

Africa and International Conflict

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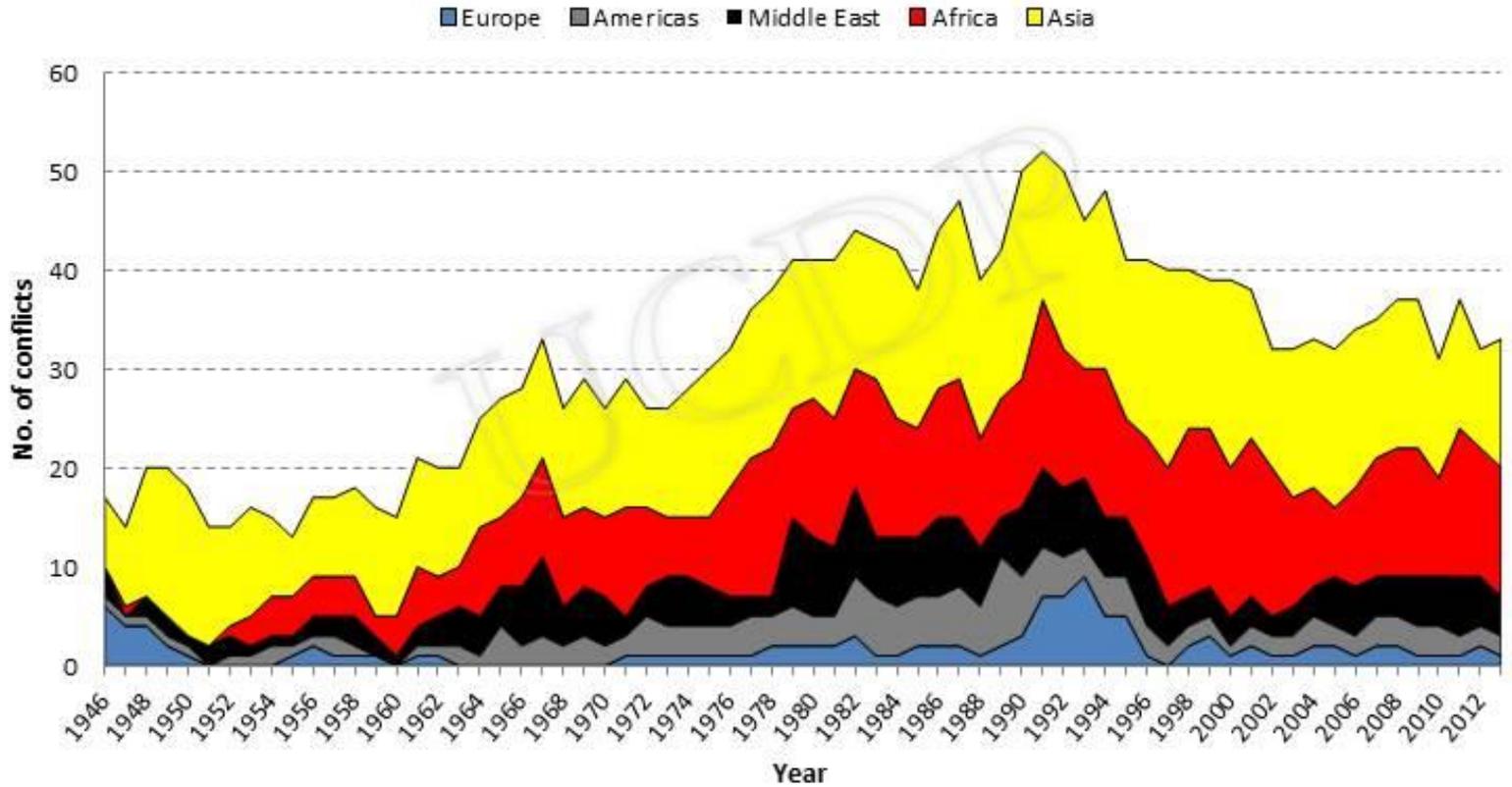
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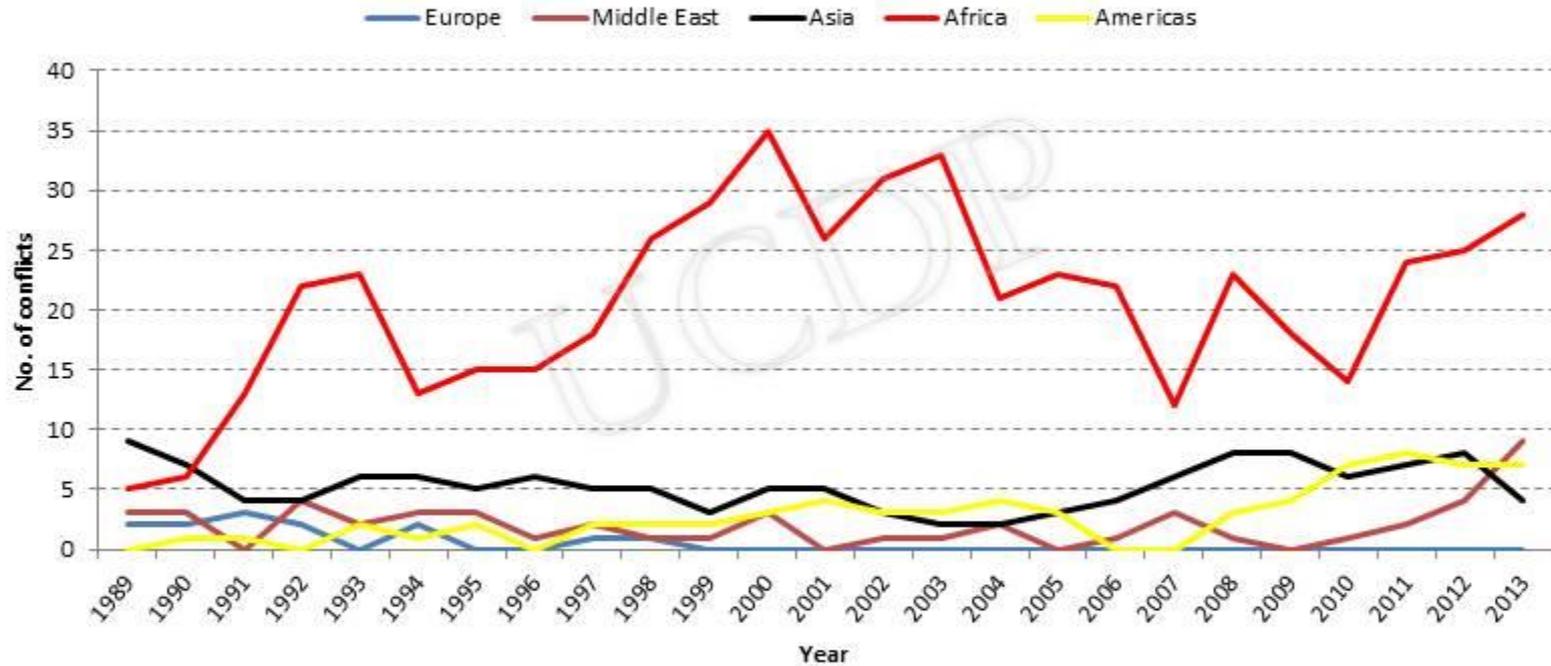
Course Goals

- Develop a better understanding of Africa's history.
- Understand state dynamics that lead to weaker African states, and dynamics that contribute to the growth of insurgencies.
- Detail current insurgencies throughout the continent.
- Discuss policy implications.

Armed Conflict by Region, 1946-2013



Non-state Conflicts by Region, 1989-2013



Patterns in Africa's Conflicts

- Most conflicts involving non-state actors (which are the longest and most difficult to resolve)
- Per capita, Africa experiences more violence than any other continent.
- The deadliest interstate war since World War II was the Congo War, which has killed 3.8 million people.
- Conflicts in Africa last longer than in other continents (8 years v. 6.5 mean).
- World Bank Study in 2008 places Africa as the continent with the highest rate of state failure.



Structural Indicators of Trouble

1. Malnutrition rate in sub-Saharan Africa is 42% v. 4% in North America.
2. Prevalence of HIV is 5.4% compared to .8% in the rest of the world.
3. Mean life expectancy is 52.5 years, compared with 69.2 in the rest of the world.
4. Age dependency ratio (ratio between working age population and dependents) is 85%, which is 1.6 times higher than the rest of the world 54%.
5. Ranks fifth in per capita GDP globally, ahead of only Oceania and Antarctica. Next competitor is South America, which is 61.5% larger.
6. 23/25 countries with the highest infant mortality rates are African.

But, Signs of Hope Too...

1. Child mortality has decreased by 28% since 1990, though it is still very high and decreasing slower than the world average.
2. Access to safe water increased by 22% since 1990.
3. Access to improved sanitation keeps up with world mean at 15%.
4. Urban population is increasing.
5. GDP increasing at about 1.7% from 2009-2010, though GDP per capita decreases by -.08 in same period.

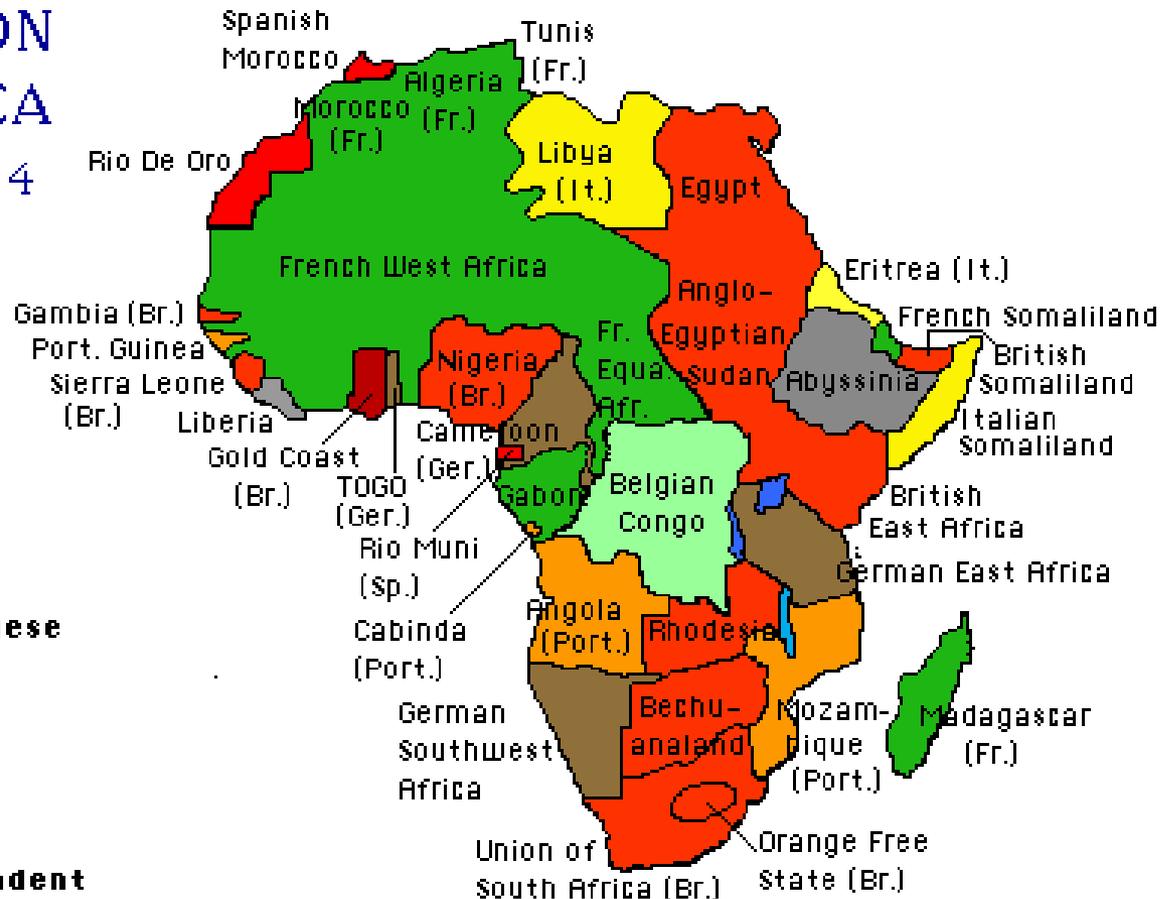
The Scramble For Africa

PARTITION OF AFRICA

1885 - 1914

Colonial Powers

-  British
-  French
-  German
-  Portuguese
-  Italian
-  Belgian
-  Spanish
-  Independent



How to Rule a Colony?

- The problem with ruling this much territory is the colonists needed to find a way to maintain control.
- This required maintaining security in the colonies, extracting taxes from the population, and allow other Europeans to develop infrastructure.
- Problem was: the Europeans were outnumbered, and even if they could militarily defeat challengers, they couldn't maintain these mobilizations indefinitely.
- So how to rule?

Two Strategies: Direct v. Indirect Rule

- **Indirect rule**: involves allow locals to assume leadership positions, and report back to the rulers.
- **Direct rule**: involves taking control of the colony using the Europeans own forces.
- The advantage of indirect rule was that it was relatively cheaper, but it raised the prospect of rebellions.
- The advantage of direct rule is that it pacified, but it was expensive.

Example of Indirect Rule.

The Sokoto Caliphate

- In Northern Nigeria, the British defeated the Fulbe emirs, but sought to use them as the rulers.
- They were given governorships and controls over local political units.
- Although British high commissioners enjoyed autocratic powers, most governing is left to the Fulbe.
- Minimizes the cost, and appeared relatively stable.



