

Reflecting on the impacts of the 2013 coup in Central Africa Republic on Economic Security.

Jonah Marawako

Lecturer

Midlands State University, Zimbabwe

Department of Governance and Public Management

Abstract

This article aims to provide an overview of the impacts of the 2013 coup in Central Africa Republic (CAR) on human security with particular emphasis on economic security. CAR is a serial coup country and has been rocked by five successful military coups since its independence from France in 1960. The 2013 coup in CAR was the worst one as it ignited human catastrophe and a nosedive economy. The study is incentivised by the fact that although CAR has been a hippodrome of putsch there is scant literature auditing how the coups affected human security. In order to have a better understanding of the phenomenon under investigation this study interrogates the concepts of coup and human security. The concept of human security has seven dimension and economic security is the major dimension of human security, hence this paper distinctly shows how the 2013 coup in CAR affected economic security and not the other six dimensions of human security which are food, political, personal, environmental, health and community security. The study observed that the 2013 coup resulted in the withdrawal of donors and investors and this resulted into low foreign direct investment. The coup also exposed the countries to external economic shocks which adversely affected the economy. The intrusion of rebel groups in the countries had negative economic ramification such as destruction of infrastructure and wanton looting and pillaging. The study used qualitative research instruments and documentary search was the primary method of collecting data.

Keywords; coup, human security, economic security, donor addict, external shocks

1 Introduction

Human security is under incessant threat due to the prevalence of the menace of coups. From the Antiquity period, military coups have been the major obstacles to regime durability and has been utilised as an instrument of regime change. Literature on coups agree that the first world coup occurred in 876 BCE when Zimri ousted King Elah. Coups have long been part of a political tradition, Julius Caesar the most famous Roman General ascend to power through a coup and was subsequently a victim of another coup (Besong 2005:2). In Africa, the end of colonialism was marked by the unprecedented sudden illegal displacement of government and most of the states which had provided fertile grounds to coups are Francophone states. Barka and Ncube (2012) argue that, since the years of independence African states have faced more than 250 military coups when counting both successful and failed coup attempts. Africa accounts to more than 60% of the military coups which had taken place in the world since the dawn of the 21st Century. This paper argues that, the perennial phenomenon of coups in Africa and CAR has triggered a humanitarian crisis characterised by food insecurity, health insecurity environmental insecurity inter alia.

In Africa the regions that are adversely affected by coups are the Central African Region and West Africa Region. In Central Africa region the corrosive effects of coups are mostly prevalent in CAR which had become a theatre of coups. CAR continue to grab international headlines on coup and it is likely that the scourge of coup in CAR is going to persist given the persisting security and political problems. The problem of coups in CAR has resulted in the surge of terminologies in the studies and policy discussion in trying to

show how the country is the epicentre of coups. “Serial Coup”, “Forgotten Crisis” and a “Phantom State”, the agreement drawn from the above terms is that CAR is the most country ravaged by coups in Africa. The current security impasse in CAR stemmed from the 2013 coup. Omotola (2011), Bratton and Van de Walle (2000) agree that CAR has been unstable since its independence from France in 1960. The stability of CAR has repeatedly been disturbed by five successful military coups including the one in March 2013 (Herbert 2013;2).

The aftermath of the 2013 coup was followed by the myriad of human rights abuse that exacerbates human insecurity. Sexual abuse, pillaging and robbery become the new normal after the 2013 coup. Human Rights Watch (2013) released a dossier condemning the action of both the Seleka and Anti-Balaka, a detailed analysis of the report demystify that, both the Seleka and the Anti-Balaka killed scores of unarmed civilian, engaged in wanton destruction of numerous homes living people homeless. The conflict has resulted into the surge of refugees with more than 630 000 refugees remaining in neighbouring Chad, Cameroon, Democratic Republic of Congo and the Republic of Congo. Thousands of people were killed in the aftermath of the coup and more than 600 000 people were internally displaced. The scope of the paper is to ascertain the impact of the 2013 coup on human security, given that the concept of security is now broader the study focused on economic security. Buzan and Hansen (2009: 202-203) state that, a comprehensive integration and expansion of security was made to encompass development... the concept of security should be expanded beyond territorial defence, national interests and nuclear weapons to encompass universal concerns and the prevention of conflicts. The paper seeks to explore how the 2013 coup had corrosive effects on economic security.

