CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, the writer will explain about the background of the topic which is general elections 2015/2016 in Central African Republic, followed by the research question of the topic and theoretical framework that was used to answer the question. Furthermore, the writer will explain about scope, methodology, range and purpose of the research. As the last part, of this chapter, the writer will explain about the system of the writing.

A.   Background

The African continent has already known as a continent that consists of many conflicting countries. Central African Republic (C.A.R) is one of the countries that also had been facing difficulties in solving their internal conflict. These years, C.A.R faced the worst political crisis in their history since the central government could not play its effective role in governing the society. The conflict in this country had already emerged a long time ago, but recently, the conflict became worst into an ethnic cleansing toward Muslim (UN: Muslims ethnically cleansed in CAR, 2015).

Insurgencies and army mutinies were the sources of conflict in C.A.R but the conflict reached the peak these years due to the unstable political condition of the government. It also became more complex after the

emergence of rebels group in C.A.R (Arieff & F. Husted, The Central African Republic: Background and U.S. Policy, 2015).

In the end of 2012, Séléka as the first actor of recent conflicting party emerged. It is a Muslim minority group who lived in the north region of Central African Republic which was also the part of previous rebels group that already split into one (Herbert, Dukhan, & Debos, State fragility in the Central African Republic: What prompted the 2013 coup?, 2013). Séléka is the overview of Muslim minority disappointment toward unfair treatments done by the government like the exclusivity had by Christians and also persecution faced by them (Arieff & F. Husted, The Central African Republic: Background and U.S. Policy, 2015).

Séléka was formed to oppose the government of Francois Bozize in 2012 who gained the power to be the president of Central African Republic undemocratically by attempting a coup to topple down the previous president (Central African Republic Profile – Timeline , 2016). Under his ten years administration, many rebels emerged as the demand of new government establishment. The rebels' objections to Bozizé are including forgotten health and education promises, war crimes, and the exclusion of certain groups from government positions, also the discrimination faced by Muslims minority (Bahr, 2013). To handle the rebels, Bozize made an agreement with them but at the end, he violated the agreement and finally became toppled down

(Herbert, Dukhan, & Debos, State fragility in the Central African Republic: What prompted the 2013 coup?, 2013).

After Bozize toppled down, Séléka as the new powerful group at that time chose unilaterally their leader, Michel Djotodia to become the new president. He was the first Muslim ruler in the country. Under his administration, Séléka used power abuse to occupy all of C.A.R cities by conducting the individual attack to the citizens. However, since Djotodia was not chosen by the entire C.A.R's citizen, he was not recognized by African leaders and Western powers as the legitimate president (Regional Leaders recognize C.African Republic rebel chief (2013) Retrieved November 13th, 2016 Regional Leaders recognize C.African Republic rebel chief , 2013).

Under his administration in 2013, Anti-Balaka re-emerged as the disagreement response of the chosen Muslim leader. They were formed from Christian farmers and also consist of the former officers of Bozize's army (ACLED, COUNTRY REPORT: CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC, 2015). They gained power and became a Christian militant group targeting Séléka as their threat which also making Muslims as their target to be killed. It was the starting point of ethnic cleansing in C.A.R towards Muslims. Due to this condition, hundreds of deaths were reported. A religious dimension had emerged in the conflict, with Anti-Balaka targeting Muslim civilians. This action led to reprisals done by Séléka to target back Christian civilians.

The condition where Muslim and Christians attacked each other brought Michel Djotodia to step down from his position and again, made C.A.R facing a political vacuum and made the number of violence increased.

Since Djotodia stepped down from the position of president, the number of violence from both conflicting parties to the innocent civilians increased. If the media reported they attacked each other on behalf of their religion but however, it could not be denied that both parties have their own political interests. It could be seen from the regrouping of Séléka group, and three factions had emerged: the Union for Peace in the Central African Republic (UPC) under Ali Daras, the Popular Front for the Renaissance of Central Africa (FPRC) under Adam Nourredine and the Patriotic Assembly for the Renaissance of Central Africa (RPRC) under Damane Zacharia and Joseph Zoundeko (ACLED, COUNTRY REPORT: CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC, 2015). While Anti-Balaka also formed the Central African Party for Unity and Development (PCUD), a political party seeking to legitimate their role in C.A.R and use institutional forces to continue their struggle (ACLED, COUNTRY REPORT: CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC, 2015).

In managing the conflict, there were many alternative peace ways that had already taken by both transitional government of C.A.R and even international actor involvement. One of the actions taken was ceasefire agreement conducted in Congo between Séléka and Anti-Balaka in 2014. However, it was not effective enough to end the conflict that had already

caused many victims died (ACLED, COUNTRY REPORT: CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC, 2015). Not only that, regional actor like The Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) also played a role in solving the problem by mediating peace accords and also deploying troops (Arieff & Husted, Crisis in the Central African Republic, 2015).

