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Foreign Aid and Political Stability in Post-Colonial Africa: A Case Study Analysis

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**FOREIGN AID AND POLITICAL STABILITY IN POST-COLONIAL AFRICA:
A CASE STUDY ANALYSIS**

A Thesis

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
Louisiana State University
Agricultural and Mechanical College
In partial fulfilment of the
Requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts

in

The Department of Political Science

By
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Abstract

Is foreign aid helpful or harmful in African countries? Even though scholars have tried to answer this question for decades, it is still unclear if foreign aid has efficiently helped the African continent to overcome the challenges that arose with the end of Colonization. A priority for the African countries was to reorganize the institutions in order to reestablish autonomous and stable system of governance. An important amount of help for this reconstruction has come from external actors, that have been referred to in the literature as foreign aid. In this paper, I seek to test the relationship between the foreign aid mentioned above, and political stability. Some scholars argue that African countries receiving an important amount of foreign aid are more likely to be governed by a corrupted government and therefore will be politically unstable, while others believe that foreign aid is positively related to the quality of governance and to the political stability of the recipient country.

Does Foreign aid lead to political stability or does it fuel instability and violence in order for western countries to keep a certain form of control over their former colonies?

Throughout this case study, I will test the foreign aid and political instability theory and determine whether the results support the theory.

Key Words: Foreign Aid, Governance, Political Stability, Post Colonization, Rwanda, Democratic Republic of Congo, Botswana, Gabon

1. End of Colonization and Political Stability

After centuries of colonization and European control over the African territory, countries had to learn how to govern for themselves, by establishing new autonomous governments. Whilst some countries obtained their independence through a peaceful process, others, such as Algeria, became independent following years of violent conflict with their colonizer. In order for these countries to become successful actors on the international scene, it is important for them to establish new autonomous and efficient institutions that will, in the long term, bring economic growth and political stability, both essential factors in the development of a country. Unfortunately, a lot of African countries, after decades of colonization, were not prepared for a complete political, economic and institutional autonomy. Indeed, numerous African countries came out of the decolonization process with very weak institutions, which led to weak economies and unstable governments. One of the solutions to overcome these problems was initiated by the international community through the form of economic aid, often referred to in the literature as foreign aid. Thus, since the end of colonization, African countries have received billions of dollars of aid from developed countries, usually under the form of “government to government” transfer (Peron, 2001), which decreases the ability of the international community to have a direct control over the use of these financial aids. Even though foreign aid has been created to ensure positive and development purposes, it has often been used for personal, destructive or/and genocidal ends by African leaders (Peron, 2001).

To understand political instability in the context of this paper, it is important to understand the interdependence between foreign aid and governance, as bad governance is a factor in the rise of political instability (Xu, 2011). Numerous scholars have focused their work on the

relationship between foreign aid and poverty, foreign aid and governance, foreign aid and institutions and foreign aid and corruption, giving us a good theoretical view on the topic. No comparative work, however, has yet been done to highlight the difference between African countries who receive an important amount of help and countries whose amount of received foreign aid is below average, and how this difference impacts the political stability of the country. In the context of this paper, a “high” amount of aid will characterize an average annual amount of foreign aid higher than 1000 million dollars, and “low” any annual average amount below 1000 million dollars a year for the 2010-2016 time period. In order to test the foreign aid and political instability theory, I will focus on the interdependence between the two actors discussed above as well as the quality of governance, and see if the theory according to which a higher amount of foreign aid leads to a low quality of governance, and so, to a political instability, is supported.

This paper will proceed as follows: First, I will discuss the main existing theories about foreign aid and political stability by giving an overview of the existing work on the relationship between foreign aid and institutions, foreign aid and governance, foreign aid and corruption and finally, foreign aid and poverty. I will then highlight the two main theories that have divided international relations scholars within the years: those arguing that aid brings a positive outcome in the recipient country, and another group of scholars who argue that foreign aid has done more harm than good.

This section will be followed by the method section where I'll explain my choice of case studies and how they will be useful in the study of foreign aid and political instability theory, by measuring how and if foreign aid has affected the political stability in these countries, looking at the quality of governance, that will be measured by the level of corruption, poverty, as well as the civil and political liberties in the recipient country (Menard & Weill, 2016).

Following this overview of the existing literature on the topic, the paper will then offer a rich case study analysis of four African countries to illustrate the theory: Rwanda, Democratic Republic of Congo, Botswana and Gabon. As the analysis is based on the impact of foreign aid on political stability, the countries presented above will be divided into two groups: Rwanda and Democratic Republic of Congo representing the countries that have received an important amount of foreign aid, and the second group, Botswana and Gabon, illustrating the countries that received an amount of aid inferior to the African average.

2. Existing Theories of Foreign Aid and Political Stability

Foreign aid is a relatively new element in international relations. As explained above, foreign aid predominantly became a major actor in international relations, especially in the North-South relationship -or in other words, between developed and underdeveloped countries - after the end of the colonization era. Even though we can track back forms of direct aid from rich countries to poorer countries back to the 1800s, it is only after the decolonization of Africa, Latin America and Asia that foreign aid became regular between the new autonomous countries and their former colonizer (Chiba & Heinrich, 2016). The principal goal for these new states was to catch up with the developed countries and find their place in the status quo (Eyben, 2014), and the only way to achieve this goal was to reestablish strong and efficient institutions, economy and system of governance, with foreign aid as a major tool to rebuild the countries' infrastructures.

Foreign aid is also perceived as a major tool in the political and economic reconstruction following a period of conflict (Manning & Malbrough, 2014). The first large scale illustration of a post conflict aid is the Marshall Plan following the end of World War II. The economic aid distributed by the United States to the devastated Western European countries helped the former European powers to quickly rebuild their infrastructure and reposition their influence on the international level, alongside the United States, and against the USSR during the cold war period (Toussaint et al, 2008).

In order to understand the relationship between foreign aid and the recipient country's political stability, it is important to understand the impact of foreign aid on various country's actors: institutions, economic growth and governance.

The next part of this article will highlight the relationship between foreign aid and the actors presented above, as it has been discussed in previous work by scholars who are mainly divided into two groups: those who argue that foreign aid is vital for the development of the African continent (Rosalyn, 2014) and the scholars who defend the "neo colonialist" theory that foreign aid is the contemporary mean used by Western powers to maintain their control over their former colonies. They argue that foreign aid is a way for western countries to create a system of aid dependency in order for the European powers to keep their influence over their former colonies (Wauthier, 1972; Moyo, 2009).

First, the relationship between Foreign Aid and Institutions has been discussed by various scholars, including Deborah A. Brautigam and Stephen Knack (2004), who argue that even though an important amount of foreign aid is included into government budgets in various African countries, these states are still characterized by weak institutions and weak systems of governance, as well as a high level of corruption. As discussed in the first section of this paper, the authors argue that these problems are due to the colonial legacy, and the inability of the African countries to develop and establish strong and efficient institutions to keep up with the developed countries (Brautigam & Knack, 2004). This colonialist "heritage" is not the only factor that led African nations to where they are today. Thus, high amount of foreign aid can promote

economic growth and strong institutions when they are implemented in countries with governments open to development and whose economy is characterized by good macroeconomic policies (Brautigam & Knack, 2004). According to Elliot R. Morss, foreign aid has a destructive effect on institutions when the country is receiving a significant amount of foreign aid and is unable to efficiently use this aid for successful economic ends (1984). Despite some scholars arguing that foreign aid is destructive for African countries and that the complete abandon of foreign economic aid is the solution to the African problems, numerous other scholars argue that foreign aid is a major tool in the development of the African continent, however its distribution simply has to be reorganized in order for countries to use this aid more efficiently (Lister & Stevens, 1992).