2 Conceptualising Human Security and Coup

2.1 Coup

Countless literature has explored the causes and nature of coups in the globe and Africa in particular. There is vehement agreement about the nature of coups with four categories of coups being propounded by scholars. Scholars are divided on the causes of coups in the globe and this paper analysed the arguments put forward by scholars. A coup is a sudden illegal displacement of government by the military or any powerful group. Ken and David (2008) states that, a coup is an unorthodox, unlawful, unexpected and clandestine removal of a government and a coup is usually executed by a cabal of the existing state organs to replace the toppled regime with another. Besong (2005:2) states that, a coup is a quick and decisive seizure of governmental power by a strong military or political group. A coup has been employed as an instrument of regime change in Africa during the Cold War era and the end of the Cold War was marked by a drastic reduction of coups in Africa. The paper observed that coups are major threat to regime durability and human security.

Scholars are divided on the aetiology of coups in the globe and Africa, the common factors that are fuelling coups in the globe are the ineffectiveness of the central government, authoritarian rule, the involvement of the military in politics, colonial legacy, geopolitics and coup contagion (Arbatli and Arbatli 2014). Coups are not African problems so much but dilemmas of poor countries with a nosedive economies and Africa happens to be a club of states with sluggish economy and this explains why African states have been grabbing international headlines on coups. The inefficient of the civilian government, coupled with skulduggery, money laundering and maladministration has been the major hallmarks of African politics and this conditions fuel coups (Wangome 1985, Barka and Ncube 2012, Ulfelder 2014). The paper is more sanguine that the frequencies of coups in Africa and CAR will decline as the countries get into positive spiral of development. Collier and Hoeffler (2006:21) posit that,

...over times coups have been going out of fashion and are closely related to economic weakness, low income, low growth, as a result outside Africa the phenomenon is now rare, however in Africa due to the prolonged failure of the growth within the continents coup risks remain high and this has a significant implication on military spending...

Authoritarian rule is also at the centre of coups in Africa, the political horizon in African is characterised by illiberal democracy which had the audacity to hold elections which are not free and fair. Frustration from flawed election subsequently led people to resort to armed rebellion and coups as means of regime change.

This paper posits that, there are five major categories of coups and this includes the veto coup, guardian coup, breakthrough coup, bloodless coup and blood coup. The first three categories of coup (veto, breakthrough and guardian) seek to explain the objectives of coups or the why? Part of a coup while the last two categories the blood and bloodless seek to explore the how? the coup was executed and its impact. A bloodless coup is a sudden change of government which is non-violent with little to non-bloodshed. Bloodless coups hardly resulted in the phenomenon of human security, refugee crisis and internal displaced population. There was a bloodless coup in Zimbabwe in 2017, Somalia 1969, Mauritania 1978 and Tunisia in 1987 when Ben Ali ousted President Bourguiba. A “blood” coup is violent in nature and scope and will trigger a refugee crisis and the internal displaced population problem. In a “blood” coup human security will be under threat as scores of people will be killed. Blood coup plunge the country into genocide and ethnic cleansing. There was a “blood” coup in CAR in 2013, Myanmar 2021, Mali 2012 and in Madagascar 2009 when Andry Rajoelina ousted Marc Ravalomanana from power.

The veto coup is instigated by the military or any cabal that perceives that its interests has been, is being or is likely to be affected by the change in status quo. The military will prohibit people’s collective participation and social mobilisation in governing themselves. Huntington (1968:199) states that, a veto coup can occur when the government begins to clamour for radical policies or starts to appeal to groups whom the military does not wish to see gain power and the military will intervene to thwart or veto the actions. The 2017 military coup in Zimbabwe is a typical example of a veto coup as the coup was triggered by the need to protect the gains of the war of the liberation struggle. The military perceive the purging of members of the party (Zimbabwe Africa Nation Union Patriotic Front) who fought in the liberation struggle as tantamount to reversing the gains of the liberation struggle. In the veto coup the armed forces confront and stifle large scale, broad based civil and political opposition leading to oppression and civil unrest (Ken and David 2008). Veto coups are more prevalent in Africa and there was a failed veto coup in Burkina Faso in 2015, failed veto coup in Lesotho in 2014. There was a successful veto coup in Guinea in 2008 after the death of President Conte. There was also a veto coup in Myanmar in 2021.

