

POLITICS AND PLUNDER:
Civil war and regional intervention in
Africa

DEANNA GROSS

B. INTERNATIONAL STUDIES (HONOURS) *Flinders University*

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF POLITICAL AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES IN
FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS (RESEARCH)
IN THE FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES, FLINDERS UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AUSTRALIA,
JUNE 2007.

CONTENTS

Declarations	4
Synopsis	5
List of figures	7
Acknowledgements	8
Glossary	9
Chapter One: Regional involvement in civil wars in Africa	13
Wars of the third kind	14
External players in African civil wars	18
Motives for intervention by regional actors in African civil wars	20
Chapter Two: The Sierra Leone War	37
Introduction	37
History	40
Sierra Leone's civil war 1991-2001	43
Chapter Three: Liberia's role in the Sierra Leone war	52
The initial participation 1991-1994	53
Continuation of involvement 1994 - 2001	56
After the 2001 embargo	63
Liberia's motives	70
Conclusion	80

Chapter Four: The Democratic Republic of Congo war	83
Introduction	83
Congolese history	86
The Congo's civil war	101
Chapter Five: Regional actors in the DRC war	111
The Hutu/Tutsi conflict: an initial motive for participation	117
A breakdown of relations: Rwanda and Uganda	134
Rwanda's motives	137
Uganda's motives	148
Angola's motives	171
Zimbabwe's motives	180
Other states' motives	194
Conclusion	198
Chapter Six: Policy implications of findings	200
Greed, grievance and international relations theory	200
A combination of motives for involvement: political and economic	204
Addressing the economic motives for surrounding state involvement in African civil wars	206
Who should be responding?	210
Conclusion	219
Bibliography	221

DECLARATIONS

Candidate's Declaration

'I certify that this thesis does not incorporate without acknowledgement any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any university; and that to the best of my knowledge and belief it does not contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made for text.

Deanna Gross

26 November 2007

Supervisor's Declaration

'I believe that this thesis is properly presented, conforms to the specifications for the thesis and is of sufficient standard to be, *prima facie*, worthy of examination'.

Dr Tanya Lyons

26 November 2007

SYNOPSIS

Over recent decades, civil wars in Africa have taken millions of lives and caused widespread destruction of whole states and regions. The living standards of peoples residing in such states in Africa which have been devastated by war are often deplorable, with violence, disease and poverty characterising life there. Lawlessness is another feature of such wars, making these states optimal places for international terrorist groups to operate in, and from. For both the above reasons, the West should not turn a blind eye to this issue.

These wars that have occurred in a number of African states, including Rwanda, Sierra Leone, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and Sudan, have often become regionalised with surrounding states increasingly becoming involved. This is particularly the case when economic gain can be sought through involvement in the civil war. The introduction of regional actors into domestic civil wars frequently serves to intensify and prolong the conflict, through an increase of arms and troops entering the fighting. The surrounding state actors largely claim to be involved for political reasons, namely to provide security to their own state. However, numerous credible reports have shown that vast plundering of natural resources has been carried out in war-time by surrounding states in the war-torn state. Consequently, this thesis examines the motives of surrounding state actors when deciding to participate in domestic civil wars of their neighbours. To do this, I compile case studies on both Sierra Leone and the Democratic Republic of Congo since both states had been ravaged by violent and drawn-out civil wars involving regional actors. Furthermore, the regional actors in both cases (Liberia in Sierra Leone, and particularly Rwanda,

Uganda, Zimbabwe in the DRC) have been accused of participating in the wars for economic gain.

The case studies showed that while political motivations largely drive the initial decision by regional actors to participate in civil wars in their region, it is subsequently economic gain that both allows and compels them to continue their involvement in the civil war. Henceforth, in the final chapter, I put investigate policy suggestions for the future including: prevention of resources being used to fuel warfare through controlling their access to legitimate channels; the use of aid to reduce the likelihood of those in poverty turning to war in pursuit of sustenance, including opportunities to target aid and use compliance with particular peace agreements as a prerequisite for attaining the funding; diversification of the economies of these weak states through development assistance to reduce risks produced by a high dependency on primary commodity exports for income and financial sanctions in the form of freezing of assets or asset blocking. These policy suggestions seek to address both the political and economic motivations of the surrounding state actors in participating in civil wars in Africa.

