UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL

PEACE-KEEPING AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION: AN EXAMINATION OF SOUTH AFRICA'S ROLE IN THE CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC.

BY

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DECLARATION

I, **Rejoyce Hlengiwe Phetha** declare that

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ABSTRACT

Given the destabilizing effect which conflicts have had on Africa's socio economic and political development, attempts have been made by the combination of state and non-state actors towards ensuring the prevention of conflicts before they occur and including the setting up of the required capacity to deal with them once they have occurred. South Africa's involvement in conflict resolution in the Southern African region has been accompanied by both successes and failures. While it is true that South Africa has been instrumental in bringing about peace in countries such as Burundi, Sudan, the Democratic Republic of Congo and many other African countries, it is equally true that such initiatives have faced certain challenges for the country – both internally and on the global front. South Africa's hegemonic status has been affirmed by some while also being challenged by others. Be that as it may, the country's geographical location as well as its military and economic strength, have placed the country at an advantaged position as one of the leading nations in conflict resolutions and peacekeeping in Africa.

In view of the forgoing, this study used document analysis and desktop research to examine the role played by South Africa in the Central African Republic (CAR). Using the conflict theory as its framework of analysis and content analysis as its research methodology, the study looked at the nexus between South Africa's domestic and foreign policy in its dealings with the conflict situation in the CAR. The study further examined the challenges and successes that South Africa came across while being involved in the peacekeeping mission in Africa in general and in the CAR in particular since the demise of apartheid. The findings revealed that what is presently at play is a continuation of South Africa's involvement in peacekeeping and conflict resolution mechanisms in Africa despite criticisms levelled against the country by certain commentators. The study recommends a re-definition of South Africa's foreign policy focus to accommodate more countries in Africa in terms of security and peacekeeping. Lastly, the study recommends that there should be consistency in the manner in which South Africa propagates its foreign policy imperatives. Failure to do so will subject the country to further criticisms.

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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATONS

ADSP   African Defence and Security Policy

AU   African Union

AMIS   Union Mission in Sudan

ARC   African Renaissance Committee

CAR   Central Africa Republic

CERF   Central Emergency Respond Fund

DRC   Democratic Republic of Congo

DDR   Disarmament Demobilisation and Integration

ECOWAS   Economic Community of West African States

ECCAS   Economic Community of East and Central African States

EU   European Union

FOMAC   Central African Multinational Force

GDP   Gross Domestic Product

IMIS   International Military Intervention

LRA   Lord's Resistance Army

NEPAD   New Economic Partnership for African Development

OAU   Organizational African Union

PSO   Peace Support Operation

R2P   Responsibility to Protect

SADC   South African Development Coordination

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW

1.1 INTRODUCTION

South Africa has played an important role in peacekeeping and conflict resolution in Africa. South Africa got involved in managing peace and security in Africa after the end of apartheid in 1994. At the present moment South Africa is being guided by its foreign policy, objectives which have to be in line with domestic policies and the National constitution. These policies determine how South Africa interacts with other countries. This chapter introduces the research project and presents the background as well as the main arguments of the project. The same chapter discusses the aim, objectives, research questions and methodological approach of the study. It concludes by presenting the chapter outline with the view to prepare the reader's mind-set on how the study shall flow.

1.2 BACKGROUND AND OUTLINE OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

South Africa's peacekeeping role emerged within the broader context of a changed political landscape in Africa in general and within South Africa in particular. The colonial legacy, the struggles against colonial and apartheid rule, and its subsequent replacement with post – colonial/apartheid independent governments ushered in a new political phase in African history. The global Cold War ended in the early 1990's thus bringing hope and optimism that global peace would prevail henceforth. However, this was replaced by a myriad of internal conflicts which continue to ravage the African continent today. Participation in peace efforts has been a priority to the South African government since 1994 in line with the country's post-apartheid foreign policy. This involvement has been synonymous with South Africa's goal of being a leader on the African continent without prescribing what other African countries should do. The nature of peace operations in Africa has changed drastically over the past decade or two. Many operations have been carried out, ranging from those organized by the UN, the AU, Non-

governmental organisations to those organized by regional bodies such as the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), Southern African Development Community (SADC) and many others. The South African government has played a crucial role in a number of African countries including the Central African Republic (CAR) – both openly and secretly.

The Central African Republic is one of the African countries that have faced civil wars, military dictatorships and corruption. CAR has never had an effective central government over a long time, and it has battled with recurrent revolutions and army mutinies since the late 1990s. This has happened for so long and South Africa as a leading country in terms of economy took an initiative to intervene in the crisis of peacekeeping and conflict resolution. According to Arieff (2014) the wars that took place in CAR were of religious derivation; they were fought among the Muslims and Christians. Furthermore, Central African Republic is one of the poorest countries in the world. South Africa's intervention in the Central African Republic has played a major role in managing the conflict even though it brought many questions (Obasanjo, 2014). Over the past few years, CAR has witnessed one form of escalating conflict or the other with their attendant consequences. There have been intermittent civil wars in the CAR which prompted countries such as South Africa to intervene with the view to bring about political stability as a way of redeeming the image of the African continent and its different regions.

Conflict resolution is the area of development where, over time, South Africa has maintained participation and prominence, and has actually realized accomplishments on the African continent. Moreover, South Africa's conflict resolution efforts are influenced by the country's national interests. Its foreign policy plays a major role in assisting and resolving issues of other countries (Tjemolane, 2014). This includes countries such as: Sudan, Rwanda, Mozambique, Lesotho, Zimbabwe, and many others across the African continent.

Chester (2011: 40) argues that "we have entered an era in which the risks of discord, fragmentation and competition are manifest, and in which leading countries are buffeted by economic pressures and distracted by political divisions". There is a risk that among established powers, short-term agendas and internal pressures will troop out visionary cooperative initiatives

to increase global security. South Africa operates within this broader context. Peace-keeping and conflict resolution are two key features of African politics today.

1.3 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

South Africa has played a pivotal role in mediating peace agreements and assisting in their implementation thus helping to reduce the level of conflict in different parts of the African continent. South Africa's foreign policy emphasizes its unique role as a post-apartheid democracy with important contributions to offer, particularly in the area of conflict resolution. Having obtained democracy through a negotiated settlement, South Africa has become a model and a source of reference for other African countries. At the same time, the country's assumed position as a regional hegemon makes other African countries suspicious of its involvement in conflict resolutions in Africa. South Africa's assumed competition with Nigeria makes her involvement in conflict-ridden countries very interesting. This is more so to those who see Nigeria as more deserving of the hegemonic status compared to South Africa by virtue of Nigeria having obtained political independence from Britain in 1960.

However, this study intended to unravel the underlying motives behind South Africa's foreign policy, find out if there are any challenges that the country faces in peacekeeping and conflict resolutions, and also to examine the nexus between the shift (if any) and the country's intervention in future mediations. Using Central African Republic (CAR) as a case study, the study also attempted to investigate or interrogate the gains by South Africa's government in resolving the CAR crisis. Lastly, the study also attempted to identify any changes that occurred over time in South Africa's foreign policy goals, particularly as it affects the country's commitment to peacekeeping and conflict resolution in Africa in general.

1.4 SCOPE OF THE STUDY

This study examined South Africa's role in peace-keeping and in the resolution of conflicts in Africa in general with particular attention being given to South Africa's contribution to the ECOWAS led intervention in the Liberian civil war, while also focusing on the nexus between this intervention and South Africa's national interest. In addition attempts were also made to

contextualize some interventionist roles played by South Africa in its quest to ensuring peace and stability in Africa. This constituted the background to South Africa's involvement in peace-keeping and conflict resolution. Within this broader context, the study then focused on the Central African Republic as a case study in order to expound the theme of the study.

1.5 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The aims of the study were to:

1. Establish the nexus between South Africa's role in peace keeping and conflict resolution in Africa and the protection of its national interests;
2. Appraise the strategies that have been applied by South Africa towards peace keeping and conflict resolution in Africa with particular emphasis on the Central African Republic civil war;
3. Analyse the connection between South Africa's foreign policy objectives and her interventionist role in Africa; and
4. Identify the opportunities and challenges that confronted South Africa's peacekeeping mission in the CAR specifically while also considering experiences in other African countries too.

1.6 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This study intended to address the following questions:

1. What has been the role of South Africa in peace keeping and conflict resolution in Africa?

2. What are the strategies that have been advanced by South Africa in resolving conflicts in Africa?

3. How are the foreign policy goals of South Africa related to its interventions in Africa's troubled regions?

4. What have been the challenges faced by South Africa in its conflict resolution agenda?

5. How is the country's experience in the CAR similar to or different from other experiences?

1.7 RESEACRH HYPOTHESIS

South Africa's role and commitment to peace keeping and conflict resolution in Africa are determined by the dictates of its foreign policy objectives.

1.10 RESEARCH METHODOLODY

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1.11 STRUCTURE OF DISSERTATION

The study is organized into six chapters arranged as follows:

1.11.1 CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW

The first chapter has introduced the study and presented the background and the main arguments of the study including the aim and the objectives of the study as well as the research questions. It is within this chapter where the limitations of the study were outlined.

1.11.2 CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter will provide a literature review of this study. It will discuss concepts such as conflict resolution and peace keeping. This chapter will consider broader literature on the theme of the study and then look at the sources which focus on South Africa and the CAR in particular. Moreover, the chapter will look at the nexus between South Africa's role in managing peace keeping and conflict resolution from a general perspective.

The latter part of this chapter will introduce the theory which guided the study, spell out what it entails, consider any criticism levelled against it and justify the theory's relevance to the study.

1.11.3 CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter will outline the methods used in the collection and processing of data used in the study. The research tools, data sources and data analysis form part of the methodology and they will be presented in this chapter.

1.11.4 CHAPTER 4: THE CASE STUDY OF CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC: A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF THE CRISIS

This chapter will present the historical overview of the study area in detail in order to assist the reader with the broader context within which the conflict should be understood.

1.11.5 CHAPTER 5: SOUTH AFRICA'S ROLE IN THE CAR: SUCCESSES AND CHALLENGES

This is the main chapter of the study where the findings will be presented and analysed. These findings will later be integrated with the theoretical perspectives.

1.11.6 CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter will provide conclusions and recommendations based on the research. It will respond to the research questions and indicate whether the findings validate the initial hypothesis and if the study met its objectives. In addition, recommendations for future research in this area will be made.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

In undertaking a review of the literature for this study, attempts have been made to classify the process into the following categories: perspectives on intervention, the notion of peace building and conflict resolution, South Africa's foreign policy and citizen diplomacy. The study of peacekeeping and related issues needs to start with a proper understanding of the history, legality, and conceptual understanding of conflict and peacekeeping itself. The study examined the role played by South Africa in the Central African Republic. It highlighted some theories of conflict resolution and then examined the concept of peacekeeping and its approaches.

According to McGregor (2013:3) South Africa has traditionally been "one of the largest contributors to peacekeeping operations in Africa". Bowd (2010) argues that violent conflict in sub-Saharan Africa has been responsible for the direct and indirect deaths of millions of civilians and has contributed significantly to the low levels of human security in the region. The countries of Sub-Saharan Africa that have been involved in violent conflict are characterized by poverty, inadequate service provision, political instability, retarded economic growth and other challenges to overall development that prevent the enhancement of human security. Due to these challenges the successful and sustainable resolution of these conflicts has created an enormous barrier to future prosperity in the region (Koening 2011).

The situation in CAR has triggered international concern. In 2012, the government of South Africa was seen as cultivating growing ties with CAR. According to Arieff (2014:11) "South African troops were deployed to CAR presumably for bilateral security cooperation". This resulted in some of the South African troops being killed by the soldiers of the Seleka troops. Due to the loss of military troops South Africa then withdrew its remaining forces in the Central

African Republic. Some political analyst interpreted South Africa's moves as part of a strategy to pursue and protect potential mineral interests, and more broadly of seeking greater influence in francophone Africa (https://ujdigispace.uj.ac.za/bitstream).

The concept of conflict prevention can be broken down into structural and operational conflict prevention, where the first category refers to early efforts aimed at addressing the root causes of a conflict before they create a risk of violence, while the second refers to last-minute efforts to prevent disputes turning violent. The UN is well equipped to engage in structural conflict prevention. In engaging in a formal discourse on the notion of conflict resolution, it may be necessary to undertake an explication on the concept of conflict itself and, in doing this the thesis borrows a clue from the definitions offered by Coser (1956), Fink (1968) and Galtung (1992). Coser (1956:8) views conflict as "a struggle over values and claims to scarce status, power and resource or a struggle in which the aims of the opponent are to neutralize, injure or eliminate rivals."

Fink (1968:456) defines conflict as "the existence of non-compatibility or disagreements between two actors (individuals, groups, organizations or nations) in their interaction over issues of interests, values, beliefs, emotions, goals, space, positions and scarce resources". Galtung (1992: 54) states that "conflict situation takes place when there are instances of incompatibility among two or more parties, thus leading to one goal standing in the way of the other".

From the definitions offered above, the points to note are that, conflict occurs as a result of competition for scarce resources among people. Furthermore conflict also occurs because of the voraciousness of human needs that are contributory factors to the occurrence of conflicts in the society and also selfishness, ego and the desire to beat others responsible for the continuous generality of conflict in the international system. Therefore, conflict resolution in this context is allowed out of the desire to resolve the differences which exist among the nations or countries. Golwa (2009: 279) defines conflict resolution as "the limitation, mitigation and containment of violent conflicts through the use of forcible and non- forcible instruments to stop the recurrence of humanitarian emergency situations". Mail (2004) argued that for a conflict resolution technique to be effective and transformative, it must take cognizance of the identification of the

underlying causes of the conflict and address them through solutions that will be mutually satisfactory, self-perpetuating, and sustaining in the long run. This constitutes what is then referred to as conflict resolution, which can be achieved either through negotiation or the use of force.

Nonetheless most scholars and politicians agree that international organisations have gradually become vital within the areas of peace and security (Lepgold and Weiss, 1998). Furthermore, international organisations such as the United Nations (UN), the European Union (EU) and the African Union (AU) have developed an increasing collection of instruments such as political, military, economic and civilian to act within the areas of conflict management and their role has become bigger (Koenig, 2011). Kocamaz (2011:16) states that studies have shown that "[the] United Nations was the world's leading conflict manager which was constantly engaged in a high number of missions across the globe where it deployed a greater number of personnel other than any organization". But the UN cannot resolve all conflict situations alone; it needs the help of regional bodies as well as individual countries to come on board and lend a hand. South Africa has played its part in this regard and continues to do so in the Central African Republic. While the literature exists on South Africa's post-apartheid foreign policy direction (Ogunnubi, 2013), the politics, successes and challenges of the country's involvement has not been systematically analyzed, hence this study

Africa has been the scene of numerous armed conflicts for many decades since the demise of colonialism in the 1960s. Francophone, Anglophone and Lusophone Africa all had their fair share of these post-independence conflicts. Here we can count countries such as Mali, Angola, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Sudan and Mozambique, to name just a few. The end of the Cold War and the collapse of communism in 1989 may have reconfigured the global political landscape but failed to bring African conflicts to a halt. Recent events in the Central African Republic (CAR) have reminded us that violence remains endemic on the African continent and continues to hamper institutional, social, and economic development. Noticeably, as some African countries engage in devastating civil wars such as the one which left thousands of people either dead or displaced in Rwanda, others strive for peace and political stability. Within this context, South Africa has played a major role in trying to bring about peace in the

CAR. This chapter provides the literature review of South Africa's role in the CAR in terms of peacekeeping and conflict resolution. It discusses concepts such as peacekeeping, conflict resolution, humanitarian intervention, citizen diplomacy and peacebuilding. It will also examine the challenges faced by South African troops in the CAR in its peace keeping mission. The role of the South African foreign policy will be discussed. The possible measures that can be taken in order to examine the nexus between South Africa and the CAR will be discussed. It is within this chapter that the main argument of this study is discussed in depth using different literatures.

2.2 PEACEKEEPING AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION IN AFRICA

2.2.1 PEACEKEEPING

The UN (2014:6) defines peacekeeping as **"the deployment of international military and civilian personnel to a conflict area, with the consent of the parties to the conflict and or national authorities acting impartially in order to assist with humanitarian relief, human rights compliance and nation- building".** Roth (2004:8) on the other hand defines peacekeeping as "a system designed to preserve the peace, where belligerent has ended and to assist in implementing agreements achieved by the peacemakers". It is evident that South Africa also played a pivotal role in peacekeeping in the African countries. Moreover, peacekeeping seems to be the relevant issue where there is or was conflict among the countries as it provides various assistance not only to maintain peace and security but to facilitate the political process, protect civilians, assist in disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of former combatants, protect and promote human rights and assist in restoring the rule of law.

The International Peacekeeping Academy defines peacekeeping as, "the prevention, containment, moderation or termination of hostilities between states through the medium of a peaceful third party intervention organized and directed internationally using multilateral forces of soldiers, police and civilians to restore and maintain order" (Mackinelay, 1989: 1). Peacekeeping aims to resolve major difficulties, such as guaranteeing the safe passage of humanitarian assistance, helping displaced persons and stopping the killing of ordinary citizens by more forceful measures. Williams (1996:62) argues that "peacekeeping operations are known by their emphasis on restraint and a self-defensive posture and usually presuppose the existence

of a cease-fire, while the political objective is of the utmost importance". The willingness of South Africa to contribute to peacekeeping in neighboring war-torn states is being commended by the UN.

Doyle and Sambianis (2006:783) argue that "peacekeeping operations are crucial to accelerate the political space for peacebuilding". They propose that peacekeeping operations can temporarily substitute weak state institutions and upsurge local capabilities as part of the permanent solution. Henceforth, peacekeepers often lack resources and the political will to provide effective transitional governance. According to Murray (2008), the UN has also played a major role in the central African countries in terms of peacekeeping and resolving conflict. Furthermore, the United Nations is among the many international organizations that attempt to prevent international conflict and to limit its severity and restore peace when violence occurs (Thruelsen, 2009). However, the United Nations remains a state-centric organization marred by political frictions and political realities. Moreover, the United Nations is faced with challenges in making peace building.

According to Biersteker and Jütersonke (2010) the UN's involvement in the 2005 peace building in Africa did not begin with the establishment of the institutions that comprise the peace building architecture. They further say that in the framework of its long involvement with the complex and interconnected challenges of conflict resolution, peace-making, peacekeeping and post-conflict peace building, reconciliation and development has been an issue in many countries. The main purpose for the United Nations is to make peace building among the nations. However, peace building took another approach after some time and the UN deploys the international military force under the aegis of the international organization (Rourke, 1989).

Rourke (1989) asserts that as soon as atrocities are being resolved within a country a consensus has to be reached. South Africa in the Central African Republic came into an agreement that they should intervene in making peace with the government of the CAR. In Africa, peacekeeping has been increasing since the atrocities have to be involved. In Africa an important outcome of peace negotiations has been the signing of peace agreements and ceasefire agreements and their implementation. In some cases implementations have proved successful while in other cases they

have proved a failure. South Africa provides us with good examples of success in the process of implementing peace agreements (Nyerere, 2004).

South Africa brings about peace in the continent and creates an environment that is conducive to reconstruction and development resulting in faster economic development (Zondi, 2013). South Africa provided a small number of troops to support the Central African Republic's embattled government as a way of maintaining peace. Overall, there are ten of the twenty-nine instances of international military interventions resorting to combat in support of another government identified in the International Military Intervention (IMI). The provision of a safe and secure environment as undertaken by peacekeepers is part of the security and rule of law dimensions of peacebuilding. According to Kocamaz (2011) security is being used as a concept to narrow the frame of state security and international relations. However, in terms of security threats this has been changed frequently.

