

Abstract

Unconstitutional changes, especially coups d'états, have undoubtedly eroded peace and security in many parts of the African continent. These occurrences have also stunted the development of democracy in some African states. The African Union (AU), supported by sub-regional bodies, addresses this problem by imposing sanctions on the regimes that acquire power through coups with the aim of restoring political order. However, this sanctions policy has produced mixed results. In some cases, these sanctions managed to succeed in achieving their objectives (Guinea) while in other instances sanctions failed to achieve their objectives (Madagascar). It is therefore imperative to inquire into the circumstances and assess the conditions under which the AU sanctions policies failed and succeeded in restoring political order to states that experience coups d'états.

Key Terms: African Union, sanctions, unconstitutional changes, coups, Guinea, Madagascar, SADC, ECOWAS

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my Supervisor, Dr. Thabisi Hoeane and my Co-Supervisor Dr. Phil Mtimkulu, for guiding me through this dissertation. I would also like to thank my loving aunt Lebohang Pelo, my cousins Tsholofelo Pelo and Boitumelo Monnakgotla for supporting me through the journey of finishing the dissertation. Finally, my gratitude to Tendayi Sithole who supported me from beginning to end.

Contents

Declaration.....	2
Abstract.....	3
Acknowledgements.....	4
Acronyms and Abbreviations.....	8
Chapter One: Introduction.....	12
1. Overview of the chapter.....	12
1.1 Background.....	12
1.2 Aims.....	14
1.3 Research questions.....	15
1.4 Theoretical framework.....	15
1.5 Methodology.....	19
1.6 Structure of the dissertation.....	20
Chapter Two: Conceptualising Sanctions.....	21
2. Introduction.....	21
2.1 Defining sanctions.....	21
2.2. Typology of sanctions.....	23
2.2.1 Economic sanctions.....	23
2.2.2 Political sanctions.....	25
2.2.3 Smart sanctions.....	26
2.3 The purposes of sanctions.....	27

2.4 The evolution of sanctions in the post-Cold War era.....	30
2.7 Conclusion.....	34

Chapter Three: An outline: coups in Africa and the sanctions policies of the OAU and AU.....35

3. Introduction.....	35
3.1 Defining coups.....	36
3.2 Theories that explain the occurrence of coups in Africa.....	39
3.3 The record of coups in Africa.....	42
3.3.1 West Africa.....	42
3.3.3.1 Table 1: Coups in West Africa from 1963-2012.....	43
3.3.2 Central Africa.....	45
3.3.3.1 Table 2: Coups in Central Africa from 1965-2013.....	46
3.3.3 East Africa.....	47
3.3.3.3 Table 3: Coups in East Africa from 1958-1989.....	48
3.3.4 North Africa.....	49
3.3.3.4 Table 4: Coups in North Africa from 1965-2008.....	50
3.3.5 Southern Africa.....	52
3.3.3.5 Table 5: Coups in Southern Africa from 1975-2009.....	52
3.4 OAU and AU sanctions policies.....	53
3.4.1 Sanctions policies of the OAU.....	53
3.4.2 Sanctions policies of the AU.....	57
3.5 Conclusion.....	65

Chapter Four: The Success of the AU Sanctions policy in Guinea.....67

4. Introduction.....	67
4.1 Guinea under the regime of <i>Sekou Touré</i> (1958-1984).....	67
4.2 Guinea under the regime of <i>Lansana Conté</i> (1984-2008).....	71
4.3 The 2008 military coup and the rise of the military junta.....	74
4.4 AU and ECOWAS responses to the military coup in Guinea.....	78
4.6 Analysis of the factors that contributed to the success of the AU sanctions policy in Guinea.....	83
4.7 Conclusion.....	87
Chapter Five: Pitfalls of the AU sanction policy in Madagascar.....	89
5. Introduction.....	89
5.1 Madagascar under the regime of President <i>Philibert Tsiranana</i> 1960-1972.....	89
5.2 Madagascar under the regime of <i>Didier Ratsiraka</i> 1975-2001.....	91
5.3 Madagascar under the Regime of <i>Mark Ravalomanana</i> 2001-2009.....	95
5.4 The 2009 military coup and the rise of <i>Andry Rajoelina</i>	102
5.5 AU and SADC responses.....	100
5.6 Analysis of the factors that derailed success of the AU sanctions policy in Madagascar.....	113
5.6.1 SADC contravenes AU principles.....	113
5.6.2 Conflicting interests.....	114
5.6.3 Lack of political will.....	115
5.6.4 SADC's lack of experience in conflict resolution.....	117
5.6.5 The geographical position.....	118
5.7 Conclusion.....	118

Chapter Six: Conclusion.....	120
6. Conclusion.....	120
Bibliography.....	124