Example of Direct Rule.

The French in Algeria

- In Algeria, the French extended equal rights to all of the people it subjugated. However...
- This would require them to assimilate, or adopt the customs and traditions of France.
- France expunges local traditions and customs in favor of French customs.
- But, even though it is direct rule, it requires locals to work with them.



How Could This Happen?

- Control of the colonies, in both types of rule, required some level of cooperation from locals.
- So, why would locals follow?
- And, assuming they would, how could colonists maintain control?

Indirect Rule as a Commitment Problem

- Suppose there is a minority group m that rules over a majority group M .
- Assume that $M > m$.
- But, let us assume that a colonist C gives m military power, such that in an event of a conflict, m can defeat M .
- Therefore, so long as C favors m , m can stay in power over M , and M should be deterred from challenging m .

But...

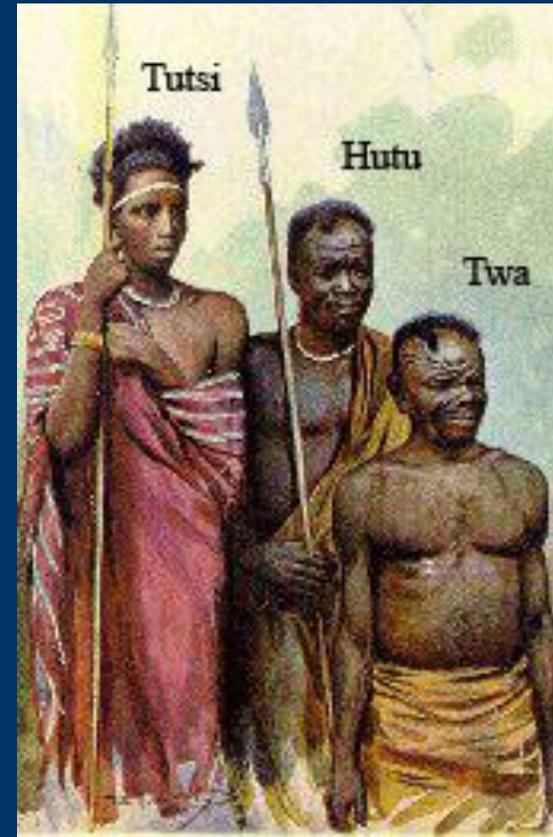
- If C removes its support of m, M will overwhelm the minority rulers.
- Now, suppose C demands that m design the economy in a way that delivers 85% of the benefits of the territory to C.
- And, if m does not agree, C will pull its support from m.
- What does m do?

Belgium. The Hutu/Tutsi Divide

- In colonizing areas now known as Rwanda, Belgium creates racial categories Hutu and Tutsi.
- Tutsis, who are seen as ‘more white’, are given control of education, land, and positions in government.
- Problem is that Tutsis are only 15% of the population, as opposed to the 85% that were Hutu.
- This creates a real incentive for Tutsi rulers to cooperate with the colonial power.

Classification

- Based on “size of the nose” and “size of the eyes.”
- But, there really is no obvious distinction.
- People that appears stronger and “whiter” were classified as Tutsi, whereas the other were classified as Hutu or Twa.
- But prior to Belgium presence, intermarriages were common and all share Christianity.

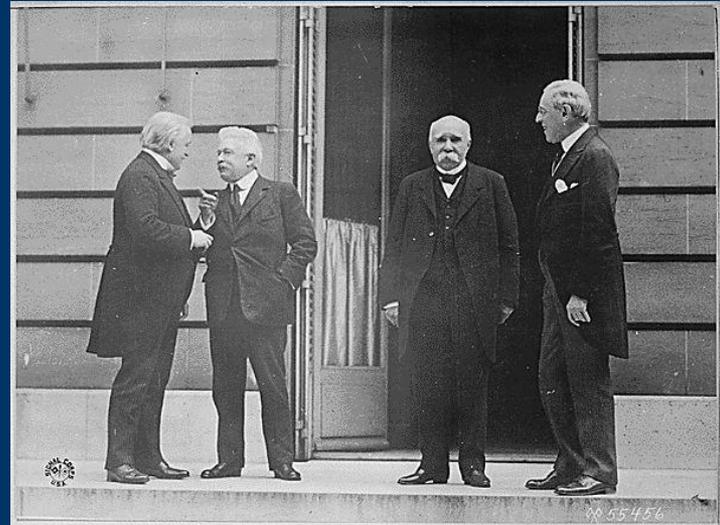


The World Wars

- At the start of World War I in 1914, both the Allies and the Central Powers believe the war will end quickly.
- But, Europe is soon bogged down in a long and costly war, and many countries need manpower.
- During World War II, northern Africa becomes an initial front.
- However, most of Africa is left untouched, save for materials flowing into Europe for the war effort.

The Aftermath

- No African states Versailles.
- Self determination also does not apply to Africa.
- Lots return home without any rights won as they had been promised.
- But, there was an increase in knowledge of Western military tactics, the ability to use them, and radicalization.
- Groups such as the African National Congress, the Pan African Congress, and the Muslim Brotherhood all emerge at this time.



The Aftermath of World War II

- Once again, following World War II, there is little effort made to allow self determination in Africa.
- However, the war takes a considerable toll on the European powers.
- And, since much of Africa is untouched, a group of intelligentsia has developed with some means, and a sense of solidarity.
- These individuals can be considered colonial elites that supervised production during the wars.
- The organizations that built themselves in the inter-war period would now come to the forefront of African politics.

Local Elites Become Racketeers

- Prior to decolonization, the colonial power was the racketeer that collected taxes in exchange for protection.
- After decolonization, elites within African societies would assume control as racketeers over their own territories.
- But the problem is that the territorial units were externally imposed and largely created to maintain peace amongst Europeans.
- And, sovereignty was largely sustained from abroad – no sufficient internal resource base to maintain cooperation from the population.

Local Elites Become Racketeers

- So following independence, the local elites had little local apparatus to maintain their sovereignty.
- Additionally, the areas under colonial control often consisted of groups with heterogeneous beliefs, traditions, cultures, etc.
- These required extensive resources to maintain all of these groups under one territory, and these were lacking.
- And, it would require these diverse groups to recognize the existence of the territory and the sovereignty of the elites.

The Task of Legitimacy

- How to gain legitimacy as sovereign over these unnatural states?
- Requires the building of a common identity.
- One way to do this is to define the collective by what it is not.
- And, to gain loyalty for a racketeer, increase the sense of siege and the need for protection.



The Colonial Powers as the Out-Group

- The elites in African states were able to create a sense of identity by opposing the colonists.
- To create mandates, many of these new states held elections.
- The elections created the legitimacy for these rulers to assume the reigns of power over their new states.
- Since the new elites were in essence running against the colonizers, or had no organized opposition, their political parties prevailed in the elections.

However...

- The new leaders now faced the daunting task of governing their territories.
- The infrastructure in most of these countries was set up to export goods to the colonists.
- This would require some degree of cooperation with the colonists.
- If not, it would require alienating those in society with power who benefited from trade with the colonists.



How to Stay in Power while Being Unpopular

- Both strategies were going to be unpopular.
- So the new leaders try to maintain a sense of siege, and either keep the colonists as the out group, or...
- Find an internal out group.
- And, since they were in power and had control over the electoral apparatus, they could manipulate it so that they would minimize the chance of being removed from office.

Control of Democratic Institutions

- The rules were fluid in these new electoral systems.
- So, the rulers could manipulate the rules to stifle opposition.
- Legally impose restraints on the ability of opposition parties, labor unions, or corporations to organize and contest.
- Legally restrict the ability of opposition figures to emerge, and use police infrastructure to stifle unrest.
- Once the opponents were in the minority, there would be nothing they could do to stop the antagonism.

Democracy is Undone, with a Cheer...

- The next elections following independence were strategically manipulated such that the incumbent would win.
- And once the incumbent did win, she could not credibly refrain herself from once again manipulating the rules.
- So contestation in the next election would become even harder.
- And gradually, these states transition into one party systems.

Rise of the “Big Man” System

- With opponents neutralized, and one party systems in control, there was still a need to build loyalty.
- The states therefore frequently depended on a cult of personality, or some historical leader that would serve as the national symbol to unify the state.
- In countries where this was not present, such as Nigeria and Congo, maintaining stability was quite difficult.
- But, in states such as Egypt (Sadat), Ghana (Nkrumah), and Guinea (Toure), relative stability could remain.

Cementing Control

- Once the Big Men dominated politically, the next task was maintaining control of the territory.
- There were several observable threats:
 - The former colonial powers, who frequently maintained interests in the territory.
 - The coalitions of individuals within the state with economic power.
 - The military.

Strategies for Maintaining Control

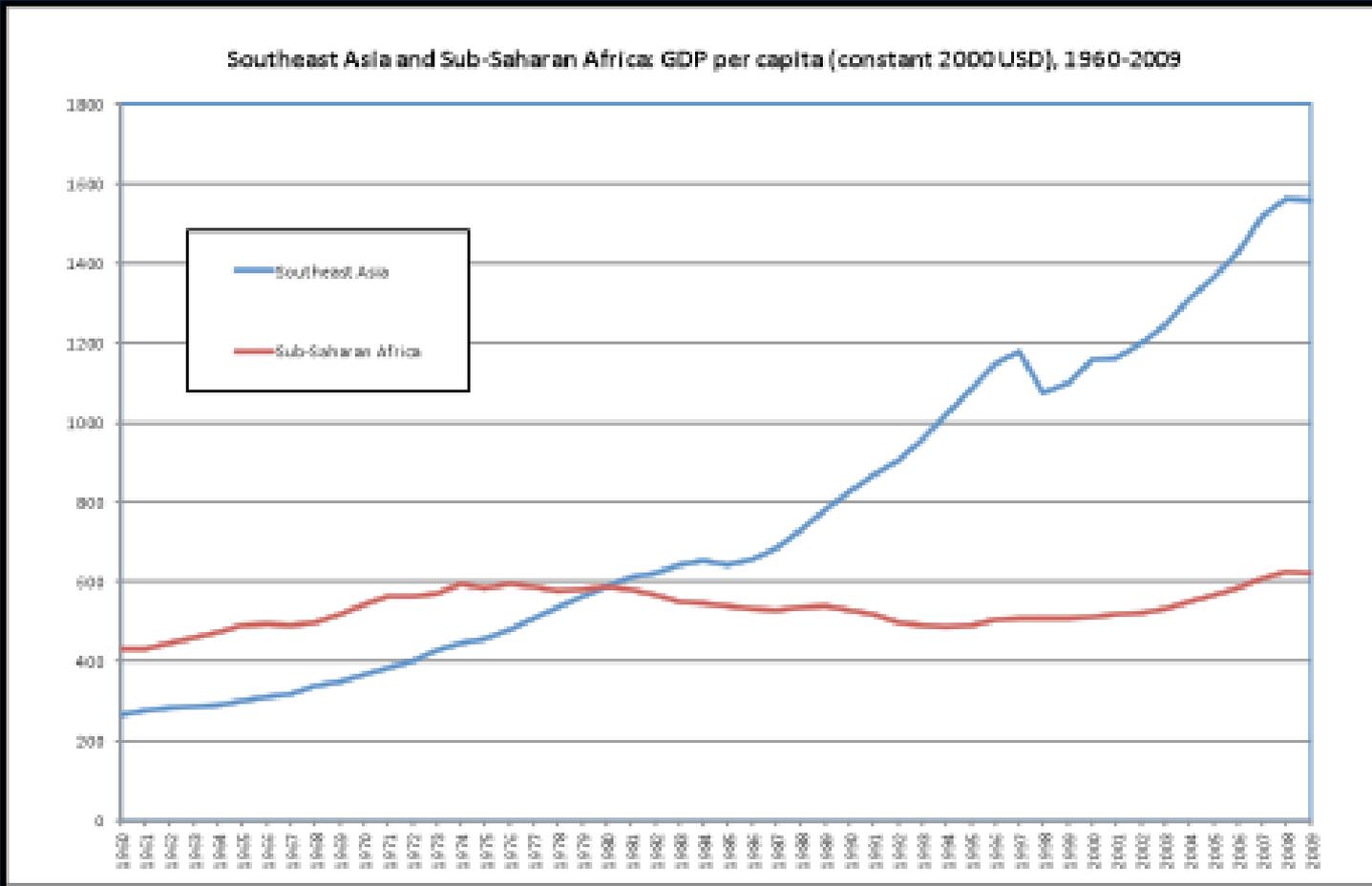
1. Align with the former colonist – maintain its interests and sustain military ties.
2. Continue allowing trade to occur, particularly between the wealthy and the former colonists, but tax the exports.
3. Invest the resources from the tax into projects that sustained the winning coalition.
4. Staff the military with political allies – which is not necessarily compatible with competence.



