

ABOUNDING INTERNAL CONFLICTS IN AFRICA: AN ANALYSIS OF PREPOTENCY OF GREED OR GRIEVANCES

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Abstract

Scores of inter and intra-state conflicts have been haunting African continent for the last many decades. These conflicts have their roots embedded in diversity of religion, ethnicity, identity, resources' scarcity and political boundary delimitation concerns since decolonization of this vast land. Most of the conflicts in Africa emerged as an expression of economic and social deprivations as concluded by proponents of grievance. However, the recent addition of greed theory in conflict literature has reshaped the course of debate and discerns causes of conflict initiation in greed of conflicting parties having self enrichment motives. Greed theory has been put to test against three major African conflicts being most cataclysmic in terms of human casualties; Angolan, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and Rwandan conflict. These conflicts had monumentally shocking impact on humanity. This article argues that Greed theory has selective relevance instead of universal application. Our qualitative research based findings with respect to initiation of these conflicts show weaker causal relation as professed by greed theorists. This research article is significant as it challenges the findings of greed theory's generalization.

Key words: Internal conflicts, Greed-Grievance theory, Resource wars, genocide

Introduction

Continent of Africa is teeming with many internal conflicts and has remained unstable for the last many decades. Raging violent conflicts have inflicted unfathomable loss of millions of lives. As per rational estimate, 20% of the population of sub-Saharan Africa lives in conflict afflicted countries.¹ The states

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embroiled in conflicts are facing abject poverty, economic retardation, political instability, uneven development and many other social challenges which have deterred human well beingness. During four decades (1960-2000), there have been 80 changes in governments in 48 sub-Saharan countries through violence.² Turn of new millennium brought no respite for the subjugated African population in terms of peace and prosperity as 18 countries faced armed rebellion and 11 states suffered political crises.³ Subsequent decade of 2000 saw an overall decline in armed conflicts around the world. Uppsala Conflict Data Programme (UCDP) conflict data signifies that 33 intra-state conflicts including 9 internationalized intra-state conflicts plagued the world in 2013 whereas number of conflicts was almost double in 1997.⁴ Regional distribution of conflicts in 2013 showed that Africa still topped the tally with 20 active intra-state conflicts. Forty seven (81%) out of fifty eight UN recognized African states have witnessed conflicts of varying severity during past four decades. Loss of human lives attributed to different conflicts is estimated to be over 180 million.⁵ At present, 26 countries possessing different militia, guerrilla, separatist and anarchist groups are entangled in both inter and intra-state conflicts.⁶

Taxonomy of African conflicts put forth by Salim⁷ signifies that conflicts prevalent in Africa include; territorial and boundary conflicts, political and ideological conflicts, secession conflicts and transhumance and irredentist conflicts. This article will examine intra-state conflicts through greed – grievance prism for establishing preponderance of any one in three major African conflicts. Findings of the famous greed theory have been challenged against its generalization in African conflicts. Few variables like ethnicity, tribalism and social structure, being heart and soul of African life, have not been accorded due attention by greed theorists. In temporal terms, scope of this article is limited to last three decades and in spatial proviso, it focuses on Sub-Saharan Africa only. Grievance thesis in support of initiation of intra-state conflict is as old as humanity itself⁸. Many scholars have been professing preponderance of grievances in emergence of the intra-state conflicts and argued

that inequality, political oppression and scarcity of resources were major causes for emergence of internal conflicts in the world. Communities facing these harsh realities are gravitated towards use of violence for alleviation of root causes of these inadequacies. Succeeding group of scholars (Paul Collier, Anke Hoeffler, De Soysa and Neumayer) argued that greed is the primary cause for conflicts, initiation and asserted that presence of abundant natural resources, high share of commodity exports in overall national economy, external financial support and lower opportunity cost (ease of recruitment of rebels) are major sources for emergence of internal conflicts.⁹