The objective of the guardian coup is to avert corruption, kleptocracy, misrule and improve public efficiency (Besong 2005: 3). Under the guardian coup there is no fundamental change to the power structure as the leaders of the putsch perceive their actions as temporary and a necessary evil. There are sporadic occasions of guardian coups in Africa and one such example is when Jammeh ousted Jawara in Gambia in 1994. The paper noted that, when the military or any cabal is in the process of executing a coup they try to make the public to believe that the coup is guardian in nature. The problem of guardian coup is that it has led to new leaders becoming more corrupt and incompetent than deposed leaders. One of the criticism levelled against Jammeh is his manoeuvre to make Gambia an oil wealth nation and his lack of success. In Zimbabwe during the 2017 coup in Zimbabwe the army spokesperson retired Lieutenant General Moyo said that, “...they were only targeting criminals around President Mugabe who are causing social and economic suffering in the country...”. Breakthrough coup occurs when the revolutionary army topple a long serving or traditional government and establish a bureaucratic elites. In a breakthrough coup the soldiers play the role of the reformer moving the society from oligarchic to radical praetorians (Huntington 1968: 198). There was a breakthrough coup in Sudan in 2019 when the military toppled President Bashir, there were breakthrough coups in Egypt in 1952 when King Farouk was deposed by the Free Officers Movement as well as in 2013 when President Morsi was deposed by the military.

2.2 Human Security

Human security evolved out of the rejection of state-centric security practices which emphasise that security is primarily centred on the state. The changing dynamic of conflicts punctuated by the decline of inter-state wars and the influx of intra-state wars necessities academics and policy makers to rethink and reconsider security issues in a holistic way. The concept of national security dominated security analysis and policy making during the Cold War era but in the 1970s and 1980s there was a shift and rethinking on the concept of security so that it could be broader and in non-military terms (Archaya 2011: 480). The concept of human security must focus on building human capabilities in an endeavour to confront and curb illiteracy, poverty, diseases, discrimination, restriction on political freedom and the threat of violent conflicts. Keller (2010: 2) argues that, the notion of human security grows from the assumption that there are needs, problems and issues that are common to all mankind no matter what part of the world they live.

The concept of human security gathers momentum in 1994, there was emphasise to redefine the concept of security so that it can includes development. Kofi Anan as cited in Kondo and Makaza (2014: 35) encapsulated that, in its broadest sense the concept of human security embraced far more than the absence of violent conflicts but it also includes human rights, access to education and health and ensuring that each individual has the potential to fulfil his or her own potential. This paper argues that, human security is under threat in conflict prone states like CAR, Democratic Republic of Congo, Somalia and South Sudan and there is need to champion for upholding of human rights. The publication of the United Nation Development Programme (UNPD) Human Development Report (1994) was the major milestone in clamouring for human security. Therefore, the concept of human security is an intersection of concern with reasoned freedom focus on the basic needs, a concern for stability as well as levels in key human development (Gasper 2005). Salovic (2010:133) argues that,

security is the pursuit of freedom from threats and should horizontally be expanded from exclusively military into political, economic, societal and environmental sectors and vertically expanded to individuals social groups and humanity as a whole other as exclusively as state

Human security is a concept that converges upon people and is perturbed with how people live and breathe in a society, how people freely exercise their many choices, how they approach the markets and social opportunities and whether they live in peace or conflicts (Human Development Report 1994: 23). Human security is universal and its components are interdependent and based upon preventive rather than reactionary measures and intrinsically people centred. The United Nation (1994: 22-23) posits that, human security can be summarised as a child who did not die, a disease that did not spread, a job that was not cut, an ethnic tension that did not explode into violence and a dissident who was silenced. There is a direct link between human security and human development as progress in one enhances the opportunities of progress in the other and failure in one area heightens the risk of failure in the other. When people perceives threats to their immediate security they often become less tolerant. Gasper (2005) posits that, human security analysis looks at threats to fulfilment of basic values in people's live and human security can be easily identified through its absence than its presence.

