

**A Holistic Model: A risk assessment model for internal conflict and case study of the  
Democratic Republic of Congo**

**by  
Camron I. Gharib**

**A THESIS**

**submitted to  
Oregon State University  
Honors College**

**in partial fulfillment of  
the requirements for the  
degree of**

**Honors Baccalaureate of Science in Political Science  
(Honors Associate)**

**Presented March 8, 2019  
Commencement June 2019**



## **AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF**

**Camron I. Gharib for the degree of Honors Baccalaureate of Science in Political Science presented on March 8, 2019. Title: A Holistic Model: A risk assessment model for internal conflict and case study of the Democratic Republic of Congo.**

**Abstract approved:** \_\_\_\_\_

**Sarah Henderson**

Internal conflicts are detrimental to a country's development for a number of reasons. Therefore, it is beneficial to identify the factors that lead to internal conflict. The three perspectives used to understand why internal conflicts occur are the systemic lens, the individualist perspective, and an interpretation that emphasizes the role of external actors. Each provides a unique perspective, and when combined provide a richer holistic perspective. This holistic perspective is the base for my model, which emphasizes the roles that regime type, resource wealth, grievance and opportunistic external actors play in fostering civil conflict. In sum, while grievances are always an issue governments face, different regime types have different methods of dealing with grievances. In particular, hybrid regimes lack a mechanism to deal with grievances and are therefore at an increased risk of internal conflict. Further, resources that are in remote areas can be exploited by rebel factions. Finally, opportunistic external actors can take advantage of the situation and back rebel factions in return for access to resources, thereby increasing the duration and intensity of the conflict. This thesis applies this model to the case study of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, focusing on two past periods of internal conflict and the present. Analysis has led to the conclusion that this model is viable. Furthermore, application of the model suggests that the DRC is at risk of falling back into internal conflict.

**Key Words: Internal Conflict, Democratic Republic of Congo, Civil War, Causes.**

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**I understand that my project will become part of the permanent collection of Oregon State University, Honors College. My signature below authorizes release of my project to any reader upon request.**

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**Camron I. Gharib, Author**

## **Introduction**

Civil conflicts lead to death and destruction in the short term, and lead to persistent problems which have long term consequences. Thousands of soldiers as well as civilians are caught in the crossfire, resulting in death, or in some cases long-term physical and mental injuries. Instead of being able to live a normal life, civilians fleeing the conflict become refugees, disrupting not only their own lives but a nation's social fabric. The provision of services, such as education and health care deteriorates, making it extremely difficult for people to pursue their lives. Civil conflict often leads to not only short term economic collapse, but also long term economic decline. Additionally, countries that experience a civil war are more likely to fall back into internal conflict years following the resolution of the initial war.<sup>1</sup>

By understanding the circumstances and factors conducive to conflict, one can form a better risk assessment of countries potentially facing conflict. This is important as this knowledge can be put to use to prevent future internal conflicts and the adverse effects that come with them. There are three common approaches to understanding why civil conflicts emerge. A systemic perspective emphasizes the role of structural factors in driving conflict. A second approach takes into account the motivations of the individual and analyzes what conditions push or pull individuals into rebellion. A third perspective emphasizes the role external actors play in prolonging a conflict by providing the support necessary for factions to rebel. All of these approaches highlight critical variables. However, a holistic lens, which combines all three perspectives is best suited to comprehend the catalysts and drivers of civil conflict.

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<sup>1</sup>Collier, Paul. *The Bottom Billion: Why the Poorest Countries Are failing and What Can Be Done about It*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.(pg.23)

This thesis draws from among these three perspectives to create a risk assessment model (checklist with conditions conducive to internal conflict) for internal conflict. The goal of this model is not only to identify the factors conducive to internal conflicts, but also to serve as a starting point for the discussion of how to prevent conflicts in the first place. This can be the key to breaking the cycle of conflict many developing countries experience and enabling further growth. Further, this thesis applies this model to the case of the Democratic Republic of Congo. The Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) has experienced two main periods of internal conflict and is currently in conflict remission (with the threat of another looming). The DRC's extensive history of internal conflict make it a strong candidate for my case study and the application of my risk assessment model. Not only can I analyze the contributing factors that have led to the DRC's previous conflicts, but I can also apply the model to assess the DRC's current risk level.

By applying the internal assessment model to the DRC, it becomes clear that the DRC is at an increased risk for internal conflict. The presence of natural resources under limited government control near borders is an incentive for external countries to back rebel factions. The lack of a completely democratic government provides the opportunity for factions to rally behind specific grievances and the lack of overall government control provides little deterrent to rebel factions. Furthermore, the lack of state control over current rebel stronghold regions, many of which possess an abundance of natural resources, puts the DRC at an increased risk. When combined, all factors convey just how precarious the situation currently is in the DRC.

### **Literature Review**

The systemic lens, individual/rational actor framework and external intervention factor all provide insight into the conditions conducive to internal conflict. Comprehending each of

these three perspectives provides a richer understanding of internal conflict than one sole perspective.

### **Systemic Lens**

The top down perspective mainly focuses on the systemic conditions that are conducive to rebellion (civil unrest). These factors include governmental structure, economic conditions, social stratification, geography, and path dependency. Various facets of a political regime potentially determine whether a country is prone to conflict. Analysis of data covering 1816 - 1992 and collected by the Correlates of War project revealed that countries experiencing a transitional government period (changing government structure) were more susceptible to civil conflict.<sup>2</sup> Regime type is also a variable, although analysis by Hoeffler reveals that there is “no linear relationship between democracy and civil war risk”.<sup>3</sup> Rather, countries that are either fully democratic or fully undemocratic are least likely to experience civil wars (a pattern portrayed by an inverted U-shaped model).<sup>4</sup> Hybrid regimes known as anocracies, or governments which are partially democratic and partly authoritarian fall in this grey area. Anocracies lack the ability to suppress dissent like authoritarian regimes; yet, they do not

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<sup>2</sup>Håvard Hegre, Tanja Ellingsen, Scott Gates, and Nils Petter Gleditsch. "Toward a Democratic Civil Peace? Democracy, Political Change, and Civil War, 1816-1992." *The American Political Science Review* 95, no. 1 (2001): 33-48.

<http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.proxy.library.oregonstate.edu/stable/3117627>.

<sup>3</sup>Håvard Hegre, Tanja Ellingsen, Scott Gates, and Nils Petter Gleditsch. "Toward a Democratic Civil Peace? Democracy, Political Change, and Civil War, 1816-1992." *The American Political Science Review* 95, no. 1 (2001): 33-48.

<http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.proxy.library.oregonstate.edu/stable/3117627>.

<sup>4</sup>Håvard Hegre, Tanja Ellingsen, Scott Gates, and Nils Petter Gleditsch. "Toward a Democratic Civil Peace? Democracy, Political Change, and Civil War, 1816-1992." *The American Political Science Review* 95, no. 1 (2001): 33-48.