Furthermore, "the issues related to security threats which posed by non-state actors such as terrorist groups or global challenges are linked to the transnational politics and economic on the high security agenda which brings the difference between home security and protection from external" (Annawitt, 2010:7). The roles of security forces in external and internal phases, the process of security sector reform are key ingredients of the post-conflict peace building agenda. The military is an institution of the state, and as such primarily an instrument to assure external security for the state and its society (Bujra, 2002).

According to Bellamy et al. (2010: 3) "peacekeeping offers significant insights into the codes of conduct that states have mutually invented to cope with life in an international society of states". Furthermore, it fosters the relationship between the great powers and the maintenance of international peace and security, and the creation and diffusion of shared norms about the appropriateness of welfare itself and legitimate conduct within wars. Moreover, as South Africa is among the countries that manage peacekeeping in the CAR it should supervise peace processes in the post conflict countries and assist in implementing peace agreements with the CAR government (Mandoyi, 2013).

The political compassion and innovation of peacekeeping for the South African armed forces served as disincentives to contribute forces. Public and private objections to proposals of peacekeeping reflected concerns and the notion was that South Africa would attempt to use its diplomatic and moral muscle to resolve crises before committing troops to a conflict area (Williams 1999:156). Furthermore, "peace operations are expected to ensure positive outcomes such as promoting stability and durable peace, as well as rebuilding and developing host populations to uphold democracy and human rights" (Aoi et al 2007:4). Looking at South Africa's role in terms of peacekeeping and conflict resolution in the CAR, it failed to make peace in the country and that resulted to the country not being trusted by the people of the CAR and some other countries that played a part in managing peace and conflict.

There is a notion that developing countries send troops to peacekeeping knowing exactly that they will somehow benefit financially for their countries and certain individual troops. With regards to South Africa's involvement in the CAR, it is said that the government got involved in peacekeeping and conflict resolution because they wanted to benefit from the CAR's mineral resources (Williams, 1999). Some scholars have argued that this has brought so many questions to the government and the president of South Africa for sending troops to the CAR. According to Aoi et al (2007:4) "South Africa is seen as the dominant state in Africa in terms of peacekeeping and conflict resolution. Thus, this has been an issue in the country and the world as South Africa failed to maintain peace at the CAR resulting to the death of many South African soldiers".

For South Africa, peacekeeping in the Sothern and even Central Africa may therefore be directly relevant to its own national security and economic well- being (Malan and Cilliers, 1996). Furthermore, South Africa has increasingly come to use its role as a facilitator in peace processes which reinforced the deployment of peacekeeping personnel to leverage its position in multilateral forums. This anxiety has been articulated regularly in African civil society circles where many people from different spheres are worried about the western neo-colonial agenda. Hence, looking at what South Africa did in the CAR it was expected to act responsibly using its military advantage for the benefit of all of Africa. For South Africa, its needs to be more conscious of its foreign policy objectives.

2.3 SOUTH AFRICA'S FOREIGN POLICY

South Africa has played a leadership role through walking a tight rope in constructing partnerships with both African countries and the developed countries, thus anchored in ending conflicts and supporting economic development. According to Arieff (2014:9) "foreign policy is the extension of states domestic policy. It is the policy package that guides behavior of states in international system". It more often than not determines the way states interact with other actors, both major and non-major actors in the international environment. According to Shembilku (2009) "given that no state is self-sufficient in all ramifications, foreign policy guides states goals and objectives while dealing with international affairs". This cuts across all segments of states' interaction with every actor across the national boundary of the state. This may include political, economic and socio-cultural engagements.

Foreign policies thus are not just formed based on abstraction, but they result from practical perceptions of national interests that arise from immediate demand and that are influenced by historical perspectives (Shembilku, 2009). An important pillar of South Africa's foreign policy before and after apartheid has been the pursuit of peace and security in Africa, especially in the Southern African region where they intervene in terms of security. A wide range of actors, both internal and external, are typically involved in peace and development efforts in post-conflict contexts. Most of these actors have different, sometimes conflicting objectives. According to Williams (2013:5) "disagreements about the short-term and long-term goals of post-conflict efforts frequently exist even among major external actors". In some cases, official objectives tend to remain vague, reflecting the incongruity of positions within the group of external actors or the fact that some actors pursue hidden agendas (Williams, 2013).

South Africa has strengthened its roles in peacekeeping operations and engaged in several different peacekeeping operations on the continent. South Africa's stability is directly linked to the continent as a whole. Peacekeeping and conflict resolution in Africa has been one of the key pillars of implementation of South Africa's foreign policy towards peace and security in the continent (http://www.nids.go.jp). Furthermore, the use of the White Paper has been seen as a focal point in Africa. South Africa's foreign policy is clearly based on the understanding that

only a more developed and stable Africa can guarantee South Africa's own prosperity and security. The White Paper presents a view that South Africa has no choice but to participate in peacekeeping as an essential part of its foreign policy (http://www.nids.go.jp). Although South Africa's foreign policy in the post-apartheid era comprises of a new commitment to human rights, but it still remain predicated on the national pursuit of identifiable national interest especially in the economic interest. Evans (1991:9) asserts that "the national interest may be said to underpin the general values which has been enshrined in the Constitution which encompass the security of the state and its citizens by promoting the social and economic well-being and regional stability and development". Hence, the inauguration of a democratic government, the South African foreign policy became highly personalized with Nelson Mandela's international superstar status overshadowing everything else (Naidoo, 2001).

Ironically, this meant that South Africa's post-apartheid foreign policy would be more constrained than before where Mandela had to assume much wider responsibilities when he faced the most urgent demands for social and political initiatives. Evans (1991) suggests that South Africa will remain a symbol of the third world struggle in terms of human rights, liberation and peacekeeping in Africa. South Africa's foreign policy remains essentially an outward projection of its domestic and international imperatives. It becomes clear that there are elements of inconsistency in South Africa's attempt to foster the cause of human rights, peacekeeping and conflict resolution around the world (Naidoo, 2001:32).

Moreover, South Africa has consistently played a key role in crafting regional and continental frameworks and supporting institutions which aim to deal with the economic and political insecurities that plague Africa as a result of ongoing conflict. Furthermore, under Mbeki's rule South Africa's foreign policy was being referred to as the post settlement which was generally a reflection of the international relations (Ogunnubi, 2013). Ogunnubi further illustrates that post-apartheid foreign policy points out to the pattern of oscillation from one direction to varied dimensions which are affected by the regime style and personality of leadership. Analysts have argued that Mbeki was not ready to rule the country but he was forced to take over because Mandela had handed over to him to be the president of the country. In Mbeki's foreign policy, he displayed his commitment to promoting and integrating regional economic communities to

strengthen the African Union (www.dspace.africaportal.org). However, the Department of Foreign Affairs alludes to its vision as the effective promotion of South Africa's national interests and values abroad (Naidoo, 2001).

Furthermore, it should be noted that economic needs are an important motivating factor in a state's foreign policy. According to Naidoo (2001) there are strong pressures generated in the state's political system to satisfy individual or group economic needs through foreign policy. In addition, the economy of a state is fundamental to its capabilities and therefore to its power and its ability to get other states to do what it desires. Looking at what South Africa did in CAR and other African countries, proves that it has been driven by its foreign policy in terms of economy and developments (www.africaneconomicoutlook.org).

Adebajo, *et al.* (2007:25) argue that South Africa's foreign policy clearly mirrors some of the African Renaissance agenda facets. This is manifested by the country's participation in continental peacemaking and peacekeeping in the African democratization and representation abroad. Right after the post-apartheid era, South Africa took an initiative to intervene in peacekeeping and conflict resolutions. Naidoo (2001) argues that Mandela and Mbeki should have completed their tasks while in the chair. She further says that Zuma had accounted for many of the unfinished business that was left by Mandela and Mbeki during their time of duty in the government. Since 1994, South Africa's foreign policy had addressed critically the political issues some of which were the human rights, peace and security. Landsberg (2000: 109) points out "that since the end of apartheid South Africa has moved from being pariah state to a democratic and peace oriented country." Under president Zuma, South Africa's foreign policy changed. According to Tjemza (2012) South Africa was zealous to agree to augmented calls for military participation in peace-support missions as part of the enactment of South African-brokered peace agreements. What is clear is that South Africa's foreign policy agenda has changed since 1994. Secondly, the first three presidents (Mandela, Mbeki and Zuma) have done certain things which distinguish their presidencies while not deviating much from the country's foreign policy imperatives.

2.4 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SOUTH AFRICA AND THE CAR

Van Aardt (1993) points out that changing conditions and circumstances in international relations influence the content given to the notion of security. In Southern Africa the ending of the Cold War and the apartheid system have resulted in the elevation of non-military threats to peace and security to a higher political profile. Nathan et al. (1995:5) observed that "many of the domestic threats to the countries of the region are political, social and economic rather than military in character". South Africa has worked persistently in helping resolve African conflicts. It has become more profoundly involved in both elements of the continental peace and security agenda. South Africa has an obvious interest in preserving regional peace and stability in order to promote trade and development and to avoid the spillover effects of conflicts in the neighborhood.

Malan (1996) points out that South Africa has a strong international voice and can exercise a significant impact on the destiny of the region because of its overpowering military and economic power relative to its neighbours. South Africa's relationship with CAR has come a long way. Malan (1996) asserts that the involvement of South Africa in CAR was that president Jacob Zuma wanted to secure his personal interests as one may recall that CAR is rich in minerals even though it's a small country in Africa. According to many scholars, South Africa got involved because it wanted to gain from CAR in terms politics and minerals.

Since the advent of democracy in 1994, domestic and international expectations have steadily grown regarding South Africa's role as a responsible and respected member of the international community. These expectations have included hope that South Africa will play a leading role in international peace missions (www.cips.up.ac.za). This is evidenced by its commitment to the development of multi-lateral security approach. It is also illustrated by the South African National Defence (SANDF) deployments in Ethiopia and Eritrea, Burundi and DRC. Much has been said and written about the inter-related reasons for this active participation. Among other reasons stated in the White Paper for Participation in International Peace Missions (1999), is that "South Africa has an obvious interest in preserving regional peace and stability in order to

promote trade and development and to avoid the spillover effects of conflicts in its neighborhood."

Moreover, South Africa has accepted the emergent need that Africa should resolve its challenges and because it cannot stand detached while people of the region suffer from famine, political repression, natural disasters and the menace of violent conflict (www.cips.up.ac.za). It is therefore on the basis of these basic reasons that South Africa's foreign policy makes Africa the prime focus. Furthermore, this has been so because South Africa is governed by its foreign policies. According to Jele (2015) the South African approach to conflict resolution is strongly informed by its own recent history. For Jele, "This robust national concern and experience in the peaceful resolution is intractable conflicts that compels South Africa to participate in peace missions to alleviate the predicament of other peoples who are struggling to resolve similar conflicts (Jele, 2015:2)". South Africa may thus provide civilian assistance, armed forces and police officers for common international efforts when properly authorized by international and domestic authorities to help in such missions (www.cips.up.ac.za).

Some scholars have argued that the involvement of South Africa in peacekeeping and conflict resolutions in Africa has not been good because in some occasions it has failed to resolve the conflicts (www.cips.up.ac.za). The level and size of South African contribution to any particular peace mission depends closely in the mission which relates to national interests and the type of demand that exists for the type of contributions. However, South Africa was involved in the peacekeeping missions in Burundi (www.cips.up.ac.za). Under former President Nelson Mandela, South Africa entered into peacekeeping negotiations with Burundi. It is said that Mandela did it because he wanted to secure the economic crisis that the country faced and also because the country was landlocked and vulnerable to such pressure of economic crisis (Nijembere, 2009).

The success of the peace agreement and its implementation became the responsibility of South Africa (Kumalo, 2014). Kumalo further states that the South African government sent seven hundred troops as part of the SA Protection Support Detachment (SAPSD) in August 2001. However, the troops were sent to Burundi to protect the political leaders that were from exile.

More troops were added to the military presence after the signing of the December 2002 Ceasefire Agreement. The SAPSD later also trained the Burundian soldiers. As stated in the operation curriculum (DOD, 2003) for Burundi, the SANDF was deployed in Burundi in order to restore peace and allow opposition leaders to participate in the transitional government. This prompted South Africa to undertake the ambitious mission (ww.wiredspace.wits.ac.za). Furthermore, Kumalo (2014:19) asserts that "SANDF got involved in the peace operations with the understanding that for South Africa to enjoy economic prosperity and all that democracy brings there needs to be stability in the continent."

South Africa's peacekeeping role appeared within a new landscape in Africa. According to Accord (2007:13) "Burundian conflict was ethnically motivated where minority groups were categorized as superior and used their colonial masters to dominate and rule over the majority, granting them the power to subjugate the greater part of the population". The interference of South Africa in Burundi over Mandela provided a precarious interval for the country (Accord, 2007). South Africa worked with international institutions to seek approval for its peace missions. As the first actor, South Africa was motivated by the international interest to shape the idea of peacekeeping in Burundi (Kumalo, 2014). Furthermore, South Africa's intervention in the Burundi crisis focused on strengthening bilateral relations with a strong emphasis on development.

South Africa has an important role to play in the African countries in terms of peacekeeping and conflict resolution, especially in the CAR. South Africa has enjoyed full diplomatic relations with the CAR since August 1993 (.http://www.gcis.gov.za/sites/default). According to scholars of international relations (see Van Aardt, 1993) South Africa's relationship with CAR was the means of gaining economic development for both South Africa and CAR. The government of South Africa was seen as growing ties with CAR where South African troops were deployed to the CAR for bilateral security cooperation (Holmes, 2008). By doing this, South Africa has earned a good reputation from other parts of the continent of being a good mediator in terms of peacekeeping and conflict resolution in Africa.

In 1993, for the first time in CAR's history with the help of the international community, there were fair and democratic elections. Furthermore, CAR has been faced with horrific wars. People of CAR have left their country because of the civil wars. CAR is one of the poorest countries in Africa. The wars have resulted in regional communities taking an initiative to try and resolve the issues that the country is facing. According to Holmes (2008) South Africa took an initiative to resolve and manage peacekeeping and conflict resolution in CAR.

Some analysts interpreted South Africa's moves as part of a strategy to pursue and protect potential mineral interests, and more broadly of seeking greater influence in francophone Africa. Furthermore, the President of South Africa; Jacob Zuma authorized the deployment of 400 soldiers between 2 January 2013 and 31 March 2018 as part of a military co-operation agreement with the CAR government to provide military training, to support disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) programmes. The official reasoning for the CAR deployment was to build that country's defence capacity, and to prevent further instability from threatening the region. The incident sparked controversy within South Africa about the purpose of South African deployment of troops to the CAR. Following the death of some of these soldiers (13 died and 27 injured), South Africa withdrew its remaining forces (www.thepresidency-dpme.gov.za).

It has been said that the South African soldiers lost their lives in CAR due to the wars that CAR faced. However, according to Wallenstein (2012) about thirteenth South African soldiers lost their lives in CAR and twenty seven were injured. This has raised a lot of questions among the scholars and political leaders about what the president of South Africa did as he deployed the soldiers in CAR (www.catholic-dbn.org.za). Scholars (Malan, 1996 and Wallenstein, 2012) have argued that South Africa sent troops to CAR because there were economic interests that were at stake especially in the mining industry as there were contracts that were signed for South Africa to be part of the deal. Malan (1996) asserts that South Africa's contributions to peace operations are linked to its growing self-image as an emerging "middle power," and as an African power in the international arena. However, "the existing development latent of South Africa as a contributor to international peacekeeping seems limited because defence spending over the course of the past decade has not kept pace with the growth in international deployments (Roberts, 1993:13)".

The deployment of South African troops posed a question as to what made the president to send troops to CAR (www.gsdrc.org). As mentioned above, there was a debate among political parties such as the DA, IFP and many others about the deployment of troops in CAR. However, media was not left out as it was among those who wanted answers from the president as to why soldiers were sent to CAR. Moreover, the media reported the issue as one of the tragedies that have ever happened to South African soldiers. South Africa has traditionally been one of the largest contributors to peacekeeping operations in Africa, with current SANDF deployments in Darfur and the Kivu region of the DRC. But the South African military remains miserably underfunded as the ANC government continues to use it as an instrument of foreign policy and a means of establishing regional influence (www.jamestown.org/uploads/media).

Robert (2007:498) says that "South Africa continued to appeal to all key role players in the peace process to avoid actions that could add to an already volatile situation in the CAR". The exact role of South Africa in changing world affairs and African diplomacy is a subject of dispute. This is partly because scholars generally disagree on the nature of the correlation between South Africa's capability and regional dynamics that would either constrain or enable its leadership. Fundamentally, the country has focused on a multilateralist collective leadership as its paradigm in African diplomacy which enables to lead from the front and from behind, depending on the issue at hand.

2.5 CONFLICT RESOLUTION

Conflicts are experienced at most levels of human activity and are complex processes which have certain elements. Conflict is a dynamic process in which structures, attitudes and behaviors are constantly changing and influencing one another. Wallenstein (2012:8) defines conflict resolution as "a situation where the conflicting parties enter into an agreement among that solves their central incompabilities, accept each other's continued existence as parties and cease all violent action against each other". Without some form of covenant among the conflicting parties, it is hard to talk about conflict resolution.

The concept of conflict prevention can be broken down into structural and operational conflict prevention, where the first category refers to early efforts aimed at addressing the root causes of a conflict before they create a risk of violence, while the second refers to last-minute efforts to prevent disputes turning violent. Wallenstein (2012) has articulated that as much as conflict resolution plays an integral part, there are steps that need to be followed for consensus to be reached and achieved. Furthermore, it is evident that when two parties decide to enter into conflict resolution, it means that parties are agreeing to respect each other and are prepared to live together. It is of importance to first understand the nature of conflict in order to determine the appropriate approaches of conflict resolution.

Kaufman (2002) illustrates that conflict resolution and peace-making and building processes are very complex and time and resource consuming activities where there are successes and failures. Niklas (2005:8) argues that "it should be noted that there often is a great reluctance to allow external intervention before war tiredness and a hurting stalemate has been reached". A number of scholars, especially from non-Western societies, have argued that conflict management is a successful tool for resolving conflicts over a longer time period, and that it creates the foundation for effective conflict resolution.

For an example, the wars in the Central African Republic not only signaled a revival of predominantly military approaches to security but they also led to deep cleavages within the international community about the legitimate use of military power (Marcella, 2008). The resolution of any conflict depends on understanding its root causes. Bowd (2010) argues that 'violent conflict in sub-Saharan Africa has been responsible for the direct and indirect deaths of millions of civilians and has contributed significantly to the low levels of human security in the region'. The countries of sub-Saharan Africa that have been involved in violent conflict are characterized by poverty, inadequate service provision, political instability, retarded economic growth and other challenges to overall development that prevent the enhancement of human security. Due to these challenges the success and sustainable resolution of these conflicts has created an enormous barrier to future prosperity in the region (Koening 2011).

In today's interdependent world, countries, regional and international institutions rarely find it palatable much as their publics and the international community fear the option of deploying troops to foreign lands whether for peacekeeping in usually unstable and heavily armed environment (www.ajol.info/index). However, the potentially significant transformation with regards to norms and institutions regionally and globally in relation to challenges of peace, security and development, there will always be room for the application of varied methods of conflict management. According to Anderson (2003) the varied interests involved in the conflicts will always play an important role in determining the actors who would be involved in these interventions. The conflict crisis in the CAR is not an accidental disaster that a humanitarian intervention has to be involved in order to solve the problem.

