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Causes of Civil War Duration: Mozambique and Angola by the Method of Difference

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Abstract

This research empirically examines the causes of the civil war duration gap between the civil wars of Mozambique and Angola by the method of difference. Mozambique and Angola are comparable cases, so they are best-fit cases for this method. The research proposes external state intervention, state capacity, weapons industry, UN Trust Fund, and type of natural resources as tentative independent variables. This research explores causality between each independent variable and dependent variable by process tracing on qualitative scales and employs a combination of area studies and statistical analysis to reinforce each tentative independent variable. The historical discourse also covers the internal validity problem of small-N studies by process tracing. This research concludes that UN Trust Fund and type of natural resources are both genuine variables to determine 10 years of civil war duration gap between the two states. The results of the analysis are applicable to Mozambique and Angola from 1975 to 2002 and show limited generalization.

Keywords: Mozambique, Angola, Civil War Duration, Method of Difference, Process Tracing

1. Introduction

Mozambique and Angola, which are part of Lusophone Africa, are located in southern Africa. They share similarities in terms of historical, social, political, and economic dimensions that they do not have in common with other Lusophone states. Moreover, both states have experienced long civil wars. However, there is a duration gap between the civil wars of these two states. Mozambique endured a civil war from 1975 to 1992, while Angola suffered a civil war from 1975 to 2002. This ten-year gap between the Mozambican and Angolan civil wars is a substantial period of time that affects the duration of civil wars on qualitative scales. Previous scholarship has discussed the causes, international involvement, and termination of the civil wars in Mozambique and Angola through single-case studies.

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Vines (1991: 32–71) claims that a large number of foreign states supported the Mozambican National Resistance (RENAMO), the rebel party in the Mozambican civil war. RENAMO even requested that Kenya mediate in direct talks with the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO) in Rome in August 1990 (*ibid.*, p. 60). These acts of international involvement to RENAMO laid the foundation for peace talks between FRELIMO and RENAMO in Rome in July 1990, and the discussions were mediated by the Sant' Egidio Catholic lay community (Vines 2013: 377). Carbone (2005: 431) argues that RENAMO successfully transformed from a military movement into a political party because US \$17 million was provided to RENAMO in the 1994 election as a UN Trust Fund. In contrast, in the Angolan civil war, such a UN Trust Fund was not provided to the rebel movement. Manning (1998: 188) claims that the Mozambican people joined RENAMO during the civil war for various reasons ranging from personnel problems with authorities to disagreements with government policies or ideology and ethnic-based grievances. He contends that the Mozambican civil war was related to ethnicity and was an ideological war between the political parties. RENAMO was originally a military organization with little developed administrative and political wings, and it strengthened its political and administrative capabilities by recruiting new people in the cities during the civil war (Manning 1998: 188). RENAMO's history played an important role in its future as a political party and for the stability of Mozambique's new political system (*ibid.*, p. 187).

Regarding the Angolan civil war, Vines and Oruitemeka (2008: 258) claim that the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) received \$23 million per year and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) receives \$14 million per year. The MPLA is government party, whereas the UNITA is the rebel army. The MPLA also receives revenues from several large companies owned by the government, and UNITA no longer controls diamonds, which sustained it during the civil war and until 2002. Thus, for UNITA, competing with the MPLA is difficult, and diamonds have played an important role since the civil war (Vines and Oruitemeka 2008: 258). Vines and Oruitemeka (2008) argue that how natural resources sustained political parties' revenue, allowing the Angolan civil war to continue. Hare (1998: XV) claims that the levels of distrust and historical hatred between the parties were too high to allow any hopes among Angolans that peace might become a reality. Hare (1998: XV) also notes that both parties had access to oil, diamonds, and weapons to maintain the civil war and that this was a negative factor for Angola, unlike for Mozambique. Chabal and Daloz (1999: 82–83) contend that the government of Angola confronted regional and international opposition and suffered from the actions of rebel movement, which received assistance from external powers. They define the Angolan civil war as a criminal conflict triggered by the economic interests of external states. Cahen argues that no one desired peace in that war and that a military defeat of one side was the only way to terminate the conflict (Cahen from Chesterman *ed.* 2005: 225). Klare states that illegal diamond trafficking and arms procurement by UNITA were reported in a UN report and that the connection between resource exploitation and the financing of

civil conflicts was internationally recognized (Klare 2001: 210).

The above discussion illustrates the causes and the termination of these civil wars in Mozambique and Angola through a single case study. However, the genuine causes that explained the civil war duration gap between the two states is unclear and have not been empirically demonstrated for the two cases.

Moreover, the observations made above raise a number of research questions. First, “What allowed Mozambique to end its civil war successfully in 1992, while the Angolan civil war lasted until 2002?” Second, “What are the genuine causes of the prolongation of the Angolan civil war?”

The objective of this research is to determine empirically the genuine causes of the two civil wars duration gap.¹

The current paper discusses the methodology in Section 2. The historical discourses of Mozambique and Angola are discussed in Section 3. Then, the hypotheses and a literature review are presented in Section 4. A comparative analysis by the method of difference is discussed in Section 5. Section 6 contains a summary of analysis and discussion.

