

# CONTENTS

|                                                                         |               |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------|
| <b>Chapter 1: Introduction</b>                                          | <b>1</b>      |
| 1. Significance of study                                                | 2             |
| 2. Research questions                                                   | 3             |
| 3. Aim and rationale                                                    | 3             |
| 4. Organization of work                                                 | 4             |
| <br><b>Chapter 2: Houphouet Boigny and the present Ivorian conflict</b> | <br><b>6</b>  |
| 1. Felix Houphouet Boigny's era                                         | 6             |
| 2. Henry Konan Bedie's presidency                                       | 9             |
| 3. The regime of Robert Guei                                            | 11            |
| 4. Gbagbo's administration and events of 2002                           | 13            |
| <br><b>Chapter 3: Root causes of conflict in Cote d'Ivoire</b>          | <br><b>15</b> |
| 1. Battle over limited resources                                        | 15            |
| 2. Political dimension: politics of inclusion vs. politics of exclusion | 18            |
| 3. Relative deprivation theory and ethnic polarization                  | 21            |
| <br><b>Chapter 4: Giving mediators a chance: perspective on peace</b>   | <br><b>25</b> |
| 1. The Linas Marcoussis peace agreement                                 | 26            |
| 1.1 Ceasefire                                                           | 26            |
| 1.2 The Government of National Reconciliation                           | 26            |
| 1.3 Citizenship and identity                                            | 27            |
| 1.4 The judiciary system                                                | 28            |
| 1.5 Revisiting article 35                                               | 29            |
| 1.6 Demobilization and disarmament programme                            | 29            |

|                                                                                      |    |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| 1.7 Analysis of the Libas-Marcoussis Agreement                                       | 30 |
| 2. The Accra accords                                                                 | 31 |
| 3. Pretoria accords                                                                  | 35 |
| <b>Chapter 5: Why South Africa?</b>                                                  | 38 |
| 1. AU and ECOWAS's search for a credible third party and neutral mediator            | 39 |
| 1.1 A non-African mediator: France                                                   | 39 |
| 1.2 An African mediator: Nigeria                                                     | 41 |
| 2 The United Nations and South Africa                                                | 43 |
| <b>Chapter 6: South Africa and the Ivorian conflict: interests and constraints</b>   | 47 |
| 1. South Africa's national interests                                                 | 47 |
| 1.1 Improving South Africa's profile                                                 | 47 |
| 1.2 Restoring peace and stability in Africa                                          | 49 |
| 1.3 Enhancing South Africa's business market on the continent                        | 50 |
| 1.4 Facilitating the vision of African Standby Force                                 | 51 |
| 1.5 Strategic South Africa's international interests in the United Nations           | 51 |
| 2. Conditions constraining South Africa's role in Cote d'Ivoire                      | 52 |
| 2.1 Linas Marcoussis agreements                                                      | 52 |
| 2.2 Key regional players in the Ivorian conflict                                     | 53 |
| 2.3 Perceived power struggle between South Africa and Nigeria for the soul of Africa | 57 |
| <b>Chapter 7: Conclusion</b>                                                         | 60 |
| <b>Bibliography</b>                                                                  | 68 |