2.6 HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION

Humanitarian intervention has been one of the most controversial issues in international law and international politics. Moreover, the method of resolving conflict is being used at the expense of assisting the people of the state or nation. Holzgrefe (2003:18) defines humanitarian intervention as "the threat or use of force across state borders aimed at preventing or ending widespread and grave violations of the fundamental human rights of individuals other than its own citizens, without the permission of the state within whose territory force is applied". In addition, Holzgrefe (2003) points out that some of the scholars considered human intervention as a multilateral intervention and unilateral intervention – meaning that the former refers to the practice of force which is authorized by the UN Security while the latter refers to the intervention exercised by the state or group without the authorization of the Security Council.

Humanitarian intervention issues are very critical and are driven by the political and economic agendas and dictatorship of human rights (Holzgrefe, 2003). It is believed that human intervention takes place because of the egregious human rights being abused or deemed a threat to the international peace and security where conflict is well known. In the Central African Republic there are many issues or crises that led South Africa to intervene where the state was unable to protect its subject (Accord, 2007). One of the crises that led to South Africa's intervention was the wars that were between Seleka and Bozize. Furthermore, it is vital to note

that although human intervention seems to be a better way of rescuing the civilians in those states that are affected by the civil wars at the same time certain human rights are being violated in the process. Kardas (2001) submits that several complications can be drawn from the necessity of justification for a state to enter into conflict with another.

Yang (2004) asserts that various peaceful efforts are exhausted and humanitarian intervention is being restored with political influence to target the state and least the degree to relate to the severity situation. With the issue of the CAR, intervention should not pose a threat to international peace keeping and security or entail more suffering to those that aim to prevent or halt wars (Shaw cross, 2000). Kuperman (2001) emphasizes that the motive of humanitarian intervention is not always "humanitarian" but it is fixed with some political, economic, military and ideological considerations which make it more complicated. By using the CAR as a case study, one could understand why this method is multifaceted in addressing peacekeeping and conflict resolution.

With regards to inter-governmental organisations, neither ECOWAS/ECCAS nor the UN played a decisive role in the resolution and mediation of the conflict. Apart from the military intervention, these organisations were subject to their members' interests. This led to a constant redefinition of their approach to the conflict as well as to middling participation in the peace processes. Hurd (2007:295) asserts that "humanitarian organisations mainly UN agencies and international NGOs tried to face the dreadful humanitarian consequences of the violence, despite the lack of resources". Nevertheless, some authors have underlined that forms of aid apart from falling short of needs could also feed into violence. Mateos (2014:36) argue that

> Humanitarian aid helped significantly to shape incentives in relation to the war both for the 'insiders' (meaning those who received significant aid) and for the 'outsiders' (those who did not). Aid produces important distortions in both the economy and the 'information environment'. In many ways, these compounded the selective silences of international aid organizations, silences whose damaging effects have been noted. Whilst stopping humanitarian aid altogether conflicts with the right to relief, a greater awareness of the relationship between relief and violence would have been helpful.

Humanitarian intervention should be highlighted as one function that is treated differently in the various models. Fukuyama (2004:40) argues that "there is a widespread recognition that is independent from other functions that does not share peacebuilding essential conflict objective but nevertheless include humanitarian assistance within peacekeeping as a function that takes place independently". However, humanitarian intervention needs to be included in the overall peacekeeping framework in order to be factored into planning and coordination mechanisms. Furthermore, South Africa continues in the persuasive improvement of international human rights law where the country is part of the leading nations of the UN who continually evaluate the effectiveness of the existing human rights treaties (Fukuyama, 2004).

It is unequivocal that humanitarian intervention correlates with human rights violation of civilians of the state (Fukuyama 2004). It is essential to note that when there is violation of human rights the UN has a duty to protect civilians and people of the state. According to Hurd, in the context of the UN's Responsibility to Protect (R2P), "South Africa did a great job in the CAR country by assisting in containing the violation of human rights (Hurd, 2007:295)". Looking at South Africa's role in the CAR, the state intervened where it assisted the head of state to build the peacekeeping and conflict resolution mechanisms. Roth (2004) accentuates that it is vital to note that the capacity to use military force is finite and it is the one way of ensuring that peace prevails in countries that are affected by civil wars.

Furthermore, encouraging military force may mean the lack of capacity to intervene when atrocities are most severe. The invasion of a country such as South Africa should take into consideration the involvement of the UN to assist or approve their intervention. Evans (2004) illustrates that it is evident that South Africa took a responsibility for promoting peace and security in the CAR where it protected the lives of the citizens and their welfare. He also asserts that "it helps in order to address both the roots and causes of internal conflict and other man made crisis which puts the lives of the people into danger (Evans, 2004:10)".

2.7 SOURCES OF CONFLICT IN THE AFRICAN CONTEXT
2.7.1 MINERAL RESOURCES

In spite of the efforts to develop African instruments to deal with conflicts on the continent, the evidence regarding the frequency of intra-state and inter-state conflicts in Africa over the recent decades does not show a sustaining trend. Moreover, mineral resources played a crucial role in terms of conflict outbreak. According to Accord (2008) conflicts in which the sale of resources plays a central role appear to be closely linked with the greed of those who control the resources or those who are seeking to control them. Looking at South Africa's intervention regarding peacekeeping and conflict resolution in the CAR, one can conclude that it intervened because it wanted to be part of the shareholders of oil and diamonds. Furthermore, conflicts are driven by an aspiration to deny the proceeds of the sale of resources by the group that controls them.

The Central African Republic is rich in high value natural resources, including diamonds, timber, gold, uranium, possible oil deposits and endangered wildlife. Moreover, the CAR is the lowest country that produces mineral resources compared to Angola and other countries. However, it is said that mineral resources in the CAR such as diamonds became the second export product after cotton. According to Accord (2008:26) "conflicts in which the sale of resources play a central role appear to be closely linked with greed of those who control the resources or those that seeks to control them".

The change in resource conditions requires a response which is influenced by a society's culture. It is said that after Bozize seized power he then suspended the mining exploration permits and set a panel to check the legality in order to clean up the sector (Matthysen and Clarkson, 2013). Corruption is another considerable problem stimulating the informal sector and depriving the government of much-needed tax revenues. Matthysen and Clarkson (2013:19) further say that "large part of the CAR's mineral production is consequently smuggled out of the country and enters the legal circuit in other countries with inadequate controls".

2.7.2 LAND

Land has always been a contentious issue in Africa and has been the main cause of political conflicts and violence. Bujra (2002) advances the view that in the past such violence was focused

against the colonial authorities for deplorable living conditions and colonial control system. However, recently urban violence has taken the form of reacting to poverty and to struggles between supporters of political parties which are often ethnically based. In the rural areas of many countries there are many conflicts which are ethnically based, mainly over grazing land and over cattle amongst pastoral people. Similarly, there are conflicts over cultivable land amongst peasant farmers within the same ethnic group and also between ethnic groups. Bujra (2002:13) states that the "inter-ethnic conflicts over land and cattle is developed into rebellions and armed fighting between the ethnic groups and the state when the latter sends in the military to stop the fighting or even to take side".

It behooves any analytical person, therefore, to start out by recognizing the small portion of the global reality in examining the unlikely key to provide the unlocking dynamics of war and peace (Accord, 2008). Furthermore, conflicts emerge from a complex sequence of events in which cultural and political factors are always present. Moreover, the understanding of the physical phenomena involved in land and environmental changes in the CAR is still limited (Karbo, 2008). Many scholars and authors have implicated that the involvement of South Africa in the CAR was to save CAR'S oil as there were companies with links to influential politicians and businessmen who were gunning for oil and mineral deals in the region (www.timelives.co.za). However, this resulted in South Africa sending the troops to the CAR to protect the mineral resources. This resulted in many of the South African troops being killed by the rebels. It is said that the troops were sent because they were serving South African commercial interests.

2.7.3 POVERTY

Poverty has become one of the defining features of the African continent. However, scholars ask the question: why is Africa poor given the vast mineral resources found in her (Mills, 2012)? The severe poverty of the CAR as a whole, but in particular the glaring economic and social disparities between the north and other areas are worth noting. The CAR is shockingly poor. More than half of the population is illiterate, including more than eighty percent of rural women. A long-standing problem for the civilian population in northern CAR is the failure of the state to afford them protection and the rule of law. Poverty coupled with decades of political instability

and military splits have left the country with security services that are ill-trained, abusive, and inadequate. "Such forces are unable to provide effective security for the population of northern CAR. In effect, the CAR security services often find themselves outgunned by better-armed bandit and rebel groups, both local and from neighbouring countries (www.hrw.org)."

Beyond policy and legislative shifts, most countries' approaches to poverty alleviation have been diverse. Yet a complete approach is needed to address the poverty cycle that limits the sustainable development in Africa (www.africaminingvision.org). According to Accord (2008) the inequality that often characterizes poverty in fragile conflict ridden states remains a key stumbling block for the continent. Likewise, without sustaining the effort and significant investment in conflict resolution, there will be a loss of lives and that will results in new wars to break out. Anyonje (2013:172) argues that "several studies have concluded that the relatively higher prevalence of war in Africa is not due to the ethno-linguistic fragmentation of its countries but rather to high levels of poverty, failed political institutions and economic dependence on natural resources".

2.8 CHALLENGES OF SUSTAINING PEACE IN AFRICA

Peace and security are indispensable for social and economic development. Mpanga (2004:3) argues that "maintaining peace, security and stability in the 21st century continues to remain the vital challenge for the international communities such as United Nation (UN), European Union (EU) and African Union (AU)". The AU has only been operational for many years and it inherited both the assets and liabilities of the OAU. Therefore, the AU has not conducted wide peacebuilding operations on the continent notwithstanding the significant need for peacebuilding (www.ujdigispace.uj.ac.za). The AU did however intervene in the CAR to build peace and empower the establishment of a more strong UN peace operation.

The AU is also involved in promoting peace in the Darfur region of Sudan through the African Union Mission in Sudan (AMIS). The AU had a weak mandate in Darfur where they failed to monitor the humanitarian crisis effectively and to coordinate efforts to advance the cause of peace (www.ujdigispace.uj.acza). The African Union and ECOWAS have adopted formal

mechanisms with wide-ranging peace and security responsibilities, unparalleled in Asia, South America or the Middle East. Both the AU and ECOWAS are developing standby force concepts in terms of increasing their headquarters capacity and working with the member states and donor countries to increase their ability to organize, deploy and manage peace operations (Mpanga, 2004).

According to Mpanga (2004) the AU and ECOWAS faced the fundamental gaps in their planning and management capacity to lead peace operations where staff were taxed by the requirements of their often multiple responsibilities. The AU and ECOWAS have successfully deployed troops in peace operations but they are not yet self-sustaining and require outside logistical support (www.timelive.co.za). Fakir (2007) argues that "the country's involvement in conflict resolution and management missions in countries such as Rwanda, Burundi, Angola, Lesotho and the Democratic Republic of the Cong and CAR, with its attendant financial and technical resource costs has been widely acknowledged as evidence of its attempts to stabilize the continent".

Bowd (2010) states that violent conflict in sub-Saharan Africa has been responsible for the direct and indirect deaths of millions of civilians; it has contributed significantly to the low levels of human security in the region. The countries of Sub-Saharan Africa that have been involved in violent conflict are characterized by poverty, inadequate service provision, political instability, retarded economic growth and other challenges to overall development that prevent the enhancement of human security. Due to these challenges the success and sustainable resolution of these conflicts has created an enormous barrier to future prosperity in the region (Koening 2011).

Nonetheless most scholars and politicians agree that international organizations have gradually become vital within the areas of peace and security (Lepgold and Weiss, 1998). South Africa played a crucial role in resolving conflict in the CAR and by doing so it got international recognition from the Western countries even though their troops ended up being killed. Moving further to the challenges that African countries face, it is of importance to look at these challenges as they affect our daily lives. Though the global political and security environment

constantly evolves, important features of political decision making in governments and international organizations appear largely fixed (Doyle and Sambanis, 2001:9).

Most of these predictable aspects of the way political leaders make decisions influence against vigorous preventive efforts. According to Niklas (2005) the broad political commitments to conflict prevention perceived national interests to lead governments to policies which are designed to help one party to prevail in a conflict rather than to help avert or resolve conflict. Yet multiple political challenges remain even when there are no major interests to weigh against conflict prevention. For example, leaders in countries at high risk of conflict are typically averse to seek help from outsiders in managing potentially violent conflicts, especially if they are internal.

2.9 STRATEGIES USED BY SOUTH AFRICA IN TERMS OF PEACEKEEPING AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION IN AFRICA

On the basis of empirical evidence, it is argued that intractable conflicts are more likely to be solved when peace processes are driven by the international state. Hence, "South Africa's main goal when it intervened at the CAR crisis was to promote peace without sacrificing its justice" (Rogier, 2004:6). The crisis in the CAR resulted in many killings of people and troops including those troops that were from South Africa. This has imposed a question to the government authorities that is South Africa ready to indulge themselves in terms of peacekeeping and resolving conflicts in Africa? Rogier (2004) argues that some of the strategies that South Africa used in terms of peacekeeping and conflict resolution in CAR is the involvement of the African Union and its structures in deepening the continent's integration. Further, the use of socio-economic development in Africa is being used as a key vehicle for the disbursement of the development funding. South Africa remained committed to protecting the human rights and fundamental freedoms. The country did this through its participation in different African intiatives –including those focusing on the CAR (www.dfa.gov.za/department/strategic).

2.10 THE AFRICAN UNION: PEACEKEEPING MISSION IN AFRICA

The African Union (AU) is a young international organization, founded in 2002. It is still in the process of setting up its various institutions, while constantly having to face up to new challenges, such as civil wars breaking out and military troops being undertaken in its member states (Anderson, 2003). Africa's recent past has been characterized by a decline in interstate conflicts. At the same time, internal conflicts such as civil wars or ethnic conflicts are increasing. Internal conflicts have proven to be extremely difficult to resolve through intervention. In today's interdependent world, countries, regional and international institutions rarely find it less attractive to intervene in conflict situations as their public and the international community fear the option of deploying troops to foreign lands whether for peacekeeping in usually unstable and heavily armed environment (www.ajol.info/index).

The African Union is a continental power which is engaged in promoting peace, security and stability on the continent. Mpanga (2004) observes that the AU has a primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace, stability and security. Likewise, the AU has interfered in the wars of the CAR where it sent troops to the CAR. Africa is still facing a host of traditional and non-traditional security threats, but is also the region that has seen the greatest regional integration over the last few decades. At the continental level, the African Union has developed a strong institutional framework featuring a collective security system that has made strong inroads against the entrenched and prevailing coup culture (http://www.un-documents.n). In peace making and peace building activities, states work through and alongside regional and international organizations, local and international NGOs, epistemic networks and private businesses.

However, with regards to the potentially significant transformation with regards to norms and institutions regionally and globally in relation to challenges of peace, security and development, there will always be room for the application of varied methods of conflict management. According to Anderson (2003:6) "the varied interests involved in the conflicts will always play an important role in determining the actors who would be involved in these interventions". Regional and sub-regional organizations also found their mandates greatly affected by conflicts in their regions. In Africa, for example, where there were few robust security institutions,

organizations whose primary mandates were economic development or regional integration were tasked with conflict prevention, peacekeeping and peace building missions.

The first key lesson here is that Africa needs to do more to provide resources for Peace Support Operations in Africa. Secondly, the international community needs to provide the support beyond what Africa can mobilize to peacekeeping in Africa since they are not willing to put boots on the ground but have responsibility for world peace. The AU Commissioner once said that "five years ago there was considerable skepticism about the ability of our troops. Now no one can be in any doubt that the dedication and sacrifice of AMISOM has brought tremendous success for Somalia and Somalis (www.ajol.info/index). African states have, hitherto retained total sovereign control of their territories and all aspects of decision-making, and have demonstrated a remarkable zeal not to cede any part of this authority for the common good of the continent.

Africans in political leaderships have jealously guarded their sovereignty and are not willing to surrender any of it to supranational powers (Marcella, 2008). As a result, national political agents tend to determine the nature of their participation in the integration project. These shifts in decision-making do not necessarily imply erosion of existing state power and authority. "Furthermore, what will have changed is the way in which states use their power and authority. Decision-making will be made in coordination with other member states (Rugumamu, 1999:2)".

Niklas (2005:8) argues that "it should be noted that there often is a great reluctance to allow external intervention before war tiredness and a hurting stalemate has been reached". A number of scholars, especially from non-Western societies, have argued that conflict management is a successful tool for resolving conflicts over a longer time period, and that it creates the foundation for effective conflict resolution. For an example, the wars in the CAR did not only signal a revival of predominantly military approaches to security but they also led to deep cleavages within the international community about the legitimate use of military power (Marcella, 2008).

Moreover, the transfer of authority to elected supra-national bodies will enhance their ability to plan, coordinate, oversee and evaluate the implementation of collective projects and programs

(Ayoob, 1996). Furthermore, equity among sovereign powers has always been a convenient international relations fiction. Anderson (2003:45) argues that "it has never been backed by reality because some powers have always been more dominant than others and, therefore, have been explicitly or implicitly charged with the responsibility of enforcing the agreed-upon norms of international behavior". According to Annawitt (2010: 8) "thus the world works better when there is a hegemonic power one that finds it in its own interest to see that various international collective goods are provided". The AU should consider aggressively promoting the role of the leaders in its sub-regions. Ayoob (1996: 61) argues that:

> We must be aware of the statist at the regional level. Many regional organizations, especially those involve in security, have contributed more to regime security than to the security of the people of the region. The multiplier effect that one is looking for regional integration, can serve to entrench unpopular and undemocratic regimes that can rely on each other, and each other's militaries for support.

In fact, it is clear that some external interventions that provide development assistance or promote market relations may contribute to intensify conflict and social and economic insecurity can lead to social and political changes that spur development (Anderson, 2003). Particularly in the last decade, many members of the AU have been offered an alternative to Western penetration in the form of China's and to a lesser extent India's rapidly expanding aid and assistance programmes. In some cases, African governments have greeted these initiatives with high levels of support, not least because of the Chinese government's stated desire to adopt a policy of non-interference. The AU has been involved in numerous inter-member disputes, including its long standing involvement in the border war between Ethiopia and Eritrea (www.ajol.info/index).

2.11 THE ROLE OF SOUTH AFICA IN THE SADC REGION

According to Saurombe (2010:1) "South Africa is the strongest economy in Southern Africa and in the whole continent of Africa. Regional and global interests lie at the heart of South African's foreign policy resulting in the need to create compromises that may disadvantage the SADC

block". SADC's leadership role is precarious. South Africa is also the entrance to foreign direct investment to the developing world. SADC has been in existence since 1980 (Rossouw, 2006). It was formed as a loose alliance of nine majority ruled states in Southern Africa known as the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (www.gcis.gov.za/sites/default). Furthermore, the main aim of South Africa is to coordinate the development projects which will be used to minimize economic dependence on the apartheid South Africa.

As a community of nations, SADC had to work together in antagonizing various challenges of a political and socio-economic. Moreover, the role of South Africa in the SADC is to help those countries that face wars and conflicts in Africa. Nzewi (2009:19) argues that "in South Africa, there is a different implementation structure that deals with SADC issues. South Africa deals with SADC issues through an effective committee called ARC (African Renaissance Committee)". Moreover, South Africa played a crucial role in Africa in terms of peacekeeping and conflict resolution at the CAR. Likewise, this is so because South Africa is seen as a major economic country in Africa. South Africa has played an important role in the Western defence system which allowed it to develop nuclear weapons.