2. Method

This study applies the method of difference to detect genuine variables for determining the 10 years of civil war duration gap between the Mozambican and Angolan civil wars. The method of difference was originally devised by Mill (1846) and later as the “Most Similar Systems Design” by Przeworski and Teune (1970: 32–34). The method of difference is suitable for comparing countries as units of analysis (Peters 1998: 40) and for comparing similar cases (Lijphart 1971: 687). Przeworski and Teune (1970: 33–34) describe the Most Similar Systems Design as follows: Similarities between cases are held to be irrelevant variables, whereas differences between cases are held to be independent variables that determine different patterns in dependent phenomena.

The methodological logic of the method of difference is as follows: Each X should be categorical. If X₂ and X₃ are similarities, these similarities automatically become conditions. Differences between X₁ and X₁', X₄ and X₄', and X₅ and X₅' thus cause the differences in Y and Y'. A scholar is required to extract genuine variables from X₁ and X₁', X₄ and X₄', and X₅ and X₅'. The ideal design of the method of difference is the maximization of conditions and the minimization of differences among variables. The method of difference attempts to detect genuine causes by maximizing similarities and minimizing differences.

3. Historical Discourse²

3.1. Historical Discourse of Mozambique

Mozambique is bordered by South Africa, Swaziland, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Malawi, and Tanzania. Forty-three tribes exist in the country; tribal languages are spoken in rural areas, whereas Portuguese is spoken in the capital of Maputo. Mozambique is highly dependent on agriculture as its major economic activity. Regarding the sociocultural context, the patron-client system is clearly evident in Mozambican society.³ This is a polygamous society in which a husband may have multiple wives, and this social system is common in rural areas where agriculture is the main economic activity. Women have low human rights because of polygamy. They are often exposed to HIV as their husbands have several wives. The country has abundant resources of natural gas, coal, and mineral sands (Bucuane and Mulder 2007). Natural gas was discovered in Pande in 1961 (ICEP 2009). Mozambique does not possess natural resources like crude oil that can bring massive capital, and this is a major difference between Mozambique and Angola (interview with Consular Siteo 2008). By the end of the 15th century, Portuguese colonists began immigrating to Mozambique. After World War II, farmers from Portugal began large-scale plantation in postcolonial Mozambique. The island of Mozambique flourished as military, naval, and administrative coastal city from the 16th to 17th century (Newitt 2004: 36). The capital transferred to Lourenço Marques (current Maputo) in 1898. On June 25, 1962, FRELIMO was formed to establish independence from Portugal. In 1964, FRELIMO initiated a struggle against this colonial power, establishing a firm political base. Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane, a national hero of Mozambique, began an armed struggle as the founding president of FRELIMO and liberated one-fourth of the island from Portugal. When Mozambique gained independence from Portugal in 1975, FRELIMO emerged as a strong, effective, and self-confident political organization with a clear political identity, realistic motivations, and considerable political experience (Chabal 1983: 117), whereas the MPLA lacked similar political strength. The formal declaration of FRELIMO as a Marxist-Leninist party was made in early 1977. Similar to Angola, Mozambique was less economically developed at the time of its political independence, partly because Portugal itself was an underdeveloped country within Europe (Kofi 1981: 859).

Mozambique was relegated to the periphery of the international system, as described by world systems theory. In 1974, Portugal's Carnation Revolution, a left-wing coup, created the conditions for Mozambique's declaration of independence the following year. Portugal was thus unable to maintain its empire because of the decline of hegemonic power in relation to the U.K. and France. However, Mozambique's sudden transition to independence prompted violence in the country. RENAMO, established by right-wing Portuguese as a counterweight to FRELIMO, was created by the intelligence unit of southern Rhodesia and supported by South Africa's apartheid regime. RENAMO had no political or administrative framework before 1985 and was simply a military organization

(Manning 1998: 162). RENAMO's "political wing" initially involved two fronts. One was linkage with Europe and the U.S. and the other was military activity within Mozambique, and the two fronts were combined to form the base of RENAMO's political organization, providing a strong but small contingent (Manning 1998: 177). Mozambique gained sovereignty in 1975, and the political regime of Mozambique (FRELIMO) was Marxist-Leninist. Civil war began between FRELIMO and RENAMO, and a large number of states intervened in support of either of these political parties of Mozambique during the civil war. The FRELIMO regime faced attacks by RENAMO, destructive actions, economic exploitation, and overall destabilization, which was South Africa's foreign policy, especially in the early 1980s. In 1984, the Nkomati Accord was signed between Mozambique and South Africa, which was termed the "Agreement on Non-aggression and Good Neighbors," to prevent South Africa's aggression against Mozambique. In 1984-85, a serious and fairly successful effort to create a political wing within RENAMO began, and formal political activities and structures were established within Mozambique as an attempt to negotiate an end to the civil war around the time of the Nkomati Accord (Manning 1998: 177). A large number of foreign states (Portugal, erstwhile West Germany, the U.S., the U.K., Malawi, Kenya, Zimbabwe, Tanzania, and Zambia) were involved with RENAMO, the rebel movement in the Mozambican civil war (Vines 1991: 32-71). FRELIMO was supported by the erstwhile Soviet Union, North Korea, Bulgaria, and erstwhile East Germany. Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano visited the U.S. in March 1990 and announced the possibility of direct talks between FRELIMO and RENAMO (Vines 1991: 49). Kenya dispatched a delegation that included a major and a captain of the Kenyan armed forces to RENAMO-controlled Mozambique in April 1990, and RENAMO even requested Kenya to mediate in direct talks with FRELIMO in Rome in August 1990 (*ibid.*, p. 60). This international involvement prepared the background for peace talks between the two organizations in Rome, which then led Mozambique to the peace agreement. Vines states that direct peace talks between RENAMO and FRELIMO eventually began in Rome in July 1990 and that the discussions were mediated by the Sant' Egidio Catholic lay community (Vines 2013: 377). The central agenda of the peace process was the creation of a new Mozambican army—the Armed Forces of Defence of Mozambique (FADM) and FRELIMO and RENAMO eventually agreed that the new FADM army would be 30,000 strong, with 15,000 troops from each side (Vines 2013: 379).