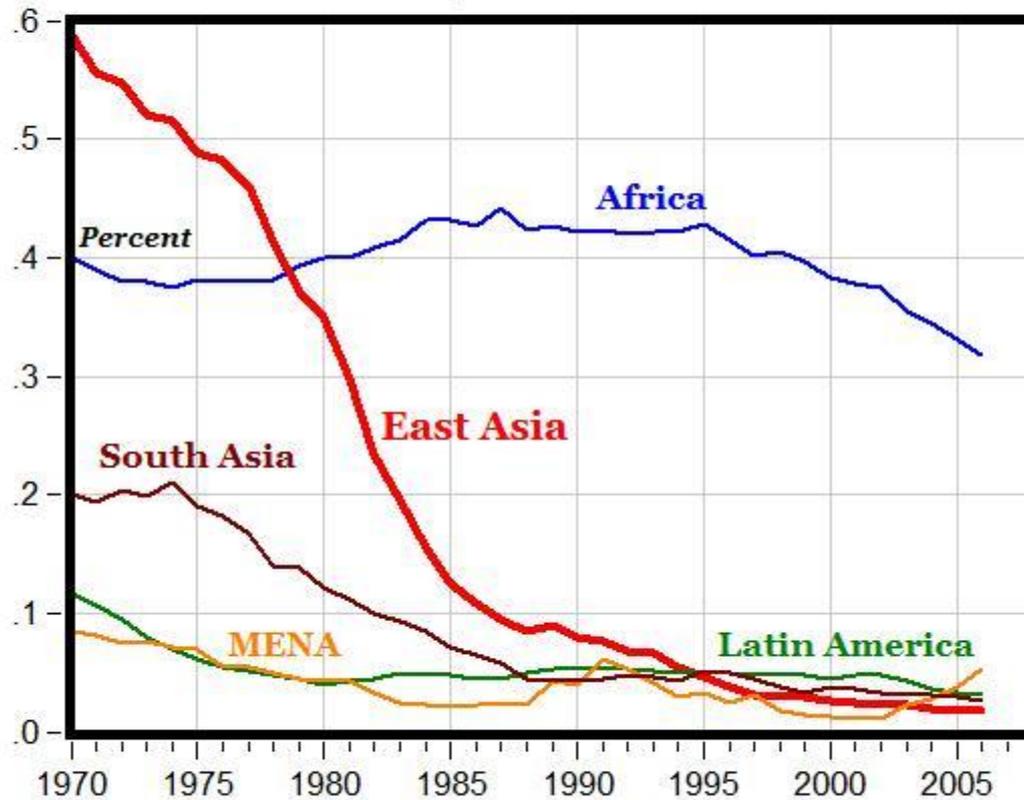
Create an Alliance of Ex-Colonists and Local Elites with Capital

- In essence, the incentive on the part of leaders was to maintain the status quo in order to maintain the survival of the state.
- Doing so allowed her to tap the resources of the colonial powers – which kept the structure of the state intact.
- And, allowed her to co-opt factions that might depose her, while simultaneously weakening factions that might challenge.
- But, this stagnates Africa economically and politically. Paradoxically, state survival meant that the state had to remain weak.

Consequences

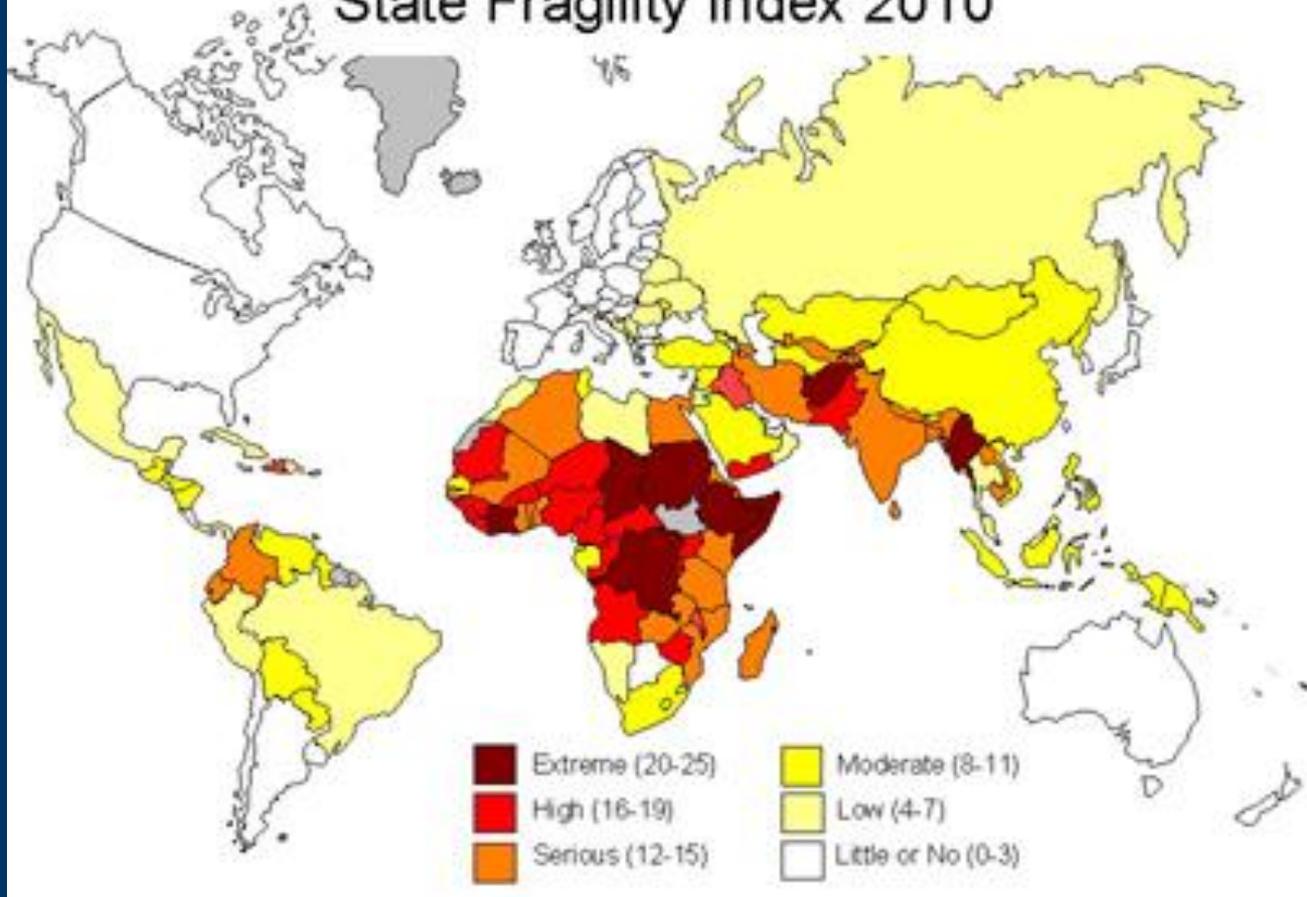


Regional Poverty Rates (\$1/Day) 1970-2006



Source: Maxim Pinkovskiy and Xavier Sala-i-Martin
NBER Working Paper No. 15433

State Fragility Index 2010



Foundations of the Weak State System

- Decolonization leads to states that lack the material resources to maintain monopoly on violence.
- This created incentives for elites to fragment opposition, co-opt centers that could maintain power.
- But in doing so, this stifled the ability of African economies to move beyond role as servicer to the colonists.
- And, it substantially stifled the development of a private sector and democratic development.
- Also has created a propensity for coups – since militaries are often guardians of small coalitions, temptation to undo democracy if it will shift political power away.

The End of the Cold War and the African Economic Crisis

- We've discussed how the Cold War served as a boon to many of the African states.
- It was seen as a way to increase numerous regimes' capital so they could sustain their patronage networks.
- By the 1980s, however, many of the African states were facing significant financial crises that threatened the survival of their regimes.
- Today we'll discuss financial crises and how they occur.
- Next time, we'll discuss how the onset of financial crises served as a destabilizing force, and created significant security issues in the African states.

The Oil Crisis

- The start of Africa's debt problems can be attributed to the oil shocks of the 1970s.
- In 1973, OAPEC imposes an oil embargo to protest U.S. support for Israel in the Yom Kippur war.
- Supported by the oil producing African states.
- The rapid rise in oil prices quickly spills into other essential commodities – such as food and electricity.
- Increases the cost of basic materials.



Boon to the Oil Producers

- However, the oil crisis increased the cash reserves of Africa's oil producers.
- The money, however, was re-invested in the West where it would yield higher returns.
- And much of that money would be used to make loans to those African states that did not have oil.
- Theoretically, the money was loaned to these states so they could inject money into their economies to stimulate them.



But more importantly...

- The oil shocks increase the price of food.
- So food producers see a decrease in domestic demand, and a decrease in international demand.
- And, the war industry was declining.
- During the 1980s, Cold War heats up, but quickly begins to recede once Gorbachev comes to power.
- This begins the opening of former Communist countries, which allows for new markets to replace African ones.

The Dutch Disease

- This is a phenomena that occurs when a natural resource distorts markets for other goods.
- The high price of oil swelled the oil producer's currency reserves, and increased the value of their currencies.
- Therefore, oil became more expensive to buy, and African oil became less competitive than oil from other, more diverse economies.
- So the crisis would soon affect the oil producers as well.

Tight Money Policies and the Loss of Loans

- In the late 1970s, the U.S. is experiencing stagflation – a combination of inflation and recession.
- In 1979, new Fed Chairman Paul Volcker enacts tight money policies – which make loans more difficult.
- Pushes U.S. into recession, but also makes loans to African states harder, and dries up yet another source of income.
- Many African states are now faced with debts that they are unable to pay.



Stark Observations and Questions

- In 1970, African public debt is \$11 billion. By 2002, it is \$295 billion. This is a 2,581% increase in debt.
- Following the tight money policies, the interest rate on these debts increased substantially – making the payments harder.
- During the Cold War, this could be handled by diverting money from foreign aid.
- But, when the Cold War wanes, this becomes impossible.
- Question: how did African states get here?

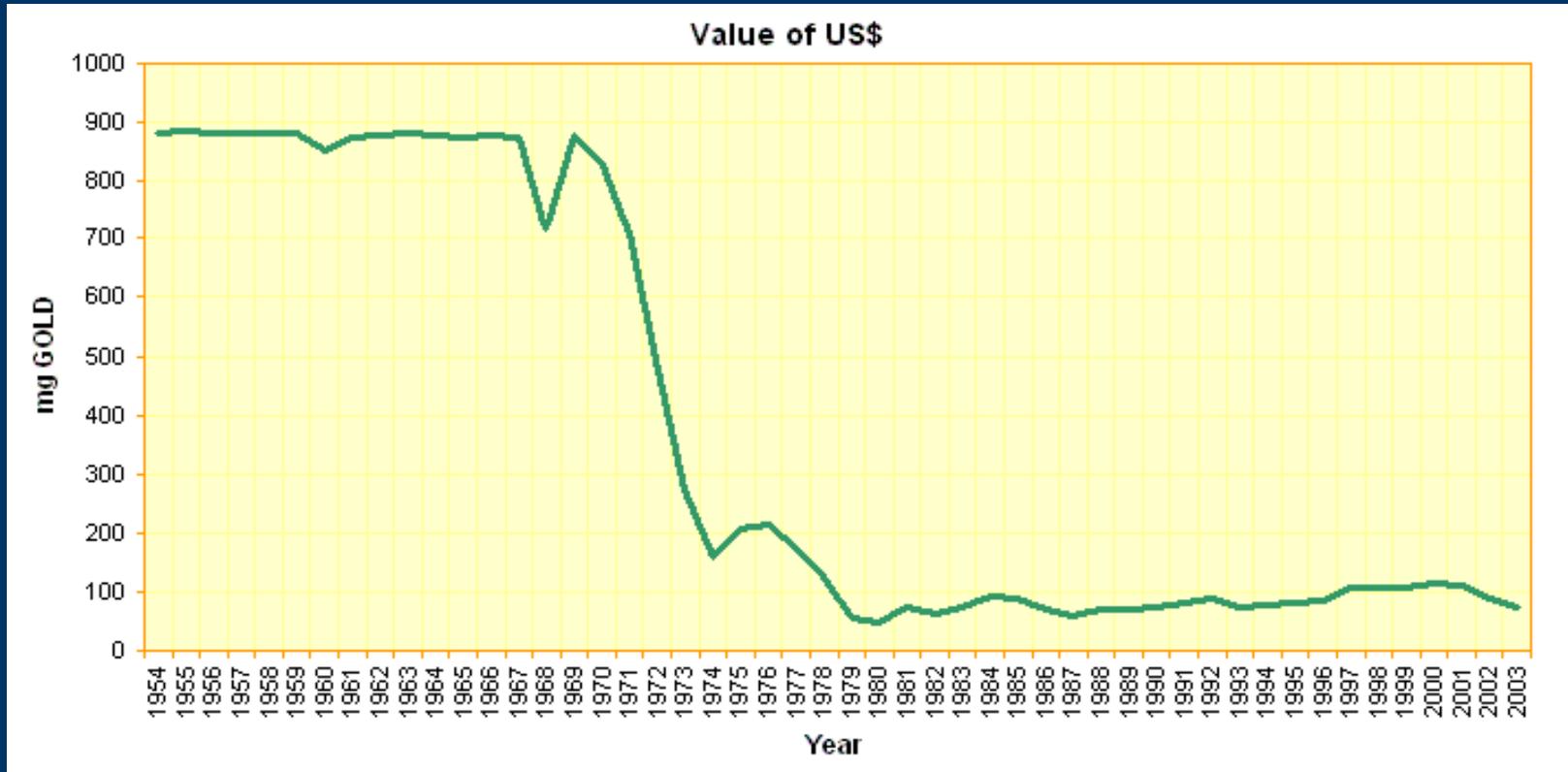
African Keynesianism

- Facing recessions following the oil shocks, numerous African states borrowed.
- The money could then be injected into the economy, but there was a problem here.
- The tools to inject the money into the economies were flawed, and typically involved state owned enterprises that were part of the patronage network.
- Another significant portion went to military expenditures, which are consumption goods.
- And another portion was lost through graft.