The literature discussed thus far shows that post-apartheid South Africa has struggled to find an identity that would satisfy everyone. On the one hand the country is prepared to assist other African countries in resolving their internal crises. On the other hand, it has to protect its image against those who blame it for acting in bad faith and pushing self-interests. But despite these challenges, it is clear that South Africa's role in Africa has not gone unnoticed. Even those countries which blame South Africa and interpret the country's peace-keeping mechanisms as egoistic still value the country for its role in trying to bring about peace on the continent.

2.12 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

According to Bures (2007:408) there are many books and articles dealing with peacekeeping issues which appear to be predicated on (neo-) liberal assumptions about the importance of norms, values, rules, and institutions in international politics. According to Bull (1966:20) classical and scientific theories are the two major approaches towards the study of foreign policy.

The classical school of thought focuses on the observance of law, morality, and the use of history in the study of foreign policy and in the pursuit of its goals and has the following as its assumption: states act in a particular way based on their historical experiences and strategic situations and basic principles of international law. Moreover, the scientific theory interrogates the role of specific variables, such as, the economy, leadership capability, military capability and geographical location in shaping the foreign policy decisions of a nation (Bures, 2007). Furthermore, South Africa's foreign policy was shaped by remarkable military and diplomatic interventions into major armed or violent conflicts affecting political stability, common security, human security and human development.

South Africa, a leading hegemonic force in Southern Africa has its national interest in the protection of its national sovereignty, national prosperity and the respect for the core values as captured in its constitution (Naidoo, 2010:210). Clark (2001: 67) argues that "foreign policy making in central Africa can be elucidated as a direct out-growth of domestic political needs and detects the most important domestic political need as regime security". Lutz, Babbitt and Hannum (2003) state that when it comes to resolving conflict, states focus mainly on ensuring that human rights are protected and there is no harm perpetuated. The main goal or aim for conflict resolution is to minimize harm or suffering and also put an end to on-going violence (Lutz, Babbitt and Hannum, 2003: 173). Peace was imposed and the architects were outside sponsors, facilitators came from these sponsoring countries and were imposed upon the pugnacious. Failures of the agreement are noted in the fact that during the negotiations, the fighting continued. Moreover, during these negotiations there were no proper timelines to evaluate whether the desired results were being met.

Based on the above, it appears very clearly that the notion of national interest represents a very integral component that must be factored in during foreign policy formulation. Consequently, one can argue that the South African state acted as a major foreign actor in the Central African Republic even though it faced some of the challenges in resolving conflict in Africa. Having taken an understanding of the nexus between South Africa's foreign policy and its principle of intervention in Africa, this thesis shall be interrogating its peacekeeping and conflict resolution mechanism using the conflict theory. Crossman (2011) says conflict theory emphasizes the role

of coercion and power in producing social order. The theory states that social order is maintained by domination, and that power resides in the hands of those with the greatest political, economic, and social resources.

This framework can be informative in the formulation and development of appropriate policies for international intervention and the provision of humanitarian assistance to communities affected by civil war. Most scholars have focused on conflict resolution or transformation in divided societies. This is so because conflict management has conventionally been associated with conflict containment. Central to my argument is that underlying all theories of practices are judgments about what success and failure conflict resolution entails. Furthermore, it is to resolve the differences to achieve solution that are not imposed, but agreed to by all the key parties, and also address the root causes of conflict. Thus, in trying to understand why South Africa got involved in the CAR, which successes (if any) were recorded and which problems were encountered, conflict theory lands itself as the relevant theory to assist in this regard. It captures all the aspects enumerated above.

Diverse theoretical interpretations and labeling have been used to explain and describe wars and armed conflicts in Africa (Francis, 2006). This section analyses peacekeeping and conflict resolution where it examines the role of South Africa in the Central African Republic by explaining how peacekeeping has become necessary, desirable and possible, despite its growing complexity. This study has adopted the conflict theory. This is so because study examines the role of South Africa in terms of peacekeeping and conflict resolutions in Africa. Scholars have been seeking to explain why conflicts happen. Accord (2008:25) argues that "writers often point to human factors, expressed at the individual or societal level which is based on ideologies, greed or quest for power".

It (ACCORD, 2008) further illustrates that designs for dominance and the reflex to resist being dominated can be pinpointed on the basis of a good deal of conflict arising between individuals, groups and states (Accord, 2008). However, the elements that cannot be attributed to the irreconcilable designs of leader's rebels are usually seen from the systematic causes at the

international level where states act to seek greater influence to redress injustices in the global system. As highlighted above, each state has a history of domestic cleavages that have led to conflict. Francis (2006) states that these local conflicts create regional turbulence with conflict in Sudan influencing turmoil in neighboring Chad and CAR and vice versa.

Hentz (2007) suggests that regionalized conflicts create a new kind of war that is distinctive from the existing categories such as inter-state wars, civil wars or 'new wars. However, it is possible to identify the exact characteristics of regional conflicts. Scholars of conflict theory have put forward to identify different types of wars such as the actors involved in conflict and the strategies they use; the aims they pursue; and the territory and space where armed conflict takes place. Central to my argument is that underlying all theories of practices are judgments about what success and failure in conflict resolution entails. Furthermore, it is to resolve the differences to achieve solution that are not imposed, but agreed to by all the key parties, and also address the root causes of conflict Clark (2001).

Crossman (2011) avers that conflict theory emphasizes the role of coercion and power in producing social order. One can argue that the role played by South Africa in the Central African Republic faced some of the challenges. In summary, the conflict dynamics within this tormented triangle reveal a web of state and non-state actors that strategically utilize regional alliances and fluid borders to obtain or maintain power. Some scholars argue that it is not just the costs of negotiation and settlement that matter to the parties but the perceived threats of negotiation that is probabilities that is associated with negative outcomes. However, because the parties' civil conflict situations is wary of each other in engaging in strategic behavior and refuse to cooperate if there is a powerful incentives negotiations needs to be considered to reduce the risks of defection so that parties can entertain the possibility of a negotiated mutual exchange of concessions.

The theory of peacekeeping and conflict resolution emerged from the Cold war era to prevent conflict and violence increasing between super powers (Martin, 2005). Peacekeeping was mainly formed by the Western parties as their instrument of promoting peace, security and stability in preserving the Western economic interests. Furthermore, scholars such as Martin, 2005;Earle and

Shanahan, 2003) argue that conflict resolution is an essential measure of work for development, social justice and social transformation that aims to wrestle the problems of which armed force and child soldiers are symptoms. They also argue for a broad understanding of conflict resolution which entails not only mediation between the parties but also the efforts used to address the wider context in which international actors, domestic constituencies and intra- party relationships sustain violent conflicts.

In examining South Africa's role in peacekeeping and conflict resolution in Africa, the Economic school of thought argues that such role could contribute meaningfully towards ending the plethora of intrastate and interstate crisis which have become the defining characteristics of the most state in the region or sub region in the continent.

2.13 CONCLUSION

This chapter has reviewed existing literature on the theme of the present study. It conceptualized the notion of peacekeeping and conflict resolution as well as concepts such a humanitarian intervention, conflict resolution and peacekeeping. The study comprehensively examined South Africa's role in peacekeeping and conflict resolution in the Central African Republic (CAR). It also focused on the relationship between South Africa and other countries such as Burundi, Lesotho and CAR especially. Furthermore, the study focused on the relationship of South Africa's foreign policy and the underlying principles behind the countries peacekeeping and conflict resolution mechanism in Africa. It was noted that most of the interventions made by South Africa in the African countries were based on the economic interests.

The chapter has revealed that factors such as humanitarian intervention, peace, security and stability as well as economic interests from other countries and the power play amongst various actors at the international level were also significantly responsible for South Africa's intervention. The chapter ended with discussion of South Africa's role in CAR. This is evident in a number of interventions the country has made in Africa, including its deployment of troops in CAR, Burundi, Zimbabwe and other African countries.

The next chapter will focus on the research methodology that was employed to collect data used in this study. This is critical not only because it is conventional practice but also because know how data were collected for the study will enable the reader to appreciate and understand the results that will be presented later as well as the conclusions drawn in the concluding chapter.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter two reviewed the literature which is relevant to the study. The dual aim was to locate the present study in the broader context and to identify existing gaps in the literature as a way of justifying the need for the present study. This is in line with conventional practice in research.

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the methodology which was used to collect data in order to achieve the research objectives of this study and address its key questions presented in Chapter one. As is common practice, the chapter discusses the study area, the research design, the method of data collection, and procedures followed during data analysis so that the study objectives could be met and the research questions answered.

To refresh our memory, the study aimed to examine South Africa's role in the Central African Republic in terms of peacekeeping and conflict resolution. It wanted to appraise the strategies that have been used by South Africa towards peace keeping and conflict resolution in Africa in general since obtaining democracy in 1994 and to use the CAR as a case study to illustrate the points made about South Africa's role in Africa. While it is true that South Africa has been covertly and overtly involved in conflict resolution and peace building in countries such as Zimbabwe, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Sudan, South Sudan and many others, the present study aimed to look at this issue with particular emphasis on the Central African Republic. It wanted to look at the civil war in that country and analyse the connection between South Africa's foreign policy objectives and her interventionist role in Africa using the Central African Republic as a case study.

As mentioned earlier, the Central African Republic was selected as a case study due to two reasons. Firstly, it is one of the most recent cases where South Africa got involved in recent times apart from Sudan and South Sudan. Secondly, the manner in which South Africa got involved in the Central African Republic was somewhat covert compared to other countries where such involvement was overt and largely sanctioned by either SADC or the AU. As such, there is still an on-going debate as to why South African soldiers were deployed in the Central African Republic in the first place. Therefore, this case study was selected in order to highlight

the extent to which South Africa consistently follows her foreign policy towards Africa either when forging political and trade relations on the one hand, or when ensuring that conflicts are resolved in Africa. To achieve these objectives, the researcher needed to adopt an appropriate research methodology and research methods which were both relevant and feasible given the amount of time and resources available at the time when the study was embarked upon.

3.2 STUDY AREA

The research area for this study is the Central African Republic (CAR). In terms of its geographical location, the CAR is a landlocked country in Central Africa. It shares borders with Chad, Sudan, South Sudan, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the Republic of Congo and Cameroon. Regarding its economic status, this country is one of the poorest countries in the world competing with countries such as Rwanda. Its political instability and armed conflict have further plagued the country since 2001. The coalition of already existing militant political movements and armed groups under the joint leadership of Seleka and Bozize continued in August 2012 (Accord, 2008). In fact, CAR has been subject to political instability and different cycles of conflict and attempted and successful offensives and counter offensives which were carried out by the armed groups resulting in multiple crimes and human rights abuses being committed. This has been of serious concern not only to fellow neighboring African countries and others on the continent but to the international community too. As such, different mechanisms have been used in an attempt to bring about political stability largely fueled by religious and political differences which are rooted in history.

When these political upheavals resurfaced, South Africa resolved to get involved mainly for two reasons. First, the decision was in line with the country's foreign policy which is anchored on peace and peaceful resolution of political conflicts. Second, South Africa wanted to protect Africa's political image by ensuring that Africans found African solutions to African problems as per the AU's decision so that Western countries could not find an entry point into Africa and push their own agendas. Of course, some critics strongly believe that South Africa's decision to get involved in the CAR was prompted by the country's national interests. They argue that the

South African political leadership used the conflict in the CAR to market South Africa and create fertile ground for business interests.

Figure 3.1: The map of the Central African Republic
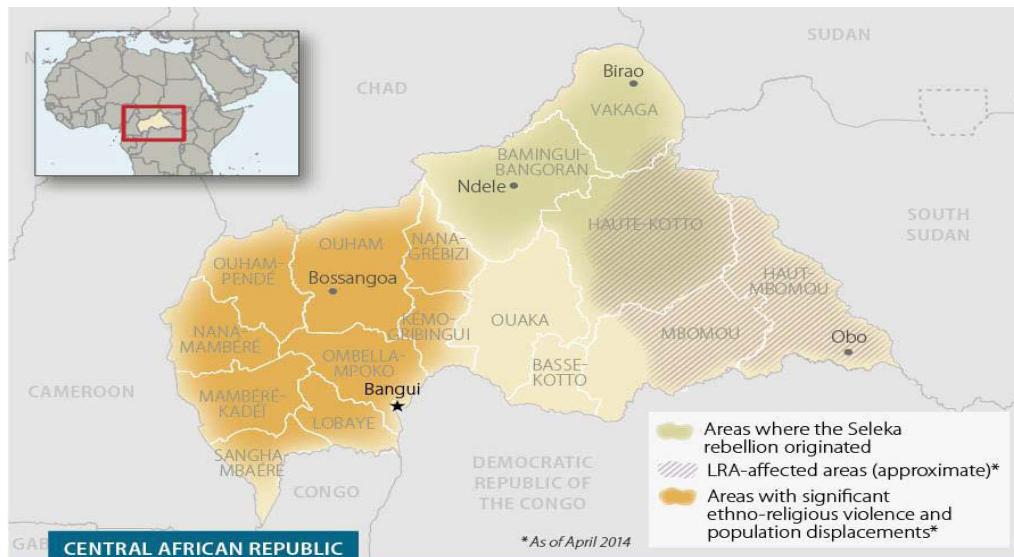
Source: (www.fas.org/sg.

While it is true that the political conflict in the CAR had been going on for some time, it is equally true that by the end of 2013 the violence took on a sectarian character; in particular in the Western and Central regions of the country. It was at this point then that South Africa took a decision to try and resolve the issues that the CAR was faced with so that peace could prevail. Historically, Africa in general has had its fair share of intra and inter-state wars, some of which have turned out to be devastating. The majority of these conflicts are internal. This was the case in the 1994 Rwandan genocide which left between 500 000 and 1000 000 people dead and the pre 2005 civil war in Burundi which left over 300 000 people dead until the peace deal was reached in 2005 resulting in Pierre Nkurunziza assuming power as president.

However, these internal conflicts seemed to be swelling as elsewhere. The origins of the conflicts in Africa are many and they frequently recur. These range from civil to religious conflicts. But contrary to popular belief, African conflicts do not all stem from ethnic or religious diversity as has been the case in the CAR (Onumajure, 2005). Some are primarily cause by poor

leadership and political greed. The CAR has over the years experienced elements of each of these causal factors in different magnitudes and has responded to them in various ways. Similarly, the international community has devised different strategies to try and resolve these conflict situations for various reasons.

The involvement of South Africa in the CAR falls within this broader context. Questions have been asked as to why the South African government sent troops to the CAR in the first place. Many theories and speculations have since come forth in a bid to address this question. Anyway, whatever the real reasons were the fact remains that the South African National Defense Force (SANDF) released military troops to go to the CAR. The overall function and responsibility assigned to the SANDF members who were deployed in the CAR may still remain unclear. The present study aimed to analyze these multiple perceptions in order to come to some conclusions that would assist us in understanding South Africa's involvement in African conflicts in general and in the CAR in particular. No one would refute the fact that the impact which South Africa is making towards regional development and peace-building in Africa (including the CAR) is very important. As Evans (1995:197) argues "South Africa's contribution should be viewed as that of a country with the potential to take the lead in promoting regional co-operation, peace and development". Such beliefs are informed by South Africa's different activities both in the SADC region and throughout Africa since 1994. It is for this reason that some accord South Africa a hegemonic status although this label is still being challenged and questioned by some (Ogunnubi, 2014).

Having presented a succinct summary of the history of political conflicts in Africa in general and those of the research area in particular, the discussion will now focus on the research design which was followed to carry out this study.

3.3 RESEARCH DESIGN

From a general perspective research design refers to the entire process that was followed to conduct a study. It shows how the study was carried out by the researcher. Scholars have defined this concept in different ways to mean one and the same thing. For example, some see the

research design as "a plan which includes every aspects of proposed research study from the conceptualization of the problem right through to the dissemination of the findings (Malan, 2003:6)". In this sense, research design is much broader than research methods. It is about the entire research process followed by the researcher to carry out research for any given topic. In the context of the present study, the research methods entailed the collection of secondary data using written or published sources. Secondary sources such as text books, journal articles, documents compiled by government and non-governmental organisations, academics and researchers provided basic data which was used to address the questions asked in this study and meet the study objectives.

Rajasekar (2013) defines research methods as the various procedures, schemes and algorithms used in research. Research methods help us collect samples, data and find a solution to a problem. He further defines research methodology as a systematic way of solving a problem. In Rajasekar view this concept refers to a science of studying how research is to be carried out. It is also defined as the study of methods by which knowledge is gained. Its aim is to give the work plan of research (Rajasekar, 2013).

Kothari (2004) came up with his own definition of research methods. He asserted that research methods may be understood as all those methods/techniques that are used for conduction of research. Research methods or techniques, thus, refer to the methods the researchers use in performing research operations. Research methodology is a way to systematically solve the research problem. It may be understood as a science of studying how research is done scientifically. Within this study, the researcher has used all the different types of methods in order to complete the study.

The research was designed to examine South Africa's role in the CAR in terms of peacekeeping and conflict resolution. South Africa's peacekeeping role began within the context of a changed political landscape in Africa, not just in South Africa per se. The end of the Cold War saw many of the political systems dismantled thus giving hope for a better future for the world's population. However, the world (especially Africa) saw the emergence of an all-out war between rival identity groups. It is this environment of protracted civil wars that characterized South

Africa's entry into peacekeeping in Africa. South Africa's role in peacekeeping in the CAR must be seen within this broader context.

The official reasoning for the CAR deployment was to build that country's defence capacity, and to prevent further instability from threatening the region. What South Africa did shows a remarkable willingness to learn from other countries. Malan (1997:100) asserts that "further searching and researching into all possible peacekeeping and conflict resolution would wisdom from Africa and exploring ways in which wisdom from elsewhere can be integrated". Thus, through South Africa's increasing role in multilateral engagements it became evident that the country's responsibility and participation in Africa is expanding.

The study, therefore, was designed to look at the analyses of peacekeeping and conflict resolution by South Africa's intervention in the CAR. Mandoyi and Chauke (2013: 3) add:

> A peacekeeping mission may mean many different things to different people, because each may have a different political understanding of the situation. Peacekeeping operations take place in the context of the daily lives of multiple communities: diplomatic, military, [humanitarian] and local. Each of these communities embodies culturally constituted ways of behaving and understanding the objectives and practices of the operation. Sometimes the intersection of these cultural spheres is problematic.

The literature that was reviewed was that which was relevant to the topic and acquired from secondary sources. It is worth mentioning that the study design was the most difficult aspect of the methodology of this research study. More specifically, the literature studies were in the area peacekeeping and conflict resolution in Africa (Accord, 2007).

