulated by political leaders seeking to mobilize social group ethnically distinct group especially when a society going through socio-economic difficulties (Gellener 1983). In many occasion elites seek power by manipulation of social division and blowing them out of proportion with threat; fear; and hate discourse and propaganda. Elite take advantages of the fragility in ethnic group relations and social constriction of identities to achieve their goal of acquiring and maintaining power (Gagnon 1994). For this reason, they believe that conflict is clashes driven by the elite attitude in given society.

However, this assumption has been attacked for the following reasons: is very rare that leaders have both the environment and possibilities to manipulate identities. Even if leaders do sometimes promote nationalism together with hatred and ethnocentrism does not necessarily led to a violent conflict. secondly; this approach has been criticized for exaggeration on depending only on this element to explain a complex phenomenon such as ethnic conflict. Because some empirical evidence shows that may leaders could not succeed to mobilize a mass to engage in violence. Also, this approach tends to perceive the political elite as “evil politician and innocent masses “by assuming this they gave little or no room for act of ordinary people. (Paul F Diehl 1988).
Another group of scholars propose the structural factors as element that causes violence. Willet Susan and Ayoob Mohammed claim that there are long term factors (structural) elements which are interconnected with political social and economic factors that causes conflict in many parts of the world. For instance, the population pressure, distributional injustice and the depletion of natural resources are encouraging elements for violence. They went furthermore to concede that the failure of the new world order and Globalization to create “equitable pattern of economic development “in most part of the world created many looser. Therefore, whenever economic activities are interrupted either by crisis, economic meltdown, and economic marginalization, there has been emergence of organized violence (Miall, Hugh et al 1999, Kaldor, Mary, 1999, Berdal and Malone 2000) (I.D.C S). Hence according to this group conflicts is the result of structural changes.

However, this approach has been perceived by many observers as subjective, because each individual in any given society has relative perception of deprivation. Also, people do not see deprivation in the same manner. Furthermore, this approach also fails to provide an answer to question of why some ethnic group despite no deprivation chooses rationally to go to civil war (Paul F Diehl 1988)

Another group mainly of international relation analyst argues that the territory’s intrinsic value attached by a group of people to a specific land is one of the main driven factors of conflict. According to them, the parties of the conflict attach some identity-based to territory; therefore, they are willing to use force to secure a valuable territory. These claims usually made by ethnopolitical groups that ask for demands including political and material demands as well as cultural and religious concern. In this sense Ted Robert Gur and Nils B. Weidman argued that Ethno-political tension is highly likely to accrue in a diverse society, because some people especially nationalist tend to act violently to defend some practices and cultures that they attached to from the others who are culturally or ethnically different.

While this approach seems to have a valid argument in the sense that human kind followed its animal instinct to protect his valuable land from the others. Yet, some observers argue
that this approach still did not explain why some ethnic group is not willing to use violence to secure a valuable territory.

2.3 Theories of Extreme Ethnic Violence

Many scholars of the conflict study subscribe to the idea that one of the well-known approaches among conflict study scholars to explain the post-soviet ethnic violent conflict is the essentialism approach that is sometimes called ancient ethnic hatred primordial antagonism as the trigger of ethnic violence. Scholar’s fulling under this category argues that the presence of ancient mutual hostility mixed with differences such as religion and culture can lead to a conflict. Furthermore, these difference characteristics can be acquiring and transmitted to other generation (Azar 2000). Because of this some individual that connects to a special group feel unhappy when their group is threatened by a historic enemy. Edward Azar, shared this view when he claimed that prolonged social conflict tends to be fueled by the historical pattern or rivalry and contest among communal actors especially in a very fragmented societies and multi-communal societies whether this later formed by through the colonization or not.

Many analysts however pointed out that this approach is extremely limited in explaining why ethnic violence takes place. firstly, there are many ethnic conflicts took in many places that are not driven by ancient hatred. Secondly, this approach fails to explain why some ethnic groups in different societies and communities with a very deep hatred developed for since many years ago but remained calm and never experienced ethnic conflict. (Ayoub Mohammed 2001)

Another group of researchers suggest the rational choice approach to explain ethnic violence. According this perspective ethnic violence can be merely explained by the outcome of rational choice or decision that made by individual to accomplish potential target. Because human being is a strategic calculator and goal-oriented creator (John Mearsheimer,2001). He chooses whatever means possible even making violence to achieve a given goal. Moreover, this group of scholars incorporated some realist ideas from international relation theories to draw conclusion of the rationality of ethnic
violence. They believe that ethnic violence accrues when there is not going to be a change in the status quo (Susan Willet, 2011).

In trying to understand the correlation between ethnic conflict and factors that because it there are many frameworks that developed by many scholars from different fields. My position is that after having a close look at the existing literature on the subject reveal the following: one, non-coherent approaches in explaining why violence occurs. Many scholars tend to rely only on one or two variables to explain the phenomenon. Such a method is very limited. Because one paradigm cannot encompass a complete explanation of ethnic conflict (Ethno-political conflict). In this for instance Kenneth Waltz argued that a theory when taken alone can only provide a limited or partial explanation for why war violence occurs. therefore I come to understand that the most important question is not to know which variable caused the conflict, but rather how different variable interacted to give an armed conflict.

2.4 The C.A.R’s Economic Overview

Geographically, as its name indicates the CAR is located in the heart of Africa and corresponds to the ancient Obangui Charie which is an old space that assures the transition between the black African and the Arab world. Right after the independence the CAR has faced a long period of political and economic instability caused by subsequent military coups and political instability (Jean Christophe Victor). From the former president Bokassa (1965 – 1979) to Djotodia (August 2013 – January 2014) the country never achieved a sustainable political stability. Moreover, In term of economic performance, since the independence to these days almost all CAR’s economic indicators are relatively disastrous (Canisius College, MAN 2014). To have a full picture of the country I will highlight some aspect of the country including in the following action: The following map illustrate the location of CAR in Africa(Figure 2.1)
Figure 2.1 The following map illustrate the location of CAR in Africa (Source: google central African map in Africa.)

The CAR is located in the center of Africa and bordered by five countries which are: Chad from the north, Sudan and South Sudan from to the northeast, the republic of Congo (Brazzaville) and the democratic republic of Congo (Kinshasa) to the south and Cameroon to east. The CAR abounds a massive plateau which are placed from the southwest to the northeast, along with the main drainage that divide the Lack Chad from the Congo basin (Ngoupande J.P 1997). The below table illustrate the General economic indicator of Central African Republic from 2010-2015(Table 2.1).
Table 2.1 The above table illustrate the General economic indicator of Central African Republic from 2010-2015.