The civil war ended in 1992, as both parties were in large part proxies of the Cold War superpowers. A large number of external stakeholders evacuated from Mozambique with the conclusion of the Cold War and the end of the apartheid regime in South Africa. Unlike Angola, Mozambique did not have attractive natural resources. This lack of attractive natural resources came as a blessing in disguise for Mozambique as external states lost interest rapidly with the end of the Cold War. RENAMO finally realized that they would never obtain a ruling position and could no longer manage to continue the devastating war (Vines 1991: 131). In the Mozambican civil war, a UN operation was implemented only once (United Nations Operation in Mozambique, ONUMOZ), in which approximately 200 personnel

from various countries served. ONUMOZ conducted the establishment of election laws and carried out preparations for multiple elections and Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration, and a UN Trust Fund was provided to RENAMO for transformation of the rebel movement into a political party in the 1994 elections (Carbone 2005: 431). Concerning these preparations, the official peace process went smoothly, although demobilization (the handing in of weapons) was voluntary (Toki 2004: 5). A large quantity of small arms was imported to Mozambique, and there were six million AK-47s when the civil war ended in 1992 (Kees 1996: 8), which shows the existence of a weapons industry in Mozambique during the civil war. Since the peace agreement in 1992, Mozambique has not experienced a civil war again, and national elections have been held every four years. A large number of international donors have also been dedicated to helping post-conflict Mozambique recover rapidly.

3.2. Historical Discourse of Angola

Like Mozambique, Angola is part of Lusophone Africa. Angola is bordered by Congo, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Zambia, and Namibia. As with Mozambique, Angola was mostly an agrarian state throughout the colonial and civil war periods. Eighty percent of the population is composed of peasants. Like Mozambique, Angola is a patron-client system society wherein traditional leaders control decision making at the district level, and the society is male dominated. Angola is also a polygamous society like Mozambique, and therefore, women have low human rights as they do in Mozambique. They are often exposed to HIV as their husbands have several wives. Angola contains diverse ethnic groups (three main tribes and others) and tribal languages are spoken. Thus, the two countries can be said to possess close sociocultural dimensions as they were (and are) both agrarian states based on polygamy and a patron-client system.

Before the 15th century, the Kingdom of Kongo existed in the northern part of Angola. In 1575, Portuguese explorer Paulo Dias arrived at Luanda Island and a plantation was started there the following year. In the 1840s and 1850s, Portugal expanded plantations to the interior of Angola. On December 10, 1956, the MPLA was established by Amilcar Cabral. In 1961, the MPLA began an armed anticolonial struggle against Portugal, which was soon supported by the Soviet Union. In 1962, the FNLA was established by Holden Roberto. In 1964, the Soviet Union started supporting the MPLA. In 1966, Jonas Savimbi established UNITA. In 1972, the FNLA began receiving assistance from China. The Angolan civil war expanded because of the progressive intervention of the Cold War powers through their proxies (Shankleman 2006: 95). The Angolan civil war had characteristics of the Cold War proxies as well as those of the civil war of Mozambique. Ambassador Josefina Pitra Diakite commented in a newspaper article that the Angolan civil war was instigated from outside during the Cold War (Washington Diplomat 2008: 17). In 1975, the political regime of Angola (MPLA) was Marxist-Leninist and so was that of Mozambique. An armed struggle began between the MPLA and UNITA in the northern part of Angola. A large number of states provided assistance to political parties

in Angola⁴ as well as Mozambique. The U.S. started providing assistance to the FNLA, and Angola was forced into an inter-military dispute. In May 1975, Cuba began assisting the MPLA to block the invasion of South Africa. In August 1975, the U.S. and China increased their assistance to the FNLA and UNITA, and the Soviet Union expanded its support for the MPLA. Given the large number of external interventions, Angola was trapped in a civil war by the end of November 1975. A declaration of independence from colonial rule was made on November 11, 1975. However, once Angola became independent from Portugal, the state was weak (Chabal 1983: 113) as multiple organizations existed and created armed conflict internally during the independence struggle and there were individual psychological power struggles among party leaders (Aoki 2001: 43). By the end of the 1970s, UNITA took over from the FNLA and became the main opponent of the MPLA government.