Seeing the conflict became an endless conflict due to changes of leadership have generally been accomplished through military coups, and rarely through democratic elections especially since the beginning of the 2000s, United Nations Integrated Peace-building Office in the Central African Republic (BINUCA) as United Nations mandate did not only focus on disarmament and humanitarian protection but also planning for a transitional government by supporting general elections (Weber & Kaim, 2014). The African Union as a regional organization also worked together with United Nations to help them to hold general elections by conducting observation mission to conduct general election, but still could not finish the conflict. The general elections that were hoped as one of the ways to reduce the conflict also had been repeatedly delayed to be conducted (Arieff & F. Husted, The Central African Republic: Background and U.S. Policy, 2015). Both of conflicting parties considered elections as the unfavorable mean to deal with the conflict which made the elections suffered from irregularities and security threats that ultimately caused it to fall short of many Central Africans' expectations (Central African Republic).

After several years conflict happened and all of the alternative ways taken to reduce the conflict, in the end of 2015 the conflict in C.A.R started to face de-escalation and in the beginning of 2016, the elections conducted as the way to solve the problem. The first legislative and presidential election that conducted after several years conflict resulting former Prime Minister of Central African Republic, Faustin Archange Touadera as the new president of Central African Republic democratically.

B.   Research Question

From the explanations above regarding the background of the conflict, then the question emerged is **"How conflict resolution measures were taken before conducting general elections 2015 / 2016 in Central African Republic?"**

C.   Theoretical Framework

Democratic Peace Theory

Democratic peace theory was first enunciated in a keynote article by Michael Doyle in the journal *Philosophy and Public Affairs*. (Williams, 2008).

This theory is considered by the basic idea about democracies by nature do not go to war with another. This concept is rooted theoretically in

the writings of Immanuel Kant, and in particular his work "Perpetual Peace" (Pugh, 2005).

In explaining the idea of democracy, there are three versions of democratic peace theory that had been argued by democratic peace theorists by examining real conflicts:

1. Monadic version analyzed in 1960's and 70's: democracies, in general, are more peaceful and are less likely to go to war (Democratic Peace Theory).

2. Dyadic: the most commonly accepted version among democratic peace theorists. Democracies may be even robust in the use of force than non-democracies due partially to the ideological nature of democratic wars and partially to the fact that liberal democratic states are strong with large wealth base (Williams, 2008).

3. Systemic: as democratic states grow, then the international system as a whole becomes more peaceful (Democratic Peace Theory).

From those three versions of democratic peace theory, it is clearly explained the positive side of democracy in dealing with conflict and could be related to the case of Central African Republic conflict where many parties are trying to adopt democracy as the way to solve the problem. The involvement from other actors like regional organization, international organization and also other countries are also explained by all of three versions of democratic peace theory.

In the explanation of democratic peace theory, there are several arguments proofing how democracy could result peace. One of the arguments that could be related to the case of Central Africa Republic is Normative Arguments.

According to normative arguments, democracies believe that other democracies are reasonable, predictable, and trustworthy (Maoz & M. Russett, 1993). Democratic states are bound by cultural and social norms that call for non-violent conflict resolution and negotiation. Because democratic leaders are bound by these norms they try to adopt them in the international arena which means that a democracy will respect its fellow democracy abiding by these norms and ; thus, treat the fellow with great esteem and diplomatic affection.

This logic argues that autocratic political systems are considered unjust and immoral. From the perspective of democracy, war may be necessary to free people from dictatorship. Democracies may also want to introduce the idea of human right (Democratic Peace Theory).

In relating the theory with conflict in Central African Republic, based on the figure 1, it explains that democracy is bound by norms. The norms that should be recreated before conducting general elections in Central African Republic are cultural and social norms. It aimed to create cohesiveness between Muslim and Christians since the conflict in the country somehow was influenced by political interests that used religious matter as the mean to