The concept of human security encompasses seven areas which are political, personal, health, economic, environmental, community and food security. Archaya (2011: 482) states that, the concept of human security represents both a vertical and horizontal expansion of the traditional notion of security defined as protection of national sovereignty and territorial integrity from military threats. In its broader sense human security is distinguished by three elements which are its focus on the individual or the people as a referent of security, its multidimensional nature and its universal scope (Archaya 2011: 482). The Copenhagen School of Security Studies report also dovetails with the Human Development Report (1994). The school opined that, the concept of human security consists of sectors, securitisation and regional security. This paper will focus on the impact of the 2013 coup in CAR specifically on the seven dimension of human security encapsulated in the Human Development Report.

2.2.1 Economic Security

Economic security is one of the most significant component of human security the existence of the other six dimensions of human security are determined by economic security. The categories of human security are interrelated (Archaya 2011: 481). In broader sense economic security entails a situation in which individual have a stable source of financial income which allows for the maintenance of his /her living. Kondo and Makaza (2014: 75) states that, the concept of human security is hollow if it is not underpinned by economic security as lack of means of support and regular income undermines a person's livelihood security. This paper argues that geopolitical risks such as coups are detrimental to economic security. Archaya (2011: 486) states that, economic security as encapsulated by the UNDP Human Development Report involves a guaranteed basic income for individual, usually from benefical and remunerative jobs or in the last resort from public finance. The Commission of Human Security Report (2003) states that, when people livelihood are deeply compromised, when people are uncertain about where the next meal will come from, when their savings suddenly plummet in value and when their crops fails and have no savings. The perennial scourge of state fragility in CAR is a threat to economic security.

3 Methodological Considerations

The article is an aggregation of a number of civil society, research think tanks and government reports. The paper employed qualitative research design and adopted a case study design in order to find comprehensive solutions to the research problem. The study used the case study in order to have a better appreciation of how military coups are affecting economic security. The findings of the study can be generalised to other coup prone countries like Mali, Myanmar. Data was collected using documents such as textbooks, academic journals, internet sources and conference papers. The data was analysed using content and thematic analysis. Word summary and table were used to present data.

4 Implications of the Coup on Economic Security

Economic security entails a situation in which people have a better living standard, earn a living through employment. In Africa and CAR in particular state fragility aided by problems without passports such as climate change and global financial crisis have ignited an economic crisis. When the Seleka ousted Bozize in March 2013 they declared Djotodia as the new President and this was the inauguration of the economic catastrophe. Bozize reign lasted for a year and was marked by wanton destruction of state infrastructure by both the Seleka and Anti-Balaka militia. Bozize administration was greedy and consists of inexperienced members of the cabinet and racketeering was the new norm under the administration. This paper argues that, the 2013 coup in CAR is a testament that state fragility is the major cornerstone of political risks.

There is a general agreement among scholarship and policy-makers that the seizure of power by the Seleka in 2013 was the final stage in the gradual and inevitable collapse of the economy (International Crisis Group (ICG) 2015, Human Rights Watch 2013 and Alexander 2013). According to the ICG (2015: 2) the coup in CAR puts the state into a political, economic and social catastrophe that is likely to take long to resolve. Jauer (2009) opined that,

CAR is a landlocked, conflict ridden and desperately poor country and has gone through 30 years of economic and social decline. In 2008 it ranked 178 out of 179 on the UN Human Development Index making CAR one of only two African countries that have not seen any development progress since the early 1980s.

This paper noted that, the putsch arguably was not the genesis of a comatose economy in CAR but it rather exacerbated an already existing nosedive economy thus putting the country on the edge of a humanitarian crisis. The political conundrum that followed the aftermath of the putsch affected macroeconomics, paralysed fiscal governance and compromised corporal governance. The conflicts plunged about 75% of the population into drastic poverty.

4.1 Intrusion of Rebel Groups

When the Seleka usurped power in March 2013 there was a state of lawlessness which was caused by the inability of the Seleka to control state apparatus. Since the beginning of the conflicts CAR is now home to more than twenty one active armed groups. All the ragtag rebel groups are factions of both the Seleka and the anti-Balaka. The country heavily depends on diamonds and wood exports but as a result of the conflict diamond production drastically declined. The conflict ushered in conflict minerals and blood diamond as rebel groups used gold and diamonds to bankroll their armed shenanigans. According to Amnesty International (2013: 4) since the Seleka took over power in CAR there was the state of anarchy and this precipitated the presence of rebel groups and some rebel groups were from neighbouring countries like Chad and Sudan. The implications of the influx of rebel groups is that it derails revenue generation and heightened the conflicts as rebel groups fight to access natural resources in a way that supports the natural resource curse concept.