Could Oil Producers Weather the Storm?

- Not really. In 1970, Nixon removes the U.S. from the Gold Standard.
- Oil becomes based in dollars, so its price increases when dollar depreciates.
- But the converse is also true, the price of oil will decrease if dollars strengthen...
- Saudi increases in oil production coupled with U.S. interest rate hikes strengthen the dollar – and therefore decrease oil prices.
- Falling oil revenues therefore infect the African oil producers as well.

Fall in Dollar Values



Keeping in Power by Running Debt

- The value of African investments gradually begin to fall, and yield lower rates of return.
- But, in the early part of the 1970s, rules of global finance were starting to allow financial firms to assume greater risks – so money kept flowing in.
- In 1970, Africa's debt to the IMF and World Bank totals \$11 billion, by 2002 it is \$295 billion.
- But, the growth in debt levels coupled with declining abilities of these states to pay severely harms their credit ratings, and decreases the attractiveness of these states.

African Debt Crisis and the Pains of Austerity

- Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, numerous states were simply unable to repay debts.
- To keep payments and maintain credit, states severely cut back on social spending.
- But in many ways, this worsens the problem, because it prolongs recession in these states.
- African states unable to pay, and Western investors may lose substantial amounts of money.

The IMF and the World Bank to the Rescue

- The international institutions were willing to help the African states with more loans and debt rescheduling, but it required structural adjustment.
- **Structural Adjustment**: Changes required by the international institutions in the economies to allow for loans to be made, or the reschedule loans with lower interest payments.
- And, to qualify for the loans, newly independent countries needed to certify that they would be credible borrowers and would repay.
- Steps to certify a state as credible became known as the **Washington Consensus**.

The Washington Consensus

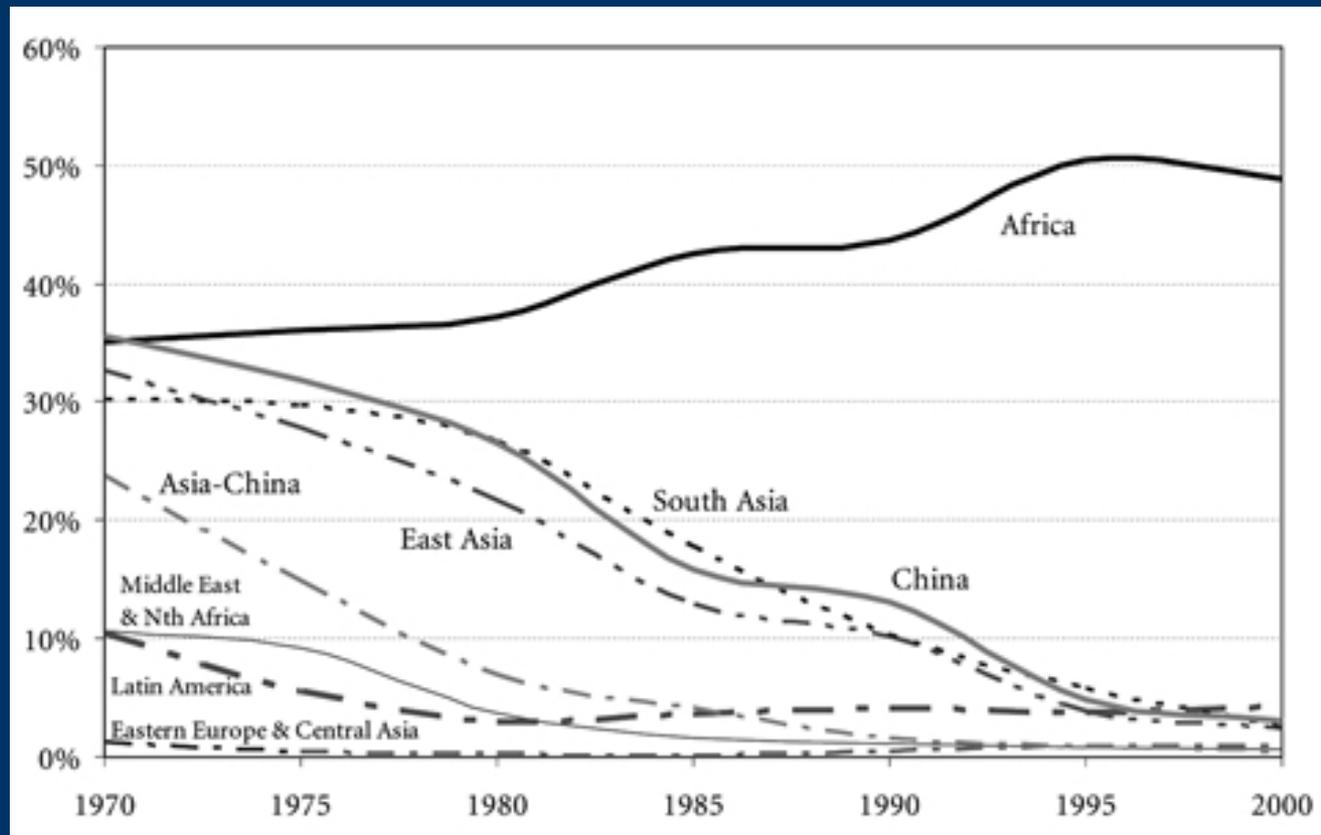
- Term coined in 1987, referring to reforms that countries would need to do to get financial assistance from IMF/World Bank.
- Goal is to expand the power of the market and weaken the control of the state.
- Think about this from the developing country perspective: asking you to weaken your own power, which is already tenuous.
- Criticism is that the power vacuum will be filled by multinationals from the West.



The Prescriptions

1. Fiscal discipline, movement away from entitlements to education, health, and infrastructure expenditures.
2. Decreasing taxes, competitive exchange and interest rates.
3. Trade liberalization – removal of protective barriers and property rights infringements.
4. Privatization and de-regulation of state controlled enterprises.

Effects. Poverty Rates – Percent Living on \$1.50 per day

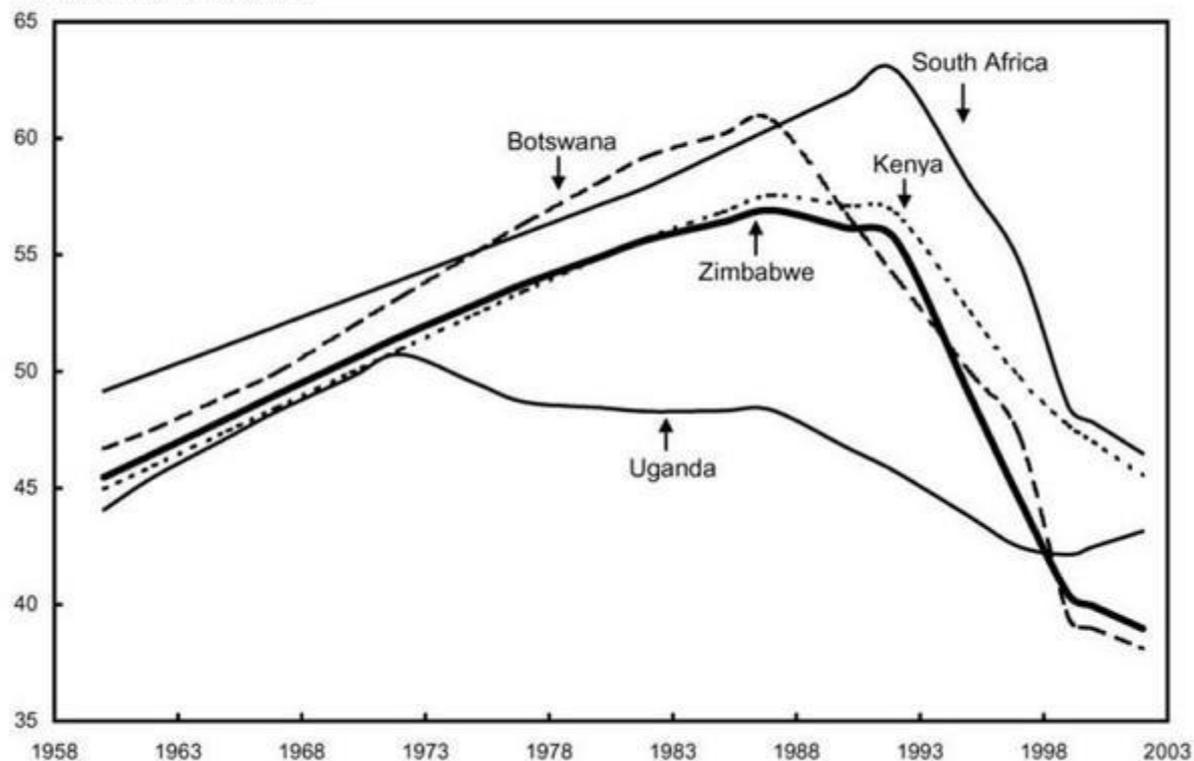


Effects. Life Expectancy

Chart 7-2 **Changes in Life Expectancy, 1960 to 2002**

Life expectancy has fallen dramatically in these selected hard-hit African countries.

Life expectancy at birth (years)



Source: World Bank, *World Development Indicators*, 2004.

Further Weakening of the State

- The prescriptions require destabilizing the public enterprises that were at the heart of the patronage network.
- It also required moves away from Import-substituting Industrialization (ISI).
- **ISI**: Replace foreign imports of manufactures with domestic production through government incentives.
- Although move away from ISI would produce efficiency, it would hamper the ability of the African states to build modern economies.
- And, it would allow both sectors to be dominated by multinationals.

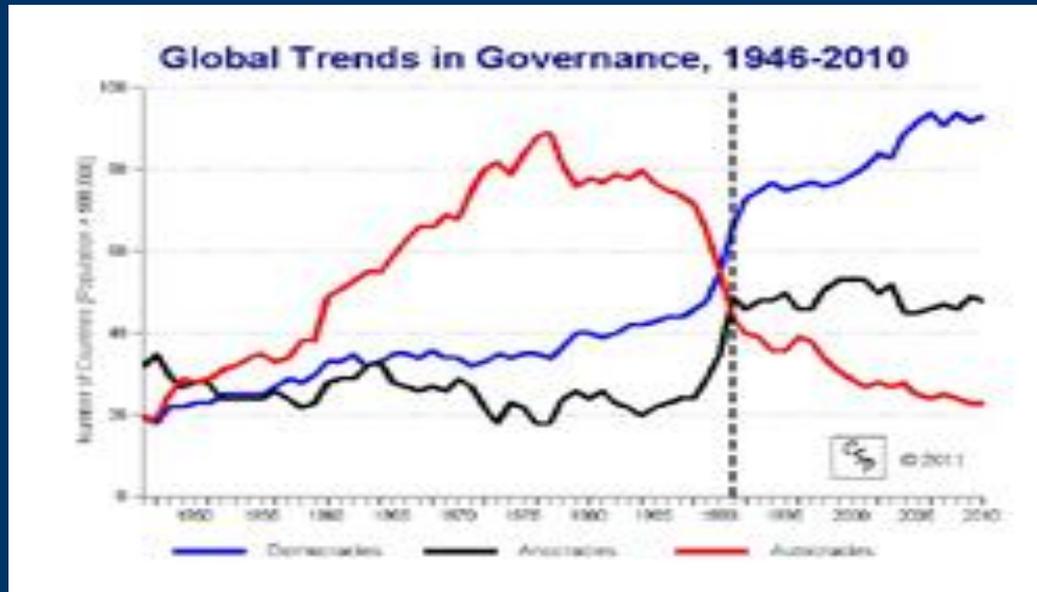
So, to Save the State, Jeopardize it...

- In essence, the states were being asked to compromise their own hold on power to get the money to pay back debt and function.
- This is obviously a tough position for any leader to be in.
- Debt repayments coupled with loss of control over the market creates a situation where states appear efficient.
- World Bank and IMF proclaim some success, but...
- The weakening of the state would have security implications.

Democracy to the Rescue

- Key to maintaining power was to buy off local elites while appeasing the military.
- Now, the African regimes could do neither.
- The local elites and military rulers begin searching for rulers that will protect their interests.
- And, they had an interesting strategy: call for democratization by attacking corruption and the one party political state.
- Knowing it would be appealing to the Western powers, local elites begin using the language of democratization to push for changes.

The Democratic Wave



- The OAU declares in July 1990 that states need to promote participatory government.
- By 1991, the majority of African regimes commit to holding multi-party elections.
- Great powers declare their commitment to democratization process.

The Leaders' Response to Opposition

- The leaders now faced viable challenges to their supremacy.
- So, to stay in power, the leaders required some other network or political base.
- The solution? **Ethnic politics.**
- Instead of relying on Western support to maintain power...
- Leaders could present themselves as defenders of their ethnic kin, or defenders against ethnic conflict.