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function like a democracy where grievances are expressed through the political system.<sup>5</sup> Thus anocratic regimes lack a mechanism that addresses grievances, leaving them more susceptible to internal conflict.<sup>6</sup>

A variety of economic factors are also important drivers of civil conflict. Cross-country analysis (Fearon and Laitin, 2003a; Collier and Hoeffler, 2004; Hegre and Sambanis, 2006) indicate a strong link between low income and conflict.<sup>7</sup> Furthermore, slow growth, stagnation, or economic decline are all critical factors, particularly in what Paul Collier terms “bottom billion” countries, or the poorest countries, located predominantly in Africa and Central Asia.<sup>8</sup> In addition, countries that have a “high ratio of primary commodity exports to GDP” are prone to conflict for a variety of reasons.<sup>9</sup> Primary commodity dependence can adversely affect long-term income.<sup>10</sup> The dependence on income from one sole export can put a country at risk of shocks due to the volatile nature of the international economy (changing global prices). Additionally, countries that are dependant on one primary commodity generate rents which are linked to large sums of non-taxed localized income. This income can then end up in the hands of rebel factions and be used to fund a rebellion. This provides another link between primary commodity dependence and conflict.

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<sup>5</sup>Fearon, James D., and David D. Laitin. "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War." *American Political Science Review* 97, no. 1 (2003): 75-90.

<sup>6</sup>Fearon, James D., and David D. Laitin. "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War." *American Political Science Review* 97, no. 1 (2003): 75-90.

<sup>7</sup>Hoeffler, Anke. "The Oxford Handbook of the Economics of Peace and Conflict." *Chapter 1: On the Causes of Civil War*, 2012. doi:10.1093/oxfordhb/9780195392777.001.0001.

<sup>8</sup>Collier, Paul. *The Bottom Billion: Why the Poorest Countries Are failing and What Can Be Done about It*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.(pg.23)

<sup>9</sup>Hoeffler, Anke. "The Oxford Handbook of the Economics of Peace and Conflict." *Chapter 1: On the Causes of Civil War*, 2012. doi:10.1093/oxfordhb/9780195392777.001.0001.

<sup>10</sup>Hoeffler, Anke. "The Oxford Handbook of the Economics of Peace and Conflict." *Chapter 1: On the Causes of Civil War*, 2012. doi:10.1093/oxfordhb/9780195392777.001.0001.

Social factors, such as levels of ethnic fragmentation, have been identified as playing a critical role in conflict. Horowitz' work on ethnic groups in conflict highlights the general conditions in which ethnic group conflict emerges, often in the wake of newly established democracies in developing societies.<sup>11</sup> However, a study conducted by Fearon and Laitin on conflicts in the post Cold War era revealed that countries that are ethnically or religiously diverse are not at an increased risk of internal conflict.<sup>12</sup> Instead Fearon and Laitin conclude that it is the systemic factors conducive to insurgency that are responsible for internal conflict.<sup>13</sup> These factors "include poverty and slow economic growth, which favor rebel recruitment" and geographical features such as rough terrain which can be locations for rebel strongholds to develop.<sup>14</sup> Collier positions himself between these two and argues that it is not the level of diversity that increases the likelihood of internal conflict, but rather the presence of an ethnic majority within a larger diversity of ethnic groups.<sup>15</sup> Collier terms this factor "ethnic dominance," a factor that fueled the conflicts between Tutsis and Hutus in Rwanda and Burundi.<sup>16</sup> Collier also notes that this phenomenon has also been witnessed in Iraq between Sunnis, Shiites and Kurds.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>11</sup>Horowitz, Donald L. *Ethnic Groups in Conflict: With a New Preface*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011.

<sup>12</sup>Fearon, James D., and David D. Laitin. "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War." *American Political Science Review* 97, no. 1 (2003): 75-90.

<sup>13</sup>Fearon, James D., and David D. Laitin. "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War." *American Political Science Review* 97, no. 1 (2003): 75-90.

<sup>14</sup>Fearon, James D., and David D. Laitin. "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War." *American Political Science Review* 97, no. 1 (2003): 75-90.

<sup>15</sup>Collier, Paul. *The Bottom Billion: Why the Poorest Countries Are failing and What Can Be Done about It*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.(pg.25)

<sup>16</sup>Collier, Paul. *The Bottom Billion: Why the Poorest Countries Are failing and What Can Be Done about It*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.(pg.25)

<sup>17</sup>Collier, Paul. *The Bottom Billion: Why the Poorest Countries Are failing and What Can Be Done about It*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.(pg.25)

Geography and the location of resources also can increase the likelihood of internal conflict. Empirical analysis on African civil wars (1070-2001) conducted by Halvard Buhaug and Jan Ketil Rød revealed that rebellions are more likely to take place in regions that are further from the capital and close to borders.<sup>18</sup> Additionally, these regions are sparsely populated and have relatively rough terrain, making it easier for rebel groups to maintain a strong hold far from government control.<sup>19</sup> These areas also potentially have an abundance of natural resources that can be looted and utilised to purchase weapons. This was the case in Sierra Leone, where factions took advantage of the lack of governmental control in a remote region with a wealth of diamonds. These diamonds were used to fund the rebel military and obtain arms.<sup>20</sup>

Finally, past history, or path dependency, also plays a role. According to Paul Collier, countries that once experienced civil wars are at an increased risk for civil wars, particularly in the years immediately following the initial civil conflict resolution. Among the countries researched by Collier, Hoeffler and Söderbom, forty percent of countries that once experienced civil war fall back into conflict (either the same issues/factions or an entirely new one).<sup>21</sup>

### **Individual Motives-Rational model**

The individual motives lens is a more bottom up perspective that focuses on the specific motives and cost-benefit analyses that deter or push individuals to rebel. Motives can be political grievances, inequality or even security dilemmas between ethnic groups. Some

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<sup>18</sup>Buhaug, Halvard, and Jan Ketil Rød. "Local Determinants of African Civil Wars, 1970–2001." *Political Geography* 25, no. 3 (2006): 315-35. doi:10.1016/j.polgeo.2006.02.005.

<sup>19</sup>Buhaug, Halvard, and Jan Ketil Rød. "Local Determinants of African Civil Wars, 1970–2001." *Political Geography* 25, no. 3 (2006): 315-35. doi:10.1016/j.polgeo.2006.02.005.

<sup>20</sup>Buhaug, Halvard, and Jan Ketil Rød. "Local Determinants of African Civil Wars, 1970–2001." *Political Geography* 25, no. 3 (2006): 315-35. doi:10.1016/j.polgeo.2006.02.005.

<sup>21</sup>Hoeffler, Anke. "The Oxford Handbook of the Economics of Peace and Conflict." *Chapter 1: On the Causes of Civil War*, 2012. doi:10.1093/oxfordhb/9780195392777.001.0001.

rebellions occur because a faction is seeking to gain political power and influence over a region. Other research suggests that material motives are not always the cause of conflict.<sup>22</sup> Christopher Blattman and Edward Miguel's work indicates that moral, ethnic, and ideological grievances also play a key role in an individual's decision to rebel.<sup>23</sup> This was the case in Southeast Asia, where people rebelled against "deprivation during economic modernization" and in El Salvador where "government abuses" spurred a rebellion.<sup>24</sup> In both situations, there was no obvious material gain from rebelling.

In *Why Men Rebel* Ted Gurr challenges the conventional narrative that rebellion is prompted by absolute levels of deprivation. Rather, he introduces the concept of relative deprivation, or the discrepancy between what people think they deserve, and what they actually think they can get. It is the intensity of this sense of inequality, he argues, which drives rebellion. A further contributing factor is the balance between the population's capacity, or ability, to rebel and the government's ability to "channel their anger."<sup>25</sup> Different government structures deal with dissent differently. Some may suppress the dissent while others may utilize the political system as an outlet for anger or grievances. If a government lacks the capacity to channel grievances, there is an increased likelihood of rebellion. Ultimately, though, the theory

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<sup>22</sup>Miguel, Edward, and Christopher Blattman. "Civil War(Working Paper Number 166)." *Center For Global Development*, March 2009.