The continued presence of rebel groups also triggered the mass exodus of investors and as a result there was low Foreign Direct Investment (FDI). Marima (2013: 4) states that, an exchange of fire and rockets on the North-Western border with Cameroon escalates fears that the forgotten state would succumb into conflict and as a result some business people feared for their businesses. The conflict is purely a sectarian crisis between the Muslims (Seleka) and Christians (Anti-Balaka) and more than twenty one rebel groups that are operating in CAR are rapidly factions of the Seleka and the Anti-Balaka. According to the ICG report (2014),

Djotodia was not able to govern the country after the coup and the decision by the Seleka to hold elections after three years clearly indicates that the real power is within the Seleka, the military communities dominate the political leadership, this is a catastrophe as the Seleka does not seem to have a political programme or the first page of a political programme

Djotodia subsequently resigned in 2014 and his resignation was followed by the establishment of the transitional government led by Catherine Samba Panza. The transitional government was followed by general election in 2016 won by Archange and in 2021 Archange was reelected as the President. All the twenty one rebel groups oppose the Archange administration.

Armed groups in CAR are thriving on looting and pillaging. According to the Human Rights Watch (2013), the political skirmishes in CAR turned into the worst looting spree which had never occurred in CAR. Armed groups and criminal gangs looted businesses, schools, homes, religious mission, government offices, health centres and public utilities. The Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Assistance (OCHA) (2014) states that, CAR national Union of business leaders submitted list of companies that suffered from looting and vandalism after the Seleka usurped power the list contained about twenty three companies which included the most important business companies in CAR. Looting resulted into closure of companies and this ignited unemployment and underemployment. According to the Voice of America (2014) one of the companies affected by the carnages is China International Fund which is a construction company, looters took vast amount of equipment and business materials, they emptied the containers of cement and made off with steel reinforcement bars, the company lost about \$14 million United State Dollars. The World Bank Report (2014: 4) posits that, in Bangui the Seleka looted the entire neighbourhood as they took control of places like Damala, Boy-Rabe and Kasai, Boy-Rabe has been routinely ransacked by the Seleka and the government official claimed that these were the disarmament operations.

4.2 Precarious Economic Situation

CAR is abundant in natural resources but has failed to use the natural resources to change the living standards of people. Natural resources in CAR are counterintuitively used to fund conflicts. The 2013 coup has resulted in the scramble to control natural resources and this has prolonged the conflict. Bollen (2015: 3) states that, poor governance and weak governance in CAR has been compounded by a conflict driven by the desire to control natural resources, conflict diamonds were prevalent in the regions of Haute-Kotto, Berberatti and Haute-Sangha. Doko (2013) states that, when the Seleka took over power what was faced in the natural resources province is the struggle between different militia for control over natural resources like timber, ivory and diamonds rather than willingness to change politics. The illicit trade of rough diamonds led to illicit financial outflow. CAR has a history of illicit trade of diamonds but the situation reached a crescendo in 2013. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) (2014: 6) states that,

the 2013 security crisis in CAR crystallised into a humanitarian crisis and the collapse of the economy, a rampage of looting, destruction of infrastructure and lawless conditions prevailed throughout the past years as leaders of the coalition were unable to stop the looting, provide security and restart economic activities.

The Enough Project (2015: 12) states that, armed groups in CAR earn as much as \$5.8 million United States Dollars annually from the mining and sale of diamonds and illegal taxation in the country and much of the carnage in CAR has been carried out with small arms like bows and arrows and the armed groups used the revenue they get from the trade of conflict diamonds to finance their carnages. Scholarship on the nexus between natural resources and conflicts in Africa shows that diamonds and gold were used to fund conflicts in Sierra Leone and Angola and CAR is not an exception to the resource curse countries. In response to the influx of blood and conflict diamonds the international community imposed sanctions on CAR authorities and leaders of the armed groups. The sanctions which were imposed by Kimberly Process and Certification Scheme (KPCS) on 23 May 2013 affected trade of diamonds in CAR and this has negative impacts on cash flows and human capital. The sanctions lucidly affected ordinary innocent civilian rather than belligerent non-state and state actors.