Crude oil production started only in 1955 in Angola, and crude oil was crucial in maintaining the Angolan civil war because it sustained the government revenue of the MPLA. Shankleman (2006) concludes that after the end of the Cold War, crude oil (rather than international support) became the main financial source for the MPLA and that Angola evolved into a petro-state. Natural resources presented by petroleum and minerals are crucial factors to explaining the prolongation of the Angolan civil war; moreover, some Western states had economic interests in relation to those resources (interview with Minister Consular Neto 2014). With the termination of the Cold War, UNITA lost the support of its superpower backers. This organization had a more capitalist and neocolonial orientation and received military aid from the U.S. and South Africa. Thus, control over diamonds became important for maintaining the political and military activity of UNITA (Aoki 2001: 51). Diamonds allowed UNITA to continue the armed struggle even after the Cold War ended, while crude oil provided government revenue that helped the MPLA sustain the armed struggle with UNITA. Thus, the type of natural resources played a crucial role in maintaining the Angolan civil war in terms of purchasing weapons for both political parties, which lasted from 1975 until 2002. Illicit diamond trafficking and arms procurement were implemented by UNITA in Angola, which identifies a connection between resource exploitation and the financing of civil war (Klare 2001: 210). In Angola, four UN peacekeeping operations failed.⁵ In 1988, the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM I) was dispatched to Angola by the UN Security Council, and it lasted from 1989 to 1991. A year later, Mobutu Sese Seko, the President of Zaire (current DRC), visited Luanda to mediate a conciliation between the MPLA and UNITA. In 1991, the Bicesse Process was signed between these two groups. Peacekeeping operations failed⁶ because UNITA simply refused to accept the election results and returned to hostilities and because distrust had become ingrained through decades of war (Aoki 2001: 18). In July 1999, the UN investigated an illegal shipment of diamonds to Europe, and in November 1999, Dos Santos, the president of the MPLA, officially announced the termination of peace talks with UNITA. In January 2000, the MPLA strengthened its military campaign against UNITA from the Namibian side. A constantly divided situation existed in the peace process of the 1990s in Angola,

and too many external and neighboring states intervened throughout the civil war period, resulting in failed peace settlements (interview with Consular Siteo 2008). In 2002, the leader of UNITA, Jonas Savimbi, died. His death facilitated the peace-building process in Angola (interview with Nicolas and Binkert 2008). The long-lasting armed struggle between the MPLA and UNITA finally came to an end in 2002; however, the Angolan civil war did not end as a result of Savimbi's death. UNITA had already become integrated into the MPLA after the Bicesse Accords, and UNITA's military power was already weakened by the end of the civil war (interview with Minister Consular Neto 2014). Mozambique, but not Angola, received a UN Trust Fund, which made a difference to the duration of the civil war. Angola only implemented national elections in 2008—six years after the end of the civil war.

4. Hypotheses and Literature Review

4.1. Hypotheses

Based on the historical narratives, the following five tentative independent variables⁷ are selected within the sub-Saharan African context.⁸ Tentative independent variables include external state intervention, state capacity, weapons industry, UN Trust Fund, and type of natural resources.

Hypothesis 1: Those countries that are inclined toward external state intervention⁹ tend to experience longer civil wars in sub-Saharan Africa.

Hypothesis 2: Those countries that have weak state capacity,¹⁰ such as low legitimacy and low effectiveness of new government, tend to experience longer civil wars in sub-Saharan Africa.

Hypothesis 3: Those countries that operate a weapons industry, such as the manufacture of AK-47s, are likely to experience longer civil wars in sub-Saharan Africa.

Hypothesis 4: Those countries that do not benefit from a UN Trust Fund are likely to suffer from longer civil wars in sub-Saharan Africa.

Hypothesis 5: Those countries that produce certain types of resources, such as crude oil and diamonds, are likely to suffer from longer civil wars in sub-Saharan Africa.

4.2. Literature Review

The literature review focuses on each tentative independent variable by combining area studies and statistical analysis.¹¹

External state intervention is extracted as a tentative independent variable, as both conflicts were influenced by the presence of strong external actors.¹² According to Cunningham (2010), civil wars with independent external interventions last longer. He employs a Cox proportional hazards model regression to confirm his hypothesis. Samuels (2013: 261) argues that any involvement of foreign countries, especially superpowers such as the U.S., may increase state vulnerability and generate

opportunities for insurgents. Similarly, Baylis, Smith, and Owens (2011: 62) claim that some civil wars and regional wars are prolonged because of the involvement of superpowers, while also noting that other wars may have been hindered or shortened by this. Aoki (2001) observes that in Angola, for example, the civil war began as a proxy for the Cold War as well as for the opposing interests of countries in southern Africa; consequently, the poles of confrontation became extremely complex, conflict resolution became difficult, and the civil war endured. The Angolan civil war highly reflected the political, economic, and geostrategic interests of some Western states and another fundamental reason that explains the civil war duration in Angola is natural resources presented by petroleum and minerals (interview with Minister Consular Neto 2014).