3.4 DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

3.4.1 DATA COLLECTION

As mentioned above, data for this study was collected from several sources. The information was collected from books, journals, websites and newspapers. The study was designed to look at South Africa's foreign policies, conflict resolution, peacekeeping, South Africa's role in SADC

and the challenges of peacekeeping and conflicts resolution. South Africa's interventions and perceptions and justifications why South Africa got involved in peacekeeping and conflict resolution in the Central African Republic were the motivating factors behind data collection. Furthermore, South Africa's involvement in the CAR has been criticized by many scholars and communities because it did not achieve what it was supposed to achieve in CAR and that resulted in South Africa's soldiers being killed. Comments appeared in different newspapers in South Africa. As such, newspapers were also used during data collection. This included both the hard copy and electronic versions of different newspapers

Various data sets were collected through observation of events that were unfolding in the media and through the analysis of government documents such as policy documents, White Papers, Constitutions, etc. and desktop research. During the data collection process the researcher found it difficult to access all the documents that are related to the research. However, those sources that were available to the research either in hard copy or electronic format were enough to enable the researcher to achieve the set goal of the study. It should be stated that data collection using all the different sources listed above was time consuming for various reasons. For example, the researcher had to locate some of the sources in different libraries and had to negotiate access to some of them. With regards to internet sources, the reliability of the internet could not be guaranteed for two reasons. First, at times the internet service was down. Second, whenever there was load shedding from ESKOM no such research could be carried out. Whenever this happened while research was already underway it had to be interrupted. A related problem was that the research was not funded. As such, the researcher could not print out thick or long documents due to lack of funds. This meant that she had to spend more time behind the computer reading the documents on the screen and taking or making notes in the process. In retrospect, this was a learning experience.

It is a fact that the efforts made by the South African government to promote peace, security and conflict resolution in Africa has made the country well known across the globe. As such, vast data has been generated over the years on these issues. The researcher had to sift from such data what was deemed most relevant to the study. The qualitative method was used for data collection in this study as opposed to quantitative data relying on numerical figures. The issues discussed

are lived experiences which need not be presented statistically. The qualitative method was preferred because it was easy to use qualitative data to address the study's research questions of the study. The study aim was primarily to analyze South Africa's capacity and challenges in peacekeeping operations on the African continent focusing on the CAR as a case study. Thus, data collected had to focus on South Africa's involvement in Africa in general (for comparative purposes) and on the country's involvement in the CAR specifically.

There is also a gap in the literature relating to peacemaking and mediation in contrast to military efforts and peacekeeping which have been more readily addressed by security scholars. Peacemaking and conflict resolution by South Africa in the CAR is often done out of public views and that may appear to be of secondary importance to military efforts while establishing peace. This has an impact on data collection. Military interventions are often only a starting point in working towards the political, negotiated solutions that will allow a country's leaders to non-violently work together and govern. More specifically, this thesis confronts the question of how in practice, regional organizations come to take the lead in managing a peacemaking intervention. The researcher also discusses any criteria that was used in the choice of a mediator and the lead actor in peacemaking efforts and mediations. This necessitated that the researcher considered other peacekeeping missions elsewhere in Africa and globally. Locating the study in the broader context thus made data collection a serious task and not just reading available sources from a general perspective.

3.4.2 DATA ANALYSIS

Once collected, data sets were packaged according to emerging themes and in accordance with the research questions posed in Chapter one as well as the research objectives. The information obtained from various sources was also matched to check for consistency on each of the themes. This made it possible to establish the extent to which authors held similar views on certain issues and where they held different opinions. In a nutshell, for this study, the researcher used the thematic analysis used to organize the data according to themes which were decided upon in line with the research questions and research objectives. With is process having been concluded, preparations for presenting the findings in a narrative form began.

3.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter has concentrated on the methodology used to collect data for the study which examined South Africa's role in CAR in terms of peacekeeping and conflict resolution. Planning the method of collecting information or data using methods such as observation, literature review helped the researcher to fulfil the requirements for the study. South Africa's intervention in the CAR has triggered many questions in the country. In order to address the problem of this nature it goes without saying that more research in this field is still needed. This chapter has revealed that South Africa's main objective is to intervene in the African countries that face civil wars with the view to bringing about peace and security. This is the mandate the country receives from SADC and/or the AU as well as the UN. In other instances (as in the case of the CAR) South Africa takes a unilateral decision to intervene in a conflict situation. The chapter has spelt out how information was collected to establish South Africa's involvement in conflict situations across Africa as well as the country's involvement in the CAR. The following the chapter outlines the causal factors of the political crisis in the CAR. This chapter will also establish the political path of CAR. It is one of the two empirical chapters in this study.

CHAPTER 4

THE CASUAL FACTORS OF THE POLITICAL CRISIS IN THE CAR

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses the Central African Republic's political crisis in detail and considers the broader context within which it occurred. It draws on published and unpublished material, newspaper reports as well as the researcher's own experience and observation. This chapter first illustrates the historical background of the CAR taking into consideration the interaction of political, social and economic situation in the country. A historical perspective will assist in painting a broader picture on why it became necessary to have peacekeeping forces arriving in the country. This will be done by enumerating some of the problems experienced by the people of CAR over time and how these necessitated the involvement of South Africa and other countries (both overtly and clandestinely). The political path of the CAR and the economic crisis are discussed in detail in the chapter because these two are intertwined such that one cannot be discussed without touching on the other.

4.2 BACKGROUND ABOUT THE CAR

The CAR (formerly known as Oubangui Chari) became a French colony in 1903 (Khabure, 2013). It was mainly a basis for spreading the dream of a French Africa which would stretch from the Gulf of Guinea in the west to the Indian Ocean in the east. The CAR was used as a podium for colonization and was a cul-de-sac in the region and also a source of gum Arabic (rubber) and free labor. The extent of this practice of CAR was so high that "between 1890-1940 half the population of CAR perished from disease and the colonial violence (Khabure, 2013:37)". These factors were to later have a serious negative impact on the country's future. It is not surprising therefore that presently the Central African Republic is suffering from multi-faceted crises some of which are discussed below. The country's geographical location is an important factor. It is located right at the heart of the African continent thus making it dependent on other countries for trade. Furthermore, besides this natural factor, the CAR is a forgotten

country which has endured more than a decade of armed conflict (Kleinsasser, 2010). The worst-affected regions are located in the northeast and northwest of the country where rebel forces and government troops continue to clash. This is bound to happen given the scarcity of resources.

The CAR has been formally independent for nearly half a century but its government only gained a first measure of popular legitimacy through free elections in 1993. The democratization process which was applauded by many soon ran aground due to newly manipulated communal divisions between the people living along the river and those residing in the savannah. This plunged the country into civil war which would later replicate itself. Currently, this area consists of about 623,000 sq. km and approximately 4.2 million people (figure1 appendix A). The number of Central Africans who have fled violence over the years is estimated at over 300,000 of which no less than 200,000 are internally displaced living in deplorable and precarious conditions. About 100,000 are refugees in neighboring countries (Chad, Cameroon and the Sudan). The map below shows the geographical location of the CAR.

Figure 4.1: Map of Central African Republic

The land is occupied by different groups of people such as Muslims Christians and other groups. This area is covered by wars and military civil wars. Researchers have noted that regional and other neighboring countries such as South Africa have intervened in the CAR with the view to managing or containing the conflict and working towards its ultimate resolution. The African Union did its best in trying to resolve conflicts in many of the African countries in the content. The CAR has not been an exception.

4.3 THE POLITICAL PATH OF THE CAR

The Central African Republic is one of the relatively least-influential countries among the former French colonies on the continent of Africa. The country's influence and political clout on the global stage is remarkably weak when compared to that of its other Central Africa counterparts such as Cameroon and Gabon (www.arcjournals.org). The weakness is even more glaring when the country is compared with its counterparts in Franco-phone West Africa, countries like Cote d"Ivoire and Senegal. Although it is bordered by Cameroon, Chad and Congo the country evidently retains some of the worst socio-economic indicators on the African continent in comparative terms (www.arcjournals.org). The depressing state of the country's socio-economic conditions is not unconnected with the political instability that has been her defining character since independence (Kalck, 2005).

The Central African Republic was granted political independence by France on the 13th August 1960 (Kalck, 2005). Ever since then, the country has been confronted by severe political turmoil that has been detrimental to the chances of socio-economic growth and development and the possibilities of achieving socio-cultural peace and harmony anticipated at independence (Oluwadare, 2014). Historically, the political landscape has always been defined by various forms of authoritarian regimes, such as, civil dictatorships, military despotism, and an empire rule. The contestations for acquisition and retention of political power have usually been fierce and destructive (Kalck, 2005). The first indications that perpetuate the political havoc in the country came from the fore cronies of the late first Prime-Minister of the country, Barthelemy

Boganda who decided to engage in a fierce power tussle for the office upon his death in 1959 (Oluwadare, 2014). This marked the beginning of the political crisis in the CAR.

Oluwadare (2014:5) asserts that "the critical significances of the struggle was prevented through the intervention of the French government which supported the organization of a multi-party election. Bokassa had a weird and warped idea of running the government and the political process". Moreover the dictatorial trends became the hallmark every military regime. For example, Bokassa in 1972 proclaimed the country an Empire and affirmed himself the President for Life and in 1976 he renamed himself and the country Emperor Bokassa I of the Central African Empire. By November 2012, there was no denying the fact that the Central African Republic was heading for catastrophic political, cum armed confrontations. Till today the Central African Republic has never had a chance to develop itself due to its colonial past, coups, endemic corruption, and the looting of resources (Krumova, 2014).

Furthermore, communities living in the balance with their environmental development substance mechanisms and cultural norms allow a stable social order to address the changes in the population's resource base (Accord, 2008). According to Accord (2008:29) the inequalities in the access of resources exacerbate risks for conflicts to develop. This means that powerful groups within the societies may seek advantages to control the resources. Looking at the CAR, different political systems have varying ways of relating internal conditions to external activities and to conflict. From a theoretical analytic viewpoint, diversionary war is more often than not used by elite-dominated systems to diffuse domestic dissention and demands whereas pluralistic governments tend to perpetuate the foreign conflict levels regardless of the amount of domestic conflict (Accord, 2008).

However, Accord (2008) asserts that the nature of the broader political systems will affect the livelihoods of conflict where weak, dysfunctional and failed states are less able to manage potential outbreaks of conflicts and to mobilize resources to address emergency needs and grievances by the groups within the state at any given time. Krumova (2014: 11) argues that "what makes things worse in the CAR is that rebel-controlled spaces fall even further behind due

to the destruction of existing, however limited, administrative structures. The state would not be able to maintain the fragile situation without support by the international community".

4.4 SPATIAL CONTEXT

As indicated earlier, the CAR is about 100 meters from Chad, Sudan and Congo where multiple civil wars took place and where commercial and private sectors are found. There is a commercial area in the vicinity. This is where people of the CAR and the surroundings used to purchase commercial goods and groceries. A range of shops including supermarkets, pharmacies clothing shops are located in this commercial area (figure 3).

The conflict in the CAR is quite complex and has multiple manifestations in different parts of the country –which makes it difficult to generalize the crisis. However, the current conflict is directly related to recent political events, a history of instability and lack of state infrastructure, not just cross-border clashes. Most of the people living in villages along the Central African Republic point out that they live in the forests because of the wars that take place in the country. They go to villages to protect themselves and their loved ones (Khabure, 2013). Previous researchers have also pointed out that the use of commercial goods and services has been affected by the civil wars in the country. As the country is facing such crisis, doctors to attend them are very scarce since public clinics were demolished by the military troops. For people to attend the clinics they have to travel long distances. In addition to that the overcrowding of the people for public health services is a serious challenge. This indicates a need for super powers to be involved and give people better health care services (Kleinsasser, 2010).

Even though this country is close to other countries that are rich in mineral resources mentioned above, means of transport and infrastructure constitute one of the social crises that the CAR faces. People have no electricity or other means that are safer to use. Given this context, it is clear that the remoteness of the countryside and lack of basic infrastructures such as well-maintained roads "leave many communities isolated and vulnerable to banditry and rebel activity. This is another reason for the chaotic situation in rural areas. Without adequate government presence many remote places have become safe havens for these groups"

(Kleinsasser, 2010:3). In addition to physical protection from violence, priority needs are food, healthcare, water, sanitation and hygiene, shelter and basic household items.

4.5 AN OVERVIEW OF THE CAR CRISIS

Various authors have noted that major powers have dithered over the past decade or so between serious engagement in supporting international security, economic development, and democratization in Africa and remaining a safe distance from what may appear a hopeless predicament (Victor, 2010). Over the past decade, the CAR has undoubtedly been experiencing a major political and protection crisis that has affected its entire population. The government was overthrown by Seleka in March 2013. Since then, the northern and western regions have seen intense and unprecedented violence against civilians and minorities. However, in the same year "violence around the area of Bangui escalated the anti- balaka and attacked the capital and fighting between them" (Victor, 2010:6).

Following these clashes, over a million people are reported to have left the CAR to seek refuge elsewhere on the continent. In response, the UN deployed many troops to overcome the killing of the civilians but that did not help. Then, the UN asked other countries to intervene. South Africa and France were among those that sent troops to the CAR to make peace. One may remember that South Africa lost many of its military troops when there was a clash between Bozize and Seleka's people (www.betterworldcampaign.org). The history of perilous governance in the CAR together with the modern impulsive situation has raised the concern for the future of the nation. This has led many commentators to confirm that the CAR government has failed to uphold its Responsibility to protect (www.responsibilitytoprotect.org/index).

Figure 4.2: Map of battles in CAR
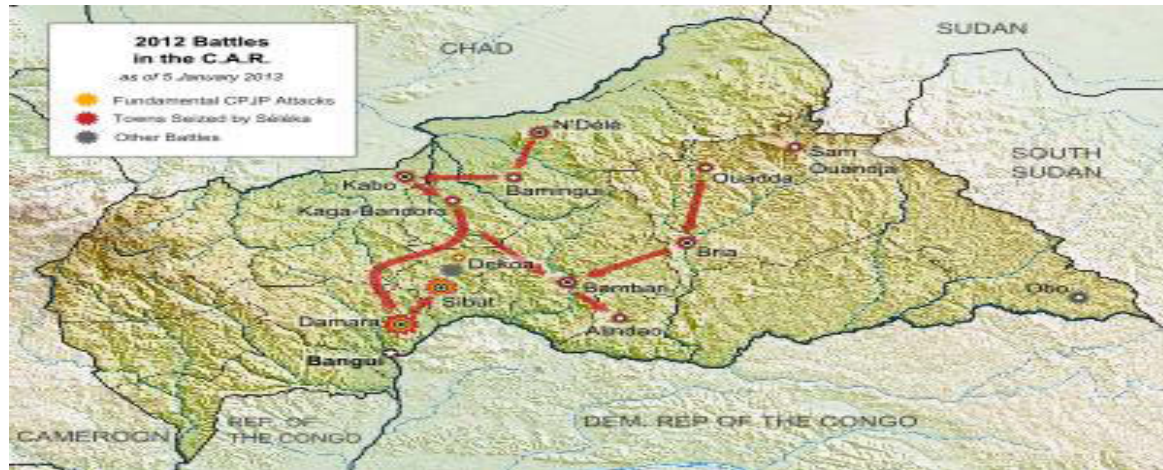
 (Environmental Science GIS, 2013)

Furthermore, the rough increase in the number of deaths in the conflict reflected negatively on the international political image of the country. However, the international community started to take action against the perpetrators of wars in the CAR (Nascimento, 2014). Despite the efforts of the international community such as the UN, many international organizations tried to settle the conflict in the CAR. Furthermore, scholars mostly agree that the CAR's history since independence has been characterized by a weak, corrupt and predatory state. Insights from secondary literature suggest that conflict in the CAR is the significance of an exacerbation of current and ancient political, social, and economic tensions (www.gpplatform.ch/site). Hence, "it is generally accepted in that conflict in CAR is intimately linked to integrated cross border dynamics such as the instability in Sudan and Chad" (Nascimento, 2014:9). The lack of a clear and sustained government commitment to promote sub-regional cooperation is not limited to economic issues. Nascimento (2014:10) asserts:

> I am very concerned about my country. Weapons have taken over and we live under their law. We have become strangers in our own country. Why is this happening to us? What is the purpose of all this? What have the Central African people done to deserve this?

Nascimento (2014) argues that what has been happening in the CAR is not acceptable as people are crying for help from the elite states. Moving further, the health care crisis was seen as one of the major negative impacts on the people of the Central African Republic which stems from the absence of basic health care provision augmented by rapid displacement of citizens. In the

recent civil wars, many inhabitants of the Central African Republic fled northwards to Chad. Nascimento (2014) states that "it's being said that when people returned back to their homes, they find their homes being destroyed by the wars and most of communities are being exposed to different kinds of diseases. In figure 6 it shows demobilized child soldiers being monitored by doctors. Due to the civil wars, people find it difficult to treat their diseases due to a lack of transportation, facilities, and resources, both medical and human".

Many people relied on the health care treatment provided by outside support groups such as the Red Cross (www.chisnell.com). Furthermore, some donors do not earmark funds specifically for peacebuilding but they prefer to encourage the Conflict Sensitive Development approach when working in conflict affected countries. Moreover, "the Conflict Sensitive Development is designed to help in poverty reduction but sensitive to the conflict environment within which they operate in that specific steps which are designed and managed to avoid aggravating the situation to support conflict prevention efforts" (Accord, 2008:51).

Figure 4.3: Demobilized child soldiers waiting for medical inspection

(Spittaels, 2009).

4.5.1 HUMANITARIAN CRISIS

The Central African Republic has been suffering from a demoralizing humanitarian crisis since 2013, when the country inclined into inter-communal violence. More than half of the population is in need of aid and 20% are evacuated within or outside of the country (www.europa.eu). The crisis is declared a level three crisis by the United Nations which shows the highest level of humanitarian disaster. The crisis has forced around 190 000 people since December 2013 to flee to Cameroon, Chad, Democratic Republic of Congo and the Republic of Congo, bringing the number of Central African refugees in neighbouring countries to over 451 000 people. Furthermore, this has been shown in the statistics above.

Figure 4.4.Humanitarian aid

(www.ec.europa.eu).

As mentioned above, the on-going crisis has forced around 190 000 people to take refuge in neighbouring countries since December 2013. More than 138 000 refugees have arrived in Cameroon, close to 22 200 in the Democratic Republic of Congo, around 20 000 in Chad and over 13 000 in the Republic of Congo since December 2013. The ongoing influx of people brings the number of Central African refugees in neighbouring countries to over 451 000 people and increases the humanitarian needs throughout the region. The on-going insecurity in the

country has impacted negatively on people's livelihood and productive assets leading to a decrease in production in the agriculture sector.

Humanitarian assistance from the European Commission to the Central African Republic has played a major role in the country even though South Africa tried its best in assisting the CAR go back to normality. On its part, the European Commission "funded the humanitarian projects which enabled free access to primary health services through mobile clinics with a main focus on life-saving interventions and the control of epidemic-prone infectious diseases" (Chunge, 1995:37). Projects seeking to improve the protection of civilians are also being supported, including the tracking of incidents, advocacy, medical, psychosocial and legal support to the victims.

The crisis in the CAR has caused a real deterioration in what was already a very precarious humanitarian situation. The European Union humanitarian agency food security and health are the main humanitarian concerns in the CAR. The combination of population movements created the impossibility of planting crops and the start of the rainy season risks the health and food crisis because the displaced people have no access to health services and cases of malaria and diarrhea are on the increase. Hence, many people are unemployed and the price of basic foods is increasing (Africa Report, 2013). South Africa's position of taking the moral high ground in terms of consultation and co-operation with regional bodies can be interpreted as hypocritical when it takes actions such as sending troops to the CAR without an AU instruction. But for those in crisis, any help rendered is acceptable no matter who brings it and under whatever circumstances.