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<td>2012</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pop Growth</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Life expectation</td>
<td>50.1</td>
<td>2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban population</td>
<td>39.1%</td>
<td>2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HDI</td>
<td>0.341</td>
<td>2014</td>
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<tr>
<td>HDI Rank</td>
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<td>2014</td>
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<tr>
<td>UN Education index</td>
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<td>2014</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gender inequation</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aid per capita</td>
<td>40.2</td>
<td>2013</td>
</tr>
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</table>

**Sources:** Geohive, UN Data, Transparency international 2014. World Bank. Report 2014

The economic growth of CAR that consolidated in 2017 was estimated at 4.9% compared to 2014 which was 0.7% due to the relative security issues and political situation following the end of the transition period (Neal, A 2014). The political crisis since the independence has strongly affected almost all economic sectors in CAR, particularly in rural areas where insecurity has disrupted the major activities. Agriculture is the largest sector and the basis of the Central African economy (MAN 2014), contributing about half of GDP Food production activities include coffee, oil palm and cotton. Activity in agribusiness, trade occupying nearly four-fifths of the workforce and construction is growing, due to the foreign investments. The removal of embargo from the diamond sector and the revival of logging also open up new prospects (CIA World F B 2013).

In addition, the investments from international companies which mostly rely on French capital dominates the economy but the Central African Republic has tried since independence to attract capital and development monies from other countries, including
Libya, Taiwan, China, Germany, and Japan. However, due to the drop of timber prices that sector did not witness a big improvement. (Picco, E 2014).

The following table illustrate the main foreign investors in CAR and their investment percentages. Accordingly, France is the biggest investors in CAR with 24, 70% then the USA and Netherland with 9, 80% and finally Cameroon and China with the least amount of investment. The following Table indicate the main investors in CAR (Table 2.2)

Table 1.2 The following Table indicate the main investors in CAR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Countries</th>
<th>Percentage of Investment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>24,70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S</td>
<td>9,80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>8,70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>6,90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cameroon</td>
<td>6,30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>43,60%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Furthermore, public finances were already characterized before the crisis by a structurally deficit cash position, a very low investment capacity, a strong reliance on external budget support and difficulties in servicing the debt (UNHCR 2005). From March 2013, the collapse of the country's customs and tax revenues made the support of its international partners all the more important. Budget revenues increased significantly in 2015, without allowing the government to finance development. Expenditure is generally controlled. In 1986 the CAR submitted to the “structural adjustment “program imposed by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund which aimed to reduce the growth of government spending. Hence the World Bank achieved some policies including liberalization of prices encouraged a more open investments and provided more incentive to the sector of agriculture and forestry (Neal, 2014) also the IMF end up by devaluation.
of the FCEFA as well as privatizing several economic activities and business i.e.: petroleum distribution company and commercial bank. Finally, the IMF approved in 2016 a new program (3 years) based on the gradual recovery of the economy (CIA WORLD FACT BOOK 2013).

2.5 Historical background of ethnic groups in CAR

The following table shows the ethnic makeup of CAR’s Population in which Gabya ethnic group considered to be the largest ethnic group. It constitutes around 33, % of the total population of CAR ethnic, and followed by the Banda which makes 27 % of the total population. Meanwhile both The Mandjia and Sara constitute only 23 % of the total population. Finally, the Ngbaka which is the smallest ethnic group. Represents only 6 % of the total population.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Groups in CAR</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gbaya</td>
<td>33,00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banda</td>
<td>27,00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandjia</td>
<td>13,00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sara</td>
<td>10,00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mbum</td>
<td>7,00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngbaka</td>
<td>4,00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>6,00%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CHAPTER THREE

OVERVIEW OF THE CONCEPT OF ETHNICITY AND CAUSES OF THE CONFLICT

3. Introduction

The term Ethnicity has been a subject of great deal of terminological disagreement, for me the narrow use of ethnicity Is the one that a group of people who believe that they are descended from common ancestors (Yannis Alexandros, 2003). We all go back to some ancestors somewhere in central Africa but the key conviction of an ethnic group is that it is members basically descended from a common kin, for instance the Kurd versus Arab in Iraq neither group believe that they share a common ancestors. Generally, there is relationship between kinship relation and culture but that is not always necessarily true, the broad use of ethnicity is now very common Depicted in the United States of America and used to cover every non-class-based difference that is not the way I will be using the term even though one can understand how that extension happens. The term ethnic comes from the Greek word “ethnos” it has almost exactly the same meaning of the Latin term “not co” both refers to a group of common decent, so the usage of two word in my language is not surprising but I think we have taken into account why frequently the term race is that scholars used to use the term race which is now politically unacceptable both for very good reasons one of them is that since 19 century if look at history book the term “race” is substituted the way we use ethnicity today (AARMS 2014).

3.1 Conceptual Definition of Ethnic Conflict

Ethnic conflict can be defined as any episode of sustained violent conflict in which national ethnic and religious or other communal minorities challenge government to seek major change in status (Bates et. al. 2003) so an ethnic conflict between two contending ethnic groups, while the source of the conflict may be political, social or economic. The individuals in the conflict must expressly fight for their ethnic group’s position within society. This final criterion differentiates ethnic conflict from other form of struggle.
Ethic conflict does not necessarily have to be violent, in a multi-ethnic society where freedom of speech is protected; ethnic conflict can be an everyday feature of plural democracies. For example, ethnic conflict might be a nonviolent struggle for resources divided among ethnic groups (Global security report 2013). However, the subject of confrontation must be either directly or symbolically linked with an ethnic group. Therefore, in healthy multiethnic democracies these conflicts are usually institutionalized and channeled through parliament assemblies and bureaucracies or through nonviolent demonstration and strike. While democratic countries cannot always prevent ethnic conflict flaring up into violence, institutionalized ethnic conflict dose ensure that ethnic group can articulate their demands in a peaceful manner which reduces the likelihood of violence. On the other hand, in authoritarian systems ethnic minorities are often unable to express their grievances are instead allowed to faster which might lead to long phases of ethnic silence followed by a violent outburst. Therefore, ethnic peace is an absence of violence not an absence of conflict.