[https://www.cgdev.org/sites/default/files/1421335\\_file\\_Blattman\\_Civil\\_War\\_FINAL.pdf](https://www.cgdev.org/sites/default/files/1421335_file_Blattman_Civil_War_FINAL.pdf).

<sup>23</sup>Miguel, Edward, and Christopher Blattman. "Civil War(Working Paper Number 166)." *Center For Global Development*, March 2009.

[https://www.cgdev.org/sites/default/files/1421335\\_file\\_Blattman\\_Civil\\_War\\_FINAL.pdf](https://www.cgdev.org/sites/default/files/1421335_file_Blattman_Civil_War_FINAL.pdf).

<sup>24</sup>Miguel, Edward, and Christopher Blattman. "Civil War(Working Paper Number 166)." *Center For Global Development*, March 2009.

[https://www.cgdev.org/sites/default/files/1421335\\_file\\_Blattman\\_Civil\\_War\\_FINAL.pdf](https://www.cgdev.org/sites/default/files/1421335_file_Blattman_Civil_War_FINAL.pdf).

<sup>25</sup>Gurr, Ted Robert. *Why Men Rebel*. London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2016.

highlights the role that group identity, rather than objective conditions, play in fueling grievances.

### **External Actors**

Like the systemic perspective, the perspective of external intervention is more top down, often incorporating aspects of classical realism. Classical realism is based on the premise that since states are made up of and run by people, they will seek power and what is in their best interests, similar to how individuals behave. External intervention is common in civil conflicts, as external actors get involved in pursuit of their own country's national interests. A country may get involved for a number of reasons both material and ideological. As we shall see with the case of the DRC, an external actor may provide support and arms in return for access to natural resources in the country experiencing civil conflict. Another motive to back a rebel force or failed government is to gain or retain an ally in the region. This was the case with Syria where Russia backed the failing Assad regime, not only to protect a valuable arms trade partner, but also to retain access to the Mediterranean port of Tartus.<sup>26</sup> An external actor may provide support for a rebel group with similar ethnic, religious, or ideological backgrounds as well. Often, diasporic communities provide support for a rebellion.<sup>27</sup> This was the case with Irish Republic Army (IRA) and Irish Americans. Not only were Irish Americans funding the rebel movement, but "some of the guns used by the IRA came from the Boston Police department."<sup>28</sup> Further, Nicholas Sambanis and Ibrahim Elbadawi found a strong positive relationship between

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<sup>26</sup>Hill, Fiona. "The Real Reason Putin Supports Assad." Brookings.edu. July 28, 2016  
Accessed January 11, 2019. <https://www.brookings.edu/opinions/the-real-reason-putin-supports-assad/>.

<sup>27</sup>Collier, Paul. *The Bottom Billion: Why the Poorest Countries Are failing and What Can Be Done about It*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.(pg.22)

<sup>28</sup>Collier, Paul. *The Bottom Billion: Why the Poorest Countries Are failing and What Can Be Done about It*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.(pg.22)

external intervention and the duration of civil war.<sup>29</sup> External actors provide arms and support to factions in situations where a lack of support would result in the end of the conflict. This adds fuel to the fire and increases the duration of the conflict.

Each of these lenses (systemic, individualist, external actor) is unique and highlights a different perspective of internal conflict. However, rather than treating these approaches as separate, we should see them as overlapping. A change in one factor often creates a change in one of the other variables highlighted in a different framework. From a systemic perspective, an anocratic government (one which occupies the grey area between democratic and undemocratic) is more at risk for internal conflict. Anocracies are more likely to have a lapse in government control. A lapse in governmental control, particularly in rural regions, can make the decision to rebel easier. Gaining a rebel stronghold would be easier, thus altering individual cost benefit analyses. With access to poorly managed resources, opportunistic external actors may attempt to back a rebel faction for access to said resources. This strengthens the faction and increases the likelihood of a prolonged internal conflict. Thus, systemic, individualist, and external intervention factors are all linked together.

## **Methods**

Researchers have attempted to assess a country's susceptibility to state breakdown. For example, the Fragile State Index is an annual ranking compiled by the Fund for Peace that takes into account the pressures that impact a state's likelihood of collapse.<sup>30</sup> The Index assesses a

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<sup>29</sup>Sambanis, Nicholas. "A Review of Recent Advances and Future Directions in the Quantitative Literature on Civil War." *Defence and Peace Economics* 13, no. 3 (2002): 215-43. doi:10.1080/10242690210976.

<sup>30</sup>"Fragile States Index and CAST Framework Methodology." Fragile States Index. May 13, 2017. Accessed March 07, 2019. <http://fundforpeace.org/fsi/2017/05/13/fragile-states-index-and-cast-framework-methodology/>.

state's vulnerabilities to collapse using twelve indicators spread across four categories: cohesion indicators, economic indicators, social indicators and political indicators. Cohesion indicators are meant to assess the security threats to the state and the state's capacity to ensure its own security by focusing on the following issues: security apparatus (the level of the state's monopoly on the use of force and the relationship between security and citizenry), factionalized elites (the level of fragmentation within the state), and group grievances (the divisions between different groups of society).<sup>31</sup> The economic indicators measure the overall economic health of the country in question. Economic indicators include economic decline and poverty, uneven development (levels of inequality), and human flight and brain drain (the level of emigration from the country or internal displacement due to economic or political reasons).<sup>32</sup> The political indicators measure the relative confidence of the population in the respective government and whether or not the government is effectively serving its citizens. Political indicators include state legitimacy (a government's level of transparency with its citizens and the level of confidence the population has in said government), public services (are basic state functions equally accessible to all citizens?), and human rights and rule of law (the degree to which the government respects fundamental human rights).<sup>33</sup> Social indicators, the fourth category, focuses on the demographic makeup of the country and the pressures caused by the influx and outflux of populations include demographic pressures (youth or age bulges, skewed population distribution,

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<sup>31</sup>"Fragile States Index and CAST Framework Methodology." Fragile States Index. May 13, 2017. Accessed March 07, 2019.  
<http://fundforpeace.org/fsi/2017/05/13/fragile-states-index-and-cast-framework-methodology/>.

<sup>32</sup>"Fragile States Index and CAST Framework Methodology." Fragile States Index. May 13, 2017. Accessed March 07, 2019.  
<http://fundforpeace.org/fsi/2017/05/13/fragile-states-index-and-cast-framework-methodology/>.

<sup>33</sup>"Fragile States Index and CAST Framework Methodology." Fragile States Index. May 13, 2017. Accessed March 07, 2019.  
<http://fundforpeace.org/fsi/2017/05/13/fragile-states-index-and-cast-framework-methodology/>.

high population growth rates, etc) as well as the number of refugees and internally displaced persons (these can affect social services and cause pressures).<sup>34</sup> Finally, the index includes what the Fund for Peace term a “cross-cutting” indicator; external intervention measures the influence and impact of external actors in the functioning of the state.