State capacity is extracted as a tentative independent variable. Scholars have addressed the potential link between weak state strength and civil wars in sub-Saharan Africa. DeRouen and Sobek (2004: 316) employ a multinomial logit model and examine the period between 1944 and 1997, concluding that state capacity is correlated with war outcome and duration. Their empirical research shows that civil war is not likely to terminate and that the possibility of a truce or treaty increases when neither the government nor rebels succeed in securing a quick victory. Their empirical research proposes that state capacity prolongs civil war duration in Africa (DeRouen and Sobek 2004: 316). Bucuane and Mulder argue that Mozambique performs much better than Angola in terms of institutional quality because rich natural resources like crude oil weaken the institutional quality of a resource-rich country (Bucuane and Mulder 2007: 23 and 30). Previous historical comparative analysis (Chabal 1983; Cahen from Chesterman ed 2005) indicated that FRELIMO in Mozambique established firm state strength during the independence war, whereas institution building by the MPLA was comparatively vulnerable in comparison with Mozambique. However, state capacities of both Mozambique and Angola are vulnerable to external state intervention, as the historical discourse illustrates. Mesquita (2010: 383-384) argues that most postcolonial African states suffer from dictatorships dominated by corrupt authorities and political leaders. Samuels (2013: 260) also contends that most leaders and rulers are reluctant to carry out fundamental political transformation and that many former colonies never managed to overcome the legacy of colonial institutions. They are unable to execute a fundamental transition because of their weak authority, and weak legitimacy and competition over state control lead to violence (ibid, p. 260).

The weapons industry can be extracted as a tentative independent variable because, as the historical discourse shows, the weapons industry played a role in maintaining the civil war in both states. Scholars have examined the link between the weapons industry and longer civil wars in sub-Saharan Africa. Fearon (2004: 284) argues that having a dependable source of financing and weapons helps rebels sustain a long-running war. He asserts that rebel groups often raise funds from the sale of contraband to obtain weapons and that there is a linkage between contraband and weapons (ibid, p. 283). Klare identifies a connection between resource exploitation and the financing of civil wars,

presenting a UN report on illicit diamond trafficking and arms procurement by UNITA in Angola (Klare 2001: 210). He quotes speeches of Ambassador Robert K. Fowler as follows: A number of African governments and companies assisted UNITA in exchanging its diamonds for arms, fuel, and other military commodities (ibid). Klare argues that the profits from the illicit traffic in diamonds are enormous and that the MPLA received \$1 billion from foreign oil companies to obtain the rights to drill in the offshore waters of Angola, and these funds were used to purchase arms (ibid, p. 211). Kees (1996: 8) estimates that the number of weapons in civilian hands in Angola is one million. Samuels (2013: 261) also argues that when civil war occurs in one state, the flow of arms, finance, and troops often generates insurgency opportunities in other states. Lantis asserts that development in conventional weapons and offensive military strategies contributes to the onset of numerous conflicts and the proliferation of conventional weapons realized through arms races and that corporate greed may provoke major conflicts; moreover, he says the horizontal spread of conventional weapons has been worsened by cross-border trade (Lantis from Snarr and Snarr ed 2005: 15). Lantis concludes that legal and illegal arms flows have caused civil wars throughout the world, and he presents the conflict in Mozambique as one of the best cases of his argument (ibid, p. 17).

UN Trust Fund is extracted as a tentative independent variable because in case of the Mozambican civil war, some states and the Roman Catholic Church became involved in mediating peace talks between FRELIMO and RENAMO, and a UN Trust Fund was provided to RENAMO to allow it to transform into a political party. This occurred successfully, with RENAMO changing from a rebel movement into a political party (Vines 1991: 60; Vines 2013: 377; Carbone 2005: 431). These types of preparations did not happen in the Angolan civil war, and, in fact, the UN Trust Fund played a big role in the successful implementation of the peace process in the Mozambican civil war without there being serious political conflict. In the case of the Angolan civil war, however, UN mediation was implemented four times, external states intervened only for economic and political interests related to Angola, and UNITA returned to civil war, breaking peace accords as it had no intention of concluding the civil war, which was its military strategy.

Resource type is extracted as a tentative independent variable because it is evident that the crude oil and diamonds of Angola played a crucial role in the weapons industry and in attracting external actors, as the historical discourse delineates. In Mozambique, there was no natural resource like crude oil, which brings massive capital into Mozambique, and this is a big distinction between Mozambique and Angola (interview with Consular Siteo 2008). Many scholars have discussed the link between certain types of resources, such as crude oil and diamonds, and civil war duration. Collier and Hoeffler (2002a: 34) applied an expanded version of the Correlates of War data and found that a higher degree of primary commodity exports is likely to create opportunities for rebels to support themselves through looting. Klare (2001: 27) distinguishes petroleum from other natural resources because oil induces the probability of combat. He claims that crude oil is different from water, minerals, and timber because

its role is significant in the global economy and oil induces political violence (ibid). Fearon and Laitin (2003: 81 and 87) argue that insurgency is likely to occur when state revenues are taken from oil exports because oil-producing states tend to be weak. They show through their empirical analysis that crude oil correlates to civil war onset because oil exports induce state weakness (ibid). Cunningham attempts (2010: 122) to test the effect of independent interventions on duration of civil war through a Cox proportional hazards model regression, and his empirical research shows that resources that can be looted, such as diamonds, gems, and drugs, have been found to prolong conflicts. Fearon (2004: 283-284) applies game theory to explain factors strongly related to the duration of civil wars, arguing that dependable sources of financing and weapons help rebels sustain long-lasting civil wars and that contraband is a major source of financing. Fearon (ibid, p. 280-p. 281) demonstrated by using the nonparametric Kaplan-Meier estimate that contrabands such as diamonds prolong civil war duration and that the Angolan civil war was one of the longest-running civil wars since 1945.

