## **CHAPTER V**

## **CONCLUSION**

Central African Republic (C.A.R) had already faced political complexity and insurgencies since its independence. Due to the eagerness of certain group to gain power, most of the presidents of the country were overthrown in coups which made the central government could not effectively do its function in dealing with the problem. The problem became more complex in the end of 2012 when rebel group called Séléka emerged as the disappointment of Muslim minority in the northern area of the country toward the government.

Séléka is also the alliances of previous rebels groups like Democratic Front for the People of the Central African Republic (FDPC), and the Union of Re-publican Forces (UFR). Being led by Michel Djotodia, Séléka launched individual attacks toward the citizens and conquered some cities including the capital. Actions taken by Séléka resulted the toppling down of Francois Bozize as the president and changed into Séléka's leader, Michel Djotodia.

Under Djotodia's administration, he was beneficiated from his access to power and to public funding for his own personal enrichment. Not only the leader, the whole Séléka also benefited from the taxes gotten by them, selling parallel mining authorizations, trading and smuggling diamonds and also pre-financing mining activities.

However, since Djotodia was chosen unilaterally only by the member of Séléka, he was not recognized by international actors. During his administration, Anti-Balaka re-emerged as the protest of power abuse done by Séléka. Anti-Balaka itself is a modern coalition of local vigilante groups who formed in self-defense to protect communities from rebel abuses, bandits, cattle-raiders and poachers. The member of Anti-Balaka mainly came from former president Bozizé's home region in the north-west of the country, and is reported to consist of various groups, including former soldiers, defected members of the Séléka, Christian vigilante farmers.

Since then, the conflict between Séléka and Anti-Balaka could not be avoided.

A majority-Christian coalition of the Anti-Balaka re-emerged to launch a counter attack and resulted a revenge cycle attack between both parties. Since then, Djotodia got pressure to leave his presidency position.

After the fall of Djotodia's administration, the troops of Séléka in Bangui were withdrawn. Most of them started moving to the northeast of the country. Although transitional president was chosen to run the government, however, the conflict between Séléka and Anti-Balaka could not be avoided. The severity of the violence peaked in December 2013, the month with most fatalities on record. During the conflict, hundreds of deaths were reported. 60 cases of violence involving Muslim and/or Christian militias have increased, frequent targeting of people based on religion.

As the way in ending the conflict between Séléka and Anti-Balaka, there had been several alternative ways taken by transitional government even by international actors like United Nations and African Union. Repressive, negotiation and even mediation means had already taken but it still could not end the conflict.

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, as the way to solve the problem, the transitional government also planned for a transitional government by supporting general elections. However, the general elections that were hoped as one of the ways to reduce the conflict also had been repeatedly delayed to be conducted. The elections suffered from irregularities and security threats that ultimately caused it to fall short of many Central Africans' expectations.

General elections are considered as the idea of liberal democracy. Based on the explanation about democratic peace theory, democracies, in general, are more peaceful and are less likely to go to war. 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.

As explained above, there were several conflict resolutions taken in achieving democracy before conducting general elections in Central African Republic. Also, the

roles of other international actors were really influential. Since democratic states are bound by cultural and social norms that call for non-violent conflict resolution and negotiation, the first conflict resolution taken before conducting general elections was recreating cultural and social norms between Muslims and Christians. This conflict resolution was conducted by faith-based actors like religious leaders and also regional organization like National Democratic Institute (NDI) to unite all of the people of Central African Republic without differentiating people based on religions since the conflict happened was influenced by political interest by certain parties.

The second contributed conflict resolution taken before conducting general elections was humanitarian aid and diplomatic support by other state and international organizations since a democracy will respect its fellow democracy, treat the fellow with great esteem and diplomatic affection. It also aimed to regain stable situation in the country caused by the conflict between Séléka and Anti-Balaka. In this process, actors involved were United States of America, United Nations, International Rescue Committee and even European Union. All of those actors put high concern toward humanitarian crisis in Central African Republic and gave aid in accessing public service like education, health, sanitation and even shelter.

The last conflict resolution taken before conducting general elections was the giving of international assistances, both for security, political and electoral assistance. Elections that had been repeatedly delayed to be conducted, suffered from irregularities and security threats that ultimately caused it to fall short of many

Central Africans' expectations. As the way in conducting general elections, constrains in government should be solved. In getting security assistance to disarm conflicting parties, Central African Republic got the help from France Sangaris troops and also MINUSCA from United Nations country members. Beside that, as the national effort of the country, Bangui National Forum was conducted to mediate conflicting parties.

In political and electoral assistances, Electoral Institute for Sustainable Democracy in Africa (EISA) and United Nations played influential roles. EISA was aimed to analyze general environment regarding political transition, preparation of elections. EISA also aimed to analyze the needs and opportunities to support the process of transition and exit from the crisis in the country while United Nations had given mandates to MINUSCA and UNDP to develop a multi-disciplinary operational plan and concept of operations to support the Transitional Authorities on the electoral process. The plan consisted of efforts needed to be taken in accordance to create the conducive environment for the elections, public awareness and sensitization, technical assistance, monitoring, and capacity-building. It also outlined the detail of logistics planning for the voter registration process, voting, and post-electoral support to the National Electoral Authority and the national internal security forces.