Using the Fragile State Index as inspiration, this thesis presents a modified framework by which to assess a country’s risk of falling into conflict and applies that framework to the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

### **Internal Conflict Risk Assessment Model**

#### **Government Structure Factors:**

##### **A- Regime type**

Internal conflict is less likely to happen in countries that are either authoritarian or democratic. Authoritarian countries are more oppressive and may use fear to suppress rebellions. This can lessen the likelihood of a rebellion. On the other hand, completely democratic countries are less likely to have a rebellion due to levels of popular legitimacy; if the masses feel like they have a say in and influence on policy, they may be less likely to rebel. Further, discontent becomes integrated into the political process; instead grievances will be voiced through voting and the media. On the other hand, anocracies that are neither fully democratic nor fully authoritarian are more at risk.<sup>35</sup> These governments do not offer the same outlet to voice grievances, nor do they induce the same level of fear as a completely undemocratic government.

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<sup>34</sup>"Fragile States Index and CAST Framework Methodology." Fragile States Index. May 13, 2017. Accessed March 07, 2019.

<http://fundforpeace.org/fsi/2017/05/13/fragile-states-index-and-cast-framework-methodology/>.

<sup>35</sup>Håvard Hegre, Tanja Ellingsen, Scott Gates, and Nils Petter Gleditsch. "Toward a Democratic Civil Peace? Democracy, Political Change, and Civil War, 1816-1992." *The American Political Science Review* 95, no. 1 (2001): 33-48.

<http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.proxy.library.oregonstate.edu/stable/3117627>.

This scenario results in rebellion as it provides an opening to voice and deal with said grievances outside of the normal political process. Countries that are in the grey area of being not fully democratic or non democratic are more susceptible to internal conflict.<sup>36</sup> To assess the DRC's level of democracy, I will be using the Freedom in the World (FIW) score, an index that measures the recognition and protection of political rights and civil rights in individual states.<sup>37</sup>

### **B-Governmental Control**

It is easier to rebel in areas that are more remote and under less governmental control. In many cases these places are further from the capital and are hard for the government to get a complete grasp of the region.<sup>38</sup> Remote regions where there is a lapse in governmental control are the perfect birthplaces of rebel strongholds.

### **Economic Factors:**

#### **A- Resources**

Resources play a key role in the likelihood of a rebellion. Resources can not only fund a rebellion, but may also serve as an incentive for external actors to get involved. An external actor may provide arms in return for resources or back a rebel faction under the condition they gain access to resources if the faction is victorious. Having access to resources alters the cost benefit analysis factions make as it is easier to stage a successful rebellion with support from external actors.

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<sup>36</sup>"Methodology." Freedom House. May 27, 2016. Accessed March 07, 2019. <https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world-2016/methodology>.

<sup>37</sup>"Methodology." Freedom House. May 27, 2016. Accessed March 07, 2019. <https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world-2016/methodology>.

<sup>38</sup>Buhaug, Halvard, and Jan Ketil Rød. "Local Determinants of African Civil Wars, 1970–2001." *Political Geography* 25, no. 3 (2006): 315-35. doi:10.1016/j.polgeo.2006.02.005.

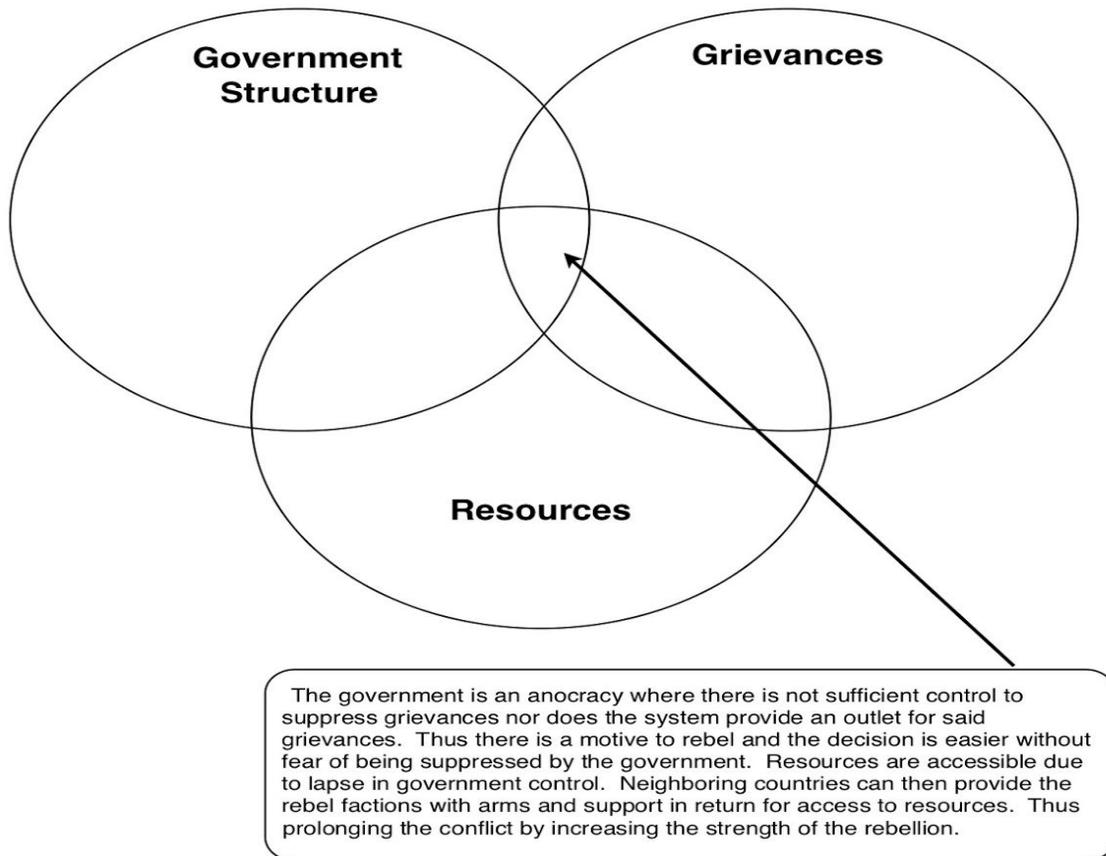
The location of natural resources plays a key role as well. Resources located in more remote areas further from the capital are less likely to be in the firm grasp of the government. Thus they are easier for rebel forces to access. The closer natural resources are to the border, the more likely an external actor is going to get involved.<sup>39</sup> Resources that lie closer to the border are easier to access by way of rebel groups. In circumstances where the resources are remote and far from the capital city, yet close to a border, there is an increased likelihood of resources falling into the hands of rebel factions and the involvement of opportunistic neighboring countries. These remote areas are more likely to experience a lapse in control and their close proximity to the border means less distance to transport raw materials (resources), making it easier for rebels to access resources and neighboring countries to exchange goods and arms for access to said resources.

Additionally, countries that are dependant on a primary commodity export are also at increased risk.<sup>40</sup> This leaves them vulnerable to fluctuating rates on the international market and can result in shocks and rents. Both hamper economic development and can depress income. A poor economic climate can hurt the population and be a motive to rebel (grievances). The non-taxed localized income generated from rents can also be utilized to fund rebel factions.