Whilst various scholars believe foreign aid has done more harm than good on African institutions, others defend the importance of foreign aid in the fight against poverty. Among them, Boriana Yontcheva and Nadia Masud (2005) defend the theory that foreign aid has played a major role in the evolution of human development indicators (HDIs), by focusing their work on the impact of aid on infant mortality and education, as part of the Millennium Development Goals, established by the United Nations in 2015 (Wagge et al, 2015), where all the UN member states and international organizations established the goal to eliminate poverty and hunger in under developed countries while promoting education and gender equality.

Another way in which foreign aid can help countries to overcome poverty is if the aid is given to support liberal regimes, who are more likely to have better human development indicators than other regimes (Boone, 1996). In this way, short term foreign aid is more likely to positively impact the level poverty of the country, if the government is more constrained to use aid for development purposes. Whilst Yontcheva and Masud argue that Non-Governmental Organizations are the most effective in resolving poverty and ameliorating the human development indicator, others like Aberra Senbeta argue that multilateral aid, through the implementation of grants instead of loans, will have a bigger impact on poverty reduction opposed to bilateral aid, by controlling the average income (2009). To understand the relationship between foreign aid and poverty reduction, it is important to understand the interdependence between foreign aid and economic growth. In order for aid to positively affect the average income of civilians, it first has to stimulate the economic growth of the country, and then translate the increase in the economy into an increase in the population income (Senbeta 2009). Direct multilateral aid, according to Senbeta, is the most efficient form of foreign aid to reduce poverty in under developed countries, by targeting special goals and by creating a chance for the population to play a role in the economy rather than using foreign aid with unique goal to stimulate the economy (2009).

To summarize, we can divide scholars into two groups. The first group, represented by scholars such as Milton Friedman, believe that foreign aid has consequently harmed recipient countries, by decreasing economic growth and affecting the development of the population, as well as democracy (1995). Friedman is not the only one who believes foreign aid needs to be

revised or abolished. Other scholars like William Easterly and Peter Bauer also criticize foreign aid by highlighting cases where the level of poverty is still very high despite subsequently amount of aid received by the countries (Shleifer 2009). The major problem of foreign aid, according to William Easterly, is that it rarely reaches the population (2003). Contrary to Friedman who is in favor of the abolition of foreign aid, Easterly argues that foreign aid can still be an actor to overcome the problem of poverty. However, in order to be effective, aid cannot continue as it is today, with billions of dollars sent to under developed countries every year, but a level of poverty that hasn't decreased, or worse, has increased in certain countries. Using these arguments, Easterly argues that foreign aid does not need to be completely abandoned, but aid donors must give more importance to how the recipient government will use the money, and make sure that aid reaches the population (Easterly, 2003).

In order for foreign aid to have a positive direct impact on the population, the recipient government must be willing to use this aid toward development ends (Booth, 2008).

Unfortunately, foreign aid, when associated with bad governance, can be translated into high levels of corruption within the institutions and the government of the recipient country, which can lead to political instability due to the population's discontent (Xu, 2011; Svensson, 2000). As discussed by Easterly and Bauer, foreign aid has largely contributed to the increase in wealth of the elites in countries while the level of poverty keeps increasing among the population (Shleifer 2009 ; Easterly, 2003). This leads to the question: Is there a relationship between foreign aid, governance and corruption?

Since it's been proved that an important part of foreign aid directly goes into the government hands (Alesina & Dollar, 2000), it is now important to understand how governments use this money, in order to better understand the division within scholars concerning foreign aid. Arthur A. Goldsmith argues that foreign aid has destructive effects on African governments by corrupting its institutions, avoiding the development of a democratic state, essential for the economic and political development of the country (Goldsmith, 2001). Whilst the official goal of economic foreign aid is to help the poor states to develop efficient, strong and independent institutions, it has been argued that foreign aid is in fact a major cause in the African countries' dependence to external actors, or in other words, Africa's dependence on the West (Goldsmith, 2001 ; Brautigam, 2000). Results have shown that important amount of aid aimed at improving governance by implementing democracy have failed to do so, and, in some cases, have had the opposite outcome, and have weakened the institutions (Ndulu & O'Connell, 1999). Political stability is often defined as a decrease in poverty, an increase in job offers, an increase in the states revenue and investments as well as an amelioration of education and welfare and the absence of violence (Shepard, 2010). Whilst foreign aid is described by various scholar as a major factor in the decrease of the poverty level and the increase in corruption, it can also play a role in the political stability or instability of the recipient country, by leading to ethnic division as well as political rivalries and violence due to discontentment or jealousy (Svensson, 2000). Whilst foreign aid's main goal is to help countries to develop strong and independent institutions, in order to become economically and politically stronger, some governments (unwilling to use this aid for long term development goals) keep the foreign aid for personal use, which leads to an increase in the level of corruption (Alesina and Dollar, 2000) and an

increase in the possibility of social revolts (Xu, 2011). In other words, foreign aid, when directly given to governments for public consumption, is more likely to be related to an increase in corruption, rather than foreign aid in the form of direct investment, which is more likely to decrease the risk of corruption (Asongu, 2012; Jellal, 2013).

Various scholars have discussed the causal effect between foreign aid, how it weakens Institutions and leads to political instability, and use various variables to measure the degree of efficiency of the institution: Weak governance, decrease of the economic growth and political/civil liberties (including military repression and violence between political parties and ethnic groups) (Menard & Weill, 2016).

Foreign aid has been analyzed by numerous scholars as a major actor in the deterioration of certain African states' institutions. By being directly transferred to governments, and not translated into direct investments, that would increase economic growth and decrease the level of corruption (Sambeta, 2009), foreign aid can be either a tool against poverty and underdevelopment, or a major actor favoring underdevelopment and poverty, by being used for personal ends or for military ends by the government in order to stay in power (Alesina & Dollar, 2000 ; Kono& Montinola, 2013). In this situation, foreign aid is more likely to be deviated from its original function, and be used against civilians, by reducing civil liberties through military and authoritarian means. Aid that was originally aimed at encouraging development, if not received by an efficient government, will lead to weak governance, represented by a high level of corruption, an increase in the violation of the civil and political

rights, a stagnation or increase in the level of poverty and political instability in the recipient country (Menard & Weill, 2016). This can lead to political disputes and/or tensions due to the inequalities between the elites and the population (Easterly, 2003). In other words, foreign aid can lead to the corruption, low quality of governance and the weakening of institutions, which will more likely lead to political instability, either through the violation of the civil and political rights of the government's opposition, violent repression from the government, or through ethnic tensions due to the omnipresence of one ethnic group in the corrupted government. In other words, when foreign aid, directly or indirectly, favors one ethnic group more than another there will be an increase in ethnic tensions (Easterly, 2001 ; Moyo, 2009). Whilst foreign aid can enhance corruption, foreign aid can also indirectly favor instability in the African countries, and any increase in corruption and instability will mean an increase in foreign aid dependency (Moyo, 2009).

To conclude, after several decades of foreign aid, with billions of dollars given to African countries, the African continent is still far behind Europe or North America in term of development or economic growth. After decades of colonization by European powers, Africa wasn't ready to govern for its own. With the end of colonization, African states had to face ethnic tensions and rivalry, that erupted during the colonial rule. With these ethnic tensions, weak economies, weak institutions and the inability to govern and develop the country in this transition period, various African states plunged into civil war (Brautigam & Knack, 2004). With most African countries that faced or have been facing political instability since their independence, the colonial legacy is still strong in a continent that is struggling to keep up with

the rest of the international actors. The first step in the political and economic emancipation of Africa is to work toward political stability in order to be governed by efficient and strong institution and government, who will be willing to use external aid as well as internal wealth to increase economic growth, social development and decrease poverty among its population. If the problem of political instability is resolved, African governments will be able to efficiently work toward economic stability by attracting investors, that will lead to an increase in the trade and as a result, a decrease in the level of dependency to foreign aid (Brautigam & Knack, 2004).