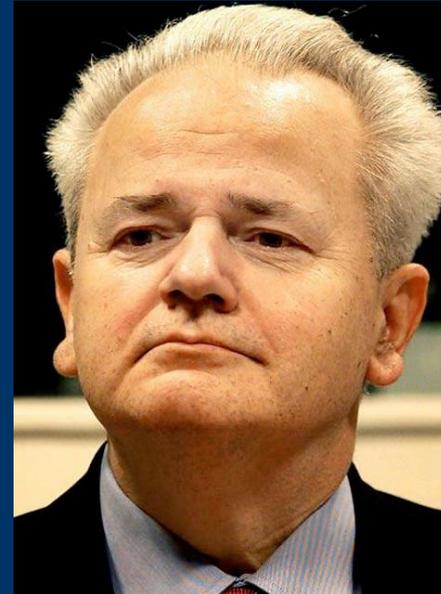


Retreat to Ethnic Politics

- It makes sense, given that the legitimacy of the state was in question in nearly every country.
- Therefore, the leaderships had to find another means to maintain legitimacy. This came by presenting as protectors of a particular ethnic group or defenders of peace.
- We therefore see a further weakening of an already weak central state, and a fractionalization of these states into “ethnic” groups.
- African politics becomes increasingly ‘ethnic’ and moves away from collectivist and Pan-African rhetoric.
- End of ‘Africa for Africans.’

The Poison

- Unfortunately, while this was expedient politically, this creates what is known as a security dilemma.
- This phenomenon is also known as a conflict spiral, where two groups rationally move toward conflict instead of cooperation.
- Observable in the former Yugoslavia and ex Soviet Republics at the start of the 1990s.



Understanding Ethnic Conflict

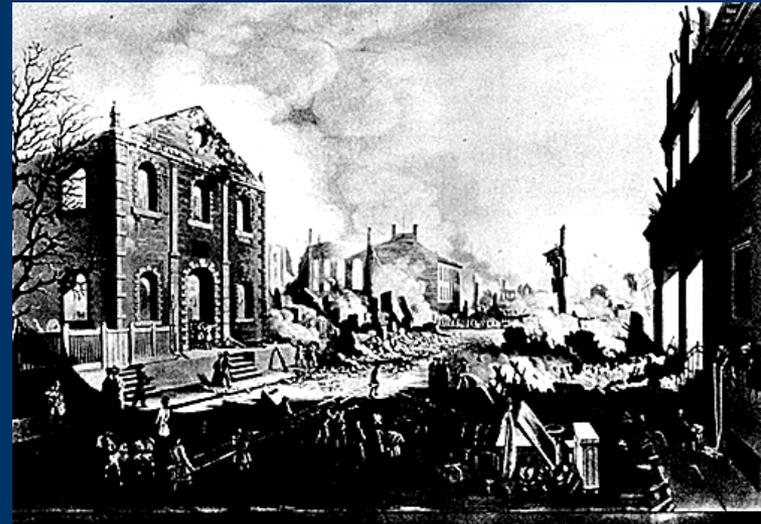
- **Primordialism**: Ethnic violence the results of ancient hatreds that are intractable.
- But empirically, these conflicts are rare – which suggests that different ethnic groups do not naturally gravitate toward violence.
- Rationally, violence is **costly** for people - it is dangerous and it is unclear if anything will come of using it.
- Therefore, since violence guarantees cost and is risky, people do not naturally prefer violence.
- Instead, people should prefer resolving disputes peacefully.

Understanding Ethnic Conflict

- Why peacefully?
- Answer comes from a study done by Robert Axelrod in his work *The Evolution of Cooperation*.
- Axelrod argues that even if two sides have incentives to exploit each other for resources, the prospect of future interactions should encourage cooperation.
- Example. Buying a car versus applying for a job.

Rational Choice Explanation

- But what if the shadow of the future appears short?
- In this case, cooperation can be achieved between societal groups if they are capable of in-group enforcement.
- David Laitin's example of Jewish/Italian relationships.
- The groups do not rely on the government, they rely on elites within the groups to punish opportunists.



Rational Choice Explanation

- But, what if the shadow of the future is short and there is no in group enforcement?
- In this case, you need government to enforce. Government institutions are designed to resolve political conflict and prevent political violence.
- Government protects property rights, resolves civil suits, prosecutes criminals.
- Effective governments minimize political violence by resolving disputes peacefully.

But then...why does violence occur?

- If there is no shadow of the future, no in-group enforcement, and no government institution that has enforcement power, individuals will have to resort to self help.
- Therefore, for protection, people will believe that they must help themselves.
- People may form security organizations, armies, or gangs in an effort to protect from another group.
- If there's nothing to protect you from the out group, there is no choice but to protect yourself as an in group.

The Rational Response

- If people protect themselves, they won't be exploited.
- But...this does not think strategically.
- If one group arms itself against another, the other group must arm itself to protect against the first group.
- **Notice - neither side is inherently aggressive or evil - both sides would avoid violence if they could.**
- But, because there is a breakdown in the possibilities for peaceful resolution, we get a conflict spiral in a weak institutional environment.

This is the African State System

- This problem is known as the security dilemma.
- For protection, one side should rationally develop defense capabilities. But, the simple act of developing defense capabilities forces the opposing side to do the same.
- If either side fears that they are getting too weak relative to their opponent, they may face a commitment problem and conflict may occur.
- This is the environment sides were facing – and now, African leaders were stoking the fires to maintain power.
- Ethnic groups coalesce into parties, making political competition a fight for economic and in some cases, physical survival.

Democracy and the Commitment Problem

- Recall that once a party takes control of the state's apparatus, they were free to undermine their opponents.
- Since losing and minority parties recognize this, they don't accept their status.
- Instead, they mobilize to fight and challenge the center.
- Or, in a fewer cases, they mobilize for secession.



Algeria 1991-1992

- Dec. 1991. Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) wins Algerian elections.
- In Jan. 1992, Algerian military nullifies first round result and violently represses FIS.
- Algerian military next adopts a pro-West orientation, and is allowed to stay to fight the splinter Armed Islamic Group (GIA).
- FIS and GIA ultimately suppressed.



Algeria 1991-1992

- What happens here?
- Algeria is preventing from moving away from a pro-Western orientation.
- It results in a civil war that was quite damaging, but for the West, this was not very costly.
- And it keeps Algeria in its status quo position.
- Democracy therefore cements Algeria's weakness, and dependence on external support.



The Collapse of the African State

- These pressures led to a considerable rise in political violence and civil wars in Africa.
- In the late 1980s and 1990s, conflict erupts in Ethiopia, Mozambique, Angola, Algeria, Uganda, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Somalia, Burundi, Rwanda, Sudan, the Central African Republic, Congo-Brazzaville, and Zaire.
- Each of these conflicts stems from one of two causes: the transition to democracy coupled with the end of the Cold War.
- Both facets led to a rise in ethnic based and religious based politics.
- And, foreign forces typically sustained this in a way that benefited themselves.

The Search for Stability and Investment

- Democratization allows many of the new leaderships to marginalize their opponents.
- This fear led to the onset of several internal conflicts triggered by commitment problems.
- However, leaders could stay in power if they appeased their inner circles and kept control of their militaries.
- This would take resources.

Where are the Resources?

- Leaderships needed commodities to export, and needed to attract investment.
- Yet, with wars throughout the continent, this wasn't an attractive investment climate.
- So, leaders needed to make their state so attractive that it couldn't be ignored.
- How to do this?

Consolidate Territory

- The payoff for investing in a particular state is a function of how much territory is in the government's hands.
- If governments controlled little, they probably would attract minimal investment.
- But, if they controlled more, they might be able to attract more.
- This would be especially true if there were potential for resources in newly acquired territories.

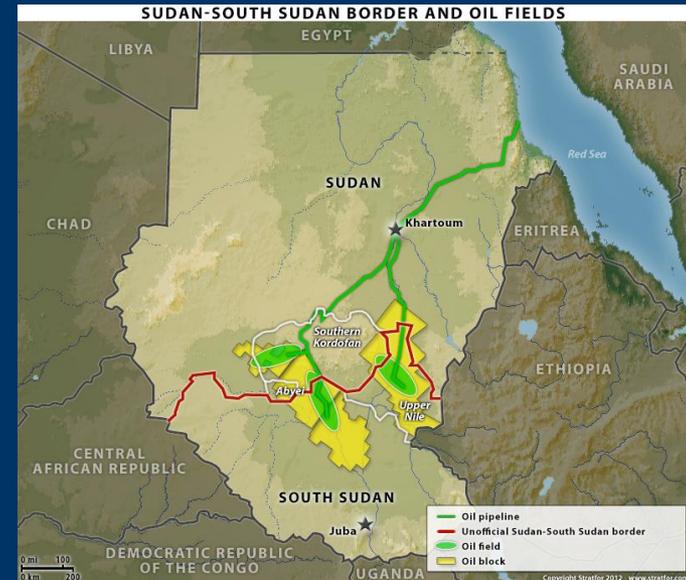
Motivation to Expand the State

- Expanding the government's realm of control would lead to greater potential resources.
- This would potentially produce more revenue for a leader's inner circle.
- And, it would provide for greater resources coming from the outside.
- Which in turn, would increase the leader's hold on power.



Why? Power is Endogenous to Territory

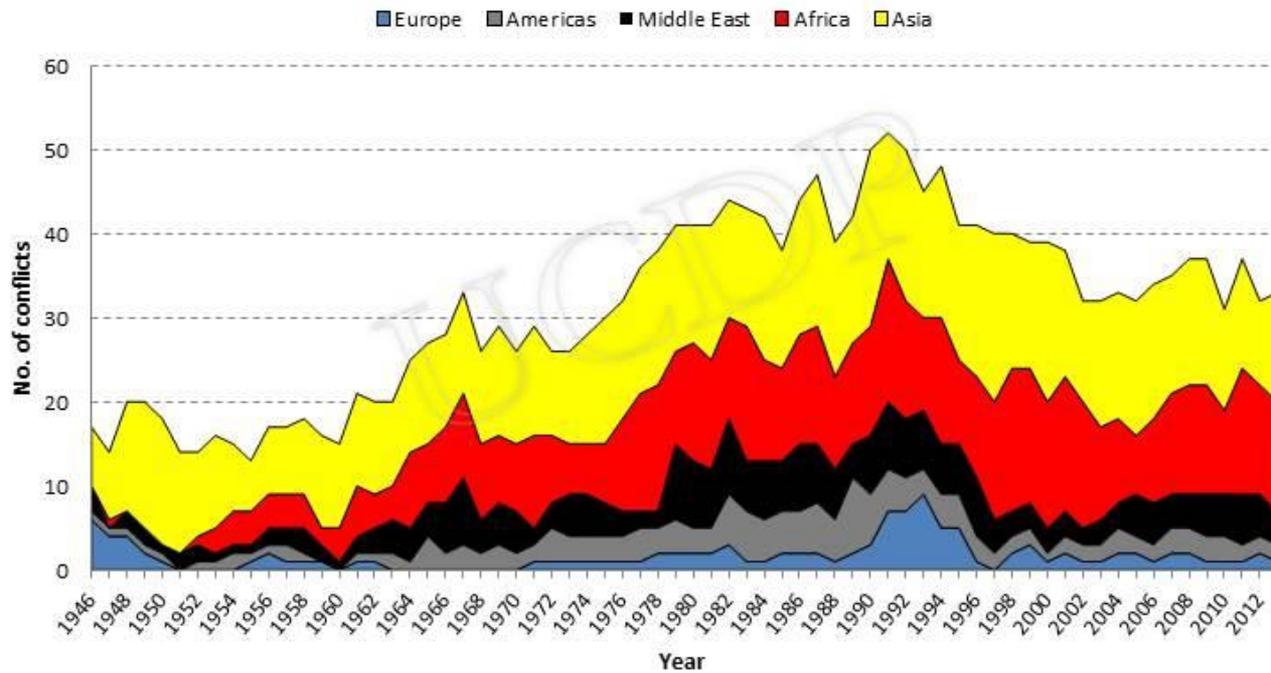
- Powell (2006) argues that a state's military power is a function of the territory it controls.
- The government's power increases if it controls more territory.
- So if a state is only policing its capital, it has fewer resources to draw on.
- But...if a state could expand – it could control more territory, draw more resources, and increase its power.