5. Comparative Analysis by Method of Difference

5.1. Case Selection

The historical discourse of Mozambique and Angola clearly delineates that the two countries not only share sociocultural aspects such as polygamy and a patron-client system but also are sister countries sharing the same colonial history and that they have consistently had a good relationship and helped each other (interview with Minister Consular Neto 2014). Mozambique and Angola are similar cases in Portuguese Africa. When compared with Guinea Bisseu, São Tome Principe, and Cape Verde, Mozambique and Angola share a similar sociocultural and colonial history. Thus, these two countries are best-fit cases for the Most Similar Systems Design based on the methodological requirements illustrated in Chapter 2.

5.2. Comparative Analysis: Detection of Operating Variables and Conditions

This section attempts to detect operating variables and conditions. Table 1 maps out various scholarly positions on the tentative variables and notes whether these variables are considered to be “operating variables” or “conditions.”

A categorized classification of the value of these variables is supported by the combination of previous area studies and statistical analysis. The historical discourse also fulfills each tentative independent variable to cover the internal validity problem. Table 1 shows differences and similarities in tentative independent variables of Mozambique and Angola to detect conditions and operating variables. As Table 1 illustrates, X1, X2, and X3 automatically become conditions based on the method of difference. The established number of conditions is three, and the number of operating variables is two. Based on the established conditions, the difference between X4 and X4' and X5 and X5' causes

Table 1 Similarities and Differences Between Tentative Independent Variables

	Mozambique	Angola	Theoretical locus
Dependent variable = Civil War duration	Y = 17years	Y' = 27years	
External state intervention (Independent Variable 1)	X ₁ = High (Vines 1991)	X ₁ = High (Aoki 2001; Shankleman 2006; Cunningham 2010)	Condition
State capacity (Independent Variable 2)	X ₂ = Low (Mesquita 2010; Samuels 2013)	X ₂ = Low (Mesquita 2010; Samuels 2013)	Condition
Weapons industry (Independent Variable 3)	X ₃ = Yes (Toki 2004; Lantis from Snarr and Snarr ed 2005; Kees 1996: 8)	X ₃ = Yes (Klare 2001; Kees 1996: 8)	Condition
UN Trust Fund (Independent Variable 4)	X ₄ = Yes (Vines 1991: 60; Vines 2013: 377; Carbone 2005: 431)	X ₄ ' = No	Operating Variable
Type of natural resources (Independent Variable 5)	X ₅ = Natural gas, coal (Bucuane and Mulder 2007; ICEP 2009)	X ₅ ' = Crude oil, diamond, mining (Aoki 2001; Shankleman 2006; Klare 2001; Fearon 2004; Cunningham 2010)	Operating Variable

Source: Historical Discourse and Literature Review

a duration difference in the dependent variable (Y and Y'). The following part illustrates how each independent variable is selected and verified.

Regarding external state intervention, both civil wars involved a high level of external state intervention, as the historical discourse illustrates. Vines (1991) and Toki (2004) argue that a large number of external states intervened in Mozambique and that international involvement was very high there. Mozambique was heavily affected by South Africa's destabilization policy. In the case of Angola, a large number of external states and neighboring states intervened in Angola for economic interests (Duner 1981; Aoki 2001; Shankleman 2006). Both states suffered from severe intervention by external states. Thus, external states intervention became a condition.

Regarding state capacity, when Mozambique and Angola gained independence from Portugal, Angola was already split politically within the country, while Mozambique established a firm and legitimate political organization (Chabal 1983; Cahen from Chesterman ed 2005: 230; Aoki 2001: 43); however, postcolonial African states are vulnerable, as noted by Mesquita (2010) and Samuels (2013). Thus, Mozambique and Angola are vulnerable to external state intervention, as the historical discourse

illustrates. Therefore, state capacity became a condition.

Regarding weapons industry, both civil wars exemplified characteristics of a proxy war, with many external states exporting weapons to political parties in Mozambique and Angola to maintain the civil war (Hare 1998: 5; Klare 2001: 210; Aoki 2001: 27 and 271; Toki 2004: 29; Lantis from Snarr and Snarr ed 2005:). Both states experienced the importation and smuggling of large quantities of AK-47s or arms from neighboring countries and foreign states as the historical discourse illustrates. Thus, weapons industry became a condition.

Regarding UN Trust Fund, in the case of Mozambique, RENAMO was provided a UN Trust Fund to transform the military rebel movement into a political organization (Carbone 2005: 431), whereas in the case of Angola, no such trust fund was provided officially to UNITA. There is no statistical analysis indicating that UN Trust Fund determines civil war duration; however, the historical discourse illustrates that RENAMO was changed into a political organization and that a peace agreement was successfully implemented. The UN Trust Fund thus played a role in this transformation process in the Mozambican civil war as the historical discourse illustrates.