4.5.2 THE NATURAL ENVIRONMNET OF THE CRISIS IN THE CAR

As mentioned earlier, the Central African Republic is a landlocked nation within the interior of the African continent. Much of the country consists of flat or rolling plateau savanna. The topography of the area is generally gentle in nature but in certain parts there is a mixture of steep and gentle slopes (figure, 4). On steep slopes, development is difficult when there is high run off on gentle slope. These characteristics make the development of infrastructure somewhat

difficult. In such conditions, agricultural activities are being eroded easily by heavy storms thus resulting in part to food shortages. The CAR is ttropical, ranging from humid equatorial in the south to Sahelo-Sudanese in the north; hot, dry winters with mild to hot, wet summers.

The high rainfall areas of Africa mainly lie over granitic shields, basement and basin sediments, which form soils of low nutrient status (Bell 1982). The combination of poor soils and rapid leaching from heavy rain means that the availability of oil nutrients is very low (Jordan, 1985; Martin, 1991). However, the abundant moisture and sparse nutrients result in a high biomass of poor-quality forage. These spatial qualities are shown on the figure below.

Figure 4.5: A village in CAR

Source: www.betterworldcampagn.org

4.5.3 ECONOMIC CRISIS

Economic crisis has hit the Central African Republic severely over the past couple of years. According to the scholars and researchers who have written about this country they argued that the escalation of violence in the CAR is likely to cause more havoc, provided that it is not properly being contained and/or addressed by the international organizations and regional communities (www.betterworldcampaign.org). They argue that incomplete responses could exact higher costs than full-fledged intervention. Moreover, it is stated that civil wars have a

tendency to ease the growth of real gross domestic product (GDP) per capita for every year of conflict. The neighboring countries each experience an average reduction in their annual growth rates over a five-year period (www.betterworldcampaign.org). In essence, the argument here is that any economic instability in the CAR has serious repercussions to neighboring countries too.

In the case of the CAR, any economic impacts from prolonged violence could reverberate throughout the region, affecting neighboring countries, which already face political and ethnic violence and economic instability of their own. Beyond the immediate and possible future economic impacts of the situation in the CAR, the daily reports of violence which have come to include incidents of mobbing and mutilation have brutally shown the sheer extent of human suffering caused by the current political crisis and concomitant sectarian tensions (Mwanasali, 1999). The Central Emergency Response Fund (CERF) has been one of the main donors for the response to the CAR crisis and its impact on the region. Lack of funding to-date has severely impeded any meaningful response to humanitarian needs.

Economically, the CAR has been dependent on the international donors for them to survive. There is high unemployment rate in this country and the region. People rely on agricultural farming and working in small towns that surround Bangui. Such sources of income are evidently insufficient to satisfy the economic needs of the people of the CAR. Steiner (2007) states that there is a high number of people living in the CAR who are suffering from different kinds of diseases, especially malaria and measles. The diamond trade, the main source of income for the state, has been hit by CAR's suspension from the Kimberley Prowess, a decision which has backfired on the diamond dealers who allegedly financed Seleka to overthrow the Bozize regime (www.chisnell.com). Of course, this remains a debatable issue. However, whatever the truth is, the reality is that "it is certain that alluvial diamond mining has a central place in the Central African political economy, whether for corrupt rulers, cash-strapped rebels or criminalized gangs of unemployed youth, and has the potential to trigger even greater instability in the increasing security and administrative vacuum in the country" (www.chisnell.com).

The CAR's economy is subjugated by the primary sector which accounted for 52 % of the GDP in 2008. In the primary sector, which is subsistence agriculture, represents 28% of the GDP and livestock accounts for about 13% (www.infrastructureafrica.org). The country's main sources of

export revenues are timber, cotton, coffee, and extractive industries. Moreover, the CAR's extractive industry potential could be expanded to constitute a solid basis for growth and economic diversification only if the political situation could be normal. Dominguez-Torres and Foster (2011:12) espouse the view that "the main potential mining centers gold, diamonds, uranium, iron, and copper are located in the southwest and central parts of the country." On average, diamonds have accounted for about 40 percent of exports. All in all, as the CAR is facing such challenges it still manages to overcome some of its challenges (Dominguez-Torres and Foster, 2011). The figure below shows the Central African Republic's agricultural sector.

Figure 4.6: A scale showing the CAR agricultural sector
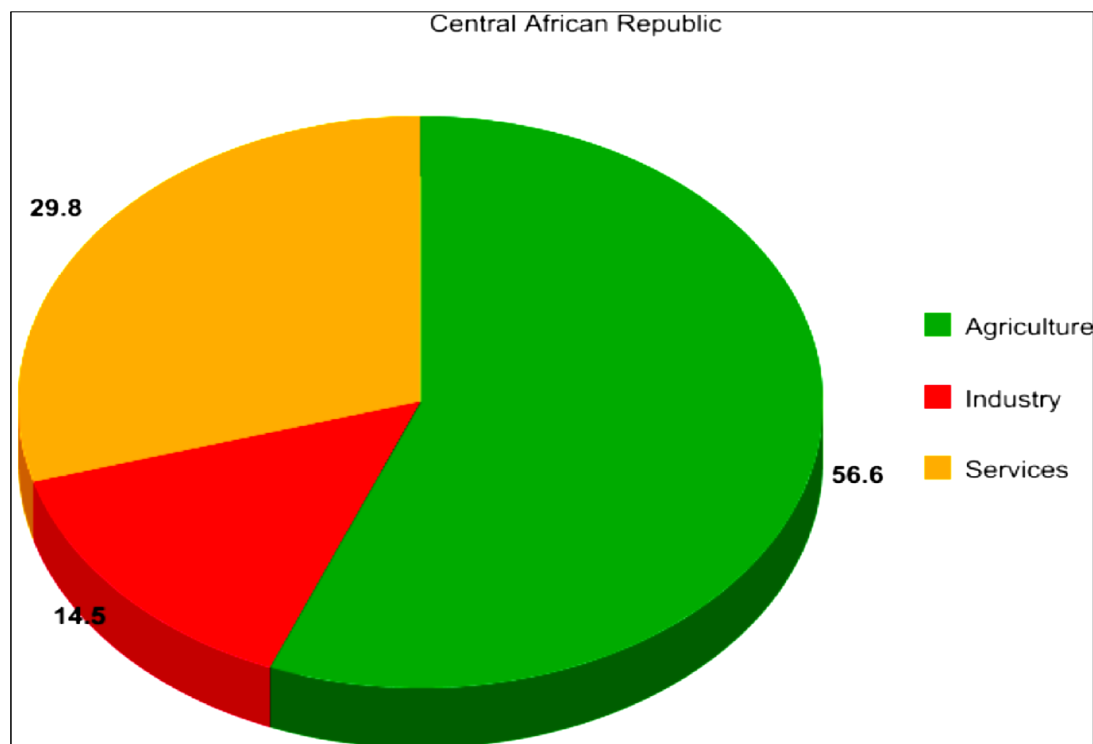
www.africaneconomicoutlook.org

As indicated above, the CAR is rich in agricultural farming. The Central African Republic has large amounts of natural resources that are in high demand on the international market, but instead of driving growth, the raw material and mineral wealth has fueled conflict and derailed any plans to lift the country to economic prosperity (Dominguez-Torres and Foster, 2011).

Furthermore, the agricultural sector generates more than half of the GDP as reflected in the pie chart above. This shows/confirms that agriculture is the substance and cash crop as it encompasses 56.6% of the CAR's economic engine. This is a huge percentage by any standard. Noticeably, the industry only shows 14.5% and service equals 28.9% (www.canisius.edu). Most of the country's other exports are made up of gold, diamonds, and timber.

The financial sector in the CAR according to the scholars who research this area is shallow in comparative terms. It comprised of a limited number of institutions and these institutions remain concentrated in Bangui (www.africaneconomicoutlook.org). Banks have suffered substantial material losses. Since the beginning of the crisis the principal establishments have limited their activities across the country. The banking system suffered from the departure of key client's improved unrecoverable debt and from the accumulating state arrears resulting in a fall in the liquidity of the banking sector (www.africaneconomicoutlook.org). What is clear from this synopsis is that the CAR has the potential to be an economically viable country but that potential is overshadowed by a combination of factors. As such, the country has failed to perform to its full potential in economic terms. As such, not only do the people of the CAR have to endure pain and suffering, neighboring countries too have to content with the repercussions of the CAR's economic crisis which also leads to the political crisis given the interconnectedness of politics and economy.

4.5.4 THE SOCIO ECONOMIC ENVIRONMENT

The CAR is a diverse community which has both formal and informal settlements (www.unhcr.org). Binedell (2003) states that socio economic factors which contribute to the quality of life to the people of this country are population, age and gender profiles, level of education, employment and levels of income. In terms of population, the number of people leaving the country is increasing every year. The fragile socio-economic environment and the volatile security situation jeopardize the positive results achieved over the years. Violence committed by the anti-balaka went far beyond self-defense from the outset. The dominant perception of Muslims among the mainly Christian population groups is to view

them as foreigners, and often as Chadians. This brings the religious factor at the center of the political crisis in the CAR.

The Christian population has over the last decades developed deep-rooted bitterness and hatred towards the Muslim population as the latter dominates the commerce and business sectors (Waynes, 2014). Even before 2012 when the crisis reached its peak, frustrations towards the Muslim population have escalated into violence. During the period in which the Seleka were in power, latent socio-economic tensions were catalyzed. Waynes (2014:4) avers that "over the last decades social and economic tensions have developed along religious lines. Muslim population was seen to be in control of the commerce and business sectors, ranging from the diamond and gold trade to shop keeping".

In the opinion of non-Muslim populations who are often Christian, the Muslims/foreigners state that Christian people have taken over their business sectors and their resources for self-enrichment to their detriment vice-versa (www.mediasupport.org). Accordingly, Christian populations have built up envy towards the Muslim population. These cruel and extreme acts of violence have changed the public perception of the crisis in the CAR, and the media have often described the conflict as a religious conflict – rightly or wrongly so. (www.mediasupport.org). According to the International Crisis Group (Africa Report NO 203):

> Uncertainty remains due to the absence of the State, Sebeka's fragility and tensions between Christians and Muslims. To avoid having an ungovernable territory in the heart of Africa, the new government of national unity must quickly adopt emergency security, humanitarian, political and economic measures to restore security and revive the economy. For their part, international partners must replace their "wait-and-see" policy with more robust political and financial engagement to supervise and support the transition.

The country has faced perpetual challenges in harnessing its natural resources and participating in global value chains during decades of political instability and armed conflict as well as poor economic and political management (www.africaneconomicoutlook.org). By all indications it is clear that the Central African Republic is sprawling, landlocked and served by inadequate transport, energy and telecommunications infrastructure (www.africaneconomicoutlook.org). The figure below shows the people moving away from CAR to the neighboring countries.

Figure 4.7: Socio-economic pictures of the CAR

Source: (www.iom.int/cms/CAR*).*

Furthermore, the migration of people from the CAR to other countries has caused havoc to Chad and Sudan. It is stated that these people fled to neighboring countries because of the civil wars in the CAR. Women and children are being abused by the soldiers thus forcing them to flee the country. This has caused other regional states to intervene in one way or the other. South Africa's involvement happened within this context.

4.5.5 INFRASTRUCTURE

The CAR is in the process of upgrading the country's infrastructure. Between 2000 and 2005 infrastructure made a modest net contribution of less than 1 percentage point to the improved per capita growth performance of the Central African Republic. This was despite high expenses in the road sector (Dominguez-Torres and Foster, 2011). As a matter of fact, one may say that infrastructures are essential for economic development, poverty reduction and improving the living conditions of the people (www.uneca.org). The quality of infrastructure strongly determines the efficiency of public and private production systems of goods and services and the

competitiveness of economies. The infrastructure is also considered to be a powerful route of regional integration (www.uneca.org).

In the years following independence, infrastructure featured prominently in the development policies and plans of the newly independent states. The CAR has made significant progress in some areas of its infrastructure. Dominguez-Torres and Foster (2011:13) state that "the country's road network is in relatively good or fair condition and is adequate for traffic levels. Air transport connectivity has improved. Important reforms providing for the liberalization of the water, power, and information and communications technology (ICT) sectors have boosted performance". This is something positive for the country.

In particular, improved competition in the ICT market has resulted to the prompt development of mobile and Internet services (www.uneca.org). Looking ahead, the country faces a number of important infrastructure challenges. Probably the CAR's most pressing challenge lies in the transport sector which relies heavily on the neighboring countries. To succeed in the effort to upsurge the efficiency of moving goods from and to the CAR, the overall condition of the road corridors needs to be drastically improved and the performance of the Port of Doula enhanced so that both land and see transport could operate more efficiently (www.uneca.org).

The CAR has the possibility to close the gap between itself and its neighboring countries by raising additional public funding for infrastructure from increased fiscal receipts of various kinds (www.infrastructureafrica.org). Furthermore, the CAR has not captured much of private finance for infrastructure which could be measured as a percentage of GDP in the same way that many of its neighbors have done (Dominguez-Torres and Foster 2011). According to Dominguez-Torres and Foster (2011:13) "the scope for improvement could be coupled with the view of an economic rescue and prudent policies so that it can lift the country from it crumbly state back to and beyond the prosperity standards it once enjoyed". The figure below point out the development of infrastructure in CAR.

FIGURE 4.8: Infrastructure development
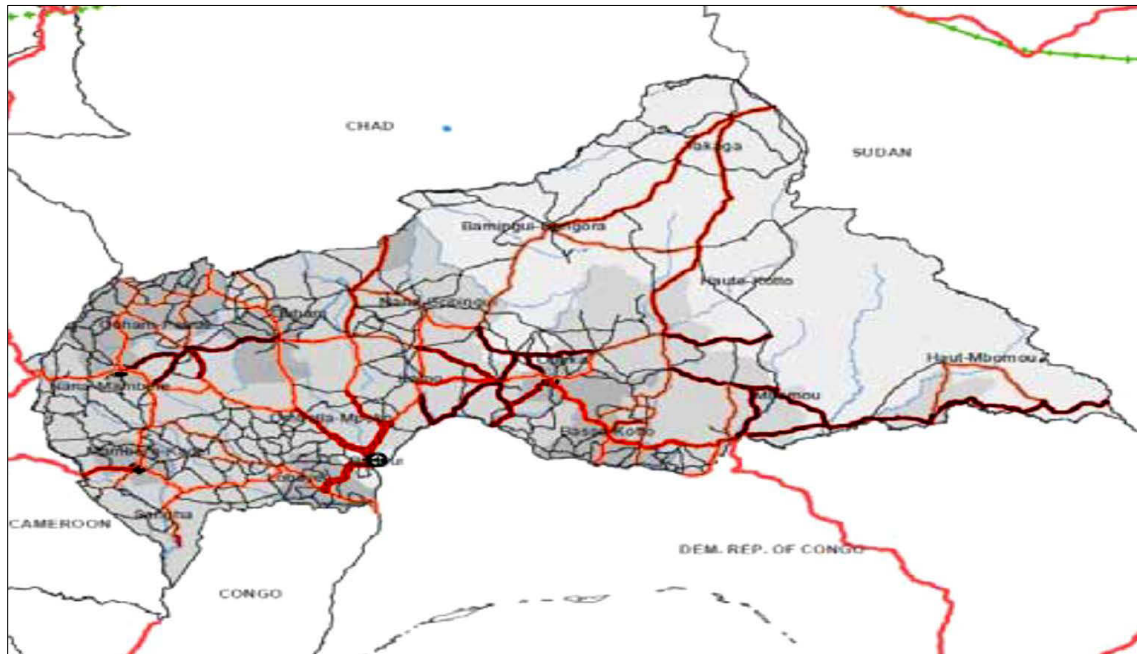
 (www.infrastructure.org).

A quick observation of the CAR shows that the government's presence is completely lacking outside the capital (Krumova, 2014). The lack of necessary infrastructure renders parts of the country accessible only by helicopter, while vast stretches of the eastern part of the country are extremely sparsely populated and open to the incursions of rebel groups such as the LRA (Lord's Resistance Army) originating in Uganda. The state infrastructure is extremely poor. It fails to deliver services and to allow for the maintenance of law and order (www.bti-project.org). Large parts of the territory Northwest, North, Northeast and East before the rebel attack are not under state control. Scholars argue that what is happening in the CAR is like nobody's responsibility as many of the superior powers are withdrawing themselves in terms of taking the initiative to resolve conflicts. Based on this brief discussion, it is clear that lack of infrastructure is a critical issue in the CAR. Unless this problem is resolved, it has a potential trigger or incite even more conflict when those who do not have better access to infrastructure turn against those who do or turn against the ruling party for failing to cater for them.

4.5.6 WATER CRISIS

The CAR has important sources of water. The water potential however, is worrisome to the local communities as the volume of water in these basins has declined steadily from year to year (www.infrastructure.org). According to Dominguez-Torres and Foster (2011:14) "the quality of surface water is also deteriorating especially from the rivers, springs, ponds, and traditional wells that provide drinking water to around 70 percent of the population". The renewable water resources per capita is estimated at about 36,912 cubic meters per year (m3/year) (including cross-border flows) which is above the Sub-Saharan African average of 7,000 m3/year (www.infrastructure.org). Rainfall averages 1,343 millimeter per year (mm/year) but levels vary considerably across regions and over the course of the year. There are numerous factors that put major pressure on water resources. These range from natural factors such as infrequent rainfall to man-made factors such as water wastage by those who use it.

Agricultural production needs which represent 77 percent of the total water use add to the stress in particular for cotton production (www.infrastructure.org). Domestic demand represents 18 percent of water use and has increased over time, but access to clean water remains a major challenge for the population (Dominguez-Torres and Foster, 2011). Dominguez-Torres and Foster (2011:14) assert that "the millennium goal of reducing the proportion of people without access to drinking water or safe sanitation by half will not be achieved for either the urban or the rural areas. Since the end of the conflict, the CAR has made important efforts to improve the institutional and legal framework of the water supply and sanitation sectors". In 2006 the Water Code was spread and the Government's Policy and Strategy Paper on the National Water and Sanitation Program (NESP) was approved (www.infrastructure.org). In 2007 the National Agency for Water and Sanitation was established. All these efforts are meant to improve the availability and retention of water in the country. Whenever there are water shortages, the blame game ensues and this leads to unnecessary friction which sometimes escalates into physical violence. However, the diagram below shows people queuing for water in CAR

Figure 4.9: Water crisis in the CAR

(www.dispatch.com).

People hold their place in line with jerry cans and basins as they wait for the arrival of a truck bringing water to a camp for displaced people at Mpoko Airport in Bangui. An estimated 100,000 people live in the makeshift camp. It is estimated that only 21 percent and 4 percent of the population living in Bangui and the other seven urban centers, respectively consume the levels required to satisfy basic needs (World Bank, 2010). In view of the insufficient supply of water, there is an urgent need to secure access to chemicals and power for treatment factors that have contributed to water shortages in the past as well as to expand the existing treatment capacity, which is inadequate (World Bank, 2010). During the conflict, prices of chemicals for water treatment went up following their scarcity occasioned by the conflict. Thus, water has the potential to lead to conflict and also has serious repercussions

4.6 POLITICAL INSTABILITY

All the factors discussed thus far contribute to political instability in one way or the other. Mwanasali (1999:4) asserts that "the security situation in Central Africa is at present bleak. He

further states that to their credit ECCAS political leaders have individually or collectively sought regularly to prevent, manage or resolve armed conflicts and prevent political differences from escalating into open hostilities". Some of these political and diplomatic initiatives have yielded relative success. Furthermore, the mediation conducted by several African countries, including South Africa to end the conflicts and violence that crippled the Central African Republic is a good example of how African countries should take care of one another. South Africa played a major role in trying to bring about peace in the Central African Republic. The president of South Africa asked the South African Defence Force to send troops to the CAR to bring about peace and resolve conflicts since the country was experiencing political instability which painted the regional and the continent in a bad light (Mwanasali, 1999).