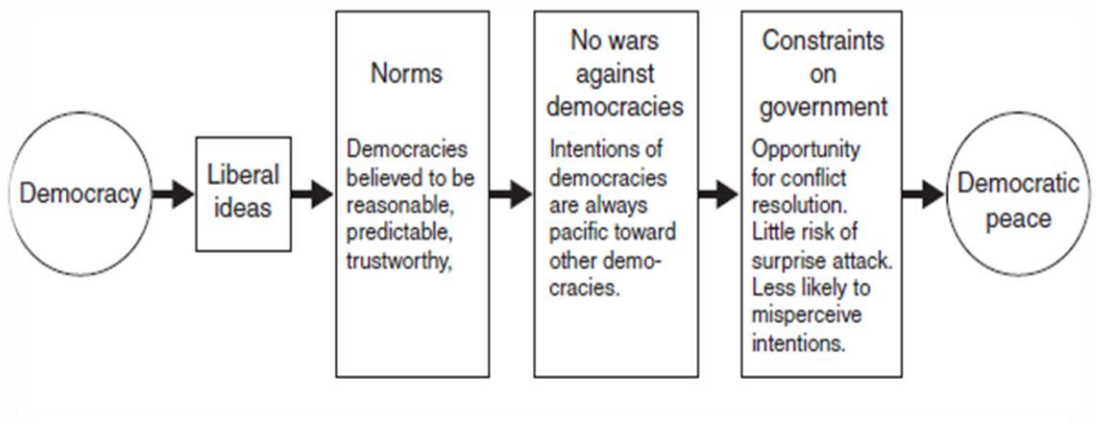achieve their interest. In this process, the actor who played a role was faith-based actors.

Figure 1 – Norms and Democratic Peace

Source:

rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monograph_reports/MR1346/MR1346.appc.pdf

Also in the figure 1 explains that fellow democracy will treat the fellow with great esteem and diplomatic affection. Democracies may also want to introduce the idea of human rights and free people from dictatorship. In the context of conflict resolutions taken before conducting general elections as liberal democratic idea in Central African Republic, there were humanitarian aids and diplomatic supports given by the international actors as other adherents of democracy.

While also as explained in the normative figure of democratic peace theory, due to democratic leaders are bound by norms they try to adopt them in international arena which means that a democracy will respect its fellow democracy abiding by these norms and treat the fellow with great esteem and diplomatic affection. International assistance is showing diplomatic affection regarding non-violent resolution and negotiation done by other international actors to Central African Republic as the conflict resolution taken before conducting general elections.

Despite some arguments about democratic peace theory, this theory has been influential in public policy. The association between war, democracy, and rights prevalent in the immediate aftermath of Second World War, has also been revived (Williams, 2008).

From the explanation above, this theory could be implemented in analyzing the conflict resolutions taken before conducting the general elections in C.A.R as the alternative conflict resolution. Normative argument of democratic peace theory figure could be used to analyze steps taken in conducting the elections.

D.   Hypotheses

Based on background and theoretical framework, the following hypothesis that could be put to explain how conflict resolution measures were taken before conducting general elections 2015 / 2016 in Central African Republic is by:

1. Re-creating cultural and social norms between Muslims and Christians.
2. Giving humanitarian aid and diplomatic assistance.
3. Involving international assistance.

E.   Scope of Research

The conflict in Central African Republic had already emerged a long time ago due to the political violence that was done by several actors which made government could not play its role. This research will primarily focus on the conflict that occurred since 2012 until the elections conducted in the beginning of 2016.

F.   Methodology

The method of the research was qualitative method. This method was used to verify the hypothesis by understanding empirical reality. The

information source of this research will be taken by collecting relevant secondary data like article, journals, e-news, e-book and other literary sources.

G.   Range of Research

In this research, the writer only focused on the topic research by limiting the time of the phenomenon. The writer explained the understanding of the conflict and its conflict resolution in the case of horizontal conflict.

Since the conflict had already happened more than 10 years, the writer limited the time of this research start from 2012 when C.A.R was controlled by Francois Bozize until the general elections conducted democratically as one of conflict resolution in the beginning of 2016.

H.   Purpose of Research

The purpose of this research is to identify the conflict resolutions taken before general elections 2016 as one of conflict resolution in solving the conflict in Central African Republic. This research is addressed to all readers who have the interests toward Politic and Government in Africa. It will help them to increase their knowledge about one of the conflicting country in Africa. The writer hopes after being finished, this research would be useful for its readers.

I.   System of Writing

The system of writing this research was arranged as :

Chapter I. The writer explained about problem background, followed by research question, theoretical framework, hypotheses, scope of research, methodology, range of research, purpose of research, and outline of research.

Chapter II. The writer explained about political complexity of Central Africa Republic followed by the general information about political, geographical, alliance and political and governmental history of the country.

Chapter III The writer explained about the historical setting of conflict in Central Africa Republic including the actors involved, figures of the conflict, and alternative solutions that had been taken.

Chapter IV. The writer examined how general elections could be conducted as the alternative of conflict resolution in Central Africa Republic including the involvement of state and non-state actors.

Chapter V. The writer provided conclusion