3.2 Causes of the Conflict

Since the Central African Republic gained its independence from France in 1960, CAR has continued to face subsequent deep social, economic and political crises. From Bokassa to Bozize the country has witnessed 10 military coup attempts between 2005 and 2015. Some these coups succeeded others not (Wens 2014). These subsequent military coups have almost sabotaged the political and economic development initiatives. The most recent coup performed by the leader of the Seleka coalition group Michel Djotodia, against the government of Bozize in March 2013 caused the displacement and killing of hundreds of thousands of civilians. According to the catholic relief service report on the causes of the conflict in CAR there are four main causes which triggered that ethnic violence. In this section I will investigate the conflict dynamic at national, regional, sub-regional level to identify the real reasons behind this devastating conflict.
Table 3.1 The following Table showing the causes behind of the ethno-political conflicts in CAR:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Causes of conflicts in C.A.R</th>
<th>Generalized insecurity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Socio-historical causes</td>
<td>Weak State</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political causes</td>
<td>Lack of democratization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lack of rule of law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socio-economic causes</td>
<td>Deep economic crisis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Competitions over resources</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The involvement of foreign actors</td>
<td>Geo-political interest (France, Chad, Sudan and Cameroon)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


3.2.1 Socio-historical Causes

The root causes of the instability in CAR dates back to a few decades before. To have a full understanding of the conflict the historical context must be taken into consideration. The country has been subject to foreign involvement and exploitation for several years (Jean Christoph victor 2018), even before the arrival of the French as colonialis around 1885 the country was influenced by the African sultanates related to the trans-Saharan economic and social network when the country witnessed what is known as slave trade practices conducted by the sultanates (Paulin Iban kabka 2015). In addition to that the settlement of the French in the region in the late 19th century contributed on the destabilization of the country. For instance, they replaced the local sultanates with their own ruler and socio-political system.CAR ‘s past and recent history contributed on the creation degree on the creation of the current situation: Several causes can explain the sustainability of an armed conflict in a tiny developing country including the weakness of the state which create insecurity situation, the presence of natural resources which is the bases of attraction of foreign actors or regional power influence. In many respects the interaction of the following factors leads to the situation led to a conflict in CAR.
3.2.1.1 Weak State

According to willy-Blackwell encyclopedia this term denotes a type of government that is not able to deliver for its citizen a policy for socio-economic welfare or maintain total control of its territory. So, it is a state that is weak in its key functions which are security, basic services and legitimacy (Woodward 2008). Juhi Tyagi (2012) called them the three gaps (security gap, basic services gap and legitimacy gap).

Conflict can emerge when a government fail to address the condition that might create tension. In fact, there symptoms that can indicate a government weakness including the emergence of criminal organization, war lord, corruption, epidemic. One of the main elements that caused the outbreak of the conflict in CAR is that a weak state applying policy of planed exclusion. In order to stay in power as long as possible the formal president Bozize developed a tactic which was the weakening of the governmental institutions particularly the national army (FACCA)? He reduced the national army to presidential guard. (Jean Christoph victor 2018). The reason behind this tactic is to avoid of being overthrown by either by the national army or the police body, in other word He implemented this Machiavellian tactic which consist of weakening of the army out of fear of potential coup (Paulin Iban kabka 2015). In such condition some citizens (politicians and military leaders) developed the believe that violence is the only way to conquer power in country as the Global security report of 2006 outlined that since the independence CAR has experienced five subsequent military coups which some succeeded on overthrow of the central government. As result of this political turmoil and generalized insecurity result into two disastrous consequences which are the central government led by Bozize was not able to maintain peace and security and courting urgencies. Second: the police incapable to control the integrity of the territory (Report 1, September 2016).
3.2.2 Political Causes

The country’s colonial past along with its violent political history and the absence of functioning institutions have prevented social and national cohesion from taking root in CAR. The outcome of that tumultuous history led to create a favorable condition for insecurity which is a fragmented society, with periodically high levels of tension and unresolved conflicts between and among ethnic, social, religious, and economic groups and communities “Intercommoned violence “this violence notably between farmers and pastoralists which is almost normalized and common phenomenon has frequently led into violent confrontations, as different political, religious and military elites have exploited these tensions for “political or economic gain “. In addition, there is a culture of impunity both through regional sociocultural biases against some minorities and women (UNHCR 2018).

The constant state of cyclical conflict has led to illegal trade in Diamond and Gold, weapon trafficking and robbery. As result the succession of the constant political instability that triggered the ethnic violence in CAR, furthermore, the ongoing conflict in the neighboring countries including Uganda the democratic republic of Congo Chad and South Sudan. The regional instability had a direct impact on CAR’s security (Report 1, September 2016). For instance, the situation made easier the process of gun trafficking. Moreover, the foreign militias and mercenaries used CAR’s territory to escape from being arrest from their own government several times. So, this situation of insecurity and political instability led to have a weak central government in CAR.

3.2.2.1 Lack of Democratization

Democratizing mean to make it democratic which is the action of making something accessible to everyone (Oxford dictionary) by encouraging a collective active participation in public life in a way that the access to government institutions through free and fair election is granted to all citizens.

One of the issues that considered being common causes of conflict in African politics is the lack of democratization. the western style of democracy in great difficulties to take
root in African state (CLE 2018) many African tend to choose a representative (parliament, president) not based on what they can do for the society or their ability to perform rather they choose a leader because He or She merely belong to their ethnic groups. The attitude that generally do not allow to some especially the minority one to come to power through election. Many observers of this conflict argued that such conflict can be avoided or at least minimized by holding a free and fair election that encourage the active participation of ordinary citizen in economic and social life, because any attempt to exclude any ordinary citizen from these right due to its ethnic, religious belonging will automatically create a sentiment of resentment and hostility against the central government (UNDP 2014). In the era of the formal president Bozize the basic citizen need are denied especially those who are living in rural area. As retaliatory action to these unjust policies the marginalized citizens has no options than take up arms in order to make his voice heard and claim its rights. This act of taking guns tend to provokes a protracted social conflict in most of the cases (Nehemiah 2004).

Furthermore, the long-lasting unresolved conflict have been used by the entrepreneurs of violence to manipulate some population, that what lead to what is called by an observer “social disorganization especially in the absence of clear social norms to settle differences. Because the traditional systems of dispute settlement have been neglected by the government for many years. finally, the internal geopolitical crisis of Central Africa is the cause of the current violence, Historically, the Muslim population has had a minority Northern governorate. The arrival of "silica" armed Muslim militias, to power shock broke the rules of a political game was controlled She was in control A political class representing ethnic groups in the west and center of the country and orbiting the military government. The reaction against Silica also falls within the scope The clash of cultures between coastal populations and forest dwellers.