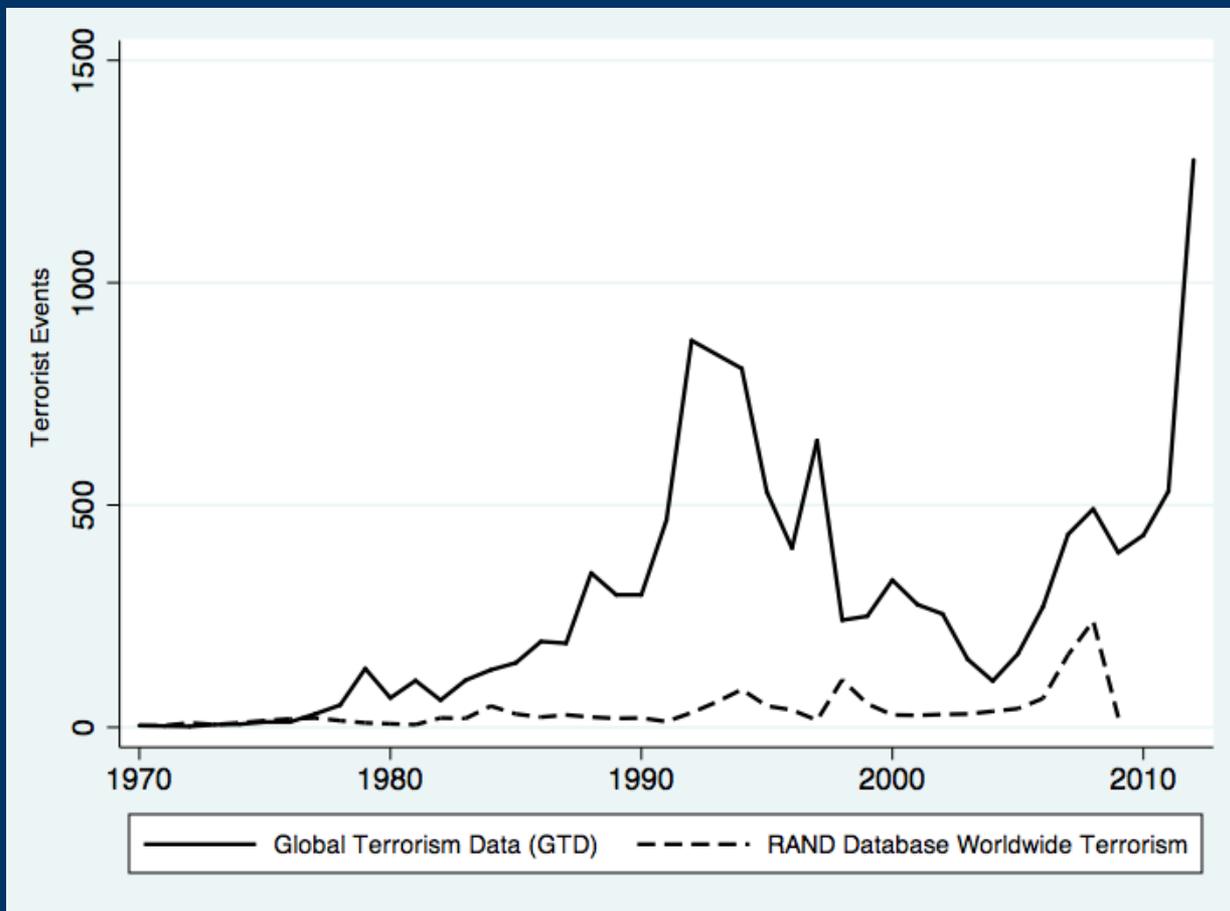
Outsource Coercive Diplomacy

- Rather than use their own militaries, governments could contract with insurgencies to assist them.
- Insurgencies could prevent competitor governments from consolidating their territory.
- Alternatively, governments could align with major powers and try to get them to provide stability.
- The major powers could protect the governments in exchange for favorable access to markets and territory.

Armed Conflict by Region, 1946-2013



Transnational Terrorism in Africa: 1970 - 2012



Conflict at the Cold War's End: Somalia

- In 1991, with waning U.S. support, government of Siad Barre collapses. Somali National Army disbands, clans become dominant units.
- Following an impending humanitarian crisis, the UN authorizes a stabilization force led by the U.S. to provide humanitarian support to Somalia in Dec. 1992.
- However, the force is quickly embroiled in inter-clan fighting.
- 1993 Battle of Mogadishu takes place, which compels U.S. to withdraw in March 1995, followed by the UN.
- Somalia then teeters on total collapse, with two regions seceding and intense fighting in the center.

Division of Somali Territory



Further Decentralization and Failure

- Somaliland and Puntland informally secede from Somalia.
- Decentralization takes place throughout the rest of the states.
- From decentralization, local judicial systems emerge, most based on some form of Sharia law.
- The most successful of these was the Islamic Courts Union (ICU), which assumed control over most of the south.



The Transitional Government(s)

- The Transitional National Government forms at the Somali National Peace Conference in 2000.
- Fails to take control from the Somali Reconciliation and Restoration Council, due to its own internal issues.
- In Nov. 2004, it is replaced by the Transitional Federal Government (TFG), which is supported by the U.N. and the U.S.
- Has weak public support, and performs poorly in its conflict with the Islamic Courts.



Advance of the Islamic Courts

- Gradually, the ICU assumes control over much of the southern portion of the country.
- Following the defeat of the Alliance for the Restoration of Peace and Counter-terrorism in February 2007 at the Second Battle of Mogadishu, victory seems at hand.
- With exception of Somaliland and Puntland, all of the major cities are under the control of the ICU.
- However, reported links between ICU and al Qaeda lead to...



Intervention

- In December 2006, Ethiopian troops supported by the AU and U.S. air support attack the ICU.
- In January 2007, the TFG takes control of Mogadishu.
- The ICU fractures into several movements that begin insurgency operations.
- Insurgency goes well – TFG controls 70% of Somali territory at the start of 2009, but loses control of 80% of the country by the end of the year.
- TFG agrees to re-implement Sharia law and allies itself with the ICU.



The Rise of Al Shabaab

- Al Shabaab emerges from the splintering in 2007.
- Using terrorism, the group assumes control of significant portions of Mogadishu.
- However, the group is beset by internal and external rivalries.
- Following TFG alliance with the ICU, and adoption of Sharia law, Al Shabaab is pushed out of Mogadishu in 2011.
- Recently, it has engaged in conflict with other Islamic militants.



But, as of 2012, situation is worse...



Current Status of Al Shabaab

- Joint mission takes control of Mogadishu in Aug. 2011. Federal Government of Somalia forms in Aug. 2012.
- Elections in Sept. 2012 appear successful – Mohamud defeats Ahmed and the result is accepted.
- Al Shabaab weakened but still active, and reports are that the group allying with al Qaeda like groups and anti-Ugandan groups in the DRC.
- Recent attacks like the Westgate Mall attack in Nairobi. However...
- Indiscriminate attacks, coupled with improved political situation, suggest that Al Shabaab's power is declining.
- Gains do appear delicate...

Militancy Spreads

- Though rare, terrorist groups do appear on the rise in the North.
- The Arab Spring leads to an uprising in Benghazi in February 2011.
- Soon after, Gadhafi announces his intention to “crush” the rebels and pushes eastward.
- UN intervenes by imposing a no fly zone – which effectively provides support to the rebels.
- The rebels take Tripoli by September.



Coalition Splits

- Lacking a common security challenge, infighting begins in the movement.
- The fundamentalist Ansar al Sharia emerges as one of the major challengers to Libyan stability (attacks U.S. consulate on 9/11).
- Is now taking steps to control Benghazi, Derna, and parts of Ajdabya and Sirte.
- Other militant groups emerge in Tripoli to create a general sense of lawlessness.
- Bears some resemblance to breakdown of Somali state. Fighting continues between Salafist factions, Gadhafi loyalists, and various others.
- **Problem of moral hazard.**

Westward Spread: Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb

- Al Qaeda cells present in Algeria prior to Libyan conflict.
- Group's predecessor is the Islamic Group for Call and Combat, which is derivative from the notorious Armed Islamic Group (GIA).
- Group nearly dissolves in 2005 after leader Hassan Hattab accepts government amnesty.
- Remainers coalesce with Zawahiri in a "blessed union" to form al Qaeda affiliate in Algeria.



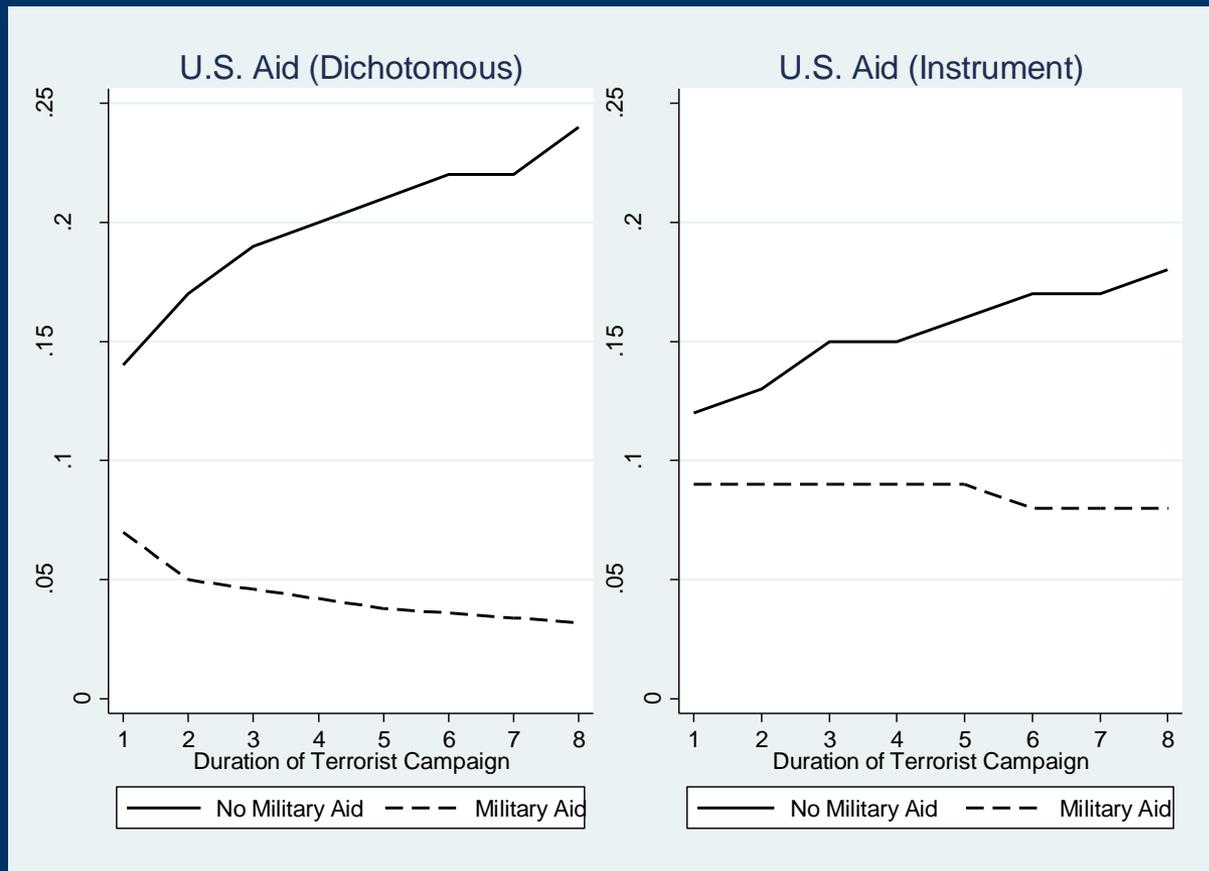
Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb

- Group's near enemy are the regimes of Western African states, but its far enemies include the U.S., France, and Spain.
- Estimated to have about 4,000 fighters.
- Gains resources through kidnappings of humanitarian workers and other Westerners, which has been lucrative.
- However, group appears prone to infighting.
- Splits in 2011 to form another group called Movement for Oneness and Jihad in West Africa.
- Splits again in 2012 led by top commander Mokhtar Belmokhtar.
- Group appears far less threatening upon further examination...

Moral Hazard in Counterterrorism

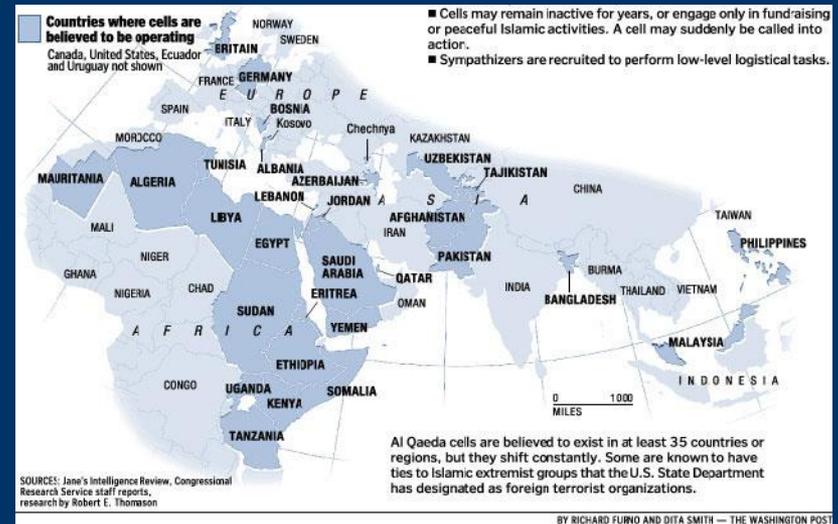
- The war itself is not a large threat to Algeria's survival, but if the war ends, Algeria would lose access to military support.
- Therefore, Algeria would have little incentive to terminate the conflict.
- Incentive will be to keep some threat of internal conflict alive in order to maximize security.
- Perversely, foreign support to end internal violence may prolong it!
- This moral hazard problem appears to be systematic when support is provided against terrorism.

Effect of Military Aid on Years Until Terrorist Group Collapses



How Strong is al Qaeda?

- Is every rebellion in the world was tied to al Qaeda?
- Since the U.S. is committed to fighting al Qaeda, incentive is to conflate rebellion with terrorism.
- But did al Qaeda get this strong overnight? Probably not.
- States recognize the opportunity to expand cooperation, eliminate domestic adversaries, and cement control.



Having Said That, These Groups can Genuinely be Strong

- Let us examine the case of Mali.
- Fighters move from Algeria and Libya into northern Mali following the war.
- Co-opt Tuareg rebellion in Mali in 2012.
- Group known as Ansar al Dine forms – which is an al Qaeda affiliate.
- Limited central government capacity and underlying hostility to center from Tuaregs opens opportunity for the cell.



Co-opting the Tuaregs

- Due to unrest in the South, military units in the north were not getting resupplied or paid.
- The army quickly dissolves in the north, allowing the rebels to proclaim a new state of Azawad.
- However, Ansar al Dine turns against the Tuareg National Movement for the Liberation of Azawad (NMLA).
- Ansar al Dine engages in a war to impose Sharia law in the north.
- Meanwhile, junior officers stage a coup in the south, raising instability and ushering in a humanitarian crisis.



