Remy Bazenguissa Ganga IMAF-EHESS

Introduction

 The african political order and the citizen's mass conscription in global era

•

Plan

- (1) Illustration by two cases studies: Ivory Coast and Congo-Brazzaville
- (2) The definition of the concept of electoral war
- (3) Conclusion

The two case studies

- Ivory coast in 2011
- Congo Brazzaville in 1992-1993 and 1997

Ivory coast in 2011

- Questions around Gbagbo and Ouattara confrontation for the presidential position
- The Ouattara's victory in civil war
- Dramaturgy of Path of legitimacy and the continuity of power

Political history of Congo Brazzaville

- The two significant political periods of the Congo
- From 1963 to 1991 : Socialist and Marxist-Leninist regim
- After 1991 : the « pluralist » regime

Socialist and Marxist-Leninist regim

The importance of incarnation

The militarization of society

The magic of coup d'Etat

After 1991: the « pluralist » regime

Emergence of mass conscription in Congo

The traps of the legislative system in 1992

 The end of the first presidential mandate in 1997

Wars in Brazzaville in 1992-1993 and 1997

 Conscription of the society and the two armed confrontations in electoral period

The traps of the legislative system

The confrontation of three political parties:
 UPADS, MCDDI and PCT

 The transformation of civil protest in civil war around the legislatives

Congo's war in 1992-1993

The end of the first presidential mandat of the democratization period

- The non-annoncement by the president of the end of the term of his mandat
- The clash between the previous and the actuel presidents
- The five months of civil war in 1997
- The victory of previous president with the support from neighboring countries.

Second Party

- The two assumptions:
- (1) The distinction between the notions of « election », « vote » and «legitimization ».
- (2) Definition of electoral war
- The four orders of problematization

- Two assumptions related to the democratic experience.
- **First**, the election is not in itself a democratic form by which the people express their choice. It was originally the expression of consent to a higher power demand.
- **Second**, universal suffrage is not consubstantially linked to democracy.

- The distinction between « election »,
 « vote » and « legitimization ».
- Election
- Vote
- Legitimization

- <u>I use the notion of « electoral »</u> because, **firstly**, these dynamics are manifested through the mobilization of everyone from the recognition of the universality of political rights necessary to vote taking the form of universel suffrage, and **secondly**, because the final choice of governant was made outside of the logic of vote.
- <u>I use the notion of « war »</u> because, **firstly,** the people experiments the possibility of the dissolution of the social link through mass suffering and killing. And **secondly**, because this violence contains a element of **magic of qualification** who invest legitimity to governant and contribute to the production of new social order.

- The association of the notions « electoral and war » refers to a reality impossible to capt only by the vote logic and who has to do with the mode of representation by incarnation of political power and reproduction of the political totality.
- **Definition:** "Electoral war" is a political device for the passing of power which is presented in an oxymoron form. Indeed, on the one hand, war refers to the founding violence of an order, whereas elections evoke the ultimate mechanisms of reproduction of the latter by its *presentification* in the body of a specific individual. In this sense, electoral war is indeed a war, not only because of the fighting, but especially because it establishes a political order insofar as it participates in the popular selecting mechanism of governers.

- The four orders of problematization
- (1) the symbolic frame of the state
- (2) the dynamic of mobilization of a large part of the society through its total militarization
- (3) the contribution of warlike practices in the reproduction of social link
- (4) the principle of articulation of social conflicts.

Conclusion

Thank you