3.2.2.2 Lake of rule of law

Rajiv Shah the founder and managing director of latitude capital stated that in last two decade they have accomplished so much in reducing poverty and improving human condition. Yet the most important things that they have learned during that time is that
establishing and respecting and enhancing the rule of law is the “core element “to continued progress (world justice project). Furthermore, the former president of the world justice project argued that without having judicial reforms and rule of law there will never be a stable economic development and well-functioning civil society. So, in this logic the rule of law appears to be criterium for lasting socio-economic development for a society. So, what is the rule of law?

According to rule of law center program the rule of law is holding people and government to accountable to the law. The United Nation defines the rule of law as principle for governance in which all persons and entities public and private including the state itself are accountable to the laws. So, I come to understand from those statements that the lack of rule of law is the lack of prosecution of criminals involved in the successive cycles of violence. One of the commonly experienced problems in Africa is the lack of rule of law. African leaders tend to create a system in which especially the political elites are not frequently accountable for their acts. In other word, the rulers undermine the legal system. This was the case of judicial system under François Bozize. It was a system that gave some privilege and state unaccountable to former president’s closest despite of committing massive and grave human right violation against the civilians. Such injustice helped to create an environment of violence and impunity. (Global center for responsibilities 2014) The atrocities of the conflict are fueled by a desire for revenge, and create new cycles of trauma.

3.2.3 Socio-economic Causes

Even though several interrelated factors plied a significant role in causing the conflict. However, many observers considered the economic elements as the most reason. We analyses this element in the following line:

3.2.3.1 Deep Economic Crisis

The political turmoil and constant state of insecurity that ravaged the CAR did not start up with the arrival of the Rebels to Bangui and overthrown of the regime by Seleka militias, but it began before the Seleka alliance come to power in March 2013. According to many observers this crisis is the direct outcome of political instability which lasted more
than 10 years which is caused by previous social and economic crisis (Global center for the responsibility to protect, 2014). Is combination of the social and economic “degeneration “and failed democratization process in which there three military regimes have ruled the country. Therefore, it is important to examine the economic aspect of that crisis.

After the Golden age of CAR s economy which is associated with the collective memory of the ex-formal president Bokassa, the CAR s economy has stagnated gradually. From the end of the late 1990s to the present days, the number of companies operating in the country has decreased from 521 to 52, (Jean Christoph victor 2018). For instance, on the wake of the crisis in 2015 Only one metal establishment company survived, and this company was looted during the invasion of Seleka. This criminal attitude has forced its owners to stop all their activities which were limited to exploitation. (UNDP, 2014). Yet, the leaders of Central Africa have always been proud of mineral wealth of the country, a real metal sector as it never existed as a specific industrial field of metals; including gold and diamonds. For example, they are shaded in a traditional way which is very modest compared to other producers in the African continent and most of their activity remains outside the control of the state (Keenan, M . and A.Goffen 2014 )

Another indicator of the economic crisis in CAR is that the Commercial crops such as cotton, coffee, also have deteriorated and have not yet reached the level of old production and only agriculture (Aljazeera Arabic report 2014). However, Basic cereals and vegetables have enabled the majority of the rural population to survive and other extractive activities as companies (Human Security Report 2013). The exploitation of forests no longer exceeds the fingers of one hand and the cost of financing which made it very difficult in term of competitiveness in the international market especially with the withdrawal of investors (Lombard, L 2014). The economic output of CAR since 1980 to 2012 showed in graph below (Graph 3.1).
In general, the Chart shows that there has been a rise in GDP in CAR from 1980s till 2000. So, we can see from the chart that the highest level of GDP has been achieved in 1980. However, the c the following years the country witnessed a dramatic decrease in GDP till 2015. (Aljazeera report March, 2014).

3.2.3.2 Competition over Resources

The analysis which emphasizes the economic aspect of an armed conflict was at the heart of the thinking for many decades. Earlier thinkers such as mercantilist and classic Marxist refer to the prehistory of capitalism as primitive food accumulation for survival (Yayala, 2012). However, recently there have been other scholars who developed a new paradigm. For instance, Collier and Hoeffler place themselves in the utilitarian framework they oppose to the idea that the armed rebels arise because of greed. They are not interested in the motivation of the conflict but in their feasibility (Paul collier 2001). They concedes that economic factors can play a significant role. The rebels behave like rational economic agent who will choose to go to war if expected benefits outweigh the cost. According to their model, the rebellion motivation depends on the expected income in case of victory,
and rebels aims for state control, states resources, and make potential gain from war. (Susan willet 2011).

African economy remains dominated by rent. Enrichment comes more or less from the capture of wealth than from its creation (Aljazeera report 2014). Therefore, the primary factor of most African conflicts is the natural resources that allow the financing of the conflict, war allow the legitimization of actions which would be considered crimes in time of peace (Mayneri A.C 2014) the economic benefit expected from the civil war are looting, protection from remuneration. For instance, profit related to the trade in arms foods or narcodollars and exploitation of labor. Another example, Diamond considered being one of the first motive of the war and control of land. (Anderson2012). Therefore, it is worth to note that economic factors ply an important role both as issue or way of financing conflict. The warriors live with the external support on or external aid or the capture of natural resources. Diamond which initially financed the war in CAR (UNDP 2014) so almost all war in Africa are related to the control of wealth (Diamond gold oil, land and water conflict) because the Elites rely on poverty and unemployment motives for the recruitment of militias. It is also important to take into consideration the bargaining between the economic interest of firms and the network that controlling rent whether formally or otherwise (Neal, A 2014). therefore, it is possible to present the strategic game of multinational oil or mining companies that seek to maintain rent-seeking position against the competitors by paying in return for their position for financing to the power in place or rebels that likely can take power, they seek to diversify risk on the effect and the probability of maintaining government and rebels. (Christoph 2014).

In addition, It is well known that the cost of an armed conflict is very high, because it requires enormous financial support to pay the acquisition of military equipment including weapons ammunitions military uniform, food, medicine, vehicles telecommunication equipment and wealth. The natural resources such as forest hydrocarbons and mines are appreciated by many powers and businessman because the control of these sources is essential and core financial base of an armed resistance. (Paulin jaban kabka 2015) This money must come from somewhere mostly from of the country s resources, the overall
natural resources including forest hydrocarbons and mining are source of attraction of business man as well as the military and political actors that involved in an armed conflict. because such sources are essential for an armed resistance. in fact, the armed group that lose the ability of acquiring and controlling natural resources could naturally lose the war because the group will not be able to preserve and continue in the war effort (International Crisis Group 2014).