3. Methodology

Following the end of colonization in the second part of the 20th century, Africa is facing a new problem: To learn how to govern by itself. Even though decolonization marked the first step in the African emancipation, the African continent was not ready to govern for its own. The colonial legacy left Africa with weak economies, and weak institutions (Brautigam & Knack, 2004). To overcome this problem, the international community has tried to help the African continent by providing the newly African states different forms of aid. Whilst the official version of foreign aid's goal is to help African countries to establish strong and efficient institutions in order to increase the economic growth and by doing so, to decrease the level of poverty among the population, scholars have different views on the topic. Thus, when it comes to foreign aid, the academic world divides into two groups: On one side, those who believe foreign aid is essential to the economic and political development of Africa. They argue that foreign aid and the quality of governance are positively related, and so, positively impacts the political stability of the recipient country (Manning & Malbrough, 2014; Yontcheva & Masud, 2005).

On the other side, scholars like William Easterly (2001), believe that foreign aid has done more harm than good and has weakened institutions, affected the quality of governance of the recipient country, and this weak governance has led to political instability (Brautigam & Knack, 2004 ; Svensson, 2000). These scholars argue that foreign aid has created a situation of aid dependency to Western powers and that, when directly given to governments, has increased the level of corruption within the institutions and the government, and avoided an effective

development of African countries, what led to the discontent of the population and as a result, ethnic and political tensions (Svensson, 2000; Moyo, 2009).

As discussed in the previous section, political stability can be measured by the frequency in government change as well as social unrests in the recipient country (Alesina and Perotti, 1996; Gupta et al, 1998; Rodriguez, 2000), social tensions and unrest that are due to the population discontentment toward the government, in other words towards the quality of governance (Xu, 2011).

In this paper, I will focus my work on the theory discussed above according to which foreign aid is related to a poor-quality governance, and so, to political instability. According to this theory, countries receiving an important amount of aid are more likely to be politically unstable, while countries receiving an amount of aid lower than average are more likely to be political stable. To test this relationship between foreign aid political instability, I will use a case study of four African countries: Rwanda, Democratic Republic of Congo, Botswana and Gabon. To highlight the difference between countries who have perceived a “high” level of foreign aid, and those who have received a “low” amount of development aid, I will divide the countries cited above into two groups: Rwanda and Democratic Republic of Congo representing the countries receiving an important amount of foreign aid, and on the other side, Botswana and Gabon as examples of African states that received an amount of foreign aid below the African average (OECD report, 2016). Since the amount of foreign aid perceived by these countries has changed over time, I based the distinction between “high” and “low” amount of aid on the

2010-2016 period of time, with “high” amount of aid representing the countries who receive a consequential amount of aid (more than 1000 million a year during this time period), and “low” amount of aid for the countries whose amount of aid has been lower than the African average (less than 1000 million dollars a year during the 2010-2016 period). Even though the overall annual average of development aid given to African countries was lower at its beginning in the 70’s, Rwanda and the RDC have always received more development aid than Botswana and Gabon (OECD report, 2016 ; World Bank data, 2016). For this work, I use the total amount of aid rather than per capita because the size of the country or its population hasn’t affected its level of corruption. In other words, the cost of running a corrupted government is not related to the size of its population.

Whilst the relationship between foreign aid and the quality of governance, and its impact on political stability, has already been studied by various scholars (Kaufman & Kraag, 2008; Talpos et al., 2012; Steinwand, 2015), this case study brings a new point of view to the existing literature, by its qualitative nature and the originality of the countries chosen for this study. The quality of governance will be measured by identifying the level of poverty, corruption, political and/or ethnic rivalry/violence and civil liberties (Worldwide Governance Indicators, World Bank; Menard & Weill, 2016). I will then discuss the political stability of the country by focusing on the level and frequency of violence since the end of colonization. Thus, I will characterize as politically unstable a country where various of the next factors have frequently occurred since the independence of the country: coup d’états, civil conflicts, genocide, change in political regime and government. For each country, we’ll be able to see if the theory,

according to which foreign aid impacts the quality of governance, and by doing so, leads to political instability, applies to these cases (Brautigam & Knack, 2004 ; Svensson, 2000; Xu, 2011).

Concerning the choice of these four countries, in order to not be biased by the different levels of violence between African countries and their European colonizer during the decolonization process, I chose four African countries who gained their independence avoiding violent conflicts with European powers. Indeed, the first country studied in this work, Rwanda, became independent from the Belgian Empire in January 1961. Even if this independence came with a rise in ethnic tensions between the two major ethnic groups of the country, we observe a relative peaceful transfer of power between the colonizer and the soon to be autonomous state. Congo, from what will soon emerge The Democratic Republic of Congo, is another country that became free from the Belgian rules. Just as Rwanda, it also obtained its independence relatively peacefully as Congo will become independent in less than six months. Botswana for its part, officially gained independence from British rule In September of 1966, only two years after the British government agreed to the creation of an autonomous state of Botswana, through a democratic process, in 1964. The fourth and last case studied in section 8 of this paper, Gabon, also gained its independence avoiding violent conflict with the French empire. Indeed, following the failure of the Indochina experience, the French government, being more and more pressured by its African colonies, agreed to abandon its politic of assimilation and started the process of decolonization, notably under the governance of Charles de Gaulle, principal French actor in the decolonization process. After progressively obtaining

independent institutions such as a legislative assembly as well as an executive council in 1957, Gabon officially gained its independence in 1961, with Leon Mba as first Gabonese president.

4. A Case Study Analysis of Rwanda

Rwanda's first encounter with a European power occurred in 1897 when the German troops invaded and claimed the Rwandese territory as its own, following the death of the Rwandese king in 1895. Rwanda and Burundi then became one single colony, renamed Ruanda-Urundi by the new German colons.

The German's rule over the Ruanda-Urundi territory would not last very long since the outbreak of World War I changed the political repartition of the world, as well as the European colonial rule over Africa. Thus, following the German invasion over Belgium in 1914, Belgian troops invaded the German territory of Ruanda-Urundi and incorporated it into their own colonial territories. Rwanda then became a Belgian colony and would stay under Belgian administration until its independence in 1962. Indeed, contrary to the indirect German's rule, where most of the ruling was left to local rulers, the Belgian's rule over Ruanda-Urundi would be different from the previous one and would have a bigger impact on the Rwandese society. Whilst Belgium was governing Ruanda-Urundi and Congo, its rule was very different in the two colonies. Whilst the administration of Congo was mainly decided in Brussels, the Belgians would principally base their rule of Ruanda Burundi on the ethnic divisions between the two main ethnic groups of the country, the Hutus (majoritarian in Rwanda) and the Tutsi, emphasizing their preference for the Tutsi community that they considered to be more similar to Europeans. By delegating their power to the Tutsi to lead the country, and giving them a superiority over the Hutus, the colonizers played a major role in the outbreak of civil war and the genocide of the Tutsi by the Hutus a few decades later. Rwanda obtained its independence in 1962,

following the Rwandan Revolution, with the Hutus on one side, asking for a transfer of power from Tutsi to Hutus, and the Tutsi trying to maintain their dominance in the country's administration and government. The Rwandan revolution ended with Rwanda's independence and the transition to a republic, governed by the majority Hutu with the election of the Hutu president, Gregoire Kayibanda, as first president of the Republic of Rwanda.