Theoretical Framework

Many African countries are unstable with the exception of few states. Reasons for proneness to conflicts can be traced by various theories propounded by eminent scholars through their seminal works in the field of conflictology and international relations. In conflict literature, there are various correlations (theories) drawn by Cilliers & Schuenemann (2015) explaining causes of internal conflicts Firstly, poverty - instability correlation, violence is generally more frequent and severe in economically poor states than wealthier ones. Furthermore, poverty is the function of inequality and social stratification therefore conflicts fuel poverty and *vice versa*. Secondly, the autocratic state¹⁰ having 'democracy deficit' passing through transitional phase from autocracy to democracy are always prone to violence. Thirdly, there exists a strong correlation between large number of uneducated and unemployed youth (youth bulge) and conflict. In sub-Saharan Africa, majority of population falls within average age of 15-30 years; younger age has made population more prone to violent behaviour. Fourthly, possibility of recurrence of violence, when a country has experienced violence in the past, strong possibility of repetition of the phenomenon exists. Fifthly, politically and economically weak states suffer serious fall-outs of happenings in contiguous states commonly known as 'neighbourhood effect'.

Lastly, the cumulative effect of all five well proven theories in Africa has resulted in poor governance, access of inapt and self-serving leadership to power and excessive dependence on commodity exports for running state affairs. All these inadequacies have generated conflicts and scholars have undertaken investigative studies for establishing causes of conflicts. Till early 90s, it was theorized that social and economic grievances were the root cause of conflicts. However in mid-90s, this assertion was challenged by Collier and associates espousing conflict are entrenched in 'loot seeking' (greed theory¹¹) rather than 'Justice seeking' (grievance theory¹²) by rebel forces.

Paradigm Shift - Greed versus Grievance Debate

During Cold War, major academic focus remained on studying causes and consequences of systemic conflicts or major wars however, during same time frame, conflict landscape of the world changed all together as discovered by Ted Gurr and his associates; there was a sharp increase in intra-state conflicts within many societies during the decades of 1950s to 1980s.¹³ These conflicts known as 'societal conflicts', were three times more than inter-state conflicts, further increased to six folds between 1980 and 1990. The end of Cold War weakened superpower patronage of ongoing independence movements which created a vacuum. This resulted in inevitable violence, emergence of disparate ideologies, religion and ethnicity based groups seeking to finance their operations through local taxation, plunder and pillage¹⁴. The latter half of decade of 1990s witnessed escalatory trend in conflicts' occurrences. By mid 1995 there were 22 high intensity conflicts being fought worldwide however, the number rose to 25 by the end of 1999. The number of low intensity conflicts also rose from 31 (in 1996) to 77 in mid 1999. On lower violence threshold, political conflicts increased from 40 in 1995 to 151 in mid 1999.¹⁵

For establishing the root cause of these conflicts, a paradigm shift occurred. Scholars reduced conflict investigation canvass from systemic level to local actors who

were aiming for independence, autonomy and secession. Causes of conflicts especially in Africa involved territory, ideology, dynastic legitimacy, religion, language, ethnicity, self-determination, resources, markets, ethnic dominance, equality and revenge.¹⁶ Out of all postulated causes, ethnicity received maximum attention for investigation and it was most fashionable term to explain conflicts in 1990s. Emergence of Tamil insurgency, Bosnian conflict, Rwandan and Burundi genocide all had involvement of ethnicity in one way or the other.

By mid-1990s, on the other end of aetiological spectrum, studies investigating causes of intra-state conflicts started proposing economic agenda as essential driver of the conflicts particularly in developing world. This approach has been collated into 'Resource Wars'. Fights for control over resources have been the fundamental cause of many conflicts but scarcity also triggered violence; more the scarcity of resource greater the violence. On the opposite end, abundance of resources is also equally troubling for societies specially the natural resources. In case of abundance of resources, resource appropriation is considered fundamental cause of conflicts.

According to 'resource war' proponents, groups engaged in violence are not primarily motivated by grievances but essentially by economic agendas. The resource-war hypothesis has been transformed into 'greed theory' by Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler espousing preponderance of greed as primary cause of conflict as opposite to earlier understanding of grievances instead. Greed theorists contended that discourse on the conflict tends to be dominated by group grievances beneath which inter-group hatred lurks have investigated statistically the global pattern of large scale civil conflicts since 1965, expecting to find a close relationship between measures of these hatred and grievances and the incidence of conflict. I found that economic agendas appear to be central in understanding 'why civil wars get going'.¹⁷ Collier and Hoeffler used model of expected-utility theory with premise that rebels would conduct civil war if the perceived benefits outweigh the costs of rebellion. In the model, many independent variables