The Seleka militias financed their actions by exporting diamond and timber to the neighboring countries. (Picco 2014). Meanwhile Anti-balaka, mostly founded its troops through the control the hydrocarbons and timbers (UNHCR 2018). The national army is financed by the state budget that remains. Therefore, this competition over country’s resources led to a deep economic crisis. This deep economic crisis was managed for few years by a huge dependence on foreign aid. For instance, the salary of the civil servants was paid by foreign aid. (UNDP 2014). Despite of the difficulties the regime of Bozize was able to pay the civil servants in the army from various sources including World Bank, African development bank, European Union etc. These doners granted in somehow the civil and military servant s salary (Mayneri A.C 2014) . Therefore, one of main cause led to that crisis is corruption combined with mismanagement. For instance, some companies gave financial support to the rebels in the middle of the civil war so that they can pursue wood cutting and exporting it (Lombard L, 2014). This situation refers to what is called the Resource Curse or the Dutch disease which denote the paradoxically or the difficulty for ensuring social and economic development when there is an abundant natural resource.

In the contrary, the presence of resources attracts suffering from everywhere (Tene Kozoya, A, and j. Dayen 2005). Many studies reveled that countries with huge natural resources are often fall prey to civil war, because their potential wealth is main factor that keep getting them into trouble. In our case even the neighboring countries are benefiting from CAR resources because wood, oil and diamonds are exported through Cameroon, Chad, the DRC that one of the reasons why especially these three countries heavily involved in this conflict. ( Vinck, P Leonardo , DG and A.H Yavala 2012 ).
Like the other African countries, in the region the contribution and participation of the 
exploitation of the natural resources helped to the sustainability and longevity of armed 
conflict (UN 2013). For instance, the NGOS Global witness accused operators mostly 
(French Lebanese Chinese) foresters of complicity in crime in the conflict in CAR, 
because they thought that the companies made a profit in the middle of the civil war by 
funding rebels. (Picco, E. 2014).

3.2.4 Involvement of Foreign Actors

In the pursuit of geopolitical and economic interest, many regional and international actors 
involved in that conflict in a way or another mainly through supporting either the rebel 
groups or central government.

3.2.4.1 Geo-political interest

The regional and international attention to the crisis in Central Africa has been closely 
noticed by observers. Both Chad and France have military forces in the country. The 
French military presence did not stop since the independence even if the size varied from 
one period to another (Mar Adoux 2011). Meanwhile, Chad's military presence dates back 
to the late 1990s. (Adoux 2011). In this section I will analyzes the nature and the motives 
of these foreign actors in this conflict.

Zeleza argued that any attempt to cope with a conflict in Africa has to take into 
consideration the root causes of the ongoing problems which are according to her mostly 
linked to the ancient colonial era. In their book “The root of African conflict: The Cause 
and the Cost “Zeleza and Nehema conceded that before anything else the cause of these 
conflict has its origin in the colonial era when the European imperialist scrambled for 
Africa. They shared among them the continent without taking into consideration the 
ethnical make-up of the local population. therefore, after the decolonization, African states 
are become “polyglot “a mixture of cultural and linguistic groups in which were not able 

to create a society based on harmony and solidarity skimming from national loyalty. 
Rather they tend to develop solidarity based on micro-ethnic c. (Ayoob Mahammad 2001).
Secondly, the direct or indirect interference of regional actors while pursuing their political, economic, and security interest have contributed to the conflict in CAR. According to (Ganson, 2014). The neighboring countries generally tend to interfere in other armed conflict either due to the one of following reasons to protect themselves against the risk that might be caused by a neighboring conflict and to support some actors that they considered worthy of their support, and It is worth to note that the regional and international power game is one of the factors that some conflict last longer than others (UNDP2014).

To be more precise for instance Chad supported Muslim dominated rebels and other southern neighbors being close to the Christian militias Anti-balaka. (Boche 2013). Hence, the religious character is served as identity reference to the both movement which helped in a way or another to gain financial support from the neighboring countries as well from the international level. These political consideration with religious connotation of the countries of the sub-region have effected even on some organization for instance the (MISCA) the international mission to maintain peace in CAR during the operation of this mission Chadian soldiers were accused of providing intelligence and weapon to Muslim seleka fighters the reason why Chadian government was forced to withdraw its troops even though there is no guarantee that Chad dose not continue to provide logistic and intelligence support to the northern army branch (Boche 2014). Even though there is a strong French and Chadian military presence in CAR their objectives differ. For Chad, security and economic interest matter. The formal president of Chad Idriss Deby does not want the Central African Republic to turn into a base for armed opposition and he is keen to use grazing land Central Africa, the livestock of its citizens during the summer (Boche 2014). As for France, the act of sending troop was as a response to pressure from the humanitarian lobby in the country as most of NGOS in CAR are French (Aljazeera report 2014).

3.2.4.2 Rational behind Chadian Intervention

It has been noticed that before and during the crisis in CAR there was a very close relationship between the Chadian central government and the Seleka militias members the
root of this relation dates back to 1990s and described by observers as especial relation which made almost necessary for Chadian government to follow up and pay close attention to the recent development in CAR. To illustrate how fare this relation poses for instance, Due to the pressure from the Chadian president in January 2014, the interim president of CAR Michel Djotadia was resigned during the summit of economic community of central African states which held in the Chadian Capital Ndjamena. Hence, under the (MISCA) United Nation Mission to bring peace in CAR, Chad has deployed 5,500 in CAR in order maintain peace there. (UN 2013).

The direct answer to the question of why the Chadians care about this conflict is that according to the human rights activist report of 2016, the current Chadian regime has experience of rebel attack which used the CAR soil as camps for preparation and training of their troops (Boche 2014). This is exactly the case of the prominent Chadian opposition leader Baba Lady who used the border line of CAR as save heaven to protect himself from potential Chadian counter Attack. Therefore, there are two main interests for Chadian government to interfere. Firstly, security interest which can be achieved by breaking the common habit of Chadian rebels and armed opposition who had habit of train in CAR soil. In this perspective the formal Chadian president Idriss Deby supported directly or indirectly some SELEKA leaders. (Mayneri A.C 2014). The line behind this idea is the thinking that bringing an ally to power can help to secure Chadian border and not allows further development of Chadian rebel by cutting them the road that would prevent to Chadian armed opposition to use CAR soil as save heaven to prosper. (Lombard, L 2014).