4.1. Foreign Aid and Governance

After the proclamation of independence in July 1st of 1962, Rwanda was governed by the newly elected president Grégoire Kayibanda who had the task of economically and politically reconstructing the country after several decades of colonization which had left the newly autonomous country with weak institutions, economy and government. To overcome these challenges, as well as the rise in ethnic tensions between the Hutus and Tutsis, the newly elected government was helped by external factors, such as foreign aid targeted towards development ends (Curtis, 2015). The goal of this foreign aid was to promote and help development and welfare in underdeveloped countries (OECD website). In 2014, the Rwandese government received 1024 million dollars of this development aid. Between 1970 and 1979, an annual average of 262 million dollars, 440 million for the years preceding the civil war, an annual average of 625 million dollars during and after the civil war (from 1990 to 1999), and an amount of aid that went up to 1086 billion dollars in 2013 (OECD report, 2016).

As discussed above, development aid has played a major role in the country's economy reconstruction (Curtis, 2015). To study the relationship between this foreign aid, perceived by Rwanda, and its relationship with the country's stability, I will now focus the discussion on governance to see if the amount of aid received by Rwanda has affected the quality of

governance and the political stability of the country. According to both sides of the theory discussed in the method section, an increase in the amount of aid should either lead to an amelioration of the quality of governance (Manning & Malbrough, 2014; Yontcheva & Masud, 2005), or on the opposite, leading to an ineffective system of governance (Easterly, 2001; Moyo, 2009).

In the case of Rwanda, I measured the quality of governance by discussing the level of poverty, corruption, political rivalry/violence as well as civil liberties since the 70's (Worldwide Governance Indicators, World Bank; Menard & Weill, 2016).

Concerning the level of poverty, Rwanda has seen an increase in its economic growth since the end of the genocide of 1994 (Caplan, 2007), however the level of poverty is still very high in a country where there is a distinct increase in the gap between the ruling elites and the population. Thus, according to the human development index (UNDP website), the life expectancy of Rwanda's population and Rwanda's GDP hasn't increased in the post-civil war era, but instead it has come back to its pre-civil war levels, with a life expectancy of 39 years and a majority of the population living on less than a dollar per day (Caplan, 2007). In other words, whilst Rwanda has received an increasing amount of development aid, and has seen an increase in its economic growth, the poverty problem among the population has not yet been resolved.

The next factors that will be analyzed in the focus on Rwanda's governance are civil liberties and political rivalry/violence. Whilst Rwanda, and Rwanda alone, found a solution to

end the genocide in 1994, with an international community who didn't get involved to stop the conflict or engage negotiations for peace between the Hutus and Tutsis (Uvin, 2011), the country is still far from offering efficient civil, political and human rights (McDoom, 2012). The country disregarded all civil liberties during the genocide of 1994, through the systematic elimination of a part of the population based on their affiliation to the Tutsi group, however Rwanda is still criticized today for its bad results in terms of civil and political liberties (Kiai UN report, UN 2014). Despite Rwanda having the most female parliamentarians in the world, it is also known for its high percentage of authoritarian repression against the media and opposing political groups, and the country has also been criticized for suspicions of irregularities during past presidential elections (McDoom, 2012). Indeed, Rwanda has been criticized for the decrease in political freedom, as well as the authoritarian government's control over independent media channels (McDoom, 2012). Additionally, Rwanda is criticized for how the Rwandese president, Paul Kagame, has dealt with his political opposition, with most opposition group leaders being forced into exile or are in prison (Kiai UN report, 2014). According to the American non-governmental organization "Freedom in the World" which measures the degree of political and civil liberties across the globe, Rwanda scores 6 on the scale, with a score of 1 representing the most free countries and 7 for the least free. Paul Kagame is not the only Rwandese president to be associated with a decrease in civil and political liberties. Grégoire Kayibanda, first president of the Republic of Rwanda, played a major role in the genocide, by violating the Tutsi civil rights and removing them from official functions such as education (Newbury, 1998).

Concerning the level of corruption within the Rwandese government, Rwanda is surprisingly not the worst African country in term of corruption, compared to the amount of foreign aid it has received within the years. Indeed, according to the 2017 Corruption Perceptions Index (Transparency International), Rwanda is the 48 least corrupted country, out of 175 countries, with a score of 55/100 with 0 for highly corrupted countries and 100 representing no corruption. If corruption still exists, it is relatively low compared to other African states, notably due to the efficiency of the Rwandese government's transparency concerning the government budget (Bigsten & Lundström, 2004).

4.2. Political stability since 1962

Even though the first Republic of Rwanda is proclaimed in January 1961, the official independence date is decided by the UN for July 1st of 1962. Following the first presidential election in the newly independent country, Grégoire Kayibanda became the first president of the Rwandese Republic. Even though Rwanda obtained its independence avoiding violent conflicts with its former Belgian colonizer, the colonial legacy left Rwanda with a strongly divided country, based on ethnicity affiliation (Caplan, 2007). After the election of a Hutu president, Rwanda has been described as an authoritarian country, with an increase in ethnic violence from the newly elected government toward the Tutsi minority, as well as attacks from exiled Tutsi who had fled the country several years earlier. An example of this was a tentative coup d'état in 1964, when groups of Tutsi attempt to invade the country and overthrow Kayibanda's regime, which failed and resulted in the execution of several Tutsi government's members, as well as Tutsi citizens (Curtis, 2015). After 11 years in power, Gregoire Kayibanda was overthrown in 1973 after a Coup d'état by Juvénal Habyarimana, whose new political

movement, the National Revolutionary Party for Development, became the only party in the political sphere of Rwanda for the next 20 years (Curtis, 2015). Habyarimana's governance was very controlling on the local level, which led to social protests (Newbury, 1998). Thus, the period of time between the arrival at the head of the government of Habyarimana in 1973 and the beginning of the civil war in 1990 was decisive in the outbreak of the genocide in April 1994 (Newbury, 1998). Whilst a growing number of the Rwandese population started to show discontent with the governance of the country (Caplan, 2007), Rwanda saw a rise in social protest that weakened the government's authority in the country. This decrease of the regime authority over the population led to the outbreak of the civil war in 1990, with the president accusing the Tutsi of organizing a coup d'état to overthrow the government and reestablish a Tutsi dominant state (1998). This intra state rise in tension led to the civil war and numerous protest that followed by the arrest of thousands of Tutsi as well as moderate Hutus hostile to the government. The civil war led Habyarimana to sign the Arusha Accords on August 4th 1993, stating a peace agreement between the government and the Tutsi political rebel group, the Rwandan Patriotic Front.

Whilst the country was just starting to implement the conditions discussed in the Arusha Accords, among which the sharing of power between the government and the RPF, in other words the sharing of power between Hutus and Tutsi, Habyarimana's plane was shot down on April 6, 1994. This incident plunged the country into civil war as the Tutsi were accused of being the authors of the attack (Caplan, 2007). This genocide, perpetrated by extremist Hutus against Tutsi cost the lives of approximately 1 million Rwandese, Tutsi and moderate Hutus.

After the end of the genocide, and the victory of the Rwandan Patriotic front, who took control of the country, Rwanda entered in a new era, and had to learn how to live with each other. In July 1994, the country was completely destroyed, as much politically than socially, with Rwandese Tutsi who, if they survived, were displaced by millions everywhere in Rwanda and in the neighboring states. The challenges that faced the new government, led by the newly elected Rwandese president Pasteur Bizimungu, were consequent, and created a situation of high dependence on foreign aid, essential in order to reconstruct the country (Caplan, 2017). Even though Rwanda has been politically stable since 1994, with the end of the genocide, and has avoided another ethnic conflict, its system of governance has been firmly criticized, notably for the violation of civil and political rights, as well the oppression of the press. Indeed, since the election of Paul Kagame in 2000, numerous political opponents have been incarcerated and the freedom of the press has been extremely controlled (Kiai UN report, 2014).