French and African Union Intervention

- Following request from new government, France begins military operations in January 2013.
- After brokering a government deal, African Union also join the Malian military.
- Following several victories, the government and Tuaregs reach a deal in June 2013 to fight Islamists.
- However, Tuaregs announce the end of the ceasefire in September following a shooting.
- Although sporadic attacks continue, conflict appears over – but required intervention.



Long Term Stability in Mali?

- Very unclear – although civil war stopped, no evidence that terrorism will stop.
- Ansar al Dine still has backers from AQIM, with large bank accounts.
- NMLA also declared an end to the cease fire in September 2013.
- Political situation in Bamako still unstable.
- France continues to withdraw forces, though some will be replaced by UN forces.
- Economy expanding, but situation is still tenuous.

Instability in the Ivory Coast

- Nov. 2010. violence followed an election in which long time ruler Gbagbo lost to opposition leader Ouattara.
- Paramilitary groups formed, fighting began on Liberian border, and refugees began flowing out.
- In 2011, Ouattara's forces supported by the French overran Gbagbo's, and he was sent to the Hague for trial.
- UN estimates that violence causes 3,000 deaths.



Boko Haram

- Translates to ‘non-Islamic’ education is a sin.
- Roots in Mohammad Yusuf’s 2002 organization known as the Nigerian Taliban.
- Organization exiled following Yusuf’s death in 2009, but returns to Nigeria in 2010 under leadership of Abubakar Shekau.
- Extreme religious organization subscribing to a very strict set of interpreted Islamic rules.
- Has very high barriers to entry.
- Group’s origins are in theft, but money provided support for widows of its members.

Striking Features

- Little external funding – members are poor.
- Members do not appear to gain financially or politically. Instead, code focuses on sacrifice and makes it very difficult for people to join.
- Joining is a signal of loyalty and trustworthiness – if someone sacrifices this much, they are more likely to cooperate.
- Decentralized structure.
- Responsible for 801 recorded attacks and 3,666 fatalities from 2009-2013.
- Infamous freeing of 700 prisoners in 2010



Trajectory

- High barriers to entry undermines splintering.
- One case is with Ansaru in January 2012, left due to protests against violence against civilians.
- Ansaru's leadership punished by Shekau.
- Proposals made by Nigeria to provide Boko Haram with amnesty have been unsuccessful.
- Likely reason is the internal discipline.
- Danger for Boko Haram is the possibility of excess, which might separate them from their target



Nigeria's Other Challenge: Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND)

- Group began operating in 2006 with the goal of spreading oil wealth to the people of the Niger Delta.
- Has been responsible for numerous attacks on oil installations in the region.
- Tactics focus on kidnappings, ransom, extortion, and racketeering.
- Diversity of ideologies and little command structure. Leaders often compete.
- Leaders include Henry Okah, Jomo Gbomo, Gen. Boyloaf, Tompolo, and



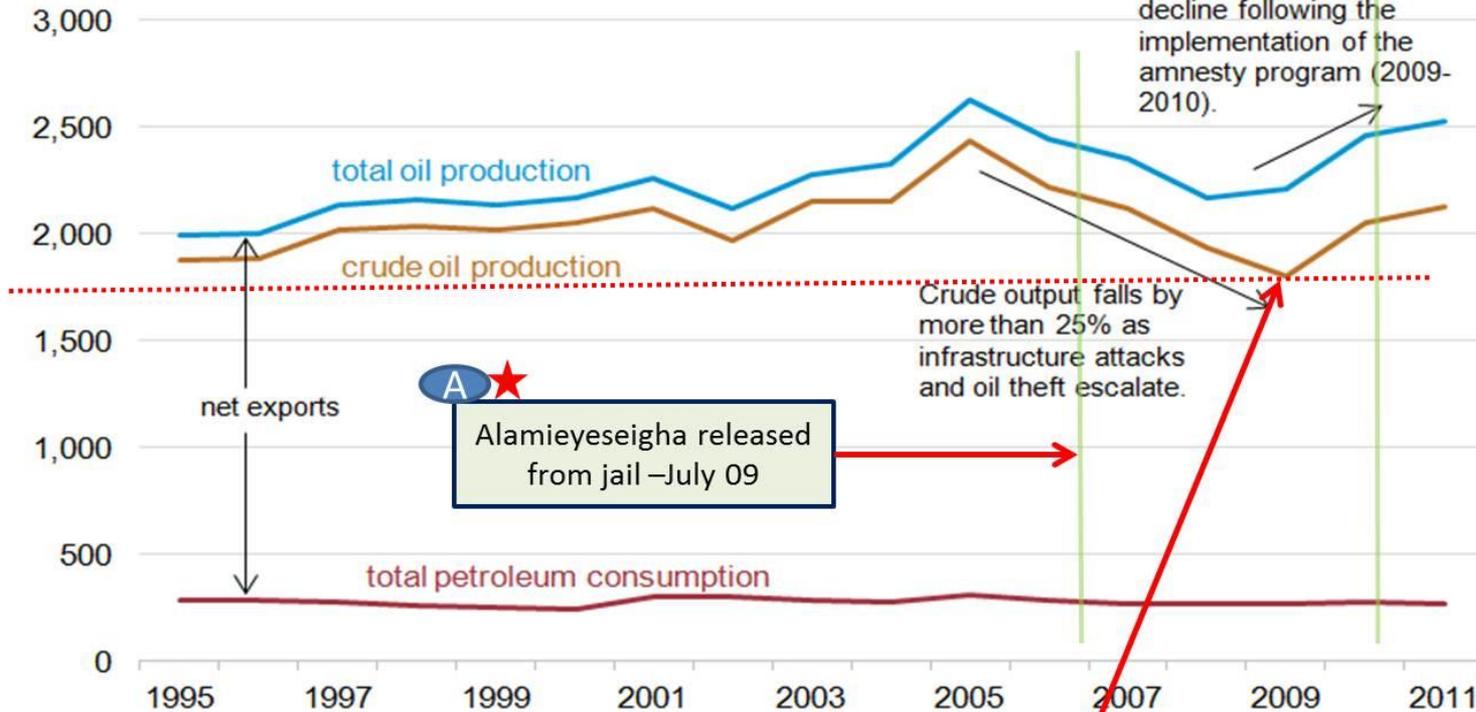
Grievances

- Nigeria is the fourth largest supplier of crude oil to the U.S.
- Damage done by extractive policies of oil industry are quite severe.
- Produces about one full scale Deepwater Horizon type spill per year.
- Life expectancy in these communities has fallen to about 40 years.
- Few of these spills are cleaned up, and few precautions are taken to manage them.



Oil production and consumption in Nigeria, 1995-2011

thousand barrels per day



C ★ Amnesty offered to Niger Delta militants

Attacks on oil facilities decline following the implementation of the amnesty program (2009-2010).

Crude output falls by more than 25% as infrastructure attacks and oil theft escalate.

A ★ Alamiyeseigha released from jail - July 09

B ★ Minimum rates: 1.75 million barrels



Source: U.S. Energy Information Administration

MEND Trajectory

- Okah arrested in 2009. Boyloaf accepts government amnesty. Other leaders follow.
- Amnesty offered ‘retraining’ for several of the fighters and limited jobs. Rewards MEND’s leadership considerably.
- Did not address underlying issues in the delta, like pollution or inequality.
- Amnesty over in 2015, elections are coming up, violence is low but rising.
- Interestingly, MEND fighters recently offered to help against Boko Haram.



Rebellion in Rwanda

- In October 1990, the RPF invades Rwanda from Uganda, but is turned back.
- It then begins an insurgency led by Paul Kagame against Habyarimana's government.
- The government attempts to negotiate with the RPF.
- However, a substantial political movement known as Hutu Power forms, encouraging 'no mercy' for Tutsi.
- Begins assuming information systems within Rwanda.



The Arusha Accords

- After 2.5 years of conflict with the RPF, Habyarimana agrees to negotiate.
- The 1993 Arusha Accords were a power sharing deal intended to pacify the Tutsi, but...
- Soon after, in April 1994, Habyarimana is killed in a mysterious attack on his plane.
- The crash is blamed on the RPF, which is the trigger for the genocide.



The War

- Citizen militias form on both sides.
- 10,000 per day, 400 per hour, 7 per minute.
- About 20% of Rwanda's population perished.
- RPF invades in the chaos.
- By July 1994, the RPF take control of Kigali and the state of Rwanda.
- New accounts of the war suggest it was not one sided – there simply were not enough Tutsi for it to be a clear case of genocide.



Malice Toward None?

- Two million Hutu flee the country and cross into Zaire.
- Why? There's a commitment problem once Kagame consolidates his power.
- Interahamwe melts into the refugee population, and begins staging raids into Rwanda.
- They also elicit the support of Zairean dictator Mobutu, and reports surface that they are planning to re-invade.

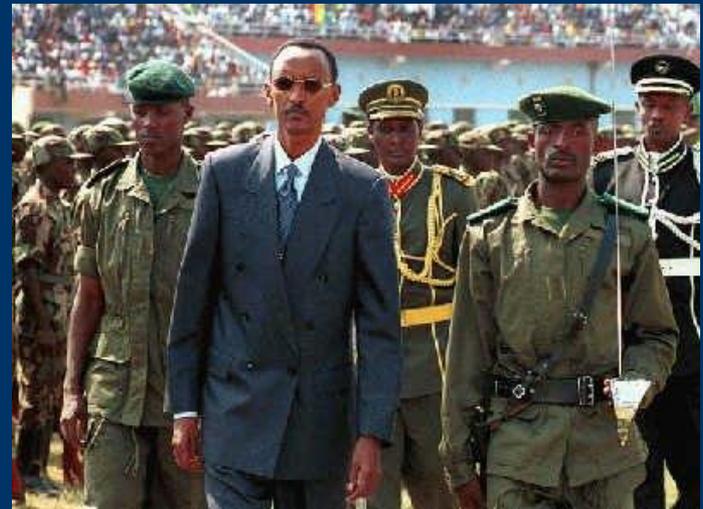


First Take on the Congo War

- Having just experienced the genocide, Rwanda had no choice but to invade to disarm *interahamwe*.
- Mobutu was too corrupt, and far too weak militarily, to disarm the militias himself.
- Therefore, no deal was possible, even though it was preferable.
- Rwanda, along with Uganda, invades Zaire in 1996. Angola also invades from the West in 1997 to undermine Mobutu's support for UNITA.

Terrorism and Opportunity

- *Interahamwe* attacks do come from Zaire against Rwanda.
- But if they were defeated the first time, is it really feasible that they could re-invade, even with Mobutu's help?
- Even if not, the “new African leader” Kagame had a great story...
- He would defend his state and protect the Banyamulenge (ethnic Tutsi) by staging a preemptive strike against genocide.
- Who wouldn't favor a pre-emptive strike against genocide?



But Kabila Fails...

- In 1998, Kabila turns against Rwanda, Uganda, and Burundi.
- Rather than terminating Hutu militias, he encourages them to fight Rwanda.
- Rwanda therefore has no choice but to invade again, this time by supporting the Rally for Congolese Democracy (RCD).
- Support for Kabila produces moral hazard, and his weakness again compels Rwanda to start a war.
- This time, Angola, Namibia, and Zimbabwe intervene on behalf of Kabila, triggering the World War.



Peace?

- 1999. Rifts erupt between the Rwandan Rally for Congolese Democracy (RCD) and the Ugandan Congolese Liberation Movement (MLC).
- Ceasefire is signed in July.
- February 2001. Kabila and Kagame agree to U.N. pullout plan.
- July – September 2002. Peace deal signed with both Rwanda and Uganda, both states agree to begin withdrawing forces.



**The Politico-Military Zones of the
Democratic Republic of Congo
January 2000**

Look at What Happens...

- RCD-Goma leader Laurent Nkunda agrees to join the central army of the DRC in 2003.
- But, in 2004, he rejects the center's control and retreats to Kivu.
- He begins exporting numerous minerals to finance his resistance to the center.
- In May 2004, the DRC makes an effort to disarm Nkunda. Nkunda claims that he must protect ethnic Tutsi from Hutu extremists.



Motivation?

- Kivu is mineral rich in substances like coltan and gold.
- Ituri region, formerly occupied by Uganda, is similar.
- If power is endogenous to territory, we can see why all parties would want to control Kivu.
- UN peacekeepers assume control of Kivu and Ituri in 2003.
- But the area is very large, and mineral abundant, so it isn't clear if plundering is still ongoing.



Fighting In Kivu Continues

- In January 2008, a peace deal is reached which will demobilize Nkunda.
- But Rwanda and the Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda (FDLR), the main Hutu militia, do not participate.
- Conflict begins again between Nkunda and the center, along with other militias in the Eastern Congo.
- In January 2009, however, Rwandan military forces capture Nkunda. In exchange, DRC military cooperates in finding Hutu militiamen, ending the Kivu conflict.

Ongoing?

- The good news is that Kinshasa is beginning to exert control over more of the territory.
- The bad news is that problems in Kivu flare up again.
- Group of Nkunda loyalists for M23 led by Bosco “Terminator” Ntaganda surrender in March 2013, M23 signs a peace deal in December.
- But recent reports suggest that Rwanda still protects the group, and border clashes erupted in June between Congolese and Rwandan forces.