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were used including; per capita income, natural resource endowment, population size and ethno-linguistic fractionalization analysed using statistical regression. The study examining 161 countries having 78 internal conflicts covering period 1960-1999, revealed following major findings:

- Higher per capita income reduces duration of civil war and probability of its occurrence.
- Possession of natural resources initially increases the duration and risk of civil war but then reduces it, however high level of natural resources diminish probability of civil war due to enhanced financial capability of government.
- Countries with larger populations have higher risks of civil war and these wars last longer.
- Highly fractionalized societies are no more prone to civil war than homogeneous ones. (This finding was contrary to common belief of grievance theorists)
- Risk of civil war arises when society is polarized in to two groups; polarized societies have 50% higher probability of civil war than homogeneous or fractionalized societies.

Despite dominating results of the study in favour of greed, Collier believed that greed always remains embedded in belligerent's narrative however, grievance narrative being more sellable and plays better than greed narrative thus when rational at the top hierarchy is essentially greed, the actual discourse may be dominated by grievance.

Africa has big landmass; so is the number of conflicts. Testing all conflicts against greed-grievance theories is near impossible therefore scope of this paper has been intentionally limited to three major conflicts of sub Saharan region which include Angolan conflict, Congo conflict, and Rwandan conflict. The rationale behind selection of these conflicts is their dreadful nature in terms of human losses in comparison to other internal conflicts in Africa or Asia.

Angolan Conflict

Angola¹⁸ is the 7th largest South-Western African country (Area 1246700 Sq Km) bordered by Namibia in South, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) on the North, Zambia on East and faces Atlantic Ocean (1600 Km) on the West. It has multicultural and multi racial society having Ovimbundu 37%, Kimbundu 25%, Bakonogo 13%, Mestico 2%, European 1% and others 22%, as its inhabitants. Oil and diamonds exports contribute 85% and 5% in country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) respectively¹⁹. Angola being rich in natural resource, endowment and major oil exporter of Africa, is one of the poorest countries²⁰ in the world.

Conflict in Angola started in 1975 after securing independence from Portugal in 1961. During independence struggle, three main groups namely National Front for Liberation of Angola (FNLA), Peoples Movement for Liberation of Angola (MPLA) and National Union for Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) rose to eminence. However, after securing independence, conflict based on sharp politico-ideological differences for political power, between MPLA and UNITA ravaged the country. The conflict lasted for 27 years inflicting grave loss to human lives of about 1.5 million and dislocation of over 4 million people²¹. The conflict soon transformed into proxy wars between superpowers where USSR and Cuba started supporting MPLA and US and white-ruled South Africa sided with UNITA for controlling ascendancy to power for geo-economic interests. During late 80s, belligerents shifted focus from gaining political power to seizing control of natural resources crop fields for sustainability of activities. Conflict finally ended in 2002 when MPLA staged decisive victory by decimating UNITA.

Collier's model attaches great importance to four aspects with respect to conflict initiation; share of commodity exports in Gross Domestic Product (GDP), generation of finances for running insurgency through natural resources, external financial support and lower opportunity cost for rebel recruitment. World Bank data report (1960-1999) for GDP, oil

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revenues (primary commodity) and per capita income of Angola shows that just before the start of conflict in 1975, Angolan Gross National Product (GNP) was over \$ 8 billion and country was exporting oil worth over \$ 1.2 billion per annum gradually rising till the end of 1984.²² The country has large natural resource endowment especially diamonds (being lootable), oil and fertile land for earning valuable foreign exchange through agricultural exports. Diamonds and oil were only available natural resources which ultimately became major source of funding for insurgency.²³ The share of commodity exports (oil and minerals) was 12.5% in national economy far below the limit (25%) set by Collier for drawing positive causal relation for conflict initiation however, theorists' assertion that 'effect of commodity exports on conflict risk is both highly significant and considerable' does not hold valid in case of Angolan conflict. The proxy actors (USSR & USA) played active role in providing financial support to warring factions. USA provided \$ 0.3 million to FNLA in 1975 on the start of conflict²⁴ which helped in uplifting of the group against its rivals. Covert economic support by both patronisers continued till end of cold war in 1989 however, it is extremely difficult to trace and proof as money remained mostly out of all banking channels. The regional small countries were politically coerced by both superpowers to support their respective progenies.