Critics of the use of economic pressure allege that sanctions harm the ordinary by triggering poverty and inequality. Andreas (2005: 347) posits that, although economic coercion aims to restrict political elite's

access to scarce economic and military resources, the leaders more often than not can mitigate the negative effects of economic coercion by controlling the allocation of the increased scarce resources within the society as well as using transnational black markets and illegal smuggling. Fidel Castro refer to sanctions as, silent atomic bombs that kill millions of people. A historical overview of sanctions shows that sanctions are responsible for low economic growth and economic stagnation. Clawson (1993: 27), extrapolates that, In Iraq sanctions reduced the living standards by one third, in Yugoslavia average earnings were reduced by about half and in Haiti about 250 000 export oriented jobs were lost in 1991. In Zimbabwe the Zimbabwe Democracy and Economic Recovery (ZIDERA) act of 4 December 2001 played an equally essential in oiling the economic crisis.

4.3 Withdrawal of Investors

The political crisis of 2013 crippled economic activities thereby affecting the anticipated economic recovery. The Agricultural Sector which prior to 2013 accounts for more than half of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and which employed more than 70% of the population succumbs to the recession due to lack of productivity, the intensity of the internal displaced population and difficulties of accessing finance and disruption due to security problems. The World Bank (2014: 5) states that, in September 2013 the UN revealed that 170 000 people fled intensifying fighting between the Seleka and the Anti-balaka in the northern part of CAR around Bossangoa. The turmoil scared potential investors and as a result some of the investors left the country. Due to the conflicts some companies like Mcdanaige, Inkript Technology, and Industria DeTabacco Leon Jimenne ceased their business operations. This resulted into gradual reduction of Foreign Direct Investment.

The conflict in CAR will never be forgotten because it led to the swung of inflation, destruction of infrastructure, caused investors to flee the country and this resulted into unfavourable balance of payment, unfavourable GDP and a decrease in FDI. The withdrawal of investors in CAR has resulted to the overreliance on the official development assistance/ aid by the government. For example CAR received aid from international players to pay its workers. This paper observed that, the “addiction” to aid in CAR has trapped the country into more economic crisis as aid reliance led to corruption and market distortion. This paper further argues that, the efficacy of aid in CAR is questionable as it only address short term problems not long term problems. One of the most ardent critic of aid Moyo (2009) states that,

due to aid poverty level continue to escalate and growth rates have steadily declined and millions continue to suffer, aid dependent countries have seen an increase in poverty, overreliance on aid has trapped developing countries in a vicious circle of aid dependency, corruption, market distortions and further poverty, leaving them with nothing but the need for more aid

The World Bank (2014) posits that, mining production was another cardinal sector for CAR to boost GDP but due to the conflict the production were too low. This triggered income insecurity, labour market insecurity and job insecurity.

4.4 Vulnerability of the Economy to External Shocks

The IMF (2014: 2) states that, the March 2013 usurping of power by the coalition of the Seleka rebels triggered a political and economic crisis that resulted in sharp contraction of economic activities, budgetary pressure, and widespread destruction of economic and administrative infrastructure. The conflict also led to the paralysis of public administration, inter community conflict and a serious humanitarian crisis. The ramshackle and lack of infrastructure also caused the investors to abandon the country and this was a major blow to the projected economic recovery. The history of economic underperformance in CAR can be traced to as far back as the 1960s were economic growth was insufficient to provide economic stability, employment opportunities and social development and this was compounded by the global financial crisis of 2007. Poverty remains pervasive and macroeconomic indicators become weaker thereby contracting the economy and cutting the meagre living standard of the population.

Bollen (2015: 7) argues that, due to the instability in CAR highway robbers block agencies access to some areas and the offices of the agencies and warehouses were ransacked and looted. The conflict in CAR ignited donor fatigue as the donors find it difficult to raise funds for their work in a country plagued by tension and a history of corruption. Roads networks were in disarray and some roads were impassable as

they were blocked by warring parties. This makes some of the places in the northern part of CAR unreachable.