The CAR conflict was characterized by the devastation of thousands of buildings, looting, hundreds of civilian deaths and the movement of hundreds of thousands of people. The government and rebel coalition entered a peace agreement but yet it was not successful (www.chisnell.com). However, areas of the nation remained unofficially under rebel control, especially the rural areas. After the civil war, relative political stability was accomplished, but recent developments in the Central African Republic reveal that the nation's future is rife with uncertainty. One may recall that much of the population in the Central African Republic is located in remote areas.

Thus, CAR is not well represented by the capitol. This makes stability very difficult - many people will always be unhappy with the government, simply because it is out of touch with its citizens (www.chisnell.com). It should be noted that ethnic tensions sometimes play a role in the disruption of peace. The current situation in the Central African Republic should not be a surprise to those familiar with the region's troubled history. However, that does not mean that current situation in the Central African Republic is to be dismissed. "The violent takeover has had an adverse effect on not only the recent political stabilization of the nation, but on diplomatic relations, worldwide economics, and the humanitarian efforts led by non-governmental organizations" (Vanaga, 2014:3).

Despite the establishing of the institutions and the international recognition of the prime minister, the transition process hit many difficulties (Vanaga, 2014). The government was unable to restore order. There were splits within Seleka and differences between the president and prime minister. Concerned by the worsening security and humanitarian crises, the international community mobilized in a bid to stabilize Central African Republic (www.chisnell.com). "Thus the African Union took the decision in July 2013 to intervene with a force of 3 500 soldiers known as MISCA which has been gradually deployed (www.uneca.org)". The UN Security Council adopted several resolutions authorizing MISCA and French troops on the ground and 400 soldiers to secure the airport in advance of the arrival of Operation Sangaris contingents to use all means necessary to secure the country and protect the civilian population (www.uneca.org).

In a horrifically weak state such as the CAR, it may not make sense to even try to classify universal veto players. The president himself seems to act above the law. Bozizé's power results mainly from his military takeover in 2003 and subsequent international acceptance, though the latter certainly has become a lukewarm one (www.bti-project.org). The military influence on the head of state is potentially still high. However, the National Armed Forces have not shown any capacity to halt the advance of the rebel army and are therefore equally weak. As witnessed in other African countries, such weakness does not preclude a military coup.

4.8 PARTIES INVOLVED IN THE SOLUTION OF THE CAR CONFLICT

Each and every conflict should be resolved at some point. The CAR is no exception. Following the outbreak of the political conflicts a solution had to be found. Concerted efforts were made to achieve this goal. As such, different parties were involved in trying to find the solution to the crisis. According to Vanaga (2014) the multilateral approach has been used in the stabilization of the situation in the CAR since the mid-1990s with a number of third parties like France, the UN and regional countries such as South Africa and Congo getting involved. The European Union has also been the highest contributor financially through its many support programmes. Even

though the parties involved in solving the conflict have implemented all formal measures they still have not achieved what they are supposed to achieve. This has triggered so many questions by the scholars that such big organizations are failing to resolve the conflict that the CAR faces. The UN got involved in the CAR because France and the CAR's neighboring countries were unable to cope with the increasing violence themselves and were unable to organize elections to ensure political stability in the country (Vanaga, 2014).

As mentioned above, the involvement of South Africa in the CAR could be seen as a failure because many 27 South African troops died there, and the survivors had to return home. But on the other hand they managed to make amendments with the president of CAR where he understands that violence and killing of people is no longer a solution. What happened in the Central African Republic in early 2013 further showed the weaknesses of the regional stand-by forces (Vanaga, 2014). It has been noted elsewhere that "the regional force of the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) known as the Central African Multinational Force (FOMAC) was unable to stabilize the situation. Moreover, ECCAS could have appealed for extra support from ECOWAS or SADC but did not do so (www.c-r.org/sites/default).

Instead, it was South Africa that sent a small contingent of two hundred additional South African troops in to assist those already in place to train CAR forces. The death of South African troops in the CAR prompted an intense debate in the South African media about whether South African troops should have been sent to the CAR at all (www.chisnell.com). Looking at South Africa's issue, according to the scholars South Africa went there without the approval of the SADC. If the SADC umbrella had been used in the CAR case, South Africa would still have played the dominant role but some of the criticism targeted at South Africa for intervening might have been deflected.

There were many allegations that the South African intervention in the CAR was to protect South African business interests (Saunders, 2014). The fast moving situation in the CAR has conveyed a level of ambiguity to regional and international responses with organizations which are still evaluating the extent to which and the capacity they had to intervene. Vanaga (2014:6)

argues that "what is clear is that cooperation between these organizations will be essential in tackling short and mid-term security issues".

However, certain states involved in conflict pacification in the CAR are also part of the problem (Weber and Kaim, 2014). In particular, the roles played by France and Chad are ambivalent. France certainly possesses the best knowledge about the country, its political actors and its geographical conditions. Maslen (2014) asserts that France's interest was in continuing to operate as the dominant external power. Political parties [in the CAR?] can be created without many restrictions. Some of the rebel organizations have been restructured as political parties or have a civilian wing (www.bti-project.org). However, these remain weak and thus rely on outside support for their survival and effectiveness. For these reasons, the CAR conflict is more complex than it appears at face value.

4.9 CONCLUSION

The CAR has been facing many challenges of violence and wars since 2002. This country is vulnerable to different kinds of crises such as poor sanitation, lack of infrastructure, water shortages, humanitarian crisis and many such challenges. Exposure to health hazards is the result of lack of appropriate infrastructure and civil wars within the country. High levels of unemployment exist and this is exacerbated by the low levels of education. The wars between Seleka and Bozize have made the CAR people to flee to other neighboring countries such as Chad and Sudan. The EU and other regional countries have tried their level best to solve the issues in the CAR, but they did not succeed in overcoming those issues of maintaining peace in Africa in general and in the CAR in particular. This has triggered many questions from the scholars who question the need of involving international communities if they are failing to manage and resolve conflicts in Africa.

This chapter has discussed the background of the CAR and its crisis. Importantly, the chapter has discussed various factors which contribute to instability in the CAR. The rural/urban divide and well as the religious differences between the Muslims and the Christians are some of the

dichotomies that have been shown to cause tensions among the people of the CAR. The next chapter – which is the second empirical chapter will discuss South Africa's successes and challenges that it faced in Africa in general and especially in the Central African Republic which is the focus of this study.

CHAPTER 5

SUCCESSES AND CHALLENGES OF SOUTH AFRICA'S INTERVENTION IN THE CAR

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter (Chapter four) looked at the causal factors of the political crisis in the Central African Republic. The aim of the chapter was to establish the factors that resulted into the sustained political crisis in that country. Among the factors discussed were religious and ethnic factors which continue to ravage different parts of the African continent including the CAR. Such a discussion was deemed necessary with the view to understanding the crisis so that it would be easier to make suggestions on how such a crisis could be resolved.

This present chapter examines the success and the challenges of South Africa in terms of peacekeeping and conflict resolution in Africa in general and in the CAR in particular. Such an analysis is important because (as mentioned in the previous chapters) South Africa has been involved in peacekeeping initiatives throughout the continent. The country has been engaged in supporting peace and security procedures in Africa over the last twenty years in many ways. This has been done through direct and indirect participation and leadership in peacekeeping missions carried out on behalf of the United Nations (UN) and the African Union (AU). The country has undoubtedly become an active player in global peacekeeping efforts. According to Okeke and Agu (2013:2) "the avalanche of violent crises in the African continent has made the region very volatile and depicts an environment where violent conflict has been institutionalized".

A quick look across the continent shows that conflicts have forced millions of African people into a homeless life as refugees and displaced persons are deprived of their means of livelihood,

human dignity and hope. South Africa is seen as a country with one of the most ambitious constitutions in the world (Ogunnubi, 2013). This chapter will begin by outlining the challenges that South Africa faced in Africa when trying to bring about peace and political stability. Secondly, the chapter will specifically outline the success of intervention by South Africa in the CAR. It is within this chapter that countries will be included when discussing South Africa's intervention in peacekeeping and conflict resolutions in Africa.

5.2 SOUTH AFRICA'S PEACE AND SECURITY AGENDA

Since 1994, South Africa has worked tirelessly in helping resolve African conflicts. The greatest role South Africa plays in preventive diplomacy in Africa is to employ the moral authority which is derived from its own internal process of national reconciliation and democratization which were tried out before and soon after the 1994 election (www.fride.org/download). Furthermore, South Africa has adopted an approach which emphasizes the negotiation settlement among ruthless enemies over military solutions. South African leadership made clear its determination to play a significant role as peacemaker mainly in southern Africa. Such a security objective requires active engagement in conflict prevention, management and resolution (Ogunnubi, 2013). The daunting challenges of post-conflict reconstruction facing the majority of African countries recovering from violent conflicts pose the risk of conflict relapse with devastating consequences for individual countries and the regions they come from.

This trend has been observed in recent years in a number of African countries including Liberia, Sierra Leone, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Burundi and CAR (Accord, 2009). Since the outbreak of the political upheavals in the CAR it is not only this country that has been affected. On the contrary, all neighbouring countries have had to bear the brunt of these political disturbances. This has been evidenced in the outward migration of people running away from the civil war. Scores have crossed the borders to neighbouring countries. Regional bodies such as ECCAS, the EAC, etc. tried in vain to contain the situation. It was within this context that South Africa came in to try and resolve the impulse. Of course, the motivating factors behind South Africa's involvement have been the subject for debate. In the process, facts and fiction have merged whereby real and assumed motivating factors have been enumerated.

Although the recent creation of the AU PSC led to concerted efforts by African states to search for peace on the continent, the commitment of African people to mitigate their own conflicts does not seem to have been a recent attempt or initiative. The reality of the matter is that African continent has over the years been grappling with the issue of political instability since the beginning of the post-colonial period. Unfortunately, positive results of these initiatives have persistently remained elusive. African peacekeeping is caught up between the intransigence of the international world on the one hand and the need for Africans to become self-sufficient on the other.

Despite the encouraging recession in the number of armed conflicts in Africa, the positioning of African states at a transitional crossroads undoubtedly renders almost all of them more likely to experience periods of instability at one point or another as they try to move towards establishing the new socio-economic and political frameworks. In line with her foreign policy objectives, South Africa is determined to ensure that the peaceful coexistence of member states within the African continent is demonstrated in its commitment to peacekeeping operations under the leadership of the continental body, African Union or the regional Southern African Development Community.

According to Ogunnubi (2013) South Africa's commitment to the principle of peace, and the agreed mechanism for the peaceful resolution of disputes is evidenced in its overt resilience to continental and global security which was not a priority to the apartheid government under the National Party. Therefore, it is an irrefutable fact that post-apartheid South Africa has over the past twenty years been saddled with the responsibility to change South Africa's political image in the global scene (including the country's African political image). It is for these reasons that the post-apartheid political leadership in South Africa has been engaging its counterparts across the African continent with the view to ensure that there is political stability. Unfortunately not all African countries have welcomed South Africa's sacrifices. As such, the country's peacekeeping mechanisms have met stiff challenges in certain countries. The CAR experience is just one of many across the African continent.

5.3 SOUTH AFRICA'S CHALLENGES IN PEACEKEEPING INITIATIVES IN AFRICA

South Africa has consistently played an important role in Africa in terms of peacekeeping and conflict resolutions. According to Accord (2008:37) "the South African approach to conflict resolution has been strongly informed by its own recent history and experience in the peaceful resolution of seemingly intractable conflicts". Peacekeeping operations in Africa have faced several challenging events. Included in the list is dealing with issues of transnational threats and the regionalized nature of conflicts, which have directly affected the implementation of peacekeeping operations (Accord, 2008). Moreover, wider issues such as climate change, transnational organized crime, terrorism, rampant corruption, cybercrime and disease pandemics such as the one demonstrated by the recent outbreak of Ebola in West Africa, have impacts in terms of state fragility. Consequently, both the way in which peacekeeping operations are carried out as well as how individual countries and regions implement their mandates have had to adapt to constantly changing situations. South African soldiers who went to the CAR to try and contain the political situation there had to face or deal with some of these challenges.

Other changes relate to difficulties in the implementation of peacekeeping mandates that are embedded within political conflicts. South Africa's defence sector has faced several challenges in the implementation of its vision towards deployment and support to peacekeeping operations in the past years (www.accord.org.za). The country has engaged in a process of seriously reviewing its Defence processes where it presented one of its key findings that the defence force is in a critical state of decline with critical challenges in meeting standing defence mobility (www.accord.org.za). In the review, it presents its commitment to peacekeeping operations as being the third goal of the SANDF. Put succinctly, the main or primary goal is to promote peace and security through the tasks of promoting strategic influence and contributing to peace and stability (Toit, 1998).

Altogether, South Africa and other African states have shown a somewhat less reluctant approach to engage in the use of force in peacekeeping operations. Instead, the country has opted for dialogue as was the case in the DRC and Sudan, or 'quiet diplomacy' as evidenced by the country's involvement in Zimbabwe. Military intervention in the CAR, albeit in a clandestine

manner, was not a pre-mediated activity. Instead, the country sent soldiers with the view to keep peace. Unfortunately about 14 soldiers lost their lives. This posed a challenge on the government in many ways. On the one hand, it had to ensure the safety of its citizens. On the other hand South Africa had to ensure that the country's mission in the CAR was accomplished. None of these choices was easy to make.

It should be recalled at this stage that many African states attained their political independence through low intensity conflict waged by liberation movements against colonial powers. This left them convinced that the only way in which their wishes could be met was through the barrel of the gun. Having achieved political freedom in this manner, the new states were left highly exposed and vulnerable to challenges from within, bent on using these very same methods that had been used against them (Toit, 1998). Henceforth, African states that have scarcely emerged from devastating civil wars are also now being expected to play an active role in conflict management through regional integration. This creates a challenge for a country like South Africa. While the country wants to maintain peace or resolve political conflicts through diplomatic means, some of these other African countries prefer violent or military action.

As far as South Africa is concerned, the country subscribes to the view that the type of conflicts caused by the political breakdown in African countries can rarely be alleviated by short term military interventions (www.ajol.info/index). On the contrary, this goal of long-lasting peace could only be achieved through political engagement or dialogue. According to Lepgold (1998:78), in many African countries in large part of the increasing relevance of non-state actors and forces, "regional arrangements face an increasingly complex array of transnational security challenges such as organized criminal activities as well as health and environmental issues".

The challenges outlined above permeate all the world's regions to a greater or lesser degree, but have proved to be particularly influential in parts of the world where regional arrangements and local governments lack the capabilities to respond effectively (Tschirgi, 2003). Moving further to challenges that countries such as South Africa faced, it is of paramount importance to look at these challenges as they affect our daily lives instead of looking at them as isolated entities or activities which have no link to one another. Though the global political and security environment constantly evolves, what is clear is that important features of political decision

making in governments and international organizations appear largely fixed (Doyle and Sambanis, 2001:9). Most of these predictable aspects of the way political leaders make decisions influence against vigorous preventive efforts. According to Niklas (2005) the broad political commitments to conflict prevention perceived national interests to lead governments to policies which are designed to help one party to prevail in a conflict rather than to help avert or resolve conflict. Even the involvement of other countries brings about some niggling challenges back home. For example, when South Africa sent soldiers to the CAR and later died, opposition parties started blaming the ANC as a ruling party. Similarly, had the ANC used diplomatic means as in the DRC, Zimbabwe and Sudan, for example, they would have been blamed for being 'soft'. If that ANC decided not to get involved at all in the political crisis they would have been blamed for not adhering to the National Constitution or the country's foreign policy agenda.

In fact, multiple political challenges remain even when there are no major interests to weigh against conflict prevention. For example, leaders in countries at high risk of conflict are typically averse to seek help from outsiders in managing potentially violent conflicts. This happens especially if such conflicts brew internally. Moreover, the challenges that South Africa has faced in Africa in general and in the CAR in particular have posed so many questions to scholars. According to some of these scholars, South Africa should have first looked its foreign policy before intervening into peacekeeping as they faced so many challenges when intervening. This has brought South Africa into being not trustworthy as they failed to overcome critical situations in African countries that faced civil wars such as the CAR. There is a view that "some of the challenges were to establish the type of force required for peacekeeping, the training of such a force and the development of a doctrine for use by South African armed forces" (Williams 1996:1). In that sense, South Africa's challenges transcended material needs (important as these were).

One of the major challenges faced by South Africa in the case of the CAR was to redefine the roles and tasks of the SANDF to participate in peacekeeping missions in Africa instead of only fulfilling the traditional roles of conventional warfare and protection against external aggression. In the new security environment the military had to be reconfigured for a wide variety of

humanitarian tasks, such as disaster relief and peacekeeping missions. In retrospect, this too proved to be problematic for the South African government.

According to Accord (2007:1) "South Africa's commitment to resolving Africa's conflicts, coupled with her reputation for the peaceful settlement of an intractable conflict as well as her relative economic might made it imperative that she would be drawn into peace making and peacekeeping sooner rather than later". South Africa was formally drawn into the Burundi peace process in 1999 when former President Nelson Mandela was appointed as a Facilitator of the Arusha Peace Process (Kibasomba, 2002). Consequently, the peace agreement was signed by the parties in August 2000 under the auspices of the Department of Foreign Affairs (DFA) where a White Paper on Peace Missions was developed to guide any future role South Africa might have in peace missions. Furthermore, "the involvement of South Africa in Burundi started in 2001 where South African troops were deployed in Burundi" (Kisamba, 2002:7). With this goal achieved, the CAR presented South Africa with yet another opportunity to prove its leadership dexterity. While the circumstances were not the same, the need to bring about peace and political stability was.

In the Rwandan case the agreement allowed international peacekeepers to enter Burundi, and South African soldiers formed the first contingent of troops charged with the responsibility to protect exiled political leaders as they returned to the country to join the transition government (www.thepresidency.gov.za/docs). These were early days. In a way, "The antiquity of violence set the backdrop for South Africa's first important post-apartheid peacekeeping mission in Africa. The first deployment was not a traditional peacekeeping mission because the Arusha Accord has been agreed upon and had not been a ceasefire (Kisamba, 2002:9)". However, South Africa deemed it necessary to protect political leaders from assassination so that the peace process could begin. The acceleration with which the troops were deployed caused confusion at a policy level for many in South Africa's National Defence Force (SANDF) members as did working with the AU and the UN (www.thepresidency.gov.za/docs). By moving into the CAR secretly and using a small number of soldiers the South African government thought that it was doing the right thing. The challenge was that the size of the force as well as its military equipment appeared to be a recipe for disaster. Indeed, in the end these soldiers were

overpowered by the better armed rebels and lost their lives although they also inflicted serious wounds on the relabels.

According to some scholars, another major challenge that South Africa faced in Burundi was the major expense that they faced while they were waiting for the UN to boost them. Looking at the recent challenges that happened in the CAR, one can argue that the case of Burundi where South Africa was asked to be part and parcel of the peacekeeping negotiations but did not receive material and financial support immediately should have been a lesson on how to tackle similar cases later. Failure to do so has posed so many questions among scholars that South Africa is facing a big challenge in resolving conflicts in Africa due in part to lack of preparedness for the volatile political situations in the countries they get involved in. According to Ogunnubi (2013) South Africa's commitment to the principle of peace, and the agreed mechanism for the peaceful resolution of disputes is evinced in its resilience to continental and global security which was not a priority to the apartheid government. Therefore, we might say that having no reference point was a disadvantage to the post-apartheid South African political leadership. They had to hit the roal running and learn by mistakes.