Terrorism and Territorial Expansion

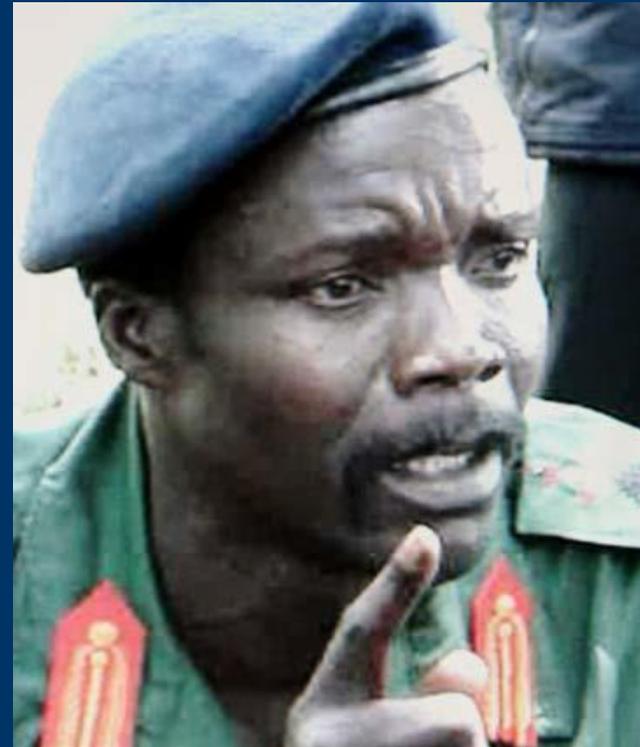
- Rwanda justifies role in Congo based on its civil war – but reality suggests economic motivation.
- Similar in Uganda's previous occupation of Ituri.
- A common theme in this part of Africa is the justification of military action based on terrorism, but...
- The real motivations are economic.
- These states tend to be resource dependent – and therefore have reasons to consolidate control over mineral rich territories.

Example. The Lord's Resistance Army

- Conflict emerges from land disputes between the Acholi hunters and herders in the north of Uganda and Bagandas – who were farmers.
- During colonization, the Baganda collaborated with the British.
- By the end of the 1980s, the Baganda were much more wealthy and politically influential in Uganda.
- In 1988, Alice Nakwena forms the Holy Spirit Movement in the North, and claims that it can defeat the Ugandan government using witchcraft.

The Rise of Kony

- Kony is a former soldier in the group known as the National Resistance Army (NRA), which fought the Ugandan government from 1981-1986.
- The NRA had some popularity amongst the Acholi.
- Although Ladwena disapproved of Kony's violence, he gradually co-opts her membership.
- Once the NRA makes a peace deal with Uganda in 1988, Kony's army begins to resist, claiming that God is on their side.



Area of Operations



LRA Terrorism

- In 1988, Kony seizes control of the movement from Lakwena.
- The organization mobilizes on a hybrid of ideas: some Christian fundamentalist, some Acholi nationalist, some seek democratic reform.
- LRA appears somewhat weakened after internal fighting, so it resorts to terrorism, including kidnapping children to use as soldiers.
- Gradually, this alienates the group from the Acholi.



Sudanese Support

- While the LRA fell under strain, Sudan supplied the LRA with support in retaliation for Ugandan support for the SPLA.
- However, this doesn't do much to improve the internal dysfunction within the LRA.
- By the mid 1990s, the majority of combatants in the organization are kidnapped children.



Marginalization

- Sudan ends its support for the LRA in the mid 1990s.
- Predictably, the weakening of the LRA results in an increase in violence and kidnappings.
- These attacks continue into the 2000s, including a famous one against a concert on Christmas Day in 2008.
- Cooperation emerges between South Sudan, the DRC, and Uganda to disarm the group.



The Effect of the Campaign

- Since we know terrorism typically fails, it is no surprise that the LRA achieved very little politically.
- But the damage from its campaign is severe. The violence produced murders, rapes, and thousands of kidnappings.
- It has also forcibly recruited thousands of children as soldiers.
- UN estimates that over 380,000 have been displaced due to NRA violence.
- Kony is currently under indictment by the International Criminal Court.

International Efforts

- In 2009, Obama agrees to escalate efforts to capture Kony and the LRA.
- U.S. sends 100 combat advisors to Uganda to assist with the mission.
- Recently, the film by *Invisible Children* calls for increased effort and attention.
- Prescribes assisting Uganda's security forces with increased military support, such as high tech surveillance equipment.



Moral Hazard Strikes Again

- The U.S. is willing to provide Uganda with military support to disarm the LRA.
- The decision is not random – assistance is provided because Uganda has been unable to fully disarm the group.
- But, ask yourself: what happens if Uganda were to actually disarm the LRA?
- Probably the U.S. would cease providing military support, and cease viewing Uganda as something worth paying attention to.



So why would the U.S. give aid?

- It won't come free: Uganda and the U.S. will probably improve their strategic relationship.
- Even if Uganda never terminates the LRA, it prospers with U.S. aid and the U.S. gains an ally in the region, and a market.
- So, although intervention doesn't terminate the LRA, it does improve the strategic position of both countries. But...
- It also prolongs the conflict, may escalate violence, and ultimately may be harmful to individuals in Gulu, Kitgum, and Pader.

Ugandan Reaction

- The government's response to the film was negative.
- Overwhelmingly, government claimed that Uganda was at peace since 2006, and the film mischaracterizes events.
- However, emphasis placed on Kony's presence in Central African Republic.
- CAR orders Ugandan forces out in 2010.
- But, if Kony is such a menace...



Further Complication

- Uganda leads AU force in the CAR that is hunting Kony.
- Recent, however, a rebel movement known as Seleka has seized power in CAR, and may demand Uganda's withdrawal.
- Uganda's 3,000 troops give no indication that they are leaving – they are the bulk of the 5,000 troop AU force.
- Transition currently taking place in CAR.
- Is this still about terrorism, or is it about influencing events in CAR?



Africa's Future

- In great detail, we've discussed how the political and economic systems in Africa leave it vulnerable to political conflict.
- Today, let's look at some signs, some of which are positive, but many which need to be contextualized.
- Question: what is the future of Africa, and how will this effect conflict on the continent?
- We'll discuss how global economic conditions, U.S. behavior, and Chinese behavior will all affect Africa's conflicts into the future.

Positive Signs

- Kapstein (2009) argues that trends in Africa were leading to the development of sound economies.
- Urban population increases from 15% in 1965 to 30% in 2009.
- Cell phone uses increases tenfold from 2000 to present.
- Capitalization of Africa's stock markets jump to 60% of GDP, up from 20% in 2005.
- African banks tend to have high capital to asset ratios with relatively greater savings rate.

And Perhaps More Encouraging...

- Increased need to compete for investment is changing government institutions.
- There is more of a need now for predictability and stability to attract investors.
- And, it may no longer be sufficient to do this through an autocracy – given the incredible tumult of Africa's dictators in the past.
- Result: there is move toward more openness and stable transfers of power in Africa.
- Regime stability in some areas appears to be increasing.

Increasing Capital Investment

- In response to increased political and economic stability, we are seeing greater capital investment from abroad.
- There appears to be a growth of an African technocratic and entrepreneurial class.
- MNCs increasing looking to invest and sell within African markets, creating pressure for a middle class.
- Are we seeing the dawn of an African capitalist revolution?

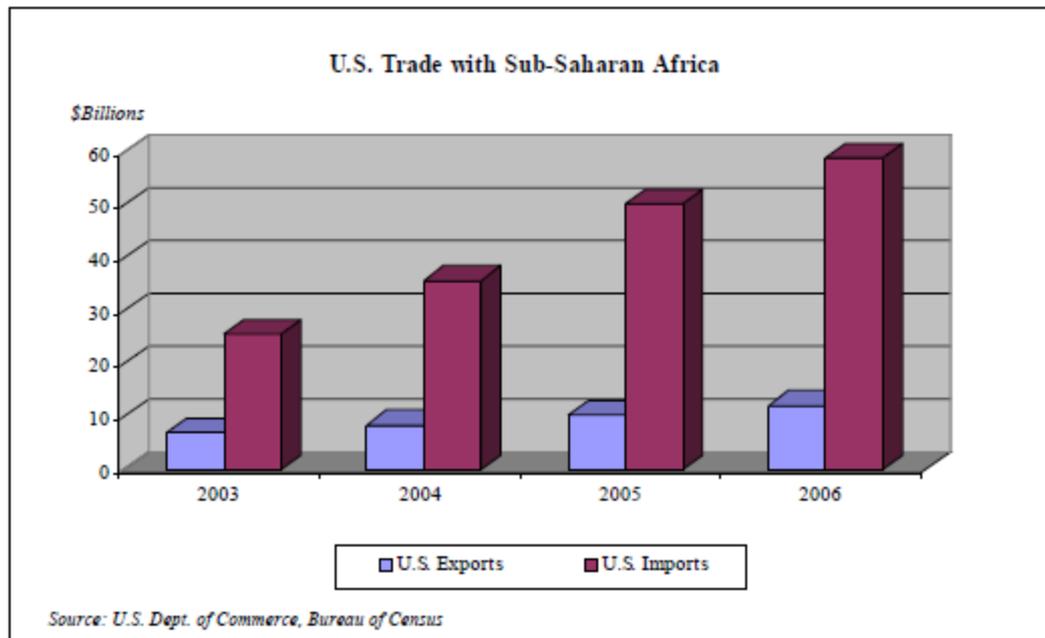


The U.S. as a Major Partner

- Until 2009, the U.S. enjoys extensive trading relationships with most of the African states – though trade remained fairly small.
- Typically, the relationship is a trading one that is lucrative for both sides.
- Again, this suggests that the current status quo is beneficial to the U.S.
- It is able to ensure itself access to foreign markets, capital, labor, etc.
- It is also able to secure markets for its own goods and exports.

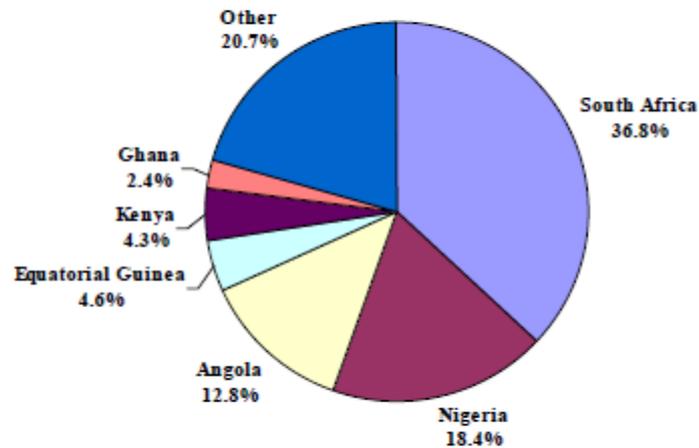


The U.S. as the Major Partner



The U.S. as a Major Partner

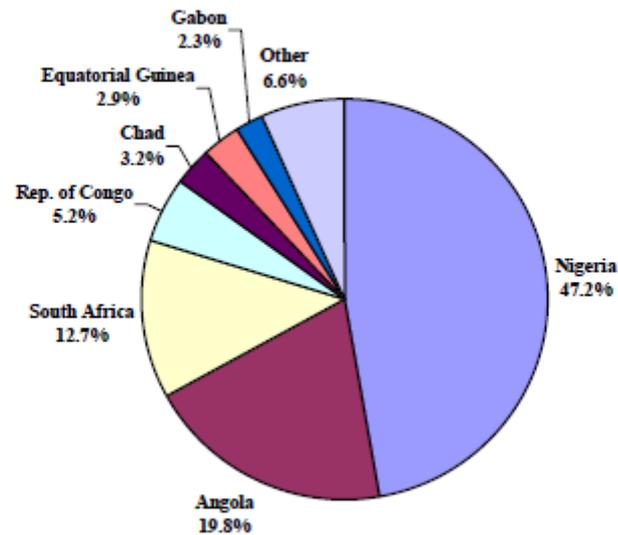
U.S. Exports to Major Sub-Saharan Africa Trading Partners, 2006



Source: U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of Census

The U.S. as a Major Partner

U.S. Imports from Major Sub-Saharan Africa Trading Partners, 2006



Source: U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of Census

The Chinese Imperative

- However, in 2009, China surpassed the U.S. as Africa's largest trading partner.
- This has led to some concern in U.S. policy circles that China is currying too much influence over the continent.
- And, raising concerns that China's non-conditionality for most of its aid undermines U.S. foreign policy objectives.
- For example, China is willing to give aid without consideration of human rights violations.



CHINA'S FOREIGN DIRECT INVESTMENT IN AFRICA (2005)



Total investment in Africa: \$1.6 billion

SOURCE: Unctad

The Potential Threat...

- Right now, over 60% of world transactions are in dollars, China's not close. But...
- China is now the largest holder of foreign investment in Africa.
- China is also making moves to conducting transactions in renminbi.
- Moving to cut exclusive investment deals with partners that conduct business solely in Chinese currency.
- However, China sits on a large amount of American securities. Theoretically, this should discourage China from weakening the dollar.



Competition for Influence

- U.S. traditionally ignores Africa.
- But, economic growth and Chinese competition renew U.S. interest.
- Areas of cooperation focus on provision of stability – U.S. well equipped to provide aid.
- U.S. also one of the most favorable FDI partners.
- From the African perspective, the hope is that some of the resources given by these two states will lead to self sustaining growth.
- And, diversification of economies.

Conclusion

- Africa's economic future appears better than in the past, but...
- The old divides still appear pervasive.
- And, it is possible that Africa's current "boom" is speculative and fueled by outside interests, rather than internal factors that can sustain it.
- Plus, political weakness of states remains – though there is evidence that this is improving considerably.
- Still, there appears to be hope...