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1 - Map of Africa	12
Figure 2.1 – Map of Sierra Leone	36
Figure 2.2 – Charles Taylor	39
Figure 3.1 – Map of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)	82
Figure 3.2 – Map of resource plundering in the DRC	113
Figure 3.3 - Map showing the approximate deployment of forces in the DRC	134
Figure 3.4 – Rwanda: Rough diamond exports, by volume, 1997-October 2001	143
Figure 3.5 - Uganda: Gold production and exports, 1997-2001	164
Figure 3.6 - Uganda: Rough diamond exports, by volume, 1997 – October 2000	164

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Firstly, I would like to sincerely thank Dr Martin Griffiths and Dr Tanya Lyons. Martin, for keeping me on track with this project, and for putting up with the drafts that I hand you (which aren't always that great). Thank you Tanya, for all your knowledge on Africa, your ideas (which helped me develop my own), and your encouragement and support, especially in the later stages. Without you both, I could not have completed this piece of work.

Thank you to my parents (Rob and Jules) for supporting me throughout this venture, especially to Mum, who had to read and edit yet another thesis.

Thank you also to all my friends for your support, friendship and ability to make me laugh, and particularly for giving me a reason to get away from the computer. Thank you to Simon who gave me confidence and support to keep going through to the end.

GLOSSARY

ADF - Allied Democratic Forces

ADFL - Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of the Congo

ANC - Armee Nationale Congo laise

APC – All People’s Congress

AFRC - Armed Forces Revolutionary Council

ARB - African Reserve Bank

ASADHO - African Association for Human Rights

AU - African Union

CHDC - Congo Holding Development Company

DSP - Special Presidential Division

DRC - Democratic Republic of Congo (Formerly Zaire)

ECOMOG - Economic Community of West Africa Monitoring Group

ECOWAS – Economic Community of West African States Economic Community of West Africa

FAA – Angolan Armed Forces

FAR – Forces Armees Rwandaises

FAZ - Forces armees zairoises

FDD - Forces for the Defense of Democracy/Forces pour la Defense de la Democratie (Burundi)

FLC - Front de Liberation du Congo

FNL - National Liberation Front (Burundi)

FNLA – National Liberation Front of Angola

GDP – Gross Domestic Product

GNP – Gross National Product

GOC - Government of Congo (DRC)

IFRCS - International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies

IMF - International Monetary Fund

IRC – International Rescue Committee

JMC - Joint Military Commission

LPA - Lusaka Peace Accords

LRA – Lords Resistance Army

LURD - Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy

MLC - Movement for the Liberation of the Congo/ Mouvement de Liberation du Congo

MONUC - Mission de l'Organisation des Nations Unies au Congo

MNC - Congolese National Movement/ Mouvement pour la Liberation du Congo

MPLA - Movimento Popular de Libertacao de Angola/Popular Movement of the Liberation of Angola

NEPAD - New Partnership for African Development

NPFL - National Patriot Front of Liberia

NPRC - National Provisional Ruling Council

NRA - National Resistance Army (Uganda)

NRM – National Resistance Movement (Uganda)

OAU - Organisation of African Unity

PAC - Partnership Africa Canada

RCD - Rally for Congolese Democracy/Rassemblement Congolais pour la Democratie

RCD-G – Rally for Congolese Democracy (Goma)

RCD-K – Rally for Congolese Democracy (Kisangani)

RCD-ML - RCD-Mouvement de Liberation

RPA - Rwandan Patriotic Army

RUF – Revolutionary United Front

SADC - Southern African Development Community

SIEROMCO - Sierra Leone Iron Ore and Metal Co. Ltd

SANDEF - South African National Defence Force

SOCEBO - Société congolaise d'exploitation du bois

SLPP - Sierra Leone People's Party

SNEL - Congo's Societe Nationale d'Electricite (DRC)

TPVM - Third Party Verification Mechanism

UK – United Kingdom

ULIMO - United Liberation Front of Liberia

UN – United Nations

UNAMSIL - United Nations peacekeeping force

UPC - Union for Congolese Patriots

UPDF - Ugandan Peoples' Defence Force

UPNA – Union of Peoples of Northern Angola

WNBF - West Nile Bank Front

XEU – Euros (currency)

ZDF - Zimbabwe Defence Forces

ZDI - Zimbabwe Defence Industry

Zanu-PF – Zimbabwean African National Union-Patriotic Front Party

ZESA - Zimbabwe Electricity Supply Authority

Figure 1.1



Source: Perry-Castañeda Library Map Collection, University of Texas online accessed at <http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/africa.html>