To summarize, even if Rwanda was already receiving an important amount of development aid in the decades preceding the genocide (Curtis, 2015), it did not helped to avoid the civil conflict. Rwanda is a complex case to study in the context of this paper since it's hard to qualify the Rwandese government as inefficient or efficient. Indeed, whilst Rwanda has avoided other internal conflict since 1994, has increased its economic growth (Curtis, 2015) and has a corruption level lower than various other African countries (Bigsten & Lundström, 2004), it is still among the worst countries in terms of civil and political liberties, and almost two third of the Rwandese population lives in extreme poverty (Caplan, 2007). Moreover, it is important to distinguish Rwanda political stability, due to the strong leadership of Paul Kigame, as well as an

increase in the economic growth, with democratization. Thus, Rwanda is still far from being an example of democracy. Overall, with a civil war, a genocide, civil and political liberties not respected as well as the high level of poverty, Rwanda supports the theory that a consequent amount of development aid leads to political instability.

5. A Case Study Analysis of the Democratic Republic of Congo

The Democratic Republic of Congo became a Belgian territory in October 1908, after the Belgian parliament voted to annex the African state as a part of the Belgian colonial empire. The Belgian colonizers opted for a direct system of governance over their Congolese colony. Thus, both the executive and legislative powers depended on the Colonial Council and the Belgian parliament, both in Brussels. The Congo National Movement, created in 1958 by Patrice Lumumba, would become the foundation of the upcoming Congolese independency. After various social protests asking for independency, notably in Kinshasa (former name Leopoldville) in January 1959, where several protesters lost their life after altercations with the Belgian troops. Even though the path to independency cost the life of a few Congolese demonstrators, the Congolese independency, in overall, took place in a relatively peaceful atmosphere, compared to other African colonies such as Algeria, where the war for independency against the French forces lasted several years.

Aware of the discontentment and the desire of independency among the Congolese population, and in order to avoid a destructive war for both side like in Algeria, the Belgian administration, with at its head the King Baudouin of Belgium, agreed to the terms of a Congolese independence. Contrary to their former colonizers' will to spread the process of independence of Congo on two or three years, the Congolese representatives obtained the independence of their country within the following six months, and an official date for Congo's independence was set on June 30, 1960.

5.1. Foreign Aid and Governance

After the proclamation of independence in June 30th of 1960, the newly independent state of Congo was governed by the president Joseph Kasavubu, elected by the Congolese parliament. The first president of the Republic of the Congo had to now economically and politically reconstruct the country after several decades of colonization that left the newly autonomous country with weak institutions, economy and government (Brautigam & Knack, 2004).

To overcome these new challenges and put his country on the path of development and economic growth, Kasavubu was helped by external factors such as development aid. Just like with the Rwandan example discussed above, this type of aid was created by the international community to ensure and promote the welfare of under developed countries. Official Development Aid is a term used by the Development Assistance Committee and refers to the type of aid received by under developed states to help develop the welfare of the country, in other words, the economic growth and the quality of governance.

The Democratic Republic of Congo is among the African states receiving the most development aid (OECD report, 2016). Thus, in 2014, the RDC received an amount of 2373 million dollars of development aid. 2898 million dollars in 2012, and 3392 million average between 2010 and 2014. Congo was already one of the major recipient countries when it comes to development aid, since it received an average of 784 million dollars a year between 1970 and

1979, following the creation of the Official Development Assistance (ODA) in 1969 by the DAC (Development Assistance Committee, 2016).

To highlight the relationship between the development aid perceived by the Democratic Republic of Congo, and its relationship with the country's political stability, I will now focus the discussion on governance to see if the quality of governance illustrates the amount of development aid received by the Congolese government. In other words, if an important amount of aid means political instability. According to the theory discussed in the method section, an increase in the amount of aid should: lead to a bad and ineffective governance (Easterly, 2001; Moyo, 2009). I will measure the quality of governance by discussing the level of poverty, corruption, political rivalry/violence as well as civil liberties since the 70's (Worldwide Governance Indicators, World Bank; Menard & Weill, 2016).

Concerning the level of poverty, the Democratic Republic of Congo is among the world's poorest countries. Almost 70% of the Congolese population live in poverty, with a Human Development Index of 0.304 in 2012 (Tshibungu & Schneider, 2014). Despite a decrease in poverty in the last decades, the RDC still ranks 176 out of 186 countries according to the Human Development Index (UN report, 2015). Disparities exist within the Congolese territory, since some regions have better results in term of poverty percentage. Even if the western region of Congo, for example, has seen a better economic growth within the past few years as well as a poverty level inferior to the one in other regions (Munganga, 2017), RDC in overall, is still facing economic problems, since there has been no significant economic growth even with the

establishment of development aid. This stagnation is due to the country's inefficient system of governance, with a Congolese government that has used the benefits from internal resources as well as the received foreign aid towards personal ends, accentuating the inequalities between the country's elites and the population (Matti, 2010).

Thus, corruption has often been at the center of Congo's politics. Indeed, it has been noticed that the level of poverty among the Congolese population, with more than half of the population who lives with less than dollars a day, is contradictory in a country that is known for its internal wealth (gold, diamonds etc.) (A2 Global Risk Report, 2017; United Nations, 2001 a,b). Whilst Congo is a land of highly valuable natural resources (Olson & Congdon, 2004), only a small part of the population benefits from these resources.

The Transparency International organization, a society that fights against corruption on a global scale, has ranked the Democratic Republic of Congo at the 147th place, in a total of 168 countries. On a scale from 0 for a very low level of corruption, to 100 for an extreme level of corruption, the RDC presets the score of 22 (level of corruption very high), with an average among African countries of 33, still according to the transparency International organization (OFpra report, 2016). The IMF measures the level of corruption by the frequency a company has to pay a bribe to the authorities of the country. The results show a 44% of corruption in the RDC, compared to the average of 20,4% for the African continent (OPRA report, 2016). Various NGO's as well as journalists and politicians have denounced the corruption at the political level in RDC. Among them, the Congolese senator Jacques N'Djoli who has denounced

the level of corruption in Congo, and argued that the country loses 15 billion dollars every year in corruption (Kandolo, 2015). Thus, 55% of the government budget “disappears” each year, what has a consequent impact on the economic growth, by negatively impacting investments and the infrastructures’ development (Kodila, 2012).

The Democratic Republic of Congo is also amongst the worst African countries when it comes to the respect of civil and political rights. Thus, Congo has been criticized for the non-respect of civil rights and complete repression on any political opposition. Many democracy and human right activists, as well as members of opposing political groups have been incarcerated in jail without any access to justice or trial to defend themselves. The Freedom of the Press has also been extremely restricted, practically non-existent, with an almost complete control of the medias as well as a governmental control over text messaging, the access to internet and the international researcher’s community (Sawyer, 2018). An example of this governmental control over information is the expulsion of two researchers of the Global Witness organization, expelled from Congo in 2016 while they were investigating potential suspicion of corruption among the Congolese government (OPRA report, 2016). These poor results in the respect of civil and political liberties over the years have put the RDC among the worst countries according to the Freedom House (Freedom in the World report, 2018). On a scale of 7, with 7 representing the least free and 1 the most free, political rights in Congo are rated with a 7 and civil liberties a 6, what highlights the extreme repression and corruption among the Congolese government.

5.2. Political Stability Since 1960

Even though the independence of Congo was decided in Brussels in January 1960, the official independence date was set up for June 30th of 1960, with the first free governmental elections decided for May of the same year. Following the first presidential election in the newly independent country, Joseph Kasavubu becomes the first elected president of the newly Congolese Republic, with Patrice Lumumba as prime minister. Even though Congo obtained its independence avoiding violent conflicts with its former Belgian colonizer, its independence was immediately followed by various political crisis, a political stability that still occurs today (Sawyer, 2018).