5 Concluding Remarks and the Future for Economic Security in CAR

Given the puzzling political situation in CAR, forecasting the future of economic security can be assisted by the sixty years of independence the country has gone through and more recently the eight years under study. The future of economic security is bleak taking into consideration that the state is still prone to military coups. The country has been rocked by five successful coups since independence and there are commonalities on the causes of all five coups. State fragility, authoritarianism, geopolitics, economic underperformance are the major causes of coups and yet there is little effort made by authorities to address the scourge so this entails that CAR will continue to be a serial coup country and this will stifle economic growth. Despite the presence of the UN Multidimensional Integrated Stabilisation Mission in CAR (MINUSCA) the government is only able to control a paltry one third of the country and yet the rebel groups are controlling a substantial two thirds of the country. The harsh reality that there is a proliferation of rebel groups shows that state fragility is inherent and the economy will suffocate.

This paper also noted that the 2013 coup was unique in the sense that for the first time sectarian cleavages also played a pivotal role in triggering the crisis. The conflict is a confrontation between the Muslims and the Christians, historically the government has been predominated by the Christians and this resulted into marginalisation of Muslims. Marginalisation of Muslim and the Northern parts of the country is evidenced by depleted infrastructure, patronage allocation of state resources and absence of state apparatus. The marginalisation led to poverty and inequality and this incentivised people from the Northern parts to form armed groups that subsequently decimate the government. The absence of state apparatus has led to the proliferation of armed groups from neighbouring countries and the rebel groups are responsible for causing turmoil. The notorious LRA and other rebel groups used the Northern part of the country and they plunder natural resources. Data gleaned by the researcher reveals that armed groups are linked with rampant elephant poaching and this will affect the economy of CAR.

The 2013 coup in CAR spearheaded the collapse of the economy, although CAR has been rocked by economic quagmire the coup heightened the comatose economy. This was evidenced by the drastic fall of macroeconomic indicators such as FDI, GDP and Gross National Income (GNI). Scholarship on political risks agree that intractable conflicts often crystallise into genocide and ethnic cleansing and this will result into mass exodus of investors. Experiences from the Arab Spring shows that anarchy is not good for the economy, Sudan is another case which buttress that intransigent conflict affects economic development. It is ironic that CAR is endowed with natural resources yet coups in the countries are driven by the desire to control natural resources thereby affecting economic progress. What is most vexing about the “coup addict” CAR is that it contribute essential inputs to the global economy yet it remained underdeveloped and political unstable.

The paper suggests that improving economic wellbeing can enhance the prospects for consolidating peace and reduces the chances of CAR reverting back to anarchy. Economic wellbeing can be enhanced by promoting local private-sector participation in relief and humanitarian assistance programmes. There is need to remove the constraints to both formal and informal activity as quickly as possible. CAR has been in an economic crisis due to illicit financial flows hence there is need to reform natural resource governance in the country so that they will benefit the population rather than few cartels. Diamonds after timber products are the leading export of CAR along with gold and the most valuable of the products of the mining sector. The mining sector in CAR is marred with widespread skulduggery especially diamond production and marketing. Diamonds contribute approximately 40% of the country’s export and a comprehensive policy reforms, implementation and formulation can increase the production of the mining sector by more than fivefold. At the moment there is lack of goodwill on the government to reform the mining sector as government officials thrived from exploiting the production and marketing of minerals. Going forward the mining sector has the potential to change the fortunes of the country by making the state self-reliant rather than a “donor addict”. Natural resource governance reforms will also reduce the proliferation of armed groups thereby consolidating an everlasting peace.