Secondly, there are enormous economic interests that tie strongly Chadian government with CAR s authority. Many interviews revealed that the main reason of the Chadian government s support to Seleka is to create a favorable environment to the Chadian businessman mostly for (Gold and Diamond traders) to keep their advantageous position so that can continue making profit even if the regime Change in CAR (Hallen Oen, 2014). Moreover, the Chadian government believed that by supporting Seleka they can manage to contain the conflict and to prevent it from affecting the Chadian oil field in the Sothern borderline of Chad with CAR. (Boche, 2014). In fact the motive was to prevent potential
instability that might damage the operating Chadian oil field and on top of that there was another speculation about Chadian rational behind intervention which has to do with avoiding sharing with CAR’s authority the the cross-border oil reservoir especially after the discovery of that reservoir by Chinese National Petroleum Corporation (CNPC) recently. (Lombard, 2014).

3.2.4.3 Rationale behind French Intervention

France was a colonial power of many African state including CAR until 1960. The French influence in CAR takes its root from the colonial era where the European imperialist scrambled for African land from 1881 to the First World War. After the wave of independence in the 1960s, France continued to play a critical political and economic role in its ancient colonies (Boche, 2014). These ties with its colonies illustrated the presence of French military contingent in many places in some French speaking African countries. Hence, one of the most important French foreign policy in Africa is that France aims to bring a political leader into power who will be working with France very closely to serve and protect French interests in place (Picco, E, 2014). According to some analyst of African governance and politic for France, it is not about special security and economic interests that motivated France to intervene in those countries. The few French institutions that still exist in the country no longer have a significant business figure and the number of members of the French community is very limited. The French intervention comes as a response to the pressure of the lobby groups because most of the international non-governmental organizations in Central Africa in 2005 are French, and in the beginning of the crisis Francois Holland government stayed away from the conflict. For instance, President Holland refused to respond to president Bozize call for assistance. The French military representative stated that they are here only to protect French national and airport (BBC news report 2013). However, the France position changed when they realized that there is an imminent threat to many civilian lives and there were grave human right abuses carried out by SELEKA members. This situation obliged France to address the United Nation to initiate intervention in order to prevent further abuses and bring peace. Hence the French diplomatic representative stated in his interview accorded to BBC “We knew
that there was some inter-sectarian violence so we called for resolution then we deployed 900 troops (Le monde 2014).

3.2.4.4 Rational behind Sudanese and Cameroonian Intervention in the C.A. R’s conflict

Sudanese and Chadian influence to Bangui date back to more than two decades ago, CAR has been used by both Sudanese mercenaries and warlord as training camps before and during the Darfur conflict (Lombard 2014). This has influenced the instability of the region particularly within CAR. In 2016 Campbell stated that because of that influence the military personnel of Seleka were mostly dominated by Chadian and Sudanese. They are consisting of 80% of Seleka in 2014 (FIDH 2014). Meanwhile the Cameroonian government had different consideration. Unlike the Chadians and Sudanese, the Cameroonian government to supported the Bozize regime is primarily due to economic as well as security concerns. The economic survey Magazine revealed that export of Goods from and to CAR has decreased since the beginning of the tension in 2013. The trade volume decreased by 49% in mid of 2013 which was the real reason why the Cameroonian authority felt the necessity to support the Bozize regime to bring stability and to avoid more negative impact on Cameroonian economy. In addition to the economic, there was another concern which is to present clash between some Seleka members and some (FACA) National army of republic of central Africa members in the Cameroonian soil which led to many incursions in refugee camps that established in the eastern borderline with Cameroon (Dunkhan 2016). So, the support was to prevent further seleka incursion in the refugee camps sated up in Cameroon. While the Sudanese authority’s concern was looking for new allies which will add to the Sudan influence in the rejoin if they manage to find a new ally like Seleka leaders as well as the Sudanese opposition cannot use the borderline between the two countries as save heaven to prepare and cause suffer to Sudanese people (Dukhan 2016).
3.3 Actors of the conflicts

There are several actors actively participated into the conflict to secure political and economic interest including external and internal actors.

3.3.1 Internal actors

Along with the political and religious leaders’ militias and rebel group also considered to be played an important role in the conflict.

3.3.1.1 Seleka

In August 2012, the Seleka armed group is formed, the term Seleka means alliance or coalition in the local language (Songo) it refers to a coalition of armed groups with a shared sense of political and economic marginalization (Boche 2013) the group is described by observers as alliance or rebel faction comes from several politico-military movement known before and from other recently created groups. Seemingly the group is motivated by common objective which is the implementation of the Libreville agreement of 2007 and 2008. However, after achieving an unprecedented victory on the ground the group is transformed into a real rebellion group with the objective of overthrowing the formal president Francois Bozize. (Paul F. Dieh 1988).

Many observers pointed out that seleka s main demand from the government was the implementation of the peace agreement of Biro 2007. Second the government should give back to the local population the right of exploitation of the raw materials that recently monopolized by the state. it is worth to not that the underlying motive of seleka group was somehow kind of revenge against the former president F. Bozize mainly because of his decision to exclude Djoinadia (the founder of UFDR Robel group) from the political scene in 2006 (Boche 2013). The Seleka rebellion therefore looking for political position in the central government and above all to regain some control over raw materials including the mining sectors. In fact, the real objective of Seleka is to overthrow the former president Bozize which will allow them to maximize their material gain and to obtain a political representatively for the northeast region that has been marginalized for decades (Human security report 2013).

3.3.1.2 Anti-Balaka militias

The term anti-balaka in local language denote anti-bullet which refer to amulet or artefact that they wear believing that will protect them from seleka bullet. (Ngoupande J.P 1997) it is village self-defense groups engaged in an armed resistance against Seleka militias. The group was primarily created by the former president Bozize.
In many literatures many scholars mention that Anti-balaka as a movement goes back to the decolonization era. The group initially formed to fight against the colonial occupation. however, the recent Anti-balaka which created by the formal president Bozize with the aim of resisting the bandit pastoralist then gradually joined by some of the presidential guard, gendarmerie law ranking officer, in addition to victim of the Seleka violence and unemployed young men. The group member is estimated of about 1. 500 (N POE 2014).