Insurgencies require continuous replenishment of fresh recruits (rebels) for successful operations. As per Collier's greed thesis, opportunity cost (ease of recruitment) for fresh recruits depends on three factors - prevailing unemployment, levels of education and ethnic fractures in society. Pre-war turbulences forced skilled white settlers (Portuguese) to exit which plummeted state economy²⁵. The steep fall gave exponential rise to unemployment which touched 80%. When conflict started in 1975, the per capita income fell by almost 30.6% (from \$ 594 pre-war to \$ 412 at start of war)²⁶. The cumulative effect of this economic downfall resulted in massive unemployment thus reducing opportunity cost for recruitment. Easy availability of recruits for rebelling forces in Angola is hard reality which is consistent with Collier's

findings (lower wages, education levels and ethnic fractures reduce opportunity cost). However, racial and ethnic tensions prevalent in Angolan society being actual cause of conflict cannot be ignored at all. Ethnic rivalry between Ovimbundu, Kimbundu and Bakonogo tribes is no hidden secret even today. Collier's findings of 'no direct relation of conflict with ethnic fracture of society' are also inconsistent as ethnicity played active role in this conflict. Another conclusion which can be drawn from Angolan conflict is that Collier's model is more applicable for explanation of duration and re-emergence of conflicts rather than initiation of civil wars. The utter disregard of ethnic and racial divisions weakens generalization of theory especially on African conflicts where race and ethnicity form the basis of survival.

Congo Conflict

The Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)²⁷ is 2nd largest (area wise) central African country surrounded by Congo, Central African Republic and south Sudan in North, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi and Tanzania in East, Zambia and Angola in South and Atlantic Ocean in the West. Country houses over 200 ethnic groups having majority of Bantus²⁸. DRC has been victim of cyclic violence since colonization by Belgium in 1885²⁹. Belgium adopted iron-hand approach for exploitation of natural resources especially rubber being hot demand as era of industrialization had set in. Congolese population was forced to work endlessly for collection of rubber and violators were dealt inhumanely using whipping, cutting of arms and rape as exploiting tools. Congo lost almost half of its population through this ongoing tyranny; 10 million.³⁰ This destructive approach lost approval and backing of other imperialist powers involved in Africa in 1908 and Belgium was forced to adopt less oppressive tools for exploitation to avoid complete obliteration of Congolese form workers.

After getting independence on June 30, 1960, an anti imperialist democratic government came to power and demanded complete economic independence from previous masters. However, Belgium and USA were jointly vying to

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maintain hold on the internal affairs; political and economic (natural resources) of the newly formed state. Non compliance of western demands resulted in killing of newly elected president (Patrice Lumumba) by anti state factions duly supported by USA and Belgium in 1961 (Hochschild, 2001). Taking advantage of prevailing political anarchy in the country, an army officer (Col J Mabutú) took control of the country through a coup d'état in 1965 with collusion of USA³¹ and continued ruling country for next 30 years. The installed stooge allowed plundering of country's natural resources to foreign mining companies and amassed huge wealth for himself in Swiss banks. US political support to Mabutú was based in anti communism thesis perceived as an ideological threat to USA as erstwhile USSR was extending her zone of influence in Africa.³²

Conflict in DRC is very complex having its roots both in political and economic moorings. Conflict in political realm is because of so many political aspirants and ethnic venturing to gain political power however, its perpetuation is embedded in economic exploitation by many players. DRC is extremely rich in natural resources having almost all minerals discovered so far. Its mineral wealth is estimated to be of \$ 24 Trillion consisting of diamonds, gold, Coton³³ and uranium.³⁴ An estimated daily export of minerals worth \$ 6 Million was taking place in 2007.³⁵ Access to mineral resources is extremely easy as mostly very close to earth crust thus can be extracted with rudimentary tools and techniques. This easy-picking has transformed these minerals to 'militarized minerals' by various rebel groups creating a never ending conflict with the connivance of external powers having economic interest as priority.