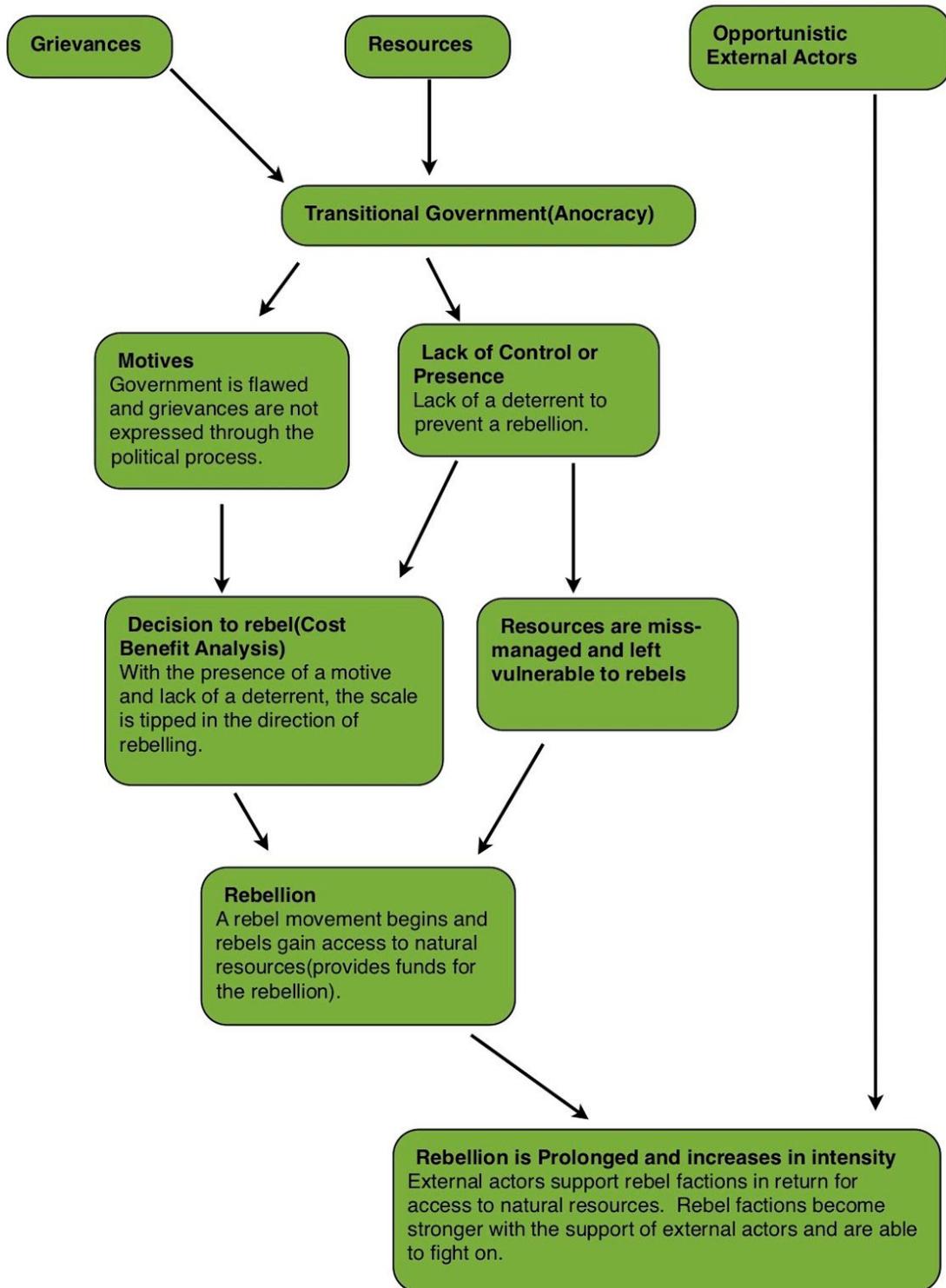
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<sup>39</sup>Buhaug, Halvard, and Jan Ketil Rød. "Local Determinants of African Civil Wars, 1970–2001." *Political Geography* 25, no. 3 (2006): 315-35. doi:10.1016/j.polgeo.2006.02.005.

<sup>40</sup>Hoeffler, Anke. "The Oxford Handbook of the Economics of Peace and Conflict." *Chapter 1: On the Causes of Civil War*, 2012. doi:10.1093/oxfordhb/9780195392777.001.0001.



**Figure A: Internal Conflict Risk Assessment Model**



**Figure B: Internal Conflict Risk Assessment Model**

## Democratic Republic of the Congo Case Study

### **A Brief History of the DRC**

The Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) is a country of great promise, that, for a number of reasons, has had trouble achieving its full potential. Chief among these reasons has been the lack of a stable government. Since its independence from Belgium in 1960, the DRC has gone through multiple violent regime changes. In 1964 with the support of Belgium, Moïse Tshombe led a secession attempt in the Katanga region of the DRC. This resulted in a deal to reunite the DRC, which included the dismissal of then Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba and the appointment of Tshombe by President Joseph Kasavubu.<sup>41</sup> The following year (1965), Joseph Mobutu, with the assistance of the CIA, led a successful military coup and became the authoritarian leader of the Congo.

Joseph Mobutu renamed the then Congo as Zaire and changed the names of many of the cities, which formerly had Belgian names to African names like Kinshasa. Furthermore he built up the economy through the copper boom and created the first hydroelectric dam in the region.<sup>42</sup> However Mobutu then turned around and used the wealth generated from the copper industry and took money from the treasury to pay off his “cronies.”<sup>43</sup> Over time, Mobutu destroyed the economy he once built up.

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<sup>41</sup>Gibbs, David N. (1991). *The Political Economy of Third World Intervention*, University of Chicago Press. Pp. 152, 167-168. ISBN 0-226-29071-9.

<sup>42</sup>Green, John. "Congo and Africa's World War: Crash Course World History 221." *YouTube* (video blog), January 16, 2015. Accessed October 3, 2016. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4uArRzwKHvE>.

<sup>43</sup>Green, John. "Congo and Africa's World War: Crash Course World History 221." *YouTube* (video blog), January 16, 2015. Accessed October 3, 2016. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4uArRzwKHvE>.

The collapse of Communist regimes in Eastern Europe and the end of the Cold War changed the global balance of power, and dramatically impacted the ability of Mobutu to retain his grip on power. Mobutu, as an ally of the United States against the Soviets, had relied on Western financial and military support to prop up his regime; this support evaporated by the early 1990s. Given this shifting global context, Mobutu could no longer employ his normal methods of political control, and eventually his poor governance led to declining legitimacy, riots, and the creation of an “anti-Mobutu government” in 1993.

At the same, neighboring countries were having a significant impact on the stability of the Mobutu regime. In 1994, members of Rwanda’s Hutu ethnic majority went on a killing spree, attacking Tutsis in a relatively brief but catastrophic 100 day killing spree. Ethnic conflict between the elite Tutsis and the Hutus spilled over the border, further eroding Mobutu’s fragile grasp on power. Neighboring countries also noted Mobutu’s weakness, and with the support of Rwanda, Uganda, Burundi, and Angola, the Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo-Zaire (AFDL), captured Kinshasa and removed Mobutu from power, replacing him with Laurent Kabila, who renamed Zaire the Democratic Republic of the Congo in 1997.<sup>44</sup> Despite his new position of power, Kabila faced criticism and his legitimacy came into question with accusations that he was a puppet being controlled by the foreign countries that put him in power.

<sup>45</sup> A year later, the same Rwandan government that helped put Kabila in power in the First Congo War backed rebels that sought to remove Kabila from power. In response, Zimbabwe,

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<sup>44</sup>Keim, Curtis A., and F. Scott Bobb. "Historical Dictionary of Democratic Republic of the Congo (Zaire)." *African Studies Review* 43, no. 2 (2000): 138.