3.3.1.3 Anti-balaka motives and agendas

The anti-balaka leader acknowledged that their main enemies are the following groups: the Seleka militias, the civilian who cooperated with them, people of Chadian origin including the Fulani, the Gula, and Runga. According to anti-balaka leader in his given interview to newspaper he stated that “we are upset because the Muslim are supported by the Seleka rebels, they killed people from every group rape women and steal. This is unacceptable. He added that “Djotadia and Seleka must leave the country.

The first attack carried out by Anti-balaka militias was in August 2013 where they targeted people from Chadian origin (UN 2013). Then later gradually their activities of violence is almost generalized in Bangui the capital city. According to amnesty international the anti-balaka campaign led to the killing of about 1000 people in Bangui alone.

3.3.2 External Actors

3.3.2.1 Democratic republic of Congo

The leader Sassou Nguesso of the Republic of Congo, he has been the ECCAS-appointed negotiator. The country has in addition provided troops and funding to automotive peacekeeping operations and to Djotodia’s government. Meanwhile, the Congolese mediation has been criticized. Since 2014, relations between Samba-Panza and Sassou Nguesso area unit tense. Whereas the transformation authorities’ strategy was to isolate radical elements, in 2015 Sassou Nguesso chosen to facilitate the organization of the capital of Kenya talks, that diode to a deal between the Nairobi’s. His actions, together with the facilitation of travel ban violations, area unit perceived as a shot to destabilize the
government of transition and additionally the ongoing conflict resolution methodology (Dunkhan, 2016: 12).

3.3.2.2 Angola

Since 2014, Angola involved in the CAR struggle resolution. In March 2014, the two states signed an agreement to make certain the functioning of the authorities and to address issues related to the humanitarian disaster. The financial protocol consisted of a donation worth $10 million in cash pledged in March 2014 in Soudan (RFI, 2013). Also, Angola conjointly became concerned within the diamond sector in CAR, that had been suspended from the Kimberley method since could 2013. Also, in 2015, Republic of Angola took on the presidency of the urban center method, and under this there are discussions to agree on a partial start of diamond exports from the west and south-west of Centrafrique. The start remains not effective. As Marshal notes that, the CAR officials’ officers, the explosive role compete by Republic of Angola was asking from Paris to the Angolan president to support the transmutation method in CAR (Dunkhan, 2016: 12).

3.3.2.3 Cameroon

The Cameroonian position on the CAR crisis was perceived as ambiguous. Whereas most of the ECCAS heads of state supported Michel Djotodia as new president of the transition, Paul Bia determined to host Francois Bozize following the Seleka coup. Following this episode, Cameroon adopted an occasional profile within the political resolution of the CAR crisis, whereas economic interests have remained as it was before the conflict (UNDP 2014). Formal and informal economic activities between Cameroon and CAR have invariably boosted the Cameroonian economy. The Cameroon principally exports factory-made goods, beverages and imports a number of agro-pastoral merchandise. Cameroon conjointly represents the main transit for all automotive exports and imports. A report made by the government of Cameroon in 2014 indicated that the automotive crisis had a negative impact on a number of national economic sectors, like touristy, transport, trade, agriculture and pastoralism, and had undermined the financial potential of the regions (Dunkhan, 2016: 12).
3.4 Current Political situation

The formal president Bozize was overthrown in 2013 by a rebellion leader Djotadia head of the rebellion army called Seleka. Then the seleka leader Djotadia has resigned in 2014 at the reconciliation conference held in Ndjamen – Chad in 2014. He was replaced by a woman called Catherine Samba-Panza for a transition from 2014 to 2016 the presidential election brought a new president Faustin-Archange Touadéra to power in 2016 and is still holding power as the Central-African Republic president. (Ageer, 2014). The united nations mission and the French mission that called operation san-gray supporting the CAR government in transition who was the Bangui former Mair and prominent business women named Catherine Samba Panza become the president during the transition government. only three Seleka leaders were brought into the transition government. furthermore, there was a constitutional referendum that passed in late February 2016. the election was peaceful and declared as fair and free. however, despite the democratic election the conflict continues in form of interrupted event due to the fact that new president became increasingly reliant on the elites from the past regimes.
CHAPTER FOUR

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

4.1. Conclusion

The purpose of this thesis is to identify the root causes of the conflict to suggest aspects of the peacebuilding that may have a positive influence on the dynamics of conflict or make a contribution to bring about peace. Also, this proposition seeks to provide some recommendations about how to cope with such a violence particularly the post-conflict period which its mains features political and economic insecurity. Therefore, this analysis will inform us about the complementary policy related to peace building for the people of the CAR, civil society and international partners. By using a participatory research methodology, the study drewled on the perceptions and insights of Central Africans directly affected by the conflict and recognize their agency as frontline peacebuilders. In addition to that this thesis seemed to address on the post conflict peacebuilding in the CAR. Mainly, focusing on the international community and local actors that will work together in process of peacebuilding. It also explained how the international community plays a key role in the peacebuilding across the globe. Also, it is explained how international peacebuilding differs from that of local actors.

The research found that there are four elements that caused the conflict in the CAR including exclusion, repression, competition over resources and foreign involvement. One of the important reasons of the conflict is the struggle for power and resources among political elites. Both sides (the rebels and the central government) used the fragmentation that has already been existed in the social and political level in the CAR to acquire power. Furthermore, the research highlights that the repression combined with exclusion policies adopted by the Bozize and the precedent regimes also contributed to the outbreak of violence in CAR. Bozize appointed his government from his own ethnic groups and his relatives especially for positions that he considered strategic from political and economic point of view. This irresponsible attitude provokes sentiment of “grievance“ or having the feeling of being deprived from his or her right. As a result, several armed groups appeared
including SELEK, Anti-balaka, to get their rights which is active participation in political and economic and social life.

Also, the research found that the main reason behind the failure of the peace agreement is the lack of mutual trust between political leaders. This materialized when Bozize did not keep his promises regarding to the peace agreement and he did not want to share the power with some leaders of these armed groups. Again, the Bozize attitude damages the trust between the main political leaders. Finally, regional and international actors interfered into this conflict basically to secure their geo-political interest especially the republic of Chad which has direct social and economic connection with the CAR nation in almost all levels. Moreover, president Bozize decision to shift allies from the conventional one which are Chad and France to new regional and international powers such as China and South Africa. To punish Bozize for his unwillingness to implement the peace agreement and turning to new allies the economic community of central African states (ECCAS) cut its financial support to the Bozize regime. Similarly, Chad and France stopped baking the regime even though they are the one who broth him to the power, due to these reasons they did not protected the regime from rebel attack.