The current conflict started in 1994 with the heavy inflow of ethnic Hutus (about 1.2 million) from Rwanda where ethnic Tutsis came to power, to avoid reprisal. In 1996, a trilateral alliance; Rwanda, Burundi and Uganda (commonly known as AFDL) invaded DRC for flushing out Hutu rebel groups who had taken shelter in DRC. This tripartite invasion had hidden motive of having control over DRC's natural resources as

believed by many experts. In subsequent years, differences over distribution of natural resources surfaced and Rwanda, Burundi and Uganda re-attacked DRC which resulted in 2nd Congo war 1998.³⁶ Angola, Chad, Namibia, Zimbabwe and Sudan sided with DRC during expanding war which had eight belligerents each trying to be victor in its own right. A UN sponsored truce was brokered and war officially ended in 2002 and elections were held in 2006. However, complete withdrawal of Ugandan and Rwandan forces from DRC did not take place and many splinter groups and militia bands previously part of regular Ugandan and Rwandan army stayed on to predate on resources (diamonds). The numerous 'stay-on' rebel groups were funded by Uganda and Rwanda for acting as proxy forces for natural resource exploitation. In 2008, cease-fire with 25 rebel groups took place but fighting still continued as many other active groups were left out of peace and negotiation process thus there was no change in death rate (casualties) in DRC.³⁷

As per Collier's greed thesis African conflicts are entrenched in 'loot seeking' rather than 'Justice seeking'.³⁸ This conclusion was based on in-depth study of many influencing variables including share of commodity exports in Gross Domestic Product, insurgency financing through natural resources, external financial support and lower opportunity cost for rebel recruitment. Congo conflict had major involvement of natural resources, external financial support and low opportunity cost. Country has suffered 'resource curse' as abundance invites external intervention which actually happened through troika of neighbours (Rwanda, Burundi and Uganda) having relatively lesser endowment of natural resources. Congolese economy has historically been export oriented with mining being lead industry. Natural resources especially diamonds have been major export with other precious metals and minerals. Share of commodity exports (minerals & diamonds) has been 25.7% in country's GDP in 2002.³⁹ Before the conflict, its share was around 37%. Emergence of conflict with higher commodity export share in economy was in line with Collier's greed model. External political and financial support by multiple

neighbouring states in the conflict is no secret therefore, emergence of conflict is in line with Collier's model.

In multi ethnic states, ethnic divisions provide easy grounds for recruitment of rebels. This is complemented by lower education opportunities which in turn results in high unemployment rates. Unemployment rate of Congo has been very high average 52.1% during last decade⁴⁰. Literacy rate is on continuous decline since start of the conflict in 1995 and has slipped from 77.3% to 66.8% which means that unemployment would further increase with passage of time. This, in turn, will reduce opportunity cost for recruitment of fresh soldiers by rebel leaders giving rise to the possibility of re-emergence of the conflict.

The above analysis amply demonstrates that Collier's greed thesis stands validated in case of initiation of Congo conflict.

Rwandan Conflict

Continent of Africa witnessed a genocidal upheaval in 1994 when conflict broke out in Rwanda⁴¹ and resulted in colossal loss of life and property. As per UN estimates, over 0.8 million (11% of population) men, women and children lost their lives⁴² and 1.75 million people became Internally Displaced (Ids) and migrated to neighbouring countries. Rwanda having an area of 26338 Sq Km is land locked state commonly known as 'land of thousand hills' populated by three main ethnic groups (Hutus 84%, Tutsis 15% and Twas 1%). Tutsis have historically been landowners and Hutus have been land tillers. The conflict which formerly emerged in 1994 had its roots in colonial days of Belgium (1916-1962) when division of land was unjustly done between these two principal ethnic groups as majority (Hutus) were considered an inferior race. Cards system for establishing ethnic identity was introduced which generated tension amongst both ethnic groups. A civil war in 1959 resulted in dethroning of king of Tutsi origin and independence was granted to Rwanda in 1962 which paved way for formation of Hutu led government. For next few years, Tutsis community remained under extreme pressure as few

thousand were killed, maimed and over 0.15 million fled to neighbouring countries. These forced migrants (Tutsis) later formed a rebel group (Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF)) during their refuge in Uganda and invaded Rwanda in 1990 with three objectives for establishing democracy, improvement in governance and securing refugees' rights to return to Rwanda. The war continued till 1993 when Arusha accord⁴³ was finally signed by Hutu led Rwandan government with RPF which brought feeble semblance of peace.