The first political crisis occurred from 1960 to 1965, with the rebellion of both Katanga and South Kasai, two Congolese provinces fighting for secessionist ends, and which played a major role in the outbreak of the internal conflict, since this rebellion led to a crisis between the president and the prime minister, followed by the removal from power of the prime minister Patrice Lumumba, who will then be executed by the Katangan authorities. This crisis came to an end in 1963 after the involvement of UN troops. 1965 marked the start of a new political crisis in Congo with a coup d'état, organized by Joseph Mobutu, who, supported by the USA and Belgium, successfully overthrew Kasavubu's government and became the country's leader. Following his coup, Mobutu renamed the country Democratic Republic of Congo following a referendum, before changing the name again to "Republic of Zaire". Mobutu stayed in power during three decades, supported by the US as a tool against the expansion of communism in Africa during the Cold War (Berwouts, 2009). Mobutu's ruling is infamous for the extreme level

of corruption among the government, as well as the violations of civil right, with the repression and neutralization of most of his political opponents and the establishment of a single party politics. The amount of international aid received during this time period, mostly through loans, was used for personal ends, and lead to a decrease of the country's infrastructures. This high degree of corruption among Mobutu's government lead to a cancellation of development aid sent by Belgium in 1969 (Naniuzeyi, 1999), as well social riots among the population. Following the decrease in power and influence of the Soviet Union, Mobutu was "politically abandoned" by the US who was left as the single major power. Without the financial and political support from the US, Mobutu, under the social pressure, agreed to form a transitional and coalition government, and created the third Republic in order to put the country on the democratic path. However, Mobuntu stayed in power, establishing authoritarian reforms and repression, until 1997 when he was forced to flee the country, following the outbreak of the first Congo War in 1996 and the seizure of power by Laurent-Desiré Kabila, a member of the opposition helped by Rwandan and Ugandan Tutsi groups, as new president of what was renamed the Democratic Republic of Congo. 1998 marked the beginning of the Second Congo War, after the invasion of RDC by rebels backed up by Ugandan and Rwandan troops, to accentuate the influence of these countries in RDC. While the rebels took control of most of the east of RDC, the attack was stopped by the involvement of the Zimbabwe, Namibia and Angolan troops who fought alongside the RDC army and sided with Kabila.

Whilst the governments involved in the conflict signed a cease fire in July 1999, peace was not fully implemented until 2003, after the assassination of Laurent Kabila in 2001 and the will

of his successor, his son Joseph Kabila to end the conflict, by calling for a multilateral peace that resulted in the establishment of a transitional government in 2003.

Even though Joseph Kabila organized the first multi-party elections since the independence in 2006, his opponents called for irregularities in the results of the elections. Moreover, his governance was marked by various social unrest and failed coup d'états as well as the use of violence to stop any opposition manifestation, that led to a lot of victims among the Congolese population as well as the increase of the displaced people. This governance favored the continuity and frequency of violence and political instability in RDC.

Indeed, to conclude, we can see that despite the consequent amount of development aid received by Congo through the years, with RDC being one of the biggest African recipient of development aid (OECD report, 2016), the country is still amongst the worst African states in terms of poverty, corruption and civil/political rights. With a lot of this aid, as well as the gains from the various natural resources of the country, being used for personal use by the elites in the government, the Democratic Republic of Congo has been the theatre of violence between governmental authorities and the population, as well as violent conflicts between rebel groups, that have led the death of approximately 6 millions of Congolese and the displacement of 4.5 million people within the past decades, with the Congolese forces accused of the killing of thousands of citizens during the past two years (Human Rights Watch report, 2018). Thus, we can argue that in the case of the Democratic Republic of Congo, the consequent amount of

development aid is related to a bad quality of governance and to an extreme political instability, and so, the RDC supports the theory.

6. A Case Study Analysis of Botswana

Botswana's first encounter with the European colons occurred at the end of the 19th century when European countries divided the African continent among themselves as part of their colonial empire. Botswana became a part of the Britain colonial empire following the Berlin Conference in 1884-1885, where the division of Africa was established and made official between all the European powers. Botswana, from its former name Bechuanaland, one of the poorest country in the world at that time, became a British protectorate. Bechuanaland was important for the British government for its geographic situation, and was used to protect the British interest in South Africa (Tlou & Campbell, 1984). As a protectorate and not a colony, Britain neglected Bechuanaland's development within the years, and attempted to transfer the administration of Bechuanaland to the protectorate of Rhodesia (today Zimbabwe). However, after several protests from the population in Bechuanaland against their potential integration into the Union of South Africa, the British government renounced and kept Bechuanaland under its rule and protection until its independence in 1966.

Contrary to other African states who gained their independence after violent fights against their European colonizer, Bechuanaland, renamed Botswana after its independence in 1966, obtained its independence avoiding the use of force against the British forces (Tlou & Campbell, 1984). Led by the Botswana Democratic Party, Botswana earned its independence in 1966 after negotiations with the British Empire started in 1964, when Britain agreed for a democratic, self-government in Botswana, with Seretse Khama elected first president of the newly independent country of Botswana.

6.1. Foreign Aid and Governance

After the proclamation of independence in September 30th of 1966, the new independent state of Botswana was governed by the newly elected president Seretse Khama, one of the political leaders who led Botswana to the path to independency. The first president of Botswana faced new challenges, notably to economically and politically reconstruct the country after several decades of European's rule over the country.

Contrary to Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of Congo discussed above, Botswana is among the African countries that received the least development aid. Whilst the DRC received an amount of 2373 million dollars, and Rwanda 1024 million dollars of development aid in 2014, Botswana for its part "only" received 99 million dollars (OECD report, 2016).

To test the hypothesis discussed in the method section, according to which important amount of foreign aid is related to the political instability of the recipient country by impacting the quality of its governance (Easterly, 2001; Moyo, 2009), I will now discuss the relation between foreign aid, political stability, and the quality of governance, in two countries that have received an amount of development aid inferior to the African average (less than 1000 million dollars a year). The last section of this paper will compare the results between the two countries that received an important amount of foreign aid (Rwandese and RDC) and the two countries that received an average amount of development aid inferior to the African average (Botswana and Gabon).

The first indicator to measure the quality of governance in Botswana is poverty.

Since the end of colonization in 1966, Botswana has been an example in terms of development. Indeed, Botswana has had the highest economic growth in the world following its independence from the British rule (Acemoglu et al., 2001), with an average annual income per habitant that has increased by 6.3% for the time period between 1970 and 2000 (Kamrany & Gray, 2012). In comparison, developed countries like European countries or northern American countries, for the same time period, have had an average annual growth of 1.8 %. At the end of the 19th century, Botswana has been classified by the World Bank as an upper middle income country. Today, development aid in Botswana only accounts for 3 percent of the government budget, while the economic activity is expected to increase by almost 5% by 2019. (World Bank report, 2018). If Botswana has seen a rapid increase in economic growth and in the development of its institutions, inequalities remains among the Botswanans population. Thus, the country is still facing important level of poverty and inequality among its population, especially in the rural regions, with children representing half of the population living in poverty (World bank, 2015). However, even though the country is still struggling with high level of poverty, there has been a reduction in the poverty level, with the total number of Botswanans people living in poverty that was divided by two in 1985, and again to 33% in 1994 (Lewin, 2011).

Concerning the civil and political liberties as well as corruption, Botswana is also a model of success in post-colonial Africa. Whilst numerous African countries with rich natural resources are characterized by bad governance (Collier & Hoeffler, 2004), Botswana, due to the respect for human rights as well as the respect of the rule of law, established by the government since

the independence (Lewin, 2011). A high level of transparency as well as the importance given to the consultation of the institutions (known as “kgotla”) concerning the government budget, has ensured Botswana with an important degree of trust among its population (Lewin, 2011). According to Transparency International, an international non-governmental organization that analyzes and calculates the level of corruption among countries, Botswana ranks at the 34th place, with a score of 61, with 0 representing highly corrupted countries and 100 the very clean ones (Transparency International report, 2017), what makes it the least corrupted African nation (Kamrany & Gray, 2012).