Regarding type of natural resources, both states possess an abundance of natural resources. Natural gas existed in Mozambique during the civil war period, but crude oil was not found during that time (Bucuane and Mulder 2007; ICEP 2009). In comparison, the resources of Angola were crude oil and diamonds, which appear to have fueled the conflict (Aoki 2001: 161-162 and 271; Klare 2001: 12-13; Shankleman 2006: 101). Through empirical research, scholars (Fearon 2004; Cunningham 2010: 122) have demonstrated that contrabands (diamonds) led to the prolongation of the Angolan civil war. Klare also claims that crude oil differs from other natural resources because it generates competitiveness among actors who wish to control this resource (Klare 2001: 12-13). Thus, type of natural resources became an operating variable.

As shown in Table 1, the difference between X_4 and X_4' causes a difference between Y and Y' . A UN Trust Fund was provided to RENAMO to help it transform from a rebel movement into a political organization in the peace process in the Mozambican civil war. US \$17 million was handed over to the former rebel movement RENAMO in the 1994 election (Carbone 2005: 431). RENAMO did not have a political or administrative framework before 1985 (Manning 1998: 162). The financial support provided to RENAMO played a big role in the successful implementation of the peace process that would end the Mozambican civil war. In contrast, in the case of the Angolan civil war, UNITA started to be integrated with the MPLA after the Bicesse Accords in 1992, and UNITA was already mixed with the government (interview with Minister Consular Neto 2014). The Angolan civil war came to an end because UNITA was already exhausted when Savimbi died (ibid), and a UN Trust Fund was never provided to UNITA. With respect to the issue of financial support, there is therefore a significant difference in the Mozambican and Angolan civil wars, and this also explains why the Angolan civil war lasted longer.

As shown in Table 1, the difference between X_5 and X_5' causes a difference between Y and Y' .

Mozambique was rich in natural gas and coal during the civil war period, whereas the main natural resources in Angola were crude oil and diamonds. While both states have abundant natural resources, they are distinguished by the types of resources they possess. In Mozambique, natural gas and mining existed, but these natural resources did not attract external states and did not help maintain political parties. However, natural resources played a crucial role in supporting the MPLA and UNITA in Angola and attracted external states interests. As noted in the literature review, an interview with Minister Consular Jacinto Rangel Neto illustrates the linkage between resource type and external states' interests. The present research finds a causal link between type of natural resources and external state intervention on qualitative scales. Fearon (2004: 281) applied the nonparametric Kaplan-Meier estimate to demonstrate how contrabands (opium, diamonds, and cocaine) can prolong civil wars. As the historical discourse delineates, type of natural resources played a crucial role in facilitating the purchase of weapons to continue the Angolan civil war as the benefit of resources overwhelmed civil war cost. The present research finds a causal link on qualitative scales between type of natural resources and weapons industry in the Angolan civil war.

A comparative analysis by the method of difference shows that UN Trust Fund and type of natural resources are both genuine variables in determining the 10-year civil war duration gap between Mozambique and Angola. Both resource type and UN Trust Fund are the most significant variables, and neither can be excluded from an explanation of dependent variable difference. The highlighted point is that the two genuine variables are both most significant variables for explaining the ten-year gap in the duration of the civil wars between Mozambique and Angola. Resource type and UN Trust Fund were discussed in single case studies; however, the genuine variable that could explain the ten-year gap in the duration of the civil wars was not empirically detected. Only comparative analysis by the method of difference could detect the two variables as genuine variables. The peace process of Mozambique went smoothly and successfully because of the UN Trust Fund, whereas the absence of such a fund and resource type prolonged the Angolan civil war.

The contribution to the two cases is that it was never clear as to what the genuine variable for explaining the ten-year gap in the duration of the two civil wars was in the previous scholarship. However, the method of difference empirically detected both resource type and UN Trust Fund as being genuine variables for explaining the ten-year gap in the duration of the two civil wars.

6. Summary of Analysis and Discussion

This paper selected Mozambique and Angola as two states that share many similarities not only in historical background but also in sociocultural dimension. As the historical discourse illustrates, the two cases ratify the methodological logic of the Most Similar Systems Design. This research employed the method of difference to determine the civil war duration gap between the two states

and concluded that both UN Trust Fund and type of natural resources are genuine variables that can explain the 10-year civil war duration gap between the two states. The Mozambican civil war was concluded because of the UN Trust Fund, and the Angolan civil war lasted longer because of resource type and the absence of the UN Trust Fund. The result of analysis is applicable to Mozambique and Angola only for the period 1975 to 2002, which is called limited generalization. The research showed a partial causal link among independent variables on qualitative scales. This research demonstrated that the method of difference is suitable for extracting peculiarity (limited generalization) by comparing extremely similar cases.

The significance of this research lies in its demonstration of the method of difference as an effective qualitative method for comparing social phenomena of extremely similar cases in regional cross-case analysis, while historical comparative analysis mainly focuses on historical description. This research proposes that the number of cases should be limited to a small-N as internal validity increases as the number of cases increases in the employment of the method of difference to regional studies. This new finding contradicts the previous discussion of Lijphart (1971) as he proposes an increase in the number of cases as a methodological strategy for a political scientist. This new finding lead to the following implications: First, the result of this research shows that regional studies and political science involve opposing perspectives. The method of difference is a tool for extracting the peculiarity from a certain region, and it is certainly the most suitable method for small-N comparative analysis in regional studies with distinguished characters. Thus, the method of difference is a way of confirming peculiar phenomena in limited regions, which contradicts the empirical results of statistical analysis. Second, the method of difference should be limited to a small number of cases, and case selection should be carefully managed by area studies experts in small-N comparative analysis within regional studies. The result of this research proposes strict limits on the number of cases in the application of the method of difference. Process tracing will be more complex as the number of cases increases; however, this finding contradicts the methodological logic of political science as it is widely recommended to increase the number of cases in the field of political science.