Despite signing peace accord, anti Tutsi fundamentalist groups remained active in cities and a Low Intensity latent conflict existed in post agreement scenario. On 6 April 1994, Rwandan presidential plane was downed by unknown assailants that triggered Tutsis' massacre in capital which engulfed whole country with staggering speed and brutality in coming days. On 7 April 1994, Shooting down of aircraft was attributed to RPF action and Prime Minister along with 10 Belgian peacekeepers was killed by Rwandan state soldiers. Few moderate government officials of Hutu origin were also eliminated by nationalist Hutu militias during initial days of carnage which later turned out to be genocide for ethnic cleansing of one community. Killings finally stopped on 16 July 1994 (after 100 days) when RPF managed to take control of state. The RPF victory created 2 million more refugees (mainly Hutus) from Rwanda, exacerbating what had already become a full-blown humanitarian crisis⁴⁴.

These 100 days of bloodletting had many deep seeded causes which can be viewed through various sociological prisms. From historical perspective, it was result of ethnic hatred which was intentionally developed amongst Hutu-Tutsi communities by colonial masters for exercising effective control. One of the most plausible causes identified by scholars is access to scarce natural resources particularly land. Historians also believe that population pressure due to rapid population growth was another underlying cause of carnage. While analysing the causes of genocide, Gérard Prunier contends that decision to kill was made for political reasons.... there were too many people on too little land, and that with

reduction in numbers, there would be more for the survivors⁴⁵ pointing towards human greed. From political science perspective, Homer-Dixon also concludes that increased competition for scarce resources was the fundamental cause of this conflict.⁴⁶ Dehumanization was another aspect of the conflict as Hutus regarded Tutsis as 'cockroaches and vermin' being less than human beings.⁴⁷

Pre-conflict share of commodity export in national economy was around 23% which is line with greed theory findings as concluded by the theorist that countries having 25% share of commodity exports are exposed to emergence of conflict more than the ones having lesser distribution. Rwanda's natural resources are limited. A small mineral industry provides about 5-8% of foreign exchange earnings therefore, possibility of financing of insurgency through natural resource exploitation is extremely limited. External political interference is evident as Ugandan government patronized RPF rebels by supporting through cash and kind, a necessary prerequisite for running any insurgency.

Recruitment of fighters on ethnic lines is generally an easy undertaking therefore, Rwandan Tutsis had all-out support of ethnic Ugandan Tutsis living in contiguous borderland regions of Uganda. Easy availability of unemployed and low educated children facilitated induction of 'child soldiers' during the conflict. Collier's greed and grievances comparative analysis had an unusual finding; 'ethnic and religious diversity reduces risk of conflict'. This finding in particular remained under focus of scholars who prioritize human grievances over greed which is an anti-thesis of greed theory. If this particular finding of the study is tested against Rwandan conflict then it can be safely concluded that finding cannot be validated as there were only two ethnic groups instead of many as in case of other African countries, but conflict still erupted with colossal loss of human lives. Ethnic and identity divides are permanent and always play lead role in conflicts therefore, cannot be ignored. Greed theory cannot be generalized as conflicts have many contributing factors.

Conclusion

Africa is multi-ethnic, multi-lingual, multi-cultural and multi-religious continent having uneven spatial and social development. African conflicts are perpetual with assortment of varying causes and episodes of violence thus provide good case studies for scholastic investigations. The causes of these conflicts are wide ranging having roots entrenched in economic, political, identity and ethnic crisis having violence as common denominator with no durable solutions. The intensity of violence has occasionally transformed into ideological, despotic or developmental genocide⁴⁸ in few cases in Africa. Economic and ethnic fault lines result in emergence of inter community grievances. The upshot of economic deprivations augments paucity and poverty which gives rise to intra-state conflicts. This cause is predominant in Africa as grievances are abundant with no foreseeable cure. Greed is also an important aspect in conflict analysis however, it cannot be treated as an independent cause for conflict initiation as professed by few scholars. Greed-grievance interdependence and inter-augmentation seems more logical conclusion for emergence of conflicts especially in Africa. Therefore, a balanced approach for establishing causes of internal conflicts may be win-win solution for analysis as greed and grievance thesis are always mutually inclusive than exclusive. Conflict ridden African governments may firstly, accelerate economic growth through pragmatic policy interventions, secondly must diversify their economies to obviate dependence on commodity exports, thirdly invest in social services including education and health, fourthly transparency and documentation of economic affairs and lastly the most important population control. These steps would help reducing the possibilities of new conflicts on the continent in future.