References

1. Acharya, A. 2011. *Human Security: Global Politics and Governance*: New York: British Library Press.
2. Amnesty International, 2013. *Central Africa Republic: Violence of Security Forces now out of Control*. Annual Report 2013. London: Amnesty International.
3. Andreas, P. 2005. Criminalising the Consequences of Sanctions: Embargo Busting and its Legacy: *Journal of International Studies*, Quarterly 49.
4. Arbatli, E, C and Arbatli E. 2014. External Threats and Political Survival: Can Dispute Involvement Deter Coup Attempts?. *SAGE Journals*, 33 (2).
5. Barka, H.B, Ncube, M. 2012. Political Fragility in Africa: are Military Coups detat Never Ending Phenomenon? African Development Bank. Available at <http://www.afdb.org/fileadmin/uploads/afdb/Documents/Publications/Economic%20Brief%20.%20Political%20Fragility%20in%20Africa%20Are%20Military%20Coups%20d%E2%80%99Etat%20a%20Never%20Ending%20Phenomenon.pdf>. (Accessed on 17 November 2015).
6. Bollen, A. 2015. Natural Resources at the Heart of CAR Crisis. Available at: <http://newint.org/blog/2013/12/18/central-african-republic-natural-resources/>. (Accessed on 12 January 2016).
7. Besong, V. 2005. *Coup d'état in Africa: The Emergence, Prevalence and Eradication*. London: Oxford University Press.
8. Buzan, B and Hansen, L. 2009. *The Evolution of International Security Studies*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
9. Clawson, P. 1993. Sanctions as Punishment, Enforcement and Prelude to Further Actions: *Ethics and International Affairs*, 7.
10. Collier, P and Hoeffler A. 2005. Why Does Africa have so many Coup d'Etat? London: University of Oxford
11. Enough Projects. 2015. Crisis in Central Africa Republic is Growing. Available at: www.enoughprojects.org/. (Accessed on 17 December 2015).
12. Gasper, D. 2005. Securing Humanity: Situating Human Security as a Concept and Discourse. *Journal of Human Development*, 6 (2), 221-245.
13. Herbert, S., Nathalia, D. and Marielle, D. 2013. *State Fragility in Central Africa Republic: What Prompted the Coup?* University of Birmingham: International Development Department.
14. Human Rights Watch, 2013. *I can still Smell the Dead: The Forgotten Human Rights Crisis in Central Africa Republic*. Available at <http://www.hrw.org/reports/2013/09/18/i-can-still-smell-dead>. (Accessed on 18-09-2013).
15. Huntington, S. P. 1993. *The Third Wave and the Remaking of History*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
16. Huntington, S.P. 1968. *Political Order in Changing Societies*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.
17. ICG, 2015. *Central Africa Republic: An Anatomy of a Phantom State*. Annual Report 2015. London: ICG.
18. IMF, 2014. *Central Africa Republic Report*. Annual Reports 2013-2014. Washington D.C: IMF.
19. Keller, M. 2010. *Human Rights and Human Security*: New York. Ted House.
20. Ken, C and David, H. 2008. *How to Stage a military Coup: From Planning to Execution*. Chicago: Pen and Sword Books Ltd.
21. Kondo, T and Makaza, T. 2014. *Human Security Deficit in Southern Africa*: Harare. Ansa Publishers.
22. Marima, T. 2013. New Big Man, Old Politics: The Challenging Road Ahead of CAR Djotodia. Available at: www.thinkafricpress.com. (Accessed on 07-02-2021).
23. McNeish, J. A. 2010. Rethinking Resource Conflict. Available at: <http://www.cmi.no/publications/file/3852-rethinking-resource-conflict.pdf>. (Accessed on 14-12-2020).
24. Moyo, D. 2009. *Dead Aid: Why Aid is not Working and how there is another Way for Africa*. Dhaka City: Dhaka University.
25. OCHA. 2014. Central African Republic Crisis and its Regional Implications. Available at: www.foodcluster.com. (Accessed on 07-01-21).

26. Omotola, J. S. 2011. *Unconstitutional Changes of Government in Africa: What Implications for Democratic Consolidation?* London: Lighting Source.
27. United Nations. (1994) Human Security at the UN available at <http://unocha.org/about-human-security-un> (Accessed on 24-02-21).
28. Van de Walle, N. 2000. *The Impact of Multi-Party Politics in Sub-Saharan Africa*, A paper presented at the Norwegian Association for Development Research Annual Conference, “The State Under Pressure”, 5-5 October, 2000, Bergen, Norway.
29. Wangome, J. 1985. *Military Coups in Africa: The African Neo-Colonialism that is Self Inflicted*. London: Oxford University Press.
30. World Bank, 2014. *Central Africa Republic*. Annual Reports 2013-2014. Washington D.C: World Bank.