5.3.1 SOUTH AFRICA'S CHALLENGES IN THE CAR

One of the challenges South Africa has had to contend with has been balancing the scale between national and foreign policy agendas. The CAR presents yet another case in which African peacekeeping initiatives clash with national foreign policy preferences of neighboring countries. Since 1997 the CAR has witnessed twelve peacekeeping missions by eight different organizations. What appears as the most impressive international commitment is indeed rather the opposite of what was expected by many observers. The absence of a viable peace and security organization in Central Africa, and the divergence of international attention to other major conflicts around CAR in countries such as the DRC and Darfur, allowed single state interest to undermine international peacekeeping efforts (de Guttry, 2014).

Another biggest challenge that South Africa faced in CAR is that it was not under the auspices of the UN and/or the AU. As such, some viewed South Africa's involvement in the CAR as being driven by national interests more than anything else. According to Ogunnubi (2013), the

president of South Africa authorized the deployment of 400 soldiers between 2 January 2013 and 31 March 2018 as part of a military co-operation agreement with the CAR government to provide military training, to support disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) programmes (Cilliers and Shunemann 2013: 3). In that sense, one of the challenges South Africa had to contend with was the issue of identification. It was not clear which hat the country's soldiers were wearing as they entered the border of the CAR. Were they in that country to protect President Bozize or were they in the country in line with South Africa's foreign policy agenda? Were they representing the AU/SADC? In a nutshell, was this a personal (national) initiative?

While the troops were initially deployed to provide VIP protection and security sector reform assistance, the troops came under intense attack (www.nids.go.jp). Ngoma (2004:101) was of the opinion that "the balancing of the needs of the defence sector with other more human social needs was important to ensure the appropriate utilization of scarce resources". It has been argued that by taking the expanded roles of human security into account to provide education, health services and communication networks in remote areas, the defence segment did not have to destroy its major roles by taking on extra secondary roles (Adebajo 2002). The role of the military and security services had to be re-examined to establish to what extent the limited resources were directed at the necessity to fulfil the secondary roles as well, instead of only the primary ones (www.ajol.info). Scholars of African politics have provided detailed accounts of South Africa's engagement in peacemaking and peacekeeping, and to a lesser extent, its experiences with peacebuilding. The CAR has been cited as just one of many other cases which are used as reference points in the discussions.

South Africa has failed to present the key mechanisms of its own transformative methods into the peace enablement process and to pull some learning from the capabilities of those sectors of the society that were central to build the change relations between state and society (Hendricks, 2013). One observation is that "South Africa, has therefore largely failed to utilize its strategic position in conflict management on the continent to pioneer new ways of managing conflict that could lead to building safer, resilient and prosperous societies: there is a disjuncture between its stated construct of peace and what it actually delivers" (Cilliers and Shunemann 2013: 3). In other words despite the fact that South Africa has successfully resolved conflicts in many parts

of the African continent criticisms have been levelled against the country. The case of the CAR is no exception. But what makes the CAR case even more important is the fact that a number of South African soldiers were killed.

5.4 SUCCESSES OF SOUTH AFRICA IN PEACEKEEPING INITIATIVES

It is important to begin to pay closer attention to South Africa's conflict management approach for a number of reasons. Firstly, the country has been called upon to manage conflicts in many African countries. Second, it has labelled itself as projecting the African voice and perspective in the global arena. It cannot be denied that South Africa's interventions have had a direct effect on the orientation and sustainability of peace and security on the African continent as a whole (www.up.ac.za). South Africa is at the forefront of Africa's peace and security endeavors. After 1994, it was able to quickly transform itself from the status of being an international villain or a pariah state to becoming a Pan-Africanist peacemaker. The country has since played an instrumental role in both shaping and setting the normative agenda of the African Union (AU) and Southern African Development Community's (SADC) peace and security architectures as well as undertaking in country conflict management interventions (www.issafrica.org). This is something many African countries would like to do but have been unable to do since they were liberated from their erstwhile colonial masters.

According to Cilliers and Shunemann (2013: 7) "South Africa has been an important driver in the development of continental mechanisms for dealing with peace and security matters, including the AU's peacekeeping mechanisms". However, South Africa has drawn attention to people and leaders all around the world. Furthermore, success will also depend on keeping the regional players onside, or at least inside, which is hard to do given the combination of existentialism and self-interest. Even though the indications are that South African forces have done well, it is true that they are experiencing challenges in generating sufficient numbers of troops to be redeployed wherever there is a need. But since there is such a culture of secrecy around this, it is hard to discern what rumour is and what fact is. As mentioned earlier in this dissertation, parliament in South Africa is yet to be properly briefed on the mission to the CAR.

This is important not only because South African soldiers were killed, but also because the mission has to be interpreted in line with both the National Constitution and the country's foreign policy (www.thebrenthurstfoundation.org). But despite this tragedy, it cannot be repudiated that South Africa as a country has succeeded in bringing about peace and stability across Africa.

Most of the successful regional integration and collective security initiatives world-over have thrived on a strong and willing leadership which Keohane (1980) aptly describes as the "theory of hegemonic stability". The presence of a regional core or nucleus has the capacity to serve as a positive force for developing and nurturing a viable collective security arrangement. Understandably, in the absence of a strong collective will and requisite intervention capacity within the OAU system, some African governments have not hesitated to by-pass the cumbersome processes and acted swiftly as the need arose. Recent peace enhancing initiatives include un-invited interventions by some African governments in neighboring countries in order to restore constitutional government, end threats to peace, and achieve peace enforcement (www.up.co.za).

South Africa's interventions were largely hailed as success stories in many parts of the African continent. However, what was meant by success in these contexts remains the subject for debate as the word 'success' increasingly becomes a relative concept. Evidence is mounting that the countries in which the country has intervened remain fragile and/or have relapsed into conflict. Yet, South Africa continues to be "the interlocutor and destination of choice for African leaders and rebel leaders eager to cut deals" (Van Nieuwkerk 2014: 3). In any case, if countries resolve to resume conflicts as soon as South African troops leave, this cannot be blamed on South Africa as a country.

5.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter has provided the challenges and successes of South Africa in the Sub-Saharan region. The dual aim of the chapter was to demonstrate that since 1994 South Africa has re-positioned itself and obtained a new identity which saw the country being invited to bring about

peace and stability in many African countries. Secondly, the chapter purported to show that South Africa's peacebuilding initiatives have not been without challenges. Both aims have been achieved. As clearly demonstrated above, South Africa played a preponderant role in Africa in terms of peacekeeping. Considering Africa's endemic conflict profile and South Africa's role in its resolution, it could be argued that any study of peacekeeping and conflict resolution in Africa would require an examination of South Africa's role in conflict management on the continent, particularly given the country's experience in military operations and peacekeeping around the globe.

The case of the CAR which is the focus of this study shows that as much as South Africa has an impressive track record in terms of peacekeeping initiatives, there have been some challenges that the country had to contend with. What is also clear is that South Africa's success depends on the cooperation the country receives from those countries facing conflict situations.

A lot has been revealed in this study in general and in the present chapter in particular. In the concluding chapter, an attempt shall be made to provide some pointers on the way forward regarding the path South Africa should or could follow if it is to achieve a balance between its national interests, its hegemonic aspirations and how it can effectively articulate its foreign policy in terms of peacekeeping and managing conflicts without trying to satisfy everyone. As shown above, the latter would remain a far-fetched dream since both the country's action and inaction result in praises and criticisms alike.

CHAPTER 6
RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

6.1 GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

The overall aim of the study was to examine the role of South Africa in terms of peacekeeping and conflict resolution in Africa particularly CAR. Based on the purpose of the study the objectives were to:

- Establish the nexus between South Africa's role in peace keeping and conflict resolution in Africa and the protection of its national interests;

- Appraise the strategies that have been applied by South Africa towards peace keeping and conflict resolution in Africa with particular emphasis on the Central African Republic civil war;

- Analyse the connection between South Africa's foreign policy objectives and her interventionist role in Africa; and

- Identify the opportunities and challenges that confronted South Africa's peacekeeping mission in the CAR specifically while also considering experiences in other African countries too.

This research study has interrogated the essential issues that have influenced South Africa's involvement in peacekeeping and conflict resolutions in Africa, particularly from the perspective of its foreign policy over the post- apartheid era. It was found that South Africa has committed substantial resources to guarantee sub regional peace and security in Africa. Recommendations are made in the light of the findings, which might be of use in the debates towards South Africa's intervention in the civil wars in Africa particularly CAR. The overall conclusion will also be discussed in this section. The country's involvement in conflicts in Africa have often been influenced by the leadership style and political ideology of the individual in power.

The study has further revealed that the national uproar arising from South Africa's ailing economy and the plethora of its unresolved home grown socio-economic and political woes, has put the country to intervene in the African countries to manage peacekeeping and conflict resolution. The issue of CAR, president of South Africa ordained the minister of Defence Force to send troops to CAR without involving the UN and the SADC. It is debatable whether it was necessary for the president Zuma to send the military troops to CAR to assist the country in peacekeeping and conflict resolution as CAR was facing the challenges of being affected by the civil wars. Some would argue that the assumption of such role by South Africa was an avenue for the country to score political points not necessarily arise of a guanine commitment to CAR's peace and stability. CAR is one of the poorest countries in Africa.

Through this study, it has been concluded that South Africa faced challenges in CAR. This is due to the fact that a number of South African military troops lost their lives while trying to calm the situation in CAR while others got injured. This forced the president of South Africa to withdraw South African troops from CAR. The community of CAR is vulnerable to environmental risks like health risks due to the conditions they are faced with within the area. The reason is that, most people in the area do not have proper houses and they are affected by different kinds of diseases. It is also noted that there are no hospitals and clinics that are closer to the people.

Donors from all around the world have taken the initiative to assist with proper food, clothing and clean water for the people.

CAR is also vulnerable to floods. From the findings, it apparent that a large part of the area have high water tables. So during rainy season water seep up from underground and caused problems to the local surroundings. In some of the area people have to walk long distances to fetch clean water. One of the major challenge that they face is that sometimes when they wait for the water tank that moves around the area, they sometimes find out that the water is finished due to the big number of people that are there.

There are various strategies that the government of CAR and the regional communities are doing in terms of assisting the country from being poor. A lack of infrastructure and basic services like electricity, proper sanitation and roads developments and high water table makes this country more vulnerable to different types of risks. So, it has been suggested that the provision of basic services to CAR can reduce their vulnerability as many stakeholders and the NGOS involved themselves in assisting the country with these basic needs.

The study further observed South Africa's intervention that it went to CAR mainly because it wanted to protect South Africa's national interest but it remains largely unproven especially when considered from the perspective of how well the South African authorities succeeded in achieving the feast. For example, despites its traditional relations with the country, the UN did not waste time evacuating its citizens from CAR.

The first chapter of this dissertation outlined the premises on which its other parts of the thesis would be built. The second chapter undertook a review of South Africa's intervention in CAR and its foreign policy. The concept of conflicts and its accompanying deviations were examined. The third chapter outlined the methodology employed to investigate the case study of CAR and how the underlying reasons for South Africa's interventionist role in CAR were established. The

fourth chapter focused on the CAR's crisis and the major contribution that South Africa entails in terms of their foreign policy. The fifth chapter focused on the successes and challenges that South Africa faced in African countries such as CAR, Burundi and Zimbabwe. The chapter concluded with the appraisal of South Africa's intervention and contribution to peacekeeping and conflict resolutions in Africa, mainly CAR.

In terms of the practical application of the qualitative methodology adopted for the study, through the instrumentality of the content analysis approach, the study examined the role of South Africa in terms of peacekeeping and conflict resolution in CAR. The data were gathered through the secondary sources, which were subjected to the empirical analysis and were updated to conform to current trends within the purview of existing literature. Theoretically, the adoption of conflict theory approach assisted in understanding the underpinning reasons behind South Africa's intervention role in Africa, particularly CAR. The study revealed that South Africa withdrawn from CAR after the death of military troops that were deployed there. Furthermore, there was a need to protect any member of the ECOWAS from disintegration.

The study has shown that South Africa, like every other state actor is guided by the triple notion of statism. This has led South Africa to be more fully involved in the African countries matters or issues because it's economic status. Whether South Africa succeeded in protecting its national interest in most of the countries that it got involved will be shaped and judged by the events in the years to come. Overall, international forces in CAR face a difficult operating environment. In the longer term, CAR confronts significant governance and security challenges, and the internal political and military arrangements that could allow for greater future stability may prove elusive. If well managed, this could brighten the prospects of an African solution to African problems.

6.2 RECOMMENDATIONS

This study has examined that South Africa's involvement role in CAR is a consequence of the dictates of its foreign policy as it pertains to its doctrine of assisting with military forces to African countries that face civil wars. It is within this purview that the study offers the following

recommendations, which if well-articulated could help strike a balance between the South Africa's notion in the country and in the international spheres when it comes to peacekeeping and conflict resolution. Based on the findings of this study, the following is recommended:

1. There is an urgent need for South Africa to redefine its responsibilities and priorities at the national and international level to align with the domestic and international needs of its citizenry before considering external intervention

2. It is also suggested that the country's foreign policy, which ought to be a dynamic instrument of negotiations and interest articulation be reviewed to align with emerging trends in the international politics and the international spheres.

3. South Africa should consider a redefinition of its national interest and make it more people-oriented. After all, government is not seen as responsible if it increasingly fails to provide for its people and its international interest.

4. South Africa places emphasis on the variety of the actors in the field that are dealing with peacebuilding efforts beyond the peacebuilding architecture. Therefore it is important that South Africa supports not only a top-down technical process but also one that is embedded within coordinated actions between national and international actors, with a coherent and sustained engagement between all of them. That would ensure the greater effectiveness of peacebuilding actions in a process that is meaningful to the countries undergoing transitions.

5. It is also recommended that South Africa re-consider the widely held underpinning interventions that assume a threat to international peace and security from any part of the continent. The way China and Russia make use of their foreign policy should serve as a guideline for South Africa.

6. It is recommended that the South African Ministry of International Relations and Foreign Affairs be restructured. If this is done effectively and efficiently, it would enable South Africa's foreign policy goals to be translated into a more specific national and international interest.

7. A general recommendation is that capable African presidents could be appointed as continental spokespersons on critical global issues, and the AU should seek to appoint a foreign policy on a biannual basis to determine the mode of intervention in conflict situations.

8. It is certainly important to open a good line of communication with the Central African Republic and Chad authorities as they hold different keys to a permanent solution to the CAR crisis.

9. It is also submitted that there should be an element of economic rationality in the South African government's intervention in Africa; the country must insist in sharing the burden of peacekeeping with other members and organizations that are involved in peacekeeping. What happened in CAR, where the country was struck by civil wars exposed South Africa and this should be avoided in future as it would tarnish the country's political image.

10. Finally, with regards to the African continent, it is advised that South Africa's courtesy of being one of the planners and being one to be involved in the CAR should take a lead in the building of more viable and effective economic communities in Africa. After all, most of these conflicts are a function of agitations arising from economic stagnation, and poverty, political stability and the governments failing to meet the needs of the people.

6.3 CONCLUSION

Based on South Africa's involvement in the Central African Republic, peacekeeping and conflict resolution has been the key role for South Africa to be involved. South Africa has played a preponderant role in terms of peacekeeping and conflict resolution in Africa. There is no denying the fact that, since post-apartheid, South Africa has pursued international peace aimed at achieving regional and global objectives. However, it remains to be seen whether this has paid off in terms of peacekeeping and conflict resolution in Africa. Over the years, South Africa has been playing a role in the Southern Africa in following their foreign policy. Since the post-apartheid era 1994, South Africa got itself involved in managing peace and conflict wars in wars

in Africa. South Africa found itself in a continent which is still rife with conflict and poverty. South Africa hoped to bring a reconciliatory spirit derived from its relatively peaceful democratic transition.

The CAR state is weakly institutionalized with poor security and high vulnerability to rebellion and coup. In this way, the state fails to protect the security and welfare of civilians from violence and poverty. The more recent emergence of 'rebel groups' can be understood as both a proximate cause and a consequence of recent wars in CAR. South Africa has a mutual concern in the sub-region because of its political and economic dependence on the stability of the sub-region. Any instability in the sub-region will jeopardize South Africa's economic success as well as other member states. Thus, it was imperative that South Africa be prepared to offer any kind of assistance to maintain harmony in the sub-region.

The benefit of peace and stability in the sub-region not only enhances the SADC states directly, but more towards South African position. However, collective interest was not enough to have caused the intervention in CAR, particularly at the speed and magnitude carried by the South African government. President Jacob Zuma sent troops to CAR to assist the country from the civil wars. In terms of who gains, it appears that South Africa's foreign policy has been too externally oriented, thus implying a lack of succeeding when involved in peacekeeping and conflict resolution. This failure constitutes a major weakness of the nation's foreign policy and it is the considered opinion of this researcher that a re-definition of South Africa's foreign policy objectives has become imperative in order to bridge the discord between foreign policy and local expectation.

South Africa should endeavor to reconstruct the goals and values of its foreign policy to include what South Africa as individuals can gain from the nations peacekeeping and conflict resolution efforts. The wars in CAR have landed up where local communities are being fled away to neighboring countries. South Africa has traditionally been one of the largest contributors to peacekeeping operations in Africa. South Africa deployed up to 400 soldiers to protect South African investments in the oil and diamond sectors when former President François Bozizé was in office. South African soldiers fought to protect the Bozizé government when Séléka fighters

attacked Bangui, leading to the deaths of 13 South African soldiers. This killing of South African soldiers has caused so much havoc in the country and Africa as a whole. South Africa has made many positive contributions to peacekeeping efforts on the continent.

In particular, its continued investment in countries provides the military with valuable experience when it comes to operations on the ground. However, troops have provided stability and security for political leaders to negotiate. Yet it has faced several setbacks. When its motives were questionable, as in CAR, the intervention has done more harm than good in the region. South African government ended up withdrawing his troops from CAR.

South Africa faces challenges in enhancing its peacekeeping engagements. There is a wide range of expectations for what South Africa can contribute as an African regional power. Naidoo (2007) argue that regional powers can create a situation of political willingness, institutional strength and resource availability which is essential to the success of the operations. With the current review of peacekeeping efforts at the UN, it provides an opportunity for South Africa to bring to the forefront its own views and vision as well as continue the process of strengthening African efforts. However, it is important that the country identifies its own comparative advantages and presents its views actively in the international arena. That will only occur when the country is internally able to consistently provide the necessary means to contribute to international peacekeeping.

The research findings indicated that little has been done by the government of South Africa to achieve its objectives in terms of its foreign policy. CAR has suffered a lot in wars and this has delayed the empowerment and development in the country. The development of infrastructure in CAR is being attended by the regional communities and other non-organizations. The study shows that although South Africa has plans in place, the problem is the implementation. There is a need for South Africa to stop being reactive but to become proactive. Current policy approaches and guidelines need to be reviewed and implemented effectively and efficiently to improve the peacekeeping mission and resolving conflict in Africa.

It is acknowledged that South Africa played an important role in the African continent in terms of peacekeeping and conflict resolution. The continued of wars in Africa is part of the current challenges that South Africa is facing. It is a complex issue and not one that can be addressed in this dissertation although aspects of the debate have been touched on. In the final analysis, this research set out to answer the question, how do South Africa responds in CAR civil wars? It has shown that South Africa has employed new strategies regarding its foreign policy in reducing the wars in Africa.

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