Concerning the respect of civil liberties as well as political freedom, on a scale from 1 (most free) and 7 (least free), Botswana obtains the score of 3 for the respect of political rights, and a score of 2 in civil liberties, with an average of freedom rating of 2.5 (Freedom House Report, 2018). Thus, the multi-party political system has been very respected notably through the presence of opposition politic groups and their active participation in the government. Whilst some medias are still facing pressure from the government today, freedom of religion as well as freedom of assembly and protesting is, in overall, respected by the government (2018).

6.2. Political Stability since 1966

After its relatively peaceful independence in 1966 from the British rule (Tlou & Campbell, 1984), Botswana has observed a relative political stability by maintaining a parliamentary democracy since its independence, and whilst democracy is not perfect, Botswana has been an example of economic growth, development and political stability, by providing its people with

democratic and non-violent elections, contrary to other African countries where corrupted authoritarian rulers have been in power for decades (Naniuzeyi, 1999).

In the case of Botswana, even though the Botswana Democratic Party has been in power since 1966 and the declaration of independence, the government has established, and respected, presidential elections every five years. The low level of corruption within the government, the respect of human rights and the respect of the rule of law have avoided social protest or coup d'état as well as other division among the population. The reelection of the Botswana Democratic Party every five years has happened without any infraction of the law, and is mainly due to the rural support, while opposition parties (led by the Botswana National Front) usually have more votes in urban areas (Kiyaga, 1986). Since its independence in 1966, Botswana was governed by 5 presidents, all of them elected during free democratic presidential elections. The current president of the Republic of Botswana is Mokgweetsi Masisi, elected last May, after serving four years in the previous government as vice president and education minister.

To conclude, we can see that despite the extremely low amount of development aid received by Botswana since 1966, the country is an example of development, economic growth and governance. By establishing a democratic and efficient system of governance, favoring economic and institutions development, that led to an annual average growth superior than in any other African country, providing services that are normally only provided in developed countries such as free education or free healthcare (Kamrany & Gray, 2012), and by a level of

corruption that ranked Botswana as the least corrupted African state, Botswana has known decades of political stability, due to this strong and efficient governance. With this quality of governance and the small amount of development aid received, Botswana supports the theory according to which an important amount of foreign aid is related to political instability, by illustrating the fact that countries who receive an amount of development aid lower than the African average are more politically stable.

7. A Case Study Analysis of Gabon

Gabon's first encounter with a European power occurred in the 15th century with the arrival of Portuguese on the Gabonese coasts, soon followed by the Dutch, who rapidly started the exploitation of the Gabonese natural resources as well as the slave trade. The official colonization of the country progressively happened during the 19th century, to finally officially become a part of the French colonial empire in 1886. In 1910, Gabon, alongside Chad, the Central African Republic, The Republic of Congo and Cameroon, formed the French Equatorial Africa. During WWII, a battle between the Free French Forces and the pro Vichy forces ended up with the victory of the Free French Forces in November 1940, and Gabon became a strategic territory for the Free French implantation in Africa.

In 1946, Gabon became an oversea territory, and was represented in the French Parliament. Following the failure of the Indochina experience, the French government, facing increasing pressure from its African colonies, agreed to abandon its politic of assimilation and started the process of decolonization, notably under the governance of Charles de Gaulle, principal French actor in the decolonization process. After progressively obtaining independent institutions such as a legislative assembly as well as an executive council in 1957, becoming an autonomous republic within the French community in 1958, Gabon officially gained its independence in August of 1960, with Leon Mba elected as first Gabonese president in 1961.

7.1. Foreign Aid and Governance

After the proclamation of independence in August 17th of 1960, the new independent state of Botswana is governed by the newly elected president Léon M'ba. The first president of Gabon faced new challenges, notably to economically and politically reconstruct the country after several decades of French's rule over the country. As Botswana discussed above, Gabon is amongst the African countries that received the least development aid (annual average amount of aid below 1000 million dollars for the 2010-2016 period). Thus, when the Democratic Republic of Congo received 2898 million dollars of aid in 2012, Gabon was receiving an amount of 75 million dollars. Even in the first years following the creation of the Official Development Assistance program (ODA) in 1969, Gabon's average amount of foreign aid was lower than the African average. Whilst countries like Tanzania were receiving an annual average of 857 million dollars for the period of time between 1970 and 1979, Gabon was "only" receiving an annual average of 134 million dollars (OECD report, 2016).

To test the foreign aid and political stability theory discussed in the method section, I will now discuss the quality of governance in Gabon since its independence, that I'll measure by discussing the level of poverty, civil and political liberties as well as the level of corruption since 1960. Despite being the 5th largest African oil producer, almost half of the population lives below the poverty lines, with more than 500,000 people living in poverty. (The Borgen Project report, 2017). These numbers go against the average economic growth of the country since Gabon has seen an increase of 3% at the beginning of the 21st century. When it comes to human development, Gabon ranks 93rd out of 169 countries, what is below the average of other

countries that approximately have the same per capita income (African development bank group report, 2011).

Corruption level in Gabon remains particularly high, with a 110th ranking (out of 178 countries by the Transparency international organization (Transparency International report, 2017). Thus, Gabon, with a score of 32 out of 100 (with 0 for highly corrupted and 100 very clean) is amongst the most corrupted countries. Many of Gabon's economic problems are due to the high level of corruption within the government that is often associated with corruption scandals. An example of this governmental corruption is the trial in March of this year of Blaise Wada, former project coordinator for the sanitation of the capital Libreville. Wada is accused of the corruption of 1.765 billion of Gabonese franc that was supposed to be used towards development ends and that have been used for his personal ends (rfi Afrique, 2018).

Concerning the civil and political rights, Gabon is also among the worst countries. Thus, with a score from 1 for the most free countries, to 7 for the least free, Congo's score concerning the respect of political rights is 7, which means that political oppositions is not tolerated and the repression violent against opponents to the government. According to the Freedom House, Gabon's score concerning freedom as a whole is of 6 out of 7 (with 7 = least free) (Freedom in the world report, 2018). These results give us an overview of Gabon's political and social situation, with a corrupted government, that hides behind the multiparty elections to stay in power through the years. Thus, Ali Bongo Ondima has maintained his dominance over Gabon's government since the death of his father in 2009. With a quasi-total control of the press, the

Control and repression towards his opponents, and the organization of controversial elections, Ali Bongo has been ruling over a state that has looked more authoritarian than democratic, with as another example of the low quality of governance, the abolition of the presidential term limits, that were limited to 5 years, but were abolished in 2003 by Omar Bongo Ondimba. Compare to the Botswana's government, the Gabonese government for its part, does not operate with transparency concerning its budget. For example, between 2008 and 2014, the presidency budget increased by 1,073% while the government budget only increased by 64% (Freedom House report, 2018). This high level of corruption has led to various social protest that have been violently repressed by the authorities.

7.2. Political Stability since 1960

After its relatively peaceful independence from the French rule in 1960, Gabon elected its first president, Léon M'ba, with Omar Bongo Ondimba as vice president after the first independent presidential elections in 1961. Immediately after his accession to power, M'ba eliminated the liberty of the press as well political opposition. M'ba also attempted to dissolve the national assembly, what led to a tentative of coup d'état by the Gabonese army to overthrow M'ba. The tentative failed after the implication of the French troops that will be sent to support and help M'ba stay in power. After M'ba's death in 1967, Omar Bongo, vice president under M'ba presidency, became president. Following Leon Mba's authoritarian politics, Bongo established his new party the Gabonese Democratic Party as the only political party authorized.