<sup>45</sup>Keim, Curtis A., and F. Scott Bobb. "Historical Dictionary of Democratic Republic of the Congo (Zaire)." *African Studies Review* 43, no. 2 (2000): 138.

Namibia, and Angola sent troops backing Kabila.<sup>46</sup> This conflict that lasted for a year became known as the “Second Congo War.” In 1999, a ceasefire was declared and the Lusaka Peace Accord was signed.

However, fighting still wasn’t over. The fighting switched from politics to profit as the rebel forces that were used in the proxy conflict fought the DRC government for control over the precious mineral mines.<sup>47</sup> In 2001 President Laurent Kabila was fatally shot by one of his child soldier body guards. The United Nations intervened by deploying peacekeepers for a transitional period to increase stability. This allowed Laurent Kabila’s son, Joseph Kabila, to take over as interim president; he was re-elected in a runoff election in 2006. Although the DRC’s government appeared to have more stability, life for DRC citizens did not improve. Conflict between rebel groups over resources continues to plague the DRC and President Kabila continued the vicious cycle of poor governance as he attempted to hold onto power by postponing elections. The country was again split between Kabila supporters and anti-Kabila supporters as the threat of more conflict loomed.

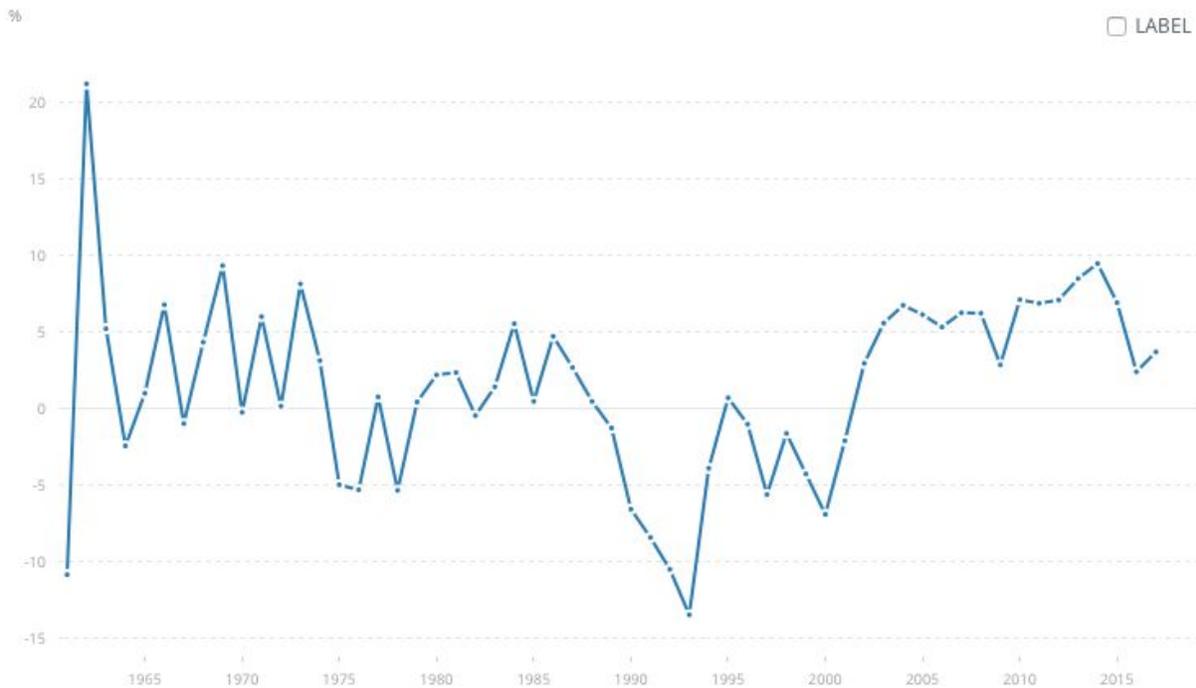
### **The Current Status of the DRC**

The DRC has been showing some signs of economic life. The gross domestic product (GDP) has improved according to the World Bank, the DRC’s GDP growth rate was 6.916 in 2015.

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<sup>46</sup>News, BBC. "Democratic Republic of Congo Profile - Timeline." BBC News. August 5, 2016. Accessed October 14, 2016. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-13286306>.

<sup>47</sup>News, BBC. "Rwanda 'protecting M23 DR Congo Rebels'" BBC News. June 5, 2014. Accessed October 14, 2016. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-27714346>.



**Figure C: GDP Growth Rate**

This does indicate that the economic situation in the DRC has improved; however, the DRC still remains worse off than other countries in Sub-Saharan Africa. Furthermore, the DRC's government has recognised its need to expand its economy outside of the free trade bubble of the African Union to larger markets like the United States and China. In 2007, the DRC struck a deal with China in which China agreed to invest "\$9 Billion in the DRC's infrastructure in return for future revenue from DRC resources."<sup>49</sup> The economic growth is noticeable and an important factor in contributing to continued peace.

<sup>48</sup>"Data for Congo, Dem. Rep., Sub-Saharan Africa, United States." World Bank Data- Indicators. Accessed October 14, 2016. <http://data.worldbank.org/?locations=CD-ZG-US>

<sup>49</sup>Green, John. "Congo and Africa's World War: Crash Course World History 221." *YouTube* (video blog), January 16, 2015. Accessed October 3, 2016. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4uArRzwKHvE>.

However, the adverse effects of internal conflict continue in the DRC even after the fighting has ended. In the 2018 UN Human Development Report (HDR), the DRC's Human Development Index (HDI) score was the 12th lowest (worst) score out of 188 countries.<sup>50</sup> This low HDI is largely the result of the presence of internal conflict in the DRC. The DRC has an extremely low life expectancy of 59.6 years.<sup>51</sup> Not only were people killed in the crossfire, but they were displaced and exposed to the elements. Many suffered from infections and diseases like malaria. With families constantly fighting illnesses, fleeing conflict and struggling to find food, they cannot focus on learning the skills to contribute to society. Therefore, there is an overall lack of human development as conflict essentially stunts the countries growth from the bottom up.

### **The Two Main Periods of Civil Conflict in the DRC**

#### **April 1994- May 1997: Fall of Mobutu**

In April of 1994 Hutu extremists found refuge in North Eastern Zaire (DRC) after orchestrating a mass genocide of Tutsis in Rwanda.<sup>52</sup> Mobutu allowed the Hutus to enter Zaire

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<sup>50</sup>"Human Development Reports." United Nations Development Programme. 2018. Accessed February 14, 2019. <http://hdr.undp.org/en/countries/profiles/COD>

<sup>51</sup>"Life Expectancy at Birth, Total (years)." Literacy Rate, Adult Female (% of Females Ages 15 and Above) | Data. Accessed March 07, 2019. <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.DYN.LE00.IN?locations=CD>.

<sup>52</sup>"Congo History & Timeline." Welcome to the Congo Reform Association. Accessed March 07, 2019. <http://www.congoreformassociation.org/congo-timeline/>.

as a political move to restore his reputation as a humanitarian rather than a cold militant ruler.<sup>53</sup>

This backfired as the Hutus took control of the region and were a threat to Rwanda.<sup>54</sup>

By November of 1994 these rebels had firm control over the region. In November of 1996, Anti-Mobutu rebels (Tutsis) known as the Alliance for Democratic Liberation (AFDL) fought the Hutu rebel factions in northeastern Zaire and pushed towards Kinshasa. With the backing of Rwanda, Uganda, Burundi and Angola, the AFDL took Kinshasa (May 1997) while Mobutu was receiving treatment for cancer in exile.<sup>55</sup> Zaire was renamed the Democratic Republic of Congo and Laurent Kabila (father of Joseph Kabila) was named the president.