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The Continent of Africa



Map of Angola (Appendix 1)



Map of Rwanda (Appendix 2)



Map of Democratic Republic of Congo (Appendix 3)



Notes

¹ Elbadawi, Ibrahim, and Nicholas Sambanis. "Why are there so many wars in Africa? Understanding and preventing violent conflicts." *Journal of African Economics* 9(3), 2000: 244-269.

² Adebayo, Adedeji. *Comprehending and Mastering African Conflicts: The Search for Sustainable Peace and Good Governance*. London: Zed Books, 1999. 63-79

³ Ibid.

⁴ L Themnér and P Wallensteen, Armed Conflicts (1946–2012), *Journal of Peace Research* 51(4), 2013: 145-169

⁵ A Nhema, and P.T Zeleza, *The Roots of African Conflicts: The Causes & Costs*. Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2008. 234-269

⁶Smith, Edward.
Warsintheworld.com.<http://www.warsintheworld.com/pagestatic1258542232/index.html> (accessed on June 1, 2015).

⁷ Salim, S. A. Localising outbreaks: The Role of Regional Organisation in Preventive Action. In K. M. Cahill, *Preventive Diplomacy: Stopping Wars Before They Start*. New York, Rutledge. 2000: 189-202

⁸ Edward E. Azar, *The Management of Protracted Social Conflicts: Theory and Cases*. Aldershot: Dartmouth Publishing Company, 1990. 105-112

⁹ Collier, Paul and Anke Hoefler, "Greed and Grievances in Civil War". Working Paper Series 2001-02. Centre for Study of African Economics (Oxford University), 2002: 46-58

¹⁰ States characterized with inherent political instability and ineffective regimes marred with nepotism, corruption and inefficiency.

¹¹ Greed Theory was conjectured by British economist Paul Collier in mid-90s, espousing that conflicts are initiated by combatants (rebels) after careful cost-benefit analysis for private gains, drawing motivation through control of goods and economic resources or by increasing power within state power structure.

¹² Grievance Theory posits that conflicts emerge over issues of identity, religion and social class differences (haves and have not), political repression and inequality etc.

¹³ Gur, T, Marshall, M G and Kholsa, D, *Peace and Conflict 2001: A Global Survey of Armed Conflicts, Self-Determination Movements and Democracy*. University of Maryland: 2000, 287-299

¹⁴ K Rupesinghe and S. N. Anderlini. *Civil Wars, Civil Peace: An Introduction to Conflict Resolution*. London Pluto Press, 1998: 176

¹⁵ P Wallensteen and M Sollenberg, Armed Conflicts 1989-98, *Journal of Peace Research* 36(5) 1999: 593–606.

¹⁶ Singer J D, *Armed Conflicts in Former Colonial Regions: From Classification to Explanation*. London MacMillan, 1996: 139

¹⁷ Collier, Paul and Anke Hoefler, "Greed and Grievances in Civil Wars". Working Paper Series 2001-02. Centre for Study of African Economics (Oxford University), 2002: 46-58