This authoritarian system of governance and the low level of respect for civil and political rights led to various social protests in the 90's as well as two coup d'états that failed. Following the presidential elections of 1993, several social protests occurred in the country to denounce the non-respect the law during the elections and irregularities in the results. These protests met a violent repression from the government authorities, that then agreed to work with the opposition towards an appeasement of violence in the country. After Bongo's death in 2009, he was replaced at the head of the government by the president of the Senate at the time, Rose Francine Rogombé, who became in charge of the country until the next presidential elections later this year, that proclaimed Omar Bongo's son as new president of the Gabonese Republic. Just like his father before him, Ali Bongo's election was denounced by his opponents as irregular, what led to violent social protests where several Gabonese people lost their lives following a violent military repression. The presidential elections of 2016 led to even more violent social unrest than for the election of Ali Bongo in 2009, with violent altercations between the government authorities and protesters that resulted in a severe repression and many deaths among the population.

To conclude, Omar Bongo and his son who succeeded him had a strong authoritarian style of leadership, characterized by a violent repression against any opposition to their political party, the country has suffered from a lack of freedom of press, freedom of expression, an absence of respect for civil and political rights, a lack of transparency when it comes to government budget, and all these factors have led to an overall, political instability in in Gabon since its impendence in 1960. Contrary to the case of Botswana discussed above, Gabon

illustrates a country which, even when receiving an amount of development aid lower than the African average, does not have a high-quality governance and a very stable political environment. Gabon is a difficult case in the context of this study. Whilst it cannot be defined as a politically stable country like Botswana, it cannot, on the other hand, be qualified as a country that is as politically unstable as Rwanda or the DRC. By avoiding ethnic conflicts or genocide, Gabon is more stable than Rwanda and the RDC who received a consequential amount of development aid. Whilst Gabon is far from being an example of democracy, it has stayed more stable than Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of Congo, where either genocide, civil war, or both occurred in the years following independence. However, in overall, Gabon does not support the theory that foreign aid is related to political instability and so, countries receiving less foreign aid are more likely to have a good quality governance and to be political stable.

8. Conclusion

The aim of this work was to give a better understanding of foreign aid, more especially development aid, and its level of success in the African continent. After decades, sometimes centuries, of colonization by European powers, newly independent African states are left with a colonial legacy characterized by weak institutions, weak governments who have to learn to govern for themselves. The challenge for these countries is to find their place on the international scene, and it is important for them to establish new autonomous and efficient institutions that will, on the long term, bring economic growth and political stability, both essential factors in the development of a country. Unfortunately, a lot of African countries, after decades of colonization, were not prepared for a complete political, economic and institutional autonomy. Indeed, numerous African countries came out of the decolonization process with very weak institutions, what led to weak economies and unstable governments. One of the solution to overcome these problems was found by the international community, through the form of foreign aid. Thus, since the end of colonization, African countries have received billions of dollars of aid from developed countries, usually under the form of bilateral aid, with a “government to government” transfer (Peron, 2001). The bilateral form of the development aid discussed in this paper has decreased the ability of the international community to have a direct control over the use of this aid (Steinwand, 2015), and as a result, in some cases, this development aid has led to high levels of corruption as well as political instability. Whilst foreign aid has been created to ensure positive and development purposes, it has often been used for personal, destructive or/and genocidal ends by African leaders (Peron, 2001). The foreign aid debate between scholars have divided the scholars into two main

groups. First those who argue that that foreign aid and the quality of governance are positively related, and so, positively impacts the political stability of the recipient country (Manning & Malbrough, 2014; Yontcheva & Masud, 2005). On the opposite, scholar of the second group argue that foreign aid has done more harm than good and has weakened institutions, affected the quality of governance of the recipient country, and this weak governance has led to political instability (Brautigam & Knack, 2004 ; Svensson, 2000). These scholars argue that foreign aid, when directly given to governments, has increased the level of corruption within the institutions and the government, and avoided an effective development of African countries, what led to the discontent of the population and as a result, ethnic and political tensions (Svensson, 2000; Moyo, 2009).

Table 1. Foreign Aid and Political Stability

Recipient country	Amount of foreign aid*	Expected political stability	Evidence of political stability	Colonial heritage	Level of corruption
Rwanda	High	Unstable	Unstable	Strong	Low
Democratic Republic of Congo	High	Unstable	Unstable	Strong	High
Botswana	Low	Stable	Stable	Weak	Low
Gabon	Low	Stable	Unstable	Strong	High

*The amount of development aid received by the countries are divided into two groups: “High” for an average amount of aid superior to 1000 million dollars a year, and “Low” for an average amount of aid inferior to 1000 million dollars for the 2010-2016 period.

In this paper, I tested the second theory, according to which foreign aid is related to political instability (Brautigam & Knack, 2004 ; Svensson, 2000; Moyo, 2009). As illustrated in Table 1 above, I chose two countries that have received an important amount of development aid within the past decades, and two others representing countries that received an amount of development aid lower than the African average (OECD report, 2016). As we can see in Table 1, the findings show that the theory is supported in three of the four cases studied here. Thus, by discussing the amount of development aid received by each country, as well as the quality of governance, and its relationship to the political instability of the recipient country, we can see that in most cases, a high amount of aid is related to bad governance and political instability. In the first country discussed, we can see that Rwanda, one of the biggest African recipient country in term of development aid (OECD report, 2016), is characterized by a high level of poverty with two third of its population living in extreme poverty, as well as a low level in the respect of political and civil liberties (Caplan, 2007). Whilst Rwanda has avoided any violent internal civil conflicts since the 1990's, it is still carrying the weights of the millions of dead Rwandese dead during the civil war and genocide in the early 1990's. The Democratic Republic of Congo, one of the bigger African recipient country in development aid since its creation in 1969, also supports the theory. With a perpetual political instability that continues today, a high level of corruption among its government (Kandolo, 2015), and a high level of poverty among its population, the RDC is amongst the poorer and most corrupted country in Africa and in the world.

The third country discussed in this paper, Botswana, chosen for the low amount of development aid that it has received, also supports the theory. A high level of transparency among its government, a higher level of civil and political liberties compared to the African average, and a quick economic growth have led Botswana to a relative political stability since its independence in 1966. Botswana illustrates the difference between African countries that have received a lot of development aid, and those who have received less aid, and how this lower amount of development aid is related to a better political stability.

The last country discussed in this paper, Gabon is the only country that does not support the theory according to which countries who receive more development aid will be more politically unstable. Indeed, Gabon being amongst the African countries that have received the lowest amount of development aid within the past decades, was expected to be characterized by a good quality of governance as well as politically stable. If Gabon hasn't been as unstable as Rwanda or the Democratic Republic of Congo by avoiding a civil war or genocide, the country is characterized by a high level of corruption among its government, a lack of freedom of press, freedom of expression, as well as an absence of respect for civil and political rights. This bad quality of governance has led Gabon to an overall political instability with various social protest, violent confrontation between the population and governmental authorities as well as coup d'état (World Bank Report, 2018). Whilst Gabon hasn't been as unstable as Rwanda and the RDV it does not support the theory.

Even though three out of four the cases support the hypothesis, this paper can be flawed by several factors. First, I tried to choose four countries that became independent approximately at the time, avoiding violent conflicts with the former European colonizer, however it was impossible to find four African countries with the exact same historical and political background. Moreover, my original plan was to choose countries that had been colonized by the same European powers (two French colonies: one receiving a lot of aid, the other receiving an amount of aid lower than the African average, and two British colonies based on the same principle) in order for the results to not be biased by the colonial background of the country. However, the difference in the amount of aid wasn't consequent enough to compare the direct impact of the aid on the quality of governance and political stability between the two groups of countries.

Since it's been discussed in this paper that political stability doesn't necessarily mean a high level of democracy, it would be interesting for future research to focus on the same countries and study the relationship between the amount of development aid received by these four countries and the level of democratization each country has experienced since its independence. Whilst this paper presents some anomalies and doesn't fully support the tested theory, it's a good contribution to the existing literature on the effectiveness of foreign aid in Africa

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