The research highlights some challenges that will be faced by both the local authorities and international community. These challenges can be illustrated in the following point:

- The first one: international community has to make these partnerships work better what we believe is important here is really about information and analysis. If we want a shared objectives which we are going to need to have a shared solutions we really need to have the same analysis of the problem that we face and we think the big problem that we have seen in why the united nation and African union and others sometime disagree is that they do not share the same analysis of the problem or they put different problem as in different level of priority. So is very important that they should try and share as much information and analysis as possible so that they can come up with the same diagnoses of the problem, the same priority of the issues and hence the give the researchers a chance of coming up with shared solution.

Second, there is a big challenge for exit strategies because they tend to do not think hard
enough about the entry strategies and we think what we need to do better going forward is to be very honest about themselves to know what are the situation where peace operation can help and what are the situation where it cannot. In a situation like Central African Republic the ongoing war none of the parties are really serious about peace. The most important things to know in such a conflict what peacekeepers can do? of course they can help facilitate humanitarian assistance they can put a lid on very worst negative consequences of warfare but they cannot solve a war when the belligerent want to fight a war, therefore they should think very carefully about what are the circumstances where it’s just wrong choice of instrument to deploy a peace keeping mission. -Third, is about the financial fund. The funding problem for African mission there can be no ownership a no leadership of the peace and security architecture in Africa unless there is more of slice of the funds come from the African continent. The point to start is there is with Oba Sanja report but also to persuade government and head of the state on the continent that these are problem that are worth investing in even if its investing in this is expensive but it’s going to be more expensive and costlier if we do invest in these peace mechanisms.

Fourth, do much better at ensuring smoother transition between African -led and united nation and this could be done quite easily by making the mandate the same. -fifth: focus on civilian protection and we mean by that both the philosophy if you like the doctrine behind it what are the police and military task involved in civilian protection how do we identify those and then how do we train for this conflict. Sixth: political resolve: we need resolve to protect citizens sometimes we may even have to use deadly force to do what to sum up ultimately multidimensionality because peace operation cannot be done purely by military, in fact more successful peace operation really will be demilitarize that they have work together, think together and train together as police, soldier, and civilians in order to build redeployment training and other system around the idea of multidimensionality. -finally, better to engage local communities if peacekeepers are seen as abusing the local population either through sexual exploitation or corruption and ill-discipline trading in char cold and gold in Central African Republic.
4.2 Recommendations

As the Secretary-General of the United Nations pointed out in his latest report, there will be no quick solution to the Central African crisis; The roots of the crisis explain the impossibility of overcoming them in a short time; first of all, the security crisis must be contained so that it can be restored. The establishment of state structures and the construction of an economy capable of providing employment opportunities. The biggest bet now in Central Africa is empowerment. Economic cycle that allows most people to earn a living fairly. This requires refraining from ready-made constructs and to use critical thinking to understand the causes of the failure of development assistance to the country. If partnership of peacekeeping is going to be really the way forward, we cannot have solution just coming out of Africa alone, Africa in challenge which is very important the best thing could be done is a coming in hybrid international sense. So in that spirit we offer some recommendations of what we can do better.

4.2.1 To the CAR’s Transition Authority

A number of objectives have been identified as a critical in addressing causes of insecurity and violence:

- **Objective 1**: protection of the civilian population through the following steps:
  - To condemn publicly and systematically all the human right violation committed by SELEKA members.
  - To establish a national army force and engaging with regional and international force in a comprehensive join process to contain SELEKA troops as first step to disarm them.
  - Strengthening the CAR security and defense force through extensive training that will allow them to know how to deal with unconventional human right violation such as collective rape.
• Testoring the authority of state particularly the defense and security forces justice and the basic service such as schools, Hospitals on the whole CAR s territory without seclusion of any region or community.

• To facilitate and support the work of national and international activists in place including journalist NGOs and humanitarian workers throughout the country.

➢ **Objective 2**: fighting against impunity by talking the following phenomenon:

• Fighting against impunity especially the perpetrators of serious humanitarian and human right violations.

• To persecute SELEKA members who have been accused of committing war crime and violation of human right.

• Supporting the national committee of inquiry in a way that will allows them to establish facts concerning with the responsible of crimes committed by SELEKA members and Civilians before and after the crisis. Establishment of a hybrid tribunal composed from national and international perpetrators to try the responsible of those crimes that established by the fact-finding mission of the united nation commission of human right.

• Raising a fund with the support of the international community to compensate the victims of looting.

• Legislate a specific law to fight against sexual violence and create a different mechanism that would facilitate women s access to justice.

• To cooperate with the (ICC) with the accordance of the principle of complementarily as mentioned in Rome statue.

➢ **Objective:3** administration of justice:

• To take all necessary means to ensure that the aerostation and detention are conducted in accordance with CAR s criminal code procedures and the other provision of law including the international human right.

• To release immediately anyone arrested or detained arbitrarily.
To take all possible measures to stop the act of torture inhuman degrading treatment and punishment that carried out by the official in the detention center against any person accused of having committed crimes.

- To close all without distinction the illegal detention center
- To establish an action plan to strengthening the CAR’s legal system with the support of the international community.
- To abolish the death penalty to comply with resolution of commission on Human and people’s right.

**Objective 4**: social and economic right:

- To pay regularly the civil servants
- To take all necessary measures to fight against corruption.
- Wrestling against illegal exploitation of all kind of natural resources including Diamond and Gold.
- Monopolization by the central authority the right of exploitation of natural resources.
- To ratify the African charter on democracy election, governance as the protocol of African charter on the African court of human and people’s right (a charter that designed to give right to NGOs to sue in African courts in case their right is violated). Furthermore, to ratify the convention against torture and inhuman degrading treatment and punishment. Also, to ratify the optional protocol on the right of Child and the involvement of Children in armed conflict.

**4.2.2 To the UN Security Council and African Union’s Council for Peace and Security**

- To condemn all violation of international humanitarian law and human right law perpetrated in the country.
To support the stuff of “MISCA “the international mission support for CAR to ensure the protection of the population throughout the CAR territory. Also to support MISCA to implement a mandate that will enable the following:

- To guarantee the protection of human right activist and the journalist

- To establish several Garrison especially in the province and the main cities of the countries.

- Increase the surveillance in a wide range around the garrisons to prevent all act of violence against civilian.

- To implement the Libreville agreement containing and disarming SELEK rebels.

- To grantee the security and protection of national and international representative by providing them mains to leave the country. And ensuring the security and working condition of the humanitarian activist throughout the country.
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