### **Analysis**

When looking at this specific conflict, a number of the risk factors mentioned in my index appear to be present. Governmental miscalculation followed by a lapse in governmental control enabled the Hutu rebels to get a foothold in the region. However, it wasn't the Hutu rebels that ultimately overthrew Mobutu. It was the AFDL backed by Rwanda that were responsible for the government's collapse. Although Rwanda's primary motive was to remove the Hutu militant threat in close proximity to their border, control of resources could also have been an ulterior motive. Kabila would have been a valuable ally with access to a wealth of resources in close proximity to Rwanda.

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<sup>53</sup>Loffman, Reuben. "In the Shadow of the 'Great Helmsman': Mobutu Sese Seko's Life and Legacy in the DR Congo." USAPP. September 06, 2017. Accessed March 07, 2019. <http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/africaatlse/2017/09/07/in-the-shadow-of-the-great-helmsman-mobutu-sese-sekos-life-and-legacy-in-the-dr-congo/>.

<sup>54</sup>Loffman, Reuben. "In the Shadow of the 'Great Helmsman': Mobutu Sese Seko's Life and Legacy in the DR Congo." USAPP. September 06, 2017. Accessed March 07, 2019. <http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/africaatlse/2017/09/07/in-the-shadow-of-the-great-helmsman-mobutu-sese-sekos-life-and-legacy-in-the-dr-congo/>.

<sup>55</sup>Keim, Curtis A., and F. Scott Bobb. "Historical Dictionary of Democratic Republic of the Congo (Zaire)." *African Studies Review* 43, no. 2 (2000): 138.

Although Mobutu was a dictator, the legislative body under Mobutu was elected.<sup>56</sup> Thus the regime type of Zaire (now DRC) was an anocracy. Therefore there was no proper outlet for grievances. This coupled with the government's lack of ability to suppress dissent were key factors in the development and eventual success of the rebellion.

### **July 2003- July 2013: Transitional Period**

Following the assassination of his father in 2001, Joseph Kabila was named the Interim President of the DRC.<sup>57</sup> At this point in time the Lusaka Peace Agreement had been signed and Rwanda and Uganda had withdrawn their forces. United Nations Peacekeepers were stationed in the region to provide aid and help the people heal. In 2006 Kabila was re-elected in the DRC's first free elections. The DRC appeared to be in an upward trend. However, rebel factions were still present in the eastern part of the country. The withdrawal of Uganda and Rwanda had created a power vacuum conducive to rebel groups. In 2012, three hundred former CNDP rebels deserted the Congolese army and staged the M23 rebellion.<sup>58</sup> This rebellion displaced hundreds of thousands of civilians in the Kivu region. July 2013 marks the end of this period with the successful defeat of the M23 rebel group.

### **Analysis**

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<sup>56</sup>Dash, Leon. "Mobutu's Staying Power Is Attributed To His Political Skill and Raw Force." The Washington Post. December 30, 1979. Accessed March 07, 2019. [https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1979/12/30/mobutus-staying-power-is-attributed-to-his-political-skill-and-raw-force/2a3a4913-c7a1-4dab-ad9c-5dc62ab7df49/?noredirect=on&utm\\_term=.463145c1257a](https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1979/12/30/mobutus-staying-power-is-attributed-to-his-political-skill-and-raw-force/2a3a4913-c7a1-4dab-ad9c-5dc62ab7df49/?noredirect=on&utm_term=.463145c1257a).

<sup>57</sup>"Democratic Republic of Congo Profile - Timeline." BBC News. January 10, 2019. Accessed March 07, 2019. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-13286306>.

<sup>58</sup>Musoni, Fabrice. "Understanding M23 and the Current Conflict in the DR Congo." United to End Genocide. November 29, 2012. Accessed March 07, 2019. <http://endgenocide.org/understanding-m23-and-the-current-conflict-in-the-drc-congo/>.

Although the government in place was viewed as democratic, it was relatively weak. The lack of control allowed rebel factions to gain a foothold in the remote eastern part of the country (far from the capital Kinshasa) where there was a wealth of resources in close proximity to borders. Both Rwanda and Uganda were opportunistic and took advantage of this. In 2003, Rwanda backed the CNDP (2008-2009) led by Laurent Nkunda and was accused of backing the M23 (2012-2013) rebel group.<sup>59</sup> Both rebel factions were used as proxies and were provided arms in return for access to resources. The International Court of Justice (ICJ) found Uganda guilty of stealing minerals from the DRC in 2005.<sup>60</sup> Uganda had been occupying the northeastern region of the DRC and during this five year period, their military had extracted a considerable sum of the DRC's resources. Recently the United Nations have reported that Uganda was utilizing multiple rebel groups, including M23, to smuggle gold and other valuable resources out of the DRC.<sup>61</sup> Due to the poor management of these resources and chaos in the region, it is hard to know the true amount of resources Uganda and Rwanda have stolen, but given the profitable nature of the region and length of time and effort each respective country has invested, it can be assumed a considerable amount has been plundered.

This transitional period provides a clear example where lack of governmental control over resources can result in the growth of rebel factions with the backing of opportunistic

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<sup>59</sup>Beswick, Danielle. "Unpacking Rwanda's Involvement in DR Congo and the International Response." E-International Relations. December 19, 2012. Accessed November 18, 2017. <http://www.e-ir.info/2012/12/19/unpacking-rwanda-s-involvement-in-dr-congo-and-the-international-response/>.

<sup>60</sup>Bauer, Isabella. "Uganda's hidden role in Congo's conflict | Africa | DW | 04.01.2013." DW.COM. April 1, 2013. Accessed November 18, 2017. <http://www.dw.com/en/ugandas-hidden-role-in-congos-conflict/a-16494434>.

<sup>61</sup>Bauer, Isabella. "Uganda's hidden role in Congo's conflict | Africa | DW | 04.01.2013." DW.COM. April 1, 2013. Accessed November 18, 2017. <http://www.dw.com/en/ugandas-hidden-role-in-congos-conflict/a-16494434>.

external actors. If the government had a firm grasp over this region, rebels would not have been able to gain control over the resources and external actors would be less likely to get involved. This would have decreased the likelihood of internal conflict. Although the government was democratic, it was weak and lacked the ability to gain full control of the DRC without the help of UN Peacekeepers. This provides an example where even though democracies are at less of a risk for internal conflict (due to the mechanism of channeling grievances through the political process), internal conflict can still take place.

### **Analysis of The DRC Now**

#### **Regime Type**

The Democratic Republic of Congo held a presidential election January 2019, marking the end of Joseph Kabila's time in office.<sup>62</sup> Kabila's time in office began in 2001 after the assassination of his father. The only other times Kabila has been challenged in a political election was in 2006 and 2011, which both resulted in his re-election. There was a concern that Kabila was not going to relinquish his office prior to the election in 2019 as it had been postponed multiple times. However, with Felix Tshisekedi's (UPDS) election, one would think that these fears would be quelled. However, the election has been viewed as fraudulent because Kabila's Party, the FCC, won supramajority in the Senate and Parliament. One would think that the presidential candidate for the FCC (Ramazani Shadary) would have won instead of coming in last in the polls (23.8%). With Kabila serving as a lifelong senator after his presidency, there is speculation that Kabila may have struck a deal under the table with Tshisekedi, giving

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<sup>62</sup>Litanga, Patrick. "What next for the DR Congo after the Disputed Election?" GCC News | Al Jazeera. January 17, 2019. Accessed March 07, 2019. <https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/dr-congo-disputed-election-190117094304898.html>.

