

The Slippery Slopes into Civil War: Comparing Explanations for the Intra-state Wars in Sierra Leone and Côte d'Ivoire

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A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirement of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

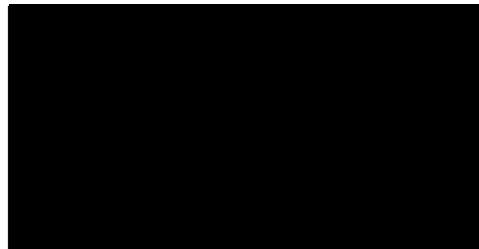
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December 2010

Authentication

I certify that I am the sole author and that the substance of this thesis has not already been submitted for any degree and is not being currently submitted for any other degrees.

I also certify that to the best of my knowledge that any help received in preparing this thesis, and all sources used, have been acknowledged in this thesis.



Oyedele Adesokan Ogunmola

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my late parents who did not live long enough to witness the crowning of their efforts for my educational upliftment.

Bòwò fùn iyá áti Bàbá rẹ kí ojò òla rẹ òla re bà le dára (Yoruba proverb)

Respect and obey your Mother and Father in order to be successful in life.

Never underestimate the power of stupid people in large groups (Anonymous, New York).

Acknowledgements

The beginning of writing a thesis is not as important as successfully completing it in the time frame stipulated by the University. I am indebted to many people in the course of writing and completing this thesis. Crafting a thesis takes sometimes tortuous and arduous pathways and without the necessary support of many people it will be impossible to end it successfully.

The Chinese adage reminds us that the journey of a thousand miles starts with the first step. The first step in the odyssey of writing this thesis started with the acceptance by my principal supervisor Professor Helen Ware who not only agreed to my proposal but also allowed me to be under her distinguished tutelage. As such, I am immensely indebted to her. Professor Ware's incisive critique of the chapters, suggestions, and significant insights, guidance and knowledge of Africa were valuable throughout this thesis.

I would like to extend my profound gratitude to my second supervisor, Dr Bert Jenkins who gave me the necessary guidance in stimulating useful ideas and comments that shed more light on this thesis. My gratitude also goes to Professor Lyn Meek and Dr Rebecca Spence for their support. My special gratitude is also extended to the Staff of Research Services, School of Humanities, and Library of the University of New England.

In the course of my stay in Armidale I made new friends whose moral support was also important in my social and academic life. My appreciation goes to Dr Ahmed Bawa Kuyini and Dr Nicole Green of the School of Education, my friend Marilyn Miller, my friend from Nigeria, Isiaka Badmus, and Naomi Kpayah.

I also thank the Staff of the following Institutes that played prominent roles in the facilitation of my field research in Africa. The Institute of African Studies at the Fourah Bay College, University of Sierra Leone, Freetown, the Centre de

Coopération et de Documentation Missionnaires and the *Centre Culturel Français* both in Abidjan, Côte d'Ivoire. I am also greatly indebted to the participants who took part in the interviews. Any error is mine.

Abstract

The main thrust of this study is an in-depth comparative examination of the distinct and shared factors of civil wars in Sierra Leone and Côte d'Ivoire. The scourge of civil conflict in these two countries had widespread implications for the stability of the West African sub-region as a whole. The first Liberian Civil War (1989-1996) spread like a bush fire to Sierra Leone (1991-2002), snowballed to Côte d'Ivoire (2002-2011), and turned back to Liberia with the Second Liberian Civil War (1999-2003) ending with the unceremonious exit from power of warlord cum President Charles Taylor who had been implicated in so much of the fighting across the region. These post-Cold War intra-state wars killed hundreds of thousands of civilians and created millions of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs). Masses of refugees crossing international borders created insecurity in neighbouring Guinea-Conakry but also impacted on Ghana, Nigeria, and Liberia through the refugee camps established there.

Apart from the Anglophone/Francophone civil war comparison, the distinctive feature of this thesis is that it is firmly based on the views of Africans, many of whom were active participants, as to what were the most significant factors of the civil wars. Whilst it draws upon the growing theoretical literature on the factors of civil war, interviews in the field made it possible to interrogate the validity of these theories in the eyes of local stakeholders themselves. The focus was on two distinct types of theories: the psychological theories of conflict (Dollard et al, 1939; Davies 1962; Gurr 1970; Berkowitz 1989; Goor, Rupensinghe, and Scarcorne 1996) and a subset of the economic theories of civil war.

The main psychological theory is premised on the belief that unfulfilled expectations lead to aggressive behaviours and that if sufficient numbers of individuals face such disappointments war can be the outcome. Amongst the multitude of economic theories the “greed and grievance” postulate of Collier (2001) merited special attention. Field work research shows different perspectives from the respondents’ towards this means of categorising the motivations of the

rebels in either country as greed or grievance. Equally, the variant of the economic theory of civil war which focuses upon the availability of lootable resources as a factor of rebellion (Grossman 1999; Collier 2001; Le Billon 2001) is accepted only by some respondents and some scholars (Herbst 2000; Lindemann 2008; Marchal and Messiant 2002; Reno 2003). Findings here confirm the importance of distinguishing between possible factors which can provoke war and those which can serve to prolong civil wars once started. Overall, a holistic approach to the analysis of factors that trigger civil war in Africa proves that economic theories of the causation of conflict need to depart from different perspectives. This is, in part, because economic theories of the causation focus on the motivations of the rebels whilst largely ignoring the reasons why governments fail to prevent rebellion. Ethnicity is not only a contributing factor at the national level; it also has its ramifications in neighbouring countries that supported the rebellion according to their interests and their linkages with the ethnic groups of the belligerents. This is in addition to the role Colonel Muammar Ghaddafi played in training and providing arms for the insurgents.