As noted already, the analysis of the research shows that the UN Trust Fund shortened the civil war in Mozambique and that the civil war of Angola was prolonged due to the absence of the UN Trust Fund. The result of analysis is applicable to Mozambique and Angola between 1975 and 2002, which is a limited generalization. There is no previous study in the statistical analysis of civil war duration that demonstrates that UN Trust Fund influences the duration of civil wars as an independent variable. Thus, the paper presents the following new research puzzle: Is it applicable to other countries in the world? This new research puzzle can be examined by a political scientist in future empirical analysis to test whether this variable is significant. As Przeworski, Adam and Teune (1970) argue, comparative politics should be dedicated to theory development, and this research proposes a new research topic, which leads to the development of studies on civil war duration in the international political economy.

Notes

- 1 This paper attempts to employ a combination of area studies and empirical studies to support each tentative independent variable. In addition to combining area studies and statistical analysis, historical discourse also reinforces each tentative independent variable to cover the internal validity problem. Independent variables are measured by categorical data (0, 1 options) in this paper. As small-N comparative studies involve an internal validity problem, historical discourse plays a big role in fulfilling the internal validity problem by process tracing (Beach and Pedersen 2013).
- 2 Historical discourse illustrates the chronological order of each independent variable and the partial causal relationship among independent variables on qualitative scales.
- 3 The patron-client system is a traditional system in which a certain leader (usually an older male) holds the power of decision making in a village, at a microlevel system of society. The patron-client system is applicable to many states in sub-Saharan Africa.
- 4 Assistance is composed of financial support and weapons supply from neighboring states or foreign countries.
- 5 This paper includes UN mediations as part of external state intervention, as DeRouen and Sobek (2004: 311) demonstrate that UN intervention increases the probability of securing both a truce and a treaty in a civil war. UN intervention led Angola to a long-running civil war, and their research is applicable to the Angolan civil war.
- 6 In June 1991, the UNAVEM II was sent to Angola, which lasted from 1991 to 1995 and which observed and verified the presidential and legislative elections held there on September 29 and 30, 1992. UNITA did not accept the election results, insisting that the process was not transparent and legitimate, and the MPLA and UNITA immediately returned to hostilities. In 1995, the UNAVEM III was authorized by the UN Security Council, and the mission observed and verified the country's presidential and legislative elections between February 1995 and June 1997. In 1997, the United Nations Observer Mission in Angola (MONUA) was authorized by the UN Security Council, and it lasted from 1997 to 1999. In early 1999, a UN delegate officially announced the cancellation of peacekeeping operations to Angola twice, and UNITA reported it would continue the armed struggle and cut off the reconciliation process with the MPLA.
- 7 This paper employs methodological strategies to overcome internal validity problems regarding the case-oriented method. Lijphart (1971: 687 and 690) recommends integrating minor variables with the most important variables and also proposes selecting key variables that the author thinks are the most important. Applying these methodological strategies, the current research combined variables and integrated them with five key tentative variables.
- 8 The Fragile States Index, World Bank Indicator, and Human Development Index show that sub-Saharan Africa differs from the rest of the world.
- 9 As the historical discourse illustrates, external state intervention includes superpower intervention, external states intervention, and UN mediation involvement as external actors. This paper considers all these actors as external stakeholders that were involved in the Mozambican and Angolan civil wars.
- 10 Huntington argues that the governments of new democratic countries tend to have low legitimacy and low effectiveness (Huntington 1991: 258).
- 11 This research also employs interviews from UN peacekeeping operation officers and government officers of Mozambique and Angola to reinforce tentative independent variables. The interviews were funded by the Secretariat of the International Peace Cooperation Headquarters, Cabinet Office, in 2008. The purpose of the interviews was to reflect the personal opinions of UN officers and political leaders of Mozambique and Angola, which were not covered by secondary data. The interview with Peter Nicolas and Gregor Binkert was conducted in English at the World Bank in Washington DC to reflect the personal opinions of UN officers. The interview with Minister Consular Jacinto Rangel Neto was conducted in Portuguese at the Embassy of Angola in Seoul to reflect the personal opinions of a political leader of Angola. The interview with Consular Luis Siteo was conducted in Portuguese at the Embassy of Mozambique in New York to reflect the personal opinions of a

political leader of Mozambique.

- 12 In the Mozambican civil war, the Roman Catholic Church mediated between FRELIMO and RENAMO, which was led by Kenya (Vines 1991), whereas the Angolan civil war did not benefit from the presence of the Roman Catholic Church, as the historical discourse illustrates. In the case of Angola, many states intervened out of political and economic interests but the Roman Catholic Church had no presence in the peace process related to the Angolan civil war. The current research integrated the role of the Roman Catholic Church with external state intervention, as Lijphart (1971: 687) proposes integrating minor variables with key variables as a methodological strategy.

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