Tshisekedi the presidency in return for giving Kabila and his party power in the legislative body.

<sup>63</sup> At first glance this ploy would appear to be an election where an opposing party would take over, but in reality, Kabila and the FCC could still be pulling the strings. These characteristics arguably make the DRC an anocracy since it is clear that there is a flaw in the democratic system. The population is aware of the possible fraudulent election, which may provide the incentive to rebel. Additionally the DRC lacks the power to suppress a rebellion that a full fledged authoritarian state would have. Without a mechanism to channel or suppress grievances, the DRC is at an increased risk of falling back into internal conflict.

### **Governmental Control In the DRC**

The DRC's military has been fighting rebel groups in the North Kivu region after one was deemed responsible for killing fourteen UN Peacekeepers.<sup>64</sup> The rebel faction responsible is an Islamist inspired militia.<sup>65</sup> That being said, the fact that militias and factions have been able to root themselves in the Kivu region indicates a lack of government control. Given the fact that the Kivu region is one of the most wealthy in terms of natural resources, this is a major concern. With its close proximity to neighboring countries Rwanda and Uganda, which both have engaged in proxy conflicts in the region, the Kivu region is a problem area. In fact both at some point in time have taken advantage of past rebel factions having control of resources in the Kivu region

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<sup>63</sup>Litanga, Patrick. "What next for the DR Congo after the Disputed Election?" GCC News | Al Jazeera. January 17, 2019. Accessed March 07, 2019. <https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/dr-congo-disputed-election-190117094304898.html>.

<sup>64</sup>Burke, Jason. "'The Wars Will Never Stop' - Millions Flee Bloodshed as Congo Falls Apart." The Guardian. April 03, 2018. Accessed March 07, 2019. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/apr/03/millions-flee-bloodshed-as-congos-army-steps-up-fight-with-rebels-in-east>.

<sup>65</sup>Burke, Jason. "'The Wars Will Never Stop' - Millions Flee Bloodshed as Congo Falls Apart." The Guardian. April 03, 2018. Accessed March 07, 2019. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/apr/03/millions-flee-bloodshed-as-congos-army-steps-up-fight-with-rebels-in-east>.

and backed these factions in return for access to said resources. Without control of these resources, all it would take is the right leader to organize these factions and one of the opportunistic neighboring countries to be bold enough to back said factions in return for resources. A faction with enough support and organization could pose a potential threat to the DRC military and result in the spread of violence. It is of the utmost importance for the DRC to regain control of this region as lack of control puts the country at an increased risk for another civil war.

### **Economic: Resources**

Based off data collected by the World Bank, the DRC's economy continues to struggle. Not only is the annual growth in GDP one of the worst in the world, but it is one of the worst in sub-saharan Africa. This poor economic climate has certainly impacted the population. 64 percent of the population lives under the poverty line and the Human Development Index ranks the DRC as the 12th poorest country out of the 188 countries recorded.<sup>66</sup> The lack of development and continuing economic issues are possible grievances and motives for rebellion.

The DRC possesses a wealth of resources, including diamonds, gold, uranium, zinc, manganese, oil, tin, copper and cobalt. The majority of these resources are located on the eastern half of the DRC with many sites in close proximity to borders. The Kivu region that shares borders with Uganda, Rwanda, and Burundi possesses a wealth of these resources and has been a problem area in the past. Its proximity to other countries, wealth of resources and remote location (over 1000 miles from the capital) make it an ideal location for a rebel stronghold.<sup>67</sup> In

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<sup>66</sup>"Overview." World Bank. May 16, 2018. Accessed March 07, 2019.  
<https://www.worldbank.org/en/country/drc/overview>.

<sup>67</sup>Burke, Jason. "'The Wars Will Never Stop' - Millions Flee Bloodshed as Congo Falls

the past, the M23 rebel group once resided in North Kivu and today a myriad of factions call the region home. Although these factions are viewed as less of a threat due to their lack of organization and international backing, they are still a concern. All it would take is the right leader, and an opportunistic external actor to make one of these factions a legitimate threat as they already have access to natural resources. The lack of government authority and control in the region is concerning as it can easily become a place where a large scale conflict can stem from.

	Fall of Mobutu (April 1994-May 1997)	Transitional Period (July 2003-July 2013)	Current State of the DRC (2019)
Grey Area Regime (Anocracy)	X		X
Lack of Government Control	X	X	X
Resources	X	X	X
Grievances	X	X	X
Opportunistic External Actors	X	X	

X=The factor is Present

### Figure D: Risk Factors Present in Each Period

#### Conclusion

After analyzing the three periods (the fall of Mobutu, the transitional period, and the current era) in the DRC it is clear that not all of the factors in my risk assessment model must be

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Apart." The Guardian. April 03, 2018. Accessed March 07, 2019.  
<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/apr/03/millions-flee-bloodshed-as-congos-army-steps-up-fight-with-rebels-in-east>.

present in order for internal conflict to occur. This was the case as the regime type during the transitional period was clearly a democracy, yet internal conflict materialised (M23 rebellion). That being said, the DRC clearly fit the mold of an anocracy under the rule of Mobutu. Additionally, in both the transitional period and Mobutu era, there was a presence of natural resources in the eastern part of the country. This is a clear problem area as it is relatively remote and in both circumstances, rebel factions staged their rebellions from this region.

With the current government in the DRC displaying some characteristics of an anocracy, there should be great concern of history repeating itself. Grievances are still present and always will be present in a country. With the majority of the population struggling and living in poverty, there are bound to be a plethora of grievances. Rebel factions are already present in the eastern part of the DRC (a past problem area) and the resources necessary to fund a rebellion still remain. All it would take is the proper leadership and an opportunistic external actor to be the catalyst for a drawn out rebellion.

That being said, eleven African countries signed a United Nations backed accord in 2013 to put an end to conflict in the DRC.<sup>68</sup> The countries that signed the deal included Rwanda, Uganda, and Burundi, which share borders with and have had a history of being involved in the DRC. It would violate the treaty for these countries to openly or secretly back a rebel faction in the DRC. Tampering would have political implications and could result in sanctions from the United Nations. The United Nations involvement as an international arbiter and the political implications should be enough of a deterrent for opportunistic countries. Thus, if a rebel faction

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<sup>68</sup>Netto, Joseph, and Nana Karikari-apau. "African Leaders Sign Congo Peace Deal." CNN. February 25, 2013. Accessed March 12, 2019. <http://www.cnn.com/2013/02/24/world/africa/congo-peace-deal/index.html>.

where to become significant, it is unlikely that they would receive support from a neighboring country. As long as the DRC's military has enough of a presence, there is a low likelihood of a drawn out internal conflict.

Based off all of the research and the DRC case study, the Internal Conflict Risk Assessment model effectively explains the conditions conducive to internal conflict. While some internal conflicts may lack one or two of the risk factors suggested, there is compelling evidence that countries expressing all three are at an increased risk of internal conflict.

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