Abbreviations

APO	Accord Politique de Ouagadougou
ADESCI	Association de Défense des Entreprises Sinistrées de Côte d'Ivoire
ADIACI	Association de Défense des Intérêts des Autochtones de Côte d'Ivoire
AFL	Armed Forces of Liberia
AFRC	Armed Forces Revolutionary Council
AFRSL	Armed Forces of the Republic of Sierra Leone
APC	All People's Congress
APL	Armée Populaire de Libération
ARCI	Association des Rapatriés de Côte d'Ivoire
AU	The African Union
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BCEAO	Banque Centrale des États de l'Afrique de l'Ouest
BIMA	Bataillon d'Infanterie de Marine
BI	Bouaké Interview
CAR	Central African Republic
Caistab	Caisse de Stabilisation
CCF	Centre Culturel Français
CDF	Civil Defense Force
CFA	Francs de la Communauté Financière Africaine
CIFGD	Côte d'Ivoire's Focus Group Discussion
CHE	Complex Humanitarian Emergencies
CI	Côte d'Ivoire
CII	Côte d'Ivoire Interview
CNSP	Comité National de Salut Public
COJEP	Le Congrès Panafricain des Jeunes et des Patriotes
COW	Correlate of War

CSO	Chief Security Officer
DPC	Democratic Party of Congo
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
ECA	Economic Community of Africa
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
ECOMOG	ECOWAS Monitoring Group
FAFN	Force Armées des Forces Nouvelles
FANCI	Force Armées Nationales de Côte d'Ivoire
FBC	Fourah Bay College
FDFN	Les Forces de Défense des Forces Nouvelles
FDS	Forces de Défense et de Sécurité
FESCI	Fédération Estudiantine et Scolaire de Côte d'Ivoire
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FLGO	Forces pour la Libération du Grand Ouest
FN	Les Forces Nouvelles
FNR	Forum of National Reconciliation
FOI	Front de la Oulama Islamique
FRCI	Forces Républicaines de Côte d'Ivoire
FPI	Front Populaire Ivoirien
FSCO	Forces de Sécurité du Centre Ouest
GCTs	Greatest Common Triggers
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GIA	Groupe Islamique Armé
GNP	Gross National Product
GPP	Groupement pour la Paix
HKB	Henri Konan Bédié
HREC	Human Research Ethics Committee

ICG	International Crisis Group
ICC	International Criminal Court
IDM	Illicit Diamond Mining
IDPs	Internally Displaced Persons
IFIs	International Financial Institutions
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INGOs	International Non-Governmental Organisations
INPFL	Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia
IPGs	International Public Goods
IRIN	Integrated Regional Information Networks
ISU	Internal Security Unit
JP	Jeunes Patriotes
LAMCO	Liberian-Swedish Minerals Company
LBI	Liberia Interview
Le Forum	Forum des Confessions Religieuses de la Côte d'Ivoire
LCTs	Less Common Triggers
LDCs	Less Developed Countries
LIDHO	Ligue Ivoirienne des Droits de l'Homme
LRA	Lord's Resistance Army
LURD	Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy
MFA	Mouvement des Forces de l'Avenir
MILEX	Military Expenditure
MILOCI	Mouvement de Libération de l'Ouest de la Côte d'Ivoire
MJP	Mouvement pour la Justice et la Paix
MJG	Mouvement J'Aime Gbagbo
MODEL	Movement for Democracy in Liberia
MPCI	Mouvement Patriotique de Côte d'Ivoire
MPIGO	Mouvement Populaire Ivoirien du Grand Ouest

MRU	Mano River Union
NCOs	Non Commissioned Officers
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
NPFL	National Patriotic Front of Liberia
NPP	National Patriotic Party
NRA	National Resistance Army
NRC	National Reformation Council
OAU	The Organisation of African Unity
OIC	Organisation of Islamic Conference
ONI	Office National d'Identification
PANAFU	Pan African Union
PDCI	Parti Démocratique de Côte d'Ivoire
PDS	Parti Démocratique Sénégalais
PSS	Parti Socialiste Sénégalais
PIT	Parti Ivoirien du Travail
R&D	Research and Development
RD	Relative Deprivation
RDR	Rassemblement des Républicains
RPF	Rwandan Patriotic Front
RUF	Revolutionary United Front
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SAPs	Structural Adjustment Programmes
SALWs	Small Arms and Light Weapons
SCSL	Special Court for Sierra Leone
SIAMO	Syndicat Interprofessionnel d'Acheminement de la Main d'œuvre
SLFGD	Sierra Leone Focus Group Discussions
SLI	Sierra Leone Interview
SLPP	Sierra Leone People's Party

SLST	Sierra Leonean Selection Trust
SOE	State Owned Enterprises
SPLA	Sudan People's Liberation Army
SSA	Sub Saharan Africa
TWP	True Whig Party
UDHR	United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UDP	Union des Forces Démocratiques
ULIMO	United Liberation Movement of Liberia
UN	The United Nations
UNAMSIL	United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone
UNESCI	Union Estudiantine de Côte d'Ivoire
UNITA	Uniao Nacional para Independencia Total de Angola
UNOCI	The United Nations Operations in Côte d'Ivoire
UPDCI	L'Union pour la Démocratie et la Paix en Côte d'Ivoire
UPLTCI	Union des Patriotes pour la Libération Totale de la Côte d'Ivoire
WB	The World Bank

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