¹⁸ Map of Angola has been placed at Appendix 1

- ¹⁹CIA World Fact Book (Angola). cia.gov, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ao.html> (accessed on June 8, 2015)
- ²⁰ BBC.Com. (Angola Profile) www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-13036732 (accessed on June 16, 2015)
- ²¹ Frynas, J. G. and Wood, G. (2001). "Oil and War in Angola". *Review of African Political Economy* 28(9), 2001: 587-606.
- ²² World Bank Reports and African Data Base of 2000, <http://www.worldbank.org/africa-data-base>.(accessed on July 12, 2015)
- ²³ Assis, M "Ethnicity and Conflict in Angola: Prospects of Reconciliation," In *Angola's War Economy: the Role of Oil and Diamonds*, eds. J Cilliers and C. Dietrich (Pretoria: African Institute of Security Studies., 2000), 95–113.
- ²⁴ Brittain, V. *Death of Dignity: Angola's Civil War*. London, Pluto.1998: 178
- ²⁵ On the start of war, Portuguese owners abandoned 80% of agricultural crops and 41% of factories remained productive only. Over 30000 skilled workers left the country for better pastures.
- ²⁶ International Monetary Fund. Report 2012. *Econstats: Angola*. New York: IMF.
- ²⁷ Map of Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) has been placed at Appendix 3
- ²⁸ CIA World Fact Book (DRC). cia.gov <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ao.html> (accessed on June 28, 2015)
- ²⁹ In 1885, a conference in Berlin was held giving right to European countries to rule and colonize different African states. Belgium became formal imperial master of Congo through this conference.
- ³⁰ Hochschild, A. *King Leopold's Ghost: A Story of Greed, Terror, and Heroism in Colonial Africa*, New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1999: 254
- ³¹ Olsson, Ola, and Heater Congdon. "Congo: The Prize Predation" *Journal of Peace Research* 3(41), 2004: 321.
- ³² Hochschild, A "Congo's Many Plunderers," *African Economic and Political Weekly* 4(36), 2001: 287–88.
- ³³ Columbite-Tantalite (Colton) is the most profitable natural resource of Congo even more valuable than gold and diamonds. It is used in high tech circuitry in Printed Circuit Boards as it releases heat quickly and does not let the electronic gadgets overheat. It has enabled size reduction of various electronic devices and appliances. The market price of Colton ranges \$50-\$200 per pound depending on quality of ore.
- ³⁴ "Kors, Joshu. "Blood Minerals.," *Current Science* 9(95), 2010:10–12.
- ³⁵ Arthur, K. "Congo: Elections and the Battle for Mineral Resources," *Social Education* 71(1), February 2008: 86-94.
- ³⁶ Olsson, Ola, and Heater Congdon. "Congo: The Prize Predation" *Journal of Peace Research* 3(41), 2004: 323.

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³⁷ “Polgree, Lydia.” Congo’s Death Rate Unchanged since War Ended., *newyorktimes.com* New York Times of 23 January 2008. (accessed on May 4, 2015).

³⁸ Collier, P and H Binswanger, “Ethnic Loyalties, State Formation and Conflict” Background Paper Prepared for the Africa in the 21st Century Project, Washington DC: World Bank, 1999.

³⁹ *nationsencyclopedia.com*: www.nationsencyclopedia.com/Africa/Congo-Democratic-Republic-of-the-DROC-MINING.htm (accessed on March 23, 2015)

⁴⁰ *Tradingeconomics.com*. Retrieved from *Tradingeconomics.com*: www.tradingeconomics.com/congo/unemployment-rate (accessed on September 12, 2015)

⁴¹ Map of Rwanda has been placed at Appendix 2.

⁴² UN estimate of death toll in the crisis is 800,000 however Rwandan Government considers that 1,071,000 people lost their lives. More than 6 lives were lost every minute during 100 days of manslaughter. (*Amnesty.org*, 2004)

⁴³ Arusha Accords were set of five protocols, signed on August 4, 1993 in city of Arusha (Tanzania) by Rwandan government and Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) for ending three years long Rwandan civil war. The accord was mediated by USA, France and Organization of African Unity (OAU).

⁴⁴ *History.com*. (A+E Networks). <http://www.history.com/topics/rwandan-Genocide> (accessed January 6, 2015).

⁴⁵ Prunier, G. *Rwandan Crisis: History of Genocide*. New York, Columbia University Press, 1995: 217

⁴⁶ V Percival and T Homer-Dixon, “Environmental Scarcity and Violent Conflict: The Case of Rwanda,” *The Journal of Environment & Development* 5(3), 1996: 270–91.

⁴⁷ Stanton, G. H. *Genocidewatch.org*, <http://www.genocidewatch.org/aboutus/bydrgregorystanton.html>, (accessed on August 14, 2015)

⁴⁸ Three motive based classifications of genocides are typified in literature; developmental Genocide - perpetrator destroys those who stand in the way of economic exploitation of resources, despotic genocide, where the aim is to eliminate real or potential opposition; retributive genocide where the aim is to destroy a long-term enemy; and ideological genocide where the